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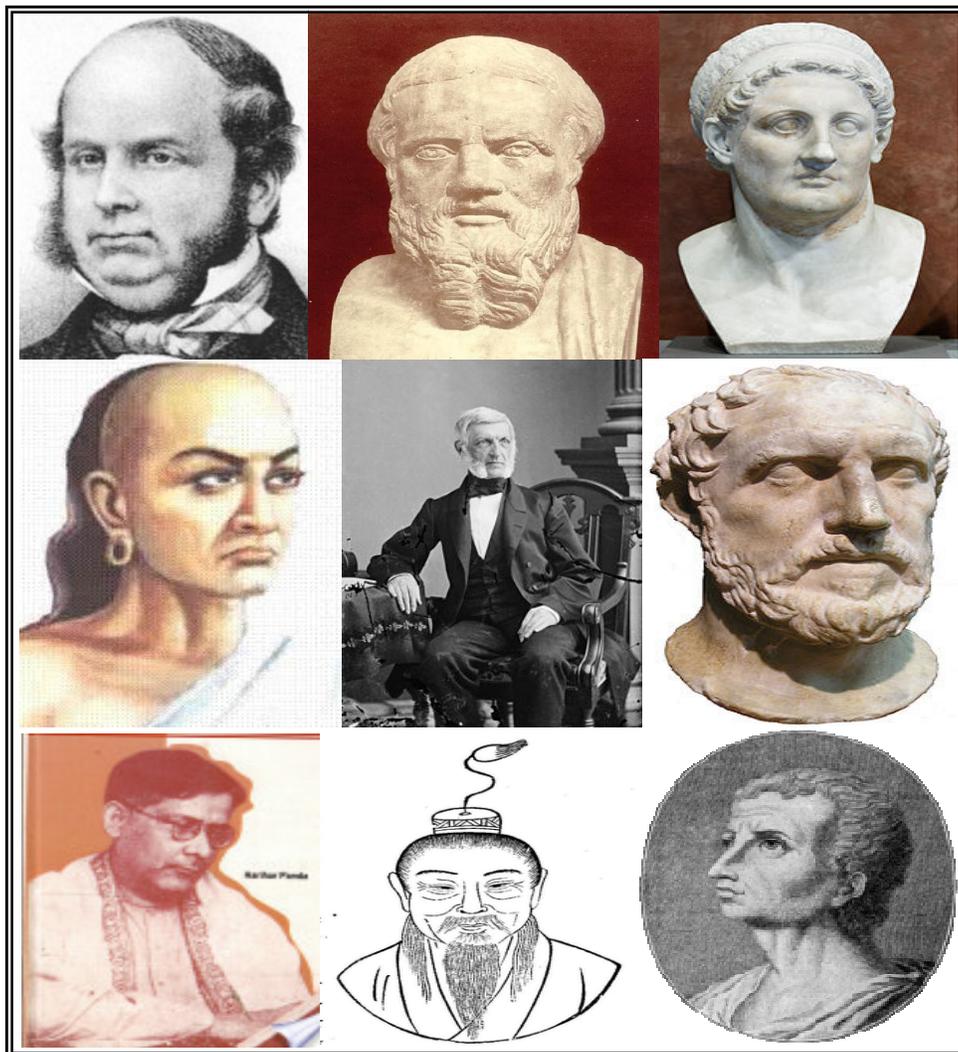


OPEN UNIVERSITY

Muktha Gangothri, Mysore - 570 006

**Master of Arts in
ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
M.A. Previous**

Historical Method



Course: AHA - 5

Block: 1 – 5

**DEPARTMENT OF STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN ANCIENT HISTORY
AND ARCHAEOLOGY**

M.A. (PREVIOUS)

COURSE – 5: HISTORICAL METHOD

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners,

M.A Previous Course V entitled Historical method is divided into 5 blocks.

The Block I contains 4 units. It introduces to History, kinds of History and Philosophy of History.

The block II explains research methodology.

The block III introduces the historiography from early Greek, Roman, Chinese to modern historiography to the 20th century.

The block IV introduces the Indian historiography from early historiography and biographers to medieval period. Indo-Islamic historiographers to nationalist historiography.

The block V explains the recent historiographic trends.

Thus the M.A previous course V contains 20 units providing adequate reading materials to the students and enrich their knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners,

It is my pleasure to welcome you with the words of G.R. Elton “History is concerned with all those human sayings, thoughts, deeds and sufferings which occurred in the past and have left present deposits and it deals with them from the point of view of happening change and the particular.”

Historians had remained for long in descriptive catalogues of men and events without analyzing the impact of ideological or moral values, psychological or philosophical concepts, social or economic forces, or material or physical factors on the flow of history. It is only from the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries that serious thought was bestowed on some of these problems thinkers of the order of view, Voltaire, Carlyle, Hegel, Ranke, Marx, Comte, Croce, Bury, Spengler and Toynbee have added new dimensions to historical studies.

This year you will be studying historical method, which has manifested itself mainly in three different directions namely the theory of history, methodology of history and historiography. The study materials provided by KSOU, not only makes you to understand historical methodology, but also enrich your knowledge.

I hope you will enjoy the study and wish you good success.

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BLOCK – 1: INTRODUCTION

UNIT-1 HISTORY-DEFINITION-NATURE-SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives**
- 1.1 Introduction**
- 1.2 Meaning of History**
- 1.3 Definition of History**
- 1.4 Nature of History**
- 1.5 Scope of History**
- 1.6 Importance of History**
- 1.7 Let us Sum up**
- 1.8 Keywords**
- 1.9 Check your progress**
- 1.10 Answer to check your progress**
- 1.11 Suggested Readings**

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about the

- Value of History.
- Different definition of History.
- Nature, Scope and Importance of History.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

History which is a record of unique events in the life of mankind is the stir and vibration of life. History is the barometer to record this progress of mankind. The nature of history is too complex and its scope too vast, touching almost every domain of human activity.

1.2 MEANING OF HISTORY

History is a Greek word which means enquiry, research, exploration or information. The Greeks were the earliest to define history. It was Dionysius of Halicarnassus who gave us the idea that history is philosophy teaching by examples. What he meant by this was that history offers us the quintessence of human experience whose study has universal value. When lessons are drawn from real life, and when these lessons are ordered to form a coherent whole, we have history. It indicates the growth of the human mind in which the unique facts are collected, classified and interpreted in a scientific way.

Some others say, the term history has been taken from the German word 'Geschichte' meaning an intelligible and significant narrative of past events. For a long time history was taken to mean a record of the facts and these facts served as the raw materials for the historian. But as the facts cannot speak by themselves it is for the historian to pick up facts and arrange them in an order or context.

1.2.1 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, pragmatic 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 genetic 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".

1.2.2 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. 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 world. 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.

1.2.3 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.

1.2.4 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.

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".

As the record of history involves a subjective element, the history conceived or written in a particular period bears the imprint of the times. Carr has said: "History consists of a corpus of ascertainable facts. The facts are available to historian in documents, inscriptions and so on like fish on the fish monger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him."

1.3 DEFINITION OF HISTORY

Viewing the impact of environments on the historian Prof. Collingwood says, "St. Augustine viewed the history of Rome from the point of view of an early Christian; Tillemont from that of a seventeenth century Frenchman; Gibbon from

that of an eighteenth century Englishman; Mommsen from that of a nineteenth century German. There is no point in asking which was the right point of view was. Each was the only possible for the man who adopted it."(Prof. Collingwood; The Idea of History, p.12). According to the earliest definition of Aristotle, "History is an account of the unchanging past."

To Carr "history is an unending dialogue between the present and the past and the chief function of the historian is to master and understand the past as a key to the understanding of the present."

According to Prof. Elton history is "concerned with all those human sayings, thoughts, deeds and sufferings which occurred in the past and have left present deposit; and it deals with them from the point of view of happening change and the particular."

Sir Charles Firth described history as "the record of the life of societies of men, of the changes which these societies have gone through, of the ideas which have determined the actions of those societies and of the material conditions which have helped or hindered their development."

Prof. Seeley defined history as past politics. However, his definition is defective because it is difficult to distinguish between past and present and the present is constantly following into the past.

Lord Acton, gave a different twist to history when he said history is the unfolding story of human freedom'.

R.Renier, defined history as "the story of the experiences of men living in civilized societies"

J.B.Bury defined history as "History is simply a science, no less and no more."

Thomas Carlyle, the Scottish historian and the author of *Heroes and Hero Worship*, defined history as “the essence of innumerable biographies of great men.”

Pt. Nehru says, "History is the story of man's struggle through the ages against nature and the elements; against wild beasts and the jungle and some of his own kind who have tried to keep him down and to exploit him for their own benefit.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "History is the memory of a nation or a race.",

Prof.A.L.Rowse giving a definition of history said: "History is essentially the record of the life of men in societies in their geographical and their physical environments. Their social and cultural environments arise from the interaction of the one with the other, the society and its geographical conditions." Certain writers even include the study of feature in history on the ground that past and present are parts of the same time span. Prof. Gustavson describes history as "a mountain top of human knowledge from whence the doings of our own generation may be scanned and fitted into proper dimensions. History enables a person to see himself as part of that living process of human growth which has emerged out of the past and will inexorably project itself out beyond our own life time. We are the product of the past but not the completed product"

"Thus history happens to be a super market of ideas from where thinkers have lifted their own shade of meaning” says Sheik Ali. He further adds that the special feature of history lies in its ability to after to all thinkers, but the philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, economists, moralists, scientists, and linguists, limitless scope to find meaning that still their genius. History tells men what men is by telling him what man has done.

The above definition of history by various historians bring on the different characteristics of history.

- History possesses a unique character different from science, art and literature.
- The nature of history will change according to the prevailing philosophy of history.

- History is fundamentally concerned with human actions and hence history is humanistic.
- History is secular it deals with temporal matters not with spiritual efforts. It does not deal with events or personalities which are not bound by space and time.
- History is interested in the past.
- It is bound by space and time. Geography and chronology are the two eyes of history. Facts and events occur only in space and in time.
- History is not accidental but incidental. There may be chance but it has causation. Usually, when we do not know the cause of an event we say it was a chance or an accident. But if we probe deeply enough a cause can be discovered.
- History does not repeat itself. Identical facts occurring at different time are not the same facts. Instead of saying “historical situations repeat themselves, it would be truer to say similar historical situations occur from time to time.”
- History can not be static as it moves in time. This movement in time is considered in four ways.
 - Cyclical movement always coming back to the starting point.
 - Movement along a straight line from unknown past to unpredictable future.
 - Towards progress, to more desirable goal.
 - Evolutionary growth.

In short, “history is the integrated narrative, description or analysis of past events or facts written in a spirit of critical inquiry for the whole truth, it is a search for light on the nature and destiny of man”. It makes a claim to universality, taking all human activity for its prudence.

1.4 NATURE OF HISTORY

There has been a radical change in recent years as to the proper nature and scope of history. In the past it was merely a catalogue of events serialized in a descriptive manner. We have now to study history in a critical and scientific

manner, where in the historian thinks for himself instead of repeating stories found in old books. History becomes a study of reality in its aspect to becoming. The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to be free from the past but to master the past in order to understand the present.

History is a social science and it is not merely an art of arranging and narrating past events but a deep study of the fundamental forces that determine the course of human progress. There is a vast diversity of experience in the social and political fields of different communities nations and civilizations in the world. But most of this diversity is more apparent than real. The forces that influence human mind and shape the course of human action are uniform all over the world. It is the discovery of these uniformities that a true historian must turn in order to explain the facts of history of any nation. A historian is greatly engaged in finding out what happened, how it happened and why it happened history can be of events or of the memory of events.

There is a continuity of growth and development in human society and history takes note of these developments in order to present them in their proper context of time and space. In history there are facts and events which are related to one another in a rational manner. History is not merely a record of some kings and courts, war and peace, revolts and rebellions, but if correctly understood it should imply the development of something complex out of something simple. It is a phenomenon and hence it ought to be dealt with in a scientific manner. It shows events not merely in order of time but also as links in a chain of cause and effect. It is the business of a historian to explain this chain of cause and effect through the process of interpretation. History becomes a record of unique events which do not occur in the same order and at the same place.

There has been no unanimity so far as the nature of history is concerned. Conflicting views have been expressed in this behalf. A few scholars think that history repeats itself and others refute this idea vehemently. The former base their conclusion on the fact that human nature remains the same at all times and at all places. The variations are with regard to the degree but not of kind.

There are some thinkers who hold that all history is contemporary history. Croce is a strong advocate of this view of contemporaneity in history; whereby the past and the present are linked in one chain of common process.

Likewise there are several other aspects connected with the nature of history. Which make the subject very profound? History is regarded as exceedingly dynamic. It concerns itself with the ever changing drama of life, and is related to the rise, growth and decay of a culture. E.H.Carr is of the view that history is an unending dialogue between the present and the past. It is not merely a catalogue of events but a critical study and an intensive mental work in the reflective spirit. It calls for imagination which varies from person to person. Hence interpretation and explanation are absolutely essential without which history would be reduced to a mere grocer's list. History is a mode of thought using past as the form of reference and rationalization. To a historian past is an unexplored region waiting to be discovered. Having discovered the past he has to pass judgement.

This brings us to the question whether value judgement is desirable in history or not Lord Acton says that it is not only desirable but also an essential part of a historian's work. Valuation of events which a historian studies is not completely avoidable.

The nature of history will change according to the prevailing philosophy of history and even from historian to historian. For example countries like India, which are liberated from imperial control resent the kind of history written by their erstwhile masters, and would like to rewrite the whole history themselves. This is a very delicate job in which emotions would play a dominant part, and subjectivity would creep in the nationalist historians of India are likely to commit historiographical errors of a different sort, known as patriotic error.

When Karl Marx enunciated his ideology of economic determinism, he gave a different slant to history through his materialistic interpretation of this subject. Thus a historian's outlook will also have an impact on his writing.

Yet another approach in recent times is to use history as an interpretation of the past in order to predict the future. As history deals with the past it cannot

foretell what the future would be. Hence prediction is beyond the reach of history. History is dynamic and never static, and it moves in time. This movement in time has been considered by different cultures in different ways. Some call it cyclical.

Thus the nature of history is very complex. It lends itself to various explanations. No one branch of history is more than a single glimpse at a vast complex of phenomenon. History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past. It goes on changing the nature of its interest to man from time to time. Namier has beautifully summed up the nature of history 'The functions of the historian is akin to that of the painter and not of the photographic camera; to discover and set forth, to single out and stress that which is of the nature of the thing and not to reproduce indiscriminately all that meet the eyes what matters in history is the great outline and the significant detail. What must be avoided is the deadly morass of irrelevant narrative. History is therefore necessarily subjective and individual.'

1.5 SCOPE OF HISTORY

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 'Folkstory'! 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 cities - states.

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

The Medieval Christian historians confined themselves strictly to the theological interpretation of historical events. Human actions were considered to be the manifestation of the Divine Will. Though the Christian historiography represented the universal character it was essentially ethnocentric. 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.

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 and Toynbee sought to study historical changes and discerned predictable patterns in them. Toynbee is an unrivalled representative of the synthetic-idealistic historiography. 20th century also witnessed the emergence of three schools of thought respectively on New History, Total History and Structured History. All the three approaches were reactions to the traditionalist 'myth-making' history. They were up against the different paradigms of history carried out by historians working in a mainstream tradition on Rankean methods. The 'new' historians incorporated advances made in social sciences as appropriate to their enquiry. By integrating different branches of knowledge they fashioned an inclusive, broad-based, heterogeneous historiography.

1.6 IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY

To ask the question “What is the use of History?” is like asking “What is the use of experience?” History is the summarized experience of society as experience is the condensed history of the individual. Without experience the individual is as lost as a baby without a mother, patroller without a torch.

History is said to be the memory of human group experience. If it is forgotten or ignored we cease in that measure to be human. Without history we have no knowledge of who we are or how we came to be like victims of collective amnesia (loss of memory) groping in the dark for our identity. It is the events recorded in history that have generated all the emotions, the values, the ideals that make life meaningful, that have given men something to live for, struggle over or die for. Historical events have created all the basic human groupings countries, religions, classes and all the loyalties that attach to these. History is a source of inspiration as it holds up to us the tradition and the glory, the clashing passions and heroic exploits and the glory, the clashing passions and heroic exploits of past generations, in it we find the drama of real life. In written form it is a branch of literature, an entertaining art whose special appeal is that its material is true.

History deserves to be studied out of curiosity if nothing else. The record of man's past offers a challenge for enquiry and understanding no less stimulating than the mysteries of outer space. It is a field of intellectual exploration and adventure, and therefore a source of satisfaction for the fundamental human yearnings.

Without history a society scarcely exists, since it inherits only in the continuing relationships between its members, which in turn are merely the expectations that certain patterns of conduct and mutual service will continue in the future as they did in the past, and in these patterns of conduct change, as they do in response to altered circumstances such as war, economic crisis, population growth, the impact of new ideas, and the like, they do so not in a random or arbitrary manner but within certain limits of possibility which an experienced observer or a well-informed historian will recognize.

Like the pure pursuit of science, the pure study of history can have immense practical significance. A person must know some history if he is even to begin to understand the world he lives in or to act with any wisdom and perspective. History is the record of all experience. The intellectual and educative use of history is also important. History teaches us, by examples of times, and men, the wisdom that had been acquired through the ages. In history we have examples of illustrious personalities, who have faced harsh challenges and emerged victorious ultimately, as history is comprehensive in scope and nature it serves as introduction to various branches of study. In fact, a knowledge of history is a pre-requisite for an understanding of the subjects like biography, economics, politics, literature and anthropology.

The moral and ethical values of history are also of equal importance. Noble and worthy characters in history are admired and those with baseness and opportunism are condemned. Study of the life of noble characters like great saints enlightened reformers and chivalrous heroes, influence and inspire the individuals as well as societies.

The uses of history in the fields of government and administration cannot be overestimated. It is of equal service to the rulers, conquerors, diplomats and

administrators alike. History furnishes examples and warnings to statesmen and hence according to Thucydides and Polybius, history acts as a guide for conduct.

1.7 LET US SUM UP

A study of history leads to the appreciation as well as realization of human dignity and democratic rights. History also enlarges the area of individual experience by teaching about, human behavior, about man in relation to other men, about the inter-action of circumstances and conditions in their effect upon individual and social fortunes. The, study of history enables a person to apply and improve his reasoning faculty.

History enhances the value and pleasure of travel both at home and abroad. Trevelyan says that “the value of history is not scientific, its value is educational; it is the business of history not only to provide the utility of education but the pleasures of contemplation. R.Vajreswari highlights the intellectual value of history when she says “Sharpening of memory, development or the skill of reasoning, training the powers of imagination, cultivation of the qualities of reading, analyzing, criticizing and arriving at conclusions are some of the intellectual values that history is supposed to impart.

1.8 KEY WORDS

1. Geschichte – The German word meaning an intelligible and significant narrative of past events.
2. Amnesia – loss of memory

1.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the definition of history.
2. Explain the nature and scope of history.
3. Explain the importance of history.

1.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 1.3
2. See section 1.4 and 1.5
3. See section 1.6

1.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. R.G.Cooling Wood : The Idea of History, Oxford, 1946
2. Carr E.H : What is History? 1946
3. Renier C.J : History: Its Purpose and Method,
Boston, 1950
4. Barnes H.E : A History of Historical Writing,
Newyork, 1963
5. B.Shaik Ali : History: Its Theory and Method,
Madras, 1978
6. Venkatesan G : A Study of Historiography,
Rajapalayam, 1994

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UNIT-2 KINDS OF HISTORY

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives**
- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 Political History**
- 2.3 Constitutional History**
- 2.4 Parliamentary History**
- 2.5 Military History**
- 2.6 Diplomatic History**
- 2.7 Social History**
- 2.8 Economic History**
- 2.9 Intellectual History**
- 2.10 Biographical History**
- 2.11 National History**
- 2.12 Universal History**
- 2.13 Local History**
- 2.14 Pop-History**
- 2.15 Legal History**
- 2.16 Subaltern History**
- 2.17 Let us sum up**
- 2.18 Keywords**
- 2.19 Check your progress**
- 2.20 Answer to check your progress**
- 2.21 Suggested Readings**

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about different kinds of History like political, constitutional, parliamentary, military, diplomatic, social, economic, intellectual, biographical, national, universal, local, pop, legal and subaltern history.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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

2.2 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. Voltaire, Machievelli, Guizot, Augustin, Pirenne, Thierry, Macaulay, Droysen, Ranke were all primarily interested in the political history of states.

2.3 CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

Constitutional History has attained the status of an independent discipline. It deals with an aspect of the state organization, viz., the constitution of the government. Unlike the political history, it is not concerned with the struggle for the mastery over the state. On the other hand, it deals with political institutions, which Renier calls "habits of societies". Constitutions are nothing but human habits

made concrete; they are the methods, the conventions and the practices adopted by men in governing the state. Written constitutions and constitutional conventions are the subject matter of constitutional history.

2.4 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.

2.5 MILITARY HISTORY

Another kind of history, which is closely allied with the political history, is the 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.

2.6 DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

The history of relations between sovereign states is known as Diplomatic History. It is also called International History. 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. 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. This study of foreign

relation of various countries falls within the scope of diplomatic history. In recent time's cold war, regional groupings and creations united nations have further widened the scope of diplomatic history.

2.7 SOCIAL HISTORY

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

2.8 ECONOMIC HISTORY

The economic history is another kind of history which developed only in the ninth century. There was a time when economic history was considered to be a branch of social history. In fact, the Dutch historian Van Dillen identified the two and called the composite discipline Socio-Economic History. Later, when social history became an autonomous branch of knowledge economic history emerged as a distinct discipline. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations was the classical treatise on economic history. Montesquieu was profoundly influenced by it. Karl Marx's economic interpretation of history widened the scope of economic history and stimulated the study of economic factors and forces to an unprecedented extent. Sir William Ashley defines economic history as "the history of actual human practice with respect to the material basis of life". N.S.B. Gras defines it as "the story of the various ways in which man has obtained a living". German Prof. Heeren interprets the history of antiquity in terms of economic relations of the people. The history of

economic thought forms part of economic history. Dynamic works of economic history were undertaken by the German scholars connected with the Historical School of Economists.

2.9 INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

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. Histories of ideas have engaged the attention of historians. R.G.Collingwood's *The Idea of History*, H.E.Bames' *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, is some of the outstanding contributions to intellectual history.

2.10 BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

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

Biographers sought to explain historical events in terms of success or failure of historical heroes and heroines. The biographical approach to history received unprecedented impetus since Carlyle came out with his assertion that history was the compound of the biographies of great men. A.L.Rowse came to the conclusion that the Elizabethan system broke down because James I was incapable of understanding it.

2.11 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.

2.12 UNIVERSAL HISTORY

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 a universal history.

2.13 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 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.

2.14 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 *Montaigne*. According to Arther Marwick these books are of "the most unimpeachable academic pedigree".

With the publication of H.G.Wells *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 Palmar or an Elton are considered to be model pop-history.

2.15 LEGAL HISTORY

Another branch of history which has made its mark in all times is the legal history. All are equal before law. Thus in all civilized societies, law plays predominant role in the lives of men. Of course one is tempted to say that life is longer than law. But in the society, where there is the breakdown of law and order there is bound to erupt anarchy, and confusion. People may not have a comfortable living. A.V.Dicey the author of *Rule of law*, Ivor Jennings, the famous constitutional and legal expert were the pioneers of the legal system in England. A number of works have come out in this subject Blackstone's *Commentaries on the law of England*, Holdworth's *History of English Law* compiled in fourteen volumes and the contributions made by the legalists like Pollard and Maitland are praiseworthy in this context. Apart from these, there are also the history of the codification of laws, like the Justinian's Code and the Napoleonic Code etc. And then there is the scholarly work by P.V.Kane's *History of the Dharmasastras* which is a welcoming addition on legal codification.

2.16 SUBALTERN HISTORY

The word 'sub-altern' literally means any subordinate officer in the army below the rank of captain. The term is taken from Antonio-Gramsci's manuscript

writings. Friedrich Nietzsche, the German philosopher, coined the word. The pioneer Annales historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch laid the foundation for subaltern history. E.P. Thompson's masterpiece *The Making of the English Working Class* in 800 pages is a classic exposition of 'history from below'.

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

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

'Subaltern Studies'

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

- 1) *Rebellions of hillmen in the Gudum and Rampa hill tracts of Andhra during 1839 –1924;*
- 2) *The peasant revolts of Awadh during 1912-1922;*
- 3) *The condition of the Calcutta jute-mill workers between 1890 and 1940;*
- 4) *Forest and Social protest in British Kumaun 1893-1921*
- 5) *Jitu Santhal's movement in MaIida North Western Bengal 1924-1932*
- 6) *Four rebels of 1957;*
- 7) *The Kalki - Avatar of Bikrampur: A Village Scandal in early twentieth century Bengal;*

- 8) The peasant revolt of Awadh during 1919 - 1922 and its impact on Indian Nationalism;
- 9) The colonial construction of 'communalism': British writings on Benaras in the nineteenth century;
- 10) Caste and subaltern consciousness.

2.17 LET US SUM UP

The division of history into periods or kinds is merely methodological. It has no absolute or final character. Historians cannot afford to imprison themselves within one of its division or sub-divisions or periods. One must be warned against exaggerated specialization.

2.18 KEY WORDS

1. Subaltern – inferior or subordinate
2. H.G. wells – author of “Outline of History”

2.19 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the different kinds of history.

2.20 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, and 2.15

2.21 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. R.G.Cooling Wood : The Idea of History, Oxford, 1946
2. Carr E.H : What is History? 1946
3. Renier C.J : History: Its Purpose and Method, Boston, 1950
4. Barnes H.E : A History of Historical Writing,

5. B.Shaik Ali : Newyork, 1963
History: Its Theory and Method,
Madras, 1978
6. Venkatesan G : A Study of Historiography,
Rajapalayam, 1994

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UNIT-3 HISTORY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives**
- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 History and Politics**
- 3.3 History and Geography**
- 3.4 History and Economics**
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- 3.11 History and Computers**
- 3.12 Ancilliary and Auxilliary Sciences**
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 - 3.12.9 Philology**
 - 3.12.10 Other Auxillaries**
- 3.13 Let us sum up**
- 3.14 Keywords**
- 3.15 Check your progress**
- 3.16 Answer to check your progress**
- 3.17 Suggested Readings**

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about the history related to social sciences.

- To know about history and politics, history and geography, history and economics, history and sociology, history and literature, history and psychology, history and philosophy, history and religion, history and ethics & history and computers.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

History is a study of the various facets of human life and is closely linked with other social sciences which make a specific study of different facets of human life. It is held by many scholars that history is the central social sciences which other social sciences must feed. In other words history has vital contact with other social sciences. 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 experiences 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. Let us examine its relationship with some of the social sciences.

3.2 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 political institutions of the Greek world. Machiavelli studied his contemporary political system of the different Italian States and wrote his The Prince.

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 is past politics and politics is present history?" His oft-repeated couplet "History without politics has no fruit; Politics without History has no root" succinctly 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 is again very helpful to politics because the political aspect is but a part of the whole range of activity recorded by history and knowledge of history would enable the politicians to know the politics better and play their role more effectively. But, unfortunately much of the political history written in the past was highly dramatized and the politician has to use the details with great caution.

3.3 HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Geography and History bear a very close relationship to each other. Geography is the stage on which the drama of history is enacted. Geography and Chronology are still considered to be the right eye and left eye of history. Geography emerged as a science in its own right since the days of Alexander Von Humboldt (1769 - 1859). Geography is indispensable to fix an historical event in space. "An historian should always have a map at his elbow", said Renier.

The indelible influence of geographical factors on history has always been recognized. The Himalayas and the jungles of Assam have restricted foreign invasions of India to the North and North Eastern India. The Vindhya have separated South India from the North and acted as a barrier, to a large extent, to close relations between the two fundamental divisions of the country. The 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. 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, and 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 history. History is indeed conditioned by the geographical factors; but historical process is influenced more by non-geographical forces. The geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries including the discovery of America and a new route to India have determined the character of world history since the Renaissance

3.4 HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

History is also closely related to Economics. As the activities of a man in society are intimately connected with the economic matters, the historian of any period must possess at least rudimentary knowledge of the economics. In fact, the economic history of any period is an important branch of history and its understanding is absolutely essential for the proper understanding of history of any period. No doubt it is true that during the last few years economics has become very complex and difficult subject, heavily dependent on mathematics, and a modern historian cannot acquire basic working knowledge of economic theory without devoting a lot of time, leaving little time for the study and writing of history. Therefore, in our times a new set of economic historians have emerged who try to study the economic history by use of economic tools. The general historian usually takes the conclusions of the economic historians for the construction of general history of a period. In modern times history is so closely

interlinked with the study of economic problems that it would not be possible to reconstruct history without knowledge of the relevant economic problems. Thus a historian dealing with the history of twentieth century cannot ignore the Economic Crisis of Thirties, the Policies of New Deal, or the Economic and Trading structures established in the post-World War II period.

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 cannot give a satisfactory answer to this phenomenon. Socio-Cultural-Political-Philosophical factors are as important as economic forces in determining historical events.

3.5 HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

History is the study of the deeds of men living in societies. Sociology is a scientific study of society. History and Sociology were closely inter-linked till Aguste Comte made the latter a separate science. And yet, the interaction between the two subjects remains intimate. Emment 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 molded 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".

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". 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"

Prof. Barnes also emphasizes the importance of the knowledge of sociology for the historian and says “Embracing as it does both the causes results of group life, it is the basic social science and the only one which can hope to give a generalized view of the social process and of social causation as a whole. Since

history, in no small part, is devoted to describing the behavior of groups in economic, political, military, aesthetic and religious situations, it should be materially enhanced by knowledge of the elementary principles of sociology.” Prof. Barnes further point out that even “history can be of utmost value to sociology in furnishing it with concrete data concerning both a cross-section of any given society at a particular time, and the dynamic aspects of social and institutions change.”

3.6 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.

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". 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, may 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.

3.7 HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGY

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

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 *sille qua non* of the intelligent analysis of certain historical problem". Thus, history and psychology are interdependent and their mutual relationship is obvious. History supplies the psychologist with much material 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.

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.

3.8 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". 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 problem presented by life. 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". 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.

3.9 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.

3.10 HISTORY AND ETHICS

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

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 historian 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". 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".

3.11 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.Fogel and other demographers involved computers in their research. In the 1970s some historiographers talked about quantitative history! 1980s witnessed application of microchip by few historians. With improved skills and with introduction of new generation computers and new software programmes history databases were created in the 1990s. The dawn of the millennium and the birth of the 21st century offer 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 anywhere in the world on the network. These digital devices Willmake historical research and writing mucheasier.

3.12 ANCILIARY AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES

History is related to several other disciplines, and needs their assistance, just as it is helpful to a number of other disciplines. A historian must use the results achieved by workers in other fields of human knowledge. They are called ancillary disciplines or auxiliary sciences, such as chronology, paleography, graphology, sigillography, diplomatic, epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology.

These sciences provide a historian with what is called 'methodical repertoires of facts'. They are primarily digests of practical experience. The best way to become acquainted with them is to practice them. Auxiliary sciences are departments of knowledge in their own right, and history makes use of them, and hence they become allies of history.

The need for these disciplines has arisen because all intellectual disciplines are interrelated. Even medicine requires history, because without a proper background of the case, diagnosis is impossible. The nature of historical facts is such that there are close connections between one fact and the other, and each fact requires special attention to establish its validity for which the assistance of the allied disciplines would be extremely helpful. In other words ancillary disciplines are the handmaids of history.

3.12.1 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". For example, the chronology of the Ganga kings of Karnataka has created several controversies, and literature has developed only on this topic.

Location, Distance, Duration and Simultaneity is 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 us. 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 judgment and to say how much progress was made a particular period. Simultaneity refers to parallel developments in the history of different countries. This will help us to compare and the trust different events.

3.12.2 Paleography

Paleography is the systematic 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. It gives the ability to face difficulties as they present themselves in solving puzzles and problems which do not come under any general principles. A team of scholars are attempting to decipher the script of the Indus Valley civilization through computer science.

3.12.3 Archaeology

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

As Archaeology aims at studying the human, social and cultural past, it has an obvious alliance with history. Their differences are primarily those of method rather than philosophical outlook. Whereas archaeology relies on material remains and monuments, history narrates the past with the aid of textual references that

were coexistent with the past. History relies on archaeology since the latter supplies the most direct evidence of the past, unedited by any author. "Its picture of some aspects of civilization cannot be improved upon by tons of descriptive literature" Though archaeology is described as 'technology' in the past tense, it cannot assist in the recovery of political history. Its 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.

3.12.4 Epigraphy

The word Epigraphy is derived from the Greek prefix 'epi' i.e 'upon' and 'grapho', i.e '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 Vindhya, of which, about 25,000 have been recovered from the Karnataka. They constitute one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of the dynastic history of Karnataka. 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.

3.12.5 Diplomatic

“Diplomatic is the systematic study of the form of the official pattern of behavior and writing. The word diploma which originally meant a paece of writing folded double came to be used in course of time for a passport or letter of recommendation given to persons travelling in provinces. It changed further in its meaning as it referred to any manuscript document of legal or historic or literary value, and finally to indicate any kind of official writing. It has currently given rise to such terms a diplomacy and diplomatic purely in the political sense. In other words diplomatic is a very useful aid to history in trying to find out real meaning of a document.”(B Shaik Ali, p.101)

3.12.6 Numismatics

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

3.12.7 Sigillography

Sigillography is from the word 'sigil' meaning a seal or signature. It also mark or sign supposed to exercise occult power. In history it refers to the study of seals and can be looked upon as a department of diplomatic. It is also called

Sphragistic meaning the study of engrave seals including their authenticity, age, history, content and so on. It take into account not only the form and aspect of the seal, but also of tilt manner in which it is attached to the document, and of the material with which it is made. Wax was commonly used and in warm countries Like Italy lead was used. The seals of the Indus Valley civilisation have remained un deciphered. In Indian history, in particular during the Muslim rule, seals played a very important role in the administration, without which no document was valid. They help us a lot in giving us much in- formation about our medieval Indian history on 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, as we, as the date and era of the issue. These seals indicate even the level of culture by the type of calligraphy and the material used.”

3.12.8 Graphology

“Graphology is the science of estimating the character of a person by studying his handwriting. Research has shown that an undoubted connection exists between a person's character and his handwriting, which betrays what sort of a person he is. Systematic study of this science helps a historian to form an opinion about such a person. However, before a graphologist forms a judgment about the character of a person, he should keep an eye on a few factors such as the material used for the writing, the place and the position of the person who wrote, the mood or circumstances under which the writing was done, if the aim is to know the correct character of that person. For example a person travelling in a moving train cannot write properly. Likewise, an agitated mood, insufficient light, bad paper or pen, or ill health are bound to affect the handwriting.”

3.12.9 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.

3.12.10 Auxiliary Sciences

Besides these there are a number of other auxiliary sciences which help history. Linguistics deals with the evolution of language. 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.

3.13 LET US SUM UP

Thus, history requires the help of several disciplines in order to understand its full significance. The knowledge of psychology, philosophy, ethics, religion, literature and computers would go a long way in making history meaningful and useful.

3.14 KEYWORDS

1. Sociology – is a scientific study of society.
2. Philosophy – is an inquiry into the nature of human life and thinking.

13.15 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss in detail the history and other social sciences subjects.
2. Explain the ancilliary and auxiliary sciences.

13.16 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11
2. See section 3.12

13.17 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. R.G.Cooling Wood : The Idea of History, Oxford, 1946
2. Carr E.H : What is History? 1946
3. Renier C.J : History: Its Purpose and Method,
Boston, 1950
4. Barnes H.E : History of Historical Writing, Newyork,
1963
5. B.Shaik Ali : History: Its Theory and Method,
Madras, 1978
6. Venkatesan G : A Study of Historiography,
Rajapalayam, 1994

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UNIT-4 PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives**
- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 Meaning of Philosophy**
- 4.3 Philosophical view of Human Destiny**
- 4.4 Christian Era**
- 4.5 Voltaire views on Philosophy of History**
- 4.6 Other Philosophers**
- 4.7 Positivist Historians on Philosophy of History**
- 4.8 Let us Sum up**
- 4.9 Keywords**
- 4.10 Check your progress**
- 4.11 Answer to check your progress**
- 4.12 Suggested Readings**

4.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about the

- The meaning of philosophy of History.
- Views of history by different philosophers.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The phrase philosophy of history was coined in the 18th century by Voltaire, since then the phrase has given rise to a number of historical explanation and theories. Before we proceed to discuss the various theories, relating to the Philosophy of History, it seems essential to know what philosophy is.

4.2 MEANING OF PHILOSOPHY

The simplest meaning of the term ‘Philosophy’ is love of wisdom. But certainly it is something more than love of wisdom. It stands for systematic thought to explain these phenomena which are not subjected to scientific study. Philosophy is an attempt to study and understand the unknown through extra-scientific methods. Philosophy is a hypothetical interpretation of unknown.

The question which naturally arises in our minds are, what is the relation of philosophy to history? Can there be a philosophy of history? It is an important question that has invited speculative effort for new theories. The concept of Philosophy of History means two things: It is the Philosophy which historical writers or it may mean the Philosophy which the historical writers find in history. It can therefore be said that Philosophy of History views history as operating according to a pattern or plan leading to a definite goal. According to Karl Lowith, the term Philosophy of History means a systematic interpretation of the universal history in accordance with a principle by which historical events and succession are unified and directed towards an ultimate meaning.”

R.G.Colling Wood says, "Philosophy of History is properly an attempt to elucidate the special nature of historical thinking and historical knowledge, an attempt to answer the question, what is history."

The Greek tradition and the Hebrew tradition supplied the name Philosophy of History and its meaning respectively. It assumed great importance as a theological conception during the medieval times and began to have secular attributes in modern period. Ancient Greece produced many a great historical thinker who interpreted history in terms of Philosophy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus defined history as Philosophy drawn from examples which means that "history is a store house of concrete instances illustrating political and ethical maxims". Sir Walter Raleigh said, "the end and scope of all history is to teach us by example of times past such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions." To Bolingbrooke, history is Philosophy teaching by examples, for he believed that the study of the past leads to a knowledge of general principles and rules of life.

4.3 PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF HUMAN DESTINY

As already pointed out, philosophy of history is a philosophical view of human destiny. This philosophical view of human destiny as well as the whole range of human events is governed and conditioned by the world-view (*weltanschauung*) and the personal or individual philosophy of life conceived by every historian in question. In other words the philosophy of each historian is conditioned by the world-view, the spirit of the age (*welt geist*), the tendency of the times (*einheitstendenz*), and the tenor of public opinion (*welt seele*) or social mind. That is why Allan Nevins, the author of *The Gateway to History*, has very appropriately said: "A philosophy of history springs from a writer's whole view of human destiny, and thus embodies his philosophy of life; an interpretation of historical material is merely a writer's explanation of the significance of a series of events, an epoch, or a movement. The one usually bears a close relation to the thought of the age; the other is usually more personal in origin."

All the principal philosophies of history except two (the Graeco-Roman and the Medieval Christian philosophy) have originated within the past three centuries

- a fact what speaks volumes for the close alliance between rationalism and modern history. Ancient Greek and Roman writers knew but only one philosophy, the philosophy of fate (deterministic view of history born of fatalistic conception). The ancient Indians, too, believed in a similar philosophy, the philosophy of karma (kismat). This philosophy of fate governed the entire gamut of the Greek historical thinking as the philosophy of karma and the concept of maya and samsara governed the Hindu view of life resulting in the cyclical theory of history (perpetual repetition) and ruling out any possibility for development and change.

4.4 CHRISTIAN ERA

In the early Christian era, however, there arose a very different philosophy of history. This was the Christian philosophy of history, which gave rise to the theory of providence. Christian historians, following the lead given by Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340) and St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), coupled the Hebrew idea that divinity directed historical process with the Greek notion that man could arrive at an understanding of this process through the use of his intellect. This philosophy of history held sway for more than thirteen centuries. It was well articulated by St. Augustine in his famous book *The City of God*.

He emphasized the divine concern for mankind. According to Augustine, history is an account of God acting in time. He has also portrayed history as a constant conflict between the forces of good and evil, between God and Satan, between the City of God (sacred order) and the City of Man (profane order). In the City of God, Augustine contrasted the secular state (evil and transitory) with the Kingdom of God (serene and eternal). He notes that these two cities, earthly and heavenly, are inextricably interwoven and intermingled with each other and that it is this interaction that actually produces history. The City of Man and the City of God will not be separated until "the Last Judgement". The task of historical study is "to trace the steps by which one is slowly replaced by, or transformed into the other." For Augustine, as for the Hebrews' time is an arrow pointed in a particular direction set by God. Augustine and his followers continued to "view Earth as the footstool of God and the story of mankind as simply part of the divine sport.

The Christian historical thought, which still analyses history as the unfolding of divine providence, rests on seven key premises or assumptions: i) History has a purpose; ii) History proceeds in straight-line fashion towards a specific end point, the Day of Judgement; iii) The end point of the historical process is good, a process equated with progress; iv) God is the external force propelling the historical process; v) Man can discern aspects of this process by using his intellect; vi) To understand history, man must comprehend the divine revelation of scriptures and vii) Man is an active agent, although often an unwilling one, in the development of history." These views constituted the Christian approach to the past which held sway over the Middle Ages and shaped the course of Christian historical thought which could be discerned from the works of Daunte, Milton and Chaucer such as Divine Comedy, Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, and Canterbury Tales respectively.

According to the Christian philosophy of history, the rise of Greek and Roman Empires was only a part of preparation evangelicum for the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Thus the Christian philosophy of history contributed to the linear view of history which greatly influenced Hegel and even Karl Marx, Condorcet and Kant, all of whom attributed to history a sense of direction.

4.5 VOLTAIRE VIEWS ON PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

After Renaissance, in the Age of Enlightenment, rationalists like Voltaire (1694-1778) loosed the grip of the old supernatural and religious beliefs over history. Influenced by Humanism, they demonstrated that men really made their own world. They firmly believed that the historians, casting aside the murky lanterns of the religious chronicles, should reconstruct the past under the brilliant light of reason. "The new scientific attitude toward history was strikingly exhibited by Voltaire." Voltaire was a well-known rationalist. He venerated reason more than anything else. He was a bitter critic of the medieval Church which encouraged not reason but faith and blind beliefs. He did not support the theory of providence. He was of the opinion that historical events "were attributable not to design but to chance or fortuity." To Voltaire the course of events appeared chaotic, exhibiting, as H.A.L.Fisher puts it later, only "the play of the contingent and the unforeseen."

His brilliant though vague exposition helped to open the way for other rationalistic philosophies.

As already mentioned elsewhere the phrase "philosophy of history" was first coined and given wide currency first in the 18th century by Voltaire of France. This is, however, not to say that the concept of philosophy of history emerged with Voltaire. It was already known to the ancients from the 6th century B.C. onwards. But only in the 18th century was it known by the term "philosophy of history". By philosophy of history Voltaire meant no more than a scientific or critical history, a type of historical thinking in which the historian guided by his own reason, made up his mind instead of repeating indiscriminately like a parrot whatever stories were found in old books. To Voltaire philosophy of history stood for critical and independent thinking in which the historian was exercising his own mind.

4.6 OTHER PHILOSOPHERS

After Voltaire, the same phrase "philosophy of history" was used by several historians, including Hegel. But they meant entirely different things by the same phrase. For instance Hegel, the Idealist philosopher of Germany, understood the phrase in a different sense. Hegel's *Philosophy of History* which appeared in 1830-31, is a metaphysical analysis of the whole range of human events. It was a record of the unfolding of the self-consciousness of freedom in the human spirit. To Hegel philosophy of history meant Universal or World History, for he thought of the world as a single organic whole guided by what he called the World Spirit (*weltgeist*). By philosophy of history Hegel proposes a new kind of history; philosophy of history is for him not a philosophical reflection on history but history itself raised to a higher power and higher plane where it becomes philosophical as distinct from merely empirical. As Collingwood emphatically puts it, it is a new kind of "history not merely ascertained as so much fact but understood by apprehending the reasons why the facts happened as they did. This philosophical history will be a universal history of mankind (here Hegel follows Herder) and will exhibit progress from primitive times to the civilization of today." As someone said, Hegel was of the view that "Civilization is a process whose purpose is to combine single human individuals, and after that families, and then

racess, people and nations, into one great unity, the unity of mankind". Other thinkers like Kant, Herder, Schiller, Fichte and Schelling also shared this view with Hegel.

4.7 POSITIVIST HISTORIANS ON PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

In the 19th century another group of historians emerged. They were called the positivist historians. They believed in the positivist philosophy of the French thinker Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Scholars like Herbert Spencer, Leopold von Ranke, Karl Marx, J.B.Bury and several others belong to this school of thought. By philosophy of history the positivists meant two things: a) ascertaining facts; b) framing laws which were believed to govern the course of events as cosmic laws governing the universe. The historian was expected to ascertain facts through sensuous perception and then to frame laws through generalizing from these facts by induction. Under this influence a new kind of historiography arose, which may be called positivistic historiography. The positivists saw a similarity between natural and historical processes. "Historical process, for the positivists, was in kind identical with natural process, and that was why the methods of natural science were applicable to the interpretation of history." Under the preponderant influence of science, the suggestion was made that social and historical phenomena are also subject to certain ascertainable laws and open to treatment as in the case of natural sciences. This was the view which John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927) evidently had in mind when, he in the closing words of his inaugural lecture of January 1903, described history as "a science, no more and no less."

According to Robin G.Collingwood (1889-1943), philosophy of history is the study of the reflecting mind of the historian upon the past in their mutual relations, for philosophy cannot separate the study of knowing from the study of what is known. In other words philosophy of history is concerned with events not as things in themselves but as things known to and understood by the historian. Discussing the subject Collingwood writes: "For the philosopher, the fact demanding attention is neither the past by itself, as it is for the historian, nor the historian's thought about it by itself, as it is for the psychologist, but the two things in their mutual relation." The former is the sum total of past events and the latter

the inquiry conducted by the historian. This dictum of Collingwood reflects the two current meanings of the word 'history' - the inquiry conducted by the historian into the series of past events and the inquiry conducted into the probing and reflecting mind of the historian itself. Thus philosophy of history consists of thought in its relation to its object which is not mere thought but knowledge. "Philosophy is never concerned with thought by itself; it is always concerned with its relation to its object, and is therefore concerned with the object just as much as with the thought." That is to say that in so far as the philosopher thinks about the object (past events into which a historian conducts his inquiry), he is dealing with the objective side of history which represents speculative philosophy; and so far as the philosopher thinks about the mind of the historian which reflects upon the past, he is dealing with the subjective side of history which represents critical philosophy. While the speculative philosophy seeks to discover the causes and course of events, a pattern or meaning which lies beyond the purview of the ordinary historian, the critical philosophy endeavours to make clear the nature of the historian's own inquiry in order to place it, as it were, on the map of knowledge. However, it should be borne in mind that the treatment of the two sides of history (objective or outer and subjective or inner side) goes together and simultaneously and not separately and one by one. In developing his idea of history, Collingwood was undeniably influenced by the thought of German Dilthey and Italian Croce, the protagonists of relativism. They all argued that history is present knowledge, which must and does spring from current interests. To them history is "contemporary thought about the past," They also held the view that there is no one truth about the past but innumerable truths as many as there are perspectives. Their belief was "we see different pasts at different times, and what we see depends on our present situation.

4.8 LET US SUM UP

Thus "philosophy of history" has grown over the years from its simple meaning into a complex body of thought, dealing with more complicated and abstract problems epistemological and teleological in nature. Hegel used it for universal history while Auguste Comte employed the term to mean ascertaining facts and framing general laws. Yet others meant by it the explanation of human

events by exploring the causes. Some thought that the main function of philosophy of history was to disentangle the speculative element (ought to have or should have happened), from the works of the ancients. To some others philosophy of history signified an effort of human thought to trace "man in the process of civilization" a science of culture, a mechanism of culture and the composition and character of culture. To yet others it stood for an attempt to find a rational plan, if any, in the events that have taken place. To quite a few others philosophy of history is only an inquiry into the forces and factors that have precipitated historical transformations and retardations. To the Italian Croce, philosophy of history was an intellectual intuition, whereas to Karl Marx it represented economic determinism. To many a twentieth century historian it is historical relativism. Thus endless interpretations have been put forth for the simple innocuous term "philosophy of history". However, by way of summing up we may say that the term of philosophy of history has meant at least two things clearly. 1) That it is an attempt to discover a meaning in history in the sense that all which have happened or are going to happen have been or are preordained or intended by some hidden hand and 2) that while the past does reveal an unmistakable pattern, that if man does not interfere the pattern may continue in future. Spengler represents the former view while Toynbee identifies himself with the latter.

In a curious way Toynbee seems to have recapitulated all the phases of Western historiography. He has successfully fused several roles into one. In his magnum opus, *A Study of History*, Toynbee has clearly established that he is a positivist seeking scientific laws; a historicist finding a plan and pattern in the past, with an appointed destiny at the end of the road; an exemplarist finding in history lessons that might be applied as a solution to some of the current problems. "His vast system of history contains every type of historical thought known. But none carried conviction."

4.9 KEY WORDS

1. Interpretation – an explanation conviction
2. Recapitulate – Summarize

4.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the meaning of philosophy and Voltaire's views on Philosophy of History.
2. Discuss the views of positivist Historians on Philosophy of History.

4.11 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 4.2 and 4.5
2. See section 4.7

4.12 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. R.G.Cooling Wood : The Idea of History, Oxford, 1946
2. Carr E.H : What is History? 1946
3. Renier C.J : History: Its Purpose and Method, Boston, 1950
4. Barnes H.E : A History of Historical Writing, Newyork, 1963
5. B.Shaik Ali : History: Its Theory and Method, Madras, 1978
6. Venkatesan G : A Study of Historiography, Rajapalayam, 1994

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BLOCK – 2: HISTORICAL METHOD

UNIT-5 QUALIFICATION OF A RESEARCH SCHOLAR AND SELECTION OF THE TOPICE

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives**
- 5.1 Introduction**
- 5.2 Qualification of a Research Scholar Introduction**
 - 5.2.1 Love of Labour and Taste for the Subject**
 - 5.2.2 Personal Honesty and Moral Integrity**
 - 5.2.3 Sobriety and Calmness**
 - 5.2.4 Intellectual Caliber**
 - 5.2.5 Research Scholar should be free from certain Risks**
 - 5.2.6 Acquisition of Skills**
 - 5.2.7 Collection of Material**
 - 5.2.8 Let us Sum up**
- 5.3 Selection of the Topic**
 - 5.3.1 Introduction**
 - 5.3.2 Reasons**
 - 5.3.3 Criteria for Selecting a Topic**
- 5.4 Let us Sum up**
- 5.5 Keywords**
- 5.6 Check your progress**
- 5.7 Answer to check your progress**
- 5.8 Suggested Readings**

5.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to:

- Know about the qualification of research scholar.
- Know about how a research scholar should select the topic for doing research.
- Know about the criteria for selection of topic.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. In it we study the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem along with the logic behind them. It is necessary for the researcher to know not only the research methods/ techniques but also the methodology. Researchers also need to understand the assumptions underlying various techniques and they need to know the criteria by which they can decide that certain techniques and procedures will be applicable to certain problems and others will not. All this means that it is necessary for the researcher to design his methodology for his problem as the same may differ from problem to problem. For example, an architect, who designs a building, has to consciously evaluate the basis of his decisions, i.e., he has to evaluate why and on what basis he selects particular size, number and location of doors, windows and ventilators, uses particular materials and not others and the like. Similarly, in research the researcher has to expose the research decisions to evaluation before they are implemented. He has to specify very clearly and precisely what decisions he selects and why he selects them so that they can be evaluated by others also.

5.2 QUALIFICATION OF A RESEARCH SCHOLAR

Research, while being interesting, is also exacting. It demands certain qualities and aptitudes from a researcher. Such qualities would help him to overcome the difficulties, some formidable, which would arise in the course of

doing research. Success depends not merely on knowing the research methodology but also very much on certain qualities, aptitudes, tastes and equipment.

To be a historian or a research scholar, a certain type of mental make-up and certain special qualities are required. A researcher should be endowed with some critical aptitudes, some technical knowledge (about research tools), a piercing intelligence and penetrating and analytical mind. If one does not have these qualities, only disappointment would be his experience.

5.2.1 Love of labour and taste for the subject

First of all a researcher should have a love of labour, and a taste for his subject. He should have the ability to sustain and enjoy hard work. He should be assiduous, hardworking, painstaking and industrious. Without being studious, one cannot do research, sitting in a easy-chair. The very technical drudgery, the intensive search for material, the craze for spotting original material in private hands, in repositories and in unknown areas and distant places require iron-will, determined efforts and sustained interest. Gathering the scattered materials, sometimes in foreign countries also, involves time, energy and money. But a researcher should be prepared for it. He has to develop a positive attitude, a new psychology. Like the rubber ball you should be. Harder you hit it, higher it rises. Similarly more challenging the task, greater should be your delight. A mighty oak, when tossed by a strong gale, is shaken and strengthened. Like other weak trees it is riot uprooted. Be like that. In doing this kind of research, be prepared to strain every nerve and flux every muscle. That is to say, spare no efforts. No stone is to be left unturned.

5.2.2 Personal Honesty and Moral Integrity

A research scholar should be a man of moral rectitude and intellectual honesty to call spades a spade. He should be a man of balanced thinking. His writings should not be a distorted one. He should be a man of balanced views, free from personal prejudices and predilections, likes and dislikes. He should not suffer from petty thinking and pet theories. Preconceived notions should not be allowed

to blur one's historical perspective. In other words, a research scholar should develop an unbiased and objective assessment as far as possible, even though total objectivity is out of question. He is expected to be free from inaccuracies and riotous thinking without any rhyme or reason. In other words if seen through coloured glass or with jaundiced eyes, everything would look yellowish. If you do so, a mole will look like a mountain and a small dust will look like a beam.

