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PAPER- I

RESEARCH METHODS IN HISTORY

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CHAPTER-I

IDENTIFICATION OF A HISTORICAL PROBLEM

DEFINITION, NATURE AND SCOPE

1. The Term

'Research Methodology' is a compound of two words, research and methodology, indicating the mode of doing research. 'Research' is of French origin (from Recerche) and means a "careful search or investigation, systematic investigation towards increasing the sum of knowledge".Therefore this subject deals with the procedural facets of the careful search and investigation, in the context of History.Anatoly Rakitov defines methodology as "the theory of the methods of activity and cognition".

Research methodology deals with the activity of recognizing, using and interpreting the sources of history towards a careful investigation for increasing the sum of historical knowledge.The growth of scientific temperament in social sciences is as old as the 18th century. At a time when the European states were holding a superior status in the world, the outbreak of French Revolution discarded the old traditions, and initiated a life for newness, of newness and with newness. The emergence of democratic upheaval, with the three principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, on the mainland of Europe influenced the entire world. British contributions during the Victorian period has richly helped in identifying history as a social science, as a philosophy, and examined the rich traditions of writing history adopted from the Greek and Roman civilizations.Of course, even the medieval historians with their contributions were more theosophic with theories like Monism. But such theories were discarded as they were identified to have been dealt with factors beyond the ethos of the human world.They wanted to have a history which speaks, not about nations and nationalities but about the world as a whole.This led to an understanding of the investigation of the experiences of previous societies without any bias.The English, French, German and Russian historians contributed widely and vividly in dealing with the way of writing history.They differed, virtually, from phase to phase, but were unanimous in thinking that the world as a whole has symmetric and assymmetric experiences at a time.The identification of such experiences has contributed to treating the past and the present events neither in full nor in part quantums.This type of approach

envisaged in identifying an 'interaction between the historian and his facts' leading to an assessment of the influence of 'intervening variables not only between the nature and human organism' but between different zones of human structure.Such a situation represents trends and attempts to mould a systematized body of norms and conventions to treat the knowledge of past as a quantum of human experience from the range of the individual to that of the world state.Therefore one can understand, in this background, research methodology as a systematized study of procedural features in conducting investigations for assessing the past studies and social experiences and analysing them with new factual additions and further new interpretations and explanations.If there were to be any.

2. Nature and Scope

This study of research methodology is very much essential in observing the totality of social perspectives. As history is a subject from the present to the past, it includes all the qualities of all social sciences. Having contemporary aspects, it sheds light on the relations with political science and sociology. Being a study of the panoramic material activity over such an arena of land and its resources and time, it has very much significance in dealing with geography and economics. It is said that history is geography in motion.This opinion increases its relation with geography, being a corollary of human experience with refugee to land and the world.It has separate relations with anthropology, wherein ethnological and cultural traits are discussed to envisage the shadowing effects of the land-man relations in the past and the present.Research methodology is obviously typical in having an identified taste to stress the application of scientific and empiricist innovations in understanding man and his environment with special reference to their ups and downs from time to time.

As far as the scope of this study is concerned, it deals with the nucleus of history reaching into the depths of peripheral influences. As history is mainly gleaned, further analysed and scientificised from the written sources, the scope of research methodology extends in identifying and understanding different linguistic influences on the human mind. But for convenience of the methodological approach, the study deals with the phases of collecting, labelling, analysing and understanding data, launching comparable methods with special reference to time, distance, authorship, style and type and, finally interpreting it.Interpretation includes inter-disciplinary factors like geography, sociology, anthropology and political science.The scope further identifies the methods of hypotheses of the interpretation of historical data with ideal, ideological, sociological, economic and geographical designs and paradigms.Much stress has been laid in dealing with ancient and medieval periods and also on specific factors like urbanization, rural-urban continuum, defence and diplomatic policies, etc. Attempts have been made to project the core of research methodology, as very much exemplary and

paradigmatic so as to expose the even and odd trends to deal with when, where and how. In this methodology, details of some historians dealing with different periods of Indian history are also discussed to make successfully the entire study a model work.This model work provides almost a laboratory and field expression to make, write and understand history as a totality of human experience.

SOURCES FOR UNDERSTANDING RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The attempts to picturise the form and scope of research methodology are not at all illusionary.These are based on many factors, such as the contributions of historians, observation of the so-called historical sources and their nature and, finally, dealing with the ideological background of the experience of historians themselves.

1. Contribution of Historians

The contributions of historians and researchers attempt to draw certain conclusions.These include the observation and tracing of historical works.For instance, R.C. Majumdar, R.K. Mukerjee, Romila Thaper, R.S. Sarma, D.P. Chattopadhyaya, and some others richly contributed to the flourishing of knowledge of Indian history and culture during the ancient period with many interpretative features. In the same way, writers like K.A.N. Sastry, N. Venkataramanaiah, T.V. Mahalingam, and Yazdani, contributed to the study of ancient and medieval periods. The contributions of Wolsley Haig, Moreland, Ishwari Prasad Srivastava, Nurul Hasan, Akthar Ali, Irfan Habib, Grover, M.G, Das Dupta, G.S. Kulkarni, and G.S. Sardesai threw light on the arena of the medieval Indian history. So also the contributions of Roberts, Hunter, Love, Gopal, Bipinchandra and Venkatarangayya have a great deal to say about the ways of writing history in the modern period. These examples indicate that research methodology does not and cannot simply rest on certain hypotheses or illusionary norms.The historians are concerned with the way of how different people tackled their sources in defining, understanding, explaining and interpreting them.The contributions of historians are play a vital role in the modern period in tracing of how to select historical facts from the garbage of a declining past, overlapping with the present. As the impact of the past is non-specific and gradually merges with the present in invisible socio-ideological bonds, the identification of historical sources and facts is a very tough task.For instance, dealing with urban history during the modern period, Nita Kumar says how he made use of the records of the police stations in estimating the urbanizing trends.

On the other hand, themed and ancient periods are very much demarcated by chronological distance.Such demarcation provides vital catalysts for the decay of unnecessary factors while some factors, thought to be of much importance, were preserved, protected and inherited.It must be

said that during these two periods, the sources that the historian gets, are what they do not seek, wish, think of and envisage, but which were important to members of the previous societies. This gulf between what he thinks and what he gets accounts for the difference we see in wiring history. If we accept the Collingwood view that history is what the historian thinks and re-enacts past in mind, then his methodology should justify the particulars of the past irrespective of their degree.It leads not only to a scissors and paste history, but to a history pasted by a weak ideological mortar suffering from timely and seasonal erosions to make the bulk of the building of the past more vulnerable.Such type of vulnerability always sheds a ray of light on how the historians have their own methodological features and frameworks.

II. Historical Facts

In the second stage, the varying nature of historical facts also provides a way to think about methodological perspectives; they belong to – literary sources, historical-archaeological sources and pre-historic and proto-historic archaeological sources.

A. Literary Sources

Literary sources occupy a major role in contributing to historical writing.In India, these range from 1400 B.C. to the present day.The earliest examples can be seen in Rigveda.Literary sources provide dialectic dimensions with phonemic, phonetic and semantic influences. The historians think not only about the linguistic factors involved in the current dimensions but about dimensions as were prolific and popular in the bygone times.For example, the Sanskrit language, a famous scholarly and bookish language, is no longer in use in India with the result that all the information recorded in it is beyond the factors of routine life.But historians discuss many factors which are more related with the nobility. The contemporary sense of secular interest to trace history is to a great extent not available in the ancient Indian context. Such features are available in a relatively great degree in histories written during the medieval period.A distinction in the eyes of such historian makes the sources useful in varying degrees.

The sources of the modern period are highly useful, because they overlap very much the contemporary ideological and sociological trends. On the other hand, the source material of the medieval period is ideologically very much theocratic and sociologically multifurcated.The concept of multifurcation arose from the catholic and iconoclastic tendencies of the Muslim rulers. It could depict the various aspects of the life of the majority of the ruled communities, which were thoroughly exploited due to the ideological consciousness and religious bias of the rulers.That is why the medieval literary sources are more useful. On the other hand, the source material of the ancient period was chronologically distant and ideologically very much distinctive.The representation of Indian ideologies exposed since

Vedic times have made such literature very much far off from the common man, wherein, the entire activities of production. Exchange, biological association, reproduction, etc., do not function in their own way but revolve in a set pattern of atmospherical and geographical forces.They represent symbolically the beliefs and goals of man as an eternal phenomenon, and not simply as a temporary, fictitious, wavering phenomenon.Such an ideological concept made the literature of the ancient period useful because, it reveals a background of thought for action, ontologically hailed as 'Karma', but never as the specific significance of the simple life in an environmental framework. This literature cannot provide sufficient scope for the contemporary historians to seek an empirical and systematic approach towards life. As such, indigenous such literary works always provide scope for filling the gaps and the ideological and linguistic mortar used in their scientific building of history may become weak.This is an undeniable fact. That is why the linguistic dimensions in assessing the written sources of history always become much biased leading to many schools of history, and create differences not only in the way of writing history, but of understanding and interpreting its sources.

B. Historical-Archaeological Sources

Amongst the historical-archaeological sources epigraphs are the first to be considered.Epigraphs are literary records inscribed either on stone slabs (tablets), walls, pillars, floors, or on copper plates recording events of donations or communication of a dharma or providing protection. They are very much contemporaneous with the recorded events.The earliest inscriptions in the context of India are datable to the period of the Mauryan Asoka. Some archaeologists say that the script of the Indus Valley seals found in places like Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Lothal indicates the first stage of Indian epigraphy. It should be stated here that Indian epigraphists are not at all unanimous in accepting the modes of deciphering the Indus script.As such, as on date, one can take the Mauryan records to be the earliest. Epigraphs are also called inscriptions because they were inscribed.While dealing with inscriptions the first problem is about their language, the second with their dates and the third with geographical and chronological factors.

As far as the language aspect is concerned, it is very much similar to the literary sources but dissimilar in matters of style, dialecticism and functional variations.The historians must note that epigraphic information is always one-sided and does not cover all its units as a whole.As far as dating is concerned, later records are very much in a verifiable scientific pattern.Most of the earliest records are to be simply relatively dated by paleographical and astronomical methods, as they are practically undated.This facets of not being dated always provides scope for variation for interpretations and understanding among the historians. As far as geographical factors are

concerned, inscriptions provide many place-names and names of regions and states, most of which are not in use at present.Institutions like the Place Names Society of India are doing yeoman service by promoting research among the scholars to verify the origins and backgrounds of place-names.Scholars like S.S. Ramachandra Murty contributed widely to the knowledge of place-names.So also scholars who worked on Historical Geography like Law, Isvaradutt and Mangalam.They dealt at length on the nature and details of place-names.Such geographical identification of place-names in the records prepares a framework to trace the arena of environmental infrastructure, wherein the entire recorded human activity was born, developed, and shone.Such an observation of epigraphs provides a dimension at 'land-man relations, wherein the influence was very much mutual, seasonally dominating, discording and submitting to each other. As far as the chronological factors are concerned, they throw sufficient light on the communities, tribes, castes, dynasties and families, which led the people as well as formed the major Secretariat of the exploited groups.This type of phenomenon, provide scope for making a sociological estimate of the entire human activity during the historical past.

Next to the historical-archaeological sources come coins.Made on copper, potin, silver or gold they represent three dimensions.The first one indicates the nature of the sovereign power, the second one the nature of the geographical sphere, wherein the sovereign power was fully accepted, partially accepted and not accepted at all.The third one indicates the potential of the economic system and mercantile activity. Observation of the epithets of the issuers of coins indicates the merits and demerits of the rulers or their representatives.Thus coins help in drawing certain conclusions which cannot be done methodically from other sources. Moreover, coins throw light on the life of the common people and the nature of economic achievements in a region.They help greatly in reconstructing the economic and political history.

Amongst the historical-archaeological sources, monuments constitute the third variety.Secular monuments like forts, guest houses, schools, and religious ones such as temples, mosques, and churches, reveal the glory of the arts of sculpture, iconography and architecture. Monuments of the medieval period, particularly the Islamic period, also throw light on the outstanding skills of calligraphy. In India, Buddhist monuments like Caityas, Stupas, Viharas, Jaina monuments like Basadis, and Hindu monuments like temples convey the religious and cultural beliefs of the people and their traits over a span of time and available space. Sculptural and iconographic evidence provides material dimensions in mud, wood, stucco, stone and metal, to the theological models an etiquette of the past which serves as a catalyst of the people's life as universal whole.

C. Pre-historic and Proto-historic Archaeological Sources

Pre-historic and proto-historic sources are archaeological in nature. They do not belong to the age wherein the written pattern of communication and recording has taken place verifiably.The pre-historic period presents the remains of human culture through stone tools, belonging to the old stone age (the Palaeolithic period), and the new stone age (the Neolithic period).They are mostly found on the surface levels in caves; some have been excavated from ash mounds and places of burial. As far as proto-historic remains are concerned, except the evidence or the Harappan or Indus civilization, the rest is very much of a rural nature.This evidence is gathered from the tools kept in the megalithic burials (found in greater numbers and types in South India) wherein signs of the early Iron Age are thoroughly traced. Both the pre-historic and proto-historic remains form a background to a discussion of the emergence of the historical period.

III. Ideological Background

The third state in understanding the sources of research methodology in history is related with the ideological background of the historians. For instance, there are two important varieties of thought dominating the writing of history in India – the fundamentalists and the Marxist historians.The fundamentalist group of historians are those who inculcate a sense of submission to the facts, the land tradition and the past in totality.They are motivated to speak about the past in a way derived or envisaged from the sources.They are very much like the historians who analyse events from the viewpoint of religious ideologies. On the other hand, the Marxist historians are those who envisage a society of exploitation with an uneven ratio of the exploiters and the exploited.They represent what Marx says in his works and they want to provide an important place for the economic activity.They see it as the nucleus of social activities and regard the fundamentalist and religious traits to be narcotic in nature imposed on social movements and ideas. They view them as very much paradigmatic of the means of exploitation.These two opposing traits in varying dimensions appeal to laymen, students and professionals.Such an ideological schism in writing history is a feature not only of temple Indian situation, but also of the whole world.

Thus, these factors help a student to understand the main facets of research methodology as a professional tool, as described in the following chapters.Though these sources are generally taken to be sources of history, they function equally as sources of understanding the methodology on the basis of their nature, from time to time and place to place.

THE MECHANICS OF NOTE-TAKING

When the first stage of historical research is over, when the availability of the source material for historical writings has been traced, naturally the next step would be to collect the material relevant to one's topic. While actually collecting the material one should ensure that the material one is collecting

is authentic and credible. Of course, these two processes, the collection of the material and the ascertainment of its authenticity and credibility, would be performed simultaneously. The one cannot be and should not be done without the other. Yet for the sake of convenience we can take up the method of note-making first. Notes are an extension of memory. It must contain all the relevant points from all the sources available for writing a work of history. After the collection of all the raw material or historical data is over, the mass of raw material has to be properly processed, various points relating to a particular topic or sub-topic have to be brought together and co-related in a rational way, and then the conclusions are to be drawn and the generalizations made from them, interpreting the several facts carefully so as to give a new meaning to the historical work.All this is possible only when the innumerable points are actually brought together under relevant heads. This can be illustrated by an example.If one were to write a historical work on 'Trade and commerce under the Mughals', one has to collect the material relating to the articles of trade, means of transport and communication, foreign trade, both sea-borne and inland, prices of commodities, markets and the commercial policy of the state.This material has to be gathered from different sources such as the contemporary official histories (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Akbarnama, etc), the the newsletters, accounts of foreign travellers (Peter Mundy, Pelsaert, Tavernier, Thevenot, etc.), English Factory Records, literary works and the like. For writing even on a sub-topic, say, of the means of transport and communication, all the points about this matter taken from all the different sources, mentioned above as some examples, have to be brought together.This cannot be done easily by following any method. If the notes are taken in bound volumes or notebooks as one reads a book, then there would be several notebooks containing notes for each book consulted.If the notes are taken on different topics in the same notebook or notebooks, then the portion belonging to the means of transport and communication has to be taken out from all such notebooks as would contain this material.After separating this material, one has to arrange it again under different small heads such as 'sea routes', 'highways', and 'riverine trade'. If we take the first point 'sea routes', then again all the information regarding one sea route, say, from Surat to the Persian Gulf has to be brought together.If one goes on separating the material one wants from the bound notebooks, one lands oneself in great difficulties, one's whole work would be a mass of great confusion. So this method is highly unsuitable to research work and must be given up. Another variation of this method is to keep one notebook for one topic only and then go on writing notes in the same notebook on one topic only from different books. Thus at the end, there would be as many notebooks as there are topics or sub-topics in the thesis or historical work.This method again is not satisfactory, because here only one difficulty is solved, namely, that of separating the portion on different topics from the common notebooks containing all the notes.In other words, only the broad division of notes would be made while

actually taking down notes. But the difficulty of separating notes according to each and every point (e.g., the sea route from Surat to the Persian Gulf) remains unsolved. Thus the bound notebook method in any form is totally unsatisfactory.

The second method is **the file method.** Here notes on sub-topics or on the various headings included in these sub-topics are made on separate foolscap sheets which are then filed separately topic-wise or sub-topic-wise.This method is certainly an improvement on the bound note-book method.The important improvement introduced is that the foolscap sheets containing the notes are detachable.This is indeed a great advance.But this is not enough.There are still certain difficulties experienced, still some problems unsolved. Each sheet might contain, and does usually contain, a number of points taken from different pages of the original books, or manuscripts or documents or inscriptions or some other sources.Then each point should be accompanied by a separate reference to the exact page or pages of the original sources. If, say, points relating to one item (e.g. Akber's Religious Policy) are to be brought together from, say, about 50 loose foolscap sheets, then each sheet should once again be gone through hurriedly in order to see where exactly it contains these points. Then they could be, in fact should be, re-copied on a separate sheet or sheets of paper.When all such points relating to the same item, that is, Akber's Religious policy, are brought together, then one is in a position to think over those points collectively in order to come to certain conclusions.But here again a researcher might desire to arrange certain points place-wise or person-wise or office-wise in which case once again the arrangement of points already made has to be disturbed and the points should be rewritten on separate sheets of paper according to the new arrangements. In the course of thinking over or generalizing or interpreting facts, one has to arrange and rearrange these points several times. If one were to use the file system, one would be lost in confusion, and there would be a tremendous waste of time and energy, although in the beginning one might think that one is saving time by following this method.

Then the next and the last method of note taking which has been found to be an ideal one considering the progress in this technique made so far.**This is the slip method, also known as the card system.** The two most distinguishing features of this method are the totality and detachability of each slip. On each slip only one point is noted. So when points relating to a certain item are brought together, there is no need to rewrite different points separating them from other points in a sheet of paper. Since each slip contains only one point and that point is complete in itself, there is no more writing work involved for preparing the points suitable for different arrangements as in the case of the first two methods.Secondly, since each slip is detachable it can be taken out from its place and placed anywhere indifferent arrangements and yet there would be no confusion because each slip can be easily restored to its original place, if necessary, since it is

complete with all the necessary details such as the page number, name of the author and title, though bearing only one point. Such slips can be arranged topic-wise, sub-topic-wise, section-wise, even paragraph-wise, thus greatly facilitating the work of the researcher, although in the beginning one might feel that there is much duplication of work in preparing a large number of slips on different points. Anyway the force of the argument would be realized only when a researcher comes to the stage of sorting out the slips for purposes of interpretation and narration.Only then will he knows that two-thirds of the work would be done in the arrangement of slips only. When arranged fully down to the paragraph, the researcher would be delighted to visualize though others cannot, his whole thesis or book before his eyes properly arranged into various chapters, sections and paragraphs.All that remains to be done thereafter is to writing on sheets of paper in a connected way the matter set ready for this purpose in the form of slips.

Although the slip method or the card method is accepted by all as the best among all systems, there are differences of opinion in matters of detail.As regards the size of the card or slip different measurements are given by different authors. But the size of the slip which we would prefer would be a rectangular slip equivalent to one-fourth of an ordinary foolscap sheet. This rectangular slip would measure 17c.m. by 11c.m. As it is normally expensive to use a large number of cards for this purpose, we would prefer to use slips of paper of the above measurements, as shown below:

	Title of the chapter Section	Date
	Point	
Author	Title of the book consulted	Page No.

(The slip shown above is reduced in size for adjusting to the size of the printed page)

Again as regards the space left on the slip for writing various details such as the date and heading connected with each point there is no consensus of opinion. But whatever technique we learnt from our teachers, we set down

for the benefit of others: (1) the upper central portion of the slip is kept for writing the name of the chapter, section, and even sub-section. (2) The upper right corner is always reserved for the date on which the event took place. If no date is found in the source, this space must be left blank and nothing else should be written here. (3) The central portion of the slip is meant for writing the point. As far as possible the point must be written in a very few words and yet clearly. (4) The lower left corner is kept for the name of the author. On the very first slip the full name of the author should be given and thereafter only his surname. (5) The lower central portion is left for the title of the source or book. Again on the very first slip the full title and the facts of publication should be given and on the subsequent slips only its abbreviation. If there is already an accepted abbreviation, that should be employed, otherwise the researcher could abbreviate the title in some suitable way. Generally some important word in the title is retained or sometimes the initial letters of various words in the title are brought together.But this latter method should not be adopted if there are too many words in a title. (6) Finally the lower right corner is reserved for the number of the page from which the point is noted.This is the general pattern to be followed.

This note—taking method could be illustrated as under:

	Religious Policy of Akbar Abolition of the *Jizya*	A.D. 1564
	A turning point in the history Of the Muslim rule in India	
Sri Ram Sharma	The *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Bombay, 1962	p. 19

This is an example of the first slip containing the full name of the author and the full title of the work consulted. Now an example of the subsequent slips may be

noted:

		A.D. 1563
	Religious Policy of Akbar	
	Pilgrimage tax on Hindus Abolished by Akbar	
Sharma	RPME	p. 20

In this slip are given only the surname of the author and the first letters of the important words contained in the title. These slips should not be numbered serially.Only one side should be used for writing, the other side being left blank. If some matter is to be copied for purposes of quoting, it should be copied on the slip exactly as it is in the source consulted.The matter should not be paraphrased. Even the mistakes, if any, should be copied as they are. In the old English writing, as for example, in the English Factory Records or in some travel accounts, one finds peculiar spellings of some words, or peculiar punctuation which to the modern eye seems to be wrong. But all this should be copied without any changes whatsoever. In the quotations given in some modern works the spellings are modernized and the punctuation is corrected. Strictly speaking this is wrong.The original must be maintained at any cost. Sometimes, if the quotations are lengthy or if the point to be noted is lengthy, the matter could be written on more than one slip, but always ensuring that each such slip bears the same title and sub-title and an indication that they all together are really one slip. This could be done by writing 'continued' on the second and following slips or by putting the alphabets (a), (b), (c), etc on all such slips indicating that they are parts of the same slip and then they should be pinned together or preferably stapled together.

If the point to be noted on the slip is made or discussed with reference to some other work, if a statement in the work, from which notes are being taken down, is based on some other source or for which a reference is given in the book being consulted, then the researcher should note down in his slip the reference given for such a point.This reference is always given below the name of the author or the space left for the author on the slip.Here is an example:

Central Govt. under the
Delhi Sultans

Ministers

Wakil-i-dar: His Functions
Controlled the entire household
Qureshi ASD p. 59.
Ref: Minhaj, 298; Nazim, 147

ASD is an abbreviation for 'The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi' whose author is Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi.The authorities for his statement that the Wakil-i-dar controlled the entire household are Minhaj and Nazim and therefore they are noted below the name of the author.In this slip the researcher knows the authorities for this particular statement and he can himself consult them in the original. If a point is capable of being used under many heads, it necessitates the making of as many slips as there are heads under which it could possibly be used.For example, only one item or point such as 'Shivaji levied heavy tariff duties on salt' can be used under five different heads; namely, (1) Shivaji's Fiscal Administration, (2) Salt Industry under Shivaji, (3) Shivaji's Commercial Policy, (4) Shivaji's Relations with the Portuguese, and (5) Sources of State Income. Here naturally the same point has to be noted in five separate slips under different headings.Although it is tedious**,** we repeat, to make slips like this in the initial stages, this method really saves much of our time and greatly facilitates our work in the later stages.

SELECTION OF THE TOPIC AND PROBLEMS

Having gone through the introductory notes, let us see how and what type of topics M. Phil, and Ph. D. students select and how they face problems in practical sense. As on date several Indian universities do not provide field-oriented instructions at the post-graduate level to students who choose History or Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, or Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy or Medieval Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, etc., as their favourite subject.As a result, students passing their post-graduate courses face the problem of choosing a topic for their research studies.

It can be stated that almost 80% (the figures in this para are provisional) of them do research simply to attain a higher level of educational qualifications to earn more money.This attitude makes them to rush their thesis, and obtain the degree either by hook or by crook. Almost 15% depend on their research supervisors to provide them a topic of study.They are inclined to undertake research, but lack sufficient experience, in their chosen field.The remaining 5% are very much mature.They plan to come up as researchers, choose their own topic and spend their energies to attain scholarship.

1. Essential Features of Research Topic.

The following are the essential features of a good research topic.

1. The research topic must be clear in its aspects: It means that the topic which the scholar chooses must be defined clearly – geographically and chronologically.For instance, Later Chalukyas in Andhra Desa (published by Gian Publishing House, Delhi), by Dr. K. Suryanarayana, secured the best thesis award for Ph.D. from Andhra University in 1985. In this thesis, the scholar denotes the identified chronological and geographical limits in Andhra Pradesh and the Chalukya families of the later period. In the same way, earlier theses like Studies on Sri Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara (published by Andhra University) by Prof. O. Ramachandraiah.The Kakatiyas of Warangal (Ph.D. awarded by Karnatak University and published by A.P. State Department of Archaeology) by Dr. P.V.P. Sastry, The Religion in Andhra Desa by Prof. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, "Studies in Gautamiputra Satakarni" (Ph.D. awarded by Andhra University) by Prof. C. Somasundra Rao are examples of theses having clarity and specific features.

2. The research topic must have sufficient available sources: Generally, most research supervisors suggested topics which have many sources. Such topics provide a wider scope for interpretations of the source material. 'Sufficient sources' is a relative expression.If we take the example of the Mauryas and Sungas, the latter has fewer sources than the earlier one which has a great variety of sources – both indigenous and foreign.Such a study naturally makes a researcher free in the expression and ideation of his originality.Some topics with a regionalised interest, like the Haihaya families in Andhra Desa, the Naga families in North India, the Cedis in Eastern India, have very limited source material.The attempt of the researcher to interpret it can always be questioned.That is why most researchers try to select topics with many sources.

3. It should be a continuity of the previous work: By and large most historians want to have continuity in research studies, so that they can make use of the earlier works on the subject. This naturally lessens the burden of the researcher to some extent. But continuity of the previous work is often not available. It is a general practice in some of the Indian universities to elaborate the topic chosen for M. Phil at the Ph. D. stage.

4. Preference to Inter-disciplinary attitude: Nowadays topics requiring inter-disciplinary studies are favoured, particularly those concerning anthropological history, economic history and social history.The impact of ecological, environmental, and geographical infrastructure on human activity are studied.But such studies in Indian universities are not many in number.Except on problems like urbanization, which have much bearing on land and economy alike, the research on other subjects is not picking up speedily.

5. Contribution to regional factors, sources and histories: Good topics are considered to have been contributing to regional factors too. After reaching a level of exhaustion of national level sources, the historians have started to make microscopic searches and studies of the regional sources.Works based on village-to-village surveys and interviewing are gaining more ground.This is so because these researchers can bring to light unknown facts and factors with many a new interpretation.

6. Bearing to social needs, economic perspectives and political integration: History is no longer believed to be an exercise simply for the sake of knowing what was in the past. Such antiquarian outlook is undergoing a change.The government and the societies have thrust upon the researchers in history a social responsibility. Studies in history must make a search for socio-political integration and bridge the gulf between the present and the past. Historians working on the modern period bear this impact more because this is the threshold of contemporary life, representing the fag end of the hoary past. As such, history becomes very much sociological and political in nature. It also cures the errors in the present society, found to have cropped up from the nearer past particularly, works dealing with social reforms, social planning, family and moral religions demarcate the clear responsibility of the historian, both as a student and as a professional.Such history must fasten the social bondage and provide an eternal cure for the disintegrating factors. Therefore observation of the process of utilization of economic sources, management of production, exchange and economy, has attained considerable significance.

2. Types of Topics

Let us study topics that are generally selected in the universities at the Ph.D. and M. Phil. Levels.The earliest contributions in the 20th century can be seen in political history.Political history is considered to be the best and only variety in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.Many researchers have made contributions to it on four models.

The first model is biographical.The historian chooses to study the life of a ruler.Rulers like Asoka, Kanishka, Gautamiputra Satakarni, Samudragupta, Harsha, Pulakesin II, Rajaraja Chola, etc., in the ancient period; Kakatiya Rudramahadevi, Sri Krishnadevaraya, Akbar, Shershah, Shivaji, Aurangzeb,

etc., in the medieval period; Viceroys like Curzon, Montague, etc., in modern period, drew the attention of history researchers to make scientific investigations.

The second model is the study of families.The works like Eastern Gangas by Kamesvara Rao, Western Gangas by A.R. Baji, Suryavamsa Gajapatis of Orissa by R. Subrahmanyam, Chalukyas of Kalyani by Gopal, Yadavas of Devagiri by Narasimhamurty, Kakatiyas of Warangal by P.V.P. Sastry, Saluva Dynasty by P. Srirama Sarma, etc., show how the researchers studied different families.

The third model is the study of administration.Administration during times of the later Gangas and Gajapatis by C.V. Rama Chandra Rao, Administration and Social Life during the Vijayanagara Period by T.V. Mahilingam, etc., indicate how the entire administration became the target of detailed and analytical studies.

The fourth model is the study of regions. For instance, Early History of the Andhra Country by K. Gopalacari (published by Madras University, Madras), Chittor through the Ages by M.D.Sampath, Historical Geography of A.P. by Mangalam, etc., show how the researchers can study a complete geographical zone within a chronological set-up.

In the early days, cultural history occupied a place next to political history.It included the study of monuments like temples, stupas, basadis, forts and cultural traits like religion. It had many overlapping relations with archaeological sources and art history too. In the historic period, cultural history revolved around monuments, in groups and in isolation.For instance, Study of the Monuments of Ellora by M.K. Dhawalikar, Temples of Telangana by M.R.K. Sarma, Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rayalaseema by V. Kamesvara Rao, Study of Ghanapur Group of Temples by Y. Gopala Reddy, Temple cars of Medieval Tamilaham by Raju Kalidos, etc., show how these have been studied. Individual monuments have also been subjects of study. For example, the Simhacalam Temple by K. Sundaram, the Temples of Mukhalingam by B. Masthanayya Naidu, the Temples of Srikurmam temple(s) by M.S. Ramachandra Rao, etc., indicate how temples located at a place are studied.