5.2.3 Sobriety and Calmness

The third requisite of a researcher is sobriety and calmness. Hastiness would only precipitate things and spoil everything. Impatience and hastiness would be the enemies of research and a source of innumerable errors. It is rightly said that patience is the cardinal virtue of a scholar. Don't do things in a hurry, in a slipshod manner. It should be remembered that one should rather leave a thing undone than do it hastily and shabbily. A researcher should not be conditioned by time-consciousness always, i.e. research has no schedule of time, even though we work within a specified time limit. In research the only criterion is the quality of work and not the duration of time. Some people are impatient even in choosing the right topic for their research. They hop from one topic to another, and even there just scraping on the surface without delving deep into a problem. If such people do research they would do more harm than good. A researcher, as told already, should do something more than look observe; do more than explain synthesize. Make an integrated picture, an organic whole. To do such a job, one needs tremendous patience. One needs to learn to remain unperturbed even in the midst of turmoil, for he wants his work to be solid, definitive and imperishable. A scholar is calm, cool and circumspect. Never irritate the guide and make him unhappy by your impatience. Approach him with understanding.

5.2.4 Intellectual Caliber

The fourth requisite qualification of a researcher is his intellectual calibre. A research work would be the reflection of sharpness of mind, ability of expression, and power of judgement and discrimination of the scholar. He should possess a

sort of puzzle-solving instinct. He should have a keen perception with which he can read between the lines. His mind should be fertile and nimble.

5.2.5 A research scholar should be free from certain risks

A researcher should learn not to suffer from certain risks which are three in number i) Loss of power to work, ii) hyper-criticism and iii) dilettantism. When adverse or constructive but little strong criticisms are hurled at a research scholar, he sometimes soon becomes nervous and disheartened. His spirit becomes drooping. He loses his heart at the very first blow, which would paralyse his intelligence. One should be bold enough to face the realities of life and not run away from them. When certain harsh remarks are made while his work is reviewed he should not become horror-stricken and panic. However, hypercriticism (excessive criticism) is highly destructive. Just as the absence of criticism leads to error, so also an excess of criticism would spoil the work. Dilettantism is losing the correct perspective while involving in criticism. Dilettantism is an amateur experience where the scholar criticizes a document just for the sake of criticism, and not for establishing the truth. If you lose the correct perspective or the real purpose of research, your work will only be a mental gymnastics and an intellectual exercise which is barren of fruits.

5.2.6 Acquisition of Skills

A researcher, besides possessing the qualities of mind and heart, has to acquire certain skills of practical value such as how to take notes, how to prepare a bibliography, how to choose a topic, how to write a synopsis, and how to plan his work. These are all preparatory operations before the main task of collecting, verifying and unifying the data. In this preparatory work methodology helps the researcher a great deal in saving time and energy and it ensures standard and quality. Systematic training in the technique of writing would enable even persons of average intellect to extend the horizons of knowledge. When a scholar develops these qualities in him, he can be very sure of his efforts yielding a rich harvest.

5.2.7 Collection of Material

Collection of material is also a significant quality of a good researcher. Another quality of a good researcher is that he must have an objective outlook and he must possess a balanced outlook of every event.

5.2.8 Let us Sum Up

To sum up we may say that all those qualities referred to above are the essential virtues which a good researcher is required to acquire, only then he would prove to be a good researcher.

5.3 SELECTION OF THE TOPIC

5.3.1 Introduction

Research involves several phases, the first of which concerns itself with three main tasks: i) The choice of a topic for research, ii) Preparation of a bibliography and iii) Development of an outline or synopsis. As historical research seeks or hopes to make a valuable addition to knowledge and to earn for the research scholar a proper place in the world of learning, the choice of a research problem is to be made with utmost care. It is as important as choosing a life-partner. A wrong choice would result only in misery and disappointment. Thus the success of one's research depends to a great extent on the selection of a proper subject or problem. In the process of choosing a problem, a subject is decided upon, its nature defined and its scope delimited.

5.3.2 Reasons

First of all, the choice of a subject must be yours and yours alone. It is true that originally it may have been suggested to you by some experienced scholar; but you ought not to go to a senior person, expecting him to suggest a topic or a problem on the spot, then and there. Even we were to offer one, it might not suit your taste. Therefore, the choice of a research topic should eventually be of your

own interest. Your topic for research may be anything, pertaining to a region, period, trend, an institution or a movement or a person. But it should be something worthwhile, original and interesting. For "research is", as Einstein put it, "not like destroying an old barn and erecting a new skyscraper in its place. It is rather like climbing a mountain and gaining new and wider views, discover unexpected connections between the starting point and its rich environment".

Secondly the topic for research should be limited in scope. It should not be vast and unwieldy, for research is choosing a minute aspect and shedding intense light on it so that you alone and nobody else possesses expert knowledge of it. It is because of this fact only that research is sometimes defined as an endeavour to know more and more on less and less. Leaving alone the derision, this definition, however, embodies a significant kernel of truth and points up the way to fruitful research. The more one knows about a particular field, the more able one is to detect gaps in it and to recognize problem areas that require investigation. It is the ability to detect problems that a research scholar must develop for every thesis or dissertation should set out to shed light on the solution to a particular problem. The moral of all this is that a fresher should eschew broad and unbounded area of study and try to narrow down the scope as much as possible. In other words, in selecting a topic, a long period or an unwieldy area is to be actively discouraged. Narrowing down the field of investigation and focusing more light should be the hallmark of research. In other words research topic should be such as to make an intensive rather than an extensive study. In that regard, depth should be preferred to width.

Thirdly, the topic of research should be of practicality. Sometime the topic might look pragmatic in theory but problematic in practicability. To put it differently the topic should be manageable in terms of time at your disposal and the availability of source materials. The source material should be available to the required extent and should be within your reach, without causing unreasonable inconvenience and formidable difficulties. If the material is found in a distant place or in a foreign country, or in an unknown language, it will be essential that you learn those languages and that you visit those places where the material is deposited, or you should be in a position to get them through the assistance of somebody. When this proves impossible, then it is advisable to make a

proportionate restriction in the scope of the subject of study. In other words cut the coat according to the size of the cloth.

Sometimes a fresh and young research scholar might choose a very fascinating and grand titles (like Edward Gibbon's, "Decline and fall of the Roman Empire"), conceived more to impress than to explore, to mystify rather than to clarify. For such topics supporting evidences and sufficient source materials may not be available. Otherwise to adapt a popular verse, the scholar is faced with, "facts, facts everywhere, but not a shred of evidence to argue about or proceed with". In such cases that kind of topic has to be given up.

Fourthly, the topic of research should be of some significance. Your research should contribute to the scholarly debate. Area of debate or controversy can also be chosen for research. In doing so, one ought to know what exactly he wants to prove by undertaking that piece of research. Is he going to extend the frontiers of knowledge, or test the old beliefs and principles in the ever-changing world? Or is he going to offer new interpretation of the old data or advance a new theory? The purpose of research should be very clear in the scholar's mind and accordingly he should decide upon his problem for research.

Fifthly, the topic chosen for research should meet the requirements, according to its nature: a term paper, an article for a journal , a seminar report, an M.Phil./M.Litt. dissertation or a thesis for a Ph.D., or a book for publication. Extent of the area, duration of the period, availability of source materials and nature of the contents have got much to do with the size of the work. In other words, the scholar should ask himself what he is going to produce is it a report or a thesis! A report is merely an organized presentation of the facts available in the source materials. Very little thinking goes into it to convey a definite meaning or purpose. Whereas a thesis is a piece of historical literature in which the raw material of the sources will have been transformed into a body of logic with a definite purpose of proving a point. Therefore, the standards set for Thesis must be much higher, for the reputations of the student the faculty and the institution are at stake.

5.3.3 Criteria for Selecting a Topic

Once you have narrowed down your field of interest and have identified the problem areas for possible investigation, there are a number of questions you should ask about the topic.

- Is there adequate supervision? With increasing specialization, there may not be a member of faculty with the expertise or interest in your topic. Therefore, it is essential that you find out whether there is anyone qualified to guide you on that particular topic or in that particular field.
- Does the topic really interest you? Successful completion of a research work depends on sustained interest. Lose this and the task becomes the worst kind of chore.
- Can the topic be completed in the required time? Some topics by their very nature require a period of time to lapse before data can be collected. Long term attitude studies fall into this category. However, desirable types of study may be, they are rarely practical as thesis topics.
- Is the necessary equipment available? Specialized and expensive equipment is required for many studies. (Computer, Camera, Microfilm reading machine etc.). Unless such facilities available, it would be prudent to choose another topic.
- Are subjects available? Much research, especially in the social sciences, requires the ready co-operation of subjects to submit themselves to experimental treatments and testing. Many a thesis have been delayed or had their focus changed because the problem of availability of subjects was not carefully considered at the outset.
- Are library facilities sufficient? Library facilities: are essential for literary or analytical research studies.
- Is the study feasible? The questions of the availability of equipment, subjects, library facilities and time have been noted. However, another question to consider is whether the research techniques for testing a particular problem have been developed or are sufficiently refined. This question implies that the student should determine the techniques he intends using before embarking upon a study.

- Is the problem a significant one? This is a very difficult question to answer. You should also ask whether anyone else has already done any research on the same topic. This would help you to avoid duplication. You alone must judge whether the time, effort, and expense for tackling a particular problem are justified.

5.4 LET US SUM UP

Thus, further the selection of a topic does require and de-limitation of it. The researcher should define work, specifying its period, aspects etc, A kind of and delimitation of every topic is desirable before for research the definition the area of his such definition it is taken up. Since research is calculated to extend the frontiers of knowledge in regard to any area of intellectual pursuit, it involves a new break through at the theoretical and speculative level. The scholar has to acquaint himself with the essential requirements needed for research, starting from the selection of a topic for research.

5.5 KEY WORDS

1. Requisite – a thing that is necessary for the achievement of a specified end.
2. Sobriety – is the condition of not having any measurable levels.

5.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain briefly the qualifications of a research scholar.
2. Discuss the criteria of a research scholar for selecting of a topic.

5.7 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 5.2
2. See section 5.3

5.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. R.G. Collingwood: The Idea of History, London, 1946
2. Kothari: C.R.Research Methodology, New Delhi, 1985

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UNIT-6 PLANNING OF RESEARCH

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives**
- 6.1 Introduction**
- 6.2 Importance of Knowing How Research is Done**
- 6.3 Using the Library**
 - 6.3.1 Useful of Library Resources**
- 6.4 Key Journals to Consult**
- 6.5 Method**
- 6.6 Sources**
- 6.7 Organisation of the Study**
- 6.8 Theory and Models**
- 6.9 Analysis**
- 6.10 Historiography**
- 6.11 Conducting an Oral History Interview**
- 6.12 Let us Sum up**
- 6.13 Keywords**
- 6.14 Check your progress**
- 6.15 Answer to check your progress**
- 6.16 Suggested Readings**

6.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we are going to understand

- The Importance of knowing how research is done and how library can be made use of and this unit will help you to plan for Research.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Research is a systematic, organized and serious-minded enquiry into a field (subject or theme or problem) to find out or discover or invent new facts which could be used for the development of theoretical knowledge in the areas concerned or for the practical development of a particular society or group, or whole world. The study of research methodology gives the student the necessary training in gathering material and arranging or card indexing them, participation in the field work when required, and also training in techniques for the collection of data appropriate to particular problems.

6.2 IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING HOW RESEARCH IS DONE

To begin with, before you even begin the process of researching, you have several tasks to address. Spending some time on these steps before you get to the library or archive will make your valuable research time more profitable.

Think carefully about your research topic. If you have been given a specific question or problem to answer in your research, review your assignment and be certain that you understand it fully before you set off. Read over any materials which have been provided to you. Discuss it with your professor and with other students. Make a list of questions which you may need to discuss with your professor during office hours or in-class discussion about the project. If you have been given a more open-ended project for which you must identify the topic of research, think about ways you can focus your research. Be sure that your own research question is neither too broad nor too narrow. Also, try to think of a Fundamentals of Research original slant on your topic that will make the project

more rewarding for you to spend time on. Assess the time and resources that you will need for research.

Make plans for uninterrupted time when you can work on your project, well in advance of the due date. Work out a schedule so that your non-school responsibilities will not interfere unduly with your ability to spend sufficient time in the library or archive. Since that uninterrupted research time is especially valuable and difficult to secure, make sure that every moment of it will be as productive as possible by preparing ahead of time and planning carefully.

Review the library resources you will need to use, and examine the most productive ways to gain access to them. Make notes about when the libraries and archives you will be using will be open, and record a contact number so that you can confirm the hours in order to schedule your visit. It may make more sense to travel further to a library which has all of the resources you need if you can set aside a chunk of time to use them. Be sure to check the resources available in a variety of libraries. Make a list of key terms and ideas pertaining to your research question. Ask the Reference Librarians to help you compile these lists from reference works they have available in the Reference Department. Remember that there are several systems of classification for standard search terms, including Library of Congress and Dewey classification systems.

6.3 USING THE LIBRARY

Follow these general rules of thumb and your research in the library will be successful:

- Start your research as early as possible. That way if books are checked out you can get them when they come back, or look into borrowing the book from another library.
- Think carefully about ways of performing searches on various databases. Learn the rules which organize each specific database, and adjust your search accordingly.
- Make a list of several "key terms" which address your topic of research. Then refine this list as you search, until you find the best terms to enter into

a database in order to find information about your topic. This is the most difficult thing about searching, so you may want to ask the Reference Librarian on duty to assist you.

- Be creative and search both from the specific to the general and the general to the specific.
- Devise a reliable system for taking notes about what you find. Some people find keeping bibliographic entries on 3x5 index cards is helpful, and some even use different colors to indicate primary or secondary materials. Whatever system you use, be sure it includes all the standard bibliographic information: author, full title, place of publication, journal name, press, edition and volume numbers, and date.

6.3.1 Useful of Library Resources

Library Electronic Materials (available via the www from a campus IP or via a proxy account available from the library):

- Ebsco Academic Search Premier provides a searchable database and (in many case) full-text delivery for a variety of academic journals and resources.
- Infotrac Expanded Academic provides a searchable database and (in many case) full-text delivery for a variety of academic journals and resources.
- Lexis/Nexis provides a searchable database and (in many case) full-text delivery for a variety of resources, including newspapers, magazines, and journals.
- Current Contents Connect provides the Tables of Contents for a variety of scholarly journals over the past six months.
- Ethnic News Watch provides full-text access to non- mainstream press around the world.
- World Cat provides access to online categories for the World's libraries, and can be limited to tell where a book is in the New York area.
- Humanities Abstracts provides access to indexes of research in the Humanities (including History) with many full-texts available.
- Social Science Abstracts provides access to indexes of research in the Social Sciences (related to History) with many full-texts available.

- Modern Language Association (MLA) Bibliography provides an index of literary and cultural research with many full-texts available.
- The National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections (commonly referred to as NUCMC or "Nuk-muk") is now searchable online at The Library of Congress. This is an index of archival collections by topic, location, and personal name.

6.4 KEY JOURNALS TO CONSULT

- Indian Economic and Social History Review
- Studies in History
- The Medieval History Journal
- South Asian Economic Journals
- Ithihasa Darpan
- Journals of the Institute of Asian Studies
- Islamic Culture
- South Asian Research
- South Asia Survey
- Art Land
- Ithihasa Darshan (Kannada)
- Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge
- Pacific Affairs
- Journal of Indian History
- Journal of West Asian Studies
- The Karnataka Rajya Patra
- Divinor
- International Studies
- Global Business Review
- Indian Journals Gender Studies

6.5 METHOD

Method has to do with the rules employed by the author in organizing evidence, the kinds of question the author asks, and the approach utilized in answering them. Methodology consists of several elements, including sources, organization of the study, theoretical orientations, and manners of analysis.

6.6 SOURCES

Are the sources used by the author typical and appropriate to the study and the topic? Does the author use the sources in a responsible, distinctive, or even unique way? What rules of use and analysis govern the author's utilization of the sources?

6.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Is the study organized chronologically, thematically, chaotically? Does the way in which the author organizes the study enhance the argument, or hinder it? Does it herd the study toward (or away from) a particular conclusion?

6.8 THEORY AND MODELS

On what work(s) is this study modelled? Does the author draw models and/or theoretical orientations from a specific discipline, and does its use of those models and theories liberate or limit the study? For example, it is worthwhile to examine the author's underlying assumptions about causation and the engines of change, and the ways in which these assumptions affect the author's analysis of sources.

6.9 ANALYSIS

In what forms of analysis internal and external textual criticism, aesthetic evaluation, methodological examination, etc. of evidence does the author engage?

Are these forms of analysis appropriate and sufficient for the author's questions and conclusions?

6.10 HISTORIOGRAPHY

Historiography indicates the tradition in which the author writes about the past. It has to do with the intellectual approach taken to the subject, the school of historical thought from which the author writes, and the assumptions, values, or analytical framework employed. For the purposes of Indian Studies, historiography should be defined broadly to include any discipline's literature within the field. The reader should look for differences between the monograph and studies which have come before; usually, these historical debates with the previous literature appear in footnotes, but sometimes they also appear within the text itself. Often, introductory chapters or the introductory materials in specific chapters will provide an overview of the ways in which the monograph draws upon and deviates from previous literature.

In addition to these considerations, it is also useful to address critical differences between what could be termed "research issues" on the one hand, and "storytelling issues" on the other. Research issues have to do with the conceptualization of the study, the research and thinking that went into it, and the success of the author's research questions and answers. Storytelling issues have to do with the author's success in putting across the thesis and the argument, and can include questions of style and readability. Many monographs which are excellent examples of research are much less successful examples of storytelling; the opposite is also often true. If people tell you that your monograph "reads better in French," this might be a gentle hint that you have created a great work of research and a lesser work of storytelling. On the other hand, many wonderful stories teeter on shaky foundations of research. Clearly, the goal is balance and excellence in both regards. As a reader, it is often quite helpful to be able to separate one's critique into these two categories, because horribly-told stories can often turn out to be the most important research monographs of their time.

6.11 CONDUCTING AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

An oral history is basically a primary source that a historian constructs from an interview with an interesting subject. There are a few cardinal rules for oral histories:

- Tape record the interview and do not change what the interviewee says not the language, not the order, not the content;
- Tell the interviewee that you cannot turn off the tape recorder, ever and don't do it. Some of the best information comes after the tape recorder turns off;
- Include your own questions exactly as you asked them in the transcript of the interview;
- If conducting more than one interview about the same topic, be consistent in the questions that you ask.

In order to conduct an oral history interview, select an interesting individual with a good memory who is willing to talk about his or her experiences (bias #1: oral histories provide no evidence from those who do not wish to discuss their pasts; bias #2: oral histories leave out the senile and those who did not survive; bias #3: oral histories come only from those who have contacts with the interviewer).

Make a list of questions that you want to ask and stick to them. This does not mean you should not let the person reminisce, but that you should attempt to keep the interview on track. Tell the person that you will be tape recording them. After you have conducted the interview, transcribe it and keep the tape.

6.12 LET US SUM UP

Thus planning of research is very important for research students. Importance of Library and Usefulness of Library Resources, Journals to be Consulted, Oral History will help the research students.

6.13 KEY WORDS

1. MLA- Modern Language Association
2. NUCMC- National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections.

6.14 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss briefly the planning of a Research Scholar.
2. Describe the importance of the library.

6.15 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11
2. See section 6.3

6.16 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Renier G.I. : History: Its purpose and method
2. Collingwood R.J : Idea of History

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UNIT-7 EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CRITICISM

Structure

7.0 Objectives

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 Meaning of External Criticism

7.1.2 Forgery of Documents

7.1.3 Task of External Criticism

7.1.4 Methods of Confirming the Authenticity of Documents

7.1.4.1 Paleography

7.1.4.2 Critical Approach

7.1.4.3 Authorship

7.1.4.4 Problem of Textual Error

7.1.4.5 Problem of Proper Date

7.1.4.6 Job of Proper Meaning

7.1.4.7 Responsibility of Scholar of External Criticism

7.2 Internal Criticism

7.2.1 Meaning of Internal Criticism

7.2.2 Techniques of Internal Criticism

7.2.3 Operation of Internal Criticism

7.2.4 Purpose of Interpretative Criticisms

7.2.5 Stages of Positive Interpretative Criticism

7.2.5.1 First Stage

7.2.5.2 Second State

7.2.5.3 Principles of Positive Criticism

7.2.6 Research in History should be started with doubt

7.2.7 Negative Interpretative Criticism and its Function

7.2.7.1 Meaning of Negative Criticism

7.2.7.2 Functions of Negative Criticism

7.2.7.3 General Laws of Negative Criticism

7.2.7.4 Points of Examinations

7.2.7.5 Problems of Negative Criticism

7.2.7.6 Error of Good Faith

- 7.2.7.6.1 Display of Vanity**
 - 7.2.7.6.2 Pleasing of the People**
 - 7.2.7.6.3 To get personal Advantage**
 - 7.2.7.6.4 Likings or Dislikings**
 - 7.2.7.6.5 Because of Passions of the Class**
 - 7.2.7.6.6 Compulsions**
 - 7.2.7.6.7 Error of Accuracy**
 - 7.2.7.6.8 Meaning of Error of Accuracy**
 - 7.2.7.6.9 Observation by the Writer**
 - 7.2.7.6.10 Observation under some Preassure**
 - 7.2.7.6.11 Prejudices**
 - 7.2.7.6.12 Bad circumstances**
 - 7.2.7.6.13 Personal Interest of Observer**
 - 7.2.7.6.14 Intelligence and Expereince**
 - 7.2.7.6.15 Problem of Time**
 - 7.2.7.6.16 Personal Habid of Reporter**
 - 7.2.7.6.17 Problem with Availability of Data**
 - 7.2.7.6.18 Credibility of Historical Evidence**
 - 7.2.7.6.19 Ability to Tell the Truth**
 - 7.2.7.6.20 Willingness to tell the Truth**
 - 7.2.7.6.21 Accuracy of Report**
 - 7.2.7.6.22 Independent Corroborate**
- 7.3 Let us sum up**
 - 7.4 Keywords**
 - 7.5 Check your progress**
 - 7.6 Answer to check your progress**
 - 7.7 Suggested Readings**

7.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about

- Historical methodology and how a research student should do the research with External and Internal criticism.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Research work in history takes much time and also consumes a lot of resources and patience. A researcher chooses a subject of his research at first and this is, in fact, a difficult task in itself. When a research scholar chooses wrong subject for his research work, many problems arise before him. For a research work a scholar has to depend on the certain sources, documents and evidence which are scattered on many places. He depends on documents and makes conclusions on the material contained in them. Therefore, it becomes very necessary that the material should be authentic. These documents may be forged and so research cannot depend on them. Thus the most important task of a researcher has to establish authenticity of documents. But this task is not as easy as it seems.

7.1.1 Meaning of External Criticism

It is the first and foremost responsibility of a good research scholar to select the material for his research work. So he has to find out new material for his work. He has to look and find out that what has been written and in that has been presented after proper scrutiny and that can be depended for research purpose. A research scholar scrutinises the material before using and testing its validity. In fact, he should begin with the presumption that the material is fake unless he is certain after satisfying himself that it is genuine. Thus he adopts analytical operation and it is divided into two parts, known as external criticism and internal criticism. The External criticism is called heuristics. It means finding out, helping or guiding in discovery. Internal criticism is called hermeneutics which means interpretative criticism. It is used for scriptures. The main task of both criticism is the search whether a particular source might have been coloured by the author because of his own interest. Therefore it becomes duty of a scholar to doubt every

document until it has been critically tested. Prof. Hockett in his book, "The Critical Method of Historical Research and Writing", wrote External Criticism is of a lower type and includes examination of document, like manuscripts, books, pamphlets, maps including ancient inscriptions and monuments, with a view to get their origin and all possible information. Likewise Prof. Longlois and Seignobos are of the opinion that external criticism is the first group of preliminary investigation which has bearing upon the writing form and the source. In fact the documents and accounts are rough and these contain true and false material. The main task of a scholar is to find out correct documents and eliminate the false documents.

7.1.2 Forgery of Documents

External Criticism is called heuristics which is a Greek word. It means guiding or discovery. In fact external criticism means making discovery of the fact whether the document is fake or genuine. So it may be said that it is used for finding out the authenticity of the facts. The scholar should always remember that document which he has used is the same as he needs. If he does not satisfy himself with this approach, he will have to find out new source material or new documents. So a researcher should ensure that a counterfeit document has not misguided him. History has much evidence where documents were forged and counterfeited due to many reasons. These are available not only in literary sources but also in epigraphically records. In Medieval period a number of characters providing grants of land from the king to the monastery were forged by the monks to hold their right on the land. In India many epigraphically records which relate to governmental grant for charity institution were forged. Large number of the letters of Queen Marie Antoinette were forged and sold for handsome price. Some works may be produced by ghost writer and ascribed to someone else. Thus a number of works have been ascribed to Napoleon than the alleged writers. Now it became quite clear that in the earlier period many documents of historical significance were forged due to various reasons. One of the reasons may be that forgery of the document would be useful to the individual, institution or temple, family etc. For example many document concerning to grant of land by the king were forged in order to provide benefit to these who were related to the grant of lands. These documents relate the fresh grants as well as extend the area of already granted land. On the

other hand these extend period for which land had been given originally. These documents counterfeited not only material benefit but also for other various reasons which included religious dispute, personal rivalry, sympathy, pride, social distinction etc. This forgery may be seen in the field of arts specially paintings which have been duplicated. Thus fake documents lie scattered not only in one region or any particular region of the nation but in all parts of the nation.

No doubt documents which are forged, continue to mislead the subsequent historians who draw the wrong conclusion. But sometimes these forged documents provide useful information about the political and cultural life of the people. They guide and help to establishing sequence of the historical events and chronology. But historian should be very cautious in making use of these forged documents.

7.1.3 Task of External Criticism

In order to throw light on the task of external criticism, first, it is essential to understand that what the job of external criticism is. It has three functions to perform namely:

- to discover whether one person or more than one person wrote it.
- to find out from which it originated or place at which it was produced.
- to discover the time during which it was produced or whether it was written at similar time or at different time.

These functions are very necessary in establishing the authenticity of the documents and also help to judge its value, motives and intentions of the author. These also highlight on that which prompted the author to write the document. These not only help the scholars in knowing the motives of the author but also point out inclinations of the writer. After minutely examined there remain less possibilities of errors creeping in. Therefore motives and inclinations are fairly understood then extent of forgery in the account to a great extent can be found out. Now the document is being trusted and the job of external criticism is considered somehow easy. Thus a research scholar depends on the material contained in the documents.

It is also very necessary that author should be identified. The identification of the author must be well established and if the document do not contain the name of the author in itself, it should be found out from other contemporary records, language of the document and style of writing. Another essential thing is that after due scrutiny of document and establishing the authenticity, the aptitude and training of the writer should be well known.

Another important function of the external criticism is to determine the place of the document. If document mentioned the event which did not happen on that place where it has been written, the value of the document will definitely suffer. The main purpose of knowing place of writing of document helps to understand the surrounding in which the document was produced. This point guides the scholar in establishing the significance of the document.

It is, therefore, essential to find out the time which the document was written. The value of the document will go up if the event is contemporarily recorded or event is mentioned at the same place and same time at which it happened. Now there is difference of time between happening of event and time of recording, then importance of the document will come down. Likewise if the event has been recorded far away from the time during which event happened, then its importance suffers. Thus the job of the external criticism will finish after authenticity of a document has been established.

7.1.4 Methods of Confirming the Authenticity of Documents

It is not necessary that document in many cases have been forged and counterfeited due to one or many reasons. It is also a difficult job to find out whether a particular document is forged or authentic. Now it is the responsibility of the research scholar to establish the authenticity of the document before drawing any conclusion because any conclusion drawn on the authority of wrong document would provide wrong results. There are following methods which help in finding out whether document is forged or genuine. The scholar has to resort to a number of tests.

7.1.4.1 Paleography:

Paleography is very useful in finding out whether a particular document is authentic or fake. But it has proved in the field of ancient history, because that period of history has been recorded with the help of lithic and copper plates. It is well understood that nature or style of writing has gone under change from course of time. If in any epigraph the alphabets do not ensure to the type of alphabets, which were used commonly during that period to which it is seemed to belong, then it may be presumed that document is forged one. Likewise authenticity of the document can be established from hand writing, style, spelling and other features which provide a scholar a good idea whether the document is twisted or not. A document is genuine or forged one which can be found out by comparing the event with the contemporary record. As a document mentions about a ruler or a personality who was ruling at that time.

7.1.4.2 Critical Approach:

Another method which helps in finding out whether a document is fake is critical approach or critical scholarship. In the present days many scholars are trying to find out whether a particular document is genuine or not. First they make an effort to establish the authenticity of the document. For example they find out whether the writer of the document is the same to which authorship is being assigned. They are engaged to restore text, fix chronology and collect, verify and classify various types of documents. Therefore they are contributing a lot in the field of authentication of the document. During the 19th century their critical approach was started to be much appreciated and they began to do their work on such scientific lines. They are not producing history but trying to establish authenticity of the document. Some scholars express that they are not producing any original work but doing work of routine mechanical nature. So they do not provide importance to their work. They again feel that they only apply some certain principle and techniques to almost in every document in order to establishing their authenticity. So their work is not provided much credit by the some historians.

On the other hand, many scholars who call history as a science and believe that historical events could be studied with basic principle of scientific lines give credit to their work. They express that these scholars are providing sound raw material for writing good history and making an effort to raise history to the status of science. Therefore they are doing their useful service in the field of history. Their claim sometimes seems to be much. But we cannot ignore that their work is very useful. It becomes necessary to establish close relationship among both these views.

7.1.4.3 Authorship:

With a view to find out whether a particular document is genuine or fake for that examining the identity of the writer is very necessary. If the name of the author is determined or it becomes clear that the document of author is the same whom authorship is being assigned, there problem seems to be solved. But we cannot say that anonymous document has no importance. In some cases these document contain very useful information. But the authenticity of the authorship is also very useful because determination of writer's name adds to the authenticity of the document and character, connections and trustworthiness of the author adds considerable genuineness to the document. If the biographical sketch of the author is not available the historian has to depend on the document itself. For example for a long period it was believed that the Bible was the work of one person. After the critical analysis of the book it becomes clear that entire Bible was not written by one person but it was the work of at least three prophets. But the name of the other prophets is not known.

Usually in certain cases a ghost writer or writers may write a certain work incorporating his own ideas but name of important personalities have been added. In modern times the important celebrities are too busy to collect data that they need and put in the form of the speech. So their addresses are prepared by the ghost writer or writers e.g., official in bureaucracy. But it is believed that the document has been prepared by the reader and ideas expressed are his own views being expressed in his own language but that is not true. So the essential methods have been taken for establishing the extent of the authenticity of the document.

7.1.4.4 Problem of Textual Errors:

Another problem which can arise before the historian is that sometimes a genuine document may have some particular textual errors. These errors in some cases may be intentional and in other cases these may be unintentional. The unintentional error can take place due to the errors of the proofreaders, typists and painters etc. But in the modern period use of photo state, electro state and microfilm copies leave no ground for such error. An intentional error can creep in when effort is done to modify, supplement continue the original.

This problem can be solved through textual criticism which means for establishing an accurate text. Through this method many copies of the dubious texts are collected and they are compared. These copies are grouped into different families on the basis of their resemblance. After that a comparison of the texts within the same family is made and the oldest copy is traced. Now this copy is presumed to be the nearest of the original. All those topics which contained in the oldest copy are then compared. It is understood that during the course of comparison some words and passage can be discovered which may not have in all the copies. If such words and passages are in keeping with the ideas and style of the author, it can be presumed that they are the parts of the original document. On the other hand if there are certain ideas or words and style of author do not match the idea and style of the author, it can be presumed that they were not the parts of the original document. They were forged by later authors.

The problem of textual restoration can be sorted out with the help of sciences auxiliary to history. It is very useful in finding out the extent of forgery in old historical documents. For example the development of the art of deciphering hieroglyphics has given the historian with texts and translations of inscriptions of ancient Nile Valley. The old civilization inscriptions are being deciphered and useful information is provided to the historians. The paleographers have authenticated various documents of the medieval period by hand writings. The archaeologists are playing an important role by studying pottery, building, statues etc. Numismatists are also contributing by finding out the dates of the issue of coins and the period to which the coins and metal belong. They provide valuable

help by deciphering the inscriptions of coins and metal. One thing is noteworthy that the problem of authenticating document arises less in the case of printed matter. It is somewhat serious in printed matter, inscription etc. Prof. Gottschalk has remarked, "So long as the historian's work deals with printed material prepared by skilful specialists in the science auxiliary to history, he is saved from gravest dangers of the historical hoax or the garbled documents. He may analyse their publications on the cheerful assumption that they are authentic as document and he needs only determine the credibility of their contents."

7.1.4.5 Problem of Proper Date:

The time and place of publication of document is also necessary to establish authenticity of the document, particularly in the case of old document. In the present period the date of publication and other information is written on the document, but the documents pertaining to old period have this problem of date. If the year of the writing of the document is not known, the historian can not rely on the material. Now it becomes the responsibility of the historian before using the material that he has to find out the period with the help of language used. They also try to determine that the document would not have been written before a particular period or after that with the help of the writer they also try to determine the period of document. So in that case the authenticity of author and his living in the same period is established. Thus it may be assumed that this work may be written by a historian or an author who has the good knowledge of the period to which the document is concerned.

7.1.4.6 Job of Proper Meaning:

Since the authenticity of the document is determined, the historian is confronted with the problem of assigning proper meaning to the various words and terms. It is noteworthy that the meaning of words undergo on changing from generation to generation or from time to time. Therefore, it is presumed that historian is to find out meaning and the sense in which it has been used in the document. If there is any differences about the meaning of words and phrases, it may result to misunderstanding of the important historical development. As Prof.

Gottschalk has rightly said, "The historian's task is to understand and not only what a document's words may formally mean but also what his witness really intended to say."

7.1.4.7 Responsibility of Scholar of External Criticism:

Main responsibility of scholar who deals external criticism is to have comprehensive knowledge of the various cultures, so that he may be able to put the person and events in their proper historical setting. He should also put himself to the position of other individuals and times and also define the document by their standard. This quality of scholar is known as historical mindedness. But this job is not easy job he must be fully well versed with the subject matter of the document. He must also be fully aware of names, motives, and intentions of the authors of those days. Besides this he must have proper knowledge of the style of author's writings and knowledge of the language used in those days, of important places and of geography where the historical event happened. Thus the scholar should have these basic qualities for establishing the authenticity of the document. Without these certain qualities no scholar can be able to do the task of establishing genuineness of any historical document. Prof. Cohen points out certain quality of a historian in these words, "it is the greatest service that can be rendered by the historian and this he can do best by concentrating on the special field which he studies to understand."

At last the historian has once determined the authenticity of the document and found out the proper views which its authors had intentions to convey, his task would still remain undone. Now he had to face some other important problem which is the problem of credibility. It is equally important as that of the problem of authenticity.

7.2 INTERNAL CRITICISM

Criticism has proved to be the base of the study of history. It may be external and internal. Both have equal importance. But internal criticism is more complicated as compared with the External criticism. Internal criticism like

external criticism aims at discovering the genuineness of the document as well as the authenticity of its material. It also aims at analysing of the document critically. Thus the job of internal criticism is more complex than that of external criticism.

7.2.1 Meaning of Internal Criticism

Internal criticism is concerned with analytical operation. It is known as higher criticism or hermeneutics which means interpretative criticism. It has two operations name positive interpretative criticism and negative interpretative criticism. It is particularly applied for scriptures. The main task of it is to find out whether a given idea or view should or should not be regarded as fact. Actually internal criticism needs more care in scrutinizing the contents of the documents in order to find out how much it contains truth and how much it is far from truth. The fact is that the main aim of the internal criticism is to discover whether the document may be accepted or may not be accepted as true. Thus internal criticism concerns with ascertaining the trust-worthiness of the document.

It is noted that each and every document contain the idea of the personality who produced it and it is the responsibility of a historian to find out these basic ideas and intention of the author. In other words a historian must try to understand the text how it may be useful to him for the reconstruction of the history. V.Langlois and Seignobos has explained that internal criticism “endeavours, by the help of analogies mostly borrowed from general psychology, to reproduce the mental states through which the author of document passed.”

It is very essential for internal criticism and a historian to analyse the content of the documents with a view to establish the real meaning of the content of document. The historian should avoid analysing of the content of document which the author did not intend to convey. It is very difficult job and it usually happens that a historian is to interpret the content, even words and phrases of the document which suit his views and his own preconceived notions. It is also possible that a historian may twist the meaning and also be willfully and intentionally tries to establish his own theories and hypothesis. This tendency has proved to be very harmful in analytical historical research.

7.2.2 Techniques of Internal Criticism

The critical approach is adopted in the technique of the internal criticism. In this manuscript or other document of the author is analysed with a view to discover the correctness. The techniques of internal criticism is used to find out the extent of errors committed with a view of finding truth. Because main purpose of the internal criticism is related with deep study of each and every idea contained in the document. So to deal with this problem it is necessary that whole document should be divided into ideas for analysis purpose. After analysing and interpreting the document the scholar will be able to know the nature of historical facts. Every idea of the document is separately tested and analysed. It may lead that some are found to be true and others may be false, thus this technique helps to find out the validity of each and every idea. Thus the analysis is largely responsible to find out what is true and what is not and it is the most important technique of internal criticism.

7.2.3 Operation of Internal Criticism

Two operations are involved in internal criticism. The first operation is the analysis of the contents of the document. It is technically known 'Positive interpretative criticism'. The second operation is the analysis of the circumstances or situations in which the document was written. It is technically called 'negative interpretative criticism'. The main aim of the first operation is to find out ideas of the author or what the author really wanted to express or what the author really explained when it was produced. The main purpose of the second operation is to verify whether what the author expressed conforms to what really happened. Negative interpretative criticism is more important because it helps to eliminate the possibility of error in the author's statement whereas positive interpretative criticism is to get the meanings assigned to the words at the time, the document was produced. The second operation plays a very great role in the development of history because that is the basis of information on which the scholars are making efforts to develop the subsequent history. It helps to separate true part of the document from the false part. There may be international falsehood in the document or that can creep due to various reasons. Whatever may be the cause but this compells to the need of proper verification, investigation and analysis of the

document, when it is accepted. Thus internal criticism is responsible in establishing the value of a document.

There are many causes which lead to produce fake documents, so far this the utility of both internal and external criticism arise. These causes are due to prejudices of the authors, their inadequate knowledge of subjects, their defective observation and their motives. In the early period there were many court historians who wrote about their patrons. So the accounts of these court historians are not fully true. They need a proper scrutiny before use or for constructing any account on their basis. Many foreign travellers have written not on the basis of what they really felt or experienced but on the basis what they were told by the contemporary people. They also incorporated hearsay as a truth in their accounts. Some officers and historians who were sent in another country produced prejudiced and motivated accounts which deal about living conditions, culture and social systems of the colony over which they ruled. Thus the internal criticism not only aids in finding out the errors, but also throwing light on the intentions of the author.

Many old documents are of great importance because these provide a good account of the period when these were written. Their information is quite authentic and also dependable. It is a fact that every author has his personal views and prejudices which in spite of his efforts, he is not able to avoid. It is task of both criticisms to sort out and verify the facts.

7.2.4 Purpose of Positive Interpretative Criticism

The main function of the positive interpretative criticism is to find out the literal meaning of the document and study of its matter. In fact it can be regarded as preliminary operation which is followed by other operation. In this way whole contents of the document are deeply understood and later views of the author are studied. The purpose of this isolates the ideas which the author has written in his account and then tries to reduce these to interpretative criticism. This process is to assign literal and liberal meaning and help to familiarise the scholar with author's concept along with back ground in which document was produced.

7.2.5 Stages of Positive Interpretative Criticism

The positive interpretative criticism includes two stages, the first deals with language of the document and second concerns to know its literal meaning for establishing its real meaning.

7.2.5.1 First Stage:

In positive criticism first stage deals with language of the document in which an effort is made to know the literal meaning of a document. Now it is essential that all the meaning of the text should be carefully known, because history contains such material that lies scattered in different languages. So it is the main aim of the scholar that first of all he should be well versed in the language in which document is produced. It is only possible in that case where the scholar may know the real meaning or the intentions of the writer. It is noteworthy that in each language some words have different meaning and meanings also continue to change in due course of time. In every language some word has different meaning at different times and also some word provides different meanings not only in different place but at the same place and in some region. There is also possibility that there is difference of vocabulary of the people of the city and village. Thus superficial knowledge of a language may put the scholars in trouble.

It is desirable that scholars should try to understand language of document. Because meaning of the same words may differ from one age group to the other, from the rich to the poor and also from profession to profession. Sometimes scholars of the present age understand the different meanings of the same word and phrases, then what were understood by the author, when he produced the account. The first stage of positive interpretative criticism helps to know dictionary meaning of the words and phrases used in document. Historical dictionaries can contribute in this matter. Further proper knowledge of institutions, laws and customs of the period can also help a lot. Before acceptance and use of the document the scholar should study the whole leaf and sort out such words in which he has some doubts.

7.2.5.2 Second Stage:

Even after the literal meaning of the text has been correctly established, it is not sure that real thought of the author has been understood. The second stage is attempted to know the real meanings of the thoughts what these were expressed by the author. It is a difficult job in itself, because author might have hidden real meaning under certain cover. So it becomes necessary that the scholar tries to find out real meaning which the author had intentionally concealed. It is not easy job because there is no rigid law to know hidden meaning of the words. It may be noted that this problem arises mostly in religious text, private letters and literary works where the author usually tried to conceal their real ideas and tried to express only indirectly. In many cases religious text indulge in allusions and their commentaries are even longer than the original text. So it is not clear whether the author has used the words in literal or oblique form.

At the same time some scholars felt that after literal meanings have been known the real meaning will be easily understood but it is not possible. There is no doubt that proper knowledge of literal meaning helps to understand the real meaning easily. Longlois and Seignobos point out a way which helps to overcome this problem and lay down the principle that, "When the literal sense is absurd, incoherent, or obscure or in contradiction with the ideas of the author or the facts known to him, then we ought to presume an oblique sense."

7.2.5.3 Principles of Positive Criticism:

In the positive criticism the scholar has to follow certain principles for establishing right conclusions. It is the responsibility of the scholar of positive criticism to understand the language properly because language is always subject to change. So the sound knowledge of the period in which the document was produced, is very necessary for reaching the right conclusions. In fact need of this can be overlooked?

Each and every author has written text according to his way of presentation, so his style of writing should be well known for positive criticism. The scholar

must know one thing that use of language varies from nation to nation, region to region, profession to profession and class to class. It should be kept in mind that same expression always does not provide the same meaning but these continue on changing from passage to passage and these meaning should be understood with a view in general sense of the context. The fundamental role of interpretation should be followed. The scholars should study the background and entirely of the phrase or word before making use of these. So he will be able to ascertain whole idea of the text.

7.2.6 Research in history should be started with doubt

There should be given special attention on some expressions which usually are to provide different meaning. There should not be made any effort to use modern meanings to words and phrases of the old period or any other country. So every word and phrase should be determined with a view of the language of the time, the country of origin and circumstances in which it was written. Positive criticism helps the scholars to understand author's real thinking conception and general notions. It contributes in knowing both literal and real meaning of the document. It is important in case of most of the old documents because these have been distorted. The positive interpretative criticism helps these old documents to reconstruct and give real meaning. It is also noteworthy that criticism is an art and a critic should have sharp and reflective mind. He has such thinking that he can understand underlying ideas of the author. He should be very sharp and able to remove all his doubts before reaching the conclusion. If he lacks in this, he cannot clarify the doubts of others, so it is the contribution of the positive criticism to high light those aspects which are obscure.

7.2.7 Negative Interpretative Criticism and its Functions

Internal criticism has two operations known as positive criticism and negative criticism. Both the criticisms play an important role in establishing the authenticity and validity of old historical documents and also help in understanding real meanings of what is contained to these documents.

7.2.7.1 Meaning of Negative Criticism:

Negative criticism is regarded as an important stage of analytical operation. It is assumed today that most of the historical documents have been distorted due to one or many reasons. Sometimes it happens that many documents are self contradictory, so now-a-days a need is arising that these statements and facts which are considered to be false, or wrong, should be eliminated. The main purpose of this is to find out the element of truth contained in the document. Thus negative criticism helps to find out truth of what is contained in the text and also reconstruct history on that basis. Main aim of negative criticism is to pursue truth contained in the text. This criticism is of great importance because it finds out the truth which is the basis of the problem. It also helps in giving the idea which is concealed in the text and points out the fact that what type of information the author wants to convey in this document.

7.2.7.2 Functions of Negative Criticism:

The functions of Negative Criticism aim at removing the danger of falling into errors and eliminate the statement which are false. In this criticism every document is basically presumed to be false and then truth is determined. The scholar accepts the fact as truth, where he has good reason to believe, so the doubt should not be left, hence the documents should be studied deeply. It may be clear that there is certainty of origin of event but the contents of the documents may contain error too. Therefore it is the task of the negative criticism to distinguish the true and false statement of the document which may have both or one of the errors.

7.2.7.3 General Laws of Negative Criticism:

The negative criticism follows two general rules. The first rule means that a scientific truth is not alone determined by the testimony so it is essential that there must be particular reasons for accepting the truth. So each statement must be deeply examined separately to ascertain the truth. The second rule is that criticism must not be enbloc and whole work must not be avoided, if there are found some inaccuracies somewhere. It is essential to analyse it into its element, and examine it

individually. So it must be done step by step. Now criticism and analogies have sequence. Therefore criticism contains not only one operation but also many operations.

The first aspect in it is that the author makes an effort to develop our understanding of the events by putting before us his own version. But it may happen that there is difference of what he actually wishes to tell or of what he is trying to put forth. The second aspect is what the writer feels, might be totally different from what actually happened. The last aspect is that author's views and beliefs may be true and it may be felt that the author is sincere and accurate in his statement. It is also possible that what author have been told and what he feels, may be a lie. So what he expresses, may not have really happened. Thus there are also chances of errors creeping into the document.

7.2.7.4 Points of Examinations:

Criticism is a difficult aspect in itself. This criticism deals with some aspects which are essential for the examination. First is to judge the mental thinking of the person who expresses the statement by finding out the psychology of the author which is largely responsible for the problem. The second is the examination of internal circumstances which are very necessary, because these might have affected the views of the author. It is presumed that detailed description of an event guarantees its accuracy, but it should not be believed. The main job of the critic is to doubt all the more whenever much emphasis is given on a certain point and an impression is left to provide that the event has really happened and account being provided is authentic. So detailed account cannot be regarded as dependable. There is a need of enquiry whether author had done his job correctly. It can be established by two steps. First is to study available information about the author and second is to understand composition of the document. It may be possible by studying the author's personal habits, situations and circumstances in which the account was produced. Thus causes of inaccuracies will be found out and the critic may be able to confine his criticism to a certain statement and apply only one method. It is necessary that there must be uniformity of criticism on the whole statement written by the author in his document. On the other hand the critic

should not be a party in judging the events. He should suspect each and every statement even though he admits from his own point of view. Likewise he should not reject any statement if he feels it as untrue from his view point.

7.2.7.5 Problems of Negative Criticism:

The negative criticism has two faults or problems. One problem concerns with the enquiry into the good faith of the author and the other relates with enquiry into the accuracy of the author. The first means that what the author felt, but he has made an effort to deceive the readers. The second points out that author was very accurate in his account, he really wanted to present, what he thought to be true, but his source of information was defective, that is why the document contained the errors. The main purpose of the criticism is to establish the authenticity of facts.

In historical research it is assumed that the entire documents are not authentic. Every document is to be suspected and this doubt is due to two main reasons. First is due to incompetency of the author and second is his untruthfulness. The former reason is responsible for preventing the reader of getting knowledge of facts and the latter reason restricts his way of telling truth. So it is clear that he was aware of the fact that what he was telling was not true.

In order to find out the correctness of the fact, the historian must ascertain whether the author had the opportunity to know the facts of the events as eye witness. If it is not so, then it must be found out what was his source of information and how much time lapsed between the event and the recording of the events. If the author was eye witness, it is assumed that he has provided an accurate account of happening of the event. It is believed that his account might have been dependable, but this is not almost same. Prof. Hockett has said that all "eye witness are not good observers". Therefore, the ability and the willingness of a witness to give dependable testimony rests on a number of factors commonly known as the 'personal equation' of the author. Thus extent of the dependability of his account is closely related with the personal capability of eye witness. At last it is quite clear that job of negative criticism is difficult in itself.

7.2.7.6 Error of Good Faith:

The historical documents contain various errors of good faith due to many reasons. So historical documents are distorted and it is the job of the negative criticism to find out these errors. It is a difficult task and there is need of careful and critical outlook through which many questions are solved. There are following causes for error of good faith.

7.2.7.6.1 Display of Vanity:

The author may commit the error of good faith due to collective and personal vanity. It is committed in view that author can get some credit for himself. It is necessary that the scholar has to find certain vanity of the author. The documents that contain high praise to the author or his class should be mistrusted. The statements which indulge in self praise cannot be accepted as dependable and a particular act is tried to be justified by the author, it can be presumed that this is due in the personal and collective vanity.

7.2.7.6.2 Pleasing of the People:

Another cause of error of good faith is the desire of the author to win the favour of the public through his literary taste. In this case the facts are attempted to distort for adornment of his writings and it is because of his own notions. The author sometimes may present the facts with a view in attributing the persons with noble sentiments and pleasing words. Usually the young authors suffer from this problem. The documents of medieval writers also have this problem because their writings contain flowery passages, picturesque details which create problem in finding the facts. This also helps in knowing the psychology of the author.

7.2.7.6.3 To Get Personal Advantage:

The writer may commit the error of good faith in order to get some personal advantage. Official documents usually have this problem. It is quite clear that the official documents almost provide the better side of the achievements specially

neglecting failures. It often happens in the documents presented by political parties in democracies. In the medieval period the court historians who were paid agent of the monarch attempted to record the bright side of the character of their rulers and coloured the historical events. They almost presented the events in a way so that their master may be pleased and thus the truth was suppressed. They exaggerated the acts of their master, because of fear of being punished or loss of job. Thus it becomes necessary for the critic to find out the aim of the author in the writing of the document. There is also need to be discovered whether the writer had some personal interest in providing the false information.

7.2.7.6.4 Likings or Dislikings:

Another cause of distortion in document is because of author's likings or dislikings for persons or events. It leads to the presentation of the events in that way as in what way they actually happened. He coloured the events according to his likings or dislikings. He would praise and condemn the events according to his views. For example, some historian called Ashoka as the greatest monarch of India, the other made him responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan dynasty. Similarly some writers hold the reign of Shahjahan as to be a golden age of the Mughal Period, while the other writers do not agree with it. Burke had disliking for French revolution, so he condemned it. Therefore, his accounts have been considered highly subjective and there is no objectivity in it. So he recorded the events 'on the basis of likings and disliking.'

7.2.7.6.5 Because of Passions of the Class:

Another cause of error of good faith is the author's desire to fulfill the passions of his own tribe. In these cases distortion in the accounts are the result of author's desire to confirm himself to his public morality and also to adjust his writings to suit the passions and prejudices of his tribe. He may record the event with a view of his patriotic prejudices, for example, he thinks that true presentation of an event will cause defame to his nation. So he does not want to displease his people by recording true facts. The feeling of patriotism may compell the author to over look some of the shortcomings and highlight some of the virtues. He would

not be able to judge any bad in his own system, thus it results distortion of the account. For example Lanepoole was a good example of it, because he has written about the Indian that they have no history, since they showed no development. Again he has said that Indian history was more a chronicle of kings and court than of national growth. These distortions come because of his desire to conform himself and his countrymen that British rule in India was good for the people of the country. He wanted to show that to the world too.

7.2.7.6.6 Compulsions:

The compulsions and circumstances of the author also result to the distortions in the documents. Some circumstances under which the author is writings. Though he wishes to present true facts of the events, but he is required to record the events within certain framework. He is also required to observe certain rules customs and traditions. He may also be required to accept certain long well established traditions, though he may be personally against them, but due to circumstances he is not so bold to write against them. A narrow minded author may not be able to condemn many social evils.

Thus there are various causes responsible for the error of good faith. These distortions in documents create the problems for the critics who find it very difficult to separate facts from distortions. These can easily be understood only when the critics are fully aware of the shortcomings of the author. He should also know the personal vanity of author and advantages which he wished to have for creeping errors. It is a difficult job for the historian.

7.2.7.6.7 Error of Accuracy:

Distortions in documents occur due to error of good faith or errors of accuracy. So it is essential for the scholar to find the errors of accuracy. The job of the scholar is always complex and complicated.

7.2.7.6.8 Meaning of Error of Accuracy:

The error of good faith occur because of author's compulsion, circumstances and likings, so he colours the facts. While in error of accuracy the author wishes to present true fact, he is keen not to creep error in his account but even then they find a place in the account due to defective source of information. The author is fully aware of the objectivity and he is quite sincere in his job. In spite of this he gets wrong information and includes in his document. In error of good faith author has corrected information but he allows to twist the fact because of the personal views that result in the distortion of account, whereas in error of accuracy the author does not have right information. His source of information is wrong, so he includes the wrong information in his accounts.

It is quite clear that it is not an easy job to detect an error which entered in account thousands of years ago. This process lacks much labour and patience and attempts can be made for discovering such error by finding out answers to certain following questions.

7.2.7.6.9 Observation by the Writer:

The first question which can be solved is whether the fact or event about which he has presented in his document was personally observed by the author himself or it was told to him by somebody. It is almost happened that the event which was reported to author by someone else, contained much error than observed by the author himself. Thus far this error author may not be made responsible.

7.2.7.6.10 Observation under Some Pressure:

Now the problem arises that author of the document has personally observed the event, but his observation was under some pressure, e. g. it was not made under normal circumstances, and then also error can enter in the document. Similarly author is living at far off place and the event is not happening before his observation, so he is not able to observe the whole event objectively but subjectively. Like this observation may be under the influence of some prejudices.

Therefore under these circumstances error can creep into documents, even if the author does not wish to do so. There can be some circumstances in which author can allow errors to enter in the document. These circumstances occur unintentionally. Though a author is observing an event carefully but he is suffering from the weakness of twisting the events, so he may record the events inaccurately.

7.2.7.6.11 Prejudices:

The prejudices of author are largely responsible for committing errors in the accounts. Even if the author may not wish to report inaccurately, even then error can also enter in the document, due to the prejudices of the author. His prejudices lead to present a wrong picture of the events of persons, though it happens unintentionally. Karl Marx, James Mills and Comte have reported only the prejudices and document of the events and also attempted to interpret these keeping in view only for consideration, so a need of full care is to be taken while using such documents.