The study of temples includes the study of iconography. Studies in Vaishnava iconography during the Chola period by R. Champaka Lakshmi, the Saiva iconography in Coastal Andhra by A. Kamalavasini, the Vishnu iconography in Andhra by Subbalakshmi, etc., indicate how studies are focused on particular regions.This is done because the iconographic evidence from a single or a few temples is generally not sufficient to trace their stylistic evolution and significant features.The researchers choose a wider geographical or administrative zone to make their study easier. The same is true about the study of sculptures too.However; the study of cultural traits like religion requires a thorough analysis of not only the literary and

philosophic evidence, but of the history of the religious institutions and religious practices in general. For instance, The Religion in Andhra Desa by B.S.L. Hanumanta Rao, Narasimha Cult in Telangana by M. Narasimhacharyulu, etc., indicate how the study of religion as a part of cultural history is made. During the medieval period studies were made of religious teachers like Sri Ramanujacharya, Vallabhacharya, Madhavacharya and contributors like Tulsidas, Kabir, Tukaram, Ramadas. The contributions of Christian missionaries to cultural change, and religious education, etc. religious movements like Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in different states have been examined during the modern period. Such events and movements drew the attention of a galaxy of scholars for scientific investigation.

Social and economic history has been gaining more ground since 1950 in India.Studies of the Bolshevic Revolution which dethroned the traditional monarchy in Soviet Russia, and the normative and practical differences between the capitalist and the communist countries have richly contributed to the interpretative variants and vibrations of history. Historians following thenorms of Marx probed the systems of class struggle.This aspect made social history an auxiliary to economic history, because economy was considered to be the nucleus of human activity tracing economic features, activity and behaviour. Studies of institutions like slavery, and Western non-identified groups like Mlechchas, etc., in the ancient period, were attempted at length. As a part of these studies urban history also developed.The contributions of Vijaya Kumar Thakur, Omprakash Prasad, Kalpana Jha, etc. clearly show how the development of urban settlements and societies came into being. Of course attention has not been paid to making phase-to-phase and region-wise studies in identifying the behavioural, political and geographical factors that could lead to urbanization.

In economic history there are contributions like Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra Desa by Narasimha Rao, Studies in Social and Economic Conditions of Medieval Andhra by K. Sundaram, Social and Economic Conditions of Andhra Desa by Vaidehi.The Economic Conditions of Medieval Andhra Desa by K. Radhakrishnamurty, Geographical Factors and Economic Organizations in the Lower Valleys of Krishna and Godavari by K. Satya Murty, etc., show how the researchers dealt with functional organization.In economic history of the modern period, the status of agricultural labourers, industrial labourers, etc., are studied so as to project the socio-behavioural and economic behavioural characteristics of different economic classes.Also, the history of maritime trade, navigation, revenue administration, fiscal policies, commercial policies and the system of taxation, etc., in the company administration and the British period have attracted the researchers.

With this brief discussion on the types of research topics, it must be added that much research is also conducted in pre-historic and proto-

historic archaeology too.In such cases, the classical way is to select a river valley or a district. For instance, Stone Age culture in Chittoor and Nellore districts by M.L.K Murty, Stone Age Culture in Nalgonda District by S.N. Rao, Stone Age Culture in Anantapur District by Rami Reddy" belongs to the early years of the 1960s. The study of valleys also included that of small tributaries.But after a couple of decades, in the archaeological research there are now two important trends, namely, geo-morphological and anthropological archaeological trends. The former contribute to the study of post-Pleistocene features like sea-level changes, tracing and estimating actual loci and ecological factors of activity.Thus they lay stress on settlement archaeology.The latter studies existing races by applying ethno-archaeological models. It is making fast progress.The new archaeological and post-processal archaeological analyses are very much in evidence.

Thus, it canbe said that much of research has assumed a professional outlook calling for assessment of varying expenditure and loss-and-profit accounts. As a result many researchers choose one or the other group of historians, say the JNU group, the AMU group, the fundamentalist group, etc.They start their careers as professional researchers. Many supervisors assign the same topic for M.Phil and Ph.D. theses. They feel that this enlarges the scope of treatment. For instance, a regional study on Timmamma Marrimanu (a Banyan tree in Anantapur district named after a woman Timmamma) was awarded the M. Phil. Degree by Telugu University in 1989-90 while a Ph.D. was awarded by S.K. University, Anantapur, for the same topic with minor changes.Such a situation gives university researches a bad name.It shows the degree of dullness prevalent among the researchers and their supervisors with a characteristic decline in academic standards.The observation and adjudication reports of some American scholars like Kenneth R. Hall show that the Indian dissertations for the Ph.D. degree are running short of quality in methodological treatment.

3. Problems

It is essential to discuss the problems facing the researchers in history.Almost all the universities in India offer M.Phil and Ph.D. courses in history and its allied branches. The applicants are asked to take an entrance and another pre-Ph.D. examination.Students who pass their M.Phil and jointhe Ph.D. course are exepted from taking the pre-Ph.D. examination.In both the examinations, they are asked to write two or three papers.One paper is on research methodology. Another paper is on the broad field and the third on the narrow field with which the researcher is concerned.In case of two papers, they take the examinations only on broad field and narrow field.By research methodology, university faculties mean to provide some theoretical training to the students in some areas of historiography, such as those dealing with heuristics, synthesis, objectivity and in archaeological methods like dating techniques and statistical methods. However, such a combination cannot serve any positive purpose by way of creating interest in research work if the background of the student is nil.

As far as the broad field is concerned, it has become a mechanical device to make the student to study certain periods of regional or national history.For instance, those opting for a topic in political/economic history of Andhra Pradesh are made to study in detail the History of Andhra Pradesh concerning the chosen period. Parts of subjects like Art History of India, Indian Iconography, Indian Epigraphy, Pre-history and Proto-history of India, etc., are also prescribed. The main idea is to introduce the wider field of region, period, method and ideologies.The aim of the narrow field is to enable the student to acquire depth in the subject by consulting previous works. It helps to test his studiousness and approach to the subject.After passing the examination the student has to submit his thesis for M. Phil/Ph. D. If it is eligible for the award of the degree, the candidate undergoes an open defence test or viva voce or both.If he is found fully qualified, the university declares generally in newspapers, the award of Ph.D.In this long process from registration to the award of a degree, the following are the major problems.

1. Selection of the Guide: This can be considered as a major problem, equal t or even more than that of selecting a topic. In the early days when the number of post-graduate students opting for research was limited, selection of a research supervisor was not a problem.Senior members of the faculty used to take up research guidance. The students too felt proud to be placed under such guides for they had experience, a scholarly identity and scholastic personality.The students are known after the names of their guides.Now when research has become a volatile profession and selection is done through written tests on the basis of communal reservations, students are allotted to guides with or without any research experience and in some cases even without the required qualification.If a supervisor is found to be haughty, adamant and non-cooperating, researchers face many day-to-day problems. On the other hand, a cooperative guide with considerable experience always commands respect from among the students.

2. Scholarships: Most of the scholars who register for Ph. D. /M. Phil courses depend upon scholarships sanctioned by agencies like the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Historical Research, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the state governments and universities.If they do not get scholarships they develop a grudge against the supervisors and the heads of the departments. Such a situation distracts the scholars from work.The emoluments of Junior Research Fellows (JRFs) and Senior Research Fellows (SRFs) have been revised and raised by the UGC, making research a useful way of earning too.

3. Collection of Data: The first problem which the students generally face concerns collection of data. Many scholars are inclined to depend on arm-chair research. But this is not always possible. Moreover, collection of secondary as well as primary data requires place-to-place and library-to-library studies.In history nowadays many students are inclined to choose topics from the modern period rather than from the ancient or the medieval period.They feel that the modern period has abundant sources.

4. Methodological Problems: The Research students find themselves without advanced analytical techniques.Methods like computation, seriation of sources, paradigmatic expression through graphs and different geometric methods and models are generally not used. Moreover most of them feel that such an analysis is of no use in solving problems.

5. Language Problems: Another problem the researcher faces is language. Nowadays most of the students at the PG level prefer the vernacular medium to that of English. The verncularisation of the education system under the 10+2+3 scheme made them pay little attention to acquiring sufficient knowledge of the English language. Research studies are to be scaled at international standards and English is the only major language of communication and determination of facts in research studies. But students of history, archaeology, etc., in India are neither cultivating a sophisticated vernacular tongue, may be their mother tongue, nor English.As a result, the brevity, critical and symbolic expression and analytical identity needed for a research study are missing.This is certainly a drawback and explains why there are so many sub standard theses.Also lacking in the Indian context are scientificised standards in the official languages to provide a code of technical terms, etc. There is no unanimity in the standards of linguistic expression, with many problems in selecting adjudicators. If the student opts to write his thesis in Telugu or Kannada or Tamil or Hindi, the university department must choose adjudicators who are proficient in these languages. When such adjudicators are not available, M. Phil and Ph. D. studies sink low in their standards.

When the subject of his thesis concerns the ancient or the medieval period, the student must have knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Arabic and Urdu besides that of regional tongues. The study of sources written in Kannada or Telugu or Tamil or Malayalam or Hindi is a difficult task for a person with knowledge of one of the languages or his mother tongue.For instance, the original volumes of South Indian Inscriptions do not provide either a trans-script or a translation of the records.The student faces the same problem in consulting the originals of histories in Arabic or Persian in the medieval period or the French, Dutch or Portuguese sources in the modern period.

6. Lack of Uptodate Information: Generally, many supervisors of research in university faculties stress that the selected topic should be a new one and the researcher should execute a declaration that his topic has not been dealt with or submitted by others for the award of the Ph. D. degree in any of the Indian universities.Novelty in the selection of research topics requires periodical knowledge about the topics registered for or awarded the M. Phil. / Ph.D degree.The journal University News provides such information to some extent.The ICSSR has brought out a publication which gives information about social sciences.But the Indian Council of Historical Research has yet to bring out a publication whether certain topics have been worked and awarded the Ph. D. degree; if so, when and where. In the absence of such information, repetition becomes inevitable.In the same way, knowledge in inter-disciplinary concepts/Interpretative schools/styles should also be circulated to different university faculties either by the UGC or by the ICHR. But as on date, the lack of such information is a hindrance in the way of framing research modalities. Professional bodies like the Indian History Congress could provide such information as part of their activities.

Moreover, in history the identification of a problem is generally not so microscopic as it is in the case of chemistry, physics, mathematics, etc. That is why the research students have to face many problems in the collection of data, in the first instance for analysis and interpretation and then for drafting the thesis at the end.

CHAPTER-II

THE PROCESS OF INVESTICATION

HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

'History is digging into past in order to re-enact past history'. Historical research is gaining round rapidly among the historians, scholars and archaeologists. They are devoting their time and energy to enrich our knowledge about the past history with the help of their researches.As history is both a science and an art, the method to be used in writing history would be different from those of all other disciplines. As complete objectivity is impossible to achieve, the aim should be to reconstruct the past as nearly as it really happened.

What is Research: Every thing written by a historian or a scholar does not fall in the category of research. Research may be defined as an activity which aims at bringing to light something new. It adds to the existing knowledge through a systematic study or investigation of a particular subject.A prominent scholar B. Sheikh Ali has written, "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 can constitute either all or any of the three important activities given below:

1. Collection of New data
2. Fresh interpretation of the data already known and
3. Subordination of the data to a principle

Normally research in India is undertaken after completion of post graduation but in some Indian Universities the students are given an option of writing a thesis in Master's Degree. It is in form of a long essay duly supported by available sources and interpretation.Usually a student applies critical methods in completion of his work.But serious research work is done by the students after completion of post graduate degree. A research work may be undertaken due to various reasons. Generally students undertake a research work in order to acquire a degree so that after completion of the same he may be able to secure a job. Some times a student wants to do research work in order to enhance his prestige and reputation. In some other cases students tend to do research work because they fail to get a job after completing their post graduation, hence in order get scholarship as a researcher, they undertake a research. It has two purposes, first to get degree and second to get some stipend to fulfill his needs.

Research activities in social science have received great encouragement after the establishment of Indian Council of Social Science Research and Indian Council of Historical Research. Both these councils financially support not only the institution but also the researchers.Hence the researchers are encouraged to undertake the research work in order to procure degree as well as financial help.The following three categories of Research need special attention for better understanding of the historical research.

1. Research Pertaining to Data Collection: Data collection is the simplest type of research in which a student collects data and adds some new facts and figures in his research work.He also endeavours to provide some new ideas or information.He also adds some new ideas or facts to light. Such type of research is very much needed in India in the field of Ancient Indian History, as there are many gaps in its study hence a bridge is to be constructed for the smooth study of Ancient History.Still some dynasties are unknown and people do not know the story of their rise and fall.Their chronology is also not clearly known to the readers. Moreover the exact dates of their battles are also obscure. A prominent historian writes, "A lot of material even though available remains undeciphered which if disciphered by our researchers is bound to add substantially to our existing knowledge.Unless we came to know about the pillars, rocks, cave, rocks of the period of Mauryas and Gupta, we knew very little about Bindusara, Ashoka and Samudra Gupta. Historians and researchers fell themselves thrilled when they make any investigation which adds to the knowledge.Actually a certain mental aptitude and some special qualities are required for a historian or researcher otherwise he would not be able to perform his duties properly well.

2. Research Pertaining to Interpretation of Data: After collection of data a researcher devotes himself to high stage of research. He also utilizes all the known sources in order to draw his conclusion.The researcher explains, interprets and evaluates all the material collected or available in his own way with a critical aptitude so that some definite conclusions could be arrived at. The value and significance of his interpretation lies in the fact how he has used the new view point and new version in a convincing manner.In fact, the interpretation of any collected date or available material can be made in several ways in order to prove his view point; hence the success of the researcher depends on the fact how he had utilized the views of the present and past resources in order to justify his conclusion.In case a researcher produces conflicting ideas and does not give any conclusion, there will be no need of doing research work.Historians have sharp difference of opinion regarding the fact that Gupta period was a golden age. Some of the historians affirm it while the others refute it very firmly. In the same if some historians call a king 'defender of faith' the others describe him as a 'fanatic'. So it remains up to capability of the researcher how he establishes the fact by making balance between the contrasting views. It is the duty of the researcher that he should provide a objective view to his readers.

In Indian history stress has been laid on subjectivity. The foreign authors and historians have subjectively interpreted the data. They have interpreted them according to their view point; hence the picture of Indian history produced by them is quite distorted.They have vehemently neglected the past glory and cultural heritage of India and many wrong notions have been produced by them at national and international level. Therefore it is the pious duty of the researchers of modern times that they should write history in such a convincing manner that all the wrong conceptions, so far written, are removed and the actual bright picture of the Indian history is produced before the world.No doubt, much has already been done in this field but it still needs some thing more to be done in order to draw a actual picture of the Indian History.

3. Research Pertaining to Synthesizing of Knowledge: The two categories of research work discussed above are quite simple but the third one is a bit difficult. Actually this category of research puts a scholar in the category of a historian who it required to develop certain laws and principles with the help of the available data. His approach now must be philosophical and much mental exercise is also needed for it. He analyses all facts and figures in a way that these get subordinated to some general laws. He also makes use of his knowledge and finds out some principles by which he establishes his own view point. Actually it is not an easy task. It requires a lot of power, energy and time in order to produce a theory which may be accepted as substantial and traditional. Besides it, some other scholars, Hegel, Marx, Comte, Spengler and Gandhiji, fall in this category. Because of their theories like idealism, materialism, spiritualism and non-violence they are still remembered by the posterity.No doubt, critics have also spoken and written volumes against their theories and principles but their conclusions are still regarded to be correct and praiseworthy.

To sum up we may say that whatever may be the category of research, its quality and output but it fully depends the labour and working of the researcher who has undertaken this work.A careless researcher will spoil all his work because of the wrong drawn conclusions and observations but a devoted researcher will be able to highlight his work due to his labour and sincerity.

QUALITIES OF A GOOD RESEARCH SCHOLAR IN HISTORY

To be a good scholar or researcher a person must have some qualities which are necessary for good historian.The researcher who possesses the following qualities of head and heart can be named as good researcher.

1. Mental Outlook: A good researchers can undertake the work of research more efficiently than any other person. But every person who is indulged in the work of research can not be said to be a good scholar of researcher without a few qualities of head and heart.It is not proper to think that a person who is academically sound will prove to be a good researcher.Even a

person who has not studied history can be a good researcher due to his power of interpretation and understanding. Actually speaking Hegel was a philosopher, Comte a mathematician and Kosambi and Corse were not historians, yet their works are considered one of the works of great and high quality and the historians paid due regards to their works. Actually mental outlook is more important than academic qualification in order to prove himself to be good researcher.

2. Critical Outlook: The other quality of a true and good researcher is that he must have critical outlook so that he could see and interpret the date collected with a critical point of view.He should not simply follow the things as they are described by other historians or written on the sources available.He must have an ability to examine every issue with critical outlook and endeavour to find out the hidden facts of historical event. He must have a penetrating mind. If he does not possess these qualities, he will not be able to prove himself to be a good scholar.

3. Capability of interpretation: Undoubtedly the data collection is very significant aspect of the research but it does not speak to itself.It depends on the ability and capability of the researcher how he interprets the data collected and available sources. Data can be interpreted in many ways. A good researcher interprets the data in such a convincing manner as his view point may be accepted by the other scholars and readers without any hesitation.Actually a good researcher must have capacity to convince his readers.

4. Capacity for Labour: Research work is not easy task. It requires a lot of labour to be done. It is not a commercial activity, and it should not be undertaken as a source of earning money. A researcher should enjoy hard work and try to collect the data and research material with the feeling of love for labour. He should endeavour to find out his research material in public and private sector in order to complete his thesis.

5. Subject Knowledge: It is necessary that the researcher must have complete knowledge of the subject. He is required to collect the source material which is not an easy task. He must make proper distinction in the data collection and differentiate the matter to be utilized and rejected in his investigation.If he is not efficient to make this distinction, he may leave the important aspect and utilize the secondary sources.Therefore a researcher is required to pay deep attention to the original material instead of the secondary one. So it is very significant for the researcher how he deciphers in collected data.

6.Collection of Material: Collection of material is also a significant quality of a good researcher.Primary and secondary sources can be made available about the past events and private and public sectors should also be searched in our to find out the source material. Though it is very difficult to procure the source material from the person who possesses it but an intelligent and good researcher tackles the situation very well and lays his hand on the

sources. If some source material is available out of the country or it is scattered at different places – the researcher needs a lot of courage, patience and money to get it. A good researcher works hard to procure it.

7. Objective View: Another quality of a good researcher is that he must have an objective outlook. Since subjectivity is in the consciousness of every person, it is very difficult to have an objective outlook in research. Each historian has his personal view about every historical event and it is not easy to get rid of it. Hence in spite of his best efforts his view is reflected in his works here and there.A good researcher must be objective in his views and approach. He should describe each event of history as it had happened and he must not wear coloured glasses at the time of writing.It does not mean that a historian is bound to write the views of others only.He is at liberty to describe his own point of view; it is capable to convince others about his own outlook.

8. Balanced View: A good researcher must possess a balanced outlook of every event.It is closely connected with the objective outlook.A good scholar of history is required to describe things as they actually happened to be.He should neither be optimistic nor pessimistic in his views.At the same time he should also not altogether condemn any established fact nor praise any event too much. He must avoid making under estimation or overestimation of the events. A balanced view would enable a historian to be a successful researcher.The inaccurate presentation of facts would deprive him of the qualities of a good researcher.

9. Tools of Research: Now-a-days some latest tools and technology of research have came to light.It had not only made the work of a god researcher quite easy but also enabled him to analyze the data collected comfortably.Even a heap of data can be analyzed correctly with latest technique.The use of computer in the field of research has proved to be very useful. It can be use for analyzing datas and doing the entire tabulation work.A good researcher must be capable to know these tools and techniques. In case he does not know these techniques, he would not be able to accomplish his work accurately and efficiently. Moreover, he can save a lot of his time by resorting to computer.

10. Qualitative Work: The whole approach of good researcher in history must be new and convincing one as well as rational. He should lay stress on quality instead of quantity. He must remember that time span is not as important as that of the quality of the work. If he had produced only a single volume of work during his life time and impressed the people with his efficiency and skill, it would add to his name and fame. Nobody cares for the time taken by a good historian or researcher provided his work is authentic and events based on established facts. A prominent scholar remarks, “The scholars who have made a mark in history in all parts of the world are those who have produced really important historical works”.

11. Flexibility in Research Plan: A researcher knows it very well that his work is not easy. During the course of his study he has to face various problems.He must not be disheartened by these problems. Sometimes the work of the researcher is interrupted all of a sudden due to some unforeseen reasons and his time schedule is badly affected. Moreover financial problems and access to research material also disturb the researcher from time to time. A good researcher is required to face all these turmoils boldly. Actually e must plan his work in this way that in case of any problem it could be changed.So flexibility in planning is essential.

12. Common Sense and Boldness to Face Criticism: One essential quality of a good researcher is common sense. In the absence of it, he cannot work efficiently.It also includes power of judgement and sharpness of mind.If a researcher possesses extraordinary common sense he will be capable to solve many intricate problems.A good researcher is also required to be bold to face criticism. He must know that people may criticize his work. Even there is no point to be criticizing some good scholar criticizes the work of others for the sake of criticism.A good researchers never stops his work in spite of all criticism.The absence of criticism may lead to errors but excess of criticism some time discourages the researcher very much. A good researcher faces all these onslaughts very boldly and does not pay much attention to this criticism.

13. Knowledge of Research Methodology: There is a great difference between the history of the past and the history of the present time. Research in history has become very sophisticated.Now the scholar of today need not collect only facts and figures, nor is his work confined to chronological description of events.Moreover his study is not only confined with kings and other elites of the society but also his scope of study has enhanced a lot. He had to observe, analyze and critically evaluate the events and happening in order to find an exact conclusion. Hence good knowledge of research methodology is very essential for successful researcher.The knowledge of making notes and synopsis as well as bibliography is also essential for a good researcher. For this he will have to resort to various methods such as data collection, use of library, questionnaire method, interview method, survey method etc.It will add to the quality of his research work. Methodology saves time and energy and ensures quality. A researcher is likely to waste his time and energy without knowing research methodology. B. Sheikh Ali also writes to this effect. “As historical methodology is also scientific, it has acquired a system, a plan and a procedure, the neglect of which would lead to numerous errors. History is no longer a record of mere political events of some kings and queens and courts and war, but the growth of man’s mind almost in every sector of life.The sheer enormity of the problems requires intelligent sifting of the data through a fool proof method, and hence greater sophistication is introduced even in the art and science of writing history”.

If we say that in olden days scholars in history had produced monumental works. During this period they did not have any knowledge of research methodology and if they were capable to do so why the scholar of modern time would not be able to follow in their footsteps. Actually there are a lot of differences between the history of the past and the history of the present. Moreover the number of such scholars was very few. They can be counted on finger tips and such scholars are born after centuries. But in modern times if any facility is provided to a researcher, he must utilize it. It will not only save his time and energy but also add to the quality of his work.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.

HISTORICAL SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION

Collection of historical data is not an easy work. The researcher had to face many difficulties while collecting authentic data. Both the primary and secondary sources are used for it. In fact, source means numerous fragmentary evidences, scattered here and there. They are not available in one single book, so a researcher will have to work hard and tackle archaeological, epigraphical and numismatical materials for collecting data in order to complete his research work.A good and intelligent scholar also faces the following difficulties during the course of data collection. In spite of his best efforts and wisdom he cannot get rid of them.

Difficulty of Identification of Names: A scholar or historian who has devoted himself to the task of data collection is required to work hard. He must go through the entire available material. No doubt, there are many names of the places in the data, where many important events of history have taken place but now it is very difficult to identify them in the present context.The name of the place went on changing with the passing of time. Sometimes the name of the person and place are identical but at other place they are contrasting. Moreover, the names of the significant rulers and authors also differ in description of different scholar; hence it becomes very difficult for the persons involved in the work of data collection, to trace the exactness of the material collected.

Non- Availability of the Research Material: All the historical research material is not available at one place and some of it has been lost in the course of time. A part of the material is eaten up by the moths, and some of it is buried beneath the earth. The cyclic change of weather has almost destroyed all such material, hence it is very difficult for the researcher to establish link between the gaps which are created due to destruction of past records.Besides this during Middle Ages a large number of materials was either burnt or destroyed by the foreign invaders who made invasion over India from time to time. Many historical buildings were also razed to the ground by these invader which if remained could have supplied much information regarding the art and culture of the contemporary period.

Besides this the foreign invaders carried some fine specimen of art and literature to their own countries and thus they deprived us of some very significant source material.

Difficulties of Deciphering: In ancient times it was very difficult to record the historical event for want of printing press. Moreover engraving on stone and copper plate was not easy. Hence all the data could not be recorded and made available to the posterity.Sometimes the data available is recorded in a language which has still not be deciphered, hence it did not prove to be of any advantage to the scholars.

Subjective Writings: One more difficulty which a research has to face is that the recorded and available source material is written subjectively. During Ancient and Medieval period the historian and scholars were closely connected with the royal court and whatever was written or composed was nothing more than the praise of their patron.Their description is chiefly without objectivity.The patronized scholars have mixed the facts with fiction in such a way as it had become very difficult for the scholars to read between the lines and draw out the real conclusion.The same problem is still harassing the modern scholars. The historians of advanced and well to do countries have drawn a very miserable condition of the poor nations and the colonies.Thus their cultural contribution and heritage have been ignored altogether. Therefore the data collectors are in a state of confusion how to find out the exact objective data in order to establish the facts.

Difficult of Scatter Data: All historical data is not available at one place. Therefore a researcher has to feel much difficulty in collecting the scattered data. Most of data pertaining to wars, kings, dynasties etc. is scattered in different states and a researcher is required to make extensive tours in order to collect the data. Some of data is scattered here and there however remains inaccessible, hence the researcher feels a lot of trouble. A lot of material was taken away by the invaders and they had put in there libraries and archives, so it is all the more difficult for the researcher to travel abroad and collect the required data which needed a large amount of money and time. So the scattered data is an intricate problem for the researcher.

Difficulty in Procuring the Confidential Materials: The other problem is that of the confidentiality of the record. Some of the data which is kept in the national archives or with some government agency, it is also not made available to the research scholar on the plea that it was confidential and it could not be shown to the researchers. In case the confidential papers are shown to the scholar, the relations between the two countries will become uncordial or it may create some tension among the people of different religions or communities. Thus the problem of confidentiality is also a great hindrance in the way of data collector.

Problem of Expenditure: Nothing can be done in this world without money. Data collection also requires a lot of money. The researcher has to loiter here and there in search of data and some times he has to stay at place for many

days. It also requires money. In case, the data is scatter at different places in the country as well as out of the country, it becomes very difficult for the data collector to do his work without a huge amount of money.Generally researcher who has not source of income feels a lot of problems during the course of his travel, maintenance, stay and typing. Actually he does not feel himself comfortable while collecting data without the help or support of some institution of organization.

The last but not the least problem is of establishing relations with the persons or institutions who possess the required data. It is completely based on the ability and efficiency of the scholars how he deals with them and how he extracts the data which is lying with them. Generally people are disinterest to part from the records, letters, manuscripts etc. which theory link to be their personal property.If the researcher is successful in establishing his rapport with them only then he can achieve his mission.

CHIEF SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION FOR HISTORICAL WRITINGS

To produce a standard research work which may be called a scholarly writing is not very easy.It not only requires the intelligence of the researcher but also the authenticity of the data collected by him. Different sources need to be tackled by the research in order to create a fine piece of research work. Sometimes a large number of fragmentary evidences are to be used and they are not available in one single book only. All the material which helps in constructing the history of a particular period is termed as source. G.R. Elton aptly remarks, “Historical research does not consist as beginners in particular often suppose, in the pursuit of some particular evidence which will answer a particular question; it consists of an exhaustive, and exhausting review of every thing that may conceivable be germane to a given investigation. Properly observed, this principle provides a manifest and efficient safeguard against the dangers of personal selection of evidence”.

Primary and Secondary Sources of Data Collection.

The historical sources of data collection can be divided in two categories (i) Primary and (ii) secondary. A primary source of data is one that the researcher or scholar has created himself by his own effort. We can also say that primary sources are original. No researcher can be called a competent and authentic historian unless he has worked in primary source materials.As regards the secondary sources, we can say that it is the testimony of someone who was not present at the time of happening of the event.The books written by different historians are put in the category of secondary sources. In fact, the significance of the secondary sources is not, less important than the primary ones. In fact it is necessary for a researcher

that he must go through all the secondary sources before the collection of the primary data. It will save duplicacy of work. Making a difference between the primary and secondary sources a well known scholar A. Marwick writes, "The primary source is the raw material, more meaningful to the expert historian than to the laymen; the secondary source is the coherence work of history, article, dissertation or book, in which both the intelligent layman and the historian who is venturing upon a new research topic, or keeping in touch with new discoveries in his chosen field or seeking to widen his general historical knowledge, will look for what they want".

It depends on the purpose of the research whether a data collected is primary or secondary. Sometimes a data collected can also be regarded as the primary and secondary source. A primary source can also be used as a secondary source. The news papers are usually considered to be a primary source but the information given in the paper are not completely based on primary sources, therefore they belong to secondary source.

Primary Sources of Data Collection: From the point of view of research or the establishment of a new theory, the primary source is more important than the secondary source because it contained original ideas or facts in it. Generally a hand written document is supposed to be more authentic than a typed one as it relates and indicates close relationship between the researcher and event. But Prof. A. Marwick does not agree to it, he writes that some times a printed document is of great value. A document written in one man's handwriting may be a genuine record of transactions which actually took place, or a record in good faith of a statement dictated by one man to another, or the record of a collective decision, or it may be a complete invention on the part of the writer. It will in any case yield answers to only certain questions; if what one requires is final statement of government policy or particular issue, the printed documents may well prove a much more valuable primary source.

Actually it is very difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the primary and the secondary source material. Some time it seems to be so faint that it becomes difficult for a researcher to declare it primary or secondary. But it is sure that both of them help a scholar in establishing the history of the particular period. An autobiography can be both a primary and secondary source when viewed from the point of view of the philosophy of the writer and important event of the period respectively.

1. Contemporary Records: Prof. Gottschalk writes, "A contemporary record is a document intended to convey instructions regarding a transaction or to aid the memory of the persons immediately involved in the transaction".An appointment letter, an order on the battle field, a direction from foreign office to the ambassador etc., are some significant documents for a researcher.These papers have no doubt about their authenticity and there is no chance of error.However a researcher should satisfy himself before making its use.The stenographic and phonographic records are also significant source material for a researcher. These records are important and valuable as they give us an insight into emotional stresses.

The legal and business papers such as journals, bills, orders, tax records etc. not only provide an insight into the working of the firm but also acquaint us with the persons who are engaged in this work. These papers are general prepared by some experts hence they are greatly reliable and there is very less fear of deceitment in them.Some of the famous persons are in the habit of maintaining a private diary or note book and they keep in them the record of his day to day activities. These note books are also trustworthy record from the historical point of view. There is no chance of being prejudice in these private memoranda, hence they are considered very significant from the historical point of view.

2. Confidential Reports: The confidential reports are not meant for general masses.They are not as reliable as the contemporary records because they are written after the event had taken place. The personal letters are also a credible source of history. Such letters are written in a very polite way and they are full of esteem. They may mislead a fresher who is not fully aware with the art of letter writing. Sometimes these letters do not provide correct information; hence a researcher has to read between the lines in order to find out the hidden meaning of the writer on the letter.

3. Public Reports: The public reports are not as important and reliable as the confidential reports. The Public Reports are usually divided into three parts and each of them has a different degree of reliability.

a). The reliability of a news paper or dispatch depends on the source from which it has been originated. If the newspaper or the journal in which the particular information is published is not reliable, it is of no importance. But now-a-days the newspapers not only on their correspondents but they also have agencies and syndicates for reports. Thus at present the newspaper reports and dispatches play a significant role in the field of research.

b). Memoirs and autobiographies are also one the source material for a researcher.Though they are read and praised by many people however they can not be said to be a very reliable source. Usually the memories and autobiographies are writer by some eminent persons towards the close of their life. At this stage the memory of author cannot be as sharp as it was in the earlier days, hence he writes all these events of his life on the basis of diminishing memory so they cannot be trusted completely. Some of the autobiographies and memories are condemned and criticized by the other scholar on the basis of their shortcomings.

c). One another kind of public report and source material is the official or authorized histories which are written on the basis of official records but they too should not be taken to be completely trustworthy as they are written by the scholars and historians who are employed by the government, hence their writings are to be read with due care. Whatever was written about the Second World War or the National Struggle of India by these hired scholars, it needs to be read between the lines before drawing any conclusion.

4. The Questionnaire Method: It is the most significant method of data collection. In this method the researcher prepare certain question pertaining to the subject of the project or thesis in order to get information and opinion on particular subject.The questionnaires provide the researcher a fund of information. He analyses and puts forth the final version to the readers. No doubt, this method of data collection is very significant but it is useful only for that scholar whose approach is critical otherwise all the labour of the researcher would go in vain.

5. Interview System: Besides the questionnaire method, the researchers also resorts to the interview system in order to draw some definite conclusions by taking interview of the contemporary or eyewitness persons.Through this system he has a desire to add something new to the existing knowledge of the subject.No doubt, meeting with such personalities is very tedious job and it requires a lot time and money to approach them but a sincere scholar tries to leave no stone unturned in order to find out some thing new.

6. Government Documents: The Government Documents also help a data collector to get some vital information for his project.They are usually compiled by the scholars and historians of great repute. The department of statistics prepares some very useful information about census, and fiscal policy of the country.This present information collected today becomes a useful source material for the historians of the tomorrow.In fact, government does not want to defame herself and provides only that information which highlights their policies and ignores all the information which indicates the failures and lapses of the government.So there is every possibility of hiding the facts and figures from the researcher. Therefore a researcher should be very alert at the time of collection of data but look into the ins and outs before reaching the final conclusion.

7. Public Opinions: Newspapers are also one of the significant sources of data collection. Historians and scholars of different parts of the world write their opinion in the editorials, speeches, and letters to the editor and pamphlets which are read and understood by the scholars. Besides them the public opinion polls are also an important source for collected data.But a historian must be very careful about the authenticity of the information because they are often deceptive. He should also consult some other evidence before making use of these sources.

Besides the above mentioned sources, **the literature of the contemporary period** is also an important source material for the researcher. It is rightly said that the literature holds a mirror to the society.Therefore historians are capable to know about the social conditions,

customs and tradition of the contemporary society through the literature, but some of the historians do not agree to this fact and they believe that history and literature both the polls apart. History is based on facts while literature is full of fiction and imagination, hence a researcher if he is making use of some literary work he must be very careful.

Folklores and provers sometimes also prove to be a significant source material because they give a clear picture of the legendary heroes. They should also be studied very seriously and the facts and fictions amalgamated with one another must be removed so that a clear picture may be presented before the readers.

The researcher is required to use every available source and he must not give up any of them considering it to be insignificant. In fact research work requires exhaustive review of the events, hence every source should be taped and analyzed properly in order to draw final conclusion.

THE USES OR ADVANTAGES OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research is a very difficult work. It is not only time consuming but also needs patience and hard work. It also requires a lot of money and there are chances that the labour of the research is wasted away in spite of his best efforts. It is also not sure that the researcher may be successful in bringing about a new result or new ideas or knowledge is added. All these problems often check the scholars to give up their idea of making research work in the middle. However there are many enthusiastic research scholars, organizations and institution which are laying stress on the research in history. In fact neither the research work in history has ever been discouraged nor has its speed been slowed down. Instead of this the number of the research scholars in history is increasing very rapidly and scholars are devoting themselves day in and day out to the historical research work. They are making use of new technique in the field of research and their attitude is becoming analytical and critical day by day. Considering the significance and utility of the historical research work, scholars are taking interest in it.The following are some important advantages of historical research work:

1. Useful for Individuals: Historical research is of great advantage for those who have not started their career as yet. After the completion of their research work and having some experience of historical research, they can easily get a job in some college or university. They can also get appointment in archives or archaeological department etc. A research degree also adds to the prestige of individual in the society. A good research work also gives mental and psychological satisfaction to a good researcher.Usually there are three categories of the individuals who are devoted to the historical research work. The beginner forms the first category.No doubt they do not make a positive contribution to the writing of history.Their chief mission is to obtain degree and get job somewhere. The second category of scholars is of those who have sufficient knowledge of historical research and happenings. They have also written some good books of history and the research articles but they still require making further development in their thinking level so that they may contribute something, higher.The third category consists of scholars who are well established and renowned. Their contribution is will known at the national and international level. Their view point is quite clear

and their approach is analytical and critical.They went on writing fresh books in order to add something new to the existing knowledge and spread their name and fame.

2. Usefulness for the Nation: Actually society is benefited more than in the individual by the historical research in different ways.There are number of missing link in the history of old nations. These gaps can only be filled by the historical researches.Nations are benefited by the historical researches because it removes confusions regarding chronology of events, rise and fall of dynasties and civilizations. Thus a nation has clear picture of her rise and fall.Some new discoveries are also made through historical research.Some of these discoveries are not only important for the people but for the entire world. The search of Indus Valley Civilization has changed the old thinking of the people. Now they have begun to think that the Indian civilization is quite old so far people regarded that the Vedic Age was the oldest period of the Indian history.

The historical researches also remove the misconceptions already prevalent among the people.The imperialist nations who have established colonies at several places did not describe the history of that particular nation correctly.They have established that the slave nations do not have their own culture or civilization and their cultural heritage is of no value. Hence it is the burden of the white men to make them educated and civilized. It is the duty of the researcher to put aside all these old nations and present a clear picture of what had really happened.

3. Utility for the Entire World: Historical researches are also useful for the world.These researches make us acquitted with the culture and civilization of the past. They also throw light on the common features of their culture. Historical researches also help in developing understanding among the nations.There many causes of struggle which divide the nations on different points; they can also be removed through research.

Thus not only the individual or nations but also the world is benefited by the historical researches.The historical researches also provide us opportunity to know our relations with other countries and thus the tie of national and international relation is strengthened by way of historical researches.

CHAPTER-III

FORMS OF SOURCE CRITICISM

After ascertaining the availability of the source materials, logically the next thing to do for the researcher is to find out the reliability of each source before he uses it for writing the historical work. This he can do before taking down notes, which is not always possible or after making notes. But it is preferable to do this in the beginning itself. The critical of a source, whose object is to establish its credibility, is divided into two parts, namely, **Internal Criticism and External Criticism.** The specific object of Internal Criticism is to determine its acceptability for historical writing; while the specific object of External Criticism is to restore a document to its arch type.

INTERNAL CRITICISM OR PROBLEM OF CREDIBILITY.

If the object of external criticism is to trace the original text with its essential requisites such as the date and place of its composition, to know, in other words, the external things about the text, and not its contents, the object of internal criticism is to penetrate into the contents, to analyze the text internally, and finally find out the historical facts contained in the text, facts that are acceptable as true. Briefly the object of external criticism is the establishment of the authenticity of the text, while that of internal criticism is the establishment of its credibility.

Internal criticism can be divided into two processes, **positive analysis and negative analysis.** The positive analysis is concerned with the ascertainment of what the author meant when he made various statements in his document. Here the researcher is concerned, not with what the author meant is correct and so acceptable, but merely what the author just meant when he made the statements. This naturally involves the isolation of different ideas or points for investigation.In every document some words' which are not in use today or whose meaning is quite different in modern times, are bound to be used. Again such words might be used in different contexts. It is necessary to ascertain the exact meaning in which the words are used in the document. For example, the word diwan changes its meaning from time to time. Sometimes it meant a minister, sometimes a department. Today in connection with furniture its meaning is totally different. Similarly the word Mantri or Sibandi or Jagirdar may be used in different meanings in different contexts. For finding the correct meaning of such words, one should be equipped with knowledge of the language of the time when the word was written, of the country where the word was written, of the author, and of the rule of the context in those days. Sometimes statements are made allegorically or symbolically or metaphorically or jocularly when it becomes necessary to penetrate through the symbolism, etc. in order to ascertain the real meaning of the statements made.Thus by positive criticism we are enabled to know just what the author meant.

Now negative criticism which is very important in the whole series of analytical operations. In negative criticism there are again two processes, the first aimed at the ascertainment of the "good faith" of the author and the

second directed towards the examination of the 'accuracy' of the author's observations.Both the processes act on one important principle, viz., the principle of "methodical distrust". In positive criticism, all that we know is the ideas or thinking of the mind of the author.We do not directly know the external facts about which the statements are made, but what those statements mean, without questioning their veracity.But here from his ideas, from his statements we go to the external facts.We want to know the external facts as they really happened, and not as the author believed they happened.We use the author's statement as a means to know the facts. But unless we make a skilful use of the means, we cannot hope to reach the end.In the first process of negative criticism, we doubt – of course this must be done methodically – the good faith of the author himself. We want to test his sincerity. Often the author of a document is placed in a situation where he is likely to make biased statements, unless, of course, he is extraordinarily courageous and honest in recording what exactly he observes and thinks proper to record.The following are some such situations:-

1. If the author is an official historian like Abual Fazl, he cannot write anything against the king or the government, for that would deprive him of some practical gain such as promotion or endowment, or that would positively harm his interests.Therefore all his statements are generally coloured by this attitude.

2. If the author is a government official and is asked by the government to report about the grants or lands made to various Watandars in his area, he is likely to give exaggerated figures about the parties or families in which he is interested. This is generally the case with the Kaifiyats.

3. If the author is the member of a political party, his statements regarding his party are generally favourable to his party and the political views of his party, but the statements against other parties or political philosophies are generally prejudiced. His very position makes him unfit to be a sober recorder of facts.

4. If the author belongs to a religion and writes about another religion whose followers are against his religion, his statements about them are mostly prejudiced, unless he is a very honest and bold recorder of truth.

5. If the author belongs to a nation and writes something against another nation which is hostile to his naturally his statements would be prejudiced or biased.

6. If the author is the member of a privileged group or family, his statements are likely to glorify his family or clan, and to belittle or ignore other families or groups. The author may not hesitate to sacrifice truth for satisfying his vanity.

7. While writing about a ruler liked by many, the author may not, and will not, unnecessarily take the risk of displeasing the public by writing anything, even if it is a truth, against this hero. This often happens in the case of the so-called national heroes. On the other hand he would satisfy the vanity of the public, as well as of the ruler, by fulsome adulation of the hero.The unpalatable truths are thrown to the winds.

8. If the writer of a document is a poet, the chances are that the facts are used, often modified suitably, for developing a literary theme. The importance is given to the effect of the language rather than to the facts stated in that language.

In all such situations the facts are generally distorted or ignored, or modified suitably or exaggerated. It therefore becomes quite essential to make a searching analysis of these documents applying each one of such tests and then ascertain the truth or acceptability or credibility of the facts. The process is very laborious, but the demands of real research are indeed exacting.After considering the possibility of the distortion of facts owing to the insincerity of the author, it now remains to discuss the possibility of errors caused by the inaccurate observations by the author. The author in all these situations is sincere, but his observation of the facts becomes inaccurate owing to various reasons.The occasions of inaccuracies include the following situations:-

1. The author can be in a situation of hallucination or illusion. In such cases he cannot observe the things as they are. They appear to be what they are not. In a desert one is easily illusioned by the presence of water. Sometimes one may be deluded into seeing things wrongly because of mental weakness. Even if the author is in a position to observe the facts correctly, he would be mentally incapable to do so. And if such a man records his observations, they cannot be true to facts. But this is such a delicate case, especially in India where men of extraordinary or supernatural powers can have spiritual visions which are as real as, or even more real, real in a tremendously more intensive sense than, ordinary happenings that the intellect of an ordinary mortal like a historian is hopelessly powerless to comprehend the truth. The fact that they are not verifiable in the ordinary way cannot falsify their reality. But as the ordinary people have no means to verify such experiences, as they are utterly unable to distinguish between real spiritual experiences or visions and mere hallucinations or illusions, no test of credibility could be applied to such super-normal or supra-mental experiences. Hence they are automatically excluded from the so-called facts of history.

2. The author may not be in a position to know the facts accurately. If the author is writing about some secret events known fully only to a few, then his observation of those events is likely to be inaccurate in most cases. Again if he has no access even to the public records, and if he writes anything about those public records, his statements are generally inaccurate. When one is too much preoccupied with certain events, one cannot observe properly other events, although one has interest in them. If a peace treaty is being negotiated, and if the author is given some specific work to attend to, he cannot watch the negotiations fully because of his pre-occupation with his work. Whatever he overhears and records may not be accurate. The accounts of the battles recorded by the author are not all accurate, especially when the author himself occupies a position of responsibility claiming his full attention to the work. If the mind of the author is distracted by such claims, he cannot with such a distracted mind observe the events accurately. If the author's life on the battle-field is not safe, then too his observations cannot be full and accurate. Such would be the case, for example, with the account of the battle of Bilgram given in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Haidar.

3. The author of a document will record only those events in which he is interested.He will therefore be mostly inattentive to other events, although they are important from some other point of view. If he records his observations of such events, they tend to be inaccurate. A poet, like Paramanand, may not be interested in battles. A man of letters like Amir Khusrau may not be interested in administrative matters.The author may not be equipped with the necessary knowledge, skill and experience for observing different kinds of facts, especially facts of a technical nature. In the case of battles, he may not be able to understand the various battle arrays, the deployment of forces and the operations of war. He may not even distinguish between different kinds of weapons. Authors having no administrative experience like Abbas Sarwani cannot record accurately technical things connected with administration. Only men like Barni, Abul Fazl and Sabhasad can observe such things properly, but here again the accurate recording of what has been observed depends, as we have already seen, on other facts, such as the absence of prejudice in the author, the accessibility of the material to the author, and the like.

4. One of the most important conditions to be fulfilled for the accurate recording of facts is that the facts must be recorded immediately after they are observed. Only then the documents could be called contemporary. Not recording the facts immediately is a prolific source of inaccuracies of statements. If the observation of an event of what has been seen or heard about is not recorded immediately, it becomes an impression, a recollection of the mind of the author. The more the recording of such observations is postponed, the more they get mixed up with other impressions, and when they are finally recorded after a lapse of time, they become a mass of jumble of confused recollections. Then it becomes a stupendous task to sift the

accuracies from inaccuracies of statements. Thus all such works would be just records of memories, not of facts. So the works of this nature would lose the privilege of being called contemporary documents. If they are not contemporary much of their importance as historical documents is automatically lessened. All the chronicles, all the bakhars, all the memoirs or autobiographies belong to this class. The Sabhasad bakhar, for example, is only a record of collections of Sabhasad. So also is the Tuzuk-i-Baburi a record of the impressions of Babur.Langlois and Seignobos emphatically remark that memoirs, written several years after the happenings, must be treated with special distrust, as secondhand documents.The above are the general remarks applicable this class of literature.Nevertheless the importance of such works could increase in proportion to the degree of the contemporaneity of records, such as state papers or news letters, on which they are based or to which they elude.

5. Many times the authors do not bother to observe things or events, but they record them as if they had watched them closely. This usually happens in the case of events which are common to a community or to a country, and which form a collective whole whose details do not change fast. Such events are generally stereotyped. Marriage ceremonies, thread ceremonies, felicitation ceremonies, funeral, rites, public functions, birth day celebrations and the like more or less follow the same pattern with minor variations in details, and hence they are often described with all the wealth of details without actually observing them. So the facts relating to such events must be accepted with reservations.The descriptions of marriage ceremonies occurring in some of the bakhars are of this nature. Therefore great care has to be taken in such cases for sifting the truth from padding.

Finally, facts covering a wide area or a wide period or an assemblage of people, if recorded collectively, are likely to be inaccurate.General observations about the strength of an army, about its discipline, about a battle between two armies, about the combatants and non-combatants, about the casualties in the battle, about tribes inhabiting a wide area or about the customs and manners of the people in a period – records of such observations are generally not exact. Such is the case with the number of combatants, on-combatants, and casualties of both the Marathas and their enemies in the third battle of Panipat, recorded in chronicles and bakhars, with the number of combatants and casualties in the Kharda battle or in the Rakshasa – Tangdi battle. Hence with great distrust we must examine the figures of combatants given, say, in the Shiva-bharat of Paramananda, in the Bhau-Sahebanchi Bakhar, in the Parnala – Parvata-Grahanakhyanam, and in the innumerable newsletters found in the Pune Archives. The same can be said about the religious customs of a people.

EXTERNAL CRITICISM OR PROBLEM OF AUTHENTICITY.

If, for example, a bakhar is examined by subjecting it to external criticism, ideally one should be in a position to know the original manuscript, its

author, the place or area where it was written, the date when it was written, and the sources on which it is based.Only this much is the precise object of external criticism.When a manuscript is taken for examination, the first enquiry to be made is whether it is the original copy, or a later copy of the original.If it is a later copy of the original, the next question is whether it is the only copy extant or there are many other copies besides this. Thus at the very commencement of our enquiry about temple manuscript there could be three alternatives: (i) The manuscript in question is the original one; (ii) it is the only available copy of the original one; (iii) it is one of the many copies available.When the extant text is the original one, the critical examination in this respect is obviously needless. The labour and time involved in such an examination are automatically saved. When there is one copy only, whose original is lost, the examination of this copy has to be undertaken with a view to tracing it back to its arch type. Here one has to face many problems.The researcher should not accept any statement in such a copy as reliable without testing it properly. In this case the whole copy might be a fabrication or portions of the copy might have been fabricated. So the alterations here are deliberately made. There is a second possibility of interfering with the original text and when this happens the alterations are made owing to error. So either fraud or error will be responsible for the distortion of the text. For exposing the fabrication of the text, the research must be well equipped with a knowledge of the language and the script of the times to which the copy or the text is supposed to belong, of the history of the events dealt with in the text, of the special handwriting found in the documents, of the special style used in these documents, and of the special sense in which the technical words were used in those days. For example, while examining a Marathi document dated 1763, relating to Peshwa Madhavrao I, it is first of all necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the Marathi language of those times. It is different from the modern Marathi on the one hand, and from the Marathi of Shivaji's times on the other.The historical letters had their own vocabulary. The language again differs from territory to territory.The Marathi language used in Konkan was in some respects different from that used in North Karnatak or Nagpur. Knowledge of the Modi script is most essential.The way in which some such letters as va, ba, gu, pa are written in Modi can easily enable us to find out whether the document is genuine or fabricated.The handwriting and the paper used can at once show whether the document is of recent origin or of the times of Madhavrao I.The style of the document is equally important. The ways in which the dates are given the way the words such as Suhur and Majakur are written also provide us with a key to its genuineness or otherwise. Finally the technical sense in which some of the words are used also can give us a clue to its genuineness.In the case of inscriptions also these observations hold good, the way how the inscriptions are written, how they begin and how they end, what types of inscriptions there are, a knowledge of the changes occurring in the test words, a thorough knowledge of palaeography – all

these provide the necessary equipment for testing the genuineness of the inscriptions.

The second possibility of alterations in the original text may be due to errors.Errors could be caused either by wrong judgments or by accidental slips.The transcribers, while copying the text, may try to correct the language of the text. Errors of slips include dittography, haplography, misreading, and punctuation, transposition of words, and confusions of sense. Dittography means the repetition of the same letters or syllables or words unnecessarily. In haplography it is the other way round. Words or letters which should be written twice are written only once while copying.The other mistakes such as misreading and bad punctuation are self-explanatory.When a number of copies of the same text, differing from one another, whose original is lost, are subjected to critical examination, we begin with a process of elimination.All those copies having the same mistakes in them are obviously copied from one common manuscript. So these could be grouped together as one class. Thus all the copies of a lost text could be reduced to a very few groups or classes.By applying other tests such as palaeography, the style of writing, the paper used, the abbreviations used, the available historical antecedents, and the like, we could find out the text which is more reliable and so nearer to the arch type, or we could reconstruct the best possible text out of the few copies representing types, after the process of elimination.Some examples of the reconstruction of the best possible text or the discovery of the arch type may be noted. The 91 Qalmi Bakhar is the earliest chronicle written about Shivaji. Though its title is the 91 Qalmi Bakhar, some of its copies contain 96 qalams.Mainly six important copies of this text are now available.On an examination of these copies, one can say that the original text was written not later than 1685.The original, which was written by Dattaji Waqnis, the chronicler of Shivaji, is lost.If it had been available, it would have been the earliest authentic Marathi bakhar about Shivaji. As the original is lost all that we can do now is to struggle with the existing copies of this lost text. The copies that are now available contain only some extracts from the original text. The various recessions of the text were published by Rajawade in the Prabhat, by Sane in the Kavyetihasa – Sangraha and by D.B. Parasnis in the Bharatavarsha Lt. Frissell translated into English in 1806 the Raigad manuscript of this bakhar, and this was published by Forrest in the first volume of his Selections series.A Persian translation of this bakhar under the title Tarikh-i-Shivaji is also available in the India Office Library. Its English translation by J.N. Sarkar was published in the Modern Review in 1907. All these have been republished in one place by V.S. Wakaskar in 1930.On a closer examination of the available copies of this bakhar we find that although it was originally composed by Dattaji Waqnis it was later on transcribed, only in parts, by Khando Anaji Malkare, and that therefore it contains much portion relating to the life of Khando's father Anaji Malkare.Thus, as it was copied later on by Malkare, and as he included in it a number of

interpolations, it has lost much of its authenticity, although it is the earliest bakhar written about Shivaji. The Tuzuk-i-Baburi was originally written in Turki, the mother-tongue of Babar. It was later translated into Persian, French and English. Three Persian translations were made by three different authors. Courteille produced the French translation and Ilminski rendered it into English. Later Erskine also made an English translation of the Tuzuk.Of all these, the Hyderabad Codex is the best and most important, not because it is the earliest copy of the Tuzuk but because it has survived almost without any interpolations, and therefore the original is supposed to have been preserved in this copy. Therefore this seems to be nearer to the arch type than the other copies.

After restoring the original or the near-original text the next thing to do in external criticism is to critically investigate the authorship of the work. By examining the style of the language, the continuity or otherwise of the narration, by comparison with similar styles in other works, the authorship can be ascertained. Further the document has to be localized in time and space. Again by nothing the earliest date and the latest date alluded to in the text, or, if the dates are not mentioned, then the events to which a reference is made in the manuscript, events whose approximate dates could be ascertained with the help of other sources the authenticity of which has already been established, the period during which the text under consideration was composed can be fixed. For localizing the document in space, the landmarks of the topography and other geographical details, the villages and towns, the highways Advaitha pathways, and the peculiar industries of the area mentioned in the text will have to be considered. For example, the references to the production of opium, diamonds, or pepper, or the allusions to the towns and cities like Khujaste Buniyad (Aurangabad) or Surat will easily enable us to localise the text in space. Finally it is possible, with a little study, to know the sources on which the text in question is based. The author himself might acknowledge his indebtedness to the earlier authorities in his work, or the material that he produces in his work would betray their original sources. For example, the earlier portions of the Akbarnama are based on the works written by others such as Gulbadan Begum, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Abbas Sarwani, etc.The author of the Sivatattvarutnakara gives in the colophon of every chapter a list of his authorities. With the ascertainment of the sources or the possible sources used by the text, the first part of the external criticism ends.There are two types of processes in external criticism.The processes employed for the restoration of the original text or the reconstruction of the best possible text, are also called the “textual criticism” by some. The processes employed for ascertaining the authorship, time and place of the work, and the sources on which the text is based, are collectively known as the “Critical Investigation of Authorship”. Thus the External Criticism consists of two methods, namely, textual criticism and critical investigation of authorship.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Textual criticism or lower criticism is a branch of literary criticism that is concerned with the identification and removal of transcription errors in the texts of manuscripts.Ancient scribes made errors or alterations when copying manuscripts by hand.Given a manuscript copy, several or many copies, but not the original document, the textual critic seeks to reconstruct the original text (the archetype or autograph) as closely as possible.The same process can be used to attempt to reconstruct intermediate editions, or recensions, of a document's transcription history.The ultimate objective of the textual critic's work is the production of a "critical edition" containing a text most closely approximating the original.

There are three fundamental approaches to textual criticism: eclecticism, stemmatics, and copy-text editing. Techniques from the biological discipline of cladistics are currently also being used to determine the relationships between manuscripts.The phrase lower criticism is used to describe the contrast between textual criticism and "higher" criticism, which is the endeavor to establish the authorship, date and place of composition of the original text.

History.

Textual criticism has been practiced for over 2000 years. Early textual critics were concerned with preserving the works of antiquity, and this continued through the medieval period into early modern times until the invention of the printing press.Many ancient works, such as the Bible and the Greek tragedies, survive in hundreds of copies, and the relationship of each copy to the original may be unclear. Textual scholars have debated for centuries which sources are most closely derived from the original; hence which readings in those sources are correct. Although biblical books that are letters, like Greek plays, presumably had one original, the question of whether some biblical books, like the gospels, ever had just one original has been discussed.Interest in applying textual criticism to the Qur'an has also developed after the discovery of the Sana'a manuscripts in 1972, which possibly date back to the 7-8th century.

In the English language, the works of Shakespeare have been a particularly fertile ground for textual criticism – both because the texts, as transmitted, contain a considerable amount of variation, and because the effort and expense of producing superior editions of his works have always been widely viewed as worthwhile.The principles of textual criticism, although originally developed and refined for works of antiquity, the Bible, and Shakespeare, have been applied to many works, extending backwards from the present to the earliest known written documents, in Mesopotamia and Egypt – a period of about five millennia.

Basic notions and objectives.

The basic problem, as described by Paul Maas, is as follows:

> "We have no autograph manuscripts of the Greek and Roman classical writers and no copies which have been collated with the originals; the manuscripts we possess derive from the originals through an unknown number of intermediate copies, and are consequentially of questionable trustworthiness.The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (constitutio textus)."

Maas comments further that "A dictation revised by the author must be regarded as equivalent to an autograph manuscript".The lack of autograph manuscripts applies to many cultures other than Greek and Roman.In such a situation, a key objective becomes the identification of the first exemplar before any split in the tradition.That exemplar is known as the archetype."If we succeed in establishing the text of [the archetype], the contitutio (re-construction of the original) is considerably advanced.The textual critic's ultimate objective is the production of a "critical edition".This contains a text most closely approximating the original, which is accompanied by an apparatus criticus (or critical apparatus) that presents:

- the evidence that the editor considered (names of manuscripts or abbreviations called sigla).
- the editor's analysis of that evidence (sometimes a simple likelihood rating), and
- a record of rejected variants (often in order of preference).

Process.

Before mechanical printing, literature was copied by hand, and many variations were introduced by copyists.The age of printing made the scribal profession effectively redundant.Printed editions, while less susceptible to the proliferation of variations likely to arise during manual transmission, are nonetheless not immune to introducing variations from an author's autograph.Instead of a scribe miscopying his source, a compositor or a printing shop may read or typeset a work in a way that differs from the autograph.Since each scribe or printer commits different errors, reconstruction of the lost original is often aided by a selection of readings taken from many sources.An edited text that draws from multiple sources is said to be eclectic.In contrast to this approach, some textual critics prefer to identify the single best surviving text, and not to combine readings from multiple sources.

When comparing different documents, or "witnesses", of a single, original text, the observed differences are called variant readings, or simply variants or readings.It is not always apparent which single variant represents the author's original work.The process of textual criticism seeks to explain how each variant may have entered the text, either by accident (duplication or omission) or intention (harmonization or censorship), as scribes or supervisors transmitted the original author's text by copying it.The textual critic's task, therefore, is to sort through the variants, eliminating those most likely to be un-original, hence establishing a "critical text" or critical edition,

that is intended to best approximate the original.At the same time, the critical text should document variant readings, so the relation of extant witnesses to the reconstructed original is apparent to a reader of the critical edition. In establishing the critical text, the textual critic considers both "external" evidence (the age, provenance, and affiliation of each witness) and "internal" or "physical" considerations (what the author and scribes, or printers, were likely to have done).

The collation of all known variants of a text is referred to as a variorum, namely a work of textual criticism whereby all variations and emendations are set side by side so that a reader can track how textual decisions have been made in the preparation of a text for publication. The Bible and the works of William Shakespeare have often been the subjects of variorum editions, although the same techniques have been applied with less frequency to many other works, such as Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, and the prose writings of Edward Fitzgerald.

Eclecticism.

Eclecticism refers to the practice of consulting a wide diversity of witnesses to a particular original.The practice is based on the principle that the more independent transmission histories are, the less likely they will be to reproduce the same errors.What one omits, the others may retain; what one adds, the others are unlikely to add. Eclecticism allows inferences to be drawn regarding the original text, based on the evidence of contrasts between witnesses.Eclectic readings also normally give an impression of the number of witnesses to each available reading. Although a reading supported by the majority of witnesses is frequently preferred, this does nto follow automatically.For example, a second edition of a Shakespeare play may include an addition alluding to an event known to have happened between the two editions.Although nearly all subsequent manuscripts may have included the addition, textual critics may reconstruct the original without the addition.

The result of the process is a text with readings drawn from many witnesses.It is not a copy of any particular manuscript, and may deviate from the majority of existing manuscripts. In a purely eclectic approach, no single witness is theoretically favored. Instead, the critic forms opinions about individual witnesses, relying on both external and internal evidence.Since the mid-19th century, eclecticism, in which there is no a priori bias to a single manuscript, has been the dominant method of editing the Greek text of the New Testament (currently, the United Bible Society, 4th ed. And Nestle-Aland, 27th ed.).Even so, the oldest manuscripts, being of the Alexandrian text-type, are the most favored, and the critical text has an Alexandrian disposition.

External evidence.

External evidence is evidence of each physical witness, its date, source, and relationship to other known witnesses.Critics will often prefer the readings supported by the oldest witnesses. Since errors tend to accumulate, older manuscripts should have fewer errors.Readings supported by a majority of witnesses are also usually preferred, since these are less likely to reflect accidents or individual biases. For the same reasons, the most geographically diverse witnesses are preferred. Some manuscripts show evidence that particular care was taken in their composition, for example, by including alternative readings in their margins, demonstrating that more than one prior copy (exemplar) was consulted in producing the current one. Other factors being equal, these are the best witnesses.There are many other more sophisticated considerations.For example, readings that depart from the known practice of a scribe or a given period may be deemed more reliable, since a scribe is unlikely on his own initiative to have departed from the usual practice.

Internal evidence.

Internal evidence is evidence that comes from the text itself, independent of the physical characteristics of the document.Various considerations can be used to decide which reading is the most likely to be original.Sometimes these considerations can be in conflict.Two common considerations have the Latin names lectio brevior (shorter reading) and lectio difficilior (more difficult reading).The first is the general observation that scribes tended to add words, for clarification or out of habit, more often than they removed them.The second, lectio difficilior potior (the harder reading is stronger), recognizes the tendency for harmonization – resolving apparent inconsistencies in the text. Applying this principle leads to taking the more difficult (unharmonized) reading as being more likely to be the original. Such cases also include scribes simplifying and smoothing texts they did not fully understand.