7.2.7.6.12 Bad Circumstances.

Bad circumstance in which author is put may be the another cause of error of accuracy. There is a need of finding the external situation or circumstances in which author was compelled to report. Now question arises whether circumstances or external situations were so bad that he could not be able to observe the event properly or he could not find the time to report the matter so it is also be enquired. The accuracy of information also depends on the personal interest of the person to whom the author is concerned. If the author has some social and economic standing among those who are actors of the event, then his reporting will be surely true.

7.2.7.6.13 Personal Interest of Observer:

For accurate document it becomes necessary that the author must not have personal interest in that happening otherwise his reporting will be biased. But he must not be indifferent to the event. He should give importance to the events. He is

not required to judge or decide whether the event has importance or not. If the author has any preconceived notions, his whole recording will be biased.

7.2.7.6.14 Intelligence and Experience:

When the writer of the account has not himself observed the event, he has to depend on the state of the observer. So it is quite essential to know whether the observer was intelligent and experienced whether he had knowledge of the situation in which event was occurring. If the observer was not so intelligent and experienced to understand the event and its background, his observation or recording will be incorrect and in this case the document might contain the false statement of the events.

7.2.7.6.15 Problem of Time:

The time of reporting may be regarded another cause of error of accuracy. There is left no place for inaccuracy if the impression are immediately written as soon as the event is taking place. If the impression is recorded after some times, then there arises the chances of wrong reporting. Thus if the event is recorded as early as possible, chances of accuracy will be more in the document.

7.2.7.6.16 Personal Habit of Reporter:

Even if the document of the author himself has reported the event, he is intelligent and experienced, then also error can enter in the document if a observer may have certain bad habits. He may be suffering idleness, easy going etc. He may not be laborious to fulfill his job or may have interest in luxurious life. In this case, the observer is to depend on hearsay or on other sources for the reporting. Similarly he is bound to base his reporting on what has been observed by the others. His document, therefore will not be acceptable and accurate. Thus subsequent account written on the basis of his observation will have inaccuracy.

7.2.7.6.17 Problem with Availability of Data:

Another cause of error of accuracy is the availability of data. Accuracy in the document depends largely on availability of data from reliable sources. But availability of data is easily possible according to the nature of event. If the nature of event is such as secrecy is involved in that, it is presumed that information will not be accurate. It seems to be difficult that the observer will be able to have secret information. For example top military secrets, war strategies etc. are such cases in which author will have to base his account on the sources given to him.

At last error of accuracy can enter in the document. The author cannot be personally held responsible for it because he recorded all on the sources given to him. It is not possible that he himself has observed all the cases. If he is observing the event directly, he has his own limitation. That is why distortion in the account come. Some errors in the accounts are intentional and others are unintentional. Now the most important is that what step should be taken to eliminate them. Traditions, myths and legends should be dealt with great care. Thus following all the precautions the author would be able to eliminate the errors in the document.

7.2.7.6.18 Credibility of Historical Evidence:

Each and every historical document cannot be regarded accurate and it cannot be accepted as dependable evidence which helps in preparing super structure in history. The fact is that in research methodology in history, doubt is the starting point. So the-research in history begins with doubt and it is presumed that there are various errors in old documents and a need of great care is to be taken to trace them. No document should be accepted as an authentic document unless it has gone through the test of authenticity. Now there are four important tests for establishing credibility of the historical evidence.

Prof.Gottschalk in his book introduced the four tests which determines the credibility of the historical evidence (a) was the ultimate source of the detail (primary witness) able to tell the truth (b) was the primary witness willing to tell truth, (c) Is the primary witness accurately reported with regard to the detail under

examination (d) Is there any independent corroboration of details under examination? Any detail (regardless of what the source or who the author) that passes all four tests is credible historical evidence.

7.2.7.6.19 Ability to tell the Truth:

The first point is that whether the primary witness had the ability to tell the truth or he had no capacity of telling the truth. Various factors are responsible for this. One is geographical location of the event and its closeness with the author. It also depends on the capacity of the observer and also degree of attention given by him towards a particular event. The meaning of this is that even if he is geographically located very near to the site of the event, he may not pay his whole attention to the event, or he may not have capability to observe correctly. It is clear that not only geographical location is essential but also full attention is necessary for true reporting. Thus the capacity of the author is largely responsible for his ability to tell the truth.

7.2.7.6.20 Willingness to Tell the Truth:

Another important factor for test of the credibility of historical evidence is the willingness of the observer to tell the truth. It is clear that the observer is correctly located and also he has keenly paid attention to the event, it is also possible that he has no desire to tell the truth or he may tell a lie unconsciously. There may be various reasons for it. One is that he may have no wish to tell the truth because somebody who is close to him may feel that telling truth is harmful to him. Secondly, he may be having some prejudices towards his testimony or he may not wish to harm to those who are related with the truth. Again he may conceal the truth for the sake of his literary style. In some cases the truth is concealed because they have no desires to do so. Hence they may not tell the truth to the extent to which that fulfill their aim. Another factor is that the inexact dating of historical account can result to the sacrifice of truth. Prof. Gottschalk remarks on this point, "Unwillingness to tell the truth, whether intentional or sub-conscious leads to misstatement of fact more often than omission of facts. When the same witness is both unable and unwilling to tell the truth the historian has before him a document that commits errors both of omission and commission. Yet he must

continue to bear in mind that even the worst witness may occasionally tell the truth and it is the historian's business to extract every data of relevant truth, if he can.”

7.2.7.6.21 Accuracy of Report:

If the author has himself observed the event, he will provide an accurate report only under certain circumstances. When he is likely to report a matter which is indifferent to him or the facts are the matter of common knowledge and there are no contradictory evidences in other sources. Similarly certain statements are incidental and probable to an extent that their accuracy cannot be denied.

7.2.7.6.22 Independent Corroboration:

Another test which is applied for finding out the credibility of historical evidence is independent corroboration. It is presumed that only such evidences are used for the test of credibility which can be accepted as dependable on the basis of independent testimony of two or more reliable witnesses. When two or more witnesses agree on a particular testimony, it should not be presumed that they are testifying the fact. It is possible that they might have been influenced by each other. Now only their testimony of a fact can be accepted when it may be determined that two observations have been made independent of each other. Cases of perfectly conclusive agreement are thus rare, except in reference to modern period. "However it may be noted that very few independent document which recorded some facts have survived. Most of these have been destroyed while studying these documents a care should be taken to use the facts which are interconnected. Prof. Gottschalk points out the general credibility of a document is determined by the reputation of the author for verocity, the lack of self contradiction within the document the absence of contradiction by other sources, freedom from anachronisms, and the way the author's testimony fit into the otherwise known facts.”

To establish the credibility of old account is not an easy job because a long time has passed. Now no one has proper knowledge of compulsions, prejudices, situations etc. in which it was written.

7.3 Let us Sum up

Thus, after reading this unit you will be able to understand the importance of External Criticism, i.e., criticism, authorship, problem of textual errors, and the responsibility of a scholar. And you will also be able to understand the importance of Internal Criticism i.e. Techniques Operation, Positive Interpretation and Negative Interpretation.

7.4 KEY WORDS

1. Heuristics – External criticism
2. Numismatics – The study of coins

7.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss in detail the methods of confirming the authenticity of documents.
2. Discuss in detail the Negative Interpretative Criticism and its functions.

7.6 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 7.14
2. See section 7.2.7

7.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Renier G.I. : History: Its Purpose and Method
2. Sheikh Ali B : History: Its Theory and Method

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UNIT- 8 CONCEPTS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH
OBJECTIVITY – SUBJECTIVITY – CAUSATION - REASONING

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives**
- 8.1 Introduction**
- 8.2 Problems of Historical Objectivity**
- 8.3 Need of Historical Objectivity**
- 8.4 Critical view of Objectivity**
- 8.5 Subjectivity in History**
- 8.6 Causation in History**
- 8.7 The Role of Individual**
- 8.8 The Role of Ideas**
- 8.9 Free-will Doctrine**
- 8.10 Does History Report itself**
- 8.11 Reasoning in History**
- 8.12 Difficulties in Constructive Reasoning**
- 8.13 Precautions taken in Constructive Reasoning**
- 8.14 Separation between Reasoning and Analysis**
- 8.15 Reasoning a Last Report**
- 8.16 No Effort of Transforming Dogmas**
- 8.17 Twisting of Text**
- 8.18 No conclusion on the basis doubtful reasoning**
- 8.19 No place for unconscious reasoning**
- 8.20 Types of Reasoning**
- 8.21 Negative Reasoning**
- 8.22 Precautions in the use of Negative Reasoning**
- 8.23 Positive Reasoning**
- 8.24 Precautions in the use of Positive Reasoning**
- 8.25 Let us sum up**
- 8.26 Keywords**
- 8.27 Check your progress**
- 8.28 Answer to check your progress**
- 8.29 Suggested Readings**

8.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about

- The historical objectivity and the problems of historical objectivity like lack of impartiality, influence of social environment, changeability in history, and other problems like supremacy of emotions, religion and caste.
- The need of historical objectivity.
- The subjectivity in history.
- The causation in history like the role of individual. The role of ideas and free will doctrine.
- The constructive reasoning in history like negative reasoning and positive reasons

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Dr.J.Chobe writes that historical objectivity is a characteristic of modern scientific method of history writing. A prominent historian also writes about historical objectivity that it means the use of historical facts without bias and partiality. Actually the aim of all studies is based either on man or thing. As the nature and personality of man is changeable, hence stress is given on the study of thing. However inspite of the efforts of the historians who believed in the scientific theory of history, it is not easy to establish historical objectivity as history is the achievements of men and it is very difficult to be unanimous on any point for the scholars and historians.

Hence historical objectivity has its own problems which are as follows:

8.2 PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL OBJECTIVITY

Problems of historical objectivity are very intricate and only after the solution of these problems by the supporters of scientific theory, there is possibility of establishment of the principle of historical objectivity in history.

- 1) **Lack of Impartiality:** Dardail mentions that nothing itself can be objective. On the other hand objectivity is established in it. Modern scholar intend to make history, objective by external methods, on account of which the question of objectivity has become a debatable issue among scholars, philosophers and historians. Modern historian in order to establish his view describes past with a specific attitude, concept, personal jealousy, bias or misunderstanding which can never be impartial. Thus partial description of events is a great hurdle in the way of establishing objectivity.
- 2) **Influence of Social Environment:** Karl Marx has considered man to be a social being involved in traditions. As history is also born and developed in the context of society and religion, it is equally influenced by it. Even a historian is not free from this impact, therefore, according to Karl Marx, there is a lot of disharmony in the writings of Arab, Jew, Hindu, Muslim, Russian and American historians. Hence the supporters of the scientific concept of history would endeavour to find out objectivity outside society.
- 3) **Changeability in History:** Undoubtedly history is the study of past events which have been presented by the historians of different ages according to their own angles. Madelbaum also agrees with this view that historian of each generation writes history according to the need of his society. If slave system was considered a boon in some epoch, it is described as a curse in the modern context. Hence because of changeability in history, thought of scientific objectivity is a nightmare.
- 4) **Change in Beliefs:** Many beliefs of past now do not hold water and have lost their significance completely. In the same way the historic authenticity of the present would also become meaningless in future but there appears to be no change in the objectivity with the passage of time. Two and two make four is certain according to mathematics. Hence objectivity is always sovereign in all ages. In fact scientific objectivity is beyond challenge. While the nature of historical objectivity is not sovereign in all times.
- 5) **Need of Ages:** J.A. Robins is of the opinion that the historian presents the collected data and facts according to the need of his age and circumstances.

Edward Mayor also writes that in the history writing contemporary social needs are given preference. Prominent scholar Croce has also pointed out that history is written in accordance with the age and he feels that the soul of man should be conscious to his epoch, only then he can draw a real picture of the society. P. Gardnier also mentions that the utility of one historical fact changes from time to time in different ages as the selfish nature of man also went on changing according to time, age and circumstances. As the history of one epoch differs from the other, it is not possible to prove historical objectivity at all.

- 6) **Influence of Personal Feelings:** A prominent scholar writes that in the selection of historical fact the attitude of man is generally influenced by his personal emotions, social environment and economic circumstances. In such condition it is natural that he is led astray from the principles of historicity. Hence it is not proper to expect objectivity from him in these conditions. Mostly the works of historians are inspired by his personal feelings, on account of which the historical fact, are often neglected and the effort of objectivity is marred at all.
- 7) **Feeling of Bias:** Auckshot writes that there is no reason denying the fact that historians generally become victim of bias. Generally in history we study the past. The English historians have described the war of Independence of 1857 as a military revolt but according to Indian scholars it was certainly a war of Independence. On this basis G.M. Traveilyn has opined that the presence of bias and sympathy is certain in history. The description based on the interest of writer can be subjective but not objective.
- 8) **Selective Nature of History:** According to Walsh the nature of history is selective. As it is not possible for the history to depict the complete picture of the past, so he draws his attention to the one aspect of history. Being involved in the bias and partiality historians described the events in their own fashion. Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. Agha Menhdi Hussain have given contrasting view regarding the death of Giasuddin Tughlaq. The former holds Juna Khan responsible for the death of Sultan Giyasuddin Tughlaq while the later in order to prove Juna Khan innocent has taken the support of natural calamity. It is, therefore, evident that a historian selects facts in support of his views. Such tendency is a great stumbling-block in the way of historical objectivity.

- 9) Supremacy of Emotions:** There is supremacy of emotion in history writing instead of logic. Ranke writes, history writing is subject of consciousness. Hence the supremacy of emotion is natural in it. Famous historian Gooch has also pointed out that the personality of the historian is clearly visible his work from which removal of the supremacy of emotion is not possible to make it objective. Schiller also mentions that historical objectivity is an intricate problem. One of the most prominent historian also mentions that in spite of his all possible impartiality, a historian cannot be objective because the writer himself describes the events connected with the man who is made of the same flesh of bone as the writer himself.
- 10) Problem of Religion and Caste:** Another problem of objectivity is connected with religion and caste. It is almost impossible for a historian in get rid of these feelings because of the influence of religion, and caste the medieval historians endeavoured to present their accounts of historical facts in their own fashion. On the one hand if Sir J.N.Sarkar has condemned the policies of Aurangzeb due to his fanaticism. On the other hand Farookhi, a Muslim historian has praised him for, the same reason. The same contrasting attitude we also find in the description of Roman catholic scholars and Arab and Jewish historians.
- 11) Other Problems:** It is almost impossible for a historian and journalist to be objective P. Gardier has written in this connection that the entire nature of history cannot be made objective except the economic aspect. Madelbaum also opines that historical justice is value based so it cannot be said to be objective. Social changes go on changing. There is no possibility that the thing which is not important in the present contrast might not have been significant in the past also. Man cannot get rid of himself from the influence of changing values. The man of civilized society has intimate relationship with different political parties and a historian being a social creature is also influenced by the ideologies of the political parties and presents interpretation of history according to his own view. Hence it is not proper to expect of an objectivity from a historian.

8.3 NEED OF HISTORICAL OBJECTIVITY

In the present age great attention is being paid to the need of historical objectivity so that a scientific outlook has developed towards the study of history. To think of the study of scientific nature of history, would be a useless effort in the absence of objectivity. The following fundamental principles need special attention in this connection

- What type of objectivity is expected from a historian?
- Is it necessary to think of objectivity and subjectivity in history?
- Why do the scholars and historian see history as a problem of objectivity?
- Is it a fact that history can never be objective like that of science? In order to get the proper answers of these questions, it is necessary to think of them according to following points:
 - Butterfield mentions that before incorporation of objectivity in history, it is necessary that we must know the difference between general history and research in history. Being short, general history can be objective but in the latter case it is not possible to establish objectivity because of its bulk. In former case a historian cannot express his personal feelings but in the later after choosing a subject of research, a scholar has ample of opportunity to give vent to his personal feelings and interest.
 - According to Butterfield objectivity is the expression of history. Personality is given less importance in comparison to fact in history. In fact we can save objectivity by giving supremacy to facts. A prominent historian has also pointed out that the meaning of intellectual objectivity is to separate personal elements from history. Walsh also mentions that the historical objectivity can be established more by practice than by principles. In fact the description of real facts is objectivity.
 - Those historians are liable for criticism who present the facts in their own prospective and conceal the facts or given importance to personal feeling. According to Walsh 'there is possibility of objectivity in history without paying attention to place and persons.' P.Gardiner has

also written in this connection that a historian leaving aside objectivity should not describe anything according to his personal interest.

- Historical events are concerned with the life of greatmen and a prominent historian in his definition of history has also pointed out that history is the biography of greatmen. A scholar establishes objectivity in history by giving a true account of the achievements of greatmen and is not influenced by bias or too much appreciation. According to Dilthey 'the base of objectivity in history should be the objective study of the nature of man.' Famous historian Ranier has also advocated that personality and priority should be put aside from the scope of history so that historical objectivity could be maintained in history.
- The impartial and independent attitude of a historian brings him close the one fact from the other. Hence a historian does not have need of selecting the facts. Facts themselves move to their path. The historian is only required to express respect to the facts. P. Gardiner has also pointed out that keeping himself away from the strangle of mysticism, should make proper description of the past considering the already expressed ideas to be true.
- Man is motivated by religion but historian must keep himself far from religious influence. A historian is required to produce a true account of his society without being involved with one or the other sect. He would be able to save objectivity by doing so.
- Walsh writes that different principles of historical independence are not the problems of objectivity. One historical fact can be seen by a single prospection with different angles and the aim of the same is to present the real account. Walsh is also of the opinion that a historian must obey the principles and remain disciplined during the course of his writing. In case he neglects the basic principles, he can be held responsible for spoiling the nature of history.
- The nature of history can be very simple if a historian follows the methods of an artist. He should describe the historical thinking like an artist.

This is the principle of nature that she also provides the solution of problems. A historian describes the past according to his own prospective and believes that real objectivity must always be available in his description, so on the basis of above referred needs the historical objectivity could be maintained.

8.4 CRITICAL VIEW OF OBJECTIVITY

In spite of intricate nature of historical objectivity, historians have presented some solutions of this problem. It is true that historical description is neither acceptable to all nor belonged to all times but they are influenced by the facts. The impact of the personality of the scholar is clearly visible in his works. Walsh has also written that it is not impossible for a historian to put aside his personal bias from his composition as to come out of his own skin. Actually objectivity means mutual understanding and not the conflicting and contrasting attitude. There appears to be no difference of opinion in the knowledge of objectivity unless the thing changes itself. Objective knowledge is far from the influence of place and period. However scientific objectivity and historical objectivity is poles apart. A prominent historian does not present the twisted facts. His personal interest, or isolation, partial attitude and different principles also clearly point out as to how the attitude of historian remains attached with the objectivity. It is also necessary for an intellectual historian to follow the canons of history writing. In fact history loses its real nature in the absence of intellectual faith and becomes a novel or an imaginative composition. The principles of history always inspire a historian to be objective.

8.5 SUBJECTIVITY IN HISTORY

The nature of history is a debatable issue among the historiographers and there is sharp contrast among the historians whether history is objective or subjective in nature. David Thompson is of the opinion that history is neither completely objective nor subjective. Historian is in fact a social being and he is influenced by his country climate and environment. He is also gripped in the shackles of religion and caste. So in spite of his best efforts, it becomes very difficult for him to get rid of them. This is the reason as to why the scholars have

depicted the society and human achievement in their own way which neglecting objectivity brings him close to subjectivity.

In Indian history stress has been laid on subjectivity. The foreign authors and historians have subjectively interpreted the data according to their own view point and produced a distorted picture of Indian history. They have vehemently neglected the past glory and cultural heritage of India so it is the pious duty of modern historian to remove the wrong conceptions and the actual bright picture of the Indian history be produced before the world.

As all the evidences of history are recorded on the basis of subjectivity. Most of the Ancient and Medieval historians were attached to the courts, hence their writing work is completely based on court activities. They only wrote about those events which pleased their masters. Thus their writing was entirely subjective as partiality and bias is clearly visible in their works.

These patronized scholars have mixed the fact and fiction in such a manner as it had become difficult to separate it and find out a real conclusion. This problem is harassing the modern scholars even now. B. Sheikh Ali remarked in this connection, that there is a great difference between a scientist and a historian. The former has Laboratory while the latter has a library of the satisfaction of his hunger of knowledge. The historian draws his conclusions on the basis of his study and interpretation which are subjective and flexible, so results or the decisions of various historians are contrasting to one another.

Like a literary man the personality of a historian is visible in his writings. His internal consciousness, social relations, personal interest and emotions are displayed in his work which can be said completely subjective. To hide these feeling by the name of objectivity will be a illogical, improper and foolish attempt.

According to G.M. Travelyn bias and sympathy is essential and natural in history. Historian writes about the people, their works and achievements of past on the context of society according to his own interest, hence subjectivity found in his description.

A historian selects a subject of his writing according to his choice. No doubt he gets material from various sources and evaluates them impartially but the conclusions drawn by him are his own. As the personality of historian is reflected in his writing, hence there is a lot of subjectivity in history. Carl Becker has also pointed out that in the reconstruction of history the interests of the scholars are clearly visible. This is a reason that the conclusion drawn by Sir J.N.Sarkar and Farookhi are completely contrasting. In the same way the English and the Indian historians have presented the event of 1857 in their own fashion which testifies subjectivity in history. Historians have also written about rulers of Ancient and Medieval India according to their choice. Burke has condemned French revolution because he has no liking for it, hence his account is considered highly subjective and there is no objectivity in it.

History is the expression of contemporary time and circumstances. A historian addresses the people of his age through his works of which he himself belongs. Madelbaum mentions that a historian is the product of the circumstances time influences the writer and writer impresses the contemporary society, hence subjectivity is general element of history.

Auckshot is of the opinion that history is the experience of historians and none but a historian can write it and the only way of its contraction is writing of history. Keeping himself free from the lifeless hands of the past, a historian should live in the present. A historian interprets the facts according to his attitude which is also a proof that there is subjectivity in history.

8.6 CAUSATION IN HISTORY

History, as a record of events, represents a study of cause, change and consequence. By their very nature, changes are three kinds - the changes that occur as the result of a variety of causes, the changes that happen by gradual process and the changes that are characterised by continuity. Causes and changes are closely related to one another.

The term 'Cause' has been taken from the Latin Word 'Causa' and has essentially a legal connotation and means "a relation of connectedness between events". According to Prof. Gustavson 'cause' is a convenient figure of speech for any one of a number of factors which helps to explain why a historical event happened."

There is a general tendency among the historian to distinguish between the immediate and the underlying cause. Thus, the immediate cause of World War II was the German invasion of Poland, the underlying causes including the power politics, mutual fear, territorial ambition and commercial rivalries. The immediate causes generally the chain of events and precipitates the crisis It has been linked by Gottschalk to "dropping of a match in a combustible file or the tripping of a hammer on an explosive."

It may be noted that while the historian may disagree on the underlying cause, they usually see eye to eye with each other on the immediate cause. Further the immediate cause receives greater importance than it really deserves. But the study of the immediate cause does not in itself explain why the chain of never ending sequence becomes apparent, and one has to cut arbitrarily the strands of causation at some point. As Cheyney has pointed out in his book, Law in history "Actual origins elude us; everything is the outcome of something, preceding... the immediate sudden appearance of something, its creation by an individual or a group is unknown in history". Prof, Gustavson has beautifully illustrated this point thus. Most of us have, as children placed a set of dominoes on end in such a way that each, falling domino would tip the next one. Although the pushing of the first domino was the immediate cause for all of them toppling, the sequence would not have been possible if the set had not first been placed, on end. The more remote causes in history establish the particular situation which makes the whole historical sequence possible.

It is not easy to explain what moves History, why the events take their particular shape and how they proceed towards a particular direction. Yet different theories are advanced for explaining the causes of historical developments. They are centered on the role of gods, the role of human factors the achievements of great men, the ideas, the human reason, human character, human impulse and the

like. Among these theories, the most important are related to the role of the will of the gods the role of individuals and the role of ideas.

Most ancient historians, like the Greek and Roman historians rarely inquired into the causes of things. They were mere satisfied to point out that whatever happened was bound to happen, that it was all in the hands of the gods or of fate. Even that great historian Thucydides does not seek the deeper causes of the Peloponnesian War or the defeat of Athens. To quote E.H. Carr 'Even Thucydides has been accused of having no clear conception of Causation'.

Christian historians too believed that whatever happens is because of God. St. Augustine in his 'City of God' used history for illustrating the plan and purpose of God. To him, history was nothing but the story of the great struggle between the city of God and the city of Satan in which that of God would ultimately win.

In the 17th century, Montesquieu, the great French historian prepared his "Discourse on Universal History" to demonstrate that the whole course of history was but the working of a divine plan which happened, also to be the plan of the Catholic Popes. But when in the 18th century the foundation of modern historiography began to be laid, historians took as their starting point the principles that there are general-causes, moral or physical which operate in every monarchy, raise it, maintain it, or overthrow it and that "all that occurs is subject to these causes". A few years later, in his magnum opus 'The spirit of the laws' Montesquieu developed and generalized this idea. To quote him. It was absurd to suppose that blind fate has produced all the effect, which we see in the world. Men were not governed uniquely by their fantasies; their behaviour followed certain laws or principles derived from nature of things.

From the 18th century onwards, historians and philosophers of history were busy in their venture to organise the past experience of mankind by discovering the causes of historical events and the laws which governed them.

Let us see how the historians are making use of the causes. First of all, the historian will commonly assign several causes to the same event. While describing the French Revolution, the historian cannot, just say that because of the role played

by the French philosophers like Rousseau, Voltaire and Montequieu, France saw to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. If the historian is asked the question 'why did Revolution break out in Russia in 1917, he may name Russia's successive military defeats, the collapse of the- Russian economy under the pressure of war, the effective propaganda of the Bolsheviks, the failure of the Tsarist government to solve agrarian problems, concentration of an impoverished and exploited proletariat in the factories of Petrograd; the fact that Lenin knew his own mind and nobody on the other side did. In short a random jumble of economic political, ideological and personal causes of long-term and short-term nature” - E.H.Carr. Thus' we see that the historians attach importance to the causes of things.

The next step, the historian takes after compiling the causes over an event, is to reduce it to order. This he does in order to establish some hierarchy of causes which would fix their relation to one another, perhaps to decide which causes or which category of causes should be regarded as the ultimate cause, which in other words may be called the cause of all causes.

Edward Gibbon attributed the decline and fall of the Roman Empire to the triumph of barbarism and religion. The Whig historian of England of the 19th century attributed the rise of British power and prosperity to the development of political institutions embodying the constitutional principles of constitutional liberty. Gibbon and the 19th century historians have ignored the economic cause to which modern historians give maximum importance "Every historical argument" according to E.H.Carr "revolves round the question to the priority of causes".

There are two theories which are-very closely attached to the causes of events in history. They are 'Determinism in History' and 'Chance in History'. E.H. Carr defines determinism as belief that everything happens as a causes or causes and could not have happened differently unless something in the cause or causes had also been different".

The American President Abraham Lincoln became a martyr as he was killed at the right time. It is doubtful whether Lincoln would have become a martyr had he lived to cope with the problems and hatreds of the Reconstruction era after the Civil War.

There is another element very closely connected with the causation is the 'chance in history'. This is theory that history is by and large, a chapter of accidents, a series of events determined or attributed only to the most casual causes. Historian, for example attributed the results of the Battle of Actium (31-8C) not to the causes commonly postulated at them, but to Antony's infatuation with Cleopatra. But it is not quite correct to point out that Antony's defeat and the fall of the Roman Empire were due to Cleopatra's beauty. "The connection between female beauty and male infatuation is one of the most regular sequences of cause and effect observable in every-day life "E.H. Carr. This accident in history represents a sequence of cause and effect interrupting and so to speak dashing with the sequence which the historian is primarily concerned to investigate. Apart from this, historian has another problem. "How can one discover in history a coherent sequence of cause and effect, how can We find any meaning in history when our sequence is liable to be broken or defeated at any moment by some other, or added from our point of view, irrelevant in sequence?"

Polybius was perhaps the first historian who insisted on the role of change in history. The Greeks, observed the great historian Gibbon, that after their country had been reduced to a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome not to .the merits, but to the fortune of the Republic". In England by J.B.Bury in an article of 1909 on Darwinism in history' drew attention to the element of chance co-incidence. Similarly, Meinecke in Germany devoted much of his time towards the role of chance in history. At the end of the Second World War, he attributed the national disasters of the past forty years to a series of accidents, the vanity of Kaiser, the election .of Hindenburg to presidency of the Weimiar Republic, Hitler's obsession character and so forth. Why so much of importance is attached to this concept? Answers E.H. Carr, "In a group of a nations, which is riding in or through, not oh the crest of historical events, theories that stress the role of chance or accidents in history will be found to prevail". Karl Marx has stressed the importance of chance in history. According to him, "World history would have a very mystical character if there were no room in it for chance". But this may not be acceptable to all. Even E.H.Carr finds this theory unsatisfying and unconvincing. The role of accident in history is now-a-days seriously exaggerated by those who are interested to stress its importance".

How do historians approach the problem of accidents in History? Historians select and Marshall Facts. Not all facts are historical facts. Historians therefore have to make distinction between historical and unhistorical facts. The same process can be applied to the historians' approach to causes. The causes are determined by the historians while giving interpretation to the historical process and their interpretation determines their selection and marshalling of the causes. The hierarchy of causes, the relative significance of one cause or set of causes or of another is the essence of their interpretation. And this furnishes the clue to the problem of accident in history. The shape of Cleopatra's nose and the pre-mature death of Lenin at the age of fifty-four were accidents which modified the course of history.

How can a historian satisfy the ordinary layman by citing the nose of Cleopatra as the 'cause' for the downfall of the Ancient Roman Empire? It makes no sense as a general proposition to say that army generals face defeats in battles because they are infatuated with beautiful queens. For instance, we can hardly accept the view that the central Asian policy of Jahangir proved a failure because he had been under the influence of Nurjahan.

Let us take another case for our illustration. John, retiring from a birthday party at which he has over dozed himself with alcohol, and riding a scooter whose brakes were found to have been defective, turns at a blind corner where visibility, is notoriously poor, knocks down and kills Peter, who was crossing the road to buy cigarettes at the shop on the corner. Now what is the real cause of Peter's death? Of course we may say that if he had enough cigarettes with him that evening, he would not have crossed the road; and would not have been killed; the other way too we may say that Peter's desire for cigarettes was the cause of his death. But what answer do we have to the interpreters? History is a selective system. Historian selects those which are significant for his purpose. Other sequences of causes and effects are rejected as accidental not because the relation between cause and effect is different but because the sequence itself is irrelevant. Thus we see the difference between rational and accidental causes. The national or real cause can be applied to other countries, other periods and other conditions which ultimately lead to fruitful generalisation and lessons can be derived from them. Accidental

causes cannot be generalized; and since they are unique, it becomes impossible to draw lessons from them.

So far, an attempt has been made to narrate the causation in history. Everything that happens in history has a cause. But while pointing out its significance, one is also committed to certain types of errors. Protestant Reformation Movement broke out in Germany. But writers and scholars point out that Martin Luther did it and that the Church was corrupt. Attributing major developments to one single cause often with a connotation of great good or great evil is typical by rudimentary political thinking.

Again, scholars commit another error when they overrate one single social force in a situation at the expense of other factors. This may win temporary political advantage but this misconception of causation is bound to cause serious damage in the long run. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, a group of people in America were made to feel that the United States had entered into the First World War primarily because of the activities of the makers of arms and ammunition. "The focusing on a minor cause, to the exclusion of more potent factors weakened the American position in times of crisis" - C.G Gustavson.

One more type of error is giving importance to the immediate causes. The immediate cause whether seen in terms of a person or an event receives great emphasis than it deserves. C.G.Gustavson illustrates this with a good example. Most of us have, as children placed a set of dominoes on end in such a way that each falling domino would tip the next one. Although the pushing of the first domino was the immediate cause for all of them toppling, the sequence would not have been possible if the set had not been first placed on end. The more remote cause in history is to establish the particular situation which makes the whole historical sequence possible. The murder of Tsar Alexander II by Nihilist did not cause a revolution.

Thus, from the above-cited illustration one is able to derive the idea that no single cause ever adequately explains a historical episode. A cause is a convenient figure of speech of any one-of a number of factors which helps to explain why a historical event happened.

8.7 THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL

All historical events involve a large part of human element. There are two important theories about the role of individuals in history. One of the theories called determinism considers heroes of histories as the agents of 'providence'. The exponents of this concept assert that the prime mover of history which may be a divine power or a natural force, selects certain individuals as its agents, gives them extraordinary abilities and empowers them for the attainment of a goal, desired by it. If one hero has not emerged to take command of a situation at a particular period or has failed in the fulfillment of the mission, the divine power or natural force selects another hero to lead the movement towards the pre-determined aim. Thus if Napoleon Bonaparte, had died in Egypt or failed to take command of the French, some other leader would have assumed control of the situation and the French expansion would have continued. The leader being a prisoner of the situation, that elevated him to his status, is to assess the implication of the development and the will of his people and to lead them to the; expected direction. He succeeds if he does so and fails otherwise.

The second concept is called 'the Great Man Theory'. According to the proponents of this theory, major-developments of human history are accounted for by-the great men who exert an almost super-human control over the fate of their generation. Human progress is regarded as being primarily due to the work-of the geniuses who appear in the world from time to time. These great men may be generals; statesmen, saints, reformers, and thinkers, but, they seem to tower over others in their vision and ability to lead others. They are the pioneers in making major upheavals or changes in society. The exponents of this Theory include in the list of great men, the reformer, like the Buddha and conquerors like Julius Caesar and Napoleon Bonaparte.

The great men master the circumstances of their times, mould them according to their own ideas and bring about developments. It is due to their work that progress is brought about. This theory sheds light on the personality of the history-making people and their extraordinary achievements. Its importance lies in its

assertion that under certain circumstances, the route of an individual, can be decisive.

Sidney Hook in his work. *The Hero in History* makes a distinction between what he calls the "eventful man" and the "event - making man". The eventful man is one who happens to be at the right place at the right time and due to his position makes important decisions or appears to make them. He comes into light as he is part of the process of larger events. King Henry VIII of England remained in power when his country desired to sever its ecclesiastical ties with Rome, or a result of which he could set up the independent Church of England. Frederick the Great was the benevolent despot of Prussia at a time when his country stood in need of militarism and as a result of which he could accomplish, it with comparative ease. The event-making man on the contrary takes control of the people and development as he desires and drives the society at large in the directions he wishes it to follow. As a genius with unusually extraordinary talents, he accomplishes his mission in life, Lenin of Russia and Mao Tse Tung of China can be considered as belonging, to this category of leaders, for they gained control of the situation and drove their respective societies to the direction which they wanted them to go.

Human endeavors arising out of ambition, motivation, intelligence and exertion serve as the basis source of energy that brings about change. Personal ambition furnishes the brain and leadership to the social and historical movements.' The moment the leaders get the authority, they seek to increase their power on the ground that they lacked enough of it to fulfill their mission and to add to their personal comforts. In order to check this tendency, the society in democratic countries has placed restriction. Thus in England the king or queen is rendered a figurehead and in the United States the term of the President is restricted to two terms. Frequently the society has failed in preventing powerful leader from breaking these restrictions. Thus De Gaulle of France exercised enormous powers though the constitution of France traditionally assigned the role of a constitutional head to the French President. F.D. Roosevelt, of the United States served for three terms as President breaking the tradition of two terms.

Individuals assume prominence through one or more of the following processes inheritance from their families, influence of their ideas, organization of their own association and institutional selection. Monarchs have attained their status by virtue of inheritance whether they want it or not and whether they are intellectually qualified to hold it or not, they are in their positions as a matter of right. Those who rise to prominence through their associations are good organizers wielding vast influence over their followers. The leaders who gain authority through the influence of their ideas, emerge as popular thinkers but normally they find it difficult to adjust themselves to the traditional ideas and in consequence face difficulties. Mazzini of Italy and Mahatma Gandhi of India belong to this clan of leaders. The individuals who come up through institutional selection hold one office after the other and grow Influential in service to that Institution until they reach the top positions by a gradual process.

Leaders bring about change through positive as well as negative means. There are instances when the individuals changed the course of history through their work. Peter the Great of Russia through a policy of industrial modernization made his country a modern state. William Pitt the Elder of England because of his military strategy transformed the impending defeat in the Seven Years' War against France into a tremendous victory. At the same time there are instances to indicate that individuals had changed the course of history through their inaction or failure too. Louis XVI of France and Tsar Nicholas of Russia because of their weakness and apathy contributed to the outbreak of Revolutions, Had they possessed ability and sagacity they could have checked or minimised the tempo of the movements against them and prevented the occurrence of changes.

It cannot be denied that much happened because of the role of individuals. Yet to attribute the changes to the work of providence operating through a few individuals or to- the role of a few great men represents a distorted and isolated view of history. We tend to ignore the human aspect of history once the divine powers and the national forces are given importance as the prime mover of history, though many an event is ascribed to heroes like Confucius of China and Alfred the Great of England. what is evident is that they were not entirely freemen, always guided by their reason, but were subject to the influences of several forces. Their

work was conditioned by the environment which embraced in it's fold, factors like geography current, ideas, will of the people and the like.

8.8 THE ROLE OF IDEAS

Ideas contribute to significant changes in history, for they rule the world and guide human activity. History unfolds a vast realm of ideas more than any other branch of study. Because of its intimate connections with other branches of study, it responds to new currents of ideas in the different spheres of knowledge. In consequence the content and range of ideas in history-keep on growing and changing.

Historical works are written under the influence of ideas and their importance is decided by virtue of them. Philosophy of history, revolutionary process and economic interpretation are among the numerous concepts which have influenced historical writing. At the same time, historical works enrich the ideas through interpretation. Historian analyses the material which appears chaotic and jumbled synthesizes them around a concept that governs the redevelopment and gives his own interpretations based upon a large body of problems. These ideas influence human knowledge as well as historical writing.

Ideas that guide human activity as well as historical writing are of two categories-philosophical (Theoretical) and practical. Theoretical ideas are philosophical in content and character. They are mostly in the form of hypotheses which cannot be readily verified. Theoretical or philosophical ideas are concepts beyond the range of rational analysis, for example, karma, fate etc., and they have to be taken, or rejected depending upon the individual conviction. But there are no means of checking their validity. There is no possibility of experimenting with these ideas. They lie beyond the scope of empirical analysis.

Practical ideas on the other hand fall into a different category. They can be verified and authenticated. They can be accepted or rejected on the basis of known proofs. There is the possibility of their validity being verified or checked through evidence. While the theoretical ideas have had profound influence in the realms of

philosophy and religion, the practical ideas have great importance and value "in the day to day life of men. But the distinction between theoretical ideas and practical ideas is not clear-cut and varied. Theoretical ideas may become amendable to proof with the advance of knowledge. What is a dream to-day may well turn out to be tomorrow's reality.

Illustrations of the practical ideas that influence men are the ideas of monarchy, capitalism, socialism and democratic etc. The ideas first emerge in the minds of dreamers and thinkers. There, the ideas are nurtured slowly and gradually and then they spread among the elite people. With the passage of time and due to action and inter-action with the existing social, economic circumstances, the ideas either gain momentum or get rejected. The Ideas that stand the test of time gain popularity with every challenge. Then the ideas gain a concrete shape in the form of a definite ideology with a strong following. When the period is ripe the ideas cause changes and upheavals whereby they gain ascendancy and wide spread acceptance. But generally a lasting idea or concept thrives more in the face of challenge. An idea that is not repeatedly challenged often decays and disappears. On the other hand, an idea that is constantly under attack develops lasting qualities by creating firm convictions in the minds of the people. All great ideas from Christianity to Communism have flourished only in the face of opposition and challenge.

The ideas transform themselves into enshrined institutions after they have successfully stood the challenges. Every social, political, and economic institution has at the back of it a successful idea. The Institution become the idea's permanent organ. It may be a religious institution or the government of a country, represents an idea and a test of values that goes with it.

The thinkers, philosophers and reformers are usually much ahead of their time. Their ideas are often in conflict with the existing traditions, value and conventions. Since the thinkers and philosophers are in the minority, they are unpopular and face persecution at the hands of the vested interests. Long after their time, the course of history indicates their ideas. At the appropriate time, a practical and dynamic personality takes up the task of putting the ideas into practice. Karl Marx was a theoretician. He did not live to reap the fruits of his labour, though as

political philosopher, he compiled together the ideas of earlier philosophers, giving them a touch of his own. But it was left to a practical man like Lenin to make Marxism or Communism a living reality. Ideas get generated in sensitive minds, whether they are scientific or otherwise. New ideas are always running ahead of the current, day to-day situations, pioneering and farseeing, probing into the depths of future and trying to find a higher level of equilibrium of natural and social forces.

Apart from the work of individuals and influence of ideas, several other factors too bring about change. Among them may be mentioned geography, situations and scientific advances. Hills, valleys, rivers and rainfall have a direct bearing on human life and have served as potential factors in the rise of civilizations and nations. Sun-rise and sun-set create in man a sense of time and promote a feeling about changes. A war is won or a colonization is made, depended upon favorable situations. Scientific advancement falls into the category of ideas in general. Discoveries, inventions and technological innovations have greatly helped man to conquer nature and to promote his welfare. In fact an inter-play of different factors bring about historical changes.

8.9 DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The pattern in the working of historical trend has, created an impression that history repeats itself. The people in olden days interpreted the historical changes as an irrevocable repetition of forms and processes like the repetition of the seasons, year after year. They also believed that the phrases like tyranny, oligarchy, democracy, in politics repeat one after the other. The Greek, Roman and Hindu traditions conveyed concept of historical cycles, for they considered that the path of human advancement was not a straight line, but a circle fortune as well as misfortune succeeding one after the other.

Thucydides was perhaps the earliest of the historians who had made references to the theory of historical cycles. In his opinion, history moves in cycles, events recur and the same consequences follow. However, with the rise of Christian influence, this theory came to be ignored in medieval times. St.

Augustine rejected the theory of recurrent cycles in history on the ground that the incarnation of .god in man as Jesus Christ was an occurrence once for all- and different things happened during different ages as god created different things on different days of creation. However, with the advent of Renaissance movement in Europe, an attempt was made to revive, this theory, writers became active with renewed vigour to discover parallels between developments in the - Greek Roman world of the ancient times and the developments that happened in the European empires of the modern times. Many historians started comparing the rise and fall of empires like Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Rome, Spain, France and England and. they came to believe in the theory of cycles. Writers like Spengler and Toynbee, who have approached to study of History from the point of view of cultural systems have laid stress on repetitive aspects, in fact the similarities 'among different cultures that had appeared and disappeared one after the other are striking. Similarly, all civilized societies held possession of territories with some of government and political activities, in such societies, a few enjoyed maximum wealth and influence and the vast majority at the bottom remained without much wealth and influence. These trends appear and re-appear whether they are in ancient period, medieval times or modern times and whether they are in feudal, democratic or communist societies.

Past is past and it cannot be repeated historical situation is the same as any other; even two events differ in that the first has no precedent while the second has. Historical situations involve human beings. One man's habits, thinking and outlook may be totally different from the other. As G.M. Trevelyan very aptly points out if you find out about one atom you have found put about 'all atoms and what is true of the habits of one robin is roughly true of the habit of all robins. But the life-story, of one man or even many individual men will not tell you the life history of other man". As Burke also has rightly, explained, every historical situation has its own circumstance and character, peculiar to it and what is done in one situation cannot be repeated in another. If the French and Russian Revolutions are considered, isolated factors taken in a broad sense, appear as repeated but not in regard to all details. Misery of the masses, and despotic nature of their rulers can be accepted as two of the broad causes. But the type of mystery and the nature of despotism are different. Democratic ideals contributed to an awakening in France, while socialist principles had a limited effect upon Russia. France expanded her

territories overseas, but Russia on the other hand, lost her valuable lands as a result of foreign aggression during the Revolution.

There is another argument to prove that history does not repeat itself. Had everything repeated again and again man would have made, no progress and stagnation would have crept in. In reality, movement of time is not circular but progressive. History records that man is marching ahead from his primitive stage to a more civilized society. Secondly every historical event is unique by itself and is different from the other. Different happenings in history involve different people, different attitudes and different situations. This is the main drawback which prevents a historical writer to formulate historical laws enabling him to predict the future. We can cite only broad parallels between historical developments like the two Revolutions and the two world wars.

If the two World Wars broke out in Europe, it cannot be predicted that a third war also would break out in the same region involving the same countries. As Corce has rightly observed. "Not only does history not repeat itself but its products are not transported intact like objects or instruments which pass from hand to hand, grasped by everybody and lending their service to everybody. What is conspicuous in history is that everything lasts only in so far as everything changes. Historical systems and situations are not subject to transition from age to age. Therefore it is not the characteristic of history that it repeats itself. Being a cumulative process, it does not move in a cyclical fashion.

8.10 FREE-WILL DOCTRINE

As a theory, historical determinism explains that the course of history is predetermined. The philosophy of history explains the implications of historical developments but historical determinism tells that the course of history is predetermined, while the first is more concerned about the goal, the second about the course. The course is predetermined by the divine forces as per theological conception, by geography according to geographical conception, by the racial characteristics according to racial conception, by the organic process of birth,

growth and decay according to biological conception and by dialectical materialism according to Marxian conception.

The theory of historical determinism has its own history. The classical historians of Greece and Rome narrated individual episodes largely in terms of great men involved. If a broad causation were needed they attributed the course of events to the work of fate or to the will of the gods. The theological historians believed that God being all powerful and all knowing, knew in advance all the events that would happen in this world for all time to come! According to them, all things and events that are bound to happen are recorded in advance and it is futile for people to attempt any deviation from the set path.

During the 18th century, determinism lost much of its ground because of the principles of the Enlightenment. Historians during that period gave importance to the concept of reason. But a little later, determinism became a popular theory once again. Guided by their study of natural sciences, the Romanticists compared the historical process to organic evolution. As plants and animals go through predetermined stages, so do an idea or an institution, for it germinates, grows and finally decays. The theory of historical determinism asserts, that the world has a direction and is governed by laws. History is a record of constant process of evolution towards a predetermined path.

No philosophy has disproved determinism. Yet certain ideas are there, which are not in agreement with it. The most important doctrine which sets its face against determinism is the free will doctrine. This theory explains that the decisions taken, by the free will have other individuals are basically not caused by other factors, and not determined by other forces. They are not the inevitable outcome of antecedent conditions but are the expressions of man's moral freedom which is the unique characteristic of human beings. If man does not possess free will, he will choose between alternative modes of conduct but will succumb to the psychological impulse that prevails at the moment like an animal. The free will intact accounts for the basic difference between human action and animal behavior.

The advocates of determinism on the other hand reject the scope for free will as just imaginary. Their argument is that though the people feel that they take

independent decisions taking into consideration the advantages and disadvantages of different alternatives the unknown antecedents prevail on them to take a particular course of action. Hence there is no scope for taking independent decisions. The advocates of the free will doctrine, however, counter this argument and rightly point out that had this happened, different individuals would not have reacted differently to a given state of situation. They had that as the individual possess ideas and reason, there is ample scope for the working of the free will.

The determinists are correct to the extent that what occurs is the necessary sequel to the preceding state of things. The exponents of the free will are right to the extent that what brings about, the difference between human-conduct and animal behaviour is the free will. In consequence, both precedent and free will help to mould the course of events. Even when men feel that they are the most free and most marterly in their decisions and actions, their thinking is conditioned by their past experience. In this sense they are the creatures of history. At the same time, as they take initiative became of their free will and reasoning power they are the creators of history.

Mises rightly points out that the theory of determinism totally ignores the role of ideas in history. In fact the philosophical ideas or trends of the 17th century developed out of the ideas of the 16th century and then was not due to any pre-determined course of history. Added to these historical determinism appears inconsistent with common sense. If the activities of mankind are subject-to laws and develop in a closely integrated order in which every thought and conduct is a factor each determined by a previous factor and determining a future factor, it denies the role of individual personality; it deprives the individual of his sense of dignity, and reduces him to a passive subjection to mysterious and uncontrollable forces, which are taken as the masters of his destiny. According to Pieter Geyle people would resign their responsibility and cease from judging if people accept the theory of determinism. That would force people to look upon historical inevitability rather than drawing guidance from free discussion, free criticism and true scientific spirit. Hence historical determinism becomes a dangerous concept.

8.11 REASONING IN HISTORY

There are many problems in writing history. Constructive reasoning is regarded as one of the important point under synthesis. While dealing with the facts a historian feels that the material collected by him does not answer all the problems. He feels that there are many gaps which he wishes to fulfill and present his narrative authentic and attractive.

Meaning Constructive reasoning is considered as an effort which is used to fill the gaps which a historian finds in his collected facts and material for narrating an event. This gap is due to the fact that historical materials are lying scattered over a vast area and also covering every wide span of time. So these are to be collected from the different sources. In various cases the material does not have the answers of all questions. So these such questions are to be solved by the historian who wishes to get some satisfactory answers but he cannot get, as the material relating to these questions are buried deep in the earth. As a historian studies the facts of the past, he will get this type of many questions. It is very rare that in history writing no material is found to answer large number of questions. Thus the constructive reasoning helps to solve this problem.

Constructive reasoning means a process through which a scholar attempts to find what is unknown to him on the ground of available material. He applies logical method and tries to find the unknown fact with the help of what is known to him through records. The main aim of the historian is to gain new facts. He may be able to attain if he uses the method systematically and logically and also his reasoning should be logical and unbiased.

8.12 DIFFICULTIES IN CONSTRUCTIVE REASONING

There are some problems in the constructive reasoning. The first problem is that how to employ it correctly because there are a lot of possibilities of finding a valid reason. The second difficulty is that this is purely subjective method because there are not given any basis for finding out validity of reasoning. Thirdly, since there are a lot of possibilities of finding a valid reason, there arises the possibilities

of committing of an error. Now it is accepted that method of constructive reasoning depends on the personal experience and knowledge of the historian. Therefore, it may be given a suggestion that it should be used only when there is accurate need.

8.13 PRECAUTIONS TAKEN IN CONSTRUCTIVE REASONING

The scholar should avoid the use of constructive reasoning as far as possible. If it has to use, then it is essential that some particular precaution should be used. These precautions are as follows.

8.14 SEPARATION BETWEEN REASONING AND ANALYSIS

The historian should be careful in dealing with constructive reasoning. He must examine that reasoning and analysis should be used separately from each other. Both should not be mixed unless there is a confusion. It is believed that basis of the analysis of data is to be interpreted in such a logical manner that consideration of the issue will result into something new. The purpose of analysis is not concerned with the additional material but the available material should be explained. In analysis the scholar bases his study on the known facts and he has responsibility to explain on the basis of his ability as well as to interpret and observe what is taking place around him. But the reasoning needs new material for filling the gaps existing in the material. There is also need of taking material from outside sources for determining the validity of reasoning.

8.15 REASONING A LAST RESORT

If a historian uses reasoning, his argument is purely subjective. It is quite clear that narrative using much constructive reasoning is not able to provide the value of a historical document. So reasoning should be used with great care and full consciousness. Otherwise narrative will result into an easy step of explaining every ticklish point. Constructive reasoning should only be applied when all the materials do not provide the answers of such questions which are to be found out by the historians.

8.16 NO EFFORT OF TRANSFORMING DOGMAS

One of the important precautions is that no effort should be attempted to transform dogmas into certainty. The scholar must not try to introduce his own ideas which does not exist. Likewise no aspect should be entered on the ground of certain presumptions and assumption. There should not be made an effort to overcome difficulties with the help of guess work with a view to develop a particular line of action. Because guess work can lead to many problems which will be responsible for elimination of value of narration.

It is quite clear that errors cannot be easily eradicated from the narration. One of the important method of avoiding guess work is that range of source material should be enlarged as much possible as it may be. It is possible only when hard labour is done.

8.17 TWISTING OF TEXT

Constructive reasoning is required for filling the gaps which exist in the available material. It may be possible when a scholar should study the material seriously and honestly. No fact should be entered in the text what has not been written by the author. So it is essential that no account or document should be produced in that way which fulfils the needs of the scholar and not just for the sake of Solution of problems.

8.18 NO CONCLUSION ON THE BASIS OF DOUBTFUL REASONING

The importance of constructive reasoning is not as valuable as that of a fact or material taken from primary sources. If there arises any doubt due to the reasoning for that it becomes essential that no conclusion should be taken. It will be proper that a scholar should at first remove the doubt after that a conclusion should be drawn. It is very desirable that there must be an element of certainty in reasoning.

8.19 NO PLACE FOR UNCONSCIOUS REASONING

Constructive reasoning should be used on the basis of conscious. There should be no place for unconscious reasoning. Unconscious reasoning proved to be harmful and it will lower the value of narration in any way. The direct examination of the document is essential for drawing the result in the case of conscious reasoning. The material of text should always be dealt separately than the information taken by reasoning.

Thus these precautions can be useful for the constructive reasoning and may be helpful in filling some gaps in the material for writing of history. Reasoning is also of two types, namely positive and negative.

8.20 TYPES OF REASONING

Synthesis is largely contributing in historical writing. The constructive reasoning has its own importance in writing of history but it required many precautions while using it in writing of history. Reasoning is divided into two type's namely (i) Negative reasoning and (ii) Positive reasoning.

8.21 NEGATIVE REASONING

This reasoning is known as argument from silence. It is based on the absence of indications, relating to a certain fact in the document. It means that when there is no certain indication on a point in the available document, and there is no mention of fact at all. It is felt that if fact is no where mentioned it can be assumed that the event did not take place. In other words it is presumed that if there is no mention of a fact in any of the document, it means there is no such fact at all. If a fact existed, it would have been mentioned in some of the documents. It may be possible that the fact was recorded in that document but it had been lost. So these particular facts are not written by the contemporary writer due to some problems.

8.22 PRECAUTIONS IN THE USE OF NEGATIVE REASONING

Two important precautions should be taken for the use of negative reasoning. First is that a scholar should have this satisfaction that the very fact which he wishes to determine was never mentioned. If this important fact has been mentioned, it would have been recorded. So he should also believe that if such fact had been recorded or mentioned, it was because of the nature of fact as the circumstances and conditions were helpful for the preservation of the fact. That is why it would have been preserved. Now there may be possibility that the fact might have been destroyed due to some historical problem or the observer might not have properly observed the fact due to some reasons or he had no interest in the event which took place. Hence facts relating to the material might have been destroyed. The second condition is that a historian should be satisfied that a fact would have such a nature as it must have been recorded and observed. Thus in negative reasoning nature of fact is very essential.

While dealing with the negative reasoning the historian should be satisfied with himself that the document to which he has based his account has been written by person who was completely aware of the facts that his writing should be in a systematic order. He should be sure that the fact was such as a systematic author could easily pay his attention on it. If there is no mention of fact in the text it can be believed that the event did not take place.

8.23 POSITIVE REASONING

The positive reasoning is more helpful for the historian than that of a negative reasoning. It is very complex in nature. In this reasoning the historian has the presumption that all the historical facts are connected with one another in a systematic and permanent order. It is felt that one follows another as cause and effect. It becomes clear that historian starts the work with the known fact and ends with the unknown facts. The historian observes the inter-connected facts of the present and believes that facts were alike in past too. He makes an effort to infer other facts. This reasoning is helpful for filling up those gaps which cannot be filled by the facts available in the text.

8.24 PRECAUTION IN THE USE OF POSITIVE REASONING

There are some precautions which are needed to be used for desired result. One of the important precaution is that the historian should be well aware of the fact that inference rests either on experience of humanity or it has been taken from an authentic document. The experience of human affair is named general proposition. A historian should understand that general proposition is actually true. If there is any fault in general proposition, then there will arise many serious problems. Thus it is very necessary that there should be a link between both the propositions. Another precaution is that a historian should have detailed knowledge of that certain fact when he uses general proposition. It is very essential for the better use of positive reasoning that the historian should have an accurate general proposition on the one hand and on the other hand he should have a detailed knowledge of particular reasoning which means an authentic material. The historian should not establish his argument on an isolated event. So it is necessary that inference from isolated fact should not be treated because these are based on the ground of presumptions.

Thus reasoning, positive and negative can play a vital role in filling the gaps, if this is used with great care. There is a need to note that if it is used carelessly it can result into a lot of problems. If other source of data and material are exhausted and still there is a gap, then there is a place for reasoning. But one thing must be remembered that it must be carefully used, otherwise result can be misleading.

8.25 LET US SUM UP

Thus, the principles of history always inspire a historian to be objective. A historian interprets the facts according to his attitude which is also a proof that there is subjectivity in history. History as a record of events, represents a study of cause, change and consequence. Ideas contribute to significant changes in history. Ideas guide human activity. Constructive reasoning means a process through which a scholar attempts to find what is unknown to him on the ground of available material.

8.26 KEY WORDS

1. Causation – a relation of connectedness between events.
2. Polybius- the first historian who insisted on the role of change in history.

8.27 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss the problems of Historical Objectivity.
2. Explain the subjectivity and causation in history.
3. Discuss the types of Reasoning and precautions in the use of Negative Reasoning.

8.27 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 8.2
2. See section 8.5 and 8.6
3. See section 8.20, 8.22 and 8.2.4

8.29 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Kothari C.R: Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques, New Delhi, 1985
2. Pradip Jaiswal: Research Methodology in History, New Delhi, 2008.

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UNIT-9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY - PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS – ANALYTICAL OPERATIONS

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives**
- 9.1 Introduction**
- 9.2 Preliminary Operation**
- 9.3 What is Research**
- 9.4 Analytical Operations**
- 9.5 Let us Sum up**
- 9.6 Keywords**
- 9.7 Check your progress**
- 9.8 Answer to check your progress**
- 9.9 Suggested Readings**

9.0 OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit you are going to understand

- the preliminary operations of research methodology and you will also know about analytical operation i.e. External Criticism and Internal Criticism.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The historical method is technique developed to present past events in their correct perspective. It helps us to know how to write history, which is not an easy job, because of the nature of historical facts. As history is both a science and an art, the methods to be used in writing history would be different from those of all other disciplines. While complete objectivity is impossible to achieve, the goal should be to reconstruct the past as nearly as it really happened. For this the material had to be used with, great care, and it should be presumed that all data is doubtful unless proved otherwise. Diligent collection of all relevant sources, great care in sifting the material, very critical examination of the literal and real meaning of the text, a thorough inquiry into the motives and intentions of the author in making his observations, and a penetrating scrutiny to eliminate all possible errors require a systematic approach, step by step, to arrive at the truth. The historian would be lost almost in the wilderness and he has to perform the journey and reach his destiny unguided in the midst of obstacles all around. For this purpose he requires both reason and imagination, skill and foresight, logic and intuition. In some cases the material may be flimsy such as myths, legends and traditions, and even if official records, diaries, letters, proceedings, chronicles, journals and other literary sources are available, the subjectivity in them will be so great that unless the historian is on guard, he is likely to slip into fiction.

9.2 PRELIMINARY OPERATION

Fortunately from the time of Niebuhr and Ranke, the German historians of the nineteenth century, the historical method has been developed to a level where the possibility exists to get as true a picture of the past as possible. At one stage the scholars were so hopeful of perfecting this machinery that they cried out in

jubilant that history is a science 'no less and no more'. But this is an ideal yet to be achieved, although we can never minimise the importance of the technique evolved. They have laid down the guidelines and illumined the path which would help us to reach the goal, if we sincerely follow the rules of the game. They have given us a touchstone on which to test the veracity of every historical event. They have fixed the norms to judge whether we have arrived at the truth or not. They have laid down the principles for the detection of prejudices, for the elimination of errors and for picking out the grains of truth from the muddy soil of untruths and half-truths. The whole of this very complicated process is known as the analytical operation, which is intended to cut down every historical trace to its minutest part, to its indivisible unit, and to its single idea, and then subject it to the very searching eye of the historian in order to know whether it is a genuine or spurious part. The next step is synthetic operation, whereby the historian pieces together the facts he obtained through critical analysis. The blending and joining process is an art which should be done with such dexterity as to make the different parts appear an integrated whole. The historian becomes a skilled craftsman who puts together all the loose threads in such a way as to weave a beautiful carpet out of them. This requires sorting out of the valid facts, classifying them according to some definite scheme, whether chronological or topical or geographical, grouping them in order, unifying them into paragraphs, passages and chapters, and arranging them in such a manner as to make the narrative a thrilling story. But what makes great history is not merely the search for the solidity of the facts and their arrangements in some reasonable and artistic way which could simply be called scissors and paste history but the original, creative and explanatory talent of the historian, who is not simply a mason but an architect as well. History is shedding new light on the past, and this involves both the addition of new facts and the interpretation of the known facts. Evaluation, assessment and estimation are subjective processes touching value-judgment and hence the historian has to add his philosophical depth to his scientific knowledge. That is why there is force in the contention that any man can make history but only a great man can write it.

Synthetic operations include a few more tasks besides determining and grouping of facts. These are filling up the gaps that exist here and there, removing inconsistencies, resolving controversies and answering knotty problems. All progress in history is due to the inquisitive nature of man, and hence we are

anxious to know the answers to difficult questions. In a way the whole of historical writing could be summed up in a single phrase, namely framing a question and getting an answer. Therefore, the dark corners that had escaped light must be illumined through a process called constructive reasoning. Finally, an important aspect of synthetic operation is framing a formula, a principle, a generalization or a doctrine, which again would elevate history to the dignity of science, whereby you enunciate a law or pronounce a verdict based upon the evidence you would have already obtained. Obviously, this should be done with utmost care to avoid making the generalization too long or too short. If it is too long it becomes superfluous and if it is too short it becomes vague and obscure. Thus, like history, historical method too is both an art and a science.

Before we take up a detailed study of the numerous processes mentioned above, it is necessary to remember a few broad and general principles. First, a historian can neglect neither research nor style. If he fails to build his historical mansion on the sound foundation of facts, the whole structure, will come down like a pack of cards. If he forgets the art of presentation and style in the interest of rigid accuracy, he will not be read at all, making his study a work of reference, a hint that it is unreadable. It would remain either in the cellars of a shop unsold or in the racks of a library unread. The Germans take great pains to dig around the dry bones and have been called 'the horny-handed sons of the soil', but their works are so thorough, sound and honest that their sheer weight crushes those who dare touch them. On the other hand, the French authors are very stylish with polish and their glittering sparkle will not have a solid base beneath. The Germans write the bare truth, and the French add dressed-up fiction. Neither of these extremes is desirable and history should incorporate the finer elements of both. This is exposition or the concluding operation of writing history.

9.3 WHAT IS RESEARCH?

This brings us to the second question as to what constitutes research. Research is the activity undertaken to bring out something new, to extend the horizon of knowledge, and to contribute some original idea. It is an attempt to make a diligent and systematic inquiry or investigation into a subject, in order to

discover facts or revise the known facts or put the facts into theories. Historical research is digging into the past in order to re-enact the past in its entirety, to reconstruct the past events as fully as they must have happened, to explain the meaning and significance of those events, to correct the wrong notions so long prevalent, if any, and to elaborate, analyze, synthesize and philosophize the ideas in the light of the knowledge we possess. Historical research can constitute either all or any of the following three important activities:

- addition of new data,
- new interpretation of known data,
- Subordination of the data to a Principle.

The simplest of research in history is the first one, in which a researcher simply adds some new information, some new facts or ideas. His intensive search, inquiry and investigation brings to light something new that was not known before. Until the nineteenth century ancient Indian history offered rich scope for research in this direction, for scores of dynasties remained unknown, hundreds of monarchs and ministers and other great personages did not exist in the memory of man, and numerous aspects of man's activity, whether political institutions or economic conditions or social status or cultural traits, had been totally forgotten. Even such a luminary as Asoka was hardly known before Prinsep deciphered the Brahmi script. This discovery of the past was a fascinating venture that thrilled the scholars who went deep into the floor of the Indian ocean of historical past, and brought out the rarest of pearls. Our history was pushed back by thousands of years by Sir John Marshall and a host of other sincere scholars. In short, the first category of research involves a keen perception of what is wanting, what is known and what remains to be known, and then bringing out to light what had remained unknown.

The second type of research is little more difficult. It involves interpretation, elaboration, explanation, evaluation and critical examination of known facts. Here the physical search for new data is not as important as an intensive mental activity to subject known data to a very incisive scrutiny, so that a different version altogether is presented. History being subjective in its nature is susceptible to various interpretations depending on whom, when and where it was written. The same person appears at one time to be our friend and at another time to be our

rival, and hence the context and the circumstances determine the character of history. In the absence of these factors there would not have been any need for rewriting history. Those scholars who challenge the views of the earlier historians and offer their own explanations in the matter belong to the second category. Vincent Smith wrote his Oxford History of India and Akbar the Great Moghul, but what he wrote is not the last word on the subject. On the contrary much of what he wrote deserves to be thoroughly revised, not so much from the point of adding new information to his books, but from the angle of viewing the events from a different perspective altogether. Much of our history was written by foreigners in foreign languages from foreign viewpoints to serve foreign interests. Anyone who reads either Mill's History of India or Wilk's History of Mysore will surely get a very distorted picture of our history. It is the job of the researchers to remove such misconceptions, and they do it through interpretative history.

The third category of research is the most difficult one, which would elevate a scholar to the dignity of a meta-historian. Here philosophy is involved whereby the scholar presses all the information he possesses to yield a certain historical juice in the form of a doctrine or law or principle. He synthesises all his knowledge to come out with a theory in order to explain a fundamental principle, say casualty of a phenomenon. He analysis all the facts only with the intention of subordinating them to a general law, why and how historical forces behave in a particular manner. Years of analysis would be required to come up to the level of throwing up a theory, and substantiating it through irrefutable logic. Either through the deductive or inductive method he comes out with a bold generalisation and earns the title of a meta-historian or a philosopher of history. A Hegel, Marx, Comte, Croce, Toynbee or Spengler would not be lost either in hunting a new factor in explaining a known fact in a different way, but he would be immersed in a world of his own in order to pack limitless knowledge in simple phrases such as idealism in history', 'materialism in history', 'spiritualism in history', 'transcendentalism in history', 'personality in history', 'challenge and response in history' and so on. Each one of these phrases is a Pandora's box and there is no end to its complexity or profundity. To understand the full meaning of challenge and response, one has to study all the twelve volumes of Toynbee. Perhaps none had greater impact on the modern world than that Austrian Jew, Karl Marx, whose materialistic interpretation of history was destined to change the very picture of this earth.

Likewise, Vico, Hegel, Comte, Croce, Spengler and a host of others have come out with their own theories which are the product of original research. They may be very controversial but none can deny either their durability or profundity.

9.4 ANALYTICAL OPERATIONS

Analytical operation has been divided into two branches, namely external criticism and internal criticism. These two branches have other names as well. External criticism is called heuristics, which literally means inciting to find out or helping or guiding in discovery. It is also called lower criticism as opposed to higher criticism. Higher criticism is internal criticism, otherwise known as hermeneutics or interpretative criticism. Hermeneutics is the science or art of interpretation which was specially used for the Scriptures. The main job of these two types of criticism is to pronounce whether a given idea is acceptable as a fact or not. Events, occurrences and happenings as presented in the records may or may not conform to reality, for they might have been distorted, twisted or misrepresented. Their true picture will be revealed only when their masks are lifted. In order to find out the truth methodology uses two different apparatuses, heuristics and hermeneutics. This has been discussed in unit 8 in detail. Kindly refer unit 8.

9.5 LET US SUM UP

After studying this unit we have been able to understand the following: The Importance of Preliminary Operations in Research Methodology and Analytical Operations i.e., External Criticism and Internal Criticism in Research.

9.6 KEY WORDS

1. Diligent – constant in effort to accomplish something attentive.
2. Elaboration – is the process of adding more information to exist relatively simple information.

9.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the preliminary operations in historical research.
2. Explain the analytical operations in historical research.

9.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 9.2
2. See section 9.4

9.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Reiner G.I: History its Purpose and Method.
2. Sheikh Ali B: History, its Theory and Method.

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UNIT-10 SYNTHESIS-FINALIZING THE REPORT

Structure

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.1.1 Meaning of Historical Synthesis

10.1.2 Elements of Synthesis

10.1.2.1 Contingency

10.1.2.2 Necessity

10.1.2.3 Logic

10.2 Importance of Facts in Synthesis

10.2.1 Grouping of Factors

10.2.2 Categories of Datas

10.2.3 Arrangement of Material of Facts

10.2.4 Grouping of Facts

10.2.5 Intellectual Habits

10.2.6 Combination of Categories

10.2.7 Problems of Grouping of Facts

10.2.8 Precautions in Grouping of Factors

10.3 Methods of Arrangement of Material Writing History

10.3.1 Systematic Selection of Material

10.3.2 Arrangement of Material

10.3.2.1 Chronological Method

10.3.2.2 Topical Method

10.3.2.3 Other Approaches

10.4 Finalizing Research Report

10.4.1 Exposition

10.4.2 Technique of Interpretation Steps

10.4.2.1 Giving Reasonable Explanation

10.4.2.2 Precautions in Interpretation

10.4.2.3 Drafting the Thesis

10.4.2.4 Report Writing

10.4.2.5 Documentation

10.4.2.6 Index

10.5 Let us Sum up

10.6 Keywords

10.7 Check your progress

10.8 Answer to check your progress

10.9 Suggested Readings

10.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about

- The meaning of synthesis, elements, facts, arranging the facts, grouping, finalizing the research report and exposition i.e. drafting and report writing.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Synthesis has contributed in the study as well as writings of historical events and fact. After the external and internal criticism the historian has to undertake the task of synthetic presentation of the facts. In fact, objective collection of facts and their objective interpretation is as essential as their synthesis in history.

10.1.1 Meaning of Historical Synthesis

The term historical synthesis can be understood as joining, grouping, arranging, explaining and interpreting the data. This data is put in such a way that study of the account proves meaningful as well as interesting. Now the historian has responsibility to utilise the heterogeneous material in a way that historical facts come in the light.

The historian is required to judge the validity of the isolated facts and then also present before the public. So historian is not bound to follow any rigid set of rules and regulations, but much is left to his capability. Though there is indifference in method and system of presenting facts, yet there remains some objective in synthesis. It means that there should be presentation of fact in most interesting and understandable way. Therefore meaning of synthesis is to arrange isolated facts into a new form and to put different things together with a view to present a new and systematic composition for the readers. In synthesis the historian should arrange many facts and ideas in a natural way. It is a process by which various ideas are grouped in orderly manner and presented something new. If the facts presented in disorderly manner are not able to leave desired impact. So historian has to arrange the facts so that his readers could get exact meaning which the author wishes to convey. Synthesis is not an easy activity but an intellectual activity. It is a difficult task to combine all important data and facts and produce a

whole document, when a historian who has undertaken the job of synthesis of fact has not made a plan for organizing isolated facts in orderly and interesting manner, then he has to face a lot of difficulties; because the nature of historical facts has no uniformity.

10.1.2 Elements of Synthesis

Synthesis contains three elements, namely contingency, necessity and logic. These elements are discussed below:

10.1.2.1 Contingency: In history contingency has influenced the course of historical development. It means an element of chance or luck in a historical event. It is clear that chance will prove to be of an advantage to one party and of disadvantage to the other. History has many examples that contingency or chance has played a significant role in many historical events of great significance. It was a matter of chance that the Mughal soldiers were moved by the appeal of Babar and started to fight with Rana Sanga at a time when Babar was quite hopeless. So the fighting spirit of Babar's soldier resulted to the foundation of Mughal rule in India. Similarly in England Reformation Movement could not get ground, had Henry VIII not loved Anne Boleyn and decided to divorce her queen. Individuality is regarded as the main cause of contingency. In fact chance and individuality have an important place in history. The chances are largely responsible to change the course of historical events though these were not likely to happen. The chances influenced the life of both rulers and ordinary people and due to the chances many historical event took place and also resulted into unanticipated ends. The traditionalists influenced by the contingency, have pointed out theological theories. However there is a point which needs to be emphasised that even contingency has the factor of stability.

10.1.2.2 Necessity: Necessity is considered the second important element of synthesis. It is closely related with cause and effect and also plays a vital role in the development of history. It is quite true that no development would have taken place if man had not needed the necessity of what he discovered. If the necessities of the people will end or get satisfied to what they have got, then there will be no

further progress. Thus necessity compels the man to invent or discover, it is responsible for many inventions, reformation and explorations. The factor behind many revolutions is the necessity. It is due to it that many explorations were undertaken, voyages were also made and many movements all over the world were started. The necessities of leaders and nations also compelled to establish colonies which influenced the course of many historical events. It has contributed to the rise and downfall of many institutions. Thus necessity has affected in every field of human history. Many organisations came to light because of the necessity. It is the foundation of philosophy of positivists and materialists.

10.1.2.3 Logic: This element is equally important in synthesis. The historians have been influenced by this element and they used logic or order in historical synthesis. It is believed that there is some idea or logic behind every action of a person and without it he will not be able to act. Therefore, logic is responsible for the enactment of laws not only in the past but also in the present. It has helped in the development of philosophies. It is considered as the basis in the study of psychology and in the development of philosophies. It is solution of every problem whether in philosophy or psychology. So logic helps to estimate the role of chance in historical events. Though thought, logic and traditions are inter linked and continue to influence from generation to generation. Logic prepares base for ideologies which is responsible for changing the course of historical events.

Thus chance, necessity and logic are three elements of synthesis. Their combinations help the historian to present the facts in a systematic and presentable way.

10.2 Importance of Facts in Synthesis

Synthesis has played a vital role in writing of history. It is responsible for presenting material in interesting and new way. The synthesis has no certain plans for presenting facts in orderly manner. In fact grouping the facts is said to be the difficult task of synthesis and it has many problems in itself. It contains grouping and unifying reliable and other such facts which are needed to be determined. It implies that the historian has to distinguish the relevant facts out of the rich source

of information which the historian has found out and provided the significance of the facts incorporated. In fact there are different types of facts. Synthesis alone does not imply in arranging the facts event wise, but there should be arranging of facts in such a uniformity as each fact seems relevant to main theme of the subject for which facts have been combined.

10.2.1 Steps of Grouping of Facts

In fact the grouping of the facts is a difficult task in itself. The historical facts are of different types and kinds. So the scholar has to select the relevant facts and then reduce these to common degree of generality. All the general facts are dealt equally and conflicting datas are also to be brought to common degree of generality after establishing which is acceptable or not. Thus it is first step of grouping of facts by which each fact is determined before combining these for writing of historical development. It is essential that time, place or country of historical facts should be related with each other. If while grouping of facts the significance of time or place is overlooked, their historical value will be completely finished.

Again the aim of the synthesis will not be served if writing is limited to only known or available facts and no attempts are taken to unearth new facts. So historian must be sure that he has collected all the facts and nothing more is how left in this subject. It is very necessary for a scholar before synthesis that he has discovered all the facts related to the matter.

Another important task of synthesis is interpretation of datas. It is very essential to remember on thing that all the historical facts are only probable in the first instances so these cannot be used as definitives. In synthesis the historian has Responsibility of collecting all the relevant datas and also of using them completely.

10.2.2 Categories of Data's

There are lying many scattered facts of history over a vast area and they are being collected by the historian. There are various sources of information which may be picked out from movements, industrial and art products, personalities, their achievement, their heroic deeds and also their failures. Their motives and ideas can also be sources of information. It is also to be mentioned here that scholar should collect the facts which are only objective. Actually a historian is required to deal with fact on account of their availability in the document in such a manner as if he might have personally observed them. The historian can eliminate all the facts which do not in any way relate to the subject. However some of the historians have a tendency to deal with the fact on the basis of their personal reasons. Prof. Gotteschalk also emphasises on the importance of interrogative hypothesis. He points out on the relevance of the subject matter, and says that the problem of selection of relevant material can be simplified if the historian evolves certain keywords and avoids from each category the material which is not related to it. This can result in fairly strict standard of relevance. It is noteworthy that decision about problem of the relevance of subject matter is a matter of author's judgment.

10.2.3 Arrangement of Material or Facts

The historian has confronted the problem of arrangement of facts. Grouping of facts is not easy and there is need of certain scheme of classification which is sure to be prepared on the ground of practical experience and by finding out answers of many questions. If the historian confines himself only to documents and manuscripts, then grouping will have defects in it. Thus arrangement of facts should be planned, and they should be put under heads and sub-heads as well as divisions and sub-divisions. Some principles are required to develop and these principles would help the scholar about the selection-of facts as well as their arrangement and grouping. The simplest and easiest way of classifying the facts is based on external conditions of the place and person. Under this condition the most popular criteria for the, arrangement of historical data is that of chronology. Some historians like Thucydides and other ancient historians accepted chronological approach. Macaulay and Barzun and Graff did not approve this method. Macaulay

holds that the chronological arrangement produces a history which is notoriously unreadable. But in spite of some defects modern diplomatic and political historians accept chronological method as most satisfactory. Thus fact may be grouped in chronological order and if these are grouped after proper consideration, arrangement of material will be an easy task.

10.2.4 Grouping of Facts

The first group contains facts of material conditions. In this category all the facts which are connected with climate, physical features, environments, demography and other factors are undertaken for the study of material. Public institutions fall in another category and it deals with all political, economical, social, cultural institutions as well as their political and administrative reforms. It includes the facts related to political condition, international relations, war and peace. The third category concerns with the facts which relate with social systems and institutions. On account of their deep influence on the events and personalities. This category include facts related to family, traditions social classes, food habit, customs, social festivals and social relationship etc.

10.2.5 Intellectual Habits

This category has facts about the growth of man's intellectual ability from the earlier growth of his ideas, language, science, art etc. Another category concerns facts of economic conditions. These are the important facts and have played a vital role in the course of historical events. Other facts such as consumption, production, trade, industry, revenue source of income and expenditure etc., are also related to it.

10.2.6 Combination of Categories

All these categories work just as a guide for putting facts in different categories and prepare a ground of systematic way. It is assumed that there is no certain plan for grouping of facts as well as no rigid laws for the categories. Some historians have given emphasis on nature of facts and take these for consideration

on the ground of time and place. So they give importance on topical and chronological method of grouping. In the chronological method all the facts are grouped and should be dealt strictly in sequence of time. Each event will have been viewed in order of time in which it happened. In geographical method all the facts are arranged in such a way that every event will have to be found out and full attention will have to be given about the area in which it occurred. If the historian plans to arrange facts on topical basis then whole attention will have to be provided to systems and institutions e.g. political, economic, social, education and health care. There exists no certain plan for grouping of facts. All the methods are used to combine and time factor is said to be an important aspect in chronological method but using this method some attention is sure to be given to region. A scholar should combine all the methods, when all plans are fairly mixed, he will be able to put main aspect of the fact in the focus. The scholar has responsibility to decide which is primary or secondary aspect of the event. It depends on his discretion and judgement.

10.2.7 Problems of Grouping of Facts

The grouping of facts faces some problems. There are the actions of some personalities which create problems in the task of arranging and grouping of facts. In history there are many personalities who had such qualities that it becomes difficult to put them under certain category. Their activities are classified and this classification is not an easy job due to the overlap. There are some events which happen and continued for a longer period. So it is not easy to find out facts about such events and these facts maybe accurate. There arises the difficulty in classification of the facts and events because history includes both type of facts which are general and political in nature on the one hand and have vast variety of customs, traditions and institutions on the other hand.

There are other problems before the scholars and researchers who deal with grouping of facts. One difficulty is that different group over lap each other and it becomes impossible to distinguish them into distinct societies. These groups differ from one another because of language, religion and region. Thus it creates problems in the job of grouping of facts. The social and political habits and

institutions also create difficulties in grouping. With the course of time the members of political group change their loyalties and attach with other political parties. The difficulty is that whether the event should be arranged into chronological or topical method. So the scholar has to decide it. Thus there is need of intelligence and much care is required in grouping of facts.

10.2.8 Precautions in Grouping of Facts

A historian should follow certain precautions in grouping of facts, because following precautions are helpful in dealing with the facts:

- 1) The fact should be given much importance and no fact is to be underestimated. Each fact is given proper treatment.
- 2) Much care should be needed while grouping facts, so that no useful fact is left. It may be remembered that sometimes a small fact can be a beginning of an important event. For example Lord Clive's heroic deed of Arcot is responsible for changing the course of Indian history. At that time it did not seem as important as it proved to be in the later period.
- 3) The periods should be clearly divided and there must be a chronological sequence in them. It should be clear that one sequence should lead to another.
- 4) It must be studied properly whether a certain personality was in a proper order and his influence should also be traced properly on the course of events.
- 5) All the facts should be examined carefully and these should be clear that there should be some relation to the other, so that whole event seems like an organic whole.
- 6) These must be performed simultaneously in the job of synthesis.
- 7) The questions or problems should not be dealt superficially but in depth.
- 8) The approach of a scholar should be analytical and critical. He should have clear views about the place of events. So before beginning the work, he must have full view of the work.

At last synthesis is an analytical operation and though it has some difficulties, but it must be solved by the high skill and intelligence of the scholars.

It contributes in logical interpretation of data and high lights phenomena. Grouping of facts also has an importance in the historical writings.

10.3 METHODS OF ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL FOR WRITING HISTORY

Historical writing is not an easy task and this is why there is lack of good historian. There are only a few well known historians. One of the most pressing difficulty that arises in the way of writing history is the proper arrangement of material. Since the facts of history lay scattered on the vast areas. After the collection of the material, the historian has to arrange them properly. Therefore it is a very difficult work to compile all the material.

10.3.1 Systematic Selection of Material

The material is the first requirement of writing a document. It includes isolated facts and these are required to be arranged in systematic way. The facts which are lying scattered at different places can be used after the scholar constructs them in presentable account. Only the systematic presentation is able to provide the reader the desired impact. The facts put in a disorderly manner may not be properly understood by the readers. The historian should arrange the facts and ideas so nicely that his readers may have the same meaning which the historian wants to convey. He should point out such facts which he intends to bring to the attention of the readers. It is possible only when the historian has already decided as to which should be main aspect of the study. He must also prepare an account of what is relevant for his narration and to what extent. He must be in a position to eliminate all that he feels irrelevant. But this needs very careful thinking and much intelligence. The historian has some certain problems in his mind which he wishes to solve. This process proves helpful in the solution of the problem of the relevance of material. The historians should avoid the tendency of including facts on personal ground. The historian should plan the category of the facts and then try to make an exercise of avoiding irrelevant material from each category. Thus the historian should follow high standard. There is no rigid law for elimination of facts. It mainly depends on personal judgment and intelligence of the historian.

10.3.2 Arrangement of Materials

The arrangement of material is equally as important as the selection of materials. No doubt the selection of material is the basic need for historical writing but arrangement of material is essential in which the writer uses his skill. The arrangement can be determined on the following basis:

10.3.2.1 Chronological Method: It is one of the popular method for the arrangement of historical data. The chronological method is meant by arranging of the facts and material in chronological order. In this method all the facts and events which took place in a certain period are edited and narrated. This method was followed by Thucydides and other ancient historians. But many historians do not accept this chronological approach, they believed that it mixes small and great events without proper subordination. In spite of these problems many political and diplomatic historians use this method even today.

10.3.2.2 Topical Method: It is the another method of arranging material which is made on the basis of subject in the topical method all the material which is related to this is put in one place. This method also include some problems because, there may arise a possibility that historian may lose the basis of his study. Marwick rightly points out "The study spread over the long period may seriously distort the objective reality of the past if it treats on the same footing material called throughout the period on topic which may in the meantime have undergone significant change." Similarly Barzun and Graff also say that 'the pure topical order exhausting one topic and jumping to the next will deprive a story of all coherence. A history is a recital of events that took place in time and this must never be forgotten. You will kill interest as surely by leaving out the time sequence as by breaking up natural clusters of ideas.'

10.3.2.3 Other Approaches: There are other approaches for the arrangement of the material. According to them the material is arranged on geographical factors and on personality. Geographical method means narrating events and placing facts together on the ground of locality. But this method is not accepted by the historian,

because of some defects. Gottschalk mentions that, "Geography may be an objective form of arrangement, but it is not constant."

The arrangement of material is also done on the basis of personalities. It means that materials are arranged around the personalities and making them main aspect of study. This method is also not preferred by the historians because every personality has multi fact and so problems arise in arranging the material. The historians have favoured to arrange material on the ground of institutions, organisations and systems because this helps to under estimate social, political, cultural and economic aspects.

In fact it is not easy task to agree upon one method. So the historian should combine all the methods for arranging materials. But fact is that all depends upon the capacity of the historian to deal with the methods for arrangement.

10.4 FINALIZING THE REPORT

The proper presentation of historical material forms part and parcel of the concluding operation in research. This final stage of historical research consists of four important aspects such as (i) framing a formula, or arriving at a valid generalization (ii) Exposition (iii) Footnotes, (iv) Bibliography. This part in history relates more to art than to science, as it involves the final or finishing touch of embellishments Besides, it involves the effective presentation of the fruit of research in the most attractive and interesting way. Yet another fundamental task is that every work in history should have an apt conclusion, in other words, the essence or gist or the cardinal points of the entire research must be given by way of conclusion in the last chapter of every work. This part of activity relates to the drawing of valid generalization. These are nothing but broad conclusions, a barometer indicating the depth of the study. This is also called framing a formula or drawing a valid principle or deducting a general Law.

Exposition involves the logical presentation of historical material in the most attractive, readable and interesting way. The utmost task in exposition is to see that all relevant facts have been arranged in such a manner so as to render the whole

work a fine piece of enjoyable literature. Since this is the final phase of writing history, it must be executed with utmost care and efficiency. The most effective method, to be adopted in exposition, is left to the discretion of the historian, for each subject or topic of research requires a particular type of treatment.

Well before undertaking the task of presentation, better the scholar recalls his objective in undertaking the research and make sure that to what extent the objective has been achieved. As you know well, that research could be of three ways. First something new is brought out by the addition of new information by intensive search for fresh material Second, presenting a fresh view point by making a new interpretation or, explanation of known data. Third one is the formation of a new theory or principle or doctrine. In this, a historical synthesis is undertaken and historical data is put to as test of philosophy. Therefore, the researcher should have a clear, picture of his interest among, these three categories of research. Also, it is upto the scholar to check and satisfy himself that to what extent he has done justice to branch of research.

It is desirable, hence, that the scholar determines the category of his research at the outset. Supposing he belongs to the first category, where originality is the watch word let him check he has exhausted the entire range of material related to his works. Time, space and distance must not be quoted as deterrent factors in exhausting all the relevant data.

For the second category, much of physical labour is not involved, as mental calibre. In this category, all the known data are fully, utilized and, if fresh material is available they ought to be incorporated while offering new interpretation, or explanation in the third category a higher type of research, a historical synthesis is under taken to form a theory. Historians of great maturity and experience alone are capable of undertaking this kind of research. Hence, it is up to the scholar to have a clear picture of his interest among the above mentioned categories of research.

10.4.1 Exposition

Exposition the writing part of the work, involves lucid presentation and logical interpretation, keeping in mind the historical perspective. To point out here, that the historical method upto this stage was based upon a scientific approach, considering the systematic enquiry and critical analysis involved in the process. But at the stage of presentation of historical data; it becomes an art, for imagination is essential now.

The key note of historical research is to make an original contribution. Originality is achieved not only by careful and exhaustive investigation of the sources, but also by clarity of thought in the scholar himself. Constant endeavour must be made to check how far this clarity and lucidity have been maintained in the thesis. Clarity is possible only when all aspects of the problem are meticulously analyzed and understood properly. Better the author makes himself clear of all the aspects so that clarity may be achieved in exposition. Clarity is possible only when all related materials are collected deep, analysis is involved to understand them and when sharp intellect is used to interpret them. Historical work is mostly intellectual and many of its operations are performed simultaneously. At this stage of exposition, it must be verified, whether these operations have been performed correctly or not. This demands for absolute concentration on the subject with the attitude of surpassing the performance of early historians.

The next stage is to embellish the matter presented with such literary artifices which will enhance their interest. In the narrative part of the thesis, it is essential to observe the strictest economy in the use of words. Also one must be so careful that the words used should convey the precise meaning. Words that may give ambiguous meaning may be avoided. Undesirable qualitative and inexact quantitative terms must be avoided. Sentences, as far as possible should be short and simple, sharp and declarative. Frequent use of adjectives and adverbs is not desirable. The matter may be, presented in simple active voice, but where ever necessary to avoid monotonous reading, it may be varied. With balanced ideas the sentences should be so arranged as to add a touch of classical dignity.

Chapters and paragraphs are to be so organized as to provide enough scope to treat distinct concepts and themes separately. Also a key word or a concept should indicate the beginning of a paragraph. Similarly, a summary or comment which serves as the approach to the next should mark its end. From the introduction to the conclusion, the entire work must be readable, well-balanced, enjoyable and objective. With considerable labour, constant reflection and involvement in repeated drafting of the work only, a best work of the time can be produced. Even gifted scholars and writers too write and re-write, again and again till a satisfiable perfection is achieved, in terms of clarity, lucidity, cogency and spontaneity. Each author may vary in style of his presentation. To define style, it is nothing but, a combination of force lucidity and grace. By style is meant not bombastic or theoretical phraseology, but elegant, intelligent cogent and clear composition of facts. Undoubtedly, a graceful, forcible, spontaneous and cogent presentation can be achieved but only by hard and great labour. Hence an elegant, attractive and easy of style will make the work worth interesting and inviting. A terse, pedantic and cumbersome style would detest reading history however scholarly it might be. Hence to sustain continuous interest, it is necessary for the scholar to adopt examples, analogies, illustrations, anecdotes and suitable digression's. A delightful instruction is desirable, and it is possible only when a sense of humour becomes part and parcel of the narrative.

It must be remembered that exposition of facts would gain elegance, only when ambiguity, approximation, repetition and varied degrees of generalization is avoided History is not a mere guesswork. But it is a creative piece which concerns itself with reflective thought that varies from individual to individual, place to place and time to time. Hence this subject is extremely original and ought to be treated as such. In thesis writing, a discussion like interpretative method is important. In this, it is necessary to reflect upon different aspects. Now let us understand the meaning of interpretation. It refers to-the task of drawing valid inferences from the facts collected after an analytical or experimental study. In a sense, it is a search for broader meaning of research findings. The task of interpretation has two major aspects, (i) the effort "to establish continuity in research through linking the results of a given study with those of another and (ii) the establishment of some explanatory concepts. As such Interpretation concerned with relationships within the collected data, partially overlapping analysis. Also it

extends beyond the data of the study to include the results of other research, theory and hypothesis. Thus, interpretation is the device through which the factors that seem to explain what has been observed by researcher In the course of a study can be better understood and also it provides a theoretical conception which can serve as a guide for future researches.

10.4.2 Technique of Interpretation Steps

10.4.2.1 Giving Reasonable explanation: The scholar must offer reasonable explanations of the relations which he has found-and interpret the lines of relationship in terms of the underlying process, Also he must attempt to find out the thread of uniformity that lies under the surface, layer of his diversified research findings. In fact, this is the technique connected with the formation of generalization and concept formulation. Extraneous information, if collected during the study, must to be considered while interpreting the final results of research study, for it may prove to be a key factor in understanding the problem under consideration. It is advisable to consult experts or those, having an insight into, the field before embarking upon final, interpretation. Such a consultation will result in correct interpretation which will enhance the utility of the research findings. The task of interpretation must be accomplished after careful considerations of all relevant factors affecting the problem to arrive at a false generalization. Hence, it is advisable, to that while interpreting results one should not be in a hurry, for quite often the conclusions that seems to be alright at the beginning may not be accurate.

10.4.2.2 Precautions in interpretation: Though the data are properly collected and analysed, it must be borne in mind, that wrong interpretation would lead to inaccurate conclusions. Hence the task of interpretation must be done with almost care and patience in an impartial manner and attitude and in a correct perspective. The following points are suggested for correct interpretation.

At the outset, the scholar must invariably satisfy himself that (i) the data collected are sufficient, appropriate, reliable and relevant for drawing- valid inferences (ii) the data reflect homogeneity (iii) proper analysis has been done (iv)

to be cautious about the errors that may crept in the process of interpreting data, (v) Errors may arise, either due to wrong interpretation or application to statistical measures; (vi) since analysis and interpretation is closely related with each other, necessary precautions must be observed during the process of analysis. The precautions are the reliability of data, computational checks and comparison of results etc. (vi) the scholar should always borne in mind that his task is not only to make close observations of relevant occurrences, but to identify and avoid the factors that are hidden. This will permit the task of interpretation on proper lines.

Supposing, there are more than one view on a particular problem, they are to be highlighted and if a particular view is accepted or a view is focused, by making adequate reasons. If unable to take any stand on it, it may be stated that a particular view appears correct or not as the case may be. When such problem arises, an explanatory note may be added. Interpretation aims at securing as much as possible out of a particular account. From the view point of allied branches of disciplines, like sociology economics, political science and also from the view point of the parties to the issue, the implications of a problem can be explored and new ideas may by obtained. Since the scholar is expected to shed the maximum light on the subject he must be in a position to enlighten us, on the subject. If he is unable to perform this, nobody else could do this. Hence a scholar ought to feel responsible for his task and attempt to avoid the pitfalls and shortcomings.

10.4.2.3 Drafting the Thesis: Perfection is the watch word in the writing of any research work either a dissertation, term paper, project or an article for journals. Perfection in exposition can be achieved only by continuous and sustained practice. It is essential therefore to draft and redraft the work, before the final thesis is prepared.

10.4.2.4 Report Writing: Different Steps: Research reports are the end product of meticulous, painstaking, slow and steady, accurate inductive work. In writing a report the following steps are involved. They are (i) Logical analysis of the subject matter, (ii) Preparation of the final outline; (iii) Preparation of the rough draft (iv) Redrafting, polishing add embellishing the work (v) Preparation of the final bibliography and (vi) Writing the final draft.

Logical analysis of the subject matter is the first step connected with the meaningful development of subject. Two ways are adopted for this purpose; (a) Logical and chronological development. The logical development is made on the basis of mental connections and associations between the one thing and another by means of analysis. The logical treatment often involves in developing a given material from the simple possible to the most complex structures. On the other hand, chronological development is rested upon a connection or sequence in time or occurrence.

Outline's serves as the framework upon which long written works are constructed. It is a helpful aid to the logical organization of the material and a reminder of the points to be insisted in the report. Rough draft is prepared following the logical analysis of the subject matter and the preparation of the final outline. The researcher now sits to write down what he has done in the context of his research. He will write down the procedure adopted by him in collecting the data for his work along with various limitations confronted by him, data-analysis technique adopted by him, broad findings and generalizations besides various suggestions he would like to recommend in connection with the problem.

Re-drafting work requires more time than the writing of the rough draft. Consistent and sustained effort is required to reorganize the rough draft so as to bring it to a proper shape. Meticulous revision carried out at this stage of rewriting makes the difference between a mediocre and fine piece of writing. The weakness or lapses in logical development or presentation must be checked, verified, and rectified. Unity and cogency of the material reported must be" verified. Let us check up, whether the report stand upright and firm and exhibit a definite pattern. Further, the mechanics of writing-grammar, spelling and usage' has to be verified.

Preparing the final draft is the last step in a thesis-making'. It must be written in a simple, lucid language with a precise and objective style. It is advised to avoid vague expressions and ambiguous sentences. As far as possible, avoid the usages such as, seems, it appears, "there may or may not be". Bombastic and theoretical phraseology, slangs, technical jargons and misleading terminologies must be avoided. Suitable, 'Illustrations and apt examples may be incorporated in the final draft, for they may be helpful for effective communication of the findings to the

reader.' A dull and monotonous research report may not enthuse the reader hence, make it lively, readable and enjoyable. Let us remember while, doing so, that originality must be the watch word and it otherwise it would be a worthless exercise. One must understand that every research report is an attempt to solve some intellectual problem, and contributing a solution to the problem which, must help to the knowledge of both the researcher and reader.

10.4.2.5 Documentation: There are a few more points which should be noted. A research work must be well documented. It is an initiation in a new field. Excepting well known statements, our own analysis, observations, remarks, inference, judgments, comments and all other new ideas must be supported by proper authorities. Ideas which are likely to generate differences and controversies should be substantiated by proper references to, the sources which form the basis of our conclusions. In case the researcher do not agree on a particular point and varying opinions are expressed in this regard he has to simply indicate proper references to these opinions. If no indication is made it means the author holds such an opinion. Further it also indicates that the scholar has not looked into the material in order to know what opinions others hold on this point. Therefore it is desirable to quote full references to different opinions held on the subject less important but supplementary details may also be given in footnotes. They throw some sidelights on the main, work sometimes it to happen that the references under foot notes form more interesting reading than the texts itself. Also it serves as the barometer for measuring the intensity of the labour a scholar has put in. Normally the size of the footnote on a page should not exceed one fourth of its size which is the maximum. Too many references may disturb continuity of thought.

Next to foot notes, a well-balanced Bibliography is required which may indicate the nature of materials utilized to write the thesis. The bibliography is arranged at the end of the work and is classified under several headings. Original or unpublished material, usually called primary source come first. The primary source includes the following autobiographies, contemporary record, diaries, eyewitness accounts, proceedings, official minutes, diplomatic correspondence, state records, cabinet decisions, original consultation sheets, etc, under literary sources. Besides, under archaeological sources are included the epigraphical records, coins and seals. The manuscripts are again subdivided into sources under

several languages.

The published material or secondary sources relates to literature which is relevant to the subject. Published works are arranged in the alphabetical order of the authors who have contributed to the literature. A good research work gives a short note by way or review or assessment of each of the important manuscripts of original sources. Essential it is to add a critical note particularly to the important sources. Since the value of the work would greatly depend on the authenticity of the sources consulted, it must be shown how far these sources are authentic and trustworthy.

At the end of the work are included tables, maps, charts, illustrations, plates together with a few appendices. The appendices may include such items as digressions, side-lights and supplementary information etc. Usually they may be classified as Appendix A, Appendix B and so on.

10.4.2.6 Index: Index refers to the page number of important items, events places, happenings, personalities and such other details as occur in the body of the thesis. Here also the classification is made under each head, with all items listed in the alphabetical, order. For eg. under Ashoka, his activities, campaigns, expeditions, conquests, social religious policy, his measures and his personal adjuncts and so on are furnished.

10.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus, exposition or the presentation of the historical material involves plenty of work. It concerns more with the intelligent and systematic arrangement of the facts than with any original thinking. It must be borne in mind a-good piece of research work should have an appeal to the literary tastes of the reader so as to arouse his interest. Popularity of the work is depending on its nature of composition and readability. Exposition is a technique which in the skilful hands of an intelligent author would convert a work into a magnet that would attract even an uninterested person to read it.

10.6 KEYWORDS

1. Chronological
2. Topical
3. Exposition
4. Barometer
5. Index

10.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Historical synthesis – refers to joining, grouping, arranging, explain and interpreting the data
2. Logic – the basis in the study of psychology

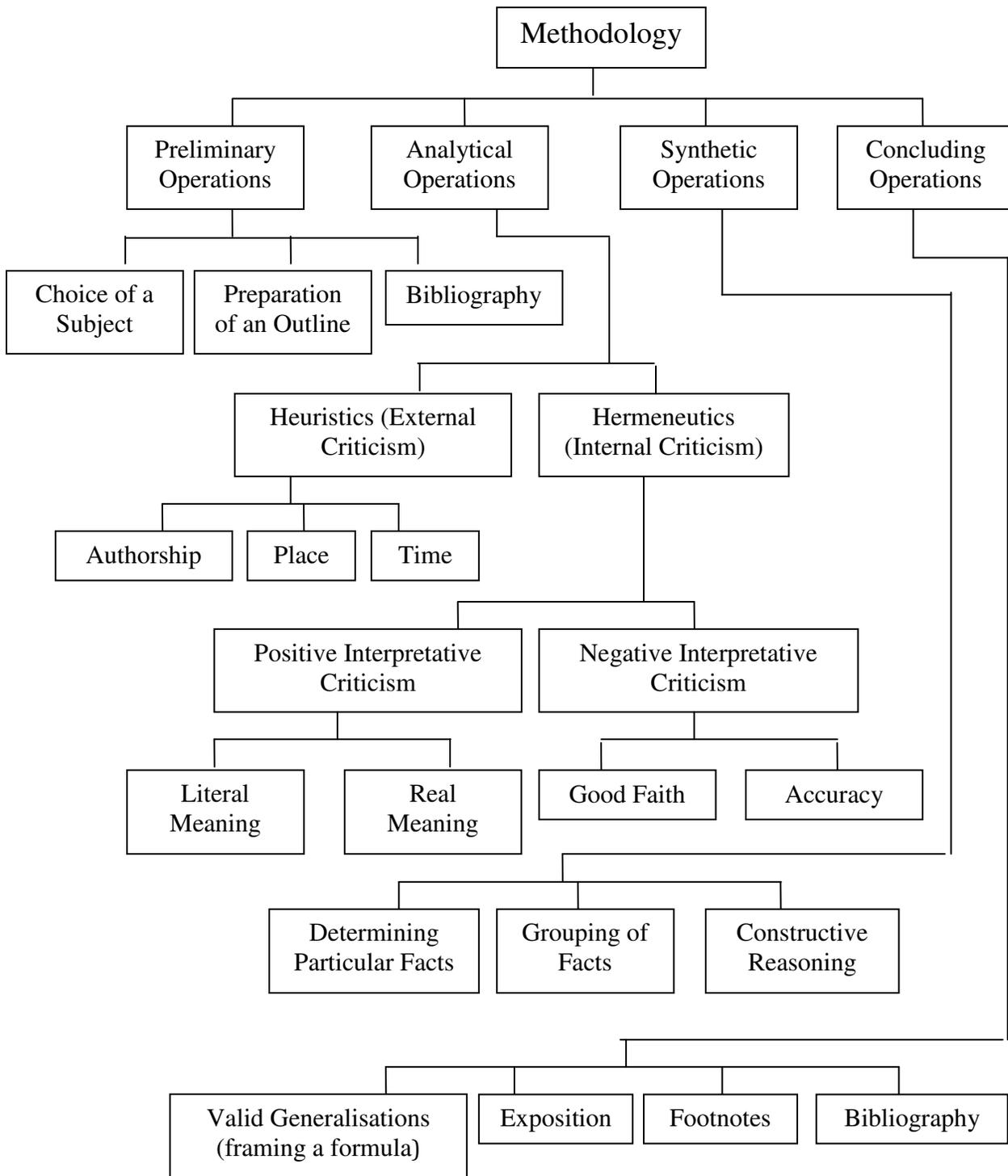
10.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 10.1 and 10.1.2
2. See section 10.2
3. See section 10.3
4. See section 10.4

10.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Kothari C.R: Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques, New Delhi, 1985
2. Pradip Jaiswal: Research Methodology in History, New Delhi, 2008.

A CHART INDICATING DIFFERENT OPERATIONS OF METHODOLOGY



**Text compiled by:
Prof.N.Saraswathi**

BLOCK – 3: HISTORIOGRAPHY

UNIT-11 EARLY AND MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY: GREEK – ROMAN – CHINESE – CHRISTIAN - WEST ASIA

Structure

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction, Greek Period

11.1.1 Herodotus

11.1.2 Thucydides

11.1.3 Polybius

11.1.4 Let us sum up

11.2 Introduction, Roman Period

11.2.1 Fabius Pictor

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11.2.3 Julius Caesar

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11.3 Introduction, Chinese Period

11.3.1 Confucius

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11.5 West Asia

11.5.1 The influences behind Islamic Historiography

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11.9 Answer to check your progress

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GREEK PERIOD

11.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to introduce you the Historiography of Early and Medieval Historiography.

After studying this unit you will be able to know

- The contribution made by Greek Historians.
- The contribution made by Roman Historians.
- Chinese historiographers like Confucius and Szuma Ch'ien
- The features of Christian historiography
- The West Asia historiographers

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Growth of history during different periods and in different countries would certainly help a research scholar in having a better idea of history so that he could base his own writing on right lines. The history of historiography is the history of historical thought. It is neither literary history nor the history of cultural social, political or moral doings which are of a practical nature, but it is certainly all these things in line. The history of historiography began with the Greeks in the 5th and 6th century before Christ all our historical writings rests on foundations laid by the Greeks as absolutely as does all our natural sciences.

The Greeks were the originators of historical writing who made it a conscious art. The Greeks did not have tradition of preserving any documents relating to their life in general. It was only in the (6th B.C. History under the double inspiration of poetry and eloquence. It first arose in Ionia, which was the birth place of Greek epic and also the homeland of the world's first great history. Herodotus, father of history the earliest writers were called "logographers" on one hand and real historians on the other.

11.1.1 Herodotus

Herodotus hailed from Ionia which is the birth place of so many other great classical writers Thucydides was from Attica, the province which gave the top philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle.

Herodotus chose the Persian war as the subject of his history and he excelled in the art of narrative. Since Croesus was the first prince of Asia who attacked the Greeks. Herodotus gives his genealogy, recounts his greatness and fall, and then describes the rise and fall of the Median Empire and the history of Cyrus. His narrative becomes most interesting because one central idea leads on to another, one aspect to another and thus his history of the conflict between Greeks and the Persians becomes the comprehensive history of the entire region. But for Herodotus our knowledge of the Persian history would have been really poor. He traces the events after the death of Cyrus, when the Persian power passed on to Cambyses who conquered Asia and Egypt. The ambition of Darius and especially Xerxes to conquer the Greeks brings him back to Greece again. The last two books of Herodotus were composed first in 456 to 445 B.C., prior to his travels to Egypt and Babylonia. A noteworthy feature of his writings is that he was a great traveler who moved from place to place. Since seeing is believing he gained first hand knowledge of men and events of the area he visited. His travels opened his eyes. The second feature of his history is the vigorous spirit he displays. Despite the weakness he suffered from such (1) his ignorance of the languages of other people. (2) an inherent weakness in him to believe what he heard. (3) a lack of scientific method which prevented him from judging men and events accurately.

Herodotus stands head and shoulder above all others in certain respects. He is so close to the epic age that he has preserved the simplicity, naturalness, charm of poetry. He is a poet as well as historian. His style is easy, familiar and graceful. Herodotus is not only the Father of History but also the Father of Prose composition. It was he who made history a definite discipline with a style of its own and with a purpose of its own.

The primary purpose he fixed for history was to impart information. It was he who gave history an easy and attractive style which gave that dignity to historiography which it had never possessed before.

Herodotus a moralist as well for he made history teaching by examples. His work is in nine books and each one of them is named after one of the nine muses or the Greek goddesses who preside over the different branches of knowledge, the first of whom is Clio or the deity that presides over history. Thalia, Euterpe and so on presides over poetry and sciences. Of all the historians in the whole world it is Herodotus who has become immortal and has gained the honour of Father of History.

11.1.2 Thucydides

As a historians Thucydides, another great name in history, excelled Herodotus. Thucydides had a deep reflective power which wished to know almost everything-what happened, how it happened and why it happened. Thucydides was 13 years younger to Herodotus.

Thucydides believed in studying events as facts which were attached one to the other in a rational, systematic and permanent order. He used the constructive reasoning to fill up the blanks of history and throw light on the dark corners in order to make the narrative very intelligible. He eliminated statements which were based on credulity. Herodotus simply believed whatever he heard. They had the ability to think.

The weakest point in Thucydides is his chronology. He does not have a definite scheme of dating the events. He is free from that utilitarianism which characterizes Roman historiography. Thucydides's faculty of writing history is at its highest both in critical analysis and lucid exposition of the facts. He says that his narrative rested partly on the witness of others which he had verified with the severest and minutest tests possible. In his selection of facts Thucydides had positive rule of guidance. Pragmatic history therefore centres attention on the motives, purposes and ends which appear in events. His statement as to the wealth

and resources of Athens are precise. He is the first historian to bestow attention on the economic life, on the national resources and social institutions of Greece. He believes in the demoralization caused by war and has a heart for its misery. His range of study and thought was as wide as to cover almost every department of human life. He believed in "God protects the right." Might does not make right. He believed in popular government and democracy. He hated oligarchy, aristocracy dictatorship, tyranny, plutocracy, monarchy.

He was the first historian to introduce actual discourse in history. Thucydides is the shining star of Greek historiography. Greece produced other historians as well as Xenophon (430-350 B.C) and Polybius. Xenophon was most ambitious and historical effort was Hellenica, which was the continuation of the work of Thucydides in seven books.