Another scribal tendency is called homoioteleuton, meaning “same endings”.Homoioteleuton occurs when two words/phrases/lines end with the same sequence of letters.The scribe, having finished copying the first, skips to the second, omitting all intervening words.Homoioteleuton refers to eye-skip when the beginnings of two lines are similar. The critic may also examine the other writings of the author to decide what words and grammatical constructions match his style.The evaluation of internal evidence also provides the critic with information that helps him evaluate the reliability of individual manuscripts.Thus, the consideration of internal and external evidence is related.After considering all relevant factors, the textual critic seeks the reading that best explains how the other readings would arise.That reading is then the most likely candidate to have been original.

Canons of textual criticism.

Various scholars have developed guidelines, or canons of textual criticism, to guide the exercise of the critic's judgment in determining the best reading of a text.One of the earliest was Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687 – 1752), who in 1734 produced an edition of the Greek New Testament. In his commentary, he established the rule Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua; ("the harder reading is to be preferred").Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745 – 1812) published several editions of the New Testament.In his 1796 edition, he established fifteen critical rules. Among them was a variant of Bengel's rule, Lectio difficilior potior, "the harder reading is better". Another was Lectio brevior praeferenda, "the shorter reading is better", based on the idea that scribes were more likely to add than to delete. This rule cannot be applied uncritically, as scribes may omit material inadvertently.

Brooke Foss Westcott (1825 – 1901) and Fenton J.A. Hort (1828 – 1892) published an edition of the New Testament in 1881.They proposed nine critical rules, including a version of Bengel's rule, "The reading is less likely to be original that shows a disposition to smooth away difficulties".They also argued that "Readings are approved or rejected by reason of the quality, and not the number, of their supporting witnesses", and that "The reading is to be preferred that most fitly explains the existence of the others".Many of these rules, although originally developed for biblical textual criticism, have wide applicability to any text susceptible to errors of transmission.

Limitations of eclecticism.

Since the canons of criticism are highly susceptible to interpretation, and at times even contradict each other, they can often be employed to justify any result that fits the textual critic's aesthetic or theological agenda.Starting in the 19th century, scholars sought more rigorous methods to guide editorial judgment.Best-text edition (a complete rejection of eclecticism) became one extreme. Stemmatics and copy-text editing – while both eclectic, in that they permit the editor to select readings from multiple sources – sought to reduce subjectivity by establishing one or a few witnesses presumably as being favored by "objective" criteria.

Stemmatics: Overview

Stemmatics, stemmology or stemmatology is a rigorous approach to textual criticism. Karl Lachmann (1793 – 1851) greatly contributed to making this method famous, even though he did not invent it (see Timpanaro, The genesis of Lachmann" method).The method takes its name from the word stemma in the meaning of "family tree", which shows the relationships of the surviving witnesses.The family tree is also referred to as a cladorama. The method works from the principle that "community of error

implies community of origin".That is, if two witnesses have a number of errors in common, it may be presumed that they were derived from a common intermediate source, called a hyparchetype.Relations between the lost intermediates are determined by the same process, placing all extent manuscripts in a family tree or stemma codicum descended from a single archetype.The process of constructing the stemma is called recension, or the Latin recensio.

Having completed the stemma, the critic proceeds to the next step, called selection or selectio, where the text of the archetype is determined by examining variants from the closest hyparchetypes to the archetype and selecting the best ones.If one reading occurs more often than another at the same level of the tree, then the dominant reading is selected.If two competing readings occur equally often, then the editor uses his judgment to select the correct reading.After selection, the text may still contain errors, since there may be passages where no source preserves the correct reading.The step of examination, or examinatio is applied to find corruptions.Where the editor concludes that the text is corrupt, it is corrected by a process called "emendation", or emendatio (also sometimes called divinatio).Emendations not supported by any known source are sometimes called conjectural emendations.

The process of selectio resembles eclectic textual criticism, but applied to a restricted set of hypothetical hyparchetypes. The steps of examinatio and emendatio resemble copy-text editing.In fact, the other techniques can be seen as special cases of stemmatics in which a rigorous family history of the text cannot be determined but only approximated.If it seems that one manuscript is by far the best text, then copy text editing is appropriate, and if it seems that a group of manuscripts are good, then eclecticism on that group would be proper.The Hodges-Farstad edition of the Greek New Testament attempts to use stemmatics for some portions.

Limitations and criticism.

The stemmatic method assumes that each witness is derived from one, and only one, predecessor.If a scribe refers to more than one source when creating his copy, then the new copy will not clearly fall into a single branch of the family tree. In the stemmatic method, a manuscript that is derived from more than one source is said tobe contaminated.The method also assumes that scribes only make new errors – they do not attempt to correct the errors of their predecessors. When a text has been improved by the scribe, it is said to be sophisticated, but "sophistication" impairs the method by obscuring a document's relationship to other witnesses, and making it more difficult to place the manuscript correctly in the stemma.The stemmatic method requires the textual critic to group manuscripts by commonality of error.It is required; therefore, that the critic can distinguish erroneous readings from correct ones.This assumption has often come under attack.W.W. Greg noted, "That if a scribe makes a mistake he will inevitably

produce nonsense is the tacit and wholly unwarranted assumption".Franz Anton Knittel defended tradition point of view in theology and was against the modern textual criticism.He defended an authenticity of the Pericopa Adulterae, Comma Johanneum, and Testimonium Flavianum.According to him Erasmus in his Novum Instrumentum omne did not incorporate the Comma from Codex Montfortianus, because of grammar differences, but used Complutensian Polyglotta. According to him the Comma was known for Tertullian.

The critic Joseph Bedier 1864 – 1938) launched a particularly withering attack on stemmatics in 1928.He surveyed editions of medieval French texts that were produced with the stemmatic method, and found that textual critics tended overwhelmingly to produce trees divided into just two branches.He concluded that this outcome was unlikely to have occurred by chance, and that therefore, the emthod was tending to produce bipartite stemmas regardless of the actual history of the witnesses.He suspected that editors tended to favor trees with two branches, as this would maximize the opportunities for editorial judgment (as there would be no third branch to "break the tie" whenever the witnesses disagreed).He also noted that, for many works, more than one reasonable stemma could be postulated, suggesting that the method was not as rigorous or as scientific as its proponents had claimed.The stemmatic method's final step is emendatio, also sometimes referred to as "conjectural emendation".But in fact, the critic employs conjecture at every step of the process.Some of the method's rules that are designed to reduce the exercise of editorial judgment do not necessarily produce the correct result.For example, where there are more than two witnesses at the same level of the tree, normally the critic will select the dominant reading. However, it may be no more than fortuitous that more witnesses have survived that present a particular reading. A plausible reading that occurs less often may, nevertheless, be the correct one.Lastly; the stemmatic method assumes that every extant witness is derived, however remotely, from a single source. It does not account for the possibility that the original author may have revised his work, and that the text could have existed at different times in more than one authoritative version.

Copy-text editing.

When copy-text editing, the scholar fixes errors in a base text, often with the help of other witnesses.Often, the base text is selected from the oldest manuscript of the text, but in the early days of printing, the copy text was often a manuscript that was at hand.Using the copy-text method, the critic examines the base text and makes corrections (called emendations) in places where the base text appears wrong to the critic. This can be done by looking for places in the base text that do not make sense or by looking at the text of other witnesses for a superior reading. Close-call decisions are usually resolved in favor of the copy-text.The first published, printed edition of the Greek New Testament was produced by this method.Erasmus, the editor,

selected a manuscript from the local Dominican monastery in Basle and corrected its obvious errors by consulting other local manuscripts.The Westcott and Hort text, which was the basis for the Revised Version of the English bible, also used the copy-text method, using the Codex Vaticanus as the base manuscript.

McKerrow's concept of copy-text.

The bibliographer Ronald B. McKerrow introduced the term copy-text in his 1904 edition of the works of Thomas Nashe, defining it as "the text used in each particular case as the basis of mine". MeKerrow was aware of the limitations of the stemmatic method, and believed it was more prudent to choose one particular text that was thought to be particularly reliable, and then to emend it only where the text was obviously corrupt. The French critic Joseph Bedier likewise became disenchanted with the stemmatic method, and concluded that the editor should choose the best available text, and emend it as little as possible.In McKerrow's method as originally introduced, the copy-text was not necessarily the earliest text.In some cases, McKerrow would choose a later witness, noting that "if an editor has reason to suppose that a certain text embodies later corrections than any other, and at the same time has no ground for disbelieving that these corrections, or some of them at least, are the work of the author, he has no choice but to make that text the basis of his reprint".

By 1939, in his Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare, McKerrow had changed his mind about this approach, as he feared that a later edition – even if it contained authorial corrections – would "deviate more widely than the earliest print from the author's original manuscript". He therefore concluded that the correct procedure would be "produced by using the earliest "good" print as copy-text and inserting into it, from the first edition which contains them, such corrections as appear to us to be derived from the author".But, fearing the arbitrary exercise of editorial judgment, McKerrow stated that, having concluded that a later edition had substantive revisions attributable to the author, "we must accept all the alterations of that edition, saving any which seem obvious blunders or misprints".

W.W.Greg's rationale of copy-text.

Anglo-American textual criticism in the last half of the 20th century came to be dominated by a landmark 1950 essay by Sir Walter W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text". Greg proposed: 'A distinction between the significant, or as I shall call them 'substantive', readings of the text, those namely thataffect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression, and others, such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation, which may be regarded as the accidents, or as I shall call them 'accidentals', of the text'.Greg observed that compositors at printing shops tended to follow the "substantive" readings of their copy faithfully, except when they deviated unintentionally; but that "as

regards accidentals they will normally follow their own habits or inclination, though they may, for various reasons and to varying degrees, be influenced by their copy".He concluded: 'The true theory is, I contend, that the copy-text should govern (generally) in the matter of accidentals, but that the choice between substantive readings belongs to the general theory of textual criticism and lies altogether beyond the narrow principle of the copy-text. Thus it may happen that in a critical edition the text rightly chosen as copy may not by any means be the one that supplies most substantive readings in cases of variation.The failure to make this distinction and to apply this principle has naturally led to too close and too general a reliance upon the text chosen as basis for an edition, and there has arisen what may be called the tyranny of the copy-text, a tyranny that has, in my opinion, vitiated much of the best editorial work of the past generation'.

Greg's view, in short, was that the "copy-text can be allowed no over-riding or even preponderant authority so far as substantive readings are concerned".The choice between reasonable competing readings, he said: 'Will be determined partly by the opinion the editor may form respecting the nature of the copy from which each substantive edition was printed, which is a matter of external authority; partly by the intrinsic authority of the several texts as judged by the relative frequency of manifest errors therein; and partly by the editor's judgment of the intrinsic claims of individual readings to originality - in other words their intrinsic merit, so long as by 'merit' we mean the likelihood of their being what the author wrote rather than their appeal to the individual taste of the editor'. Although Greg argued that an editor should be free to use his judgment to choose between competing substantive readings, he suggested that an editor should defer to the copy-text when "the claims of two readings….appear to be exactly balanced…..In such a case, while there can be no logical reason for giving preference to the copy-text, in practice, if there is n reason for altering its reading, the obvious thing seems to be to let it stand".The "exactly balanced" variants are said to be indifferent. Editors who follow Greg's rationale produce eclectic editions, in that the authority for the "accidentals" is derived from one particular source (usually the earliest one) that the editor considers to be authoritative, but the authority for the "substantives" is determined in each individual case according to the editor's judgment.The resulting text, except for the accidentals, is constructed without relying predominantly on any one witness.

Greg – Bowers – Tanselle.

W.W. Greg did not live long enough to apply his rationale of copy-text to any actual editions of works.His rationale was adopted and significantly expanded by Fredson Bowers (1905 – 1991). Starting in the 1970s, G. Thomas Tanselle (1934 -) vigorously took up the method's defense and added significant contributions of his own.Greg's rationale as practiced by

Bowers and Tanselle has come to be known as the "Greg-Bowers" or the "Greg – Bowers - Tanselle" method.

Application to works of all periods.

In his 1964 essay, "Some Principles for Scholarly Editions of Nineteenth-Century American Authors", Bowers said that "the theory of copy-text proposed by Sir Walter Greg rules supreme".Bowers's assertion of "supremacy" was in contrast to Greg's more modest claim that "My desire is rather to provoke discussion than to lay down the law".Whereas Greg had limited his illustrative examples to English Renaissance drama, where his expertise lay, Bowers argued that the rationale was "the most workable editorial principle yet contrived to produce a critical text that is authoritative in the maximum of its details whether the author be Shakespeare, Dryden, Fielding, Nathaniel Hawthorne, or Stephen Crane. The principle is sound without regard for the literary period". For works where an author's manuscript survived – a case Greg had not considered – Bowers concluded that the manuscript should generally serve as copy-text. Citing the example of Nathaniel Hawthorne, he noted: 'When an author's manuscript is preserved, this has paramount authority, of course.Yet the fallacy is still maintained that since the first edition was proofread by the author, it must represent his final intentions and hence should be chosen as copy-text.Practical experience shows the contrary. When one collates the manuscript of The House of the Seven Gables against the first printed edition, one finds an average of ten to fifteen differences per page between the manuscript and the print, many of temporary consistent alterations from the manuscript system of punctuation, capitalization, spelling, and word-division.It would be ridiculous to argue that Hawthorne made approximately three to four thousand small changes in proof, and then wrote the manuscript of The Blithedale Romance according to the same system as the manuscript of the Seven Gables, a system that he had rejected in proof'.

Following Greg, the editor would then replace any of the manuscript readings with substantives from printed editions that could be reliably attributed to the author: "Obviously, an editor cannot simply reprint the manuscript, and he must substitute for its readings any words that he believes Hawthorne changed in proof.

Uninfluenced final authorial intention.

McKerrow had articulated textual criticism's goal in terms of "our ideal of an author's fair copy of his work in its final state".Bowers asserted that editions founded on Greg's method would "represent the nearest approximation in every respect of the author's final intentions". Bowers stated similarly that the editor's task is to "approximate as nearly as possible an inferential authorial fair copy".Tanselle notes that, "Textual criticism…..has generally been undertaken with a view to reconstructing, as accurately as possible, the text finally intended by the author".

Bowers and Tanselle argue for rejecting textual variants that an author inserted at the suggestion of others.Bowers said that his edition of Stephen Crane's first novel, Maggie, presented "the author's final and uninfluenced artistic intentions".In his writings, Tanselle refers to "unconstrained authorial intention" or "an author's uninfluenced intentions".This marks a departure from Greg, who had merely suggested that the editor inquire whether a later reading" is one that the author can reasonably be supposed to have substituted for the former", not implying any further inquiry as to why the author had made the change. Tanselle discusses the example of Herman Melville's Typee.After the novel's initial publication, Melville's publisher asked him to soften the novel's criticisms of missionaries in the South Seas.Although Melville pronounced the changes an improvement, Tanselle rejected them in his edition, concluding that "there is no evidence, internal or external, to suggest that they are the kinds of changes Melville would have made without pressure from someone else".

Bowers confronted a similar problem in his edition of Maggie.Crane originally printed the novel privately in 1893.To secure commercial publication in 1896, Crane agreed to remove profanity, but he also made stylistic revisions.Bowers's approach was to preserve the stylistic and literary changes of 1896, but to revert to the 1893 readings where he believed that Crane was fulfilling the publisher's intention rather than his own.There were, however, intermediate cases that could reasonably have been attributed to either intention, and some of Bowers's choices came under fire – both as to his judgment, and as to the wisdom of conflating readings from the two different versions of Maggie. Hans Zeller argued that it is impossible to tease apart the changes Crane made for literary reasons and those made at the publisher's insistence: 'Firstly, in anticipation of the character of the expected censorship, Crane could be led to undertake alterations which also had literary value in the context of the new version.Secondly, because of the systematic character of the work, purely censorial alterations sparked off further alterations, determined at this stage by literary considerations.Again in consequence of the systematic character of the work, the contamination of the two historical versions in the edited text gives rise to a third version.Though the editor may indeed give a rational account of his decision at each point on the basis of the documents, nevertheless to aim to produce the ideal text which Crane would have produced in 1896 if the publisher had left him complete freedom is to my mind just as unhistorical as the question of how the first World War or the history of the United States would have developed if Germany had not caused the USA to enter the war in 1917 by unlimited submarine combat.The nonspecific form of censorship described above is one of the historical conditions under which Crane wrote the second version of Maggie and made it function. From the text which arose in this way it is not possible to subtract these forces and influences, in order to obtain a text of the author's own.Indeed I regard the "uninfluenced artistic intentions" of the author as something which exists only in terms of

aesthetic abstraction.Between influences on the author and influences on the text are all manner of transitions'.

Bowers and Tanselle recognize that texts often exist in more than one authoritative version.Tanselle argues that: Two types of revision must be distinguished: that which aims at altering the purpose, direction, or character of a work, thus attempting to make a different sort of work out of it; and that which aims at intensifying, refining, or improving the work as then conceived (whether or not it succeeds in doing so), thus altering the work in degree but not in kind. If one may think of a work in terms of a spatial metaphor, the first might be labeled "vertical revision", because it moves the work to a different plane, and the second "horizontal revision", because it involves alterations within the same plane. Both produce local changes in active intention; but revisions of the first type appear to be in fulfillment of an altered programmatic intention or to reflect an altered active intention in the work as a whole, whereas those of the second do not. He suggests that where a revision is "horizontal" (i.e., aimed at improving the work as originally conceived), then the editor should adopt the author's later version.But where a revision is "vertical" (i.e., fundamentally altering the work's intention as a whole), then the revision should be treated as a new work, and edited separately on its own terms.

Format for apparatus.

Bowers was also influential in defining the form of critical apparatus that should accompany a scholarly edition.In addition to the content of the apparatus, Bowers led a movement to relegate editorial matter to appendices, leaving the critically-established text "in the clear", and that is, free of any signs of editorial intervention.Tanselle explained the rationale for this approach: 'In the first place, an editor's primary responsibility is to establish a text; whether his goal is to reconstruct that form of the text which represents the author's final intention or some other form of the text, his essential task is to produce a reliable text according to some set of principles.Relegating all editorial matter to an appendix and allowing the text to stand by itself serves to emphasize the primacy of the text and permits the reader to confront the literary work without the distraction of editorial comment and to read the work with ease.A second advantage of a clear text is that it is easier to quote from or to reprint.Although no device can insure accuracy of quotation, the insertion of symbols (or even footnote numbers) into a text places additional difficulties in the way of the quoter.Furthermore, most quotations appear in contexts where symbols are inappropriate; thus when it is necessary to quote from a text which has not been kept clear of apparatus, the burden of producing a clear text of the passage is placed on the quoter. Even footnotes at the bottom of the text pages are open to the same objection, when the question of a photographic reprint arises'.

Some critics believe that a clear-text edition gives the edited text too great a prominence, relegating textual variants to appendices that are difficult to use, and suggesting a greater sense of certainty about the established text than it deserves.As Shillingsburg notes, “English scholarly editions have tended to use notes at the foot of the text page, indicating, tacitly, a greater modesty about the “established” text and drawing attention more forcibly to at least some of the alternative forms of the text”.

The MLA’s CEAA and CSE.

In 1963, the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) established the Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA).The CEAA’s Statement of Editorial Principles and Procedures, first published in 1967, adopted the Greg – Bowers rationale in full.A CEAA examiner would inspect each edition, and only those meeting the requirements would receive a seal denoting “An Approved Text”. Between 1966 and 1975, the Center allocated more than $1.5 million in funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities to various scholarly editing projects, which were required to follow the guidelines (including the structure of editorial apparatus) as Bowers had defined them. According to Davis, the funds coordinated by the CEAA over the same period were more than $6 million, counting funding from universities, university presses, and other bodies.The Center for Scholarly Editions (CSE) replaced the CEAA in 1976. The change of name indicated the shift to a broader agenda than just American authors.The Center also ceased its role in the allocation of funds.The Center’s latest guidelines (2003) no longer prescribe a particular editorial procedure.

Cladistics.

Cladistics is a technique borrowed from biology, where it was originally named phylogenetic systematics by Willi Hennig. In biology, the technique is used to determine the evolutionary relationships between different species.In its application in textual criticism, the text of a number of different manuscripts is entered into a computer, which records all the differences between them.The manuscripts are then grouped according to their shared characteristics.The difference between cladistics and more traditional forms of statistical analysis is that, rather than simply arranging the manuscripts into rough groupings according to their overall similarity, cladistics assumes that they are part of a branching family tree and uses that assumption to derive relationships between them.This makes it more like an automated approach to stemmatics. However, where there is a difference, the computer does not attempt to decide which reading is closer to the original text, and so does not indicate which branch of the tree is the “root” – which manuscript

tradition is closest to the original. Other types of evidence must be used for that purpose.

The major theoretical problem with applying cladistics to textual criticism is that cladistics assumes that, once a branching has occurred in the family tree, the two branches cannot rejoin; so all similarities can be taken as evidence of common ancestry.While this assumption is applicable to the evolution of living creatures, it is not always true of manuscript traditions, since a scribe can work from two different manuscripts at once, producing a new copy with characteristics of both.Nonetheless, software developed for use in biology has been applied with some success to textual criticism; for example, it is being used by the Canterbury Tales Project to determine the relationship between the 84 surviving manuscripts and four early printed editions of the Canterbury Tales.

Application of textual criticism to religious documents.

All texts are subject to investigation and systematic criticism where the original verified first document is not available.Believers in sacred texts and scriptures sometimes are reluctant to accept any form of challenge to what they believe to be divine revelation.Some opponents and polemicists may look for any way to find fault with a particular religious text.Legitimate textual criticism may be resisted by both believers and skeptics.

Qur'an.

Muslims consider the original Arabic text to be the final revelation, revealed to Muhammad from AD 610 to his death in 632.In Islamic tradition, the Qur'an was memorised and written down by Muhammad's companions and copied as needed.However, it is well known to scholars that: "written versions vary enormously in materials, format and aspect". In the 1970s, 14,000 fragments of Qur'an were discovered in an old mosque in Sanaa, the Sana'a manuscripts.About 12,000 fragments belonged to 926 copies of the Qur'an, the other 2,000 were loose fragments.The oldest known copy of the Qur'an so far belongs to this collection: it dates to the end of the 7th-8th century.The important find uncovered many textual variants not known from the canonical 7 (or 10 or 14) texts.However, the latter claim of variants being not from the canonical 7 cannot be demonstrated as the only known version of the Qur'an has been the current form, accepted as the Uthmani recension, with wall inscriptions of certain verses dating further back than the Sana'a manuscripts mirroring the current content.In effect the Sanskrit'aa manuscripts could just as easily fall into one of the oral traditions of the known Ahruf or dialect of the Quran as preserved by Ali or Ibn Masud.Additionally, the examination of the texts yielded a demonstration that the textual difficulties pointed towards a very strong oral tradition which would be indicative of the manuscript being written in the Qirrat or recitation style of the author – a phenomenon already seen in older inscriptions and wall markings.

The examination of Gerd R. Puin who led the restoration project revealed, "unconventional verse orderings, minor textual variations, and rare styles of orthography and artistic embellishment".Recent authors have also proposed that the Koran may have been written in Arabic-Syriac.Effectively, textual criticism of the Aur'an as extant today is still an ongoing effort as current critiques have still fallen short of conclusively demonstrating any variant outside the already known sphere of Islamic narratives.

Book of Mormon.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints includes the Book of Mormon as Foundational reference.Some LDS members believe the book to be a literal historical record, while others believe it is pure fiction rather than historical writing.

Hebrew Bible.

Textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible compares manuscript versions of the following sources (dates refer to the oldest extant manuscripts in each family):

Manuscript	**Examples**	**Language**	**Date of Composition**	**Oldest Copy**
Dead Sea Scrolls	Tanakh at Qumran	Hebrew, Paleo Hebrew and Greek (Septuagint)	c. 150 BCE – 70CE	c. 150 BCE – 70 CE
Septuagint	Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus and other earlier papyri	Greek	300 – 100 BCE	2nd century BCE (fragments) 4th century CE(complete)
Peshitta		Syriac		Early 5th century CE
Vulgate		Latin		Early 5th century CE
Masoretic	Aleppo Codex, Leningrad Codex and other Incomplete mss	Hebrew	Ca. 100CE	10th century CE
Samaritan Pentateuch		Samaritan alphabet	200-100 BCE	Oldest extant mss c. 11th

			century CE, oldest mss available to scholars 16th century CE
Targum	Aramic	500-1000CE	5th century CE

Given the sacred nature of the Hebrew Bible in Judaism, those unaware of the details dealt with in textual criticism might think that there are no corruptions in the text, since these texts were meticulously transmitted and written.And yet, as in the New Testament, in particular in the Masoretic texts, changes, corruptions, and erasures have been found.This is ascribed to the fact that early soferim (scribes) did not treat the text with the reverence give to it later on.

New Testament.

The New Testament has been preserved in more than 5,800 Greek manuscripts, 10,000 Latin manuscripts and 9,300 manuscripts in various other ancient languages including Syriac, Slavic, Ethiopic and Armenian.The sheer number of witnesses presents unique difficulties, chiefly in that it makes stemmatics impractical.Consequently, New Testament textual critics have adopted eclecticism after sorting the witnesses into three major groups, called text-types.The most common division today is as follows:

Text Type	Date	Characteristics	Bible Version
The Alexandrian text-type (also called Minority Text)	2nd-4th century CE	This family constitutes a group of early ad well-regarded texts, including Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. Most of this tradition appears to come from around Alexandria, Egypt. It contains readings that are often terse, shorter, somewhat rough, less harmonised, and generally more difficult. The family was once thought to be a very carefully edited third century recension but now is believed to be merely the result of a carefully controlled and supervised process of copying and	NIV, NAB, TNIV, NASB, RSV, ESV, EBR, NWT, LB, ASV, NC, GNB

		transmission. It underlies most modern translations of the New Testament.	
The Western text-type	3rd-9th Century CE	This is also very early and comes from a wide geographical area stretching from North Africa to Italy from Gaul to Syria. It is found in Greek manuscripts and in the Latin translations used by the Western church. It is much less controlled than the Alexandrian family and its witnesses are seen to be more prone to paraphrase and other corruptions	Vetus Latina
The Byzantine text-type (also called Majority Text)	5th-16th century CE	This is a group of around 80% of all manuscripts, the majority of which are comparatively very late in the tradition. It had become dominant at Constantinople from the 5th century on and was used throughout the Byzantine church. It contains the most harmonistic readings, paraphrasing and significant additions, most of which are believed to be secondary readings. It underlies the Textus Receptus used for most Reformation-era translations of the New Testament.	KVJ, NKJV, Tyndale, Coverdale, Geneva, Bishops' Bible, Douay-Rheims, JB, NJB, OSB

Alexandrian text versus Byzantine text.

The New Testament portion of the English translation known as the King James Version was based on the Textus Receptus, a Greek text prepared by Erasmus based on a few late medieval Greek manuscripts of the Byzantine text-type (1, 1^{rK}, 2^{e}, 2^{ap}, 4, 7, 817). For some books of the Bible, Erasmus used just single manuscripts, and for small sections made his own translations into Greek from the Vulgate.However, following Westcott and Hort, most modern New Testament textual critics have concluded that the Byzantine text-type was formalised at a later date than the Alexandrian and Western text-types.Among the other types, the **Alexandrian text-type** is viewed as more pure than the Western and Byzantine text-types, and so one of the central tenets of current New Testament textual criticism is that one should follow the readings of the Alexandrian texts unless those of the other types are clearly superior.Most modern New Testament translations now use an Eclectic Greek text (UBS4 and NA 27) that is closest to the Alexandrian text-type.The United Bible Societies's Greek New Testament (UBS4) and Nestle Aland (NATURAL 27) are accepted by most of the academic community as the best attempt at reconstructing the original texts of the Greek NT.

A minority position represented by The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text edition by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad argues that the **Byzantine text-type** represents an earlier text-type than the surviving Alexandrian texts. This position is also held by Maurice

A.Robinson and William G. Pierpont in their The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform, and the King James Only Movement.The argument states that the far greater number of surviving later Byzantine manuscripts implies an equivalent preponderance of Byzantine texts amongst lost earlier manuscripts; and hence that a critical reconstruction of the predominant text of the Byzantine tradition would have a superior claim to being closest to the autographs.

Another position is that of the Neolithic-Byzantine School.The New-Byzantines (or new Byzantines) of the 16th and 17th centuries first formally compiled the New Testament Received Text under such textual analysts as Erasmus, Stephanus, Beza, and Elzevir.The early 21st century saw the rise of the first textual analyst of this school in over three centuries with Gavin McGrath (b. 1960).A religiously conservative Protestant from Australia, his New-Byzantine School principles maintain that the representative or majority Byzantine text such as compiled by Hodges & Farstad (1985) or Robinson & Pierpont (2005) is to be upheld unless there is a "clear and obvious" textual problem with it. When this occurs, he adopts either a minority Byzantine reading, a Latin text reading, or a church writer reading (if so, usually an ancient church writer).The Neolithic-Byzantine School considers that the doctrine of the Divine Preservation of Scripture means that God preserved the Byzantine Greek manuscripts, Latin manuscripts, and Greek and Latin church writers citations of Scripture over time and through time.These are regarded as "a closed class of sources" i.e., non-Byzantine Greek manuscripts such as the Alexandrian texts, or manuscripts in other languages such as Armenian, Syriac, or Ethiopian, are regarded as "outside the closed class of sources" providentially protected over time, and so not used to compose the New Testament text. Other scholars have criticized the current categorization of manuscripts into text-types and prefer either to subdivide the manuscripts in other ways or to discard the text-type taxonomy.Textual criticism is also used by those who assert that the New Testament was written in Aramaic.

Interpolations.

In attempting to determine the original text of the New Testament books, some modern textual critics have identified sections as interpolations.In modern translations of the Bible such as the New International Version, the results of textual criticism have led to certain verses, words and phrases being left out or marked as not original. Previously, translations of the New Testament such as the King James Version had mostly been based on Erasmus's redaction of the New Testament in Greek, the Textus Receptus from the 1500s based on later manuscripts.According to Bart D. Ehrman, "These scribal additions are often found in late medieval manuscripts of the

New Testament, but not in the manuscripts of the earlier centuries", he adds.And because the King James Bible is based on later manuscripts, such verses "became part of the Bible tradition in English-speaking lands".

Most modern Bibles have footnotes to indicate areas which have disputed source documents.Bible Commentaries also discuss these, sometimes in great detail.These possible later additions include the following:

- the ending of Mark, see Mark 16.
- Jesus sweating blood in Luke (Luke 22:43-44. The story in John of the woman taken in adultery, the Pericope Adulterae.
- An explicit reference to the Trinity in 1 John, the Comma Johanneum.

Other disputed NT Passages

- Opinions are divided on whether Jesus is referred to as "unique Son" or "unique God", in John 1:18
- 1 Corinthians 14:33-35. Some scholars regard the instruction for women to be silent in churches as a later, non-Pauline addition to the Letter, more in keeping with the viewpoint of the Pastoral Epistles (see 1 Tim 2.11-12; Titus 2.5) than of the certainly Pauline Epistles. A few manuscripts place these verses after 40.