11.1.3 Polybius

Polybius is a better historian than Xenophon. The history of Polybius is noted for three features namely the use of official documents as a source, the description of topography and a thorough discussion of political affairs of the contemporary world in an interesting manner. Plutarch's Parallel lives still remains the best work on historical biography. Ammianus marcellinus wrote in Latin.

11.1.4 Let us Sum up

Thus the world owes a great debt to the Greeks for being the originators of history.

ROMAN PERIOD

11.2 INTRODUCTION

There is a lot of difference between the Greek and the Roman historiography. The former being of a very high degree of excellence and the later

being merely imitative and pragmatic. The earliest Roman historians wrote in Greek rather than in Latin. Greek scholarship was dominated on the Roman field until such time as the Romans realized the importance of their own language. Until the end of the second punic war Rome did not write history, she was making history, she went on accumulating the sources of history which was well utilized at later date, for 500 years Rome had no historian.

11.2.1 Fabius Pictor

All of a sudden the historical spirit emerged. Fabius pictor was the earliest Roman historian but it was only with Cato the Elder (234-149 B.C) that the Roman historiography changed in every respect. The treatment the sources, the subject, the style, the method, the spirit and even the language became different from what they were before.

11.2.2 Cato

Cato is the Father of Roman Historiography. He not only founded a new school but also revolutionized Latin historiography. He was a prolific author and the first real Latin prose writer. Cato rose by sheer dint of his labour, having passed through great adversity, good school, he belonged to peasant stock. His entire history is free from proper nouns. He would think that it was immaterial who commanded the Roman army as long as the Roman soldiers were brave, disciplined and dashing and that it was the blood of the ordinary soldiers that brings victory. He took the ground that Rome's battles were won by common soldiers and that it was unjust to give the glory to the generals. Historical memoirs appear on the scene by 100 B.C.

11.2.3 Julius Caesar

Julius Caesar died in 44 B.C. He was a statesman, a soldier, an orator, a poet, a grammarian, a historian, caesar's commentaries on the Gallic war are not merely military relations but a species of political propaganda aimed at influencing

public opinion. But the period that followed caesar's assassination is rich for history.

11.2.4 Vergil and Livy

Began the composition of Aenid in 29 B.C. In the same year Livy began to write. The first book of Livy is called history appeared in 27 B.C. Both Livy and Vergil were inspired by the conviction of the Roman greatness and the faith that a new and golden age had dawned.

After the assassination of Julius Caesar the Roman world was united for the first time under a single master. Livy was born at Padua in 59 B.C. and died in 17 A.D. Thus he saw the fall of the Roman Republic. The founding of the Roman Empire, and lived through the whole reign of Augustus. The first portion of Livy's Roman history appeared in 29 B.C. Livy intended to conclude his work with the death of Augustus, his history is divided into 142 books. In the preface Livy divides Roman history into grand periods ancient times and modern times of this immense work, there have survived only 35 books.

Livy had a clear idea what he wanted to write. He is brief in dealing with the wars of Rome outside the peninsula. His special field is Italy whose history he traces in great details. Livy believed that history should include morals, promote patriotism, virtues. To the Roman History as an art not a science, Livy was the only historian of the Augustan age who enjoyed the personal acquaintance of the emperor.

11.2.5 Cornelius Tacitus

Is a very great name in historiography. He was born in 55 A.D. and died about 120 A.D. He was an aristocrat. He was known for his Dialogue on orators (2) Life of Agricola, (3) Germania (4) Histories (5) Annals.

His literary career began with his life of Agricola who died in 93 A.D. and who was his father in law. He did a great deal of independent research in the

archives and collected a good deal of information. Tacitus derived much of his material from Greek historians. He possessed rare gifts of analytical ability. He was so fond of telling the truth. Tacitus was a moralist. He believed in the dictum that history ought to strengthen the virtues of man. He is eminently a philosopher historian. Sallust, Seutonicus and Lucretius were minor historians of the said period.

11.2.6 Let us Sum up

In short Romans were definitely inferior to the Greeks in the realm of historical thought. The importance of the Roman history lies in the fact that Rome had a rich political background. The Roman historians believed that monarchy is a permanent feature of history and only answer to political stability and cultural growth. Romans believed that history is nothing but the biography of great men.

CHINESE PERIOD

11.3 INTRODUCTION

Chinese historiography developed independent of all outside influence. Certain circumstances did much to shape the Chinese mentality and dispose it towards the practice of history. First, from very early times the recording of past events was regarded as important for writing itself seems to have been thought by the Chinese as a way of communicating with the divine order. Every temple had its archivist who looked after such documents as the registers, family trees, records of contracts, and decisions of the oracles. Princely houses similarly kept officials whose duty it was to draw up treaties, record edicts, draft documents, divine and decide the day for making a journey, holding a ceremony or beginning a war. The archivist-astrologer acquired great influence at the imperial court and acted as secretary to the emperor or went as his emissary on diplomatic missions. After Szuma Ch'ien, the specialized role of the historiographer became recognized as part of the Chinese civil service. Under the Tung dynasty from the early seventh century there emerged a history office which was an organ of the government, and history became an important subject in the civil service examinations. Such, in

brief, were the factors which made history the most popular and respectable form of literature in China.

11.3.1 Confucius (C. 551-478 BC)

Confucius particularly stressed the importance of history in promoting reverence for the past and respect for the examples set by ancestors. The three subjects which formed the curriculum for his pupils were history, poetry and the rules of propriety. He left behind him, apparently written and edited by his own hand, the Five Ching or Canonical Books which are deemed to constitute the surviving textual reflection of the golden age. Two of these books - the fourth and the fifth are historical works. The fourth, the Ch'un Ch'ieu or spring and Autumn Annals, is a brief chronicle of the reigns of twelve dukes of Confucius's own state of Lu from 722-484 BC. The Annals was also a guide to moral conduct. In the fifth, the Shu-Ching or Book of History or Book of Documents which is a collection of royal speeches, edicts, memorials, feudal documents, etc - the great teacher sought to edify and inspire his pupils with the most important and elevating events of the early reigns. That was the period, thought Confucius, when China had been unified and civilized by heroic and unselfish heroes like the good king Yao who ruled for a hundred years. But Confucius cannot be regarded as so much an historian giving us an impartial account of times past, for he added to his record imaginary speeches and stories to promote morals and wisdom. He was a teacher who idealized his country's past to mould and inspire his young pupils with stories deliberately selected from legend and history. But he promoted the study and writing of history by adding to its prestige. Two works of this period may be mentioned the first was the Tso-chuan, a commentary written about a century after Confucius's death to illustrate and enliven his Book of History; and the second was Annals of the Bamboo Books, found in the tomb of a king of Wei.

11.3.2 Szuma Ch'ien (c.145-85 BC)

Szuma Ch'ien was the father of the historiography that sought to base itself on the reality of the past. Szuma Ch'ien was the son of Szuma T'an, the grand historian astrologer at the court of the Han emperor, Wu. The young Szuma had

travelled extensively before entering the civil service. He succeeded his father as the grand historian-astrologer. It was the dying wish of the historian's father that his son complete the historical record he had begun. But disaster occurred when coming to the aid of a defeated general, he drew upon himself the wrath of Emperor Wu. Szuma submitted to the worst of penalties castration in lieu of death so that he might live to complete the *Shih chi*. He first reformed the calendar and then devoted his life to the task which his father had laid upon him. His masterpiece, the *Shih chi* (Historical Record), ran to 526,000 Chinese characters patiently scratched on bamboo tablets.

CHRISTIAN PERIOD

11.4 INTRODUCTION

The church historiography is entirely different in treatment from that of the Greece-Roman period. The Christians had a strong historical sense which was oriented to their religious needs. It was far from rational or critical history, and its main purpose was to build strong faith in transcendental forces.

After the 5th century A.D., nearly for 800 years the Christian writers dominate the field of historiography. Every one of them was a bishop or a deacon, or canon or a simple priest or a monk. Lay-written historiography completely disappeared until the 13th century. The only avowedly historical book is the New Testament. New Testament is the book of acts which throws light on the spread of early Christianity from Palestine into the Roman world. The Gospels are of very slight historical value for they were not written as history but as religious treatises. The period between the life of Jesus and the first Christian literature is very obscure. The historical value of any narrative or saying depends not upon the evidence of the Gospels as we know them but upon their sources, and that the Gospels do not contain a complete record of the life of Jesus.

From the beginning ecclesiastical history was violently distorted first by the adoption of ancient Jewish history as pre-Christian history, secondly by its association of revelation with history, thirdly by the vicious distinction made

between sacred” and “profane” or secular history. It has ever been a weakness of church history that is seldom regarded in a scientific way to be handled and criticized as dispassionately as any other kind of history. Unfortunately nothing which pertains to church history is quite free from a false guardianship of piety or author. Goethe deplored the lack of a history of Christianity based on an honest interpretation of the facts.

It required three centuries before the church became really historical minded. Greek and Roman society subordinated the individual to the state and set the common wealth above the safety of the individual, Christianity on the other hand was introvert and made communion with god and eternal salvation of the soul superior to every other purpose of life. The centre of gravity was shifted from the present to the future life. This indifference of the early Christians to the public welfare was accentuated by the prevalent Christian belief that Christ would soon return to earth to establish his power and that the second advent was always impending. The early Christians had no interest in the past. Their eyes were fixed on the future. The spirit of research and the search for truth become hopeless. Worse still mendacity become even a virtue. Some of the Christian fathers do not hesitate to attribute mendacity to god and to Jesus.

In course of time inevitably the need for history was more and more thrust upon the church by circumstances. Christianity was making history, and it became necessary to record and preserve its tradition for the instruction and edification of the faithful. The early Christians did not crudely reject reason but brought Platonism to their support and held emotion and intuition superior to reason. To them history meant a process in which god and man participated. Their history started with the creation of man and was to end only in redemption. Oldest history had culminated in the Macedonian empire. Later history was written in the history of Rome, and the latest history was being written in the history of the church.

The first important Christian chronicler was Sextus Julius Africanus. By the third century A.D., the church had become historically minded. The recognition of Christianity by Constantine in 313 A.D. confirmed the church's drawing inclination towards historiography. The time was ripe for a real genuine historian of the church, and he appeared in Eusebius (260-340 A.D) who can rightly be

called the Father of ecclesiastical history. He lived and worked in Caesarea in Palestine where the richest library in the Roman Empire was available. He became a prolific writer. His chronicle begins with the birth of Abraham. His knowledge of events in the East was fuller than his information in regard to the West. A whole family of chronicles emerged from the works of Eusebius.

Veneration of saint was an early development in the church. This veneration presents a striking analogy to hero worship among the pagans. The historians in the East were all lay men, but those in the West were churchmen. A new form was given to church history in the 5th century in Gaul in Western Europe. Two church historians Prosper of Aquitaine and Sulpicius Severus were the best historical writers of the 5th century A.D.

Under the influence of St. Martin he devoted himself to history. He was a man of intellect and invested what he wrote with interpretative and constructive thought and was discriminating in the matter he selected.

He did not believe in Miracles, but in strength of character. In these church histories the belief that human history is guided by God prevented a secular analysis of human motivation.

Among Christian historical biographies one could mention Jerome's Life of Paul the First Hermit. The greatest of the church historiographers was St. Augustine 354-430 A.D. who was a theologian, philosopher, preacher, teacher, poet and a profound political thinker. He became a convert to Christianity, he was a professor. The City of God in 22 books. It was no sudden brilliant spark. He read, read and read and rewrote until it was fashioned into one of the greatest works in the world. According to him state was man made and hence it was an evil. The City of God was this ecclesiastical kingdom but the church was divine foundation and its office was nearly as nearly as it was able to realize that Heaven's vision upon earth. The kingdom of church was the reflection of the kingdom of Heaven.

According to him earthly and heavenly cities are intermingled. The earthly empire, all the splendid achievements in thoughts and arts and deeds of the Roman

civilization, fade away before that of the city of god on which his eyes are fixed. City of God is one of the greatest book of the world.

The City of God has controlled Catholic historiography even since it was written. It bravely asserted that human affairs were neither to be laughed at nor wept over but to be understood. It formulated the dominant political theory of the middle ages. It declared that God ruled human affairs and it put God in history emperor Theodosius. Made Christianity the state religion of the empire. The greatest of the Popes Gregory VII, Alexander III and Innocent III based their claim of supremacy of Papacy over Empire of church over state on St. Augustine's reasoning.

Church historiography has two important chief characteristics. It developed a special technique to treat inspired and sacred writings. It concerned mostly in explaining the ways of god to man and hence was not interested in secular.

Secondly it was not objective but divine and subjective. Christian chronology is highly defective. It began with the creation, according to guided by god and this history treated primary of miracles and saints. This kind of religious history is also known as patristic history. Apart from the patristic history, there was pagan history or secular history.

Until the renaissance period both these types of history were written side by side. But all history was the monopoly of the monks who wrote both secular and religious history.

Seztus Julius Africanus the creation took place 5499 years before Christ. It divided the historical period into (1) from Abraham to the Trojan war. (2) from the Trojan war to the first Olympiad. (3) from the first olympiad to the reign of Darius. (4) from the reign of Darius of death of Christ and (5) from the death Christ to the reign of Constantine.

In the period that followed the reign of Charlemagne a new type of historical literature namely Annals and chronicles came into existence. The word Annals

means annual information, particularly the astronomical records determines the exact date of the Easter festival.

With the fall of the Roman Empire the historians gained wider scope to comment on the events. They raised their voice, while the empire was in the process of decay, against administrative, inefficiency, corruption, increasing taxation, economic stress, breakdown of law.

A simple priest by name Salvian strongly protected against this state of affairs in the book called “on the Governance of God”. Why should the empire which was wholly Christian be visited with such calamities was the serious problem he posed. He argued that the miseries of the Roman societies were largely due to the society’s own evil.

The Christians considered the affairs of history as the expression of divine will, which was conceived in the multifarious forms of savior, spirit creator Lord. Divine law power of God.

Saint Paul divided history into three ages of Adam, Moses and Jesus. With the Advent of Jesus Christ is the central part of the great programme of god to dissuade man from sin and lead him to truth and eternity. Everything appearing good or bad is a link of that long chain of divine planning.

11.4.1 Let us Sum up

Church historiography is entirely different from that of the Greece-Roman period. During the Medieval period, the Christian clergy, monks, and scholars in Europe wrote historical writing. They strongly believed that Christianity was the true religion. Thus they looked upon the church as the dominant factor in all human activity. Majority of the scholars wrote on the history of church, only a few recorded about the contemporary events.

The rise of new religion namely, Christianity did not receive the attention of western scholars for a long period. The church had a humble beginning among the

illiterate people of west Asia. Palestine where Jesus Christ preached his religion was considered as an insignificant and a remote place of the vast Roman Empire. Therefore the westerners did not give any attention to the developments which were taking place in the land of Jesus.

But soon the situation changed because Christianity entered Greek and Roman world. But the Roman emperors tried to seize the new faith but they could not do it, it emerged triumph and won over in large number converts. By 313 A.D. Europe became Christendom.

The Bible is of historical importance. It refers to the plan of history from the past to the future. It gives varied information furnished by the old. Testament about the history of Jesus and other peoples and by the New Testament about the spread of Christianity from Palestine to the Roman Empire added to the historical value of the Bible.

11.5 WEST ASIAN

11.5.1 The Influences behind Islamic Historiography

Ta'rikh in Arabic means the organization of material by date and hence, by extension, history. In pre-Islamic Arabia the feeling for the past had expressed itself, as among any primitive people, in ballad or saga of the genealogies and tribes of the Arabian peninsula half legend and half history. It was the life of Prophet Muhammad that marked the great dividing line in Arab history. But historiography was an acquired characteristic in Islam as the Arabs were not really historically minded. The influence did not come from Greece. For all their contact with the Greeks and the peoples of the Near East, the Arabs did not discover the historians of classical Greece.

The Arabs, like the ancient Romans, built an empire spreading over Asia, Africa and Europe. The two cohesive forces that held this empire together were the Islamic religion and the Arabic language. Empire building and the propensity to

write history go together. The second decisive influence came from conquered Persia.

The inspiration for history writing seems to have come directly from Sassanid Persia where a historiographical tradition had taken roots under the stimulus of the exiled Greek scholars from Edessa and Athens. A considerable amount of Sassanid historical sources survived the Muslim conquest of Persia (the Battle of Nehawand, AD 641) Among the captured treasures of Ctesiphon was a copy of the Important historical work, the Kudai-Namak {Book of Kings) which was sent to the Khalif in Damascus, where it was kept as a curio. In the middle of the eighth century, a Persian noble and convert to Islam translated this work into Arabic. It revealed to the Arabs the long and great history of the country which they had conquered. They now began to evince an interest in their own past and in the past of the peoples whom they had subjugated. A third factor which particularly aided Muslim historiography was a common chronology which began with the Hejira or the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in AD 622. The zeal instilled by the new religion and a common chronology were factors which proved to be of great stimulus to the writing of history.

Muslim history writing flourished with the foundation of the Abbasid Khalifate. Muhammad Ben Ishaq (d. AD 767) is said to have been the earliest recorder of Muhammad's campaigns. He also wrote a history of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus (AD 661-750). Abu Ibn Yahya who died in AD 774 wrote thirty-three treatises on different persons and events, besides a History of the Conquest of Iraq which was his most important work. The last decades of the eighth and the early decades of the ninth century constituted a brilliant period in Abbasidb historiography which corresponded to the Carolingian renaissance in Europe. To this period belonged Waqidi (AD 760-837), a native of Medina and a favourite of the great Harun al-Rashid. Waqidi's Kitab-al-Maghazi is a history of the military and missionary expansion of Islam. Of more eminence was Al-Madaini (d.c. AD 845), the author of the Book of the Conquests font Abu Bekr to Othran, Book of the Khalifs, two monographs on India, and Tarikh al-Khulafa. Al-Baladhuri (d. AD 892) was a prolific historian the titles of whose works would fill five printed pages!. Baladhuri was principally interested in the westward expansion of Islam. His History of the Conquests covers the subjugation of Syria,

Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Spain and Nubia. Selective in method, the work supplies a substantial narrative of the conquest of each province. One of the greatest of not only the Muslim historians but of all historians was Tabari (AD 838-923). Tabari was an indefatigable traveler and assiduous searcher for information. His *History of the Prophets and Kings* was the first universal history in the Arabic language. It was so vast in conception that Tabari did not live to complete it. A native of Baghdad, Al-Masudi spent years traveling through the Muslim world. He had written, before his death in AD 956, thirty-six works. Of these, the principal surviving work is the *Murudj* for whose composition he used 165 written sources including translations of Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy as well as Arabic versions of the monuments of Pahlavi literature. A work of encyclopedic range, the *Murudjis* written in a historic-geographical framework containing important references to rivers and seas and customs and religious practices of many people and countries, and a universal chronology. Masudi's compendium became a basic book of reference to future historians. Miskawaihi (d. AD 1032) was of Persian origin. His work, *The Experience of Nations*, is singularly valuable for matters of taxation and finance, and for economic and social conditions. Celebrated to the ends of the Muslim world was the *Obituaries of Eminent Men* by Ibn Khallikhan (AD 1211-1282). It is the earliest biographical dictionary in the Arabic language and a monument to the author's learning and literary industry. Abul Feda (AD 1273-1331), in spite of a long and active military and civil career, wrote a *Universal History* which extends to AD 1328. Of historians who wrote in Persian during this period was Minhaj-i-Siraj of Juzjan. In AD 1226 he was in India as the protege of Iltumish. In AD 1260 he completed a great universal history, the *Tabakati-i-Nasiri*, which began with the patriarchs and ended with the Mongol invasion of AD 1258. Rashid al-Din (AD 1247-1318) was born of Jewish parents in Hamadan in western Persia and was trained as a physician. Converted to Islam at the age of thirty he became wazir (prime minister), and from AD 1298 until his execution in AD 1318, was the leading statesman of the Mongol kingdom of Persia and Iraq, the Ilkhanate. Rashid's *Jami-al Tawarikh* (Collection of Histories) had been originally planned to cover only the Mongols and their conquests but later came to include all the peoples with whom the Mongols had come in contact. The first of the two parts of the lengthy work is said to be the most important single source in any language for the history of the Mongol world empire.

11.5.2 Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406)

Was the most famous historian of the medieval period. He was the founder of science of history. Ibn, statesman Jurist, historian and a scholar was born in Turn is on May 27, 1332 what Thucydides is of Greece, Tacitus to Rome, Ibn is to the Arab world a great historian of the Arab world.

The ancestors of Ibn were accomplished courtiers and scholars in the court of Hafsid rulers in Bone and in Turnis. The love of learning and intellectual pursuits of his father and grandfather had tremendous influence on Ibn. Ibn's education began with traditional lines, he was given education in the Quran, the Hadis, Jurisprudence, Arabic poetry and Grammar. Afterwards he took interest in the study of Arab Mysticism and philosophy of Moorish Aristotlians.

In 1352 at the age of 20 he joined the government service in Turnis. But he was not interested in staying in Turnis. He left his home city to enter the service of merinid sultan Ab-Inam at Fez. Here he completed his education. Ibn led a stormy life and was subject to many ups and downs. In 1375, he and his family took refuge with the powerful tribe of Anlad Arif, near of fortress village in the province of oran. There he spent 3 years and started writing History of the World. Totally it took 7 years to complete the universal history.

After spending 10 years he left and went to Turnis to take up service under the Sultan. After a few years he took permission from the sultan to go to Mecca. He travelled to Cairo. Where he was invited by the ruler Barquq. There he was appointed as a professor in a college. He served in various positions in Egypt at many places. In 1387 he visited Mecca. He visited Damascus, Jersulem, Bathlehem and Hebor. He died on March 17, 1406 at Cairo.

Ibn's doctrines were influenced by various scholars. Three Muslim historians namely al-Tabsri, al-Marngli, al-Waquidi. Political thinkers such as Turtushi, Ibn-al-Muqaffa, al-Mawardi, he was influenced by Spanish work. Muqaddimah, Ibn's approach is rational and a scientific method. He gave a new interpretation of facts. In this book he discusses about the life of men, the rise of

societies and their development and decay. Further he has discussed the geographical factors, laws of social change and political stability. A critical analysis of all these factors has been given.

Ibn came to the conclusion that history is not merely the study of events. He says that it is also study of the relations among these events, their meaning and value. For this historian needs certain tools. Among these tools the knowledge of the nature and causes of actual events are important. The new science laid importance on certain problems. First was the environmental factors, the life of the people. Climate, vegetation, fertility of the soil, origin and development of society through the ages and its impact on the present. He refers to the psychological factors which determine social habits.

According to Ibn, the science of culture is the mixture of all the three branches of knowledge. Culture is dynamic it has birth, growth and decay. Culture can be compared to any organic body. He narrates material factors like food, shelter soil, vegetation, climate. Formal cause depends upon the role of state. State is responsible for bringing into being a culture. The factors like solidarity, harmony are regarded as efficiency factors, economic factors as formal cause, social factors as efficiency cause and philosophical as ethical factors. Ibn regarded economic activity is one of the causes for the genesis of a culture (urban).

Role of the state in the rise of culture, he states that states itself determines the character and nature of a culture. The state is the agency through which the ideal of a culture takes shape. We cannot think a culture without state but culture is the whole of which the state is a part. He states that state gives security for all types of activities. Ibn describes an order in which the ruler establishes the rule of law. Such a ruler should possess four qualifications. They are (1) full knowledge of law (2) capacity to enforce it (3) ability to interpret (4) and a sound mind. A ruler is not a law giving, but a law enforcing authority. Ibn condemns autocratic despotic rule. This type of government runs according to the whims and fancies of the ruler. This is the worst type of despotism.

Cultures such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome according to which they emerge, grow, mature and disappear. But cultures such as of India, China and Arabia

which were born long ago belong to the continuation group, and they are still existing in full force. Ibn thinks that every culture undergoes a change. Because of the necessity the changes are bound to occur. Ibn discusses three kinds of necessities. They are natural necessity, absolute necessity and necessity which arises out of compulsion. The natural necessity is brought about by organic forces. It is but natural that a seed grows and becomes a plant. Similarly a baby grows to become a man. Compelling factors refer to excessive oppression by a ruler which would lead to a revolt.

Victory or defeat in a war would come out by chance but by the play of either natural absolute or compelling necessity or a combination of all these. Solidarity as its instrument brings about all changes in culture. Power and extent depends on solidarity. Between English and the French East India Companies the former had better solidarity and hence it was able to build up its power in India.

The struggle against Jews is also another example of solidarity. The ultimate cause for the growth of a culture is the Identification of a goal. Happiness and goodness of a large section of society could be such a final cause. There are three types of regimes as far as the realization of goodness is concerned.

1) Primitive culture which aims at survival.

2) Civilized rational cultures which aim at the good of the world.

Civilized regimes which aim at the good of the whole world.

Sources of Error in Historical Writing

1) Over confidence in one's sources.

2) Failure to understand what is intended.

3) A mistaken belief on the truth.

4) Desire to gain favour.

11.5.3 The Islamic West

Islamic Egypt did not give much evidence of its hoary historic past until the Fatimite period in the ninth century when Cairo became the capital of a state seceded from the Khalifate. Then a separate school of historical studies arose. The

history of the Muslim conquest of Egypt is related by Al-Qurashi (AD 802-871) in his *Futuh Misr*. Divided into seven books, the work traces Egyptian history, back to the Persian occupation under Darius I, and closes with the ninth century. El-Kindi (d. AD 961), another Egyptian historian, wrote a *History of the Judges of Egypt*. In Egypt under the Mamelukes in the fifteenth century there were many distinguished historians. The greatest of them all was Ibn Taghri Birdi. Birdi's *Annals* contain a number of subjects, all treated with carefully objectivity. Philosophical by nature, Birdi had an astonishingly broad perception of what was of value in history along with unusual interpretative power. Of special importance are the economic data he provides. He makes numerous mentions of the price of commodities in the markets, of fluctuations of coinage, and of the ratio between gold, silver and copper coins. A school of historians arose in conquered Spain. The oldest known history of Muslim Spain was written by al-Razi (d. AD 937). The work is preserved only in a Spanish recension, the *Chronicle del Moro Rasis*. The other Spanish historians were Arib ben Sa'd (c. AD 996), author of the *History of the Founding of the Fatimite Dynasty*; and Ibn Adhari (d. AD 1292), who wrote a *History of Africa and Spain* at a time when the crescent was waning in the peninsula. Further, an important series of biographical works, commencing in the tenth and continuing into the thirteenth century, has been preserved, which compensates for the loss of other historical works pertaining to Muslim Spain.

11.5.4 Historians of the Crusades and of the Mongols

As in the West, the Crusades stimulated historical writing in the Muslim world too. The *Damascus Chronicle* of al-Qalanisi is an indispensable source for the First and the Second Crusades, particularly as it supplements the Latin and Byzantine narratives and enables, us to check their veracity. The historical sources for the career of the great Saladin are abundant. The most valuable of the four biographies of Saladin was written by Baha-ad-Din (AD 1145-1234) of Mosul, who was a professor in the university there. He was Saladin's secretary and was by the conqueror's side when Jerusalem was captured in AD 1187.

Several writers have related the history of the earth-shaking invasions of the Mongols under Jingiz Khan in the thirteenth century. Ibn-al-Athir in his universal

history based on Tabari, opens the account for the year AD 1220-21 with a description of the Mongols' appalling cruelty and the havoc they created. A new series of Mongol invasions came late in the fourteenth century with the appearance of Timur. By AD 1400, Timur's empire stretched from the confines of China and northwestern India to Hungary. The Zafar-namah [Chronicle of Victory) of Sharafud-Din Yazdi, a Persian and a close friend of the conqueror's son, Shah Rukh, had been popular from its appearance and was continued by various hands until as late as AD 1454. A Life of Timurlane by Ibn 'Arashah (AD 1392-1450), who as a child had been carried captive from Damascus by Timur, is naturally hostile to the Mongol conqueror. Interestingly enough, one of the sources on Timur is his own Memoirs.

11.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus, Ibn Khaldun is a remarkable historian, political theorist, an economist, a socialist, a philosopher. He was the first person to conceive the idea of writing Universal History. His work still continuous to exercise considerable influence on historical writing. Ibn was the founder of science history. Thus in Islamic historiography little need was felt for stating one authorities in the earliest times. In the first century of Islam advanced and the first important histories came to be written in the ninth century. Orally transmitted recollections of the sayings and deeds of the prophet Muhammad. The essential part of the transmission was a chain of authorities-isnad.

11.7 KEY WORDS

1. Herodotus –Greek historian
2. Cato – the father of Roman Historiography

11.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Throw light on historical writings among Greeks.
2. Describe the historical writings among the Romans.

3. Elucidate the historiography during Chinese and Christian period
4. Write a note on the West Asia historiographers.

11.9 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 11.1
2. See section 11.2
3. See section 11.3
4. See section 11.4

11.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

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2. Dr. N. Subrahmanian: Historiography
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UNIT-12 MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY TO 19TH CENTURY

Structure

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 The age of Enlightenment

12.2.1 Voltaire (1694-1778)

12.2.2 Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778):

12.2.3 Edward Gibbon (1737-1794)

12.3 The Romantic Period

12.3.1 Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)

12.3.2 Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886)

12.4 The Positivist Period

12.4.1 August Comte's, (1798-1857)

12.4.2 Karl Marx (1818-1883)

12.5 Let us Sum up

12.6 Keywords

12.7 Check your progress

12.8 Answer to check your progress

12.9 Suggested Readings

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- After studying this lesson you will be able to understand Modern Historiography 18th and 19th Centuries.
- The purpose of this study is to introduce you the nature of Renaissance and Reformation period from 14th to 16th Century historiography. It also gives you the meaning of Renaissance, impact of Renaissance, and Renaissance historians like Petrarch, Machiavelli, Bacon and Vico.
- The Objectives of this study is to introduce you the 18th century enlightenment and its influence on historiography. It also gives information on enlightenment historians like Montesquieu, Voltaire, David Hume, William Robertson, Edward Gibbon and Rousseau.
- The aims and objectives of this unit are to tell you the Romantic reaction against nationalism and Romantic reaction against nationalist literary works and historiography. It also tells you that romanticist historians like, Harder, Hegel, Carlyle, Macaulay, Niebuhr etc.
- The purpose of this unit is to introduce you the positivism in modern historiography of Europe. It also informs you that the positivism historians like August Comte, Henry, Thomas Buckle, Ranke, Karl Marx etc.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

From the time of Petrarch (AD 1305-74) in the fourteenth century, the European mind began to experience changes of great magnitude. Scholasticism, the general name given to medieval education, slowly gave way to a new kind of learning signified by a spirit of inquiry, a spirit which affected every aspect of human thought and activity. An important aspect of the 'New Learning', as it was called, was the eager search for and an enthusiastic study of the works of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

They were concerned more concerned more with man than with god, with refinement of life here on earth than in the problems of life hereafter. The humanist movement reached its climax in the fifteenth century which ushered in

the Renaissance, a great creative movement which emancipated Western thought from the shackles of medieval Christianity.

The Renaissance spirit made a great impact on historiography. It could be seen in a return to the humanistic view of history, the emergence of the lay historian, a new interest in remain of the past; an advance in historical criticism, and in the growth of a new school of humanistic historian such as Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

The eighteenth century enlightenment was marked by the rise of an independent secular class of popular philosophers and writers like, Adam Smith, Cesar Baccarat, Immanuel Kant, Voltaire, Hume, Lessing, Gibbon, Montesquieu, Turgot, Condorcet, Diderot, Rousseau, Holdback, Alembert. They ranged over fields of knowledge which had once been the province of the Church, and presented a different view of the world, of the nature of man of society, religion and history. In France such intellectuals were called *philosophers*. They deliberately affected a revolution in the fundamental beliefs of mankind. The Enlightenment, the German philosopher Kant wrote in 1784, “is the liberation of man from his self-imposed minority”.

The *Philosophers* of the Enlightenment had treated certain ages of the past like the middle Ages as primitive and barbaric and as such unworthy of serious historical investigation. They had also held a conception of human nature as something uniform and unchanging. These two tendencies had to be combated and the horizon of history widened before any further progression historical though could be made. The two thinkers who made substantial advance in these directions were Rousseau and Herder.

Positivism in history was a reaction to Romanticism. Romanticism made historical works more imaginative, while positivism viewed all facts and events of the past in their evolutionary order. Romanticism made individuals the center of attraction, conceived of organic connections, and studied the concepts of liberty and progress; positivism rejected individualism and talked of masses, races, societies and tendencies. Romanticism had overthrown instructive, moralizing and

serviceable history; positivism insisted on the interdependence of the social factors. Positivism boasted that it made history a science.

12.2 THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

From renaissance and reformation a new type of historiography emerged which set itself in opposition to the early and later church historiography. It called itself as historiography of the enlightened era which was meant to dispel darkness of the earlier age when restrictions had been put on free thought. In reality the progress of this period was without development. The best of the historical representatives of enlightenments were Voltaire and Condorcet who remained happy even in the midst of turmoil, and who were hopeful of the future and contemptuous of the past which generated that present.

12.2.1 Voltaire (1694-1778)

Voltaire was the founder of the rationalist school of historians who believed in science and reason and generally discredited the middle Ages which according to this school did not contribute much to the promotion of culture. Voltaire was a fearless critic who had style of his own, full of satire and wit. He carried on a ruthless attack on Church which he thought had degenerated to an irretrievable level. The era of enlightenment inaugurated by Voltaire blazed the trail of numerous Luminaries such as David Hume, William Robertson and Edward Gibbon.

12.2.2 Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Yet another brilliant star of the enlightenment era was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who along with Voltaire expressed the hollowness of the ancient regime. If Voltaire had unchained the tigers of emotions Rousseau let loose the horses of reason with which he attempted to demolish the old and build a new structure of society. His Social Contract is a classic which produced the Revolution. He too is the true representative of the enlightenment age who condemns the theological view of history, vehemently attacked the privileged

classes and fostered the sense of liberty, equality and fraternity, the three powerful slogans of the Revolution.

12.2.3 Edward Gibbon (1737-1794)

He was the greatest English historian of the eighteenth century. He combined enormous erudition with the philosophical ideals of the enlightenment to produce the first history in English that achieved both sound scholarship and broad philosophical scope. His magnum opus, 'The History of the Decline and fall of the Roman Empire', gives us a continuous narrative picture from 2nd century A.D. to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. This work is a masterpiece of prose style and it has been influencing men's judgment of antiquity and the middle Ages. Gibbon was born on April 27, 1737 at Putney. He was the eldest of the only survivor of seven children, the rest dying in infancy. He inherited considerable fortune from his father and grand- father and led an easy going life.

The first quarto volume of his history published in February 1776 scored a success, except with the last two chapters in which he dealt with great irony about the rise of Christianity. Reactions to Gibbon's treatment of Christianity have displayed various phases. He was attacked and ridiculed by those who feared that the skepticism would shake the existing establishment. He had no belief in divine revelation and had little sympathy for those who had such beliefs. His main purpose was to establish the principle that religions must be treated as phenomena of human experience. Although Gibbon's best known treatment of Christianity is found mainly in the 15th and 16th chapters, less significant are later chapters in which he traced the developments of theology and ecclesiasticism in relation to the breakup of the empire.

Gibbon went on to prepare the next volumes. Meanwhile he was assailed and ridiculed by many for the most part he ignored his critics. This Historians, David Hume and William Robertson, recognized him as their equal. In 1779 Gibbon obtained a valuable sinecure as a commissioner of trade and plantations. Shortly after that he composed *Memoire justificatif*, a masterly state paper in reply to continental criticism of the British Government's policy in America. In 1781 he

published the second and third volumes of his history bringing the narrated own to the end of the empire in the west. In 1782 Lord North's Government fell and soon Gibbon's commission was abolished. This was serious loss of income. To economize he left England and joined Deyverdun in a house at Lausanne. There he quietly completed his history in three more volumes, and completed it in 1787. Then he returned to England with the manuscripts of his volumes and they were published in 1788. The completion of this work was acclaimed on all sides.

Thus the enlightenment ear threw on the chess board of history several new ideas which sometimes inverted the usual view and placed reason not in modern times or in the near or distant future, but in the past, in the pre-historic past and in the state of nature from which history represented in deviation. But this theory was not far wrong because a state of nature never exists in reality but expressed an ideal to be attained in modern times. The religious character of all this new conception of the world cannot be obscure to anyone, for it repeats the Christian conception of God as truth and justice and Christianity sets the whole of previous history in opposition to itself to condemn it. It was the target for fiercest blows and criticism, when all reticent was broken, and people broke out into open and fanatical warfare.

12.3 THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

The 19th century witnessed revolutionary changes in European historiography which produced several schools of thought. Some of which were so profound as to affect even the political structure of a few countries. The conflicting ideas of the Enlightenment era which at once emphasized national and spiritual concepts could not naturally continue for long. Two forms of historical representation arose soon after the French Revolution which is known as the Romantic period. They are nostalgic historiography and restored historiography. Both kinds of history drew their inspiration from the medieval period. Giving up the rationalistic tendency of the Enlightenment period, the new school took itself again to old religion, the old national customs and the religion and local sentiments and manners.

This movement or thought arose in the 19th century and it substituted for the simplicity, harmony, unity and solidity of the rational or classical period. It advocated a mystic, passionate, free spirited and capricious standard of the middle Ages. Originated first in France with Rousseau, whose state of nature is really a romantic idea. In Germany writers like Schell gel and Lessing fostered and in England writers like Gray, Cowper, Burns, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Rossetti and Carlyle happen to be the best representatives of this school. They produced works of romantic medievalism which did some service in that they dispelled effectively the prejudices of the Age of Enlightenment against the middle Ages.

However, the impact of romanticism is to be seen in the choice of the themes that lend themselves to color, fancy, simplicity, harmony and unity. At the same time it advocated a passionate love of the medieval ideas such as adventure, chivalry, romance, crusades and wandering in castles and cathedrals. It was a reaction to the rational approach of the enlightenment period and it produced such thinkers as Carlyle and Ranke who built up their own system of philosophy which is exceedingly fascinating although it cannot claim to have any universality. Very soon this historiography gave place to a different type of historiography which attempted to explain historical phenomena in terms of laws and principles.

12.3.1 Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)

He was a mighty force in the 19th century, whose ideas let loose a controversy that raged for quite a long time. He was from Scotland and was from the beginning a person of un-conceding nature, firm in ideas and independent in spirit. He enunciated his famous theory that history is nothing but the biography of great men. He laid great emphasis on the role of great men in history, which are really responsible for moving the wheels of history. One Alexander, one Julius Caesar, one Jesus, one Frederick or one Napoleon would turn out so much as to fill not only many pages of current history but also cause a powerful impact on the posterity. In all the works he wrote, the consistency of thought on heroes, hero worship and the heroic in history runs all along. His History of Fredrick the Great,

Early Kings of Norway, Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, Life of John Sterling, and several others were all on personalities.

12.3.2 Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886)

Leopold was one of the leading German historians of the 19th Century. He has been called as the father of modern historiography. His insistence on careful and methodical research, his passion for objectivity and his belief in the unique importance of historical studies had a profound influence on historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Ranke was born on December 21, 1795. After completing his early education in a Protestant boarding school he entered the University of Leipzig. He studied theology and the classics and concentrated on philosophical works and the translation and exposition of texts. This approach he later developed into highly influential technique of philosophical and historical textual criticism. His interest for history arose from his studies of the ancient writer. He developed great interest in Luther as a historical character. Apart from the contemporary patriotic enthusiasm for German history, he was very much influenced by Barthold George Niebuhr's Roman history, the historiographers of Middle Ages and Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, as well as by the German romantic poet and philosopher Johann Gottfried Von Herder, who regarded history as a chronicle of human progress.

In 1824 he published his Maiden work History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations from 1494 to 1514, which treats', the struggle waged between the French and the Hapsburg for Italy as the phase that unshared in the new era. In his next book, Ranke utilizing the extremely important reports of the Venetian ambassadors, dealt with the rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Spain in the Mediterranean. From 1834 to 1836 he published a work dealing with the papacy; a book ranks even today as a masterpiece in narrative history. Rising above religious partisanship, Ranke in this work depicts the papacy not just as an ecclesiastical institution but above all as a worldly power.

Ranke had no object of pleasing any authority or the individual in his work. He wanted to attain his ideal of objectivity in his work on historiography. In his work *History of the Reformation in Germany*, appeared the first scholarly treatment of that age. Then follows his other works *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg* and *History of Prussia during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries*, later expanded to twelve volumes. *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, *A History of France Principally during that period*, each consisting of several columns that although partly rendered obsolete by later research, are still worth reading today for their great narrative skill. His books on the late 18th and early 19th centuries and others are subtle account of complex political event but address themselves only indirectly to the central problems of a changing age.

Thus Ranke warned historians not to fall into the trade of the philosophers who have set notions which would be needlessly forced on the readers. He completed his long and very fruitful labours in the form of monographs, avoiding universal construction. His main task was to reveal how things really had happened. His greatest achievement was to write on French history in a manner that did not displease the French. This is glory enough, because it is not a small achievement for a German to write on French history and still escape from the criticism of being a partisan. Likewise, if the Russians were to comment on the policies of the Americans in such a way as to obtain favorable response from the latter one would say that historical objectivity is not totally forgotten it was Ranke who inaugurated the writing of such a history wherein national or religious, or sectarian or racial prejudices of any type would have no place and history should come up to the level of being a science ‘No less and no more’. He was an ideal historian both to the scholars of his own country and to all others.

12.4 THE POSITIVIST PERIOD

The Romanticist School of thought did not hold the field for long and very soon gave way to a new School known as Positivism, whose high priest was August Comte. Positivism tells us that human knowledge cannot go beyond human experience, and that any enquiry into historical phenomenon should be

restricted to scientific mode. The supporters of this school were Comte, Buckle, Taine, Hambrecht, Braising and Bordeaux. Their contention was that true history is to be constructed by means of the naturalistic method and that causal induction should be employed. There are manifold naturalistic conception like race, heredity, degeneration, imitation influence, climate and other historical factors which should be taken into consideration.

The historiography of Positivism differed from that of Romanticism on various lines. Romanticism had abolished historical dualism for which there existed in reality positive and negative facts. Positivism repeated that all facts are facts and that all have a right to history. Romanticism had substituted the conception of development for the abysses and the chasms that previous historiography had introduced into the course of events and positivism repeated that conception calling it evolution. Romanticism had established periods in development and positivism renewed these conceptions. Positivism in its turn insisted upon the interdependence of social factors and upon the unity of the real and attempted to fill up the gaps of the various special histories by means of the history of civilization and of culture, and so called social history, consisting of politics, literature and philosophy, religion and every other class of facts.

12.4.1 August Comte (1798-1857)

Comte's sultimate purpose was the political reorganization of human society. His fundamental conviction was that such reorganization must wait upon the spiritual and moral unification of society. Believing, that the evolution of the human mind proceeded according to definite laws, he regarded it as his first task to isolate and demonstrate them by scientific process assisted by historical verification.

It was St. Simon's secretary, August Comte, who becomes the high priest of positivism. Born at Montpellier, Comte had grown up into a precocious rebel. After working as teacher for some time, he becomes secretary to St. Simon against whom after seven years, however, his independent spirit revolted. In an authoritarian religious strain he proclaimed himself high priest of humanity.

Comte explained the aims and principles of his philosophy in two works – the course of positivist philosophy (1830-42) in 6 volumes, and the system of positivist politics (1851-54) in 4 volumes. The basic view presented in these works is that “all phenomena being subject to invariable natural laws, whose precise discovery and reduction to the smallest number possible is the aim of all our effort.”⁶ Comte’s system is called positivism by reason of the definite, explicit, absolute quality asserted in its name –just those qualities that mark laws in the physical sciences. The French philosopher claimed for his positivist approach two things: First, that it was possible to study man in society just the same way as scientists study natural phenomena; and second, that it was possible to discover definite laws of historical and social behavior. In a triumphant spirit Comte formulated his law of three stages’. The law states that the history of all human societies and branches of experience must pass through three stages, each with its corresponding historical epoch: the theological-military (ancient), the metaphysics –legalistic (medieval), and the positive scientific –industrial (modern). Comte thought that it would be possible to discover laws of human society through a study of the progress of the human mind.

Though Comte’s brilliant analysis and original interpretation of history did not appeal to historians in general, his influence was considerable. His treating of all social thought as an interrelated whole had a profound effect on the subsequent development of the various social sciences. To Emile Faguet, August Comte was the most powerful shower of seeds and intellectual stimulator, the greatest thinker that France has had since Descartes.

12.4.2 Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Marx, who outdistanced all others in developing an approach to history which postulated general laws and broad patterns, was Karl Marx. Marx raised positivistic outlook in history to a high philosophical level-historical materialism. Marx was born in the town of Trier in the Rhineland in Germany, the son of a lawyer. He studied law and jurisprudence at the University of Berlin, but took a keen interest in history and philosophy also. Leaving university in 1841, he

became a severe critic of the economic and political order of the day and soon had to leave the land of his birth to France, then to Belgium, and finally to England.

He was one of those who formed the First International (1864) and remained thereafter the dominant personality of the socialist movement. Two extremely favorable circumstances of an otherwise difficult and turbulent life were Marx's marriage to Jenny von Westphalia in 1843 and his acquaintance with Friedrich Engels in the same year. Jenny was a devoted wife in life and dedicated assistant in his work. Marx found his friendship with Engels invaluable in his life and struggle. Theirs was one of history's most creatively collaborative endeavors.

The first works to expound the materialist conception of life and history were the *Holy Family* (1845) and *The German Ideology* (1846), both of which Marx wrote in conjunction with Engels. In 1848 appeared *The Communist Manifesto*, which was the first coherent and consistent exposition of the fundamentals of Marxism. It was again a collaborative work of Marx and Engels. Marx's *The Critique of Political Economy* (1859) is a brilliant work of which Engels later wrote: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of human history." *The Das Capital* (1867-94) was the work of a lifetime and the principal text of scientific communism. When Marx died Engels said: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time."

By pronouncing that the modes of material production affect all the other aspects of human life, Marxism has provided an organizing principle and is now understood to suggest what has come to be called 'total history.' Total history means a history in which stress is laid on the interrelationship between art, ideas, politics and economics. Henri Berr (1863-1954) in France sought through the journal he founded in 1900; *Review of Historical Synthesis*, to bring together in one great synthesis, all the activities of man in society. In France, again, Lucien Febver and Marc Bloch hoped through their journal, *Annales*, to project a history more 'total' and more human.

12.5 LET US SUM UP

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed the great scholars and number of Isms such as, the Renaissance, the age of enlightenment, the Romanticist period, positivist period and the modern Scientific History. Among them, the age of enlightenment, the romantic period, and the positivist period are very important. In the enlightenment age, David Hume and Edward Gibbon played important role in Europe. In the 19th century Carl Marx and Marxism is said to be very popular. Carl Marx left the Marxian philosophy theory of economic determinism and also contributes in much for the philosophy of history. In the later part of the 19th century we are going to understand, how Ranke became popular in his scientific writings and how his philosophy of history is become famous in the writing of history.

The critical historiography was started with Leopold Von Ranke. He has applied the principles of Niebuhr to the modern history. He adopted the maxim that the nearest witness to the event was the best source and that the letter of the actors were more valuable than the anecdotes of the Chronicles. He evolved the methods of assessing the value of written document of studying about the personality of the writer and inquiry into the question as events as where from the derived his information. With the application of these materials, which were till then regarded as highly valuable, were quite reliable. Any way more than anyone else, Ranke is responsible for making history an autonomous and scientific discipline. He was a prolific researcher, he has written histories of all kinds of biographies to the works on world history. His contribution of fifty four volumes, status and popularity and fetched him good name.

12.6 KEYWORDS

1. Voltaire – the founder of Rationalist School of Historians.
2. Theology – is the systematic and rational study of concepts of God and of nature of religious ideas.

12.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Describe the role of Voltaire and Russo in the development of enlightenment age.
2. Evaluate the new philosophy of the Romantic historiography and its significance.
3. Describe the explanation of positivist period historians.

12.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 12.2
2. See section 12.3
3. See section 12.4

12.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT-13 MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY: 20TH CENTURY

Structure

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Renewed Interest in Philosophy: Spengler and Toynbee

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13.0 OBJECTIVES

- The aims and objectives of this study are to introduce you the nature of modern historiography of 20th century Europe. It mentions the 20th century scientific history function and purpose of history.
- The purpose of this study is to introduce you 20th century important historians like Spengler and Toynbee and their renewed interest in philosophy criticism and history. It also tells you the significant of Spengler's book entitled 'The Decline Western Civilization' and Toynbee's work entitled "A Study of History".
- The main objectives of this unit are to introduce you 20th century historians like Croce and Collingwood. It let you know the idealistic view of history of Croce and Collingwood.
- The purpose of 20th century European historiography is to introduce you the historical relativism economic history, social history of the period. Thus after study this unit you will be able to understand the modern historiography of Europe in 20th century.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

By the end of the nineteenth century, history had firmly established itself as an autonomous scientific discipline and several manuals of its methodology and technique-as those by C.A. Lingoes and Charles Seigniors were written. The sole aim of this new science of history, as expressed by Lord Action in his directive to the collaborators of the Cambridge Modern History, was the increase of 'accurate knowledge'. It was even believed that it would one day be possible to produce 'ultimate history' – a history that would need no change once it was written.

There was in the twentieth century a widening of the scope of history. Henri Barr in France tried to do it by making history the synthesizing science among the emergent social sciences. In America meanwhile a new history, aiming at its immediate usefulness was being launched by James Harvey Robinson. Again, new subdivisions of history – economic, social and legal were springing up. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the history of ideas, culture and art began to

flourish. Historians were beginning to realize that their traditional modes of analysis could be deepened by the contributions of Durkheim, Weber and Freud. They also knew that scientism and specialization had torn their works from the other humanities, especially literature, and alienated them from the reading public. Spengler after the First World War and Toynbee after the Second won large audiences which, if anything, showed the need for synthesis and meaning in history in an age of specialization. And, finally, Lucien Fabre and Marc Block tried to produce what has come to be called ‘total history’ by bringing together all the activities of man in society.

13.2 RENEWED INTEREST IN PHILOSOPHY: SPENGLER AND TOYNBEE

In the first phase of the twentieth century renewed interest in philosophy showed itself in a kind of overarching philosophical history as represented by Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee as well as in a reconsideration of the nature of history as seen in the work of Benedetto Croce and R G. Collingwood. Spengler and Toynbee were philosophers of history, the theme of their philosophizing being the past itself, for which the First World War in part provided the stimulus. Both tried to detect a grand design in history and aimed at revealing what they thought were the general laws behind the rise and fall of civilizations.

13.2.1 Oswald Spengler (1880-1936)

Oswald Spengler is one the greatest thinkers of the 20th century. His work *Decline of the West* proved to be one of the most influential, controversial and durable masterpieces of recent times in the fields of social science, philosophy of history and German philosophy. It raised an unknown high school teacher into the ranks of the century’s most influential social thinker. He was born in Blacken burg, Germany on May 29, 1880 and died on May 8, 1936. He studied mathematics history, natural history and art at the Universities of Halle, Munich and Berlin, and became a high school teacher at Dusseldorf, Hamburg and Munich. From 1911 to 1914 he was engaged in the writing of his main work. *Decline of the West* whose publication was delayed owing to the outbreak of the First World

War. He was greatly influenced by Goethe and Nietzsche who were the main source of his inspiration. Goethe gave him method and Nietzsche, the questioning faculty. The publication of his work at once brought him world-fame. It was a sensational success which evoked vast literature and was translated soon into several languages. He has examined in this work the nature of man's supreme activity namely the production of a culture, its birth, growth and decline and passed judgment on the state of affairs existing in the western culture. As the title suggests the whole body of his work is devoted to an analysis that the European culture has reached its nadir, that its destruction and disappearance was certain and that its declining phase which had already set in would be more painful.

Spengler's philosophy of history opens with a vehement attack on the European periodization of history into ancient, medieval and modern. He condemns this classification as an incredibly childish and meaningless scheme, and replaces it by the Copernican view point, which admits no privileged position to western or classical culture as against the other high cultures of India, Babylonia, Mexico, China, Egypt or the Arabs. He considered each high culture as important in the scheme of history as western or classical culture.

Spengler discusses the general characteristic of the civilization phase of each culture. (1) In the civilization phase there is cosmopolitanism and megalopolis as against home, race, blood group and father-land (2) Scientific religion or abstract dead metaphysics as against the religion of the heart. (3) Bold matter-of-factness as against reverence, tradition and respect for age (4) International society instead of "my country" and "My Nation" concept. (5) Natural rights in the place of hard earned rights (6) Money and abstract value in lieu of fruitful earth and real values. (7) Mass instead of folk. (8) Sex in lieu of motherhood. (9) Imperialistic expansion, urbanization, internationalization, the outward direction of the culture man. (10) The cult of bigness, lust for power, class struggle instead of equality and unity.

Spengler next deals with the main stages of the life-cycle of several cultures. In the pre-culture state man were naked, carnivorous nomad and a beast of prey. With the advent of agriculture a radical change takes place. Nature becomes mother earth. These stages do not have a history. There is no politics, no classes,

no masses and no state. In Egypt this state existed by about 3400-3000 BC., in Greece by about 1600-1100 BC, in China around 1700-1300 B.C. and in Western Culture around 500-900 A.D. The next phase is of the early period of culture which consist of two phases-feudalism and the aristocratic state. Feudalism is beginning of history when the city emerged and the primary classes of nobility and priesthood were formed. A Feudal nation and a state were formed. The castle and the temple and the cathedral appeared. Religious chivalric ideas, idealism and the values were evolved. In the second phase the aristocratic state comes into existence. In the late period of culture the idea of the state and national government is realized in its nature and full form. A third class, the bourgeoisie, emerges and grows. The city assumes quantitative and qualitative importance. It begins to dominate the countryside politically, economically, technically and intellectually. Urban values replace agricultural values. The city begins to exploit the country side. This period can be divided into three fairly clear phases (1) Structuralization of states and their form. (2) Climax of the state form, absolute monarchies and unified nations. (3) Breakup of the absolute state form.

Spengler's attempt at a systematic interpretation of universal history is commendable. And the interpretation, in some of its parts, contains a bracing suggestiveness. Professional scholars are as critical of Spengler's unorthodox methods, as they are contemptuous of his errors of facts. The value of the *Decline of the West* as a major contribution to social theory also may be doubted, as to analyze and explain human society as an organism on the false analogy of biology is futile and misleading. Critics have also found fault with Spengler's theory of the determinism of inevitable decline as well as his repudiation of the Enlightenment, the idea of progress and the democratic liberties attained after centuries of struggle.

13.2.2 Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975)

Arnold Joseph Toynbee was born in London in 1889. After graduating from Balliol College, Oxford, he held many posts until in 1925 he became Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Studies. Toynbee died in York, England, in October 1975. Besides his master work, A Study of History, Toynbee published numerous smaller works of which Civilization on Trial and the World

and the West started widespread debate. Some of his other publications are *Nationality and War*, *Greek Historical Thought*, *East to West: A Journey Round the World*, *Hellenism: A History of a Civilization*, *Autobiography*, and *the year-by-year*, Survey of Inter-National Affairs which are good accounts of contemporary history. The last of this prolific output was *Mankind and Mother Earth*.

Arnold J. Toynbee was born in 1889 and studied at Winchester and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was given an old fashioned education in Greek and Latin classics. He spent a year in the British Archaeological School in Athens. From 1919 to 1924 he was professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine studies at King's College, University of London. Since 1925 he served as Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. His illustrious work *A Study of History* is undoubtedly "the greatest single handed historical achievement" since the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* of Gibbon. In this monumental work he has examined the genesis, the growth and decay of all the civilizations of mankind. It is a kind of met history which is the most ambitious project in historical synthesis ever attempted by a single author". For the learning and erudition" capacity for comprehension and interpretation of historical forces, his work would remain unrivalled for long time to come.

Toynbee deals with firstly, the problem of the genesis of civilization. He raised the question why do some of the societies like many primitive groups, become static at an early state of their existence and fail to emerge as civilizations. His answer is that the genesis of civilization is due neither to the race factor nor to geographic environment as such but to specific combination of two conditions. Namely, the presence of a creative minority in a given society and of an environment which neither too unfavorable nor too favorable. Toynbee here eliminates the impact of racial factors and says that it is wrong to think that racial superiority is responsible for the birth of civilization. Likewise the Aryans, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs who had built up a high culture in the past should have retained the glory of the past. Africa which is so rich in mineral resources and fertility of the soil could not have remained a dark continent if geographical factors were to be a decisive factor.

This point is significant because Huntington and others had formulated a theory by which climate, natural fertility of the soil and other geographical features were considered to be the prime cause for the rise of Culture. Toynbee has played down the impact of both these racial and geographical elements. He laid emphasis on two other factors. One is dynamic leadership or creative minority, a set of people who are intelligent, far-sighted, hard-working and extremely competent. This creative minority is comparable to brain in human body. Although the brain is so small in size comparable to other organs of the body, it is so essential for human life; so also the creative minority plays the vital role in society and it is that body which is instrumental for shaping the entire destiny of the society. Toynbee's significant contribution is the identity of this element in the society which plays the key role in the mechanism of the birth of a civilization.

The next problem of the study is why and how out of twenty six civilizations, four civilizations, namely. Far-Western Christian, Far-Eastern Christian, Scandinavian and Syria miscarried and proved abortive. Five cultures Polynesian, Eskimo, Nomadic, Spartan and Ottoman were arrested in their growth at an early stage, whereas the remaining civilizations grew "through a clan that carried them from challenge through response to further challenge and from differentiation through integration to differentiation again". Toynbee raises the issue of the meaning of growth before answering the question why do civilizations grow. In Toynbee's opinion the growth of a civilization is not due to a geographic expansion of society. With geographical expansion, the internal harmony and compactness will disappear and a civilization is crushed under its own weight. Likewise the growth of a civilization does not consist in, and is not due to technological progress and to the societies increasing mastery over the physical environment. There is no correlation between progress in technique and progress in civilization. Again the splitting of atom and making of atom bomb should have been considered as the zenith point of a culture. It might be merely a technological advance carried out at the expenses of more social needs. A country might divert large funds for such dazzling achievements neglecting more pressing needs of eradicating poverty, ignorance and hunger. Therefore the moment a country owns an atom bomb or puts a rocket in the space, we cannot declare that it has attained a high degree of civilization.

Toynbee proceeds further to say that in a progressive and cumulative “etherialization” of the society’s values and simplification of civilization’s apparatus and technique lies the secret of progress. Very significantly he uses the term of “etherialization” to indicate that a civilization is rendered fine, exquisite and spiritual by elevating the society through a higher plane through moral values. Toynbee comes very close to oriental philosophy, particularly Christian and Buddhist philosophy where ethics and morality play a dominating role. It says that a higher culture comes very close to implementation of those heavenly laws whereby man conquers the self and wins the heart of others through love and service. Here could be seen the ideas of the Vedanta philosophy or what Gandhism stands for. Further Toynbee is of the view that the entire apparatus of the civilization must be simplified. If it becomes too materialistic one would become the slave of the machine. It is a direct hit on the present society whose base is science and technology. Toynbee thinks almost like Gandhi that true culture lies in simplicity, grace and naturalness. Therefore, unless the structure of the culture is not designed on simpler lines, much of the energy will be frittered away in useless and showy exteriors. It is like a man paying more attention to the dress he wears, the house he lives and the type of transport he owns rather than to the development of his mind, the quantity of his actions and the state of his health. If he prefers to adopt a simple way of life, there is greater possibility of his high thinking.

Toynbee agrees with Spengler that every high culture has its own prime symbol and major premise. It is aesthetic in Hellenic civilization, religious in Hindu culture and scientifically mechanistic in the modern western cultures. This declining phase consists of three sub-phases, (a) the breakdown of the civilization, (b) its disintegration and (c) its dissolution. The breakdown and dissolution are often separated by centuries, and even thousands of years.

13.3 Idealistic view of History: Benedetto Croce and R.G.Collingwood.

Alongside the great philosophical edifices of history created by Spengler and Toynbee, there was also a philosophical reconsideration of the nature of history. The men who represented this trend were Benedetto Croce and R.G Collingwood.

These two men provided a philosophical justification of the relativist mood in historiography which had shown itself, particularly in America, at the beginning of the twentieth century.

13.3.1 Benedetto Croce (1866-1952)

One of the great self-taught students of history, Benedetto Croce was historian, humanist, and foremost Italian philosopher of the first half of the twentieth century. Croce served as minister of education in the Italian Government of 1920-21. An unbending and absolute opposition to Fascism made him the rallying point of all lovers of liberty. Croce published most of his writings and systematically expounded his '*Philosophy of the Spirit*' in *La Critica*, a journal of cultural criticism which he had founded in 1903.

Benedetto Croce was born in 1866 in Italy. He was educated in a Catholic school. He lost both his parents in 1883 in an earthquake. Thereafter he lived in Rome with his Uncle. He had no university education. He settled in Naples in 1886 and did research in local history. He wrote two papers, one on the "Nature of History" and the other one "the Method of Literary Criticism" in 1893 and 1895. He developed the ideas found in these papers later on between 1900 and 1905. By the end of the nineteenth century he wrote a treatise on Marxian Economic Doctrine. His greatest work however was the four volume books on the philosophy of Spirit. The first volume dealt with Aesthetic. The second volume related to Logic. The third volume concerned itself with the philosophy of Conduct. The subject matter of that volume was economics and ethics. The fourth volume related to the Theory and History of Historiography. In 1903 he founded a periodical *la critica* in the columns of which he reviewed all the leading historical, philosophical and literary works of his times. This he did till 1944. From 1945, he contributed to another journal called *Auaderii Della Critica*

Croce's philosophy is usually mistaken as the product of Hegelian influence. But it was not so. Hegel was concerned with pure metaphysics. But the influence of Croce was more in the field of art and letters and history than metaphysics. To him there are no realities apart from experience and again to his art, logic,

philosophy and history constituted a single cognitive whole. That is why first volume of his major work dealt with art which is aesthetic, and then logic, and then economics and ethics which he called the philosophy of conduct. History is important to him because it stands for the totality of human experience. The only reality which Croce recognized was the absolute reality, i.e., an eternal history self-created and self-evident.

It was the period when the question whether history was an art or a science was insistently asked and the answer that it was a science, was given in Germany and the fashion was spreading. The first major thinker in Europe to contradict this was Croce. When he said that history and art were related inseparably he had to define and explain art make himself understood at all. He pointed out that art was not merely the medium for the giving and neither receiving of sensuous pleasure nor a mere representation of natural fact or the construction and enjoyment of systems of formal relations but the perceptive insight into individuality. The artist intuitively understands this and represents this individually. Those who study the art see it as represented by the artists. Therefore art must not be considered to be an object of pleasure but must be seen to be the understanding of personality or of the individual. It is the unique that is comprehended in art. On the contrary science deals with general concepts. History cannot be science since it is altogether concerned with concrete individual facts. Croce has made a strong statement namely that history has only one duty and that is to narrate facts. According to Croce history is not merely fundamentally distinct form science but is also impossible to contemplate it as anything other than art, since the function of art is to be concerned with the unique.

13.3.2 Robin George Collingwood: 1889-1943

Croce was an important influence on Robin George Collingwood. A practicing archeologist and historian of Roman Britain, Collingwood held at lectureship in history along with his Chair of Philosophy at Oxford. His *Religion and Philosophy* was a critique of empirical psychology and an analysis of religion as a form of knowledge while the *Speculum Mentis* a major work, proposed a philosophy of culture based on the unity of the mind and a synthesis of five forms

of experience, art, religion, science, history and philosophy. But Collingwood's fame rests primarily on the important contribution he has made to the critical philosophy of his in *The Idea of History* (1945).

Based on Crocean idealist position that all history is the history of thought, Collingwood's pamphlet of 1930. *The Philosophy of History* contained an elaborate justification of historical relativism. The contention that history is the creation of the historian, Collingwood is aware, is apt to make it arbitrary and capricious, yet he underlines the subjective element in all history in the sense that every age, every man, sees in a particular historical event things which another does not, the pamphlet ends with a fine exposition of the Crocean notion that all history is contemporary history; "every age", write history afresh.

Collingwood's *The Idea of History* proposed history as a discipline in which the historian relives the past in his mind in the context of his own experience. The philosophy of history is 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". That is the meaning in which the word at present is used. "The History of thought, and therefore all history", Collingwood wrote, "is the re-enactment of past thought in the historian's own mind." A natural process, he contends, is a process of events; an historical process is a process of thoughts. Man is the only subject of historical process since he is the only animal that thinks, and thinks enough to render his actions the expression of his thoughts. But all human actions are not subject matter of history.

The work of Croce and Collingwood did much to instill confidence into the wavering, doubtful mind of the twentieth century historian. *The Idea of History* has vastly improved our understanding of the subject, and its author's attempt to integrate history and philosophy has been recognized as a significant scholarly contribution. Convinced of the importance and dignity of history, Collingwood wrote in his autobiography that we might be standing on the "threshold of an age in which history would be as important for the world as natural science had been between 1600 and 1900".

13.4 LET US SUM UP

It is the core of Spengler's Philosophy of history. On a few other crucial questions on how other crucial questions on how and why does the high culture originate? Spengler did not accept the principle of causality and causal factors to answer the question. He simply says that the whole matter is mystery or destiny. The sudden and profound changes are a cosmic nature and originate beyond the earth's boundary. The rise of great culture is an unforeseen incident or a mystery. The role of external factors consists just as the external conditions cannot change a cow into a bird, though they can mutilate or kill it. Thus the contribution of Spengler to philosophy of history is very significant. It was he who analyzed the various problems relating to the growth, development and decay of culture. Although one may not agree with him on all points, particularly with regard to what he says on oriental culture, there is no denying the fact that his philosophy is very profound.

The name of Arnold Toynbee is very popular in the annals of the historical writings. He has exhibited lot of interest in the study of history. Toynbee after studying the history and civilizations of the world he has made up his mind to write the history and spent lot of time in collecting materials regarding the civilizations of the world. He investigated about 26 civilizations in the world. Besides he has also found the reasons for the rise and fall of the civilization. He has also spoken more about the philosophy of history and he has also propounded the theory of challenge and response.

It is generally supposed that among British historian Collingwood was most influenced by Croce. He was no doubt influenced to some extent by the Italian critic-philosopher that is to the extent to which Max Webber influenced. Though on surface there is a lot of similarity between Croce and his ideas and Collingwood's philosophy, there are important differences also.

13.5 KEYWORDS

1. Obsolete – complete

2. Aesthetic – the philosophical theory

13.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Critically examine the contributions of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee to the historical method.
2. Write a note on Croce works.
3. Explain the contributions of R G Collingwood to historiography.

13.7 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 13.2
2. See section 13.3.1
3. See section 13.3.2

13.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Bajaj, Satish, K, 'Recent Trends in Historiography', New Delhi, 1988.
2. Carr, E.H., 'What is History? London:Macmillan, 1983.
3. Collingwood, R.G., 'The Idea of History', Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1946.
4. Evans, J. Richard., 'In Defense of History, London, 1997.
5. Fred N Kerlinger, 'Foundations of Behavioral Research', Delhi, 1983.

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BLOCK -4: INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

UNIT-14 EARLY AND MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHERS AND BIOGRAPHERS

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives**
- 14.1 Introduction**
- 14.2 The Early Muslim Historians**
 - 14.2.1 Al Tabari**
 - 14.2.2 Al Masudi**
 - 14.2.3 Miskawihi**
 - 14.2.4 Alberuni**
 - 14.2.5 Mikrizi**
 - 14.2.6 Ali-Al-Taankhi**
 - 14.2.7 Other Historians**
- 14.3 Let us Sum up**
- 14.4 Keywords**
- 14.5 Check your progress**
- 14.6 Answer to check your progress**
- 14.7 Suggested Readings**

14.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to introduce you the early and Medieval Indian Historiographers and Biographers. After studying this unit you will be able to know the contribution made by early Indian Historiographers like Almasudi, Miskawaihi, Al-Beruni, Mikrizi, Ali-Al-Taaukhi, and other historians.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

The Muslim historiography is said to be originated from the times of the founding of Islam by prophet Mohammad. The Muslim scholars began to write history with a view of pointing out authoritative tradition of Islam and also to establish their geneological relationship with Prophet. It is clear that early Muslim historians based their writings on religious and political aspect. They totally ignored the social and economic aspect in their historical works. The earliest Muslim historian only recorded various conquests of the Mohammendans and also wrote biography of Prophet Mohammad. They wrote about only important events like the 'Battle of Camel', the 'Battle of Siffin' and other battles and campaign of the Prophet. In fact, the history writing revolved round Prophet. The historians produced an account which could be checked by a witness. They gave stress on accuracy of data on the one hand and on the other authenticity of source material.

In the beginning, the Muslim historiography concentrated on life, campaigns and teachings of Prophet Mohammad. In addition to this, the scholars and historians paid much regards to Khalifas in their historical writings. They provided an account of their administration, their efforts of preaching Islam and its teachings and accounts of their wars.

The Muslim historians did not give importance to translating classical work of history. So Muslim historiography does not have classical influence. The chief aspect of their study was religion and also political events. They paid attention to the events of war. The historians did not provide stress on social and economic life. They gave very little attention to the fine arts and other literary activities. In fact, the historians produced the account under royal patronage. That is why they

described royal courts, life of rulers, because in Islam, king was regarded as Deputy of God on earth and his chief function was to spread Islam. So Muslim historiography was confined only to religious tradition and to propagate these traditions also.

14.2 THE EARLY MUSLIM HISTORIANS

Muhammad Ishaq was the first Muslim historian who wrote about the history of Ummayyad dynasty. He also wrote the first important biography of Muhammad which was known as 'Biography of the Prophet'. In his work he tried to find out the origin of Islam and also has provided an account of life of Prophet Muhammad. This work won popularity and inspired later historians. Ibn Hisham was also an important Muslim historian who wrote the 'Biography of the Prophet' entitled 'Biography of Muhammad.' For this work Ibn Hisham used Ibn Ishq's work, 'ibn-e-Yahya' and wrote thirty three treatises on various persons and events. He also produced the most important work, 'History of Iraq'. Alwaqidi (747-823 A. D.) was a court historian of Abbasids. He wrote 'History of the Wars of the Prophet'. He wrote 'Kitab-ul-Maghazi' which is a history of the military and missionary expansion of Islam. It is said that Al Qaqidi always took his library with him on 120 Camels while he was travelling. Another prominent writer was Al Baladhuri who provided a general narrative of the earlier, Muslims conquest in his work 'Conquests of the Countries'. Al Madaini was an important historians who wrote about Muslims conquests in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and other countries. Al Fakhri was a well known graphic writer who also wrote about Islamic wars and conquests. Al Dina Wari produced 'History of Arabia and Persia' which was also an account of Islamic wars and conquests. Ali Tahir wrote 'History of Baghdad' on the Caliphs. In this work he has also explained the rise of Baghdad to prominence and wars of Caliphs for the spread of Islam.

The following important historians who enriched Muslim historiography very much:

14.2.1 Al Tabari (831-923 AD)

He was the most important historian of the Muslims. He wrote 'The Annals of the Apostles and Kings' in which he brought the account upto 915 A. D. Al Tabari was a hard working writer and he travelled wide to have a deep and through study of the Muslim law before writing his work. In fact, he was considered the first historian who perfectly applied the annalistic method to the study of history. He has been called as the 'Livy of the Muslims'. Because he collected material and presented an accurate account. But Some critics did not agree with this view point and they hold that though like they collected vast materials but he was certainly inferior to Livy in style. Again they have said that his works contains the lacks of organisation and order of Livy. On the whole there is no doubt that rich material collected by Al Tabari was of great value to the later Muslim historians.

14.2.2 Al Masudi

He was also one of the great historians of medieval period. He was also an eminent encyclopaedist. He discarded the annalistic method introduced by Al Tabari and presented a new method in which material was arranged according to kings, dynasties and topics. He wrote 'Meadow of Gold' which is regarded an important work of Muslim historiography. One of the important features of Masudi's work was that he not only has provided an account of political events but also he gives material on the cultural and social life of the people. In fact, he was the first historian to touch social and cultural aspect of history. He is often regarded as the Herodotus of the Arab on account of his great zeal for information. But Prof. Barnes does not agree with this view point and he says this appethet is not correct because he was more gullible than Herodotus in accepting the legends and wonders.

14.2.3 Miskawaihi

Miskawaihi was a well known historian of his period. He wrote 'Experiences of the Nations' in which he has given very useful account about administrative and military matters. In fact, he possessed an extraordinary ability and he has provided a great deal of first hand information on administrative and military aspect. An important quality of his work was that he dealt with every events with impartiality. He also presented sharp remarks even on eminent Muslim rulers. So he was a brilliant historian without any prejudices. But Miskawailii did not have any philosophy of history like Ibn Khaldun.

14.2.3 Alberuni

Alberuni was an important historian of his times who enriched Muslim historiography by placing historical chronology on a sound footing. Alberuni lived at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, He also staged in India for some time. He wrote 'The Surviving Monuments of Past Generation. In 1030 A. D. he produced Kitab-ul-Hindi (History of India). In this work he highlighted the deficiencies of the Hindu culture and he also expressed admiration for some aspect of the Hindu Culture. His History of India is an important work and it is known for its style and use of scientific method in recording events. He translated many Hindu works into Arabic and Greek works into Sanskrit. He dealt with the antiquities of the ancient east with true spirit of historical criticism. One of the outstanding quality of Alberuni was that he did not have any prejudices from which other historians of his period suffered. He was in fact an intelligent historian without any biases.

14.2.5 Mikrizi

He was another important historian who wrote about Egypt. He has provided a topographical description of history of the Muslims. He also wrote the histories of Fatimite and Mameluke Sultans. Mirkrizi contributed to the Muslim historiography by his vast encyclopedia of Egyptian biography. He was regarded a good compiler of historical research material. Some critics say that he was not a

scholar, but it cannot be denied that he was a learned and sagacious compiler. No doubt, his account of medieval Cairo is of great value and detailed.

14.2.6 Ali-Al-Taaukhi

He was an important Muslim historian who after hard labour produced 'Collections of Histories.' This work is based on old Muslim episode and anecdotes.

14.2.7 Other Historians

Among Muslim historians Ali-Al-Hasan was also an important historian. He wrote 'The History of Damascus'. Abu-Al-Athir was another Muslim historian. He was the first historian who tried to acquire philosophical grasp over history. He also tried to find out the various historical development in terms of cause and effects. The other Muslim historians who wrote important works on Muslim world are Abn-i-Faraj, Al-Isfahani, Ibn-al-Athir, Izz-al-din and Abu-L-Fida.

Writing of history is a constant process which never ceases. Medieval Indian history also does not end with the Muslim Sultans and emperors but it also continued during the reign of Marathas, Rajputs and Sikhs. Some historians produced their work on the above mentioned subjects. Robert Orme dealt with military transactions of British nation in India during the early days of the East India Company. Cunningham produced History of the Sikhs and James Todd wrote Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. All the three are supposed to be very important source material for the historians who completed their works later on. The following European scholars of modern times also made contribution to the development of medieval Indian historiography to a great extent.

14.3 LET US SUM UP

Thus, early Muslim historians wrote only about wars, conquests and life of prophet and they produced their works on religious and political aspects.

14.4 KEYWORDS

1. Antiquity – may refer to any period before the middle ages.
2. Prejudice – is prejudgment

14.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss the growth and advancement of early Muslim historiographers.

14.6 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 14.2

14.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Harbans Mukhia: Historians and historiography during the reign of Akbar.
2. Sheikh Ali B: History: Its Theory and Method
3. Rajayyan K: History: Theory and Method

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UNIT -15 MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHERS AND BIOGRAPHERS

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives**
- 15.1 Introduction**
- 15.2 Medieval Historiographers**
 - 15.2.1 Robert Orme**
 - 15.2.2 James Todd**
 - 15.2.3 J.D.Cunningham**
 - 15.2.4 J.C.Grant Duff**
 - 15.2.5 Sir Shaffat Ahmad Khan**
 - 15.2.6 Dr.Bal Krishna**
- 15.3 Let us Sum up**
- 15.4 Keywords**
- 15.5 Check your progress**
- 15.6 Answer to check your progress**
- 15.7 Suggested Readings**

15.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to introduce you to the Medieval Historiographers and Biographers

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Medieval Historiographers wrote on military transaction of British nation in India and also on historical fragments of various ruling dynasties.

15.2 MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHERS

The Following are Medieval Historiographers:

15.2.1 Robert Orme (1728-1801)

Robert Orme, English man, and the employee of the East India Company was born in 1728 A. D. After getting his education at Harrow, he came to Calcutta. He was employed in the service of East India Company at age of 15 only. He worked very sincerely and attained fame as an employee of the company. As a result he was made a member of Council of Madras in 1754 A. D. when he was only 26 years of age. He also worked as an official historiographer of the company from 1769-1801 and breathed his last in 1801 AD.

His Works: Robert Orme wrote two most renowned works which made him famous in the field of history:

- 1) A history of the Military Transactions of British Nation in Indostan from year 1745.
- 2) Historical Fragments of Mughal Empire.

His both the works were published in 1745 and 1782 respectively. In his above noted first work, the learned scholar gives an account of various military expeditions of the East India Company. It also provides some very important and useful information about the most chaotic period of Indian history when British

had not established their complete hold on India. The company was engaged in wars against the Indian rulers in order to achieve their mission. Robert in completion of his work not only depended on his personal investigation but also used secondary sources and hearsay. He also utilised some of the sources of the Muslim historians produced during the medieval era. Prof. R. C. Majumdar mentions, "Orme was inspired by ideas of modern historiography and collected considerable source materials, in the shape of printed books and tracts and manuscripts, which are now preserved in the India Office Library."

Being an employee and member of Madras Council, Robert Orme had access to various original documents. So his work was completed on the basis of original documents and first hand information of the events which were recorded by the other historians. However he did not care to verify the authenticity of the happenings which degraded the value of his work. But as he made use of original sources his work is quite reliable and dependable.

15.2.2 James Todd (1782-1835 AD)

Another significant historian James Todd was born at Islington. His father, James Todd an American after coming back from America, settled at Mirzapur in U. P. Young James Todd joined the East India Company of the age sixteen as an army cadet. Soon he was ranked as Lieutenant. Later he was sent to the Court of Sindhia as an agent of the company, where he proved his worth and as a result of his efficiency, he was appointed, the political agent of the British in Western Rajput States. During his stay in Rajasthan, he developed friendly relations with several Rajput chiefs and also paid attention to history of the Rajputs and produced a work entitled Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, in two volumes in 1832 which brought him great name and fame.

He was established among the important historians after the publication of his work 'The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.' Another work of Todd was 'Travels in Western India' which was published after his death. It contains the account of his extensive tours which he made in 1822 to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and famous shrines of the Hindus. This work contains useful information

regarding history, geography and religious and social condition of contemporary period. He has also highlighted the history of the ancient city of Anhilwara in this work.

In his first book about Rajputs he has described the history and sociology of the Rajputs. It also contains the account of the longing of the people of Rajasthan who wished from the core of their heart to restore their independence. This work is a store house of knowledge and almost all the aspects of life and history has been properly dealt in this work. The work is more factual than analytical. The perspective of Todd was broader than his contemporary historians like Duff and Cunningham who wrote about the Marathas and the Sikhs respectively. He sustained great pains in collecting the source material from all available sources. He also sought help of some local historians and scholars "In ransacking every work which, could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajputs, or diffuse any light upon their manners and character." His work being excellent inspired the other historians to write on the history of Rajasthan.

No doubt that the work of James Todd was not beyond prejudices, however he deserves a very high place as the first modern historian of Rajasthan. Prof. Qanungo has thus evaluated his importance as a historian, "In him the Hellas of Hindustan found Herodotus, from him came the impetus to our later historians and his important work fires the imagination of our people over a century. His Annals may have proved partly out of date; but it will ever remain a source of pride and patriotic inspiration."

15.2.3 J.D.Cunningham

Joseph Davey Cunningham, the son of Allen Cunningham was born at Lambeth in June 1812. His father was well known author and scholar. Cunningham was educated in different private schools in London and after completing his education he was appointed in the East India Company as a cadet. After having worked on various positions, he was ultimately rose to the position of British agent to the State Bhawalpur in 1845 A.D. Later on he was appointed as British Political Agent in Bhopal. During his stay in Bhopal and Punjab he came in contact with the

Sikhs and acquired significant knowledge about their customs and manners. When he composed the History of the Sikhs, he was dismissed from service because he used some secret information and documents without the permission of the government. Thus his love towards history writing cost him his service. But after the publication of his work, he was considered a great authority on the subject.

After four years of hard labour his work 'History of Sikhs' was published which earned great name and fame to him. The present work begins with an account of the people and the country. The learned author has given an account of the life and teachings of the Sikh Gurus and also thrown light as to how the Sikhs became militant. He has also given an account of Banda Bahadur, division of Sikhs in different Misals and Ranjit Singh, the Lion of Punjab. He has also described as to how Ranjit Singh succeeded in establishing his control over entire Punjab. He also mentioned that after the death of king Ranjit Singh, Sikhs began to fight against one another which ultimately resulted in the outbreak of First Sikh War against the British East India Company. Anglo Sikh relations have also been dealt in this work. However the author does not make any reference of Second Anglo Sikh war. But there is no denying the fact that he has given a detailed account of the administration of Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors.

While writing this authentic work on the History of Sikhs the writer had made use of official original records and secondary sources like the Adi Granth, Dabistan-I-Mazahib and Siyar-ul-Mutakherin. He has also takes information from the traditional accounts. Besides it he has given the narrative on the basis of available sources, he also added his own opinions here and there.

To sum up we may say that J.D.Cunningham was the most unprejudiced and unbiased scholar and historian, hence he was criticised and condemned by the British Government for his writings. But as a historian with the publication of his single work, he began to be counted among the important historiographers of the medieval period.

15.2.4 J.C.Grant Duff (1789-1858 AD)

Like other historians of the medieval period Grant Duff and Govind Sakharam Sardesai also contributed much to the development of historiography in India. Both of them were the established and well known historians and their works proved to be a significant source material for the future historians.

Grant Duff was born in a Scottish family of England in July 1789 AD. He was a famous and renowned scholar of Maratha history. Having completed his education at Aberdeen, he came to India when he was only sixteen years old. He started working as a cadet in Bombay Military Service. He participated in several battles and ultimately rose to the position of Captain in 1818 A. D. He was appointed as a Political Agent of Satara, an independent Maratha State by Elphinstone. In this capacity he was required to train the ruler and his officials so that they could hand over the responsibility of governing the State to the English without any hitch. He remained on this post for about four years upto 1822. While living in a Maratha Kingdom he collected a lot of source material and documents for his work on Maratha History. Among the collected source material there were original letters of the Mughal emperors, Sayyed brothers, and the grants made to the Marathas by Muhammad Shah. The letters of the Peshwas were also some significant documents. He also succeeded in getting some original documents from the Raja of Satara, the Chitnis family and other important personalities who were the eye witness of various events.

Grant Duff adopted a scientific approach at the time of making use of all these documents. First of all he paid his attention to the authenticity of the documents and after seeing the pros and cons of the documents, he used them in the compilation of his work. His manuscript was read by the historians and scholars like Elphinstone, William Erskine, Johan Briggs etc. After making a thorough study of his work Elphinstone has remarked, "This book is excellent and satisfying curiosity of many points till unknown. All the deeds of the Maratha greatness are laid open to the complete satisfaction of the reader. I have no doubt whatever, that the Maratha History will be a valuable and even a popular work."

But a critical scholar of Maratha history has highlighted to some of the omissions and mistakes in the work of Grant Duff. He mentions about his work that it is as 'incomplete and unauthentic'. But we must keep in view that Duff was not a professional historian and he wrote history in a plain style. Hence the drawbacks in his work were natural because of his defective style and vast source material, which only a trained historians would have been able to handle properly.

However A. R. Kulkarni has praised the work of Grant Duff very much and pointed out that the services rendered by Duff "to the cause of Maratha history is particular and historiography in modern India in general, can hardly be denied. It was not only an advance, over Scot Waring who wrote a Maratha history in 1810, but is also stimulated a critical study of Maratha history in India, and scholars including Kincaid and Parasnis, Rao Bahadur, G. S. Sardesai, Sir J. N. Sarkar, S.N.Sen and Bal Krishna enriched the subject by their painstaking and critical studies.”

15.2.5 Sir Shaffat Ahmad Khan

Sir Shaffat Ahmad Khan was a great scholar and he contributed much to the development of medieval Indian historiography. Shaffat Ahmad Khan was born in Muradabad. He belonged to a middle class family. After getting his early education in India, he went to England for further studies. He got Honors and Doctor of Letters degree from Dublin University. Before returning to India he taught in London Country Council School of Education. First of all he worked as Reader in Economics in Madras University. But after it he was appointed in the University of Allahabad as Professor and Head of the History department in place of Prof. Rushbrook Williams. Being very active in the politics of the country, he was elected to the Provincial Legislative Council of UP. In 1946 at the time of formation of interim government he was included in the government by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was very liberal in his outlook. He continued to do research in history and took active part in politics of the country throughout his life.

Shaffat Ahmad Khan made great valuable contribution to the historiography of medieval India and wrote a number of books which brought him much name and fame as a historian. Some of his popularly known works are as given below:

- 1) East India Trade in 17th Century.
- 2) History of the Historians of British India
- 3) Indian Federation
- 4) Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay 1660-1677.
- 5) Federal Finance
- 6) John Marshall in India
- 7) Sources of History of British India in 17th Century.

His views about History to him, a good historian should not only collect the source material diligently but also examine and interpret the data collected properly well. It is necessary for a historian in order to draw impartial and unbiased conclusion. He believed that a historian must not let his prejudices take place in his works. He believed in the scientific approach to history writing. All his works which are referred to above testify that his range of subject was very wide. He has dealt with various subjects. He has depicted his views about historiography in his work, "History and Historians of British India." He says, "I have always been a great believer in scientific history and felt that the essential task of a historian consists in the collection of material and its vigorous examination. When this task is satisfactorily discharged, he will be able to bring all the requisite qualities of dispassionate judgement and freedom from prejudice to bear on the construction of history."

The main feature of the works of Sir Shaffat Ahmad was that whatsoever may be the subject of his writing, he first of all collected the required source material and after it he ensured the authenticity of the source material. It is after being satisfied with the data collected, he utilized it in his works. According to him there are three main elements of historiography viz. collection of material, analysis of material and interpretation. He followed all the three principles in his works, therefore his works has great importance for the readers and future historians.

15.2.6 Dr.Bal Krishna

He was born at Multan in 1882. His parent abandoned him just after his birth, hence he was brought up by a Muslim farmer. Bal Krishna had to pass his childhood in poverty but he somehow continued his studies with the help of his grandfather. He completed his graduation and post graduation from Lahore. Just after completing his education he was appointed as Professor of Economics and Politics, in the Gurukul Kangri. Later on he was raised to the post of Vice Principal and Principal. In 1919 he went to England and received his Doctoral degree from the London University. His doctoral thesis was produced on the subject 'Commercial Relations between India and England.' After coming back from England he became the Principal in Rajaram College and remained on this post till his death in 1940 A.D.

No doubt Dr.Bal Krishna had command on the subject like Indian religion, culture, economics, politics and history but he made his best contribution to history. His excellent work Shivaji the Great in five volumes was produced after eighteen years of hard labour. Before completion of this work he made extensive tour and consulted the archives at London, Batavia, Hague, Bombay, Goa, Madras, Pondicherry, Satara, Tajnore and Poona and gathered all the necessary information about Shivaji. After having consulted the Dutch records at the Hague and Batavia, Dr. Bal Krishna could be able to fill the gap in the life of Shivaji. He has not only traced the ancestry of Shivaji but also thrown ample of light on the various events of the life of Shivaji and also dealt with the administration of Shivaji in detail. He refuted the charge of a Mountain rat levied on Shivaji by the foreign historian and depicted him as the Lion of Maharashtra.

No doubt Bal Krishna knew well his limitation. He has remarked about the book himself, "Since nothing is more eloquent than facts, I have given foreign documents in extence even at the risk of over burdening the book with details so that reader may have the account of the events in the very words of the contemporary writers themselves." However the work of Dr.Bal Krishna contains a rich source material and is of immense Value to the historian.

Besides the above great works with Dr. Bal Krishna has also written some works of less significance from the point of view of history. These works include. The industrial decline of India, Commercial Relations Between India and England, The Vedic Psalms, The Theory of the State in Ancient India and from the Counter to the Crown etc.

Besides the above referred to great historian, some other scholars, such as M. R. Ranade, Rajwade, K. M, Jhaveri, D. K. Shastri, Vasudeo Vamanshastri Khare, Sita Ram Kohli, Indu Bhushan Banerjee etc. were also well known historians of medieval period who made their contribution to the medieval Indian historiography.

15.3 LET US SUM UP

Besides these historians great scholars such as M.R. Ranade, Rajwade, Sita Ram Kohli were also contributed to the medieval Indian historiography.

15.4 KEYWORDS

1. Robert Orme – An English men and the employee of the East India Company.
2. James Todd – his work ‘The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan’

15.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2. Discuss the contribution made by Medieval Historiographers.

15.6 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 15.2

15.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Harbans Mukhia: Historians and historiography during the reign of Akbar.

2. Sheikh Ali B: History: Its Theory and Method.

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UNIT-16 INDO-ISLAMIC HISTORIOGRAPHERS

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16.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to introduce you the Indo-Islamic Historiographers. After studying this unit you will be able to know historiographers of Sultanate period like Shajara-i-ansab-i-Mubarak Shahi, Minhaj-us-Siraj. Tuzani, Sarhindi, Muhammad Bihamad Khani, Massan Nizam, Amir Khusrau, Firdausi Isami, Barani and others. Able to know the Royal Auto Biographers of Mughal Period. Able to know the historians of Mughal period like Abdul Fazal and others.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The Muslims, like the Christians, had a keener sense of history and a more precise sense of chronology than the ancient Hindus, and it was in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Hindustan that historiography as a deliberate form of cultural expression was introduced into India. The Muslim love of history was continually reinforced from Arab, Turkish and Persian sources. Medieval Muslim historical literature in India was in form, subject and spirit, little different from historical writing elsewhere in the Muslim world. The advent of Islam started a great series of Indian chronicles written by courtiers or officials on the orders of their rulers or in expectation of gaining their patronage. Some of them wrote general or universal histories of the world until gradually a regional and domestic sense emerged, which was reinforced by the deliberate policy of Akbar in severing connections with the outer Muslim world.

16.2 GENERAL UNIVERSAL HISTORIES OF THE SULTANATE PERIOD (1200-1526)

The practice of writing general or universal histories of the Islamic world had come to prevail between the ninth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Such general histories centered on the life of the Prophet. It was the providential story of Islam which gave meaning to human history.

16.2.1 Shajara-i-ansab-i-Mubarak Shahi

At the beginning of the Turkish Muslim dominion in north India appeared a work which in the words of Peter Hardy epitomized "something of every element of Muslim historiography," as it existed at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the Muslim world where Persian language and culture were in vogue. Titled the Shajara, it was a volume of genealogical tables which its author, Mubarak Shah, presented to Qutb-ud-Din Aibak about 1206. Aibak ordered the tables to be transcribed and bound for his library. The genealogical tables which form the main part of the work contain one hundred and thirty-seven genealogies. The critical approach of Arab historiography to its sources as, for example, the isnad criticism rigorously employed by al-Tabari, is totally absent. Aibak is praised and his career described. The victories in Hindustan are explained and the conversion of the infidels which, Mubarak says, followed those victories are also described. The murder of Muhammad Ghori and the subsequent assumption of power by Aibak at Lahore are recounted. The Shajara is religious and didactic in nature.

16.2.2 Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani

Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani belonged to a migrant family and was aristocratic by birth and marriage. A learned man, he held several posts before his final appointment as chief qazi at Delhi under Sultan Nasir-ud-Din (1246) after whom the Tabaqat is named. Minhaj's sources are 'trustworthy chronicles', personal evidence, hearsay and unspecified accounts. There is no proof that he had adopted isnad criticism or the discipline of hadith in ascertaining the authenticity of his source material.

The basic form in Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri is what Franz Rosenthal has categorized as dynastic historiography. A tabqa or section which is equivalent to a chapter is given to each dynasty with a sub-chapter to each ruler of that dynasty. So vast is the scope of the work that it gives an account of more than twenty dynasties of the Islamic world from the Nile to the Ganges and from the patriarchs and prophets to the disasters that had befallen Islam, notably the eruption of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. From the point of view of Indian history, the

Tabaqat is important for its account of the Ghaznavids, the Ghoris, the Muizzi sultans of Hindustan, the Shamsi Maliks, and the Mongol invasions of India.

The 'universal' history of Minhaj, writes Harbans 'Mukhia, does not reveal any broad historical perspective. The Tabaqat is, in fact, a politico-biographical narrative, describing events as part of the lives of so many individuals. Causal explanation is never attempted, nor an inquiry into the relationship of individual dynasties to the history of the world. The work is a string of fragmented units, each unit, whether dynastic or regnal, is independent of the other. For Minhaj, causation in history lies in human volition, though at times divine will and predestination intrude into his narrative as causing historical events. For example, it was predestined that the states of Hindustan should come under Iltumish. Again, in the second battle of Tarain (1192) almighty god gave the victory to Islam, though almighty god does not figure in the first battle of Tarain (1191) for it was a victory for Prithviraj.

16.2.3 Sarhindi

Yahya Ibn Ahamad Sarhindi, the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, appears to have been a courtier of the Sayyid rulers of Delhi after one of whom his work is named. Sarhindi vaguely tells us that he copied his account, of past rulers up to the accession of Firuz Tughlaq from 'the different histories', and after that he wrote on the basis of his own memory, observation and reliable information. Employing no critical technique, he has often recourse to the infallible formula that 'God alone knows the truth.' Yet his information is fairly correct.

The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi is a bare narrative of mainly political events from the time of Muhammad Ghori to about 1434. It is a reign by reign treatment in strict chronological order of the deeds of the Muslim rulers and nobles of north India. Each reign is complete in itself and stands in no relationship to the preceding or following reign. From the Tughlaqs on, the narrative is more detailed and consistent. History for Sarhindi is a recounting of individual events without its having any organic role. He rarely interprets, divine grace taking the place of causal explanation. Mukhia observes that there is only one instance of a full causal

explanation that of the disintegration of Muhammad Tughlaq's empire and here, among the seven causes adduced, there is not even a casual reference to any divine force or god's displeasure having brought about that event. The causes are all economic, political and military, combined with the rash, impolitic, unwise and cruel measures of Mohammad. Yet, if wanting in critical methods and casual explanation and suffering from a defective idea of history, Sarhindi's work, as Hardy writes, abounds in moral precepts in prose and verse.

16.2.4 Muhammad Bihamad Khani

Bihamad Khani's father was muqti of Irich, north of Jhansi, under the 'sultan' of Kalpi. Khani's *Tarikh-i-Muhamrnadi*, completed in 1439, covers much the same ground as Minhaj's *Tabaqat*, but adds accounts of the subsequent sultans of Delhi, of Timur, and of the struggles of the sultans of Kalpi with their Hindu and Muslim neighbors. The work also includes stereotyped biographies of saints. While Minhaj mainly relies on former histories, Khani paraphrases earlier ones. And, like Minhaj, Khani takes no trouble to examine the veracity of his sources. Both are historians from authority. Peter Hardy writes: "The absence of the discipline of Hadith criticism is underlined by the presence of miraculous elements dreams, visions and war missiles which do not obey the laws of gravity when aimed at the faithful." History for both these authors is didactic summoning of the wrath of heaven upon vice; and one cannot expect impartiality in histories that are largely theocratic in character. These historians abase the infidel and sanguinely curse him.

16.2.5 Massan Nizam

In the tenth century AD a stylistic device developed in Muslim historiography. It was the use of poetry and rhymed prose in historical panegyrics. There were three writers of this kind in the period of the Delhi sultanate.

The first was Hasan Nizami whose *Taj-us-Ma'athir* written during 1206-1217 purports, to tell the glorious deeds of the Ghori conquerors but does it by recording the minimum of historical facts with a maximum of florid literary effects. In this respect the author is on a par with his Hindu counterparts of old.

16.2.6 Amir Khusrau

The second writer of this literary genre is the famous Indo-Persian poet, Amir Khusrau (1253-1325). Khusrau was in effect the court poet at Delhi from AD 1289 to his death in 1325. He wrote poems each on a particular historical event or group of events limited to a short span of time. The *Quiran us-Saadain* (1285), for example, has for its theme the meeting between Sultan Kaiqubad and his father Bughra Khan in Oudh. The *Miftah-us-Futub* (1291) celebrates four victories of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji. The *Ashiq* (1320) is woven round the tragic love of Duwal Rani, daughter of Raja Karan of Nahrwala, and Khizir Khan, son of Ala ud-Din Khalji. The *Nuh Siphir* (1318) is a panegyric of the court, peoples, languages, and the flora and fauna of Hindustan. The *Tughlaq-nama* is written to celebrate the enthronement and victories of Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji and his armies. The didactic nature of medieval historical works shows itself here too. An eminent literary man, Amir Khusrau was no historian. Yet as Syed Husain Askari writes, the poet provides a wealth of information of a political nature not available elsewhere and works like the *Ashiq*, *Nuh Siphir* and *Quiran-us-Saadain* are of solid worth for social and cultural history. The information provided is vast and varied—the seasons of north India, buildings constructed at the instance of the sultans, forms of their entertainment, the Chauhan or the game of polo, Indian languages, custom of sati, and the religious beliefs of the Hindus are of undoubted historical interest.

16.2.7 Firdausi Isami

Vainly aspiring to be a second Firdausi. Isami wrote his historical epic, *Futuh-us-Salatin* (c. AD 1350) as a disappointed man in search of a patron. Muhammad Tughlaq forced him to move from Delhi to Daulatabad with his ninety-year-old grandfather who died on the way. He, however, found a patron in Ala ud-Din Bahman Shah, the arch rebel against Muhammad Tughlaq and the founder of the Bahmani Sultanate. Isami's *Futub-us-Salatin* is a history of the conquest of north India by Muhammad Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori, and of the Delhi sultanate until 1349-50. The sources of the *Futub* are, by the author's own report—anecdotes, legends, and common reports current among his friends and

associates. The arrangement of the work is regnal, chronology defective, and theme political events such as accession of rulers, rebellions, wars, etc. Bitterly hostile to Muhammad Tughlaq, Isami looks upon him "almost as a sadist verging on madness." Accounts of miracles are there-Muhammad Ghazni is led out of the Rann of Cutch on his march back from Somnath by a light projected from the Kaaba. On the eve of the second battle of Tarain, Muiz ud-Din Ghoris is given a key in a dream by an old man, with which the invader was to open the gates of Hindustan.

Yet in Isami's treatment of history, human volition becomes the decisive agent. The way Ala ud-Din Khalji gets Jalal-ud-Din Khalji assassinated and Ulugh Khan poisoned, the intrigues of Malik Kafur at the death of Ala ud-Din, and Muhammad Tughlaq's measures are all treated by Isami as historical facts caused entirely by human volition. And Isami's work gives us details of some political events that are not found in other contemporary works. For example, Isami alone informs us that Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq ordered the execution of those soldiers who had survived the disastrous expedition to Qarachil.

Hasan Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Isami so subordinated facts to fantasy and history to art that Peter Hardy is rightly hesitant to class their works "as part of Indo-Muslim historiography, important as they may be as historical evidence."

16.2.8 Manaquib

Manaquib historiography consists of highly stylized prose eulogy of a ruler, noble, learned man, or saint. To this class belong the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (c. AD 1370) by an unknown author, and *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Shams ud-Din Siraj Afif. Both are prose panegyrics of Firuz Shah Tughlaq.

Afif was an old courtier under Firuz Shah Tughlaq. His *Tarikh*, a small portion of which is lost, was written not long after Timur's invasion and capture of Delhi in 1399. The work is an excellent report on the administration and welfare activities of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Afif's observant eyes take note of the power of the nobility and of the ulama (a body of professional theologians), the corruption

prevalent in the various departments of state and the sultan's indirect encouragement of it. His eulogy of Firuz does not fail to observe the gradual weakening of the Tughlaq state which he blames on the mildness of the Sultan's policies. It is from Afif that we learn of the gross inefficiency prevailing in Firuz's army, and his acquiescing in irregularities in the muster of soldiers. Offices were made hereditary, offences including embezzlement and rebellion were forgiven, and tax control and discipline made a mockery of authority. Afif's report of Firuz's victories of peace are important and interesting. There is the first ever mention in the works of the Sultanate period of the total annual revenue of the state, and there are references to the low prices during the reign. There are details of the buildings erected, dams constructed, canals dug, and gardens laid. The Tarikh refers to the establishment of the department of charity and of a hospital, the installation of the astronomical clock and gong invented by the Sultan, his generosity towards servants and respect for Sufis. Afif tells us of how Asoka's pillars at Topra and Meerut were removed and set up one at the new city of Firuzabad and the other near Delhi. Some shastris were asked to interpret the inscriptions on the pillars. Though ignorant of the script, the shastris had no difficulty in making the epigraphs say that the pillars would be removed from their provenance only by Firuz.

Both works - *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* and Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* - abound in religious and moral precepts and both depict Firuz Tughlaq as an embodiment of the virtues they extolled. For such history, sources are of little account. Afif's sources are no more than 'reliable reporters' and 'honorable narrators'. Hardy finds both works defective as historical biographies. Firuz Tughlaq, he says, appears as "a tailor's dummy garbed in ideal attributes."

16.2.9 Zia ud-Din Barani (1285-1359)

Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, completed in 1357, was written when the author was seventy-four, and it was written in bitterness. Barani belonged to an aristocratic family which for three generations had enjoyed power and position under the Sultans of Delhi. He himself had been a nadim (boon companion) of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq for more than seventeen years. But with the latter's

death in 1351, the old historian fell from power and lost his property. Misfortune embittered his feelings against the new class of plebeian upstart officials who had risen to power at the Delhi court. Wounded feelings developed into a hatred against the lower sections of the society which found vent in many a lamentation in the Tarikh.

For Barani, as for the other chroniclers of the Sultanate period, history was not exactly a matter of investigated information but one of received knowledge of the past, and of personal testimony and memory. Barani's chief source of information was his own vast knowledge and prodigious memory. Says Nizami: "He records whatever he remembers and he remembers whatever has left a deep impression on his mind." The historian also quotes as his sources the testimony of relatives and other orthodox, god-fearing persons. And, on his own report, Barani based his work on personal observation as he had easy access to the court and ample opportunities of knowing the details accurately. Finally, as Nizami rightly thinks, Barani seems to have availed himself of recorded data as at the opening of every chapter, he gives a list of the maliks and khans, the principal officers and governors of the concerned ruler. Yet, Barani's method was defective as he relied on received truth-truth on authority. Facts were ascertained not by critical doubt and inquiry but by the testimony of religious and virtuous men. Isnad source criticism is absent, and the way Barani finds identity between had is and tarikh, that is, tradition and history, has led Hardy to the conclusion that his historical approach was theologically conditioned.

Barani does not arrange events in their chronological order. He confuses dates and is very sparing in giving them; and when he does give them, they may be inaccurate. Harbans Mukhia observes that this indifference to chronology cannot be blamed entirely on Barani's failing memory; rather it owed to his belief in the didactic nature of history. History had certain lessons and these lessons would be intelligible even if the events described are disordered chronologically.

Since the foundation of history, as Barani affirms, is 'truthfulness', the historian, he says, should avoid exaggeration and verbose language and be exact in his statements. If he utters lies, salvation would be denied to him. That Barani does not suppress facts or distort them is to be readily admitted. But the speeches that he

puts into the mouths of some of the sultans, like those that Thucydides ascribes to his characters, are bound to be imaginary, as Barani composed his Tarikh years after the death of the Sultans concerned. Nizami tells us that towards the close of the Tarikh Barani becomes a flatterer, finding divine attributes in the person of Firuz Tughlaq. Barani's idea of history can be read in his preface to the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi-pragmatic, didactic and aristocratic.

Pragmatic: History, says Barani, is a panorama of human activity unfolded before man to guide his faltering steps in life's journey. Retrospect of the past helps man to rectify the present, by giving him a rare insight into human affairs and the power to distinguish between good and evil, virtue and vice, friend and foe. It is only in history that man can learn from the experience of others.

Didactic: Peter Hardy emphasizes the didactic nature of Barani's Tarikh and affirms that Barani wrote it to propagate his own philosophy of history. A full exposition of the duties, of a truly Muslim sovereign is to be found in Barani's other work, the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. History is didactic as it is to be studied with a view to deriving lessons from it.

Aristocratic: Barani's concept of society as consisting of the royalty and the upper classes had a direct bearing on his idea of history. Nizami writes: Aristocratic birth was central to Barani's historical thinking as it was to his life. The thought of the low-born became an obsession with him and his contempt for them was unreserved; they are to be despised and kept in perpetual ignorance and indigence. "Merit for him (Barani) is high birth and vice low birth and neither can be acquired through any amount of effort."

The Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi is, in its basic form, dynastic and regnal. In effect, it is a continuation of Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nanri narrating the history of nine sultans from Balban to the first six years of Firuz Tughlaq's reign, thus covering the most important period of the Delhi sultanate. Barani begins with a few references to Iltumish's reign and refers to the frequency of Mongol invasions. Then he goes on to deal with a very significant development in medieval Indian history, that is, the rise of Khalji imperialism and succeeds in communicating its spirit in all its aspects-military, economic and cultural. Though critical of Alaud-Din Khalji's

disregard of the Sham, he considers the sultan's market regulations as a near miracle. And Barani gives the best account given by a historian so far of Muhammad Tughlaq's character and personality, as well as policy and administration. The interest he shows in the details of administration, land-revenue collection, and economic life is very valuable. Tarikh is a compendium of culture, apart from containing lists of historians, philosophers, poets, physicians, saints and religious divines.

A chief defect of Barani's History is its subjectivity. The Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi fails to meet the canons of historical objectivity largely owing to the circumstances of its composition. The author was a man who had fallen from the plentitude of opulence and glory and reduced to indigence and negligence in his old age.

16.3 HISTORIANS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

In the Mughal period a new kind of historiography - that of official histories or namahs - came into vogue in India under Persian influence. Akbar introduced the practice by commissioning officials or others to write the history of his new empire giving them access for this purpose to state archives. The practice continued down to the reign of Aurangzeb who, however, stopped it in his eleventh regnal year. Besides such official histories, biographical works of great historical interest were also produced during the period under survey. And we are not entirely dependent upon chroniclers; we have in some instances contemporary, independent historians.

16.3.1 Royal Auto Biographers

The Mughal period is important for the memoirs of rulers as well as of private individuals. Though not avowed histories, they are literary works of great historical interest. The most Important of them are the Tuzuk or Babur-namah, the autobiography of Babur, and the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

Babur's Tuzuk has been rightly recognized as an indisputable historical source of great literary merit. Beveridge considers it one of those priceless records comparable to the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the memoirs of Newton and Gibbon. Babur claims that he has written "only the plain truth," to have "spoken of things as they happened," and to have "described every good or bad act" of all "with the most perfect impartiality." Yet, as is natural to such accounts of a personal character, value judgments abound, and the historical events in the Tuzuk are inextricably mixed up with the author's own opinions, sentiments, judgements and philosophy of life. Events are described in their chronological and geographical setting. Babur ascribed his success in India to the mercy of God, and the weakness of India to her inherent disunity. But the country where he was setting up his dynasty had few pleasures to recommend it. Yet, it had three advantages: its large size, the very pleasant climate during the rains, and the abundance of workmen of every profession and trade. The conqueror informs us that the country from Bhera to Bihar yielded a revenue of fifty-two crores.

"The people of India," Babur wrote, "have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together or of familiar intercourse." He found the whole of Agra ugly and detestable where however he erected buildings and planted trees. Till the end, the founder of the Mughal empire cherished a desire to go back to his spiritual home-Kabul and Central Asia. The Tuzuk makes its author a great writer of Turki prose. The simplicity of its style goes well with its honesty and sincerity. Emperor Jahangir has also left us an account of himself and his reign in his Memoirs, the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, a work which is not less interesting than that of Babur. Of the three versions of the Memoirs, the most authentic is the one which covers the first twelve years of Jahangir's reign written by the emperor himself. Failing health compelled Jahangir to appoint Mutamad Khan, the baksbi (military secretary), to do the work under his supervision. The two parts were re-edited in the time of Muhammad Shah by Muhammad Hadi who brought them to the end of Jahangir's reign.