It is also worthy to note that various groups of highly conservative Christians believe that when Ps. 12:1-7 speaks of the preservation of the words of God, that this nullifies the need for textual criticism, lower, and higher.Such people include Gail Riplinger, Peter Ruckman, and other. Many theological organizations, societies, newsletters, and churches also hold to this belief, including "AV Publications", Sword of The LORD Newsletter, The Antioch Bible Society, and others.On the other hand, Reformation biblical scholars such as Martin Luther saw the academic analysis of biblical texts and their provenance as entirely in line with orthodox Christian faith. Many of these men called themselves Christian humanists, precisely because textual criticism (usually of biblical texts) lay at the heart of their work.

Classical texts.

While textual criticism developed into a discipline of thorough analysis of the Bible – both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament – scholars also use it to determine the original content of classic texts, such as Plato's Republic.There are far fewer witnesses to classical texts than to the Bible, so scholars can use stemmatics and, in some cases, copy text editing. However, unlike the New Testament where the earliest witnesses are within 200 years of the original, the earliest existing manuscripts of most classical texts were written about a millennium after their composition.Other things being equal,

textual scholars expect that a larger time gap between an original and a manuscript means more changes in the text.

STRUCTURALISM

Structuralism as a concept is grand, controversial and elusive. For our purposes it is to be understood at two levels of generality: first, as a broad intellectual movement, one of the most significant ways of theorizing in the human sciences in the 20th century; second, as a particular set of approaches to literature (and other arts and aspects of culture) flourishing especially in France in the 1960s but with older roots and continuing repercussions. The basic premiss of structuralism is that human activity and
its products,even perception and thought itself, are *constructed* and not *natural*.Structure is the principle of construction and the object of analysis, to be understood by its intimate reference to the concepts of *system* and *value* as defined in SEMIOTICS. Structuralist students of literature linked semiotic assumptions with ideas from other sources, principally Russian FORMALISM; Prague School structuralism; the narrative analysis of Vladimir Propp; structuralist anthropology as blended from linguistics and Propp in the cooking-pot of Claude Lévi-Strauss; the new generative linguistics of Chomsky.More successful has been *the analysis of narrative structure*. The inspiration came from Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folk-Tale* (1928), which appeared in French translation in 1957 and in English in 1958. Propp noted that, though the individual characters in Russian tales were very diverse, their *functions* (villain, helper, etc.) could be described in a limited number of terms (he suggested thirty-one, falling into seven superordinate categories).By reference to these elements, the narrative ordering of any tale could be recognised as a sequence of 'functions of the *dramatis personae* and associated actions. This is in fact a generative grammar of narrative: a finite system (paradigm) of abstract units generates an infinite set of narrative sequences (syntagms).The linguistic analogy was seized on by Lévi-Strauss.It became a standard assumption in narratology that the structure of a story was homologous with the structure of a sentence; this assumption allowed the apparatus of sentence-linguistics to be applied to the development of a metalanguage for describing narrative structure.Anglo-Saxon reaction to structuralism has been almost universally hostile, deploring its mechanistic and reductive style and suspecting its exponents of a kind of left-wing philistinism. Fortunately, the response in France has been more subtle and more positively critical, confronting problems of what is neglected in the structuralist approach: reader, author, and discourse as communicative practice and as ideology.

Structuralism rose to prominence in France through the application by the French anthropologist,Claude Lévi-Strauss,of Saussurian structural linguistics to the study of such phenomena as myths, rituals, kinship relations, eating conventions.Literature seemed especially appropriate to a structuralist approach as it was wholly made up of language. structuralism is bound up with the general movement away from positivism,'historicizing history' and the 'biographical illusion', a movement represented in various ways by the critical writings of a Proust, an Eliot, a Valéry, Russian Formalism,French 'thematic criticism' or Anglo-

American New Criticism.Structuralism, then, would appear to be a refuge for all immanent criticism against the danger of fragmentation that threatens thematic analysis: the means of reconstituting the unit of a work, its principle of coherence.Structural criticism is untainted by any of the transcendent reductions of psychoanalysis, for example, or Marxist explanation, but it exerts, in its own way, a sort of internal reduction, traversing the substance of the work in order to reach its bone-structure: certainly not a superficial examination, but a sort of radioscopic penetration, and all the more external in that it is more penetrating.

Structuralism has emerged from linguistics and in literature it finds an object which has itself emerged from language. We can understand then why structuralism should want to found a science of literature or, to be more exact, a linguistics of discourse, whose object is the 'language' of literary forms, grasped on many levels.In short, structuralism will be just one more 'science' (several are born each century, some of them only ephemeral) if it does not manage to place the actual subversion of scientific language at the centre of its programme."Structuralism has been in fashion in Anglo-American intellectual circles since the late sixties, as is demonstrated by the number of critical anthologies and books which have appeared in the last decade. The critical excitement generated by structuralism reached its peak in America in the mid-seventies: the label became then the product, with the predictable result that any thinker, past or present, who was anyone fit under the 'structuralist umbrella''.

Eugenio Donato [has questioned] 'whether the concept of structuralism has any validity and whether such a thing as structuralism ever existed'. And yet there was an intellectual movement comparable to previous '-isms', something that we will call, for want of a more precise term, the structuralist 'tendency of thought'.That structuralism eventually became a fashion and an ideology is not my concern here.We shall therefore concentrate on two areas: ethnology, using Claude Lévi-Strauss - whose ethnological work has been at the origin of structuralism's success - and literary criticism, using the work of Roland Barthes.Lévi-Strauss attempts first of all an interpretation of the most pronounced social phenomenon - kinship - which he elaborates on the basis of the Jakobsonian linguistic model, having transposed the latter onto the ethnological plane.

On the methodological level, Lévi-Straussian structuralism asserts itself as a method of scientific knowledge and even lays claim to the rigor of the exact sciences. Therefore, it is opposed to all exclusively phenomenological approaches to knowledge, which pretend to gain immediate access to meaning through a descriptive analysis of what we experience or perceive (Lévi-Strauss's *réel* and *vécu*). In opposition to phenomenology, which 'postulates a kind of continuity between experience and reality', Lévi-Strauss affirms that 'the transition between one order and the other is discontinuous; that to reach reality, one has to first reject experience, if only to reintegrate it into an objective synthesis devoid of any sentimentality'. For Lévi-Strauss, intelligibility is therefore not given at the level of perception or of daily experience.It is rather the result of a *praxis* based

on the construction of models which alone permit access to the hidden meaning of phenomena, a meaning which is formulated in terms of structure. Lévi-Strauss's goal is *not* to change our perception of the concrete, but to reveal the concrete's true nature which, precisely, escapes perception. "For Lévi-Strauss, as for structuralism in general, it is important to emphasise that the structure is not directly observable, since access is gained to it only at the end of a progressive 'reduction' which permits one to distinguish the pertinent oppositions (the constitutive units of the system) that alone have signifying value".

Lévi-Straussian structuralism must not be confused with formalism. In contrast to proponents of formalism, Lévi-Strauss refuses to oppose the concrete to the abstract, and to ascribe to the latter a privileged value: 'For [formalism], the two domains must be absolutely separate, since form alone is intelligible, and content is only a residual deprived of any significant value. For structuralism, this opposition does not exist.There is not something abstract on one side and something concrete on the other. Form and content are of the same nature, susceptible [to] the same analysis'.Unlike formalism, which Lévi-Strauss denounces for misjudging 'the complementarity of signifier and signified, which has been recognised since Saussure in all linguistic systems', his structural analysis places itself resolutely at the level of form *and* of content, that is, *at the level of signification.* The task of literary structuralism is not to discover the meaning of a work, but to reconstitute the rules governing the production of meaning."Structural analysis ... bypasses the problems associated with the figure of the author as well as other criteria exterior to the text, and instead focuses its attention on the text, understood as a construct whose mode of function must be described".Both the strengths and shortcomings of the structuralist approach in its application to the literary domain are most apparent in the work done on narrative.At first, structural analysis sought to reconstitute a common language for all narratives, in other words, a model which would their multiplicity.It might be useful to recall here, as they have been vastly overstated, the precise characteristics and aims of structural analysis.

(1) Structural analysis describes and explains a text as a system of narrative transformations. It presents a picture of possible narrative discourses, such that all existing narratives appear particular instances of a general - although variable -hypothetical model.

(2) A structuralist narrative model is never either exhaustive or definitive. It cannot explain *all* the articulations of narrative discourse.

(3) Structural analysis does not explain the meaning(s) of a text. To study the grammar of narrative is to attempt to specify the possibilities of meaning and not to fulfill them."What is in question in structural analysis is not the truth of a text, but its plurality".

(4) Literary 'science' that is a product of structural analysis remains mostly at the level of description, unless and until it opens up onto a broader problematic

that can account for the production of meaning. This is the precise juncture at which we begin to treat the 'work' as a 'text'.

Does there exist, in the end, a philosophy or a method that can be qualified as genuinely structuralist? Or are there only certain structural subjects common to the work of theorists that fit under the convenient unifying structuralist label? The reality of the situation is that various combinations of answers might all be valid, although we would be inclined to choose the second alternative.In our terms, the list of common denominators would then read: (1)the rejection of the concept of the 'full subject' to the benefit of that of structure; (2) the loss of pertinence of the traditional 'form/content' division insofar as for all structuralist theorists content derives its reality from its structure; and (3) at the methodological level, a stress on codification and systematisation.First, there is no unified view of structuralism, and second, structuralism as a movement is most clearly defined on the basis of the transformation it has wrought in the disciplines it has affected.

Historicall, structuralism was born of linguistics, and all the fields it covers have to do with signs.All the disciplines encompassed by structuralism - linguistics, poetics, ethnology, psychoanalysis and, clearly in the background but still related, philosophy -are grouped under the sciences of the sign, or of sign-systems. We could also mention Lacan's well-known formulas: 'The unconscious is structured like a language', and 'Dreams have the structure of a sentence'. In any society, communication operates on three different levels: communication of women, communication of goods and services, communication of messages.Therefore kinship studies, economics and linguistics approach the same kinds of problems on different strategic levels and really pertain to the same field.We know how incest prohibitions function in primitive societies.By casting sisters and daughters out of the consanguineal group, so to speak, and by assigning them to husbands who belong to other groups, the prohibition of incest creates bonds of alliance between these biological groups, the first such bonds which one can call social. The incest prohibition is thus the basis of human society: in a sense it is the society.We did not proceed inductively to justify this interpretation.How could we have done, with phenomena which are universally correlated, but among which different societies have posited all sorts of curious connections? Moreover, this is not a matter of facts but of meanings.The question we asked ourselves was that of the *meaning* of the incest prohibition not the meaning of its *results*, real or imaginary. It was necessary, then, to establish the systematic nature of each kinship terminology and its corresponding set of marriage rules. And this was made possible only by the additional effort of elaborating the system of these systems and of putting them into transformational relationship. From then on what had been merely a huge and disordered relationship became organized in grammatical terms involving a coercive charter of conceivable ways of setting up and maintaining a reciprocity system.It could be that we remain attached to it for very different reasons, such as the relatively recent discovery of the harmful consequences of consanguineal unions Or, is it not rather the case that our society, a particular instance in a

much vaster family of societies, depends, like all others, for its coherence and its very existence on a network - grown infinitely unstable and complicated among us - of ties between consanguineal families? If so, do we admit that the network is homogeneous in all its parts, or must we recognise therein types of structures differing according to environment or region and variable as a function of local historical conditions?

It is hopeless to expect a structural analysis to change our way of perceiving concrete social relations. It will only explain them better.But if a distinction is made between the level of observation and symbols to be substituted for it, we fail to see why an algebraic treatment of, let us say symbols for marriage rules, would not teach us, when aptly manipulated, something about the way a given marriage system actually works and bring out properties not immediately apparent to the empirical observer. Structuralism is a philosophical view according to which the reality of the objects of the human or social sciences is relational rather than substantial. It generates a critical method that consists of inquiring into and specifying the sets of relations (or structures) that constitute these objects or into which they enter, and of identifying and analyzing groups of such objects whose members are structural transformations of one another.

We may understand the Structuralist enterprise as a study of superstructures, or, in a more limited way, of ideology.The academic scene is fraught with mortality; the *-isms* of its trade have a way of dying a violent death naming a name is not equal to saying what the name names: if what we are witness to now is 'post-structuralism', it is valid to ask what that structuralism is which this post-structuralism is 'post' to."In the current state of research, it seems reasonable that the structural analysis of narrative be given linguistics itself as a founding model"."Structuralism insists on the difference between signifier and signified: indeed, the radical difference and then arbitrary association of signifier and signified is the basis of its account of the sign. Deconstruction, on the other hand, demonstrates that any signified is itself a signifier and that the signifier is already a signified, so that signs cannot be authoritatively identified and isolated. However, by approaching the problem in terms of form and content rather than signifier and signified, one can see these movements as part of the larger 'question of formalism' and one can explicate, in part, an apparently anomalous situation: structuralism and deconstruction seem in various ways opposed to one another; each of them is opposed to the New Criticism (whose faults are usually said to involve excessive formalism); nevertheless both can be identified with the impossibility of going beyond formalism".

Structuralism was philosophically opposed to the subject and as part of this opposition reduced the roles of the author and reader to mere epiphenomena of writing and reading as activities, thus denying that they existed as independent forces.Structuralism had relatively little influence on criticism in the English-speaking world: in America in particular, few critics showed any interest in it.Its anti-humanism and the fact that it tended to concentrate on forms and genres rather than the close reading of texts made it difficult to accommodate.Literary criticism asks *what* texts mean. Semiotics and structuralism are among the

theories that first ask *how* language and literature convey meaning.Structuralism and semiotics recognise that communities that share a textual history reach a consensus about meaning because they share codes and conventions of expression. Moving beyond the level of sentences to larger units of speech and writing, Structuralism identifies the *underlying* structures shared by the individual *surface* manifestations of a system.It provides methods of analysis. Structural anthropology, particularly Claude Lévi-Strauss's work with myth, was an important application and extension of structuralism. Discovering the structural similarities among myths rewarded analysts with discoveries about the larger social functions of mythmaking.Working from Saussure's perception that meaning is relational, structural anthropology identifies the binary oppositions in a culture as they are manifested in story and ritual. Insofar as stories mediate between irreconcilable oppositions, mythmaking is a survival strategy.Ironically, structuralism has had to sustain the opposing charges that it (1) lacks humanity because it subjects literature to scientific analysis and (2) is overidealistic because it searches for universals and gives greater privilege to synchronic systems than to historical change.

Structuralism and semiotic studies have gone in several directions as critiques have developed into independent but related literary theories. Lacanian psychoanalytic criticism develops from the notion that the subject is constituted in language; the reader-response theories of Iser or Fish develop from notions of communal consensus and the subjectivity of the message's receiver; feminist theory has been able to use the idea of coding to explain how the female body has been negatively inscribed in a culture that creates binary oppositions and hierarchies that have consistently worked to oppress women in work and in life; Derrida's deconstruction finds in texts not one but several competing signifying systems that are often in contradiction with each other, so that texts undercut their own meanings. The recognition that discourse is a matter of codes has revitalized genre criticism, exemplified in Tzvetan Todorov's work on the fantastic or Scholes's work on science fiction.The structural Marxism of Althusser and Jameson also departs from, but therefore acknowledges the contribution of, semiotic and structuralist principles.The stress in linguistics, though at first not given this name, represents a shift from historical and comparative to analytic studies, made necessary especially by the problems of understanding languages which were outside the traditional groups in which earlier methods had been developed.Especially in the case of the American Indians, it was found necessary to discard presuppositions drawn from historical and comparative studies of Indo-European languages, and to study each language 'from the inside' or, as it was later put, structurally.In France, certain half-witted 'commentators persist in labelling me a 'structuralist'. We have been unable to get it into their tiny minds that we have used none of the methods, concepts or key terms that characterize structural analysis.We should be grateful if a more serious public would free me from a connection that certainly does me honour, but that we have not deserved. There may well be certain similarities between the works of the structuralists and our own work.It would hardly behove us, of all people, to claim that our discourse is independent of conditions and rules of which we are very largely unaware, and which determine other work that is being done today. But it is only

too easy to avoid the trouble of analysing such work by giving it an admittedly impressivesounding, but inaccurate, label.

Structuralism as a proper name includes a number of diverse practices across different disciplines in the human sciences.What they all have in common is a Saussurian linguistics.The possibility of this was posited by Lévi-Strauss in 1945, in his essay, - Structural Analysis in Linguistics and in Anthropology-:Although they belong to *another order of reality*, kinship phenomena are *of the same type* as linguistic phenomena.Can the anthropologist, using a method analogous *in form* (if not content) to the method used in structural linguistics, achieve the same kind of progress in his own science as that which has taken place in linguistics? "In the 'Cours de linguistique génerale' (given between 1906 and 1911),Saussure suggested that language could only be made the object of a science if it was limited to a discernible object. To study language in general is an impossible enterprise, given the vagueness of the term and the diffuseness of its possible attributes. Saussure therefore proposed the following taxonomic delimitations: firstly, a distinction between synchronic analysis - that is, of language as a functioning totality at any given period, and diachronic analysis - that is, of the change of specific elements of language through historical periods. Secondly, a fundamental elemental distinction between 'langue' – the system of any particular language (its social codes, rules, norms) which give meaning to individual communications, and 'parole' - the act of utilisation of the system, the individual act of language as executed by a particular speaker.The object of linguistics, should be the first in each case: a synchronic analysis of 'langue'.

Semiology (or, in the USA, after C.S. Pierce, semiotics) is not easy to distinguish from structuralism. Strictly, semiology is a science of signs, whereas structuralism is a method of analysis.The structuralist method, then, assumes that meaning is made possible by the existence of underlying systems of conventions which enable elements to function individually as signs.Structuralist analysis addresses itself to the system of rules and relations underlying each signifying practice: its activity more often than not Consists in producing a model of this system."A significant critique of the assumptions implicit in structuralist literary criticism was made by [Pierre] Macherey as early as 1965. In his essay, - Literary Analysis: the Tomb of Structures-, Macherey as might have been expected of a contributor to Althusser's 'Reading Capital', attacks structuralism for its ahistoricism. But the essay's formulations go much further than this, particularly in their development of certain remarks made by Foucault at the beginning of 'The Birth of the Clinic'.Macherey's critique is made on fourgrounds. First, he questions the status of the use of linguistics in literary criticism and the unproblematised transference of knowledge from one discipline to another. This, he argues, disallows the claim for scientific status: 'scientific borrowing is not just colonization, a new world founded from a fragment of the mother country.' The use of the concept of structure as defined in linguistics may in the end enable the resolution of critical problems, but it would have been unable to pose them in the first place. Second, Macherey argues that the appropriation of the idea of structure from linguistics to literature is in fact a misappropriation.It goes back, he suggests, to 'the entirely unscientific hypothesis that the work has an intrinsic meaning'.In other words, Macherey argues that both traditional and structuralist criticism seek an interpretation from 'within' the work. They both hold that the

work will reveal its secret, its 'myth of interiority' and its nebulous origins.This assumption is pursued in Macherey's third criticism, that, for structuralists, analysis is the discovery of rationality, the secret coherence of an object.Lastly, developing from this, Macherey argues that structuralism presupposes the traditional and metaphysical notion of harmony and unity: a work only exists in so far as it realises a totality. Hence structuralism presupposes a 'theology of creation.

Saussure viewed language as a system of signs, which was to be studies 'Synchronically' - that is to say, studies as a complete system at a given point in time -rather than 'diachronically', in its historical development. Each sign was to be seen as being made up of a 'signifier' (a sound-image, or its graphic equivalent), and a 'signified' (the concept or meaning). The three black marks *c - a – t are* a signifier which evoke the signified 'cat' in an English mind. The relation between signifier and signified is an arbitrary one: there is no inherent reason why these three marks should mean 'cat', other than cultural and historical convention.The relation between the whole sign and what it refers to (what Saussure calls the 'referent', the real furry four-legged creature) is therefore also arbitrary. Each sign in the system has meaning by virtue only of its difference from the others. 'Cat' has meaning not 'in itself', but because it is not 'cap' or 'cad' or 'bat'. What are the gains of structuralism? To begin with, it represents a remorseless *demystification* of literature.It is less easy after Greimas and Genette to hear the cut and thrust of the rapiers in line three, or feel that you know just what it feels like to be a scarecrow after reading *The Hollow Men.*Moreover, the structuralist method implicitly questioned literature's claim to be a unique form of discourse: since deep structures could be dug out of Mickey Spillane as well as Sir Philip Sidney, and no doubt the same ones at that, it was no longer easy to assign literature an ontologically privileged status.

The structuralist emphasis on the 'constructedness' of human meaning represented a major advance. Meaning was neither a private experience nor a divinely ordained occurrence: it was the product of certain shared systems of signification.The confident bourgeois belief that the isolated individual subject was the fount and origin of all meaning took a sharp knock: language pre-dated the individual, and was much less his or her product than he or she was the product of it.Structuralism is a modern inheritor of belief that reality, and our experience of it, are discontinuous with each other; as such, it threatens the ideological security of those who wish the world to be within their control, to carry its singular meaning on its face and yield it up to them in the unblemished mirror of their language. Structuralism, in a word, was hair-raisingly unhistorical: the laws of the mind it claimed to isolate - parallelisms, oppositions, inversions and the rest - moved at a level of generality quite remote from the concrete differences of human history.The history of a system is itself a system diachrony can be studied synchronically.The shift away from structuralism has been in part, to use the terms of the French linguist Emile Benveniste, a move from 'language' to 'discourse'. 'Language' is speech or writing viewed 'objectively, as a chain of signs without a subject. 'Discourse' means language grasped as *utterance*, as involving speaking and writing subjects and therefore also, at least potentially, readers or listeners. This is not simply a return to the prestructuralist days when we thought that language belonged to us individually as our eyebrows did; it does not revert to the classical 'contractual' model of language, according to which language is just a sort of instrument essentially isolated individuals use to exchange their pre-linguistic experiences.The ideal

reader or 'super-reader' posited by structuralism was in effect a transcendental subject absolved from all limiting social determinants. It owed much as a concept to the American linguist Noam Chomsky's notion of linguistic 'competence', by which was meant the innate capacities which allowed us to master the underlying rules of language. But not even Lévi-Strauss was able to read texts as would the Almighty himself. Indeed it has been plausibly suggested that Lévi-Strauss's initial engagements with structuralism had much to do with his political views about the reconstruction of post-war France about which there was nothing divinely assured.

Conventional English literary criticism has tended to divide into two camps over structuralism. On the one hand there are those who see in it the end of civilization as we have known it.On the other hand, there are those erstwhile or essentially conventional critics who have scrambled with varying degrees of dignity on a bandwagon which in Paris at least has been disappearing down the road for some time.The fact that structuralism was effectively over as an intellectual movement in Europe some years ago has not seemed to deter them: a decade or so is perhaps the customary time-lapse for ideas in transit across the Channel.Structuralism is a way of refurbishing the literary institution, providing it with a *raison d'être* more respectable and compelling than gush about sunsets.[In Cambridge]The controversy over 'structuralism' (used as the preferred shorthand for 'modern literary theory') was a rather aggressive expression of resistance, articulated - when it achieved articulateness - in terms of 'principles not theory' (dedication to principles in 'a grounded choice' as against literary theory defined by its abstraction, its systematisation, precisely its anti-literariness) and of true respect for the canon ('it is our job to teach and uphold the canon of English literature'). A much favoured quotation at the time was from T. S. Eliot: 'to theorise demands vast ingenuity, and to avoid theorising demands vast honesty'.

ORAL TRADITION

Oral tradition, oral culture and oral lore are messages or testimony transmitted orally from one generation to another.The messages or testimony are verbally transmitted in speech or song and may take the form, for example, of folktales, sayings, ballads, songs, or chants.In this way, it is possible for a society to transmit oral history, oral literature, oral law and other knowledges across generations without a writing system.For the purposes of some disciplines, a narrower definition of oral tradition may be appropriate.Sociologists might also emphasize a requirement that the material is held in common by a group of people, over several generations, and might distinguish oral tradition from testimony or oral history. In a general sense, “oral tradition” refers to the transmission of cultural material through vocal utterance, and was long held to be a key descriptor of folklore (a criterion no longer rigidly held by all folklorists).As an academic discipline, it refers both to a set of objects of study and a method by which they are studied – the method may be called variously “oral traditional theory”, “the theory of Oral-Formulaic Composition” and the “Parry-Lord theory” (after two of its founders; see below) The study of oral tradition is distinct from the academic discipline of oral history, which is the recording of personal memories and histories of those who experienced historical eras or events. It is also distinct from the study of orality, which can be defined as thought and its verbal expression in societies where the technologies of literary (especially writing and print) are unfamiliar to most of the population.

Study of oral tradition: History

Oral tradition as a field of study had its origins in the work of the Serb scholar Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic (1787-1864), a contemporary and friend of the Brothers Grimm.Vuk pursued similar projects of "salvage folklore" (similar to rescue archaeology) in the cognate traditions of the Southern Slavic regions which would later be gathered into Yugoslavia, and with the same admixture of romantic and nationalistic interests (he considered all those speaking Serbo-Croat as Serbs).Somewhat later, but as part of the same scholarly enterprise of nationalist studies in folklore, the turcologist Vasily Radlov (1837-1918) would study the songs of the Kara-Kirghiz in what would later become the Soviet Union; Karadzic and Radloff would provide models for the work of Parry.

Milman Parry and Albert Lord.

Shortly thereafter, Milman Parry (1902 – 1935), pursuing a degree in Classics at the University of California, Berkeley, would begin to grapple with what was then called the "Homeric Question", usually framed as "who was Homer?" and "what are the Homeric poems?" The Homeric question actually consists of a series of related inquiries, and Parry's contribution, which drew upon and synthesized the insights of previous scholars including Marcel Jousse, Matija Murko and Arnold vanaprasthasrama Gennep, was to reconsider the foundational assumptions which framed the inquiries, a re-ordering that would have consequences for a great many literatures and disciplines.

Parry's work under Antoine Meillet at the Sorbonne led to his crucial insight into the "formula", which he originally defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea".In Homeric verse, for example, phrases like eos rhododaktylos ("rosy fingered dawn") or oinops pontos ("winedark sea") occupy a certain metrical pattern that fits, in modular fashion, into the six-colon Greek hexameter, and aids the aioidos or bard in extempore composition.Moreover, phrases of this type would be subject to internal substitutions and adaptations, permitting flexibility in response to narrative and grammatical needs: podas okus Achilleus ("swift footed Achilles") is metrically equivalent to koruthaiolos Hektor ("glancing-helmed Hektor").Parry and Lord observed that the same phenomenon was apparent in the Old English alliterative line:

> Hrothgar mathelode helm Scildinga ("Hrothgar spoke, protector of the Scildings")
>
> Beowulf mathelode Bearn Ecgtheowes ("Beowulf spoke, son of Ecgtheow")

and in the junacki deseterac (heroic decasyllable_ of the demonstrably oral poetry of the Serbs:

> a besjedi od Orasca Tale ("But spoke of Orashatz Tale")
>
> a besjedi Mujagin Halile ("But spoke Mujo's Halil")

In Parry's view, formulas were not individual and idiosyncratic devices of particular artists, but the shared inheritance of a tradition of singers. They were easily remembered, making it possible for the singer to execute an

improvisational composition-in-performance.A later scholar commented on the potential for Parry's concept to be seen as disparaging of Homeric genius:"The meaning of the Greek term 'rhapsodize', rhapsoidein, 'to stitch song together' could then be taken in a negative sense: Homer stitched together pre-fabricated parts".The idea indeed met with immediate resistance, because it seemed to make the fount of Western literary eloquence the slave of a system of cliches, but it accounted for such otherwise inexplicable features of the Homeric poems as gross anachronisms (revealed by advances in historical and archaeological knowledge), the presence of incompatible dialects, and the deployment of locally unsuitable epithets ("blameless Aegisthos" for the murderer of Agamemnon, or the almost comic use of "swift-footed Achilles" for the hero in conspicuously sedentary moments).

Parry was appointed to a junior professorship at Harvard, and during this time became aware of living oral traditions in the Balkan region. In two field expeditions with his young assistant Albert Lord (1912-1991) he would record thousands of songs on aluminum disks.The collection would provide the basis for an empirical documentation of the dynamics of composition of metrical narrative in traditional oral performance.This analysis included the patterns and types of variation at lexical and other levels which would yield a structural account of a work's multiformity. This phenomenon could only be accounted for in standard literary methodology by concepts of "corruption" and "distortion" of a pristine, original "ur-text" or hypothetical "lost Q" (Quelle", German for "source"), hypothesized via stemmatology.Thus the work of Parry and Lord reduced the prominence of the historic-geographic method in folkloristics.

Parry died in 1935.His work was posthumously published by his son Adam Parry as The Making of Homeric Verse (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971). Lord, however, had meanwhile published The Singer of Tales (1960), a work which summarized both Parry's response to the Homeric Question, and the joint work he had done with Parry in the Balkans.The Parry-Lord work exercised great influence on other scholars, notably Francis P. Magoun, whose application of their model to Anglo-Saxon traditions demonstrated the explicative and problem-solving power of the theory – a process that would be repeated by other scholars in numerous independent traditions (see below).

Walter Ong.

In a separate development, the media theorist Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) would begin to focus attention on the ways that communicative media shape the nature of the content conveyed.He would serve as mentor to the Jesuit, Walter Ong (1912-2003), whose interests in cultural history, psychology and rhetoric would result in Orality and Literacy and the important but less-known Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality and Consciousness.These two works articulated the contrasts between cultures by primary orality, writing, print, and the secondary orality of the electronic age.Style the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print, 'primary orality'. It is 'primary' by contrast with the 'secondary orality' of present-day high technology culture, in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and

print.Today primary culture in the strict sense hardly exists, since every culture knows of writing and has some experience of its effects.Still, to varying degrees many cultures and sub-cultures, even in a high-technology ambiance, preserve much of the mind-set of primary orality.

Ong's works also made possible an integrated theory of oral tradition which accounted for both production of content (the chief concern of Parry-Lord theory) and its reception.This approach, like McLuhan's, kept the field open not just to the study of aesthetic culture but to the way physical and behavioral artifacts of oral societies are used to store, manage and transmit knowledge, so that oral tradition provides methods for investigation of cultural differences, other than the purely verbal, between oral and literate societies.The most-often studied section of Orality and Literacy concerns the "psychodynamics of orality" This chapter seeks to define the fundamental characteristics of 'primary' orality and summarizes a series of descriptors (including but not limited to verbal aspects of culture) which might be used to index the relative orality or literacy of a given text or society.

John Miles Foley.

In advance of Ong's synthesis, John Miles Foley, who studied with Robert Creed (who had in turn studied with Magoun), began a series of papers based on his own fieldwork on South Slavic oral genres, emphasizing the dynamics of performers and audiences.Foley effectively consolidated oral tradition as an academic field when he compiled Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research in 1985.The bibliography gives a summary of the progress scholars made in evaluating the oral tradition up to that point, and includes a list of all relevant scholarly articles relating to the theory of Oral-Formulaic Composition. He also both established both the journal Oral Tradition and founded the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition (1986) at the University of Missouri.Foley developed Oral Theory beyond the somewhat mechanistic notions presented in earlier versions of Oral-Formulaic Theory, by extending Ong's interest in cultural features of oral societies beyond the verbal, by drawing attention to the agency of the bard and by describing how oral traditions bear meaning.