The Memoirs are a priceless record of the twenty-two years of Jahangir's reign and are distinguished by their frankness and lucidity. A man of no common ability, Jahangir honestly records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candor. Calmly but honestly does he tell us that he got Abul Fazal murdered; but

he is rather smooth-tongued in the references to his revolt as prince and to his relations with Prince Khusrau and Slier Afghan. He does not at all mention his marriage with NurJahan. Besides such personal references which are of great value for a study of Jahangir's character, are the many accounts of political, administrative and military transactions. More, the Memoirs are rich in details about the social, cultural and spiritual life of the period and in the keen observations of the emperor about men and manners. Also, they contain descriptions of epidemics and certain strange occurrences in the empire

16.3.2 Akbar Period

The Timurid love of history blossomed in Akbar in whose reign four histories were written besides other works of historical interest. Of the four, two were official histories written at the instance of the emperor himself. They are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (Millennial History), and the monumental Akbar - namah. By the time the Akbar-namah issued from the hand of the great Abul Fazal, two unofficial histories had been written of the reign of the great emperor - the matter of fact *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam ud-Din Ahmad, and the hostile *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni. The two works are important for a proper understanding of Akbar's reign, as they serve as necessary correctives to the over laudatory account of Abul Fazal.

Tarikh-i-Alfi (1591): Badauni informs us that in 1582 Akbar ordered the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* which was to be a comprehensive history of the first millennium of Islam, then drawing to a close. Work' on the Millennial History began in 1585. The history of the first thirty-five years of Islam after the death of the Prophet was written by a team of seven scholars of all shades of opinion. The board included Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad and Badauni. Mulla Ahmad of Thatta brought the work from the thirty-sixth year to the time of Chengiz Khan when the author was murdered. The rest of the work was brought up to the year 1588-89 by Asaf Khan. In 1591, the millennial year, Badauni on the orders of the emperor, corrected the arrangement of dates etc, in the first two parts. The third volume was likewise corrected by its author, Asaf Khan.

Akbar had ordered that the work should attain a very high degree of objectivity and perfection. He himself supervised the progress of the work. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson have certified that the compilers apparently availed of all the best sources of information open to them, often applying judicious criticism in sifting the most trustworthy information from records which contained many fabulous legends. And Badauni attests that Akbar did not approve of the legendary material being incorporated in the work. The history of Babur is based on the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, but that of Humayun and Akbar, as also of Persia, Central Asia and Turkey, are based on information available in the imperial archives, and on those collected from oral evidence of eminent nobles and other people.

Apart from whatever intrinsic merit the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* may have had, it had a significance for Indian history. Its concluding portions constitute the first official history of Akbar's reign, compiled under the emperor's own supervision. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad based his account of Humayun's reign mainly on the *Millennial History* and extensively drew upon it for his *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Moreover, Rizvi remarks that the work "prepared the people for adjusting themselves to the new values of life which were gaining increasing importance on account of Akbar's policy of peace with all."

Tabaqat-i-Akbari: Hailing from a family with an honorable tradition of public service under the first two Mughals, Khwaja Nizam ud-Din Ahmad rose to be bakshi or military secretary of the empire under Akbar. His *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* was completed in 1593 and the author died the next year. Badauni writes: "Khwaja Nizam ud-Din left a good name behind him. There was not a dry eye at his death and there was no person who did not on the day of his funeral call to mind his excellent, qualities."

Nizam ud-Din's preface states that history strengthens the understanding of men of education and affords instruction by examples to men of observation. At the outset of his work, he mentions twenty-eight works as his sources. Besides such chronicles, he helped himself with hearsay, reports of individual informants and personal observation. But he never questioned the veracity of the information supplied to him. The sources are copied in summary.

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* in three volumes is a history of nine regions and of the first thirty-eight years of Akbar's reign. The nine *tabqa* (regions) are Delhi, the Deccan, Gujarat, Bengal, Malwa, Jaunpur, Sind, Kashmir and Multan. Within this regional framework Nizam ud-Din writes dynastic history of each of these regions to the time of its conquest by Akbar. Within a dynasty each reign is a separate unit. But the account of the thirty-eight years of Akbar's reign is written in the form of an annual chronicle, meticulously maintaining the chronological order of events.

The contents of the work comprise information on accession of rulers to the throne, their wars, rebellions of the nobles, etc. but other aspects of political history like politics and administrative measures find almost no mention. Toward the end of the work Nizam ud-Din gives us some information about the length and breadth of Akbar's empire, its revenue, and the 3,200 towns it contained of which 120 were great cities.

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* was treated as a standard history and subsequent writers freely borrowed from it. Erskine regarded its author as "perhaps the best historian of the period." Nizam ud-Din's language and style are simple and his History is completely free from value judgements. But Harbans Mukhia, concluding a threadbare analysis of the work has written: "The narration of individual events rather than evaluation... may have been taken for objectivity. For the present day historian, however, this may prove to be its [*Tabaqat's*] chief weakness. Mukhia thinks that the conception of writing regional, provincial histories is Nizamud-Din's greatest single contribution to the historiography of the sixteenth century.

Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni: Badauni regretted having been born at all, but consoled himself that the unfortunate incident took place during the reign of Sher Shah whom he describes as 'destroyer of the infidels', an epithet which in fact was unjust to the great Afghan sovereign. Abdul Qadir was born in August 1540 at Todah, brought up at Bhusawar, while Badauni seems to have been his parental home. He studied first under Shaikh Hatini Sambhali and later under the famous Shaikh Mubarak along with Faizi and Abul Fazal. Faizi testifies to Badauni's vast and varied learning. The historian mentions his second marriage (1567), but not the first. In 1574 Badauni was presented to Akbar at Agra. It was the time when the

young, determined emperor was feeling uneasy about the pretentious dominance of the ulama. "As learning was a merchandise much in demand," says Badauni, "I had the privilege of being addressed [by His Majesty] as soon as I reached his presence." The intrepid scholar easily challenged the spurious profundity of the ulama and Akbar was pleased. Badauni was appointed imam (priest) for prayers on Wednesdays on account of his sweet voice, and was given thousand bighas of land a goodly gift.

But the intimacy between the sovereign and the scholar turned into estrangement. Akbar began to suspect that Badauni was a fanatic. The springs of Badauni's bitterness were personal and religious. Abul Fazal who had followed him to court now far outdistanced him in imperial favor. And Badauni saw the faith ebbing from the emperor's heart and thought that it was in danger. The discussions in the Ibadat Khana ('Hall of Worship' built by Akbar for the purpose of discussing religious and philosophical problems) had so planted doubts in Akbar's mind that loss or faith in Islam itself was only a matter of time. The ulama were banished and Akbar assumed supremacy in spiritual matters as well. And disregarding the scholar's religious susceptibilities the emperor thrust on him the task of translating the holy books of the Hindus. Badauni's bitterness found vent in a language which at times verged on obscenity.

Badauni's intense zeal for his faith was inseparable from his hatred of Sufism, the Shias, the Hindus, and the liberalism of Shaikh Mubarak and his sons Faizi and Abul Fazal. He adopted rigidly orthodox attitudes towards the new flexibility, the more liberal thinking, initiated by Akbar's policies. He criticized everything that Akbar did not only such religious and social reforms as fixing the age of marriage and establishing poor houses, but administrative measures like the branding of horses and the Mansabdari system. He would condemn Akbar and his program for the benefit of posterity in his Muntakhab which he wrote in secret lest he should bring down the wrath of the emperor prophet. The work must have occupied the author for five years before he completed it in 1596. He died the same year.

The inducement to write the Muntakhab, Badauni announces, was his "sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islam."⁸ The

Muntakhabut-Tawarikh is a history written with a vengeance intended to give a 'true' version of the anti-Islamic 'heresies' and 'innovations' of Akbar's reign. To Badauni, history was a noble science and instructive art, but he warns that taken as a rational science, its study and contemplation might lead the shortsighted "into deviation from the straight path of Muhammad." Badauni mentions only the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam ud-Din Ahmad and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Sarhindi as the sources from which he derived his information to which, he says, he added something of his own. But he consulted diverse sources like Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, and Amir Khusrau's *Ashiqqa*. The second volume of the *Muntakhab*, which contains Badauni's reactions to the events of Akbar's reign; is written mostly on the basis of his first hand, personal knowledge. To such information he adds his own thoughts and what he thinks to be the thoughts of others. "In this respect," says Harbans Mukhia, "Badauni does not merely adapt information to conform to his object; he creates it." Yet he does not seem to tell untruths to gain his point.

The *Muntakhab* is written in three volumes. The first volume is a formal political history from Subuktigin to Humayun, written in the form of reigns in strict chronological order. But the narrative is disproportionate to the importance of the rulers. Balban gets five pages while a political non-entity like Kaiqubad is honored with eight. Badauni admires Sher Shah, but his reforms do not receive attention at all. The second volume comprises the events of the first forty years of Akbar's reign set in the form of an annual chronicle. The third volume consists of a series of biographical sketches of the ulama, the physicians and poets of Akbar's court. There are somewhat detailed accounts of the *karori* system and of the branding of the horses, but the *Mansabdari* system and the revenue administration, receive little attention. But Badauni's account is our chief contemporary source for the religious and philosophical discussions in the *Ibadat Khana*, and the account is given first hand. The historian disliked Akbar's eclecticism and was disgusted with the emperor's patronage of men of different persuasions to the detriment of the Muslims who, he thought, had the sole title to government office and preferment. There are accounts of famine and earthquakes, the *jauhar* at Chitor, and of some of the buildings the author had seen.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh is its chronic subjectivity, for its author wrote under great emotional stress created by what he thought was the organized undermining of Islam by Akbar and his sycophants. His highly personal views and interpretation of historical events were devoid of historical perspective. Value judgements abound and the shariat, the mainstay of Muslim life was the sole criterion of judgement for him.

And, yet, the historian claims that it was not his habit to record the faults of others. Akbar and Abul Fazal escaped similar descriptions of their death for Badauni died before them. According to Khafi Khan the publication of the Muntakhab was suppressed by Jahangir. Badauni's feeling conditioned his style, a feeling not harnessed by reason. The language is racy and outspoken, and feeling sometimes carried it to the verge of obscenity. In a final assessment, we have to say that Badauni's Muntakhab is not wholly reliable and that it suffers from many faults; but we also have to add that it supplements and corrects the over laudatory Akbar-namah.

16.3.6 Shaikh Abul Fazal

The greatest among the histories sponsored by kings and financed by the state are Abul Fazal's twin works, the Akbar-namah and the Ain-i-Akbari. Abul Fazal was born in Agra in January 1551, son of Shaikh Mubarak, in a Hejazi family that had migrated to India and settled at Nagpur near Ajmer. Inheriting from his father and grandfather the tradition of mysticism and toleration, of universal learning and cosmopolitanism, under the tutelage of his father Abul Fazal grew into an erudite scholar. Presented to Akbar in 1574 by his brother, the poet Abul Faizi, the young scholar quickly rose to high position at the imperial court with his vast learning and assiduous devotion to the emperor. He was Akbar's alter ego, more powerful than the prime minister, and he became the high priest of the Din Ilahi. Abul Fazal's gargantuan appetite is said to have called for thirty pounds of food a day. He married four women, including a Hindu. But his power and position had earned him enemies. In 1602 he was: cruelly murdered by Bir Singh at the instance of the emperor's son, Prince Salim (later Emperor Jahangir), who admits

his crime in his Memoirs. Anger and grief consumed Akbar who refused to appear in public for three days. No historian has been so honored by a sovereign.

Abul Fazal was directed by his imperial master to "write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events and of our dominion increasing victories." Besides being a scholar, Abul Fazal was a man of affairs who could understand the behavior of states and the course of history. He was Akbar's friend, adviser, minister, diplomat and military commander. The work, begun in 1595, was completed and submitted to Akbar in 1602.

In form, the Akbar-namah and the Ain-i-Akbari are twin complementary works the Ain-i-Akbari describing Akbar's experiments and institutions; the Akbar-namah endeavoring to explain the spirit behind those institutions. The Ain-i-Akbari, the descriptive record of Akbar's empire, is divided into five books. The arrangement of the Akbar-namah is regnal, each reign being treated as a unit in which each event forms an individual entity. When the author comes to the reign of Akbar, the book assumes the character of an annual chronicle, the events of each year being described strictly in the sequence of their happening.

The second volume of the Akbar-namah contains at length Abul Fazal's views on history. The greatest historian of medieval India thought that the study of such history as had been written in the Sultanate, period was a waste of time. He was convinced that properly written history embodying, the experiences and achievements of man was a positive source of inspiration: He calls history "a unique pearl of science which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darkness external and internal."

Abul Fazal came to a new and broader view of Indian history inspired as much by his rationalist-liberal attitude as by his master's new conception of the Mughal Empire. The empire that Akbar was sedulously building was different in nature from the Sultanate; it was envisioned as a truly Indian empire, a national whole, an empire of partnership with the Hindus, and no longer - as the Sultanate had been the government of an alien racial and religious group imposed on millions of the native population. Abul Fazal performed his task by: First, effecting a departure from the historiography of the Sultanate period. He employed a rational

approach to history. He makes no reference to the generally-accepted view of Muslim historians that history only served to enlighten and warn 'believers'. Second, Abul Fazal's assessment of the Indian situation was rational and political whereas that of his predecessors was religious.

Third, Abul Fazal again departed from the medieval Muslim view he did not believe that Indian history should concern itself only with the achievements of the Muslim rulers of India. He widened the scope of that history as no Muslim historian had done by including in the *Ain-i-Akbari* an elaborate, sympathetic and careful study of the religious and philosophical systems, and the social customs and practices of the Hindus.

Abul Fazal collected sources of all kinds and Akbar helped him in all possible ways. Records of many events were collected from the Imperial Record Office established by Akbar in his nineteenth regnal year. Royal commands were issued to the provinces that those who from old service remembered with certainty or with the minimum of doubt the events of the past, should copy their notes and memoranda and transmit them to the imperial court. Great pains were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders which had been issued to the provinces from the accession. Likewise, the reports which ministers, high officials and military commanders had submitted about affairs of the empire and events in foreign countries were examined. Research also included interrogating the principal officers of state, *grandeos*, dignitaries and the old members of the royal family. All oral statements were reduced to writing.

The first of the two parts of the *Akbar-namah* deals with Akbar's birth and the reigns of Babur and Humayun, while the second tells us of Akbar's reign to the end of the forty-sixth year. The famous *Ain-i-Akbari* is a detailed, descriptive statistical record of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century. The *Akbar-namah* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* together have bestowed upon posterity the most detailed, complete and authentic account ever left of an empire and of one of the grandest personalities of world history. The first among Abul Fazal's serious limitations as a historian was his subjectivity, which was as intense as that of Barani or Badauni, and which expressed itself in an abject partiality for his patron. All reason, moderation and restraint left him in defending and extolling Akbar.

Credulity and flattery must be reckoned the second great defect of the Akbar-namah. The favorite courtier, the trusted friend and secretary of Akbar, could not but have written an official history; but the author's belief in what he thought to be the divine qualities and powers of his patron resulted in the Akbar-namah being a panegyric. Like a child, Abul Fazal does believe in Akbar's extraordinary spiritual powers which verge on the supernatural, and his qualities of prescience which amount to prophecy. The history in which Abul Fazal celebrated Akbar and his elaborate imperial edifice became a literary edifice as well. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-namah*, Persian prose achieved two masterpieces. Abul Fazal's inimitable grand style is much admired by the Oriental literati for the force of words, the structure of sentences, and the elegance of periods. But later readers have found the *Akbar-namah* unnecessarily ornate and verbose.

Among medieval historians Abul Fazal alone can lay claim to a rational, secular and liberal approach to history. The new approach was of abiding value, and had the effect of widening the scope of Indian history in two directions. First, in consonance with Akbar's new concept of a national empire Abul Fazal's work went a long way in turning medieval Indian history from the narrow confines of a story of the Muslims in India into a national history in which the Hindus and their life and culture found a place. Second, alone of the medieval historians Abul Fazal left an account not only of the political institution and administrative arrangements of north India in the sixteenth century but a description of the country and the manners, customs and popular beliefs of the people. Thus, for the first time, the governed classes were brought to the foreground.

16.4 JAHANGIR TO AURANGZEB

The practice of writing Memoirs and official annals as well as private histories continued under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb though no work could measure up to the *Akbar-namah*. Mutamad Khan's *Iqbal-namah-i-Jahangiri*, written at the instance of the Emperor Jahangir, gives an account of Babur, Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir. For the first seventeen years of Jahangir's reign the author mainly depended on the emperor's own Memoirs. *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* is an important history of the period, completed in 1630. It was written by a certain

Khwaja at the instance of Shah Jahan. The author secured the best available evidence, oral as well as written, and made good use of them.

Inheriting the Timurid love of history, Shah Jahan commissioned Mirza Aminai Qazvini to write the history of his reign. But the emperor disapproved of Qazvini's performance and entrusted Abdul Hamid Lahori with the task. Taking Abul Fazal as his model, Lahori (d.1654) wrote a detailed account, the *Padshah-namah*, though many of its details were of interest only to the nobles and courtiers of the time. Yet the work gives a deep understanding of the political, social and cultural life of the period. Lahori informs us of the suffering of the peasants caused by the famine of 1630-32 which devastated Gujarat and the Deccan. "Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy Men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love." This seemingly incredible piece of exaggeration is, however, corroborated by the English Factory Records. And the Shivbharat of Shivaji's court poet Paramanand, records: "Reduced to extremity beasts ate beasts and even men ate men." The religious orthodoxy of Shah Jahan's reign is reflected in Lahori's introduction which emphasizes that the one path to salvation is the path of the Shariat. Lahori could cover only the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign (1627-47), when old age compelled him to entrust the work to his pupil, Waris. Waris added at the end of the work a list of the shaikhs, scholars and poets who flourished during the period.

In the matter of history writing as in other matters of culture, Aurangazeb was not enthusiastic like his predecessors. He is reported have ordered that none was to chronicle the events of his reign. Yet, he did not put a sudden end to the practice of his predecessors, and directed Muhammad Kazim to write an account of his reign. Kazim began work on the *Alamgir-mimah* which was to be the official history of the reign of Aurangazeb. But hardly had he brought it to the eleventh year when the emperor withdrew his permission and patronage. Whatever the reason behind the prohibition, the religious spirit was probably a decisive factor in the case of this puritan emperor who had concluded that "the cultivation of internal piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements."

Aurangazeb's prohibition could not stop history writing which continued into the eighteenth century and left a sizable output of historical literature.

Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan's *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri* was a good history of the reign of Aurangzeb. The author does not mention his sources. But he had access to official records and was an eyewitness to many of the events recounted by him. The work is free from the gross flattery characteristic of official histories. The political and economic decline of the Mughal Empire that had begun in the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign became rapid after the emperor's death in 1707. The breakdown of law and order in large parts of the empire, court intrigues and conspiracies, and the factional politics of nobles and groups only hastened the inevitable collapse. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* by Khafi Khan, completed in 1733, and the *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin* by Muhammad Qasim, written around 1738, are two works that give us a more or less faithful account of this historical period. Incidentally, the two works show how histories written of contemporary events could widely differ in treatment.

Muhammad Hashim or Hashim Ali Khan, better known as Khafi Khan, author of the *Muntakhab-id-Lubab*, belonged to Delhi. Growing up in Aurangzeb's service since 1688 he was made diwan in Farukh Siyar's reign. He thus possessed personal knowledge of public affairs. Since Aurangzeb had prohibited the recording of the events of his reign, Khafi Khan secretly kept a minute register of all the happenings of the period. He wrote his history based on "personal observations and verbal accounts of men who had watched the occurrences of the time."

Khafi Khan subscribed to the medieval idea of history. History was to him no more than a catalogue of events neatly presented in chronological order, a jumble of facts presented without any coordination or coherence. But he held a high ideal of the duty of a historian. The historian was to be faithful; he should have no hope of profit or fear of injury; he should be free from partiality and animosity; he should know no difference between a friend and a stranger; and he should not write anything except with sincerity. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab* is a complete history of the Mughals from Babur (1519) to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign in 1733. A brief but clear account of Mughal history from Babur to Akbar fills the first part of the work. The major part of the history is concerned with the period from 1605 to 1733. The work is particularly valuable for a full and connected account of the reign of Aurangzeb. The history that Khafi

Khan wrote was a brilliant reconstruction of political events based on a great knowledge of facts. Chronology is well ordered, the treatment thorough, then language lucid, and form and expression are remarkably beautiful. The author gives an account of the attempted reforms of the Mansabdari system, and his accounts of the central administration, Maratha affairs, and conditions of Jagirdars are unique. As one who had served the Mughal government for a considerable period as amil (revenue collector), Khafi Khan had authentic knowledge of revenue administration. He himself had only contempt for the post of amil, whom he calls wicked, corrupt and cruel. The revenue collector cheats the government and plunders helpless cultivators. Khafi Khan confesses that he himself oppressed the peasantry and destroyed the property of Muslims. His account brings before us the abuses of the Jagirdari system of revenue collection by which the cultivator is ground down to abject misery. There were at the close of the Mughal period Hindu historians who wrote in Persian Rai Brindaban, Bhimsen and Ishwardas Nagar. Of these Bhimsen was the most important.

Bhimsen was born in 1649 at Burhanpur. A hereditary Kayastha civil officer of the imperial administration, Bhimsen spent much of his time in Mughal cities and camps and saw many places from Cape Comorin to Delhi. He must have carefully made his jottings of the information, he had gathered during these journeys. The *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, Bhimsen's journal completed at about 1709, is a very valuable supplement to the *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri*. It enjoyed certain advantages over the other histories of the period. A private journal, it was not only free from the defects of official histories but contained information different in nature and quality. The author looked at Aurangzeb's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu.

Unlike the official annals, the range-of the material that Bhimsen provides is enormous. He has supplied what the official histories of Aurangzeb's reign dearly lacked the causes and effects of events, incidents in Mughal warfare in the Deccan, state of the country, condition of the people, prices of food, condition of the roads, and the social life of the official class. Bhimsen provides us such data as are vital for an understanding of the true nature of what Sarkar has called the 'Deccan Ulcer' which brought about the advance of the Maratha power and the ruin of Aurangzeb.

16.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus, Indo-Islamic historiographers have contributed to the Medieval Indian History and their works still continues to exercise considerable influence on historical writings.

16.6 KEYWORDS

1. Imam – Priest
2. Ibadat Khana – Hall of worship

16.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss the growth of Indo-Islamic historiography during the Sultanate period.
2. Discuss the growth and advancement of Indo-Islamic historiography during the Mughal period.

16.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 16.2
2. See section 16.3

16.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Harbans Mukhia: Historians and Historiography during the Reign of Akbar
2. Sreedharan.E: A Textbook of Historiography, 500 BC to A.D. 2000, New Delhi

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UNIT-17 COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY ORIENTALIST- IMPERIALIST

Structure

- 17.0 Objectives**
- 17.1 Introduction**
- 17.2 James Stuart Mill**
- 17.3 Mountestuart Elphinstone**
- 17.4 Lord Macaulay**
- 17.5 William Harison Moreland**
- 17.6 Imperialist**
 - 17.6.1 Henry Maine**
 - 17.6.2 Tallboys Wheeler**
 - 17.6.3 Alfred Lyall**
 - 17.6.4 William Wilson Hunter**
 - 17.6.5 Vincent Arthur Smith**
- 17.7 Let us Sum up**
- 17.8 Keywords**
- 17.9 Check your progress**
- 17.10 Answer to check your progress**
- 17.11 Suggested Readings**

17.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to know about Indian Historiography of Modern India and the main trends and Developments in Modern Historical writings. You will be able to know about various historians and their ideas on history. You will be able to know the ideas of orientalist and imperialist historians.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Till later part of the eighteenth century, Indians were not very conscious towards historic writing. But after the settlement of the Britishers in India and their desire to produce history encouraged Indian to write history. Administrators, traders even the soldiers began to take interest in writing history. James Mill produced history with a point of view of introducing utilitarian doctrines to India. He held that enlightened despotism could only uplift caste ridden society of India. But Munroe and Elephinstone devoted to writing history with a favourable view of Indian Institution. Henry Maine and Alfred Lyoll were interested in Indian society and Institution where as Grant Duff made efforts' to justify British rule in India.

17.2 JAMES STUART MILL (1773 -1856 AD)

James Stuart Mill was well known English historian of the Modern Indian historiography. He was the first English historian who began to write on the British period of modern Indian historiography. Mill was born in 1773 AD. He was son of shoemaker and he got his early education at Edinburgh. From the early age he began to love for utilitarian philosophy and came in close contact with Bentham, Ricardo, Hume and Grote. He joined East India Company and wrote many works. He soon got popularity as a good author and scholar. In 1798 he obtained license as preacher of Gospel in Church of Scotland. In 1818 he was appointed in India office as Examiner of Indian Correspondence. After two years he became the Head of the Department. He died on 23rd June 1836. Throughout his life he never went to India and had no knowledge of any ancient Indian language.

His Works: James Mill was an eminent writer. He produced following well known works:

- Essay on Government.
- History of India.
- Analysis on the Phenomena of Human Mind.
- Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.
- Fragments on Mackintosh

He also contributed many articles to 'West Minister Review' 'London Review', 'Edinburgh Review' and many other journals of great value. He brought out his most important work 'History of India in 1818 A. D. This book soon won fame as a standard history of Indian and was accepted by various Indian Universities as a text book. Macaulay appreciated this book and calls it, "the greatest historical work which has appeared in our language since that of Gibbon". This book covers the history of India from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century. He shows his anti Hindu attitude in his work.

His Ideas: Mill believed in utilitarian philosophy and held that most important duty of every government is to provide maximum happiness to the people without much pains. It is the duty of the government to restrain the individual from encroaching upon the rights of others. He gave importance to the representative form of government. According to him interests of individual and community should go hand in hand. He expressed that both Hindu and Muslim governments are not ruling in the public interest and they have failed in their responsibilities. He held that only British rule in India would be useful to all communities in India.

Mill totally rejected the views of Sir William Jones and other European scholars who had regard for Indian culture and civilization. He accused them of the "Virtuous design of exalting the Hindu in the egos of their European masters; and thence ameliorating the temper of the government." He regarded Hindu inferior to the Europeans and holds them very low in moral character. He again mentions, "If they had ever been placed in this pretended state of civilization, we know of no such period of calamity, as was sufficient to reduce them to a state of ignorance and barbarity." Mill did not visit India nor did he know any Indian language. Even he

did not study ancient Indian literature. It is clear that Mill knew nothing about Ancient Hindus and also knew very less Hindu of his period. He was totally ignorant of the facts. He even did not like liberal British Governor Warren Hastings.

Mill was not aware of the facts and he possessed great racial prejudices. He wrote 'History of India' which is based on lack of knowledge of Hindu culture and civilization. He was a utilitarian who made efforts to justify his account to please his government. For his work it is said that this book seemed to be written with a view to favour a particular theory. Prof. H. H. Wilson who edited the fourth edition of Mill's book remarked, "With very imperfect knowledge, with an implicit faith in all testimony hostile to Hindu pretensions, he has elaborated a portrait of Hindus which has not resemblance whatever to the original and which almost outrages humanity."

Mill in dealing with British period adopts critical attitude towards British liberals. In spite of these drawbacks Mill tried to introduce modern tradition of historiography in his work. Prof. Wilson also appreciates that his book 'History of British India' is a composition of much accuracy on many points of on relaxing vigour on all."

Dr.R.C.Majumdar has assessed his book and pointed out, "Judging at this distance of time we cannot but admit that though Mill's book had great faults, it had also high merits, and he should justly be regarded as a great historian with modern ideas of historiography, so far at least as the history of the British period is concerned."

17.3 MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE (1779-1859)

When Mill's History was reigning supreme, another history of India was written by a critic of Mill. Mountstuart Elphinstone had come to India as a wild lad of sixteen, but had disciplined himself into a scholar-administrator. In 1827, Elphinstone voluntarily retired from the governorship of Bombay and nothing could induce him to take up another post however high. Deeply in love with India

and deeply in love with history, Elphinstone had all along been uneasy about Mill's History. In his retirement period he became increasingly critical of Mill and the latter's offensively cynical and sarcastic tone. Mill's work, he felt, though ingenious, original and elaborate, was not candid in its Hindu and Muhammadan parts. Feeling it his duty to combat it, in 1834 Elphinstone began work on the History of Hindu and Muhammadan India. In the very year of its publication, 1841, Elphinstone's History came into use at Haileybury for the benefit of the Indian Civil Service cadets and the author was hailed as the Tacitus of India.

Mill had written his History of British India on the Enlightenment-utilitarian assumption that human nature was the same everywhere, irrespective of climate and age, and that differences should be accounted for by the custom of the people. This custom, if found useless or harmful, could be changed only by law and government, and the historian's job is to demonstrate it. But cast in the Romanticist mould, Elphinstone held that human nature differed from region to region, period to period, and from people to people. In the true Romantic spirit, he would rather comprehend human nature and recognize its difference from another when cast in different settings or environment than enter into value judgements.

Mill's History was based solely on European evidence, much of which was casual. Elphinstone rightly felt that a work written using native sources might come to different conclusions. Intending to write a history more full of facts and free from disputes and dissertations, he wrote his account from personal observation and chronicles provided by his friend, William Erskine, the translator of Babur's Memoirs. He had intimately known the Hindus for many years, and he made a diligent and careful study of the available literature on Indian history. Guided by the works of William Jones and H.H. Wilson, he dismissed the traditional Hindu conception of the four yugas and started the history of the Hindus from the oldest fixed point known till then the composition of the Rig Veda, which he assigned to the fourteenth century BC. Elphinstone tried to fix the later chronology with the help of the dynastic lists given in the Puranas. He was also acquainted with Prinsep's decipherment of the Asokan inscriptions. And now, without any difficulty he fixed Chandragupta Maurya's accession towards the end of fourth century BC. Then counting backwards and forwards from this one fixed point, he fixed the approximate dates of the royal dynasties mentioned in the

Puranas from the Mahabharata war to the Guptas in the fourth century AD. The chronological framework Elphinstone gave to ancient Indian history is much the same as is generally accepted, though occasional modifications have been rendered necessary by archeological discoveries of coins and inscriptions.

But Elphinstone's treatment of the political history of ancient India is meagre and inadequate. There is only a bare enumeration of the succession list of the royal dynasties based on the Puranas. Detailed accounts of the invasion of Alexander, and the achievements of Chandragupta Maurya and of Asoka are absent. The absence cannot be blamed on the dearth of sources, as general accounts of them could be found in Graeco-Roman classical writers, ancient Indian literature, and the newly deciphered inscriptions of Asoka. Yet a brief outline of the political history of India south of the Narmada is given. By the side of this meagre treatment of political history is the stress Elphinstone laid on the cultural achievements of the Hindus. Long accounts are given of the administrative system, society, religion, literature, philosophy, arts and sciences, manners and customs, trade and commerce of the Hindus. The gradual changes in these are traced with a true historical instinct. Elphinstone also noted the distinction between north and south India in these respects, as Aryan culture penetrated into, the south at a considerable later date to merge with the Dravidian, which was already highly developed. It is surprising that he should have given at such an early date, a description of the overseas trade and maritime activities of the Hindus, and their colonization of Java, Bali and other islands. Elphinstone truly laid the foundations of the cultural history of India.

17.4 LORD MACAULAY

He was another important historian of British period. He made valuable contribution to modern Indian history through his two essays on Clive and Warren Hastings.

He was born in 1800 A. D. His father was a philanthropist and mother was Quaker. He obtained his education at Trinity and Cambridge. In 1826 he started his career as a legal professional. In 1830 he became a member of British Parliament

and in 1834 he contributed an outstanding service to the drafting of Reforms Bill, After that he was entrusted the very influential responsibility as Secretary of Board of control, which looked after Indian affairs. In 1834 A. D. he was made a member of Education for government of India. At this position he introduced the system of national education as well as English system of education in India. He was also responsible for Codified Criminal law, granted freedom of press and equality before law to both Europeans and Indians. In 1858 A. D. he returned to India and died in 1859 AD.

Macaulay produced his well known work 'History of England' in several volumes which won him popularity and was appreciated. He wrote two famous essays one on Clive and second on Warren Hastings. For these essays he collected vast material. It is said that his essays on Clive are better than that of Hastings. As a result his essays drew the attention of British rulers to the Indian problems. In these essays he brought to focus lapses of both Clive and Hastings in British political morality which at times reached the lowest level of decency in their craze for empire building. He held that their period was that of naked aggression. Macaulay did not have any regard for Indian education system and literature. He held that Indian education was much inferior to that of British. He advocated the British ruler for introduction of English system of education in India. He again pleaded that it proved useful in the interest of both Indians and Britishers. He also tried to highlight the problems of Indians in his essays.

Lord Macaulay was an eminent scholar. In Indian historiography he is popular for his two essays. But both his essays do not contain accurate facts. He suffers from prejudices so his essays have biases. In spite of some faults his essays are considered brilliant piece of literature. His presentation of fact is very excellent and his style is impressing. Prof. Gooch mentions, of the two 'Clive' is the more accurate, but the less popular. But 'Warren Hastings' is perhaps Macaulay's most brilliant work. It set in the foreground of national history the great proconsul whose achievements were almost forgotten yet, though the picture of Hastings is perhaps the most dazzling work of art in the author's gallery, it is one of the most inaccurate of his portraits. While Hasting owes his celebrity to Macaulay his fame had to wait for the vindication at other hands.”

17.5 WILLIAM HARISON MORELAND

William Harison Moreland was a well known historian of British period. He made valuable contribution to modern Indian historiography through his works. He took much interest in economic aspect of Indian history.

W.H.Moreland was born in 1868 A.D. in Northern Ireland. He got his education at Trinity College and Cambridge. Subsequently he was appointed as Director Land Records and Agriculture in U.P. He had keen interest in land settlement. In 1914 he got his retirement as I.C.S. Officer and died in 1938 AD.

Moreland inaugurated economic historiography in India. He wrote many works which are based on agriculture and land reforms. Some of his important works are:

- 1) The Agriculture of United Provinces.
- 2) The Revenue Administration of United Provinces.
- 3) Agrarian System of Mughals in India.
- 4) Akbar's Land Revenue System.
- 5) India at the Death of Akbar.
- 6) From Akbar to Aurangzeb.
- 7) The Agrarian System of Modern India.
- 8) Introduction to Economics for Indian Students.

All his works deal with economic aspect of history. He had keen interest in agriculture and land revenue system. In his works he has discussed that British land administration system is inherited from Mughal System. In fact Mughal system of land administration has its roots in Hindu system. He gave emphasis on the importance of proper and smooth working of revenue department. He held that all other departments move around it. He again points out that for the prosperity, there should be given stress on production and equal distribution of wealth. He also has tried to justify that there was nothing wrong in non-Indianisation of Indian services, high salaries of British Civil and Military official posted in India. He has laid stress on continuance of free trade.

He was a senior civil servant so his writings suffer from partiality. He adopted totally partial approach. As a result his writings became subjective. Therefore his works are not fairly received by the scholars. From his works it is evident that he wrote to please the British rulers and he tried to justify that British rule in India was working for the welfare of the people of country. He did not agree with demands of Congress Party about Indianisation of Indian administration, ban on free trade and reducing the salaries of British officers posted in India. Thus his whole approach was that of a partial imperialist.

17.6 IMPERIALIST

Much of the historical writing on India during the period of British rule came from British Indian administrators. There is another class of Indian administrators writing on Indian history whom E.T.Stokes calls philosophic historians, using the new knowledge from Sanskrit studies they arrived at conclusions diametrically opposite to that of orientalists.

17.6.1 Henry Maine

Henry Maine, author of the famed Ancient Law (1861) and Law Member in India from 1861 to 1869, was not strictly a historian, but his influence in forming an important view of Indian history was great. Maine fully accepted the Aryan theory and believed that even the Indian village community was an Aryan institution surviving in full vigor. But he employed the theory not in India's favor but only as a justification of Britain's dominion. The notion of the common racial stock served only to lessen racial prejudices and render the government of India by the English easier. Maine shared with the other British administrators the contemptuous attitude towards Indian culture. He argued that instead of being in an advanced state of civilization India remained in the "infancy of the human mind prolonged". The principle of progress is the continual production of new ideas. Spreading from the Greeks to the Romans, the Germans, the French and the English, this principle was now being communicated to India by the English. Maine's liberalism stopped at India's door.

17.6.2 Tallboys Wheeler

Tallboys Wheeler, another administrator-historian, further demonstrated that the attempt to write philosophic history on the basis of the new knowledge derived from Sanskrit, studies could reach conclusions as prejudiced as those of James Mill. Wheeler was Assistant Secretary to the Government of India's Foreign Department, and later Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma. His five-volume History of India from the Earliest Times blamed India's failure to develop nationalities on the tyranny of the Brahman priesthood. Devotion to the common weal found amongst all Aryan nations and which certainly belonged to the Vedic Aryans, passed away beneath the lighting influence of Brahmanical oppression. The public spirit which animated the body politic in the Vedic age, and which is essential to the permanence of states and empires came to be narrowed down to the caste, the village, and the family. Political tie, nationality and patriotism all came to be squeezed into the, religious spirit. Wheeler was no kinder to Muslim rule. The Mughal administration "was a monstrous system of oppression and extortion which none but Asiatics could have practised or endured." India, Wheeler concluded, like Charles Grant or James Mill, had been saved from the most, hopeless of anarchies only by the introduction of European rule. The Mutiny was a revelation of Asiatic nature and India was utterly unready for any type of representative government.

17.6.3 Alfred Lyall

Alfred Lyall was such a historian who did not like the misconceptions of Britishers about India. He wanted that these should be removed and a true picture of India should be produced. He tried to point out the causes of the defeat of Indians at the hands of Britishers.

He held that Indians faced defeat not for their disunity but they were defeated because they had not had any form of government as compared to other nations and civilizations which have been experiments with the different form of government. The main cause of their failure was to stick to monarchy. He held that Indian governments have always over centralised and as weak monarch came on

the throne there was anarchy. It was the regular characteristic which restricted the mental and moral development of the people.

He has remarked that there was a logic of history on the British conquest of India. Because from days of Alexander, Western have been trying to push towards the East. The conflict between the East and the West is the normal phenomena of history. England being situated on upper land had many advantages. She had powerful Navy and had good knowledge of Europe. India did not possess any Sea power. She was politically weak at that times. Thus, all these factors led to the British conquest of India.

Lyall was an original thinker. He warned his countrymen and said that they should learn some lesson from history. He has remarked that over centralised government do not last long and soon they are bound to fall. He held that British government was going on that point and its fate was to be that of others. He warned the British government which pursued the policy of over centralization. He has given some suggestion to British rulers that they should follow policy of political decentralization. The Britishers should try to strengthen the local self government institution. He suggested that British rulers should use the Indian princes as balancing wheel, and they should follow the policy of Akbar rather than that of Aurangzeb.

Thus Alfred Lyall had their own ideas of history. He was a real thinker. He contributed a new approach and view point. He presented his own philosophy of history about the British rule in India. Though he was a Britisher but he had no prejudices. He was not happy about the way in which Britisher had written Indian history. He himself wanted to remove all the misconception about India and he was in favour of presenting clear picture of India. He tried to bring to focus the weaknesses of British government. He was a real philosopher of history.

17.6.4 William Wilson Hunter

William Wilson Hunter is one of the important historians who have written well known works on Indian history. He was a prolific writer who produced his

writing with a view to bring India nearer to the English. His important work include:

- A Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan languages in India and Asia.
- The Annals of Rural Bengal.
- The Rulers of India, Series (28 Volumes).
- The Imperial Gazetteers of India (14 Volumes).

In addition to these works he contributed various articles in Englishman, Pioneer and Times of India. Hunter was a civil servant he was able to collect material for his works from various sources. He had good knowledge of Indian languages. He was able to research in the field of Indian history. He was versatile writer and on account of his remarkable qualities he entrusted with difficult task of preparing a statistical survey of India. He made wide travels throughout country to find out material for himself before compiling the statistics. As a result all these materials were condensed into fourteen volumes of the Imperial Gazetteers of India. He based his writings on official records but he also tried to deal with local traditions. He did not rely completely on the contemporary records but he studied old records available in the record offices. He also made efforts to compare the official documents with the contemporary literature.

In his work 'Annals of Rural Bengal' he tried to describe the confusion and anarchy which existed in Bengal after downfall of Mughal Empire. He also had high-lighted the efforts of the British government of restoration law and order. After the publication of this book Hunter won popularity among the historians who were interested in Asiatic History. Hunter's Series 'The Ruler of India' points out an account of the gradual growth of the British Indian Empire. Hunter began series with a model memoir on the administration of Lord Dalhousie and he also provided full length biography of Lord Mayo. Like other European scholars Hunter had no racial prejudices. He believed that ancient religions of Europe and India were similar and he appreciated the ancient culture of India. He had regard for ancient culture and religion and he did not favour the ideas of other Europeans that ancient India had no culture and the Britisher had responsibilities to civilize them. But he supported the British rule in India. He expressed his ideas that, the advance

of the British alone save the Delhi Empire from dismemberment by three Hindu Military powers the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs.

Hunter was great as well as laborious scholar. He knew many Indian language that proved to be very-useful for research in the field of Indian history. He brought out 14 volumes of Imperial Gazetteer of India and 28 volumes on Rulers of India Series on account of his hard working capacity. But his Rulers of India series, he dealt with only six rulers of India and it lacks of uniformity. But inspite of this, the series reveals his hard labour in bringing out these works. He wrote many articles on India in Englishman and Pioneer, both were journals. He also regularly contributed to the Times of England. Prof. Sharma has remarked on his contribution to Indian historiography and says, "W. W. Hunter was the representative of the Modern school of historical writing of his day. By his painstaking investigation of contemporary documents, he satisfied the most austere standard of a historian's duty. His narration had the vigour and pictures queness of a literary style providing flesh to the skeletons of facts. He was a historian to work from primary sources and hence had frequently to combat generalization which had crystallized into hard and fast traditions. Hunter had an honesty of intellect. He had a thorough knowledge of the contemporary theories of history believing in the lessons of History and the strength of historical forces."

17.6.5 Vincent Arthur Smith

V.A.Smith was the greatest historian of Modern Indian historiography who adopted modern methodology in history writing. V.A.Smith was born in 1843 AD at Dublin. He was a very brilliant student so he had a brilliant academic career. In 1817 he joined Indian Civil Service. He had keen interest in history writing inspite of his busy duties. He died in 1920 AD.

His Works. He wrote many important works. These include

- 1) Early History of India.
- 2) Ashoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India.
- 3) Akbar, the Great Mughal.
- 4) A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.

- 5) Catalogue of Coins of India.
- 6) The Oxford History of India.

He also contributed many articles of historical importance to several journals. Some of his remarkable articles are Greco-Roman influence on the civilization of ancient India, Coinage of the Early or Imperial Guptas, Samudra Gupta, Jaina Ships and other antiquities from Mathura, Andhra History and Coinage. The Indo Parthian Dynasties. The Sakas in Northern India, the History of the City of Kannauj and of king Yasovaman, sculpture of Ceylone, A criticism of the Montague Chelmsford proposals for Indian Reforms 1919 etc. In 1904 he produced Early History of India which deals with history from 600 B. C. to the conquest of Muslims. This book won fame and he is considered as an eminent scholar of Indian history.

Smith introduced a modern methodology of historiography. He was quite aware of western notion of historiography. He reconstructed Indian history out of traditions, tales and myths. He very carefully examined all the facts and analysed them.

He was the first historian to introduce scientific method of history writing. He tried to find out the authenticity of the source, material. Prof. Majumdar points and his ideas of history and his historical methods, "As a historian he was a scientific and artist rolled into one. He was a true investigator and his chief merit is sobriety and causation qualities which are absolutely necessary for the historian who has dig laboriously into the obscure past".

He was a prejudiced writer. Since he was a civil servant, "he tried to justify every act of British government in India. He had very less knowledge about Indian culture, civilization and institution. He studied every aspect of ancient and medieval India with biased approach. But inspite of this approach his style of writing was based on modern notions of historiography. He had written articles on Indian history, art, archaeology and numismatics so his writings contain good information of Indian history. On account of his volume, variety and value of his work Prof. Majumdar calls him as 'eminent historian of Modern India'.

17.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus, J.S.Mill says that from the coming of the Aryans to the arrival of the British, Indian society had remained substantially unchanged. Mills division of Indian history into the Hindu, Muslim and British periods has continued to our own days. V.A.Smith tells us that the desire of the Indians for political unity is shown in their acquiescence to the British rule, and in the passionate outbursts of loyal devotion to the king emperor. The revival and progress of Sanskrit studies instead of lessening the prejudice against India, only served to provide a theoretical justification of the continuance of British rule. The British imperialist writers had little interest in Indian life and culture, and economic issues were only treated in so far as they had political application. Works written were confined mostly to the British period, and concerned only with British activities. They always presented the British point of view.

17.8 KEYWORDS

1. James Stuart Mill – English historian
2. Lord Macaulay – produced work on “History of England” in several volumes.

17.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the contribution of Mountstuart Elphinstone to Indian historiography.
2. Assess the works and ideas of J.S.Mill.
3. Discuss the contribution of the imperialist histopriographers to the development of Histopriography.

17.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 17.2
2. See section 17.3
3. See section 17.6

17.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. B.Sheik Ali: History its theory and method, Bangalore, 1999
2. R.K.Majumdar and A.N.Srivastva Historiography, Delhi, 1975.

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UNIT-18 NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

Structure

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Work done by Nationalist Historians
- 18.3 Growth of Interest in Regional and Local History
- 18.4 Economic History
- 18.5 Cultural History
- 18.6 R.G.Bhandarkar
- 18.7 Romesh Chandra Dutt
- 18.8 Dr.Surendra Nath Sen
- 18.9 Sardar K.M.Panikkar
- 18.10 Dadabhai Navroji
- 18.11 K.P.Jayaswal
- 18.12 Radha Kumud Mukherji
- 18.13 H.C.Raychaudhuri
- 18.14 G.S.Sardesai
- 18.15 Jadunath Sarkar
- 18.16 Let Us Sum Up
- 18.17 Keywords
- 18.18 Check your progress
- 18.19 Answer to check your progress
- 18.20 Suggested Readings

18.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to know about the contributions of Nationalist Historians like R.G.Bhandarkar, R.C.Dutt, Dr.Surendra Nath Sen, K.M.Pannikar, Dadabhai Navroji, K.P.Jayaswal, H.C.Raychudhuri, G.S.Sardesai and Jadunath Sarkar.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Historical study in India received its greatest impetus from the sentiment of nationalism. To meet the imperialist challenge, the Indian servants plunged themselves into a study of the sources, and India was rich in raw historical materials monuments, epigraphs, coins and a variety of literary sources. Many historians based their writings on nationalism in order to raise patriotic feelings among the Indians.

18.2 WORK DONE BY NATIONALIST HISTORIANS

R.C.Dutt's three-volume Civilization in Ancient India, while presenting the nationalist case, is admirably free from the extravagant claims of some of the later Indian nationalist historians, Romila Thapar acknowledges that in spite of weaknesses, nationalist historians played a significant role in the interpretation of ancient Indian history. Because they wrote in conscious opposition to imperialist historiography, the historians were forced to take a fresh look at sources.

18.3 GROWTH OF INTEREST IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

Romila Thapar further observes that a valuable offshoot of nationalist historiography was a growth of interest in regional and local history. Neelakanta Sastri's works have brought the history of south India into national perspective.

18.4 ECONOMIC HISTORY

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

18.5 CULTURAL HISTORY

The idea abumbrated by Rabindranath Tagore caught the imagination of historians. Valuable preliminary work had been done by genuine scholars like Bhagawanlal Indraji, Bhau Dhaji and Rajendralal Mitra in exploring and editing the core material for history. Then came real histories of which those written till about the 1960s may be said to have been more or less nationalist in character. They were mostly political, dynastic and cultural in nature.

18.6 R.G. BHANDARKAR (1837-1925)

The earliest indigenous modern historian of India was Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Son of a clerk in the Revenue Department, Bhandarkar was teacher, researcher and author besides being a social reformer. In the realm of political history Bhandarkar produced two very-valuable monographs: The Early History of the Deccan (1884) and A Peep into the Early History of India (1900). Though the author modestly calls the History of the Deccan "merely a congeries of facts," the work gives a historical account of western India from the earliest times to the Muslim conquest. It is not merely a political history, but one informing the reader

of the social, economic and religious conditions of the Deccan during the period covered, as also the state of literature and art. A Peep into the Early History of India is a brief survey of the early history of northern India from the beginning of the Mauryan period to the end of the Gupta empire. Again, political history is supplemented by information given on the Brahmanical revival under the imperial Guptas as reflected in the religion, literature and art of the period. Both works are thus integral in approach, treated with a complete mastery of details and command over the critical apparatus.

In one of his numerous papers entitled, 'The Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry', as well as in the introduction to the Peep into the Early History of India, one gets glimpses of Bhandarkar's ideas on methodology. He tried to attain historical truth and accuracy by subjecting the different kinds of sources used to rigorous scrutiny. He insisted on strict impartiality as of a judge, and condemned the attitude of an advocate or prosecuting counsel in a historian. Bhandarkar was more meticulous than many European scholars of the time and found much faulty with Vincent Smith on this score. Though patriotic he was not anti-British and he did not share the tendency of some Indian scholars to reject foreign influences on the development of Indian civilization and claim high antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona is a worthy social arm abiding monument to the scholar-historian. Here, in 1919, presiding over the First Oriental Conference, he said: "I close the very active years of my life with an assured belief that sound critical and scholarship has grown up among us, and that it will maintain its own against aspirations and attacks." We have to prove ourselves is of worthy of this belief.

18.7 ROMESH CHANDRA DUTT

Romesh Chandra Dutt has his own place in modern Indian historiography. He was an administrator and a historian. He was the first Indian who wrote economic history of India. He was born in North Calcutta in August, 1849. After his early education in India, he went to England to take up the I.C.S. examination

and got third position in the examination. During his visit to England he was influenced by John Stuart Mill and Charles Dickens. After his return to India he was appointed as Assistant Magistrate of twenty four Paragana. Bankim Chandra Chatterji encouraged him to write history. Thus he began writing history and published many works.

These are given below:

- 1) A History of Civilization in Ancient India (3 Volumes)
- 2) England and India
- 3) The Economic History of India

R.C.Dutt contributed many articles to Bengali Journals. He translated the Rigveda in Bengali between 1885-1887. He also translated both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in English. A History of Civilization in Ancient India is the most important historical work. He has given an account of Indian famines and poverty and highlighted the attitude of the British government. His another work 'The Economic History of India' shows his mastery over facts. He was a keen observer and had deep insight in his subject of writing. In order to complete his work he not only consulted the parliamentary papers and official reports but also utilized extensive statistics for the support of statements given in the book.

R.C.Dutt was a great historian of British period. His Economic History was a pioneering work and it inspired other scholars to work on his subject. He deeply studied facts and has given certain very solid facts about economic condition of India. For the first time an Indian touched economic history of India. His works reveal that he possessed deep insight to the subject. He also produced four historical novels. Thus he was a historian as well as a literary writer. He contributed valuable services to Modern Indian historiography.

18.8 DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN

Dr.Surendra Nath Sen was the modern historian of India. He wrote mainly on Maratha power in India. Surendra Nath was born in a middle class family in July, 1890 A.D. in the East Bengal. He completed his Honours and M.A. in

History from Calcutta University and started his career as Professor of History at the Robertson College Jabalpur. After some time he joined Calcutta University as a Lecturer in History. He also obtained his Ph.D. Degree and his research topic was Administrative History of the Marathas'. 'Subsequently he went to Oxford and got B.Litt. degree for his work 'Military System of the Marathas'. After his return to India he joined as Professor of Medieval and Modern Indian History at Calcutta and worked there for a decade. In 1939 he was made the Records keeper in the Imperial Records Department of Government of India (Now known as National Archives). He also worked as Professor of History and Vice Chancellor of Delhi. He also acted Visiting Professor in the University of Wisconsin, United States. He was conferred degree of D. Litt. By Oxford University for his services to the Indian history. He died in July 1962.

His Works. He produced works on Maratha history and his important works include:

- 1) Administrative System of the Marathas.
- 2) Military System of the Marathas.
- 3) India Through Chinese Eyes
- 4) Delhi and its Monuments.
- 5) Eighteen Fifty Seven.

He also translated Sabhasad Bakhar and Foreign Biographies of Shivaji. He also wrote interesting papers in Indian history of the Main Track' and 'Early Career of Kanhali Angria' and others. He also edited 'Prachin Banga Patra Sankalum.' (Collection of Old Bengali letters and Indian Travels) His major works were on Marathas history, he consulted original source material and used them. He also studied Marathi, Persian and Portuguese carefully so that original documents could be easily studied.

Dr.Sen was a hard working historian. He took pain in studying original documents which were in Persian, Portuguese and Marathi. He adopted critical approach. His work 'Eighteen Fifty Seven' is a monumental work which presents a unique history of Indian struggle of 1857.

18.9 SARDAR K.M. PANIKKAR

Sardar K.M.Panikkar is an eminent historian of Modern India. He contributed a lot to Indian historiography by his writings. He has an important place for his approach to history in modern Indian historiography. Sardar K. M. Panikkar was born at Kavalam in Kerala in 1895 A.D. He got his early education at Madras Christian College and he also went to Christ Church, Oxford for further studies. He qualified bar there too and came back to India. He began his career from Aligarh University in 1922 and after about three years he joined Calcutta University as a Reader in History. After two years he joined as editor of Hindustan Times but soon left it. He joined as the Secretary to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He also worked as editor of Swaraj of Madras. He was later on appointed as Advisor to the Maharaja of Kashmir in 1928. He was made Minister of External Affairs at Patiala in 1933 A. D. After Independence of India he was appointed an Indian Ambassador to China and he was sent as ambassador to Egypt and Sudan. He also served as Vice Chancellor of the University of Kashmir. He died on December 11, 1963 when, he was the Vice Chancellor of University of Mysore. Thus he served various places and occupying different posts.

Sardar K.M.Panikkar inspite of his activities made valuable contributions to history. He is regarded as a great-historian, Some of his important works are as follows:

- 1) Sri Harsha of Kannauj - A Monograph on the History of India in the first half of the 17th century.
- 2) Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India.
- 3) Malabar and the Dutch.
- 4) Malabar and the Portuguese.
- 5) Indian States and the Government of India.
- 6) Gulab Singh.
- 7) Indian Princes in Council.
- 8) His Highness of Bikaner - A Biography.
- 9) The Working of Dyarchy in India.
- 10) The Future of India and South East India.

- 11) Survey of Indian History.
- 12) Geographical Factors in Indian History.
- 13) Foundation of New India.
- 14) Afro-Asian States and Their Problems.
- 15) Revolution in Africa.
- 16) Serpent and the Crescent.
- 17) Angola in Flames.
- 18) India and China.
- 19) In Two Chinas.
- 20) Asia and Western Dominance.

His origin and Evolution of Kingship in India is, in fact, a collection of lectures delivered at Baroda. In his 'Malabar' and Portuguese and 'Malabar and the Dutch' covers the history of European Connection with the west coast of India from beginning of the sixteenth to 18th century. In Indian States and the Government of India deals with the study of the Unique System of Polity. In his Inter State law finds out the legal aspects of the problems of Princely states. In India and the Indian ocean deals with influence of sea power on Indian History, Gulab Singh is a biography.

Thus all his works reveal with a wide range of history. He had much interest in the destiny of man and nations and had a deep insight into future. He got his education at England, but his historical approach was totally different from that of British historians. His works contain some element or nationalism. He believed that historical research should not be based on elaboration of detail but it should be an analysis of courses, conditions and processes. He considers history as study of a activities of its people.

Panikkar did not approve the traditional method of historical writing which was based on method of piling up information from various sources and presenting this material in a systematic order. Panikkar gave stress on the arrangement of facts instead of piling facts without arrangement. He made a valuable contribution to the cause of history and one of the important contributions of his was "to break the hard scholarly crust of history and brought out tender, sensitive, inner side to capture the imagination of common man." He rejected the traditional method of

history which dealt with only political aspect of country. As a result it made history uninteresting. He advocated the social aspect of history and suggested that history of India should be based on a history of the social growth and development. For him political history should not be given much importance. In fact, he wanted to introduce new way in the field of historical research.

Panikkar was criticised for writing the Indian history as the history of the Hindu people. But fact is that any historian cannot be totally away from his social circumstances. So his writings are influenced by some prejudices. Panikkar is attached to Hindu tradition as a result it cannot be blamed to blur his method of scientific investigation in the field of historical research.

He is a prolific writer who has dealt wide variety of history. His presentation of subject is very interesting simple and natural. He did not use many footnotes and his writing contain a good flow. His imagination is very remarkable and expression is influential. He had capacity to put right things at right place and his analytical power is based on both logic and scientific method. He saw global vision of history. In his India and China he had explained how revolution became unavoidable in China. He is not given deserved attention of scholars of Indian history but his works are of rare qualities.

18.10 DADABHAI NAVROJI

People remember Dadabhai Navroji by the name of 'Grand Old Man of India' due to reverence. He served India for about 61 years- forty years before the establishment of the national congress and twenty one years after the inception. Dadabhai Navroji was born at Kharak, a village in Maharashtra in a poor Parsi family. He got education in Elphinstone College where an English teacher was very much impressed by him and named him as 'the hope of India'. He also started his career as an Assistant Teacher from the same college where he got education, But in 1855 he resigned from this post and proceeded to England. He also established British India Society in England with a view to preaching in favour of India.

In 1869 A. D. he came back to India and accepted the post of Diwan in the State of Baroda in 1873 A.D. but soon he left it. He was thrice elected President of the National Congress in 1886 A.D., 1893 A.D. and 1906 A.D. He was elected member of British Parliament in A.D. 1892 from Finsbury as representative of the Liberal Party. At this occasion he made the English understand that they should have friendly relations with the educated Indians instead of annoying them by their offending activities. He also told them that our faith that England stands for love and justice, would not prove to be false.

Since his childhood Dadabhai Navroji was actively associated with the social and political life of the country He formed a Gyan Prasarak Mandali in Bombay and laid the foundation of Women High School. The credit for the establishment of Bombay Association in 1852 also goes to Dadabhai Navroji. He was a true patriot on account of his political thoughts. His activities made him one of the most significant men in India. He served his country from the core of his heart even in adverse circumstances. Really he was a great soul ever born on this earth.

Though he was not historian out being a political leader he saw all the activities of the country with open eyes. He had all due regards for the English Rule and had faith in the justice of the English, yet he was not the blind supporter of the policies of the English. He severely condemned and criticised the policies by which the English tried to exploit India and as a result of which India was becoming poor and poor day-by-day. He proved this fact in his book 'Indian Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.' In 1905 he wrote in one of letters that the condition of India is really very deplorable. She is being constantly robbed. He will ever be remembered by his countrymen due to his selfless services which he rendered to the people of India and country as well.

18.11 K.P. JAYASWAL (1881-1937)

An Oxford product and a lawyer by profession, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal plunged himself into historical research with the sole aim of regenerating national pride based on a consciousness of India's ancient heritage.

Jayaswal's most important works are *Hindu Polity* (1918) and *History of India c. AD 150-350*. These two works proved the brilliant Sanskritist employed a variety of literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources often giving them his own interpretations. Written in the context of the nationalist-democratic movement the *Hindu Polity* turned out to be an immense success. Against the imperialist of Oriental despotism, Jayaswal painstakingly worked out the thesis that India had the earliest and most successful republics, and that it had monarchy of the 'limited' type. Rhys Davids had pointed to the existence of republics in Buddha's time; Jayaswal pushed their existence further back. The samiti of the Vedic period was, according to him, a sovereign representative assembly which discussed and decided upon all matters concerning the state. The Sabha was a body of selected men working under the authority of the samiti. The gana and Sangha of the post-Vedic times meant republican communities in which decisions were taken by a collective body by the counting of heads. The democratic procedure in the Buddhist Sangha led Jayaswal to believe that the ancient Hindu republics introduced resolutions, debated on them and decided by vote of the majority. He even sees provision of a 'quorum' and the practice of 'referendum'. In the second book of the *Hindu Polity*, the author establishes the existence of limited monarchy. He writes: "The fact, if not the theory, was clear that the office of the king was a creation of the people and was held conditionally. Above him there was always the National Assembly, the Samiti, which was the real sovereign."

The paura and the janapada are for Jayaswal twin political institutions of the city and the country, acting as a powerful check on royal authority. A passage in the *Mahabharata* is interpreted as an address from the throne asking the paura-janapada for extra taxes. The council of ministers with the prime minister at its head was another great check on royal absolutism. "It is a law and principle of Hindu Constitution that the king cannot act without the approval of the council of ministers."

In his *History of India*, Jayaswal, the protagonist of Hindu nationalism, made heroes of the Bharasiva-Nagas who are said to 'have liberated the country from the pernicious and denationalizing effects of the Saka-Kushan foreign rule. This much-too-labored story is based on sources sometimes of doubtful

authenticity. Jayaswal's patriotism outran historical probity. But his systematic account of ancient Indian republics remained the framework of later researches.

18.12 RADHA KUMUD MUKHERJI (1880-1963)

Born in a respectable family of Bengal, Radha Kumud Mukherji had a brilliant academic career. He chose to be a teacher and served at several universities in India. Though cast in the nationalist mould, patriotism did not mislead Radha Kumud. In 1912, Mukherji published an important work in ancient Indian history, *The History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The book traces the maritime activity of the Indians in all its forms from the earliest time to the end of the Mughal period. A monument of patient scholarship, the work is a mine of information from previously uncharted realms informing us of how India stood out as one of the foremost maritime countries plying her ships from the shores of Africa and Madagascar to the farthest reaches of the Malay Archipelago facilitating trade and colonization. The work is based on literary sources in Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil, Bengali, Persian and English and available archeological and numismatic evidence. Lord Curzon, V.A. Smith and K.P. Jayaswal were among those who congratulated the author. Likewise, Mukherji's *Local Self Government in Ancient India* won praise from Lord Bryce, Lord Haldane and A.B. Keith. *Ancient Indian Education* discussed the evolution and growth of Brahmanical and Buddhist education to the end of the ancient period. *The Fundamental Unity of India* (1914), as F.W. Thomas observed, traced the idea of India's unity "in a variety of geographical and political concepts and in the possession of a common fund of culture." Partition pained the patriotic scholar. In *Men and Thought in Ancient India*, Mukherji presents a view of ancient Indian culture and civilization as in a representative selection: Yajnavalkya, the Buddha, Asoka, Samudragupta and Harsha. *Hindu Civilization*, though intended to be a textbook for universities, is an important work. The monograph entitled *The Gupta Empire* brings together in concise form the moral and material progress of the country achieved in the spacious days of the Guptas. *Ancient India*, again a textbook, is a very well written and profusely illustrated work.

18.13 H.C. RAYCHAUDHURI (1892-1957)

Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri had shown his brilliance at school and college and as a teacher before he joined the Calcutta University in 1918 and served it till 1952. In 1923, Raychaudhuri published *The Political History of Ancient India* from, the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Empire.

The first of the two parts of Raychaudhuri's book deals with the period from the accession of Parikshit (c. ninth century BC) following the Mahabharata war to the accession of Srenika Bimbisara of Magadha in the middle of the sixth century BC. Here Raychaudhuri accomplished a task which had been thought impossible reconstruction in a definite chronological order of a sober history of the period from the Mahabharata war to the rise of Buddhism. Raychaudhuri's success was comparable to that of Niebuhr in tracing the historical origins of the Roman state. The second part of the *Political History of Ancient India* covers the period from the accession of Bimbisara to the extinction of the Gupta Empire (c. 543 BC to AD 550).

The research that has gone into the making of Raychaudhuri's *Political History*, and the original contributions in every chapter have won the unqualified praise of scholars like Wieh Geiger A.B. Keith, F.W.. Thomas, E.W.Hopkins and A.L.Basham. Basnam regards him as belonging to the school of Bhandarkar in trying to discover 'dry truth'. With a mind which is not hostage to any pre-conceived notion or philosophy and taking nothing on trust, Raychaudhuri examined the bewildering mass of genealogies, traditions, myths and tales preserved in Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain writing with extreme care and objectivity and drew conclusions in accordance with the canons of modern historical methodology. His chronology is the only one that has a chance of approximating the truth. Another major work, *Materials for the Study of Early History of the Vaishnavite Sect* (1936) won praise from Sir George Grierson, Garbe, and A.B. Keith. Yet another publication of Raychaudhuri resting on solid research work is his *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (1932). Raychaudhuri is also the co-author with R.C.Majumdar and K.K.Datta of *An Advanced History of India*, a useful textbook for college students.

18.14 G.S. SARDESAI (1865-1957)

Govind Sakharam Sardesai was in the service of the state of Baroda as reader and personal clerk to Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad and also as tutor to the Maharaja's children.

Sardesai's greatest achievement was the series of books on Maratha history known as *Marathi Riyasat*. The eight volumes of the series told in Marathi the history of the Marathas from the beginning to 1848. The work occupied him for over thirty years. The author had gone through the immense mass or source material on Maratha history. It was a thorough work, though not a critical one. Sardesai does not seem to have taken the trouble of evaluating the sources or assessing the work of the leaders of Maratha history.

The long, intimate friendship with Jadunath Sarkar was of immense help and encouragement to Sardesai. When the Maratha historian retired from the Baroda State service in 1925, Sarkar suggested to him to take up the work of editing and publishing the *Peshwa Daftar*. After the third Maratha war and the transfer of power from the Peshwas to the English, the Company got possession of the entire state papers of the Peshwas—a total of 34,972 bundles. Of these, the Marathi bundles written in the Modiscript, numbered 27,332; the English 7,482; the Persian 29; and the Gujarati 129. These diaries, as they were called, contained information on various aspects of Maratha social and political life. Knowing the value of this material Sarkar prevailed upon the Bombay government to appoint Sardesai as the chief editor of the *Peshwa Daftar*. The Maratha historian and his assistants waded through the sea of papers, selecting, chronologically rearranging and classifying some of them subject wise for publication. The forty-five published volumes of *Peshwa Daftar* contain 8,650 papers covering 7,801 pages. Vasant Rao writes that Sardesai's introduction to each of the volumes was not of high quality. Soon after the publication of the *Peshwa Daftar*, Sarkar and Sardesai jointly set out to edit and publish the *Poona Residency Correspondence* giving 4,159 letters in 7,193 pages.

Sardesai aimed at presenting a fresh and full treatment of Maratha history in English. At the age of eighty. Dauntless, he started writing his magnum opus, the

New History of the Marathas. The eight volumes of the Marathi Riyasat are here compressed into three volumes in English. Sardesai's historical works were purely political in nature with little of the economic and social life of the Marathas of the period. He does not even seem to be interested in the methodology of history. And of style there is little that is pleasing or commendable.

18.15 JADUNATH SARKAR (1870-1958)

An exceptionally brilliant student, Jadunath Sarkar took double honours in English and History and in 1892 passed the M.A. degree examination in English literature. From 1893 to 1926 he was teacher of English and History, and then for two years, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He declined a second term because Vice-Chancellorship was a hindrance to his first love historical research. Among Indian historians Sarkar was most prolific producing about fifty works of great merit. The works mentioned below are only some of his greatest. India of Aurangazeh, its Topography, Statistics and Roads (1901), was not a history proper in the usual sense of the term, but an account of the physical aspects of the country. His magnum opus was the full-scale History of Aurangazeb written between 1912 and 1924. A historian of tremendous brilliance and one capable of prodigious labor, Sarkar successfully tackled the difficult subject, revealing the puritan emperor's complex personality. The great History takes the reader through the War of Succession, the principles and policies of Aurangazeb's administration, the Islamic Church-State in India, the tragic death of Sambhaji, the subjugation of Bijapur and Golconda, the disorder and confusion in northern India during Aurangazeb's twenty-five-year absence in the Deccan, and the death of the emperor. The book concludes with Sarkar's assessment of the impact of Aurangazeb's long reign on India's fortunes. Meanwhile, Sarkar published another work, Shivaji and his Times (1919). The third volume of his History of Aurangazeb had created a stir in Muslim circles in the country; Shivaji caused a similar one in Maharashtra. Sarkar's book showed that the Maratha hero's spectacular success notwithstanding, he had failed to build a nation and that most of his institutions were not quite original. These assertions were damaging to the nationalist historians' theories as well as to the hero himself, and therefore caused resentment in Poona. In 1922 Sarkar edited William Irvine's incomplete work on

the later Mughals, and he continued the history from 1738, the point where Irvine had left it. He did this in his *Nadir Shah* (1922), and another monumental work, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1932-50). Beginning with Nadir Shah's departure in 1739, the four volumes of the fall of the Mughal Empire end with the capture of Delhi and Agra by the British in 1803. Sarkar's *Military History of India* was published posthumously in 1960. His works are characterized by unity of conception, of theme and presentation, and are delivered to the reader in direct, easy flowing language and a charming style free from cant, verbosity and affectation.

Before William Irvine and Jadunath Sarkar, scholars working on medieval India had not cared to know of anything beyond the court chronicles in Persian. Sarkar insisted on getting all original contemporary material including letters and diaries in the various languages. Like Ranke, he went on treasure hunts for first-hand original documents. But his long and tedious journeys had also another end in view. To free himself from dependence on written records alone, he would visit the historical site connected with the subject of his study in order to acquaint himself with its topography and terrain. Like Jules Michelet, Sarkar would see the life of the common people and live for months, as he did in Maharashtra, in the company of the people to see them face to face and to have an insight into their character; he would visit places of pilgrimage not as a devotee but as a scholar, keen on studying the religious and communal life of the people. He would inspect every fort, valley and scene of battle of the Mughal age. Thoroughness in the collection of contemporary sources was followed by a scientific scrutiny for ascertaining their authenticity, by employing modern methods of textual criticism, Sarkar mercilessly exposed the gossip and what he called the opium-eater's tale in Marathi bakhars and Rajasthani prose and verse compositions. Great care was then taken in testing the evidence and trying to discover what was true in a maze of contradictory records. He did not allow any part of his work to be affected by consideration for country, race, religion, family and the like.

Sarkar had his critics, though none could challenge the factual basis of his historical edifices nor accuse him of distorting facts. Irresponsible fault-finding apart, A.L.Srivastava cites three instances of criticism and tells us how the critics were silenced when facts were revealed to them. (1) In assessing Aurangzeb's

religious policy Sarkar omitted to mention the emperor's Benares firman making a grant of land to the Viswanath temple. Sarkar answered that Aurangzeb issued the specific firman during the war of succession when he was keen on getting Hindu support in capturing Shuja, and that it had nothing to do with his so-called desire to patronize Hindu religious institutions. (2) Another criticism was that Sarkar's description of Shivaji's murder of Afzal Khan as 'preventive murder' cannot be supported by decisive evidence. The historian answered that Afzal Khan was guilty of gripping Shivaji and striking the first blow on him with his belt dagger. This is clearly attested by Mir Alam, the famous wazir of Nizamul-Mulk of Ahmadanagar, who was also a historian. (3) Sarkar's interpretation of the jazia was not considered fair. But Sarkar did not offer his own interpretation of the jazia, he had only summed up the 'agreed judgements' of the contemporary Muslim jurists. It was ludicrous, therefore, to attempt to exonerate Aurangzeb and Islam in the same breath. The general charge of bias against Islam and the Muslims brought against Sarkar is answered by C.C.David of Oxford. While reviewing the first volume of the fall of the Mughal Empire, David wrote that the readers of his account of the atrocities of the Maratha raiders in northern India would agree that the belief that Jadunath Sarkar was biased against the Muslim rulers of medieval India was groundless. Jadunath Sarkar may be compared with Ranke and Momen. He was unquestionably the greatest Indian historian of his time and one of the greatest in the world. His powerful personality and erudite works have established a tradition of honest and scholarly historiography whose tenets have exerted a healthy influence on many an individual historian.

18.16 LET US SUM UP

Thus the nationalist Historians like R.G.Bhandarkar, R.C.Dutt, Dr.Surendranath Sen, K.M.Panikkar, Dadabhai Navroji, K.P.Jayaswal, Radhakumud Mukherji, H.C.Ray Chaudhari, G.S.Sardesai, Jadunath Sarkar have contributed for the growth and development of Nationalist historiography in India.

18.17 KEYWORDS

1. William Wilson Hunter – work on annals of Rural Bengal.

2. Prachin Banga Patra Sankalum – collection of old Bengali letters and Indian Travels.

18.18 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Trace the contribution of R.G.Bhandarkar and K.M.Panikkar to Indian Historiography.

2. Discuss the contribution of H.D. Raychadhuri and J.N. Sarkar to Indian History.

18.19 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 18.9

2. See section 18.15

18.20. SUGGESTED READINGS

1. B.Sheikh Ali, History its Theory and Method, Bangalore, 1999.

2. R.K.Majumdar and A.N.Srivasta Historiography, Delhi, 1975.

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BLOCK-5: RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRENDS

UNIT-19 MARXIST/SOCIALIST HISTORIOGRAPHER

Structure

19.0 Objectives

19.1 Introduction

19.1.1 Karl Marx

19.1.1.1 Main features of Marxism

19.1.1.2 Criticism

19.1.1.3 Economic Interpretation of History

19.1.1.4 Criticism

19.1.1.5 Dialectical Materialism

19.1.1.6 Let us Sum up

19.2 Socialist Historiographers

19.3 Let us Sum up

19.4 Keywords

19.5 Check your progress

19.6 Answer to check your progress

19.7 Suggested Readings

19.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to know about Karl Marx's contribution to Marxism and to about the contribution of socialist Historiographers.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth and twentieth century witnessed the great scholars. Among them Karl Marx and Marxism is said to be very popular. Karl Marx left the Marxian Philosophy, theory of Economic Determination and also contributed for the philosophy of history. Marx improved upon the philosophy of Hegel. Marx thought of history as a dialectical progress towards the communist society. Marx approach was essentially practical. Social philosophy and communist philosophy brought changes in the world.

19.1.1 Karl Marx

Karl Marx is the "Father of Modern Socialism," Before Marx there were numerous, socialists like Proudhon Bakunin and Louis Blanc who dissatisfied with the existing state of society, planned "Utopias" in which property would be in common and injustice, would be unknown". But Marx not only sketched the kind of socialism. society that ought to be established but also prepared a programme of action. It was he who greatly developed and popularized

Karl Marx was born of Jewish Parents, at Treves in Germany in 1818. His father wanted for him a career of lawyer. But at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin he was a student of history and philosophy. Marx first sought career in journalism. As a journalist he realised that academic philosophy does not offer solution to several problems. The first of such problems is economics. He therefore decided to become acquainted with socialism. With this end in view he went to Paris in 1843. Here he came in contact with his life-long friend Engels in 1845: Marx was expelled from Paris at the request of the Prussian government. So he moved to Brussels in 1848. He published the "Communist Manifesto" in which he proclaimed that the history of all society is the history of class-war. The

proletarians have nothing to lose but chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands unite.

When revolution broke out in 1848 in Germany. Marx went to Germany to take part in it. But he was expelled. He then went to Paris from where he was expelled again. Finally he took shelter in England, where he lived the rest of his life no longer attempting to stir up revolutions in his own day but providing the intellectual stimulus to revolution at some indefinite future date. His private life was always miserable. But it was Engels who sold out his interest in business, paid Marx debts and gave him a settled income to 350 pound a year and himself in London. Throughout his life Marx worked in the British Museum. In 1867 he completed his first volume of Das Capital, a mine of economic history and theory.

Marxism makes tremendous appeal not only to poor labourers but also to intellectuals, politicians and economic theorists. It explained that everywhere man have always lived as exploiters and exploited. This was possible because of the economic and political condition. These conditions are called capitalism. At first capitalism was a progressive force in man's history. Under it men built enormous facilities for the production of all things they need. But later capitalism ceased to be progressive force, it had become an obstacle to the progress. It entered into every feature of human life private and public and alt of them it corrupted. Capitalism is a system that exploits men. Butthis condition would be changed. Inside capitalism were the seeds' of it won destruction whether the people were aware of it or riot they were going to make a revolution. Those who rule over people and keep them poor will be over thrown. The revolution would eliminate all sorts of exploitation of man by man. Then the human society would enter into a socialistic society to which mankind would conquer nature. And no man any longer would know poverty and exploitation. This message of Marx became a gospel to the intellectuals in the impoverished countries.

19.1.1.1 The main features of Marxism are given below:

1) The Theory of Surplus value

According to Marxism the exchange value of a commodity is proportionate to the amount of labour required for its production. In other words the value of an article is determined by the amount of labour involved in production. From this theory of labour value the theory of surplus value derived. The capitalist buy labour of the workmen applies to the machinery and the raw material which he owns and produces a commodity having an exchange value. The difference between the cost of production and the actual price at which it is sold is called the surplus value. It is brought into being by the labour of workman and appropriated by the capitalist. The worker was not allowed to enjoy the full quantum of benefit of profit produced by him. For example, a worker works twelve hours a day, gets only the value of his eight hours work as wage, the remaining work value of four hours is appropriated by his employer or capitalist in other words the worker works twelve hours a day and eight hours he produces the value of his wages. What he produces in the remaining four hours is appropriated by the capitalist. The appropriation of the surplus value by the capitalist was responsible for the fundamental injustice of the modern economic system. Marx regards it was nothing more than a highway robbery. All forms of socialism seek to remove it.

The result of this appropriation of surplus value is the concentration of capital in the hands of a few persons. Wealth becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. The poor grow poorer and the rich the richer, so Marx condemns capitalism. According to him capitalism exalts the fortunate few at the expense of the oppressed many. It cheats men of their just fruits of their labour. On one side it results concentration of capital in the hands of a few and on other there is the accumulation of misery, agony, toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality and mental degradation of many.

The workers become poorer and cheaper. Thus, capitalism is a system in which most men are forced to labour meanly most of their lives so that a few can live grandly in the luxury of parasitism. Marx, however believed that the inner contradiction of capitalism would ultimately bring about its down fall. After the end of capitalism, Marx predicted that socialism would come first and then communism that is there will be common ownership of all property and in the means of production including land, an economy of abundance based on technology, production for common use rather for private profit and production

under conscious and pre-arranged control of society. He expected that this would happen in industriously developed countries like England, France, Germany and United States. But Marx prophecy did not come true.

Further Marx theory ignores the fact that Labour, if not assisted by both capital and expert management would produce no surplus value or rather no value at all. The product, of labour is due to labour capital and management and the value of the product obviously should be divided between these three agents.

2) The Theory of class Struggle

Marx says that all history is the history of class struggle and all wars have been class wars. Class is the basic word of Marxist Sociology. According to Marx the correct way of classification of people is by the way in which they earn their living if this view is acceptable, the modern society is divisible into two great groups the capitalists and the wage earners, the former live by owning property such as lands or shares and the latter by wages.

Marx noted in his manifesto that there had been a number of classes. In ancient times there were patricians, plebeians, knights and slaves. In the middle ages there were lords and vassals guild masters. Journey men apprentices and serfs. In modern times there are capitalists, bourgeoisie and labourers. In every pre-communist society there must be a dominant class. A class that rules in order to exploit and exploits in order to rule in Marx's time this was the bourgeoisie. In every society there must also be a class that is "oppressed, a class that is both ruled and exploited. In Marx's time this was the proletariat. The fact that divides one class from the other is exploitation. Their natural relationship is one of hostility and hence clash is inevitable. In this class struggle Marx asserted that the proletariat would emerge victorious. The society as a whole; is more and more splitting up into two great hostile groups, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The polarization of society into two classes was the major prediction of the "communist manifesto" The Purpose of Marx whole system is to show the fall of bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

The struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is going on. There will be no compromise between the two. The capitalist society is the thesis and the

proletariat is anti-thesis. Out of their conflict a new society will emerge. In the first instance, comes socialism a transitional period in which the proletariat builds a society on the principle of common ownership of all properties. The last stage will be communism it will be a classless society in which all man stand in the same objective relationship to the means of production. There will be no coercive government. In its place there will be voluntary associations of like minded persons for common purposes. There will be no property. From each according to his ability to each according to his needs. The great cities of the present will be dismantled. The men of future will try and to work in garden cities.

19.1.1.2 Criticism: The argument that all conflicts among men arise from the class struggle is fallacious, and Marx lays too much emphasis on the economic factor as the decisive factor in shaping social groups and patterns. This is not true. There are other factors which are responsible for shaping social classes. Moreover class struggle is not the normal conditions of society and the motive power in history. Of course, there is antagonism between classes but it is not reconsiderable there is always give and take. It is proved from historical, facts that mankind have made tremendous progress through co-operation and compromises. Evolutional not revolution is the driving force of progress. Again, the theory of class struggle does not explain the change from ancient slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism.

Marx does not attach any importance to nationalism. He under rates the strength of nationalism, which is more powerful than class consciousness. He holds that patriotism, is an illusion that is festered by the exploiter in its own interests. The communist manifesto calls the proletarians of all nations to unite. But experience has shown that most proletarians hate foreigners more than their employers, because nationalism is much stronger than proletarian solidarity.

19.1.1.3 Economic Interpretation of History: Another important aspect of Marxism is Materialistic or economic interpretation of history. History was interpreted. In several ways by several historians. According to theologians history is the work of Divine providence. Other historians tried to prove that great emperors, legislators, leaders and heroes changed the course of history. It is also said ideas also change the course of history. But Karl Marx says that the course of

history is changed by economic factors. This conception of history is known by various names of which the most common are the materialistic interpretation of history, historical materialism, economic interpretations of history and economic determinism. He says "The modes of production of material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life in acquiring new productive forces men change the mode of production and in changing their mode, of production they change all their social relations. The hand mill gives society with the feudal lords the steam mill industrial capitalist". So according to Marx the economic factor is the only operative factor in history. The sequel of class war. Social revolution and proletarian dictatorship will follow logically. Thus the mode of production or the productive forces constitute the economic foundation which determine the entire superstructure of society the system of laws, politics, morals, religion philosophy and art the whole way of life and culture.

The theory of economic determinism may be explained as follows. "Man is not a mere product of heredity with a constant human nature. He is what he is largely because of his social heritage. So man is a product of social environment. Social environment has been changed by economic factor which in turn provides the clue to historical changes.

Thus the discovery of sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, Mahmud Ghazni's invasions, Napoleons Continental system, Opium Wars, etc were all motivated by economic considerations. It was the industrial Revolution of 18th century that raised the British Isles as "Mistress of Sea". The economical reforms of Meiji Restoration converted Japan as a modern state. The Munroe Doctrine, Open Door policy, and new order in East Asia, were proclaimed to, protect the economic interest of the concerned powers. It was the economic consideration that compelled the West European countries to, forget their past enmities and suspicious and to unite themselves as "United States of Europe". Even the collapse of USSR was attributed to economical causes.

Marx also retreated that to understand social revolution, the 'changes in the productive forces must be understood. So in order to understand the social changes that change the face of India, we must understand the changes in the productive forces, of India that are introduced by Five year plans. The various ideological

reasons are merely camouflage. Every movement in history, ultimately determined by economic factors. For example, the Swadeshi Movement of India was organised to promote Indian National industries, rather than to promote national consciousness. The colonial enterprises of the European powers that determined the political developments of 19th century had its roots in the economical factors. The great wars of the world were fought for economical causes. The result wells erected by various states of Europe was mainly responsible for the hostilities between states. The fundamental cause for the American civil war was the different economical interests of the Southern and Northern states.

19.1.1.4 Criticism: Thus the Marxist interpretation of history is an imaginative hypothesis a bold simplification of the whole of mankind's complex history. But it is not wholly correct. First in South Asia both religions and language have been playing a conspicuous part in changing, the course of history. The nation State of Pakistan owes its very existence to religion. The Partition of India was not based on economic factors, but on religious grounds. We cannot attribute economical cause to Asoka's conversion to Buddhism that completely altered the future course of Mauryan history.

When we admit that great forces are generated by economic causes. We should not forget that there are contingent elements which are apparently accidental but of decisive importance. It must also be noted that trivial events have also changed the course of events, if Lenin had not been permitted by the German Government to leave Germany where he was in exile. October Revolution would not have taken place and Russia might not have been a communist state. If Henry VII of England had not fallen in love with Anne Besent the Reformation would not have taken place in England. More over It does not explain the evolution of civilization and religious movements.

The fructification of Jesus Christ, prophet Mohammad's Hijira to Mecca, and Martin Luther's Ninety Five Thesis brought wonderful changes in the history of mankind. Many economical interpretation cannot give explanations to these historical developments. Further Marx does not take into account of the power of ideas. Hitler was able to move the masses of men to action by an astute manipulation of ideas.

19.1.1.5 Dialectical Materialism: The principal element of Marxism is dialectics and materialism dialectical materialism. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them is dialectical while its interpretation of the phenomena is materialism.

The principle of dialecticalism was applied in history by Hegel. According to him ideas developed by dialectical process. To Hegel dialectics was a self-movement of ideas according to a lived triadic pattern-a self-generation of opposites and synthesis ever spiralling up words. There is some driving force inherent in contradiction itself which gives ideas life or self-movement of their own so that they generate their own opposite synthesis. The dialectical process is thus one of thesis, anti thesis and synthesis. The thesis affirms a proposition. The anti thesis denies it. The synthesis embraces what is true in both the thesis and the anti-thesis and thus brings up one step nearer to reality. But as soon as the synthesis is subject to closer inspection it too is found defective and thus the whole process starts once again with a thesis, anti-thesis end synthesis.

The laws of dialectics formulated by Hegel have been accepted by Marx. But he used it in such a way that suited his own philosophy. He takes feudalism, capitalism and socialism as thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. The internal contradiction in capitalism lead to socialism. Just as capitalism has taken up all that is worth preserving in feudalism, so will socialism take up all that is good in capitalism-its technology, its large scale production and its organization.

But Marx did not accept the whole of Hegel's philosophy. For Marx matter and not spirit is the driving force-his mode of production, while Hegel confined his operations to the past, Marx used it as convenient instrument for applying to the future. So all Marxist theoreticians are thus committed to applying the dialectics to any problem with which they may be dealing.

19.1.1.6 Let us Sum up

Marx was undoubtedly one of the greatest philosophers and thinkers who have been produced in the world. Besides being an economist sociologist, he was a

great political scientist. He was perhaps the first thinker who wrote that capitalism was completely based on exploitation. He looked into every historical problem with a systematic and scientific way. Since the present is the heritage of past, it is the duty of every historian that he should analyse the events in a proper way in order to reach the conclusion. He did not believe in the idea that history is planned God's work, the greatest drawback with him was that he over emphasised the economic factors and underestimated the other aspects in his philosophy.

19.2 SOCIALIST HISTORIOGRAPHERS

Among the famous historians of Marxist concept, Marx himself was one of the main writers who described national movement of India in their own way. They openly condemned the English policies towards India and held them responsible that India failed to progress because of them. They felt that only a political revolution could make them free from the clutches of the English.

Dr. Vipin Chandra is the important follower of Marx. He has analysed the principles of Marx in one of his article. He has also pointed out that all the concepts of Marx are not applicable in the context of India. He mentions that Marx made certain changes in his concepts in due course of time. He has not only pointed out to the political aspect of Indian nationalism in his writings but also produce the economic analysis of the theory of nationalism.

Being influenced by the ideologies of Marx, Rajni Pam Dutt wrote a book entitled, 'India Today' in which he has fully explained his views about nationalism. He mentions that the concepts of Marx are completely scientific. He also threw light on the policies of the English and their influence on his writings. He also realizes like Dr. Majumdar that the policies of the English crippled India economically. By rashing on the small scale industry of India, the Indian economic system completely based on agriculture. As a result of which the problem of poverty and starvation emerged in the country and people begin to think the English was responsible for this economic downfall. According to Rajni Pam Dutt the industrial development which ushered in India during the period of their rule was only a myth. He also considers Gandhiji a weak human being who instigated

and excited the poor people by his principle of truth and non-violence. He holds Gandhiji responsible for the failure of the national movement even after reaching near the goal.

Dutt also mentions the only alternative of the establishment of Independence in India is Military Revolution, by which not only the nature of colonialism can be controlled but also crushed for ever with this point of view he has praised the military revolt of Garhwal. He also mentions that the feeling of nationalism was greatly curbed during the course Gandhian movements and he also held Gandhiji and Tilak responsible for the rise of communalism in India. He has bitterly condemned the theory of Partition of India. He feels that the freedom of India was achieved by the support of international powers, the weakness of the English after war, and the military revolt of the soldiers and not because of the movements of Gandhiji.

In his book 'Rise and Development Indian Nationalism' Dr. Chandra has described the economic aspect openly. He has also praised the economic views of Indian scholars like Dadabhai Navroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale etc. In fact the Indian leaders were influenced by their thoughts and not of their selfish ends. They were completely devoted to the interest of the nation. All of them, according to Dr. Chandra deeply influenced the national movement, for which the people of the country owe their gratitude to them.

Dr.A.R.Desai in his book Social Background of Indian Nationalism accepting historical materialism the basis of analysis, has given a detailed account of social and religious aspect of Indian National movement, hence he can be said a true follower of Marx. He was very much influenced by Rajni Pam Dutt and he adopted his methodology in his writing.

Dr.Sumit Sarkar has also pointed out in his book 'Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-08', that this movement only remained confined among the small number of people and failed to take a form of public movement. He considers materialism a proper medium for the Interpretation of Indian Nationalism.

Besides Dr. Chandra and Sumit Sarkar, other famous historians of National Movement are Amlesh Tripathi and Varun who were given the responsibility of a book on the title of War of Independence. In their book following the doctrines of Marxist concept they produced short and significant description of it. This is very important book for the study of National Movement.

19.3 LET US SUM UP

Thus, the above referred description does not mean that the scholars and historians have stopped thinking about the national movement. These effort are still going on and scholars are busy in finding out the answers of the question which are still unanswered. Government also declared the historian who would give an impartial and authentic account of the national movement would be rewarded.

19.4 KEYWORDS

1. Karl Marx – Father of Modern socialism.
2. Eighteen Fifty Seven – a monumental work of Dr. Sen.

19.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss Karl Marx's Principle of Dialectic Materialism or Class Struggle.
2. Write a note on Socialist Historiographers.

19.6 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 19.1.1.3
2. See section 19.1.1.5
3. See section 19.2

19.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Collingwood R.G: The Idea of History
2. Sheik Ali B: History: Its Theory and Method

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UNIT-20 SUBALTERN STUDIES AND SUBALTERN HISTORIOGRAPHERS

Structure

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20.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study is to introduce you the nature, scope and significance of subaltern historiography in India. After studying this unit you are able to understand the subaltern studies and subaltern historiographers in modern India. The objectives of the study of subaltern historiography in India will introduce you the main trends and developments in writings of modern India. It will also introduce you the various examples of subaltern studies and history. You also understand the ideas of these historians. It gives you the broad picture of subaltern history, economy, society and culture of India. The main purpose of this study is that the critical review of protest historiography and its nature, scope, aims and objectives. The subaltern historians played an important role in writings of Indian history. After studying this lesson you will be able to understand the following historians and their ideas:

1. David Orナルds ‘Writings on Rebellions of hill men in the Gudern and Rampa hill Tracks of Andhra Pradesh.
2. Gyan Pandya’s ‘Writings on the Peasant revolt of Awad during 1919-22.
3. Stephen Henningham’s ‘Essays on Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh’.
4. Ravindra Das’s articles on ‘Agrarian changes in Bihar during 1947-78’.
5. Deepesh Chakrabarthy ‘Studies on the condition of the Calcutta Jute Mill workers between 1890-1940’
6. Ramachandra Guha’s ‘Essays on Forestry and Social protest’ etc.,

20.1 INTRODUCTION

A series titled Subaltern Studies, appearing in the last two decades of the twentieth century, has introduced an almost new genre of history writing on modern India. Editing the first of the series Ranajit Guha protests that the historiography of Indian nationalism is beset with a prejudiced elitism of two kinds, both sharing the view that the development of the national consciousness and the making of the Indian nation were elite achievements. The first of these – colonial or British imperialist historiography – based on a narrow behaviorist approach, looks upon Indian nationalism as the response of the Indian bourgeois elite to the stimulus provided by British ideas, institutions, opportunities and

resources. The second kind – Indian nationalist historiography – on the other hand, pictures Indian nationalism as primarily an idealist venture in which the indigenous elite led the people from subjection to freedom. Neither of these two views can explain Indian nationalism because neither acknowledges the contribution made by the people on their own, that is, independently of the elite, to the making and development of that nationalism. For this reason, according to Guha, elitist historiography cannot explain such instances of popular initiative asserting itself as the anti-Rowlatt upsurge of 1919 or the ‘Quit India’ movement of 1942. Guha asserts that parallel to elite politics, there was a domain of people’s politics in which the principal actors were the subaltern classes and groups constituting the mass of the population. He feels that elitist historiography which does not recognize this fact should be resolutely fought by developing an alternative discourse based on the recognition of the subaltern domains of politics.

20.2 NATURE OF SUBALTERN STUDIES

The Subaltern Studies are collections of monographs on diverse, unconnected topics. Their one theme is the insurgency of the lower classes. Subaltern a term taken from Antonio Gramsci’s manuscript writings, means of inferior rank whether of class, caste, age, gender or office. Subaltern Studies bring to light the lower sections of the Indian people hitherto neglected by historiography. They are addressed to a range of topics extending in time from the Mughal period to the nineteen seventies, in theme from communalism to industrial labor, and in manner from the descriptive to the conceptual.

A distinctive feature of subaltern activity being its labor orientation, the Subaltern Studies are Marxian in tone, premise and analysis. The peasants, the factory workers and the tribal-their woes and accumulated grievances breaking out at times in rebellions against constituted authority-become objects of subaltern Historiographical treatment. Revolt was the means, the method, by which the lower classes tried to improve their conditions and force themselves on the attention of the elite in colonial India.

Hence revolts and their impact on Indian nationalism form staple theme for the historians of the subaltern genre. Moreover, subaltern consciousness together with the elements of that consciousness – religion, superstition, communalism, and the view that subject classes took of the elites – becomes an object of historical study.

20.3 SOME EXAMPLES OF SUBALTERN STUDIES

Close to ten Subaltern Studies volumes have so far appeared. A perusal of the more important titles in the first four collections of the series will give an idea of the historiography that has appeared under that label. Subaltern interpretation of modern India assumes subaltern people have their autonomous sphere in political initiation, inherited history, culture and their own share of contribution in making of history. According to subaltern historians, any analysis of social phenomena should therefore be sensitive to the contribution of subaltern classes. The purpose of subaltern historians is to argue against the ‘elitist-bias’ in understanding the analysis of Indian history.

According to subaltern historians, one of the characteristic features of elitist perspective of Indian History is the clear cut demarcation between elites and subaltern people, in terms of their respective mentalities, social manners and political participation. It is this context of the complete demarcation between elites and subaltern people based on the specific differentiation of the spheres of politics, history and culture that the subaltern historians tried to explore the phenomenon of communalism. Subaltern interpretation differ from the other interpretations not only in its rigid, empirical separation of the world of elite politics from that of the mass politics, but also in its assumption of the rationality or irrationality of the people and, the elitist’s refusal to investigate in detail the specific features of popular politics in a particular instance.

Subaltern historians argue that the nature of sharing of political power and exploitation of the subaltern people at different levels of society was no up to adequate understanding based on the distinct class categories. For historians arguing for elite politics, the lack of clarity was manifested in their inability to unite the different strata of society to a particular cause. For subaltern historians,

the very lack of clarity made them to realize the significance of the independent initiative of the subaltern rank, though it remained fragmented on a social scale and distant from the core of the articulated political politics.

20.3.1 Ranajith Guha

Ranjith Guha emphasized that the subaltern classes have been treated as mere objects in history and were never considered as subjects and the makers of their own history with their own forms of social consciousness. They figured in the historical analysis only as mute forces drawn in occasionally in the making of a larger, national or epochal history

We propose to understand the interpretation of modern India by subaltern historians within the above discussed subaltern framework. For them the existing historiography on nationalism has been written from the elitist point of view and they further argue that so far the historiography on nationalism could not properly extend the social base in accordance with the nature of the phenomenon and taking into consideration all the possible angles of the phenomena, and elitist's inability to judge the communal riots from a broader perspective as involving different social strata.

Subaltern historians have shown how subaltern people were used as a shield by the elites during the nationalism in order to shift the causes on these marginal people. How the subalterns were being exploited and criminalized by elites and how this in the course of time led to the growth of a particular type of analysis of national movement is also the concern of subaltern historians. Important subaltern historians who have done study on Indian historiography are Sumit Sarkar, Partha Chatterjee, Gyanendra Pandey, Tanika Sarkar, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Sugatha Bose. These historians have made an attempt to understand modern India through a particular study of national movement and have mainly confined to the northern part of India.

20.3.2 Sumit Sarkar

Sumit Sarkar considers nationalism as essentially a modern phenomenon and as a consequence of elite conflicts over available government jobs and political favors. He analyses nationalism in the context of elite politics favors. He analyses nationalism in the context of elite politics and takes into consideration ‘mass riots’ as being connected with the elite politics. Sumit Sarkar while analyzing communal riots in the Bengal region has taken into consideration the lower-class discontentment and its much less clear-cut ‘sectional’ form of different types of communal, caste or regional consciousness.

Sumit Sarkar has also emphasized the British Policy of divide and rule in the growth of communal riots. So far as the divisions among the different social strata are concerned, the crucial factor behind the growth of communalism during the 1920s, was very much related to the logic of participation in the post-1919 political structure. According to Sumit Sarkar, the Montford reforms had broadened the franchise, but preserved and even extended separate electorates. One more factor which caused communalism was the considerable spread of education during the 1920s, without corresponding growth in employment opportunities. The resentment and bitterness of schools, offices and shops... were sharpened by the disappointment of rising expectations of employment opportunities and the scramble for scarce resources, fed communal rancor.

20.3.3 Partha Chatterjee

Partha Chatterjee had made an attempt to understand modern Indian History in the framework of ‘transition of the society from the pre-capitalist to the capitalist’ and of the political conditions of the Bengal region during the period 1925 and 1935. According to Chatterjee, the establishment of colonial rule in Bengal in mid-18th century led to two major consequences: one, the gradual evolution of formal machinery of the State as an institutionalized political process based on bourgeoisie Constitutional principles, and two, an entirely new process of differentiation among the peasantry effected by the colonial extraction and the extended operation of the market economy in the rural areas.

Partha Chatterjee also analyses the role of colonial state in causing the communal conflicts and for him the colonial state molded institutions and administrative procedures in order to subjugate and rule over the peripheral communities. In this process of the extension of State's rule, bourgeois principles of equality before the law were thoroughly implemented. The notion of 'community' continued to act as a live force in the consciousness of peasantry, who were brought under the rule of the 'State', treated feudal landlords or the agents of the state, as an outside claimants on their obedience and produce.

Partha Chatterjee has given an analytical framework on Indian History in order to distinguish meaningfully between the various kinds of politics which were entangled with the colonial state formation. He understood communalism on the political lines in a period where the process of differentiation among the peasantry was in an embryonic stage. By using this 'framework', Chatterjee tried to establish the autonomous identity of the peasant-communal ideology and the action against the state and, against the feudal and commercial exploitation and, the nature of linkages with the organized politics.

20.3.4 Dipesh Chakrabarty

Dipesh Chakrabarty's analysis of modern Indian History is based on the case study of Calcutta jute mill riots in the mid 1890s. Interestingly, as Dipesh Chakrabarty says most of the riots during the period between 1894 and 1897 were over religious and community sentiments and not purely around economic issues. Chakrabarty intend to show how the strong communal divisions evolving among the migrant workers of both the Hindu and Muslim communities revealed a new community consciousness. The Muslim migrant workers emphasized Islamic identity and Hindus emphasized their won religious identity.

Chakrabarty noted that by 1894-97, there was a considerable growth of the component of up-country mill hands, entirely new to industrial workers in the area he studies. It was natural that, as Chakrabarty continues that the migrant workers' past attitudes, memories and prejudices could form 'fresh results'. What was happening was not just only a mere transfer of past attitudes into a new situation

for industrial work, but industries had elements which helped such attitudes to persist and grow.

In analyzing the growth of communal feelings, Chakrabarthy also took into consideration the cultural gulf that existed between the migrant mill workers and the Bengali intelligentsia; the role of the Marwari's and the Hindu Mahasabha, which had become in the course of time the chief patrons of Hindu communalism. While emphasizing the economic aspect of communalism, Chakrabarthy Stressed the Sardari system in relation to the growth of labor markets and its subsequent impact on the cause of communalism.

20.3.5 Sugata Bose

Sugata Bose interprets Indian History in the context of the nature of economic grievances and agrarian class conflicts between the peasantry, money lenders and land lords and, took into consideration the collapse of 'symbiotic' relationship. In her case study, "The Roots of Communal Violence in Rural Bengal: A study of the Kishoreganj riots of 1930". Sugata Bose argues that apart from the localized violence in rural areas, Hindu-Muslim rioting had the character of an urban phenomenon involving mainly the up-country people and not the Bengalis. In order to understand the development of communal consciousness, especially, from the Kishoreganj riot (in the period 1930 onwards) author offers the examples of incidence of collective violence on the part of the Muslim peasantry against the Hindu talukdars, traders and mahajans.

According to Sugata Bose, the instrument of control over the indebted Muslim peasantry was essentially an economic one through usury. He also took into consideration the sluggish growth in the overall domain of economy and the devastating consequences of the Great Economic Depression of 1928-1929 as the causative factors for communal riots. The old deference to mahajans also vanished and they could not continue as the guarantee of peasants' subsistence security. From the 1930s onwards, Sugata Bose concludes that the Hindu talukdars and traders of east Bengal were not merely hated but were increasingly seen to be as

completely redundant. In 1947 they were forced to pack their bags and began their track towards the newly demarcated Indian border.

20.3.6 Tanika Sakar

Tanika Sakar's understanding of Indian History is in the context of Hindu-Muslim economic relationship in Bengal, especially, in the region of Daccan Mymensingh in 1930 and Chittangong in 1931. Tanika Sarkar says that the context and pattern of specific communal riots and of crowd behavior have revealed various kinds of tensions beneath the surface of communal trappings. Through an analysis of such tensions and riots, Tanika Sarkar would like to locate the insignificance that the mob acquired as the features of distinct social groups of a pre-industrial crowd, or of a depressed peasantry. She proposes to examine why such tensions in the above mentioned riots acquired communal forms and were branded as communal riots.

To understand the social configuration of rural forces which helped in communal polarization, Tanika Sarkar shows how in most parts of Bengal region, the dominant economic classes consisting of Hindus monopolized and exploited Muslim peasantry through imposing taboo on usury. She has also noted the absence of 'proper transaction system' and the Muslim community's exploitation by the money lenders and landlords. The pattern of rioting, the main targets, the chief participants and the aim of rioters, according to Tanika Sarkar revealed the riots as either rural or urban social protest behind a façade of Muslim attacks. She locates communal riots in the context of social protest by the Muslim community over the dominant Hindu community.

20.3.7 Gyanendra Pandey

Gyanendra Pandey, as an important contributor to the subaltern historiography has done an extensive study on Indian History, 'to understand the construction of the Indian society and politics as a whole in recent times'. In academic investigations, he argues that the Indian History is understood in the context of organized political movements based on the proclaimed interests of

religious community usually in response to the real or imagined threat from another religious community (ies). It denotes a movement that makes sectional demands on State policy for a given share in jobs, education and legislative position, leading on in some instances for the creation of new provinces and states. Colonial India consisted of wide range of regional conditions, cultures and interests and its people: now experienced a peculiar combination of 'modern' (colonial) and 'medieval' (colonial as well as pre-colonial) modes of domination and exploitation. In this context new cohesion developed around existing foci of loyalty, such as caste, language and religious community. This is where the concept of 'communalism' came into play.

Gyanendra Pandey analyzes Indian History by taking into consideration the different aspects of society and politics, keeping in view the central object of 'class relations' in the rural and urban context, caste upliftment movements and the method of mobilization in different kinds of popular movements, especially, the worker of lower classes. In order to understand the phenomenon of communalism among the lower classes, Pandey studied the symbols of these people and showed how these symbols used in their (subaltern) course of action, as the base for mobilization found in solidarities of castes, class, and religious fraternity, and the linkages between upper and lower classes.

20.3.8 David Arnold

David Arnold brings to light the story of long series of disturbances and rebellions of hill men in the Gudem and Rampa hill tracts of Andhra during 1839-1924. Studying the Madras famine of 1876-78, the same author writes of peasant consciousness and peasant action in such crises of subsistence and survival. Arnold complains that the voluminous literature on Indian famine does not treat that phenomenon in terms of human experience, and that peasant experience of dearth and famine has almost invariably been subordinated to the descriptions of state policy and relief administration.

20.3.9 Aravind Das:

Aravind Das demonstrates how erroneous it is to attribute agrarian changes in Bihar during 1947-78 to elite-sponsored land reforms. The two major attempts at 'agrarian changes from the above', that is, through *zamindari* abolition and the bhoodan movement, were not elite sponsored but responses to peasant discontent. The first followed after years of agitation by Swamy Sahajananda Saraswati and the powerful Kisan Sabha, and the second came on the militant Communist-led peasant upsurge in Telangana. Both were measures to preempt class war in the Bihar country side. Says the author; 'Any interpretation of agrarian change primarily as an elite sponsored land reform, amounts therefore to chasing the shadow without trying to grasp the substance.'

20.3.10 Shahid Amin

Shahid Amin in his essay on Gandhi is concerned to know how the Mahatma's charisma got itself registered in peasant consciousness. He finds that an important element in that charisma was the peasant's belief in superstition and miracles. David Hardiman's essay on the Devi reformist movement, among the tribal's of south Gujarat affords insights into tribal consciousness and must arrest the attention of the sociologists.

20.3.11 Gautam Bhadra

Gautam Bhadra observes in his "Four Rebels of 1857" that all the principal modes of historiography on the Great Revolt of 1857 whether 'nationalist' as exemplified by the writings of S.B.Chaudhari or 'radical communist' as represented by Promod Sengupta and Datta have, with due elitist prejudice, portrayed the great event as an elitist venture. The ordinary rebel, his role and his perception of alien rule and the contemporary crisis- all these have been left out of the historical literature of the Great Revolt. Bhadra's essay rehabilitates four of such rebel characters of 1857. Shah Mal, Devi Singh, Gonoo and Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah. Their stories point to the existence in 1857 of what Gramsci calls 'multiple elements of conscious leadership'.

20.4 LET US SUM UP

Thus, subaltern historians have attempted to show Indian historiography in its diverse perspective in the context of elusive politics of elites and the manner in which they possessed domination over the subaltern people by compelling them to act without granting them any accepted social norms. In order to protect their life from the threat of the elites' domination, they were compelled to 'reinvent' their own history and culture in the process of overcoming the constructed social barriers that differentiated between the elite and popular politics. It is evident from this type of analysis that nationalism operated in the subaltern perspective in between the established institutional and non-institutional norms and practices. Moreover, historiography operated under such conditions in which the advantages of elites were far higher than that of subaltern people. Subaltern historians widened the knowledge of historiography by exploring the life-styles of subaltern people and their manners and reaction to the higher culture and politics.

Subaltern historiography is bringing historical inquiry to the foundations of Indian society. In its anxiety to highlight the struggle of the workers, the peasants and the tribal's, the Subalterns have upset not only conventional historiography but even that of a Marxist perspective. Subaltern historiography essentially belongs to the category of sub-history or local narratives supplementing and enriching mainstream historical accounts and filling up the lacunae in them. Based on a loose, negative elite-subaltern dichotomy, it has no greater theme than popular militancy and consciousness. Its topics are grimly partitioned with no connection or sequence of any kind. A continuous and sustained narrative outside its purview. Yet, its positive side should not be lost sight of subaltern historiography is ferreting our innumerable records from their dusty shelves in dark and dingy rooms which stand witness to many a story of faith and struggle.

20.5 KEYWORDS

1. Subaltern studies – collections of Monographs on diverse unconnected topics.

2. Elite – is a small group of people who control a disproportionate amount of wealth or political powers. In general elite means the more capable group of people.

20.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Critically examine the nature of Subaltern Historiography in India.
2. Discuss the contributions of Subaltern Historiographers.

20.7 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 20.2
2. See section 20.3

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