The bibliography would establish a clear underlying methodology which accounted for the findings of scholars working in the separate Linguistics fields (primarily Ancient Greek, Anglo-Saxon and Serbo-Croatian).Perhaps more importantly; it would stimulate conversation among these specialties, so that a network of independent but allied investigations and investigators could be established. Foley's key works include The Theory of Oral Composition (1988); Immanent Art (1991); Traditional Oral Epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf and the Serbo-Croatian Return-Song (1993);The Singer of Tales in Performance (1995); Teaching Oral Traditions (1998); How to Read an Oral Poem (2002).His Pathways Project) (2006-) draws parallels between the media dynamics of oral traditions and the Internet.

Acceptance and further elaboration.

The theory of oral tradition would undergo elaboration and development as it grew in acceptance.While the number of formulas documented for

various traditions proliferated, the concept of the formula remained lexically-bound.However, numerous innovations appeared, such as the "formulaic system" with structural "substitution slots" for syntactic, morphological and narrative necessity (as well as for artistic invention).Sophisticated models such as Foley's "word-type placement rules" followed.Higher levels of formulaic composition were defined over the years, such as "ring composition", "responsion" and the "type-scene" (also called a "theme" or "typical scene").Examples include the "Beasts of Battle" and the "Cliffs of Death" Some of these characteristic patterns of narrative details, (like "the arming sequence"; "the hero on the beach;" "the traveler recognizes his goal" would show evidence of global distribution. At the same time, the fairly rigid division between oral and literate was replaced by recognition of transitional and compartmentalized texts and societies, including models of diglossia (Brian Stock Franz Bauml, and Eric Havelock).Perhaps most importantly, the terms and concepts of "orality" and "literacy" came to be replaced with the more useful and apt "traditionality" and "textuality".Very large units would be defined (The Indo-European Return Song) and areas outside of military epic would come under investigation: women's song, riddles", and other genres.

The methodology of oral tradition now conditions a large variety of studies, not only in folklore, literature and literacy, but in philosophy, communication theory, Semiotics, and including a very broad and continually expanding variety of languages and ethnic groups.Present developments explore the implication so the theory for rhetoric and composition, interpersonal communication, cross-cultural communication, postcolonial studies, rural community development, popular culture and film studies, and many other areas.The most significant areas of theoretical development at present may be the construction of systematic hermeneutics and aesthetics specific to oral traditions.

Criticism and debates.

The theory of oral transport encountered early resistance from scholars who perceived it as potentially supporting either one side or another in the controversy between what were known as "unitarians" and "analysis" – that is, scholars who believed Homer to have been a single, historical figure, and those who saw him as a conceptual "author function", a convenient name to assign to what was essentially a repertoire of traditional narrative. A much more general dismissal of the theory and its implications simply described it as "unprovable" Some scholars, mainly outside the field of oral transport, represent (either dismissively or with approval) this body of theoretical work as reducing the great epics to children's party games like "telephone" or "Chinese whispers".While games provide amusement by showing how messages distort content via uncontextualized transmission, Parry's supporters argue that the theory of oral tradition reveals how oral methods optimized the signal-to-noise ratio ad thus improved the quality, stability and integrity of content transmission.

There were disputes concerning particular findings of the theory. For example, those trying to support or refute Crowne's hypothesis found the "Hero on the Beach" formula in numerous Old English poems. It was also discovered in other works of Germanic origin, Middle English poetry, and even an Icelandic prose saga.J.A. Dane, in an article characterized as "polemics without rigor" claimed that the appearance of the theme in Ancient

Greek poetry, a tradition without known connection to the Germanic, invalidated the notion of "an autonomous theme in the baggage of an oral poet".

Within Homeric studies specifically, Lord's The Singer of Tales, which focused on problems and questions that arise in conjunction with applying oral-formulaic theory to problematic texts such as the Iliad, Odyssey, and even Beowulf, influenced nearly all of the articles written on Homer and oral-formulaic composition thereafter. However, in response to Lord, Geoffrey Kirk published "The Songs of Homer", questioning Lord's extension of the oral-formulaic nature of Serbian and Croatian literature (the area from which the theory was first developed) to Homeric epic. Kirk argues that Homeric poems differ from those traditions in their "metrical strictness", "formular system[s]", and creativity. In other words, Kirk argued that Homeric poems were recited under a system that gave the reciter much more freedom to choose words and passages to get to the same end than the Serbo-Croatian poet, who was merely "reproductive".Shortly thereafter, Eric Havelock's Preface to Plato revolutionized how scholars looked at Homeric epic by arguing not only that it was the product of an oral tradition, but also that the oral-formulas contained therein served as a way for ancient Greeks to preserve cultural knowledge across many different generations.Adam Parry, in his 1966 work "Have we Homer's Iliad?", theorized the existence of the most fully developed oral poet to his time, a person who could (at his discretion) creatively and intellectually create nuanced characters in the context of the accepted, traditional story. In fact, he discounted the Serbo-Croatian tradition to an "unfortunate" extent, choosing to elevate the Greek model of oral-tradition above all others.Lord reacted to Kirk's and Parry's essays with "Homer as Oral Poet", published in 1968, which reaffirmed Lord'sbelief in the relevance of Yugoslav poetry and its similarities to Homer and downplayed the intellectual and literary role of the reciters of Homeric epic.

Many of the criticisms of the theory have been absorbed into the evolving field as useful refinements and modifications.For example, in what Foley called a "pivotal" contribution, Larry Benson introduced the concept of "written-formulaic" to describe the status of some Anglo-Saxon poetry which, while demonstrably written, contains evidence of oral influences, including heavy reliance on formulas and themes.A number of individual scholars in many areas continue to have misgivings about the applicability of the theory or the aptness of the South Slavic comparison, and particularly what they regard as its implications for the creativity which may legitimately be attributed to the individual artist. However, at present, there seems to be little systematic or theoretically coordinated challenge to the fundamental tenets of the theory; as Foley put it," "there have been numerous suggestions for revisions or modifications of the theory, but the majority of controversies have generated further understanding".

CHAPTER-IV

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION AND GENERALISATION

INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERIAL.

After collecting the source material and establishing its credibility for purposes of historical writing, the researcher has to arrange and rearrange this material in different ways for bringing about some order and meaning in it. At this stage he has to exercise his thinking faculty. He has to correlate various facts, establish causal relations between them and make them meaningful. In other words he has to breathe life into the dead bones of historical material. For doing this, he has to interpret facts, and interpretation is the life-breath of history, or history in its essence is nothing but interpretation, as E.H. Carr would have us believe.There is no history without interpretation. When a history work is written we find in it a narration of facts together with their interpretation. Facts may be sometimes descriptive.They are simply narrated, without any interpretation or explanation, for the simple reason that they cannot be interpreted and any attempt to explain or interpret them would be absurd.For example, the statement that Sambhaji was the son of Shivaji is a fact, but it is absurd to try to interpret it. But the fact that in 1656 Shivaji acquired Javali has to be explained.We should find out the probable reasons for the acquisition of Javali, we should also narrate, with the help of the contemporary reliable sources, how Javali was acquired, and finally we should estimate its consequences. In the earlier example none of these things can be done, and yet such a narration of facts is necessary to make the whole historical work intelligible and significant. Such facts, though simply narrated, will ultimately help the historian in explaining certain other things, in interpreting certain other facts. The narration of facts itself should, however, be based on reliable sources, and must be rational and coherent.

For writing such a work of history, for properly utilizing the source material to write such a narrative interwoven with interpretations, one has to perform certain essential operations which synthesize the facts meaningfully.These processes of logical thinking include: 1.Generalization, 2.the argument from statistics, 3.analogy, 4.hypothesis, 5. Conjecture, 6. the argument from silence, and 7. the argument a priori.

Generalization is a very important logical process which can weave the fabric of history with warps and wools of facts, Facts left to themselves are apparently meaningless; when brought together in a causal relationship they make sense, and form integrated parts of a whole like the serews and nuts in a machine. Generalization is an inductive process in which one goes from the particular to the general, infers the unknown from the known. The particular

or known facts must be numerous to justify the generalization, to make the generalization valid.Yet there is always a leap in the dark in this process. While going from the known to the unknown there is some risk always involved. But one or two exceptions need not lessen the validity of generalizations. For example, Akbar treated Bihari Material respectfully, treated Bhagawan Das respectfully, treated Mansingh respectfully, treated Todar Material respectfully, treated many other Hindus respectfully, and hence from these particular instances we make a general statement that Akbar treated Hindus respectfully. But he did not do so always. On the fall of Chitor he massacred 30,000 Hindus. This would go against the above generalization. But such cases are very few and these acts were actuated by temporary impulses and not by well-planned policies. So the generalization remains valid. On the other hand, Aurangzeb demolished the temple at Mathura, demolished the temples in Gujarat, demolished the temples in Rajasthan, demolished the temples in Malwa, demolished the temples in the Deccan, demolished the temples in many other places, and hence we generalize that Aurangzeb was an iconoclast, although there are some examples of grants made by him to some temples. Thus we can have many generalizations, as under: Aurangzeb oppressed the Hindus; the Mughals encouraged trade and commerce; Shivaji's struggle with the Adilshahs and Mughals was political, not religious, in character; Sufism was influenced by Hinduism; SherShah was a good administrator; Babar was a good general, and the like.Again, a generalization can light up an institution or a period of time. The statement "The caste system has been anti-national" certainly brings into focus its greatest defect. Similarly the statement, "The Maratha administrative system marks the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim features" gives a significant meaning to the whole system. Again, "the medieval period of Indian history symbolizes the process of the gradual amalgamation of Hindu-Muslim cultures" is a statement that illumines the whole medieval period in India.

One common danger every researcher has to guard against is to generalize on insufficient data, sometimes even on one or two facts only. If, for example, one or two convicts were punished severely, one cannot generalize that the punishments meted out to the culprits were very severe. From the recorded cases of an educated Gulbadan or a Jahanara, it cannot be concluded that women under the Mughals were educated. This is another common pitfall in the writing of history.

The process of generalization is greatly facilitated by the statistical information about various facts. The quantification of data provides a solid basis for generalization. It gives a greater degree of probability to the conclusions which are shaky, turning finally the probabilities into certainties. It must not be forgotten, however, that the quantification is just an aid to the researcher, and ultimately it is for the researcher to generalize

properly and intelligently. If he lacks this capacity, no amount of quantification or computerization of statistics would be of any avail to him.

The third logical process is analogy. In this method two facts of history – they may be events or doings of persons – are compared in respect of similar features that are already record and on this basis conclusions are drawn about other possible similar features that are not recorded. As in the first method, here also there is induction, but this is confined to only two or a few facts. If many such facts are available, naturally this method would be turned into the first method, the method of generalization. This method is essentially based on the logical principle of inference from similarities.This is made possible by the general law of causality which may be expressed by saying that similar causes lead to similar effects or similar events have similar features or persons having similar temperaments act in similar ways under similar circumstances.This method also, like the method of generalization involves the leap in the dark. From the known features or facts we take a leap into the unknown features or facts. Samudra Gupta has been compared with Napoleon, Shivaji with Alexander or Hannibal, Martin Luther King with Mahatma Gandhi, Aurangzeb's Deccan policy with Napoleon's peninsular war, and so on. Given similar causes of the French Revolution, similar results could be expected under similar conditions. Mere ideas unsupported by experience, as in the case of the French revolutionaries, would often lead to disastrous results. We find this in many an infant democracy in Africa and Asia. But this process should not be pressed too far, for human nature varies from man to man, and it is impossible to find two persons or events or facts having exactly similar features.That history never repeats itself exactly is a well-known truth. Hence this method should be used with great caution for clarifying certain essential features only.

Hypothesis can be of two types, explanatory and descriptive. In both the cases, it is a tentative conclusion. In explanatory hypothesis we try to account for a given fact and the explanation is provisional because it is based on inconclusive proof. This method is especially used in finding out laws or formulas acting in history. The defeat of the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat is a fact. Various explanations are offered for this fact, the defeat of the Marathas. Again the rise of the Maratha power has been accounted for variously by various authors such as Grant Duff and M.G. Ranade.Grant Duff explains it away by saying that it suddenly came into existence like a forest conflagration, but Ranade says that as a result of various factors such as geographical configuration, political heritage, the contribution of the saint – poets, and the like the Maratha power came into existence. These explanations are really in the nature of hypotheses. The historical maxim "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely"

voiced by Lord Acton is indeed based on a number of such hypotheses. A hypothesis when proved correct with the increase in evidence can lend itself to the formulation of certain maxims along with other similar hypotheses. If a hypothesis is found to be wrong in the face of different kinds of evidence, it is rejected, and another hypothesis made. Thus different hypotheses are tried until a satisfactory hypothesis is found out. It is on such proved hypotheses that the general maxims are founded.

Often the temptation is to frame a hypothesis which is favourable to us and then to try to prove it with the available facts. Unless the historian has intellectual integrity he is likely to fall a prey to the deliberate error of omission. He would omit such of the facts as would go against his favourite hypothesis. This is the error of omission which is often committed by a number of writers. The error of omission leads to the error of commission in which the author commits himself, even on the basis of flimsy evidence, to a particular view. This is what happens when one tries to prove one's favourite hypothesis with the available facts. Another error committed in this respect is to treat an hypothesis as though it were a proved fact or law. The best course to follow in such cases is to find out enough historical evidence for a hypothesis framed and if the hypothesis cannot stand on such evidence, then it should be bold set aside, and another hypothesis be framed. And, secondly, if such a hypothesis is included in a book, it should be clearly mentioned as a tentative conclusion, and not as an established fact, for there is often the temptation of presenting it as an accepted conclusion. K.P.Jayaswal maintains in his Hindu Polity that even in ancient times we had democratic institutions in India. He interprets the passages occurring in ancient Indian literature in such a way as to suit his contention. Similarly those historians who try to give a Marxian interpretation to Indian history are likely to commit such errors. It is argued, for example, that Shivaji was a leader of the peasant movement, and that Maharashtra Dharma smacked of "feudal exaction". The upheaval of 1857 is claimed to have been a war of independence by some, while others regard it as a mere Sepoy mutiny. In all such cases it is likely that the errors of commission and omission are committed and the available evidence is often distorted or twisted so as to suit the purpose of the historian. Obviously such a historian begins his work with pre-conceived notions, and acts like a pleader rather than like a judge. Therefore such a temptation must be resisted by all means by the researcher.

The second type of hypothesis is the descriptive hypothesis. This is employed for making a complex mass of facts that are isolated from one another, a meaningful unit by describing it in a collective manner. The activities of Rajaram, Ramachandrapant Amatya, Dhanaji Jadhav, Santaji Ghorpade and a host of other Maratha leaders and their followers after the

fall of Raigad become intelligible when we describe all of them by the term "Maratha war of independence".To describe the reign of Shahjahan as "the golden age of the Mughals", to describe the struggle among the sons of Shahjahan for the throne of Delhi as "the war of succession", is to frame a descriptive hypothesis. There are many who dispute these hypotheses. Many do not accept the reigns of Shahjahan as the golden age of the Mughals.They are therefore in the nature of hypotheses.

Conjecture is imagination based on insufficient data. It is generally employed in the case of individual facts or persons while hypothesis is usually concerned with collective facts. In some rare cases conjecture is pressed into service for general situations as well. But the main difference between conjecture and hypothesis is one of degree rather than of kind. In the case of conjecture the historical data available are very meagre as compared with the facts on which a hypothesis is based. The descriptions of the boyhood of historical figures such as Gautama Buddha, Guru Nanak, Shivaji and the Queen of Jhansi, of social ceremonies such as marriages or common prayers (e.g., the common prayer of the Buddhist monks in the Ajanta Chaitya Grihas described by Percy Brown in his work on Indian Architecture) or the exploits of warriors and the like.

The argument from silence is a negative way of reasoning. It is based on the general truth that if a fact or event has occurred, the author would certainly record it. He would record it if he knows it. He knows it if it is important enough to attract his attention.It would certainly attract his attention if it is important enough to attract the attention of even ordinary men. If the writer does not mention a fact, it therefore means that the event either did not occur at all or it was too insignificant to attract the attention of the people. For example, the later historians have extolled Magna Carta as a great democratic and national document, while the contemporary authors have not recorded a word about its greatness or national significance. To them it was a mere feudal document like many others of its kind. About the Kalyan Subhedar episode the contemporary or near-contemporary writers such as Anant Sabhasad and Paramanand are silent, although a 19th century writer Malhar Ramrao Chitnis and some other later writers mention this episode. Reasoning in a negative way as shown above one could easily and correctly state that such an event did not take place at all, for if it had occurred it would certainly have attracted the attention of these authors as it was undoubtedly a very important event in those days. Its mention in the Chitnis Bakhar is therefore a figment of his imagination, a mere concoction.

The argument a priori is based on the circumstances preceding an event. From knowledge of the general temperament of a person, from his past

doings, from his behaviour towards others, his doubtful actions may be accepted as facts of greater probability. This kind of argument can be employed with advantage in respect of the temple- building activities of Ahilyabai Holkar, the systematisation of administration by Peshwa Madhavrao I, the successful military exploits of Bajirao I and the perilous adventures of Shivaji.

GENERALIZATION IN HISTORY

A problem closely related to causal explanation in historiography is that of generalization. The problem of generalization is as old as history writing itself, for; the love of general truths and the desire to communicate them are innate to the human mind. Some of these truths find their way into history because of their proved validity in real historical situations.When Tacitus wrote 'In war every commander claims the credit for victory, but none admits the blame for defeat', and 'The more corrupt the state, temple more numerous the laws', he was writing truths of historical experience.

The nature of generalization in historiography is so baffling, as historians do not agree even upon how the word is to be defined. The American Dictionary defines generalization as "a proposition asserting something to be true either of all members of a certain class or of an indefinite part of that class". Generalization in history may be taken to be the outcome of concern for general truths.An instinctive and unconscious process of simplification, generalization is based on the assumption that men and things that resemble one another in some respects do so in many more respects and that the same conditions, though separated by time and place, will produce the same results. To generalize is to universalize or nearly universalize, that is, to say that something is true inmost situations or for most people, no matter whether supported by evidence or not. Historical generalizations are commonly summations – judgements – of the causes and explanations of events and particular situations applicable to different countries, periods, and situations. "When one links a mass of events in different places or times", writes Chester G. Starr, "by a connective tissue of generalization, the uniqueness of such historical events is thereby limited, for generalization is possible only if we can establish the presence of valid similarity".Lessons of history, on which history's educative value largely depends, are generalizations of this kind. To generalize is to synthesize the facts of the past one has discovered and draw far-reaching conclusions from them to consciously elevate above the level of the specific; it is a search for uniformities and regularities in the past which statistics could reveal. A historian's general statements reflect his major decisions on the best mode of communicating his thoughts to others. History deals with particular or unique events; but those particular events or facts also contain comparative

degrees of similarity.Generalization is an unavoidable interpretative device in history as in life. 'As ruler, so the people, is a commplace expression because it often happens or is often found. Again, 'An expanding power finds no limits to its expansion', is a general truth of history though we may find an exception to it in the Mauryan power under Asoka, but it is only an exception proving the rule.That the makers of India's Constitution made the Federal government overwhelmingly strong at the expense of the units owes to a generalization drawn from the country's history: 'India has had her inglorious days whenever the central power was weak'.

The Nature, Indispensability, and Uses of Generalizations

The Nature of Generalizations.

Historical generalizations are rough and ready statements of general truths which may not be applicable to every event and situation in history.To Patrick Gardiner, the generalization that 'wars have their origin in economic conflict' may be found wanting in support as an explanation of particular cases.A historical generalization is not a statement of absolute validity or universal applicability. Again, Gardiner shows how generalizations like 'economic changes in society are accompanied by religious changes' have a looseness which is not part of laws formulated in the natural sciences. The vagueness, complexity and looseness of historical concepts like 'economic change' and 'religious change' render historical generalizations incapable of precise application.

Generalizations cannot claim complete validity. The process involves great risks of error. Does starvation bring on revolt? Trevelyan warns us that the opposite statement that starvation leads to abject submission is equally true in the light of past events.The dictum that 'an expanding power finds no limits to its expansion' seems to be at least partly disproved by Asoka's self-imposed check on Mauryan imperialism. Napoleon's observation that the good of victory marches with the largest armies is true enough, since, in general, larger armies defeat smaller ones; but often he himself defeated bigger armies with smaller forces. Medieval and modern Indian history abounds in examples of the latter kind.Generalizing projects of an ambitious nature, such as Crane Brinton's Anatomy of Revolution, have not received whole-hearted approval among historians.

Indispensability of Generalizations.

Chester G. Starr, while admitting the unavoidable necessity of generalizations in history, writes, however, that "the perversity of human nature is such that we do generalize". Professor M.I. Finlay takes issue with Starr over the above statement, pointing out that the question is not a moral one, nor is there a personal choice whether to generalize or not. Historians

cannot but generalize. That process is so natural that they do it; that they do it unconsciously because concern for general truths is inherent in their work. Finlay tells us that important historians have always been deeply concerned with general truths and have had difficulties in establishing them and communicating them. This is because the historian's function, as different from that of the annalist or chronicler, is to understand the past: a task which involves assumptions, explanations, judgements, i.e., generalizations.That generalizations cannot be avoided argues for their indispensability. Those who take every possible care to avoid them may find themselves involved in forming them. Finlay cites the instance of Thucydides, who, coming to the causes of the Peloponnesian War, selected the incidents at Corcyra and Potidaea for a detailed narrative rather than any of the other events which occurred in the years 433-432 B.C. He did not want to discuss those "all pervading economic, social, religious and psychological factors" that caused war in general, which the Greeks had come to accept as a natural fact like birth and death, but the concrete particular events that brought about the Peloponnesian War, a particular conflict. But even behind this careful omission of general factors and concentration on "objective" particular events that led to the Peloponnesian War, Finlay finds lurking behind them sweeping generalizations like the one sedulously avoided by Thucydides that war is 'a natural fact like birth and death'. Even a strictly concrete study of particular events cannot help forming generalizations.

The Uses of Generalizations.

Historians themselves do not expect their generalizations to be interpreted with any degree of strictness. Does this mean that generalizations have no need for the historian? What purpose do they serve? The need for generalizations arises from the fact that without their formulation and acceptance it would have been difficult to neither create a stable society nor communicate ideas except on a mere rudimentary level. Historical generalizations give meaning and relevancy to the particular.Patrick Gardiner writes that generalizations serve historians by 'throwing light upon' a particular problem, by 'serving as a useful guiding thread', or as 'being relevant' to a question. "They are spoken of as providing bearings or markers which assist the historian in making his way through the dense mass of his material".They provide the historian with rough indications, guiding signals, hypotheses, and syntheses. They are useful to historians not only as valid summations of specific historical facts but also as stimuli to further thought. A sound generalization, by placing the facts in a new light, will not only lead to further generalizations, but is said to broaden the standards of historical criticism.

Generalization Touches upon the Philosophy of History; Impossibility of Extracting General Laws in History

To draw a generalization in history is to advance a view on the basis of the facts of history one has discovered. The operation is a conscious attempt to rise above the particular facts of history by synthesizing them into larger and larger unities, i.e., into theories and principles.The endeavour has always been to discover the basic causal factor of the historical process, of rise and growth, of decline and decay, of civilizations, of empires and nations.Generalization touches upon the philosophy of history.In the 19th century, a variety of theories was advanced: the idealistic view of Hegel, the positivistic theories of Auguste Comte and Henry Thomas Buckle, historical materialism of Karl Marx, and the Great Man theory of Thomas Carlyle.The practice continued into the 20th century in Spengler and Toynbee. In every case, it is the intelligent synthesizing of historical data into larger unities that has resulted in the founding of great philosophical systems.It is a higher kind of establishing relationships between bewilderingly complex individual facts – relationships, some of which, though not all, turn out to have universal sway.Auguste Comte's positivist philosophy claimed that it was possible to study man in society just the same way as scientists study natural phenomena and that it was possible to discover definite laws of historical and social behaviour. Comte's 'law of three stages' states that the history of all human societies and branches of human experience must pass through three stages, each with its corresponding historical epoch: the theological-military (ancient), the metaphysical-legalistic (medieval), and the positive scientific-industrial (modern).Thomas Carlyle spoke of the all-creating Hero as the fundamental factor of the historical process. "Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here".And, says Karl Marx: "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not men's consciousness that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness".

The impossibility of Extracting General Laws in History.

But the overwhelming majority of historians do not think it possible to extract laws from historical data as from natural phenomena because of the difference in the material studied: the historian's field is human experience in the past that of the natural scientist is natural phenomena. Professor G.R. Elton brings out a little more clearly and at the theoretical level, the reason why the search for laws in history is bound to be futile. He points out that history is an 'idiographic' science which particularizes as different from a 'nomothetic' science which is designed to establish general laws. An

idiographic science can become nomothetic only if the particulars it studies become numerous enough for statistical generalization from them to be valid; here history is likely for ever to be handicapped by the smallness of the sample.Even allowing four generations to a century, we have information about only some two hundred generations and for the vast majority of them our information is extremely patchy. Such a sample is not adequate enough for the statistician to extract the sort of general laws like the fate of civilizations and tidal movements of nations which some historians wish to cover. For history to have any nomothetic orientation, the framework will have to be a priori, as in the economic determinism, or the biologically based determinism of Spengler or Toynbee.Of course, the historian should generalize – should express larger conclusions based on his particulars. And what is proper to him are limited generalizations: 'in certain circumstances men are liable to do this or that'.

Kinds and Levels or Typology of Generalizations.

Classificatory Generalizations.

M.I. Finlay shows that the most rudimentary and indispensable generalizations are those of peoples and social types: Greeks, Romans, Indians, Chinese, and so on, on the one hand, and 'slave' and 'serf' on the other. It is literally impossible to make any statement regarding such groups, which is not a generalization. The word 'Greek' either as noun or adjective may mean Homeric Greek or contemporary Greek. Again, the word 'slave' originated in the Middle Ages and marked the war captives of Eastern Europe. But the word is anachronistically applied to the ancient Greek 'slave' or doulos who was an entirely different social type, and which brings to mind, again anachronistically, the Negro slavery of North America and of the colonial areas in the most recent times, not to speak of the medieval Turkish 'slave' who could even hope to marry his master's daughter and become the Sultan himself. But the blanket term 'slave' is applied to all these different social types. No one will suggest, says Finlay, that because of such difficulties, terms such as 'Greek', 'Roman', and 'slave' be dropped from historical discourse.

Finlay cites a comparable kind of generalization, viz., classification by period.In Greek history, both classical and Hellenistic are standard terms; and Roman history is divided according to political system; kingdom, Republic and Empire. Whether Greek or Roman, these generalizations, says Finlay, are accepted without question, as if they are self-evident. The 'Dark Ages' and the 'Age of Reason' are other examples in European history of classificatory generalization by period.

Labelling and Regularity Generalizations.

Professor Arthur F. Wright distinguishes two types of generalization in traditional Chinese history, viz., "Labelling" and "Regularity" generalizations.Labelling generalizations are general terms like "the literati", "the Chinese Empire", and "the time of troubles". The labelling generalization, "the time of troubles", could be heard echoing down the centuries in Arnold Toynbee's theory regarding the decline of civilizations.We may add that there are 'labelling generalizations' with implications of performance of traits and tendencies applied to individuals and groups as well as whole continents and peoples in history.Among the labeling generalizations used by Western historians are comparisons in the reverse order like "the Chinese Caesar" as applied to the Chin emperor Shih-haung-ti, and "Indian Napoleon" to designate Samudragupta? Such are descriptive phrases like "the holy men of India" and "the wise men of China"; such, again, are some cliches famous in history: "Oriental Society", "Oriental Despotism", "Asiatic Mode of Production" and the "White Man's Burden".While some of these descriptive short-cuts are aids to a better understanding of the past, many of them are misleading and distortive.

Another kind of generalization that Professor Wright identifies in the traditional historiography of China is what he has christened "regularity generalizations". They are statements which take the form of laws: "As a dynasty ages, the land tax rises"; "invasions of settled empires are preceded by periods of desiccation of steppe"; "ideas generally proceed along trade routes".To the same type, more or less, belong generalizations cited by Wright which imply regularity, a fixed linkage between two orders of events: "officials oppress, the people rebel"; "internal disorder, external disaster".The latter suggests that disorder within China is often followed by invasion or pressure from beyond the frontiers.The word order indicates that the first is the cause of the second.

Limited Generalizations.

Professor G.R. Elton, though convinced of the impossibility of drawing generalizations from historical data, suggests that historians may form limited generalizations – larger conclusions based on certain, particulars – such as, 'in certain circumstances men are liable to do this or that'. Professor William O. Aydelotte cites examples of generalizations which are somewhat limited in scope:"All the wars here discussed were preceded by a fall in prices on the London Stock Exchange and by a rise in the number of trade union members reported as unemployed".Another example:"The Speaker was a power in the House, but, as the Elizabethan period went on, his power was on the wane".

Of the two generalizations cited, the first deals with a limited number of cases and as Aydelotte says, is formulated in such a way that it could presumably be verified with some exactness. The second is broader in scope but still restricted to particular contexts.

Sweeping Generalizations.

History books are replete with sweeping generalizations to which no limits are set. Many of them are, however, not only harmless but convey a measure of the importance, the excellence, the grandeur, the triumph of the thing involved or of the tragedy described. They are excesses, not errors, let alone willful misrepresentations.Thus Barani wrote about Sultan Muhamad Tughlak's transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri (Daulatabad): 'Not a cat or a dog was left'.We find quoted in Dio Cassius's Roman History the famous boast attributed to the Emperor Augustus: 'I found Rome of clay; I leave it to you of marble'.Jadunath Sarkar's account of the Maratha tragedy in the Third Battle of Panipat contains the following passage:

> "It was, in short, a nation-wide disaster like Flodden Field; there was not a home in Maharashtra that had not to mourn the loss of a member, and several house their very heads. An entire generation of leaders was cut off at one stroke".

The following is Sir Winston Churchill's tribute to the British Royal Air Force for winning the Battle of Britain against the Luftwaffe and saving England (1941):

> "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few".

Nobody would grudge the tribute.The above statements are impossible of verification; but who can doubt their significance? The following is an example of a sweeping generalization cited by Aydelotte:

> "The man of the nineteenth century had a sense of belonging (deeper than mere optimism) that we lack".

Aydelotte comments that the statement is so sweeping that it might be difficult to verify it or perhaps even to say what it means in any concrete or explicit sense. H.G. Wells fixes Asoka's place in the history of the world by a sweeping comparison with other rulers of the world which bring out the Buddhist emperor's uniqueness: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousness and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured……More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne".

There are generalizations praising or condemning men and things wholesale. They stem from a compound of bias, prejudice and ignorance. Macaulay was certain that"a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia".Vincent Smith wrote in his Early History of India:"The triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himalayas to the sea demonstrated the inherent weakness of the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European skill and discipline".

Generalization about National Character.

An important aspect of generalization comes to the fore when it is associated with the concept of national character.Walter P. Metzger informs us that the concept of national character came to absorb all the meanings of the many inner traits that were thought to constitute individual character. Further, on the assumption that the character of a collectivity is somehow different from the individual characters of its members, it became possible to speak of a "collective soul", a "folk genius", a "group mind".And in the accounts of travelers in foreign countries, written particularly during the nineteenth century, national character came to mean uniform national type, common values shared by the people of a country.

Objections to the idea of describing peoples by their nationality have been raised on theoretical and practical grounds. Boyd C. Shafer, in his critical study of nationalism, asserts that character cannot be classified by nationality because it (character) refers to attributes shared by the entire human species. Adam Dewan Hegedus in his critique of patriotism has held that character cannot be classified by nationality because every individual is unique. There can be no national character – no attributes shared by groups of people. Many others likewise deny the existence of such a thing as national character. Knowing that the concept has been seized upon by chauvinists and racists, most historians object on principle to generalizations about national character. Some would add to Edmund Burke's pronouncement that none should indict an entire people the declaration that no one can depict an entire people.

Yet, historians do generalize about national character because, says Metzger, general statements of this kind perform important stylistic functions: they brighten drab details and ease the task of summary by tying scattered facts together; they also minister to public interest. But generalizations about national character have more often taken an indiscriminately harsh, depreciating and invidiously malicious turn, attributing to a whole people what is true of a few individual. Generalization in history involves great risks of error, and the risk is the greatest in

depicting such an indefinite, imprecise and indefinable thing as national character.Presented below are some examples of such descriptions.Thus, Dewan Tocqueville on the lack of an American national character:"American society is composed of a thousand different elements newly brought together. The men who live under these laws are still English, German, and Dutch.They have neither religion, nor morals, nor ideas in common. Up to the present, it can't be said that Americans have a national character unless it is that of having none".

Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his chapter on character in English Traits, writes that the English have"an abysmal temperament, hiding great wells of wrath, and gloom on which no sunshine settles"; they are "of the earth, earthy….full of coarse strength, rude exercise, butcher's meat and sound sleep"; save for a few finest wits, they betray a "saving stupidity".He then goes on to speak of acquired attributes:The "English are intellectual and enjoy literature"; they are "conservative, money-loving and lord-loving". "There are multitudes of rude young English who have the self-sufficiency and bluntness of their nation, and who, with their disdain for the rest of mankind and this indigestion and choler, have made the English traveler a proverb for uncomfortable and offensive manners".

In terms of national character, how have the Indians fared with the foreigner if he is not a Fa-hien, Hsuan Tsang or I-tsing? Here is a passage in Al-Biruni's Kitab-ul-Hind (book of India) written in the 11th century. It is not a casual account, for the writer was in India for 13 years studying Sanskrit and the Indian sciences; nor is it an account contaminated by prejudice against an idolatrous people."We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is……"

Two other judgements, both made by Englishmen in the nineteenth century, may be quoted. Hear James Mill condemning a whole nation in his History of British India (1818):"In truth, the Hindu, like the Eunuch, excels in the qualities of the slave". But Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had many

years of intimate contact with the Indians as an administrator, widely differed in his evaluation of the Hindus.He wrote in his 'History of Hindus and Muhammadan India' (1841):"Those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them……..all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others even of the most justly advanced of the nations [though] the Hindus have in reality some great defects of character".

There have been histories written, particularly in the 19th century, in terms of racial superiority and national character and justifying imperial domination. Most such histories are based on a simple chauvinistic bias. Macaulay explained British ascendancy in India in terms of British national character and individual valour and genius.To Collection. Malleson, the factor that explained the British conquest of India lay in the difference between English and Indian characters.It was, again, national character that W.W. Hunter stressed as the dominant factor in the English fortunes in the East. To Hunter, the history of British rule in India"Stands out as the epic of the British nation……It will make the world understand the British race – adventurous, masterful, patient in defeat and persistent in executing its designs".

Categories of Historical Generalization.

In point of generalization in history writing, **Louis Gottschalk** distinguishes six categories or groupings of historians. The following is a summary of Gottschalk's categories.

The School of the Unique.

The first of these is what Gottschalk calls, "the school of the unique", i.e., those who "maintain that the historian's purpose should be to emphasize differences, rather than similarities, to deal with the special and unique rather than the comparative and general".Gottschalk contends that only compilers of documents and chroniclers of unselected events belong to this category, and he hastens to add that even they deceive themselves if they think that they can avoid generalization. For the method by which the historian examines testimony and other evidence to arrive at the unique historical fact comprises in itself a set of general rules.He would even have to refrain from making introductory remarks or adding explanatory notes, etc., in presenting tested documents. Rules of compilation themselves are generalizations.

The School of the Strictly Limited Generalization.

Gottschalk now passes on to another category, that of generalization from the strictly limited data in hand. When arranging the isolated bits of information derived from the sources pertaining to a single career in a chronological order, the scholar may find some detail difficult to explain. Gottschalk cites the example of the Marquis Dewan Lafayette writing a letter dated Sept. 18, 1787, late in the day, from Paris, and writing another letter on Sept. 19, 1787, to an American merchant from Varennes, roughly one hundred and fifty miles away. Since both letters are authentic and errors in dating them are highly improbable, the question arises how such contradictory pieces of evidence can both be credited.Here, the historian must have recourse to what is called "historical imagination", or what Finlay calls "extrapolation", the kind of thought needed to fill in the gaps between the explicit testimony and what-must-have-been, in order to make the several parts of that testimony dovetail.In the example of Lafayette under consideration, there is no choice but to assume that Lafayette, a good horseman, "spurring his horses throughout the night and most of the day" reached Varennes from Paris "at the end of a gruelling journey". And the gruelling journey which would certainly have daunted ordinary men sheds lights on Lafayette's uniqueness. Gottschalk remarks that "it is hard to conceive of an assertion about the unique that would not demand a comparison of some sort or other".

School of Generalization on the Basis of Trends.

The third category that Gottschalk identifies in the matter of generalization are the interpretative historians, i.e., those who generalize on the basis of trends and try to establish some hypothesis or theory that will help to explain a number of interrelated historical events.The scholar aiming at a broader generalization might use the broad concept of social role and say: "In any investigation of any revolution, past or to come, consider the possibility that the role of a leader may at times be deliberately or subconsciously be patterned by both his internal drives and the expectations of those about him after that of an admired leader of an earlier revolution". It is a generalization from a single instance – that of Lafayette modeling his actions on those of George Washington – but it may well prove to be right for any number of instances.

But the interpretative historian applies his hypothesis only to a trend or tendency within a limited set of past events without pronouncing on its applicability to other events of the past and still less to future events. Gottschalk cites well-known examples: Weber's thesis concerning the Protestant ethic, Pirenne's concerning medieval European disruption, Mahan's concerning naval warfare, Turner's concerning the American frontier, Beard's concerning the American constitution, and Becker's concerning the heavenly city of the 18th century philosophers, are all theories based on trends.Gottschalk thinks that these theses or historical syntheses, though tentative, invariably have a wider applicability than to the single set of data from which they arose. For example, Pirenne's thesis implies that a culture of long duration may be expected to collapse as a result of sudden invasion.One may add in support of Gottschalk that Kosambi, whether he knew of any such thesis as Pirenne's, believed in a sudden end for the Harappan culture in the hands of the advancing Aryans.

Generalizations on the Basis of Comparisons – the Comparative Historians

In Gottschalk's categorization scholars who apply their theses or generalizations on a wider scale to past events or tendencies go by the name of comparative historians.Acton, Fay and Mornet had suggested the thesis that the revolutions of the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries were a chain of revolutionary interactions, regardless of their geographical setting.It was more fully developed by R.R. Palmer. To Gottschalk, this process of bolder development of earlier ideas and hypotheses with a view to their wider application is not very different from the way analytical scholars in other fields precede – Darwin, for example, or Freud. If such investigations lead the historian to apply the thesis in question to other episodes in the past deemed analogous, that historian becomes by definition an adherent of the comparative school.

Nomothetic Historians.

Nomothetic historians are those who seek to derive from history abiding lessons or laws of universal behaviour which would serve as basis for prediction or possible control of future behaviour. They do this by drawing historical parallels, delineating regularities of past behaviour, or extrapolating sequences of past events into the future. Historians venturing upon universals are of two kinds:

(1) Machiavelli and Montesquieu.

The first of these limits itself to generally applicable lessons or rules which examination of past events provides.To this school belong historians like Machiavelli and Montesquieu.Machiavelli examined political behaviour of the ancient Romans in order to derive lessons for the conduct of the rulers of Italy.Montesquieu, like Ibn Khaldoun and Jean Bodin before him and Henry Thomas Buckle after, sought laws in history.His Spirit of Laws examined the history of various kinds of government in order to discover the relation of physical factors to the national character and institutions of particular peoples.

(2) Cosmis Philosophy of History

The other kind of nomothetic historians are those who have propounded cosmic philosophies of history: St. Augustine, Condorcet, Hegel, Joachim of Floris, Marx, Spengler, and Toynbee.They have propounded panoramic ideologies or historical determinisms.The practioners of this kind of history, says Gottschalk,"……are more or less consciously special pleaders, belonging to the disciplines of theology, philosophy or political speculation rather than to that of history……The tests of their hypotheses are not conformance with historical evidence…..they require other standards……and other kinds of convictions than those derived from historical research and tight inference from testimony. Yet as everybody knows, these all-pervasive interpretations of history have been the fountainheads of some productive streams of historical investigations aimed at proving or disproving them".

THE PROBLEM OF GENERALIZATION

By the problem of generalization is here meant the arguments brought against the feasibility and desirability of historical generalizations. Professor William O. Aydelotte identifies four such arguments and adds that they have been played up to an unreal level.

1. The Problem of Nomenclature.

The first problem of generalization is what Aydelotte calls the problem of nomenclature. It is the objection that a historical generalization can only

take the form of a general law detachable from its context and applicable in all comparable situations but that the complexity and intractability of historical material do not permit either.The problem centers roughly on the meaning and scope of historical generalizations, i.e., whether generalizations are to be termed contextual statements of limited scope or be treated as universal laws. In fact, says Aydelotte, only creators of the great historical systems have sought to formulate universally valid laws of historical development.Most historians restrict themselves to particular contexts and do not dabble in universals. William Dray, in his attack on the "covering-law theory", ably disputes the argument that a historical generalization can be only a statement of a general law.Louis Gottschalk would define a generalization only as a proposition describing "some attribute common to two or more objects". Though historians have always insisted upon a distinction between particular and general statements as one of the most cherished in historical theory, the difference between the two is increasingly being looked upon as one of degree rather than of kind. Sir Isiah Berlin admits that a boundary between facts and generalizations cannot be precisely established, and Raymond Aron feels the same difficulty in separating theories and facts. Sidney Hook writes: "Every fact which the historian establishes presupposes some theoretical construction", and adds: "There is only a difference of generality and validity between facts and hypotheses and theories". Aydelotte is right in maintaining that all historians generalize in that the statements they make cannot be distinguished from generalizations by any defensible criterion and hence the question whether they should generalize or not is meaningless; they must generalize if they are to say anything worth saying, and hence the controversy over the propriety of generalizing is indeed unreal.

2. The Problem of Proof.

A major objection to historical generalizations is their impossibility of proof, i.e., empirical investigation by scientific method.Such generalizations as historians make are bound to be personal, subjective and inescapably biased. Chester G. Starr holds that generalizations cannot be verified, though facts can. "The followers of Clio do not have", says he, "methods by which they can reach agreement on the generalizations obtainable from a given mass of facts".Historical generalizations cannot be "tested" in a scientific sense.Yet Professor Starr is all for generalizing, since to forgo it would impoverish historical literature – insisting, however, that it be done on a speculative basis. Professor R.R. Palmer is doubtful "whether any significant generalization can be shown by evidence to be wholly valid or wholly invalid". There are, of course, generalizations of a proverbial and aphoristic nature that do not call for any proof at all. 'People fear death' is a statement which suicides cannot falsify. But historical generalizations are different. That they are not provable arises from the fact that the evidence of historical generalizations cannot be arranged in such clear patterns as to prove the validity of the statements.A historical generalization such as 'economic changes in society are accompanied by religious changes' cannot be proved in the manner of a law of nature. Owing to the lack of a system of precise correlations, historical generalizations have a looseness which is not part of laws in the physical sciences.The concepts 'economic change' and 'religious change' are so vague and complex that it is difficult to determine the kind and degree of economic change that will bring about a religious change. Generalizations in history are not 'laws' as in the physical sciences

and historians offer them only as rough indications leaving them open to further investigations.

The most daring generalizers of modern times, says Aydelotte, have been the builders of the great systems in history and the social sciences: Hegel, Marx, Spengler, and Toynbee.They have offered their systems not as speculations but as "proved" sets of propositions arrived at by empirical and scientific means and, as such, precise and final as natural laws. But such claims have on the whole been rejected by professional historians on the ground that "they are not based upon the evidence, not in accord with the evidence, or not testable by the evidence". Pieter Geyl regards Toynbee's assertion that he has discovered general laws of historical change and development by empirical means as utterly unconvincing. All attempts to trace a structure of history, writes Isiah Berlin, "from the days of St. Simon, Hegel and Marx, to those of Spengler and Toynbee and their imitators", have been "always a priori for all protests to the contrary".At a time when even the physical sciences cannot boast of their former "glorious certainties", the impossibility of final proof of any historical generalization need not worry the historian overmuch.For; the difficulties he confronts are peculiarly intractable. Says Aydelotte:"The complexity of the historian's materials and problems, the number of variables he has to consider, the difficulty of successively eliminating variables for purposes of inquiry, and the apparently unavoidable imprecision of his fundamental concepts, all serve to make his larger formulations difficult either to achieve or to defend".

Apart from personal bias, the validity of a historical statement depends not merely on the arguments and evidences adduced in its support but on the acceptance of these arguments and evidences by competent judges.But as Aydelotte points out, the consensus of professional opinion has often proved mistaken and has often been singularly unwilling to accept new ideas; it may also lead to a debasing of the historian's craft. Yet he rightly thinks that the lack of finality of proof is an improper objection to attempting historical generalizations. We may restrict them, he says, by pursuing limited generalizations which may be the same thing that Robert K. Merton means when he speaks of "theories of the middle range".

3. The Problem of Theory.

A third direction which criticism against generalization has taken is that historians should address their chief efforts to insight and speculation, not to the hopeless objective of achieving demonstrable generalizations.Examining what he calls this problem of theory, Aydelotte proposes that "generalizations should be suggestive rather than demonstrable and that they should appeal to the imagination rather than to the external facts". He warns, however, that such a position does not mean that the historian should fail to examine the evidence, disregard it or openly flout it. It only means "that, in view of the difficulties of adequate proof and the impossibility of final proof, the key to understanding the past is not the pedestrian pursuit of documentation but imagination and vision". Somewhat along this line R.R. Palmer has argued that the main purpose of a generalization should be to present and insight that helps in the understanding of a particular situation and to communicate this insight to others, "to persuade others that the view…..is somehow more satisfactory, enlightening, or useful".

The Importance of Unproved Statements: Aydelotte takes account of the important role unproved generalizations play in historical inquiry. In a way, all our statements – generalizations – are working hypotheses, often unverifiable, yet not irresponsible or misleading, but significant and illuminating. Speculative theories play an important role in intellectual advance; facts alone cannot work.

Importance of Ideas and Insights: Aydelotte goes on to suggest that historians should be receptive to ideas from any source. Borrowings from the social sciences for historical purposes are said to impose mechanical and mindless methods and techniques that are inappropriate to the complexity of historical materials, and choke up the source of imagination and ideas.But Aydelotte testifies that what he himself gained from the social sciences was not much in the way of technical devices (except that of scalogram analysis), but new ideas and perspectives. It seems to him unfortunate that professional limitations of outlook should prevent historians from exploiting more fully the leads they could obtain from this impressive accumulation of ideas and findings in a related field.Nothing is gained by prohibiting borrowings from the other social sciences.The speculative essay is another source of ideas, even if its conclusions are undemonstrable and unacceptable. Such essays can provide insights, suggestions, or pointers to further research.The explorations of one like Max Weber and other social scientists like him are in part speculative, but they are based on significant accumulation of detailed knowledge and are directed to problems sufficiently restricted in scope. But insights, Aydelotte cautions us, though indispensable, are not always reliable. An insight may be merely euphoric and commend itself because it fits our prejudice and present beliefs. Insights generally prove to be of unequal value and many investigators have testified how many of the ideas and hypotheses that occurred to them had eventually to be discarded.

The Need for Verification: There are no rules and standardized procedures for deriving a generalization. But, once it is derived, the means by which it is verified is at least subject to certain assumptions and techniques that are fairly accepted. Bright ideas are not enough by themselves.Generalizations should meet the test of external verification to the satisfaction of others. Aydelotte thinks that historians have paid too little attention to the problem of verification and have gone too far in the direction of generalization, further than at least their evidence warrants.Many historical works, text books especially, contain fairly wild, impressionistic general statements unsupported by evidence.

4. The Problem of Procedure.

Aydelotte now takes up the last of the four problems of historical generalization, viz., that of the possibility of applying statistical procedures in making verifiable generalizations. There have been protests in a large section of the history profession against the use of quantitative procedures on the ground that their findings are trivial or unimportant, and that their conclusions are unproved or incorrect. What Richard Hofstadter has called the “paradox of quantification” is that the use of quantitative methods has resulted in the wholesale destruction of historical generalizations without replacing them with new ones.

Limitations of Statistical Procedures: It is true that elaborate statistics are not appropriate for investigation of a great majority of historical problems. Aydelotte concedes that statistics prove little, that the results of statistical investigation may be undependable, though for reasons unrelated to the quantity of mathematics in it, and that no statistical treatment of a problem can ever be entirely objective. These objections only serve to mark the boundaries of what statistics can do rather than to discredit the method itself.

Statistics Reveal Probabilities: Since statistics can scarcely provide adequate support to generalizations of every kind and since few general statements can be completely true, what is most useful is to determine the extent to which they hold the exact degree of the trend. A distinction is to be made between a sweeping general statement to which no limits are set, and a generalization that is based on a measurable comparison. The criterion should be not whether a given statement is true but how far it is true. Then the argument reaches a new level of reliability and significance."Historians deal with a universe not of absolutes but of probabilities and for a universe conceived in these terms statistics are the appropriate tool".

CHAPTER-V

LOCATION OF THE RESEARCHER

OBJECTIVITY IN HISTORY.

The problems of fact in history, of causal explanation, and of generalization are knotty enough; but more knotty is the problem of objectivity which critical philosophy involves.The new methodology associated with Niebuhr and Ranke aimed at presenting an 'objective account' of the past. Ranke's precept that 'the strict presentation of facts is the supreme law of historical writing' sums up the traditional meaning in which objectivity is understood. Objective history means unbiased history or "history strictly in accordance with facts and uninfluenced by any personal feeling or prejudice". Rankean history had, as stated in the master's first book. Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations 1494-1514, only one aim: 'to show what actually happened'.

The new science of history, as developed by Niebuhr and Ranke, and marked by a precision of documentation, was confident of presenting an objective account of the past. The truth of the past, in Ranke's oft-quoted phrase 'how it really was', was supposed to depend on the self-sufficiency, the autonomy of facts as reported in the sources. It was believed that if one used the documents in a thoroughly scientific way, the facts would eventually 'speak for themselves', i.e., without any prompting from the historian, without any need for subjective interpretation.J.B. Bury's assertion that history was 'simply a science, no less and no more', echoed the new confidence. The aims expressed by Lord Acton in 1901, when he was planning the Cambridge Modern History, may be taken as the testament of objective history. A Rankean positivist and a believer in the autonomy of historical facts, Acton called for complete impartiality, for a history that would disclose no personal views.It was to be an account that would satisfy all religions and nationalities, indeed, a history whose Waterloo would satisfy French and English, Germans and Dutch alike. Acton had no other object that 'the increase of accurate knowledge'.

None would doubt or question the need for objectivity in history. If the function of history is to tell the truth of the past, objectivity should be its marrow. But, can history tell the truth of the past (as it was) or is it merely personal interpretation or simply a matter of opinion? Or, are there hindrances to objectivity?

Is Absolute Historical Objectivity Possible?

The first great pioneers of history as a discipline – Niebuhr and Ranke – and following them, the positivists in general believed that the science of an impartial, objective history had been created. Facts of the past were thought to be the ultimate in history and facts were to be established by the scientific

study of the sources. Based upon this supposed sanctity and ultimacy of facts, Acton even hoped that it would one day be possible to produce 'ultimate history', a history that would not need any change, once it was written.Little did the Rankean positivists suspect that the inevitable subjective element in history writing would render objective historical truth impossible! Even after history had severed its ties with philosophy and literature, even after its establishment as an independent and critical discipline making uniform demands on its practitioners, even as it was seeking to reconstruct the past as it really was, the question remained whether Clio could in fact achieve this kind of exactitude.This is because history writing involved so much that was individual and so much that was time bound.

The Individual or Personal Aspect.

History is the historian's reconstruction of the past, a past which he has never known, and which he can neither deduce from first principles nor create by an act of the imagination. In reconstructing the past, he should take care that he does not violate his responsibility to the past, viz., in presenting it, in Ranke's oft-quoted aphorism, as it really was. Is this ideal possible of realization with the best of evidence in its fullness? That is the crux of the problem of objectivity. The subjective element is an essential condition of the historian's work.Subjective element means the 'element of human intervention" in discussing or exploring or probing or understanding a subject. This element of human intervention or 'moral element' as some would prefer to call it, intrudes into the work of the historian to a far greater degree than into that of the sociologist, the anthropologist to the nature of the subject matter they deal with. Positivism had "neutral in thought and action".But the personal, affective element is an essential condition of the historian's work.The historian cannot "extinguish the self", as Ranke once wished. That is what Mazzini meant when he said that he would "undertake to declare the personal feelings of any historian, after reading twenty pages of his history". Tell a historian "as you are, so shall you write", tell him that his personal imprint is as evident in a monograph as it is in a literary masterpiece, and he will understood that the qualities that he needs as a historian are those he requires in life. For this reason, history can never be completely 'objective' or 'unbiased' or 'strictly in accordance with facts'. There is a 'hidden influence' or inevitable subjective quality which cannot be entirely suppressed.Hajo Holborn puts the problem very succinctly:"The central problems of a historical methodology or epistemology hinge upon the fact that an objective knowledge of the past can only be attained through the subjective experience of the scholar".

Taking the problem of historical objectivity away from its conventional and absolute standards, E.H. Carr introduces into the concept a measure of relativism.History and the social sciences, he argues, "Cannot accommodate themselves to a theory of knowledge which puts subject and object asunder and enforces a rigid separation between observer and the thing observed"and proposes"a new model which does justice to the complex process of interrelation and interaction between them".Carr goes on to argue that there".....cannot be an objectivity of fact, but only of relation, of the relation between fact and interpretation.....the concept of absolute truth is also not appropriate to the world of history....."

Professor Arthur Marwick blames the "intractable and fragmentary nature of much of the historian's evidence" for the greater play of subjectivity in historical reconstruction.The historians are not more biased than the physical or social scientists but they are forced into a greater display of personal interpretation by the imperfect nature of their evidence."The 'moral' quality to be found in historical writing actually arises from two circumstances: first, that historians deal with human and social issues; but second ....they also have to work with highly imperfect evidence".Even the best history must in some degree by subjective.This is because even the sources of history – the documents which the historian consults – are the work of one or more human minds and have been, as Carr puts it, 'processed' by them. How could they have been free from subjective influence?

The Time bound Nature of His Works.

Apart from the subjective, fragmentary and imperfect nature of the sources themselves, the historian who uses them is himself exposed to subjective influence of various kinds.Our approach to the past, irrespective of the facts of the past, has something purely subjective about it. It has much to do with what Professor E.H. Carr calls "our own position in time", and the "view we take of the society in which we live". Each age tends to interpret the past in accordance with its own ideas, prejudices and preoccupations. Professor Arthur Marwick cites the example of how, when British political institutions, particularly the British parliament, were the admiration of the world, there was a very strong emphasis on political and constitutional history and how Victorian historians of medieval England were obsessed to see in medieval institutions something analogous to a 19th century parliament. But historians are now agreed that the 'parliaments' of medieval England were vastly different from those of the 19th century. In the 20th century, however, with increasing preoccupation with economic and social matters, the emphasis in historical writing has moved towards economic and social developments. In India, when freedom from the British

yoke was the cry of the hour, a generation of Indian scholars, filled with legitimate national pride, sought to vindicate their national culture against what they thought to be the unfounded charges of British imperialist historians. In doing this, some of them sometimes betrayed a complete lack of historical propriety which at times assumed the form of methodological lapses and deviation from the ideal of objectivity. In the later twentieth century, there has been a definite shift of emphasis from national-political to economic and social developments.

Gone is the positivist belief in the possibility of an unbiased objective history of scientific perfection; for the historical process is itself an endless exploration, in Carr's famous phrase, "a mending dialogue between the present and the past". In analyzing, explaining and describing the past, it is possible that the analysis and explanation get coloured as much by the motives and consciousness of the historian as by the social, religious, philosophical and economic ideas of the age.

Hindrances to Objectivity in History.

The subjective element in history writing intrudes at the very first stage of the historian's work, viz., the selection of a theme, and continues to operate in collecting evidence, in narrating, interpreting, and concluding the work. Among the many hindrances or sources of bias are religion, community, language, race, nationality, even geographical area. David Thomson's book, The Aims of History, gives an excellent account of the various forms of bias which infect history writing.

Nationalistic Bias.

Thomson writes that "the most widespread and most insidious of all forms of bias in the historiography of modern times is that induced by nationalism and the passions of patriotism". Thomson lists examples: If British accounts of the Armada may not be entirely valid and true, one cannot turn to Spanish accounts for they too are biased and make no mention of Sir Francis Drake, the English hero, but make much of the untimely storm. Bias does the greatest harm through mere selection and omission. In accounts of the War of the Spanish Succession, the French tend to disregard the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, about all of which the English student is given full details because they are all English victories; whereas the French hear of the battle of Denain, it is hardly mentioned in English textbooks. Both countries are presented as having won the War (of the Spanish Succession)! An East German account of the Second World War does not mention England. A team of historians examining English and

American textbooks reached the following conclusion about their versions of the First World War:

> Few American books acknowledge the achievements of the Allies in standing against the central Powers for the three years before 1917; they instead leave the impression that War began with the arrival of American troops……To English textbook writers, the contribution of the United States was too negligible to deserve extended mention…..Authors in each nation apparently believe that their own men and materials outdid the Central Powers.

As somebody put it, no nation is defeated in its textbooks! We may mention countless other instances of nationalistic bias in history writing. English historians do not view the breakaway of the 13 colonies as American historians do. French, Austrian and German views of the unification of Germany sharply differ from one another, so do the German and British accounts of the causes of the First World War, and the Indian and British accounts of the Great Indian Revolt of 1857. Albert Einstein is reported to have said that the Germans had hated him as a Jew and the French as a German; but after his enunciation of the Field Theory of Relativity, the Germans hailed him as a German and the French as an internationalist! David Thomson writes: "In atomic physics, Britain boosts Lord Rutherford, the Scandinavians Niels Bohr, the Germans Otto Hahn, the French the Juliot-Curies". The same author tells us that the Western belief that mechanical and scientific discoveries are a special 'European' contribution to civilization falls to pieces in the face of the facts produced by Dr. Joseph Needham in his great study of Science and Civilization in China. Only Western parochial conceit perpetuates the notion which is contrary to all historical evidence. Here, an observation made by Joseph Needham may be read with interest: We know that the trigonometric sine is not mentioned by Greek mathematicians and astronomers, that it was used in India from the Gupta period onwards (3rd century). The only conclusion possible is that the use of sines is an Indian development and not a Greek one. But Tannery, persuaded that the Indians could not have made any mathematical inventions, preferred to assume that the sine was a Greek idea not adopted by Hipparchus, who gave only a cable of chords.For Tannery, the fact the Indians knew of sines was sufficient proof that they must have heard about them from the Greeks.

Bias of Geographical Area.

European historians tend to see world events in a very different way from the Asiatic. To most European historians the 'world' is Europe; to most historians the centre of the world is their own country. Terms like the 'Near

East', 'the Middle East' and 'the Far East' are so only to the Western European!

Religious Bias.

Religious and communal bias is as strong (if not more so) as nationalistic bias.David Thomson tells us that to the splitting of the Catholic Church in the 16th century the Protestants gave the name 'Reformation', a term which betrays a bias. Huss is a martyr for Protestant writers, but for their Catholic counterparts….? Each side dwells upon the heroism of their 'martyrs' more than upon the persecutions inflicted by their adherents. Roman Catholic and Protestant versions of almost every aspect of the Reformation show obvious partiality; yet both the Catholics and the Protestants are astonished to find that in the East, Christianity is regarded as having been the most persecuting and intolerant of all religions.

Cultural Bias.

Cultural bias is a curious compound of all kinds of bias – nationalistic, religious, racial, and geographical.It manifests in an incurable complex of superiority and expresses itself in self-deceptive generalizations.Imagine the bias betrayed by the term 'Oriental Despotism' and one is sure to find in Turkish books of history a parallel to (the term) 'Turkish cruelty'.To this category of misleadingly meaningful usages belong such words as 'barbarians' as used by the Greco-Romans, 'heathen' used by the Christian, 'mleccha' by the Hindu, and 'kafr' by the Muslims. It will be a lesson in objective history if we compare James Mill's account of Indian culture with those of A.L. Basham and Will Durant.

Bias Leads to Falsification of Historical Facts.

Bias, though mostly unconscious, leads to intellectual distortion and falsification of facts.In most cases bias is built in by man's social environment and upbringing or by inherited ideas and institutions. And, the subject matter of history, the language in which it is written, and the task, aptitudes and preferences of the historian are not value-free.

Factors Helping Objectivity.

Acton's dream of a history whose Waterloo would equally satisfy the French and the English, the Dutch and the Germans, was doomed to remain a dream never to be fulfilled. History would never remain a Neutral Mirror because the historian could never be an automaton. Subjective influences are inevitable and cannot be wholly eradicated; all that can be done is to minimize its influence by the strict observance of certain principles of establishing fact.If complete objectivity is unattainable by the nature of man

and the nature of history, it is still the duty of the historian to reconstruct the past as nearly as it really happened. His fundamental commitment is to the truth of the past.

What are the factors that help to minimize bias and prejudice, factors that help objectivity in history?

1. **Wide Variety of Primary Sources.**

The historical investigator must gather information from all possible sources, whatever his predilections regarding the subject matter under study.Since history deals with evidence, the greater the number and variety of the primary sources, the greater will be the accuracy of the facts that the historian establishes.The scholar should not make a selective collection and a partial use of the material collected with the aim of hiding information unhelpful or damaging to his favourite thesis.

2. Discriminate Use of Sources.

The historian must make a discriminate use of his sources.David Thomson warns us that even the seemingly most indisputable facts and dates are always open to question. He follows E.H. Dance to show how it is so. Dance points out how the statement 'The Battle of Hastings A.D. 1066' contains at least two mistakes of fact and one expression of religious prejudice; (a) the battle was not fought at Hastings but six or seven miles away, at Senlac; (b) Christ was not born as our calendar supposes, in the thirty-first year of the reign of Augustus but sometime earlier; and, therefore c. the battle was not fought in A.D. 1066 but sometime between 1069 and 1074 A.D. If such is the possibility of error in regard even to the simplest and best known 'facts', much greater will be its incidence in happenings like the Renaissance or the French Revolution.

3. Authenticity of the Material: the 'Cheating' and the 'Dubious' Document.

A more important aspect of the historian's material is its authenticity. Allan Nevins writes that "….the first duty of every student of the past is to make sure of the authenticity of his materials, for not a little history has been vitiated by the careless acceptance of non-authentic materials". The historian must go about his sources with the utmost circumspection and sift out the authentic from the spurious.Allan Nevins divides spurious or false documents into two broad categories: the cheating and the dubious.

The Cheating Document: When whole or part of a document is deliberately manufactured, it becomes a cheating document. History is cursed, says Nevins, by the constant invention of homely stories, letters and speeches introduced as too true to be doubted, like Parson Weem's story of the young George Washington cutting the beautiful cherry tree and making a clean breast of his misdeed; historians may explain a thousand times that Wellington at Waterloo never exclaimed, 'Up, Guards, and at them!'; Las

Cases had, in his four volume Memorial Dewan Struggle-Helena, actually forged a number of Napoleonic letters; some of the ancient Indian land grants have been found to be barefaced forgeries and the ancient Hindu law-giver Many is seen prescribing punishments for the falsification of documents. There is no end to the wholesome stories, letters, speeches and ejaculations invented and attributed to great historical personages.The dying Nelson's alleged message to his countrymen, 'England expects every man to do his duty' may not be true to fact. Such frauds find their way into books and histories. Even pictures and portraits as those by Raja Ravi Varma are forged in large numbers. Trade in forged documents is a lucrative trade, and even museums are duped. But the most dangerous and vicious of all forms of forgeries, writes Nevins, are those committed in behalf of a cause or a religion, nation or leader, intended to bring about a permanent falsification of history.And the most notorious of such forgeries was the so-called Donation of Constantine, the supposed grant by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester and his successors. The 'Donation' purported to show that in gratitude for his conversion to Christianity, Constantine not only recognized the spiritual supremacy of the Roman pontiffs over the other patriarchates of the church, but also gave them temporal sovereignty over Rome, parts of Italy, and all provinces and places of "the western regions". Forged sometime between 750 and 800 A.D., the document enjoyed unchallenged authority for about six centuries until, in 1440, Lorentius Valla critically exposed the forgery. By then, however, it had done enough harm.

The Dubious Document: While a forged document is entirely false and dishonest, students of history may have to deal with another class of documents which are composite in character, proceeding from various hands or sources.These, Nevins calls 'dubious' documents.The authorship of a document or a book may be entirely authentic, and yet parts of it may be highly treacherous, as being products of other hands. Even when a document is partially false, its integrity is destroyed. One of the most difficult problems in the determination of textual integrity has been created by the profession of ghost writers. Thus Allan Nevins:"No small proportions of American memoirs are now-days written less by the noted person whose name appears on the title page than by some journalist or scholar whose help may never be acknowledged".

Allan Nevins gives several examples of composite or garbled works a few of which are given below. A familiar and interesting example is that of the three Synoptic Gospels of Mathew, Mark and Luke, whose historical authority is compromised at various points. One of the most striking in the field of American history is John Marshall's Life of George Washington (1804). Extravagantly praised and admired for more than a century, the work was found, however, for the most part, to be a mosaic of borrowings which Marshall copied almost literally. One of the most famous of all composite or garbled works is The Federalist written by Madison, Hamilton and Jay. Which of the three men deserves credit for certain papers in it will always be

uncertain. Revisions of books or texts either by their authors or by others may introduce changes which may alter the original sense or distort the picture by unconsciously incorporating impressions formed at a later time, or by adding imagined details.Again, integrity of written documents of all kinds is liable to be vitiated by censorships, political or religious. In many countries and in every century, texts have been mutilated or garbled or rewritten at the instance of some tyrannical authority as under Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin.

In India, the scholar cannot be certain of the authenticity of a great many of the ancient texts, both religious and secular. Many of the Jataka stories, the dialogues of the Buddha, and the Puranas are to be regarded as garbled. 'Who wrote Asser's Life of Alfred'? asks V.H. Galbraith. He argued with persuasive evidence that it must have been written a century after King Alfred's death, and therefore not written by Bishop Asser.

4. Honesty and Moral Integrity.

Intellectual power, a rigorous methodology, and an imaginative faculty are essential requisites of a historical scholar. But, without personal honesty and moral integrity, of what avail are the intellectual qualities? There are people who, owing to religious, political, communal, and other kinds of leanings, distort or suppress material information. Such leanings obstruct historical objectivity and must be guarded against.

It is to be admitted that history is subjective and that it can never become fully objective. But, once the historian is aware of the kinds of subjective influences that operate upon him, he is that much better equipped to guard against them. As Collingwood observes, to be aware that one has a bias is already to have transcended that bias. Ranke knew it when he sad that he was an historian first and a Christian afterward. Let Ranke's dictum serve as the ideal of all who pretend to serve Clio, the Muse of History!

Value or Moral Judgement in History.

Objectivity is the marrow of history but it comes into conflict with another important aspect of the historian's work, viz., value or moral judgement.These two problems in history writing have engaged the attention of thinkers and philosophers for long. It is generally agreed that it is not part of the historian's duty to pass value or moral judgements on past events and personalities. But the very nature of history and its terminology are found to involve unavoidable moral judgements. This is because the historian deals with a live concern – human life – and has to deal with it using imperfect evidence.

The Incompatibility of Objectivity and Moral Judgement.

Ranke wanted a history that did not "judge the past" for the simple reason that value or moral judgements and objective history are incompatible. The historian, whose main job is to hand out good or bad marks to peoples,

events and institutions, is a very bad historian indeed. This is because the essence of the historical attitude is understanding the past, not judging it. The Roman historians, Livy and Tacitus, set a moral purpose before them and wrote history to illustrate ethical precepts. Tacitus believed it to be his chief duty to judge the actions of men preserve from oblivion the deeds of good men and hold up evil men for posterity's condemnation. Such a view, says Will Durant, turns "history into a Last judgement and the historian into a God". "No moralist", says the same author "should write history". Medieval Christian historiography suffered from this defect to a greater degree.

Moral Judgement, an Essential Part of the Historian's Work.

But the element of moral assessment or value judgement, which does not figure in the scientific process, is essential and inevitable in the historical process.The physical scientist merely tries to understand the ways of nature, but does not sit in judgement upon the natural phenomena. Such is his material of study that he can treat it objectively. But the inescapable subjective element in history leads the historian to making value judgements. History is value-impregnated, a fact based on human nature itself. And, since the historian cannot get out of his own nature, value judgements enter into the very structure of historical inquiry, a factor which makes history totally different from the physical sciences.This differences makes moral judgement an essential part of the historian's work.

Historical Objectivity and Moral Judgement – a Delicate Problem

The problem of objectivity in history vs. moral judgement is not one easy of solution. Professor Knowles has written that the "historian is not a judge still less a hanging judge".Alfred Cobban in the same strain that historians shall only make statements of the events and personal conduct of men in history and not morally judge them. Precepts such as these are impracticable for the simple reason that, if followed, they would make history a lifeless list of events. Then, its very purpose as a criticism of life Advaitha as an interpretation of the past would be defeated. Again, Max Weber's view that historical criticism should be confined to ideas and not be debased to the level of personal attacks is more theoretical than practical.How, then, is one to criticize the myth of Aryan racial superiority and yet refrain from condemning Hitler from Jew-baiting and genocide? How could one distinguish between the idea of caste and its practice in India? Is it possible to describe human conduct except in moral terms?

Historical Objectivity, Impartiality, Neutrality.

Impartiality, neutrality, and historical objectivity are different categories. Impartiality does not mean that all sides, actions Advaitha institutions in the past were equally right or good. The Nazi holocaust of the Jews, Mussolini's

invasion of Abyssinia, temple rape of Czechoslovakia, the Anschluss, and Hitler's invasion of Poland are to be condemned without reservation; so are institutions like the Hindu caste, South African apartheid. Objectionable is moral neutrality. Both sides to a quarrel cannot be equally right. After examining all aspects of a problem, or saying all that can be said for both sides, the historian has the responsibility of giving a verdict.

Thanks to the human situation, the historian gets himself involved in making value judgements. To entirely strip him of his right to judge is to downgrade him to the position of an annalist or chronicler preparing calendar-like lists of events and occurrences as the ancient Chinese, we are told, wrote history. Professor Arthur Marwick hastens to tell us that the historian would then be denied the right of using such ordinary words like 'massacre', 'faction', 'ambitious', and so on, let alone such value-loaded words like 'good' and 'bad'.The attempt to make a completely objective history by scrupulously avoiding all controversies and moral judgements may result in an extremely boring piece of historical writing useful to none.Professor Marwick gives an example:'The Second World War broke out in September 1939. It has been argued that Hitler's aggressive policies were the main cause of this, but it does have to be remembered that Germany felt many grievances over the conditions imposed on her at the end of the First World War.The British government has been blamed for failing to take a stronger line against Hitler, yet Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, should perhaps be praised for striving at all times to preserve peace. The war lasted six years and soon involved all the major world powers, including America and Japan. It has been argued that America is the only country to actually make a profit out of the war.On the other hand, had it not been for America, Germany might easily available triumphed'.

Objectivity in history will be served best if the historian observes complete impartiality at the factual level by bringing to the surface all available information bearing on his subject and not suppressing some. It would also be of help if he desists from extravagant interpretations by distorting facts.

CHAPTER-VI

VALUE ORIENTATION

The Value Orientation Method: A Tool to Help Understand Cultural Differences.

To work with people of other cultures, it's important to understand their "world view." The Value Orientation Method (VOM) provides a way to understand core cultural differences related to five basic human concerns, or orientations. The method has been used widely in cross-cultural situations, including in higher education, health services, and conflict resolution. A 16-question oral survey is available and can be used for formal research about cultural differences or informally in training to help people become aware of and work with cultural differences at the individual and institutional levels.

Introduction

Changes in the demographics of the United States challenge Extension faculty and staff to work effectively across cultures. One of the fundamental problems of working effectively with people of another culture understands basic differences in "world view." Without this understanding, it is difficult to provide appropriate services and easy to get into unnecessary conflict.There is, however, a method to quickly help people understand cultural differences. Here introduces the Value Orientation Method (VOM), a tool that can help identify differences in core values across cultures. For those readers familiar with the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and how it describes type of individuals, the VOM provides a similar method for describing types of cultures.

Background

The foundations for VOM were developed in the 1940s and 1950s by anthropologists with the Harvard Values Project. The project team proposed that it is possible to distinguish cultures based on how they each addressed five common human concerns.They did not propose that these were the only five concerns but that they were useful in understanding cultural differences.They also proposed from their study that cultures could respond to the problems in at least three ways and that all cultures would express each of the three responses. It was the rank order of responses that gave a culture its character. They called these responses to the five concerns "value orientations." Today we might call them "core values." Kohls provide a brief introduction to the five human problems and the three possible responses (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Description of Five Common Human Concerns and Three Possible Responses (based on Kohls, 1981)

Concerns/ orientations	Possible Responses		
Human Nature: What is the basic nature of people?	**Evil.** Most people can't be trusted. People are basically bad and need to be controlled.	**Mixed.** There are both evil people and good people in the world, and you have to check people out to find out which they are. People can be changed with the right guidance.	**Good.** Most people are basically pretty good at heart; they are born well.
Man-Nature Relationship: What is the appropriate relationship to nature	**Subordinate to Nature.** People really can't change nature. Life is largely determined by external forces, such as fate and genetics. What happens was meant to happen.	**Harmony with Nature.** Man should, in every way, live in harmony with nature.	**Dominant over Nature.** It the great human challenge to conquer and control nature. Everything from air conditioning to the "green revolution" has resulted from having met this challenge.
Time Sense: How should we best think about time?	**Past.** People should learn from history, draw the values they live by from history, and strive to continue past traditions into the future.	**Present.** The present moment is everything. Let's make the most of it. Don't worry about tomorrow: enjoy today.	**Future.** Planning and goal setting make it possible for people to accomplish miracles, to change and grow. A little sacrifice today will bring a better tomorrow.
Activity: What is the best mode of activity?	**Being.** It's enough to just "be." It's not necessary to accomplish great things in life to feel your life has been worthwhile.	**Becoming.** The main purpose for being placed on this earth is for one's own inner development.	**Doing.** If people work hard and apply themselves fully, their efforts will be rewarded. What a person accomplishes is a measure of his or her worth.
Social Relations: What is the best form of social organization?	**Hierarchical.** There is a natural order to relations, some people are born to lead, and others are followers. Decisions should be made by those in charge.	**Collateral.** The best way to be organized is as a group, where everyone shares in the decision process. It is important not to make important decisions alone.	**Individual.** All people should have equal rights, and each should have complete control over one's own destiny. When we have to make a decision as a group it should be "one person one vote."

Most studies of the dominant Euro-American culture in the United States find that it is future oriented, focused on doing, emphasizes individualism, aspires to be dominant over nature, and believes that human nature is mixed, some people are good and some are bad.By contrast, most studies show that Native cultures are past oriented, focused on being, emphasize collateral (group) relations, aspire to be in harmony with nature, and believe that people are fundamentally good.It is important to note here that each culture will express all three possible responses at some time. For example, it is common for Euro-Americans to have a "doing" orientation during the workweek but to have a "being" orientation on weekends and while on vacation.The VOM theory recognizes that there is diversity within a culture--both among subgroups and individuals--and that degree of acculturation matters.

The Kluckhohn Center for the Study of Values has worked with a number of scholars from various disciplines to test the VOM in different cross-cultural situations. The VOM has been found effective when working in higher education, medicine, nursing, mental health/stress treatment, and conflict resolution.The VOM has proven very effective in working in conflict resolution involving Native people and public resource management agencies.

Methods

The basic assessment instrument is a survey, consisting of 16 situations with associated questions. (See the sample question in Figure 2.) The instrument was originally designed with this story/response format so that it could be read to people who could understand English but not read it well. The instrument has proven equally effective with non-literate and literate respondents. The full instrument is available from the author or from the Kluckhohn Center (1995).

Figure 2
Sample Question (about time orientation) from VOM Instrument

Some people were talking about the way that children should be brought up. Here are three different ideas:

1. Some people say that children should always be taught the traditions of the past. They believe the olds ways are best, and it is when children do not follow them that things go wrong. (A)

2. Some people say that children should be taught some of the old traditions, but it is wrong to insist that they stick to these ways. These people believe that it is necessary for children to always learn about and take on whatever of the new ways will best help them get along in the world of today. (B)

3. Some people do not believe children should be taught much about the past traditions at all, except as an interesting story of what has gone before. These people believe that the world goes along best when children are taught the things that will make them want to find out for themselves new ways of doing things to replace the old. (C)

Which of these people has the best idea about how children should be taught? [Your answer: _____]

Which of these people has the next best idea?
[Your answer: _____]

Note: Idea "A" is past orientation, "B" present orientation, "C" future orientation.

The VOM can be used in several ways, from a research-focused analysis of differences to an informal, awareness-building tool. As a scientific tool, the VOM provides a way to measure value differences, which can then be linked with other variables, such as participation in or preference for a program. For example, an individual from a group that preferred hierarchical relations (strong chain of command) may not prefer a program that involves extensive collateral discussions to reach a decision.On the informal side, many people who complete the survey have an "ah hah" experience as they become aware that other people score the questions differently. This response, also encountered when people take the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator for the first time, provides a "learning moment." In this moment it is possible to show how such fundamental aspects of our lives as leadership, decision making, communication, and motivation are shaped by our value orientations.

Conclusion

The VOM, in addition to serving as a tool to understand cultures, is useful in helping to understand our organizations.Our institutions, including Extension, have an organizational culture that is consistent with the value orientations of the dominant culture. For example, an organization may have a very strong orientation toward the past, thus it can be stressful for people from a present or future orientation to access the institution, or work within it. In Extension, the value orientations of the Euro-American founders can make it difficult for people from other cultures to access our programs and jobs.Acculturation is, arguably, one answer to cultural differences. But another--and probably the most immediate, effective, and fair--is for each of us to understand ourselves, to understand the "others," and then to explore "finding the middle ground".

HISTORICAL REASONING

Traditionally, the focus of history education has been on the content, and learning history mainly implied memorizing facts and data from the (national) past.Recent views of learning history have emphasized learning to reason with facts and stories about the past, and learning to create new coherent stories.Reasoning with information about the past can be considered as an important cultural practice of societies. It has been incorporated into the history curriculum in several countries and is

considered to empower students to understand history, as well as social life in general.For instance, the ability to argue about historical artefacts, rather than accept or reject uncritically what is presented, is viewed as a significant capacity for participation in a democratic society.In line with this, Barton and Levstik argue that history should promote reasoned judgment about important human matters.This requires the ability to appreciate the context, to deliberate and judge, to reflect on the causes of historical events and processes, their relative significance, and the potential outcomes of alternative courses of action, and, lastly, to reflect on the impact of the past on the present.

Educational research has shown increased interest in history learning since the 1990s.These studies have been conducted from a predominantly cognitive perspective on learning and include expert-novice comparisons, reasoning with historical documents and historical explanations, and the teaching of history.This line of research has recently been broadened with studies from a socio-cultural perspective. Although it is by now generally agreed that learning history implies more than learning facts about the past, different terms are used to describe the aim of history education, for instance, historical literacy, historical thinking, historical consciousness, and historical reasoning. Some authors relate historical thinking and reasoning to historical consciousness or literacy. Perfetti et. al. (1995), for example, state that historical literacy involves learning historical events (a story) combined with the use of articulate reasoning.

In our research work we have adopted the term historical reasoning, approaching the construct from an educational perspective. Whereas the terms historical literacy and historical consciousness refer to more general abilities and attitudes, the term historical reasoning emphasizes the activity of students and the fact that when learning history, students not only acquire knowledge of the past, but also use this knowledge for interpreting phenomena from the past and the present. This emphasis on activity and knowledge use is in line with socio-constructivist and socio-cultural theories of learning, which argue that knowledge is actively constructed and mediated by the use of language and tools, rather than transmitted or passively received. By referring to verbally explicated reasoning, in speech or in writing, the term historical reasoning puts more emphasis on the active role of students than other terms have done so far.

Although the term historical reasoning is often used, it is much less defined or described in detail.Leinhardt et al. (1994) studying historical reasoning from the perspective of instructional explanations given to students, described it as “the process by which central facts (about events

and structures) and concepts (themes) are arranged to build an interpretative historical case", which then requires analysis, synthesis, hypothesis generation, and interpretation.Most studies related to historical reasoning focus on only one specific aspect, such as the use of evidence, or the explanation of historical events.While these studies provide many important insights into these specific aspects, historical reasoning as such can be seen to involve a whole range of more or less interrelated activities.For instance, the writing of an essay on a historical topic involves several activities such as contextualizing the topic in a broader historical context, providing explanations for events, describing changes, and comparing historical sources. Such a more inclusive view of the activities that makes up the process of historical reasoning is lacking in most of the research work.

In this essay we propose a theoretical framework for historical reasoning, which can be used to describe and study historical reasoning in secondary education in terms of its' constituting activities. We will be discussed the different components of the framework by referring to the findings of empirical studies and by providing examples from our own research.We conclude the essay with suggestions on how to use the framework both in future research and in educational practice.

A Framework for Historical Reasoning.

In our studies on history learning in secondary education, we needed a framework that would enable us to analyze students' reasoning both in writing and speaking, for example, in collaborative learning situations. We wanted to create a framework that would allow us to describe progression in both reasoning and learning in history, as well as to identify the effects of different learning tasks and learning tools.From the available research literature, we identified components of historical reasoning so that to use them as a starting-point for the analysis of our data.We subsequently refined and extended our initial set of components through analyzing the quality of historical reasoning in student essays, chat discussions in an electronic learning environment, small group discussions, and whole-class discussions. Using the revised components as a ground for our coding schemes, we were able to identify differences in the amount and quality of historical reasoning between different tasks, as well as between experts and novices within the domain of history in various studies. For example, we found that as a starting point for historical inquiry by students, an evaluative question appeared to be more powerful than an explanatory question to provoke historical reasoning.In a study investigating the effects of different representational tools, as, for instance, an argumentative diagram and a matrix, we were able to show through the analysis of chat discussions and

students essays that the amount and type of historical reasoning was shaped by the format of the representation.In a study in which we focused on historical reasoning and its mediation through pictures and task instructions, we compared student dyads with whole-class discussions. Our analysis showed teacher-guided class discussions to exhibit more contextualization, more explanatory questions, as well as more use of abstract historical concepts as compared to discussions in student pairs. In an expert-novice study, we were able to use the framework to bring to light differences in historical reasoning between novices of different ages, as well as between novices and experts.

Figure 1 presents in a schematic form the framework of historical reasoning we developed. The framework comprises six components; (a) asking historical questions, (b) using sources, (c) contextualization, (d) argumentation, (e) using substantive concepts, and (f) using meta-concepts.We define historical reasoning in the context of history education as an activity in which a person organizes information about the past in order to describe, compare, and/or explain historical phenomena.In doing this, he or she asks historical questions, contextualizes, makes use of substantive and meta-concepts of history, and supports proposed claims with arguments based on evidence from sources that give information about the past.The quality of students' historical reasoning is influenced by the nature of the task, the topic or theme, as well as the historical materials provided.Furthermore, it is shaped by the historical knowledge, the historical thinking strategies (here we mean heuristics that support higher-order operations such as writing an essay on a historical topic or interpreting a historical cartoon), and by the epistemological beliefs the student brings to the task.We agree with Booth (1994) that only within the dimensions of the nature of the task, the topic or theme, the historical materials, and the background knowledge one is expected to bring to the task, that any meaningful statement can be made about the level of historical reasoning displayed.Hence, because the level of historical reasoning is always relative, we do not define fixed categories of high and low level historical reasoning within the framework.

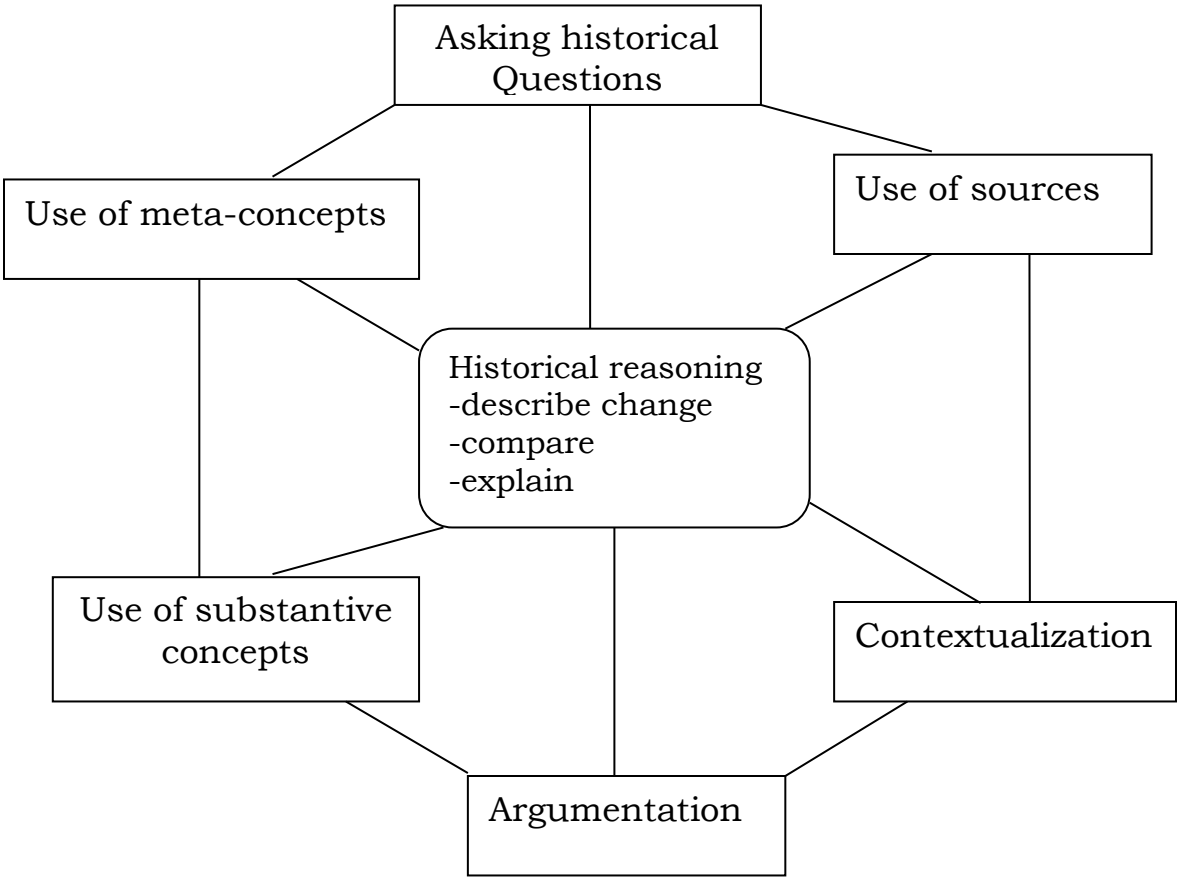

Fig.1 Components of historical reasoning

We consider the components identified in the framework first and foremost as analytical tools for describing the activity of historical reasoning.While the framework identifies analytically separable components, these do not refer to entities that occur clearly separated in reality, which is indicated by the lines between the six components. Explaining a historical event, for example, implies contextualization, argumentation based on historical sources, and the use of both substantive concepts and meta-concepts, such as cause and effect. Both, meta-concepts and substantive concepts related to the discipline of history, shape historical questions, contextualization, use of sources, and argumentation. The relative importance of each of these components in historical reasoning will depend on the complexity and the level of the historical problem or question one wants to address, the information and means available, the product that is asked for, and the person's knowledge and experience.

In the following sections we describe each component of historical reasoning separately, presenting important findings of empirical studies related to these components and providing examples from our own studies to further illustrate each component and its' possible occurrence in research data and classroom reality.

Asking historical questions.

A line of reasoning is always constructed during the encounter with a problem or a question. Schreiber et al. (2006) describe the willingness and ability to ask, recognize, and understand historical questions as one of the competencies underlying historical thinking.Questioning in educational research has been approached mainly as a reading strategy to improve understanding of texts and much less as a means for domain specific reasoning. Questioning may function as an "engine" for historical reasoning. A line of reasoning is not only constructed in relation to an initial question, each component of historical reasoning can be shaped by its own types of questions.

In history, different types of questions are used, such as descriptive questions, causal questions, comparison questions, and evaluative questions.These questions can be asked in relation to historical phenomena (e.g., "What caused World War 1?"), but also in relation to the sources that give information about the past (e.g., "Does this document provide enough evidence?").Evaluative questions are variations of descriptive, causal, or comparison questions. The explanatory question "What caused World War I?" becomes an evaluative question when it is reformulated as "What is the most important cause for the outbreak of World War I?" An example of an evaluative question in relation to historical changes is "Where the changes in the sixties in the Netherlands revolutionary or not?" Historical questions are often shaped by meta-concepts, as, for instance, causation, change and continuity.Not all questions ask for the transformation of knowledge and information. For example, the question "When is the beginning of the Middle Ages?" does not require historical reasoning for a student who has learned that the Middle Ages begin in 500 AC and is supposed to give this date. However, depending on prior knowledge, available information, and the context of the question at hand, sometimes factual questions do ask for reasoning. The same question "When is the beginning of the Middle Ages?" does require historical reasoning when combined with "What do you think?" and "Give reasons for your opinion".Using historical reasoning a student could argue that the Middle Ages started about 500 AC or perhaps, earlier or later and why so.

There is hardly any empirical research available about the way students interpret historical questions with which they are confronted in the history lessons, about the kind of questions they ask when engaged in a particular learning activity, or about how questions guide historical reasoning. Wineburg (1998), in a descriptive study of how two historians with high and low background knowledge read and interpret primary source documents, states that understanding emerges as a result of a dialectical process between the questions that are asked and the textual materials that are encountered. In an exploratory study of how experts and novices in the domain of history try to date and interpret a cartoon from the Cold War period, we found that questioning was an important means to build a historical context and that persons with more expertise within the domain were more inclined to ask questions.Hallden warns that students may have difficulties finding the "correct" interpretation of historical questions asked in the classroom.First, questions may be ambiguous. For example, the question of how a specific event came about may be interpreted as a quest for the enabling factors, a quest for the factors that made the event come about, or a quest for a narrative in which the event is depicted as a consequence of a larger chain of events. Second, students, who are not yet completely socialized into the genre of school history, use their own conceptions and frameworks to interpret a question and these may differ from those of teachers and historians. Van Drie et al. compared how students reasoned when working on an evaluative question compared to an explanatory question. It turned out that the evaluative question elicited more historical reasoning, including argumentation, description of change and continuity, and explanation. This finding suggests that some questions may be more powerful to provoke 'rich' historical reasoning than others.

To summarize, asking historical questions in the context of historical reasoning concerns asking descriptive, causal, comparative, or evaluative questions about historical phenomena and about the sources that give information about the past.

The example in Fig. 2 illustrates how questions can function as an engine for historical reasoning.The example is taken from a small scale study that explored historical reasoning in dyads of students (12 years of age) and in subsequent whole-class discussions about the same task. The task involved a medieval picture showing armed men on horses and men on foot leaving a castle. The students were asked to write a caption for this picture using some of the concepts that were given next to the picture. The episode below is taken from a whole-class discussion. In the analysis of the whole-class discussions we coded types of historical reasoning: describing processes of change and continuity, comparing historical phenomena, and explaining historical phenomena.When one of the students, Mary, mentions that in

those days peasants had to work for the nobility, the teacher brings in the term system and asks an explanatory question: “Why did these people obey to this system?” (Line 10).The teacher initiates a causal reasoning that is co-constructed by himself and the students Mary and Femke (lines 11 to 22).

Using sources.

Information about the past is acquired by a whole range of different types of sources, such as all kinds of written documents, images, and objects.A distinction can be made between primary sources from the time of the event itself and secondary sources or historical accounts of the events.Although objects and images contain more different information about the past than written sources, in educational settings students are often confronted with the latter. These sources Macaulay be primary as well as secondary and can be rather diverse: accounts of historians, excerpts of diaries and letters, treaties, and so on.When talking here about the sources, we refer to primary and secondary sources, written sources as well as images. Information from the sources is important to support assertions about the past.Sources often contain complementary, but also contradictory information about the past. As a consequence, the contents of several documents cannot be simply combined into a single representation and specific knowledge about documents and methods must be acquired to evaluate the trustworthiness of the sources.Rouet et al. make an important distinction between reasoning about documents and reasoning with documents.Reasoning with documents refers to the ability to use document information when executing a historical inquiry. Reasoning about documents refers to the activity in which a document is evaluated on the basis of the type of document it is.

Reasoning with textual sources has been extensively studied. Wineburg found that historians make three types of cognitive representations when reading historical texts: of the text, of the event, and of the subtext (i.e., the text as rhetorical artefact). He also found that students approach historical documents in a different way than expert historians.In an earlier study he compared how eight historians and eight high-school students reasoned about several primary sources. From the thinking-aloud protocols three heuristics related to the study of historical documents were identified: (a) contextualization, or the act of situating a document in a concrete temporal and spatial context; (b) sourcing, or the act of looking first at the source of the document before reading the body of the text; and (c) corroboration, or the act of comparing documents with each other.Most differences between historians and students could be related to different belief systems. Firstly, historians and students had different beliefs about the task. The central question was “Which painting most accurately depicts what happened in Lexington?” Students approached the task as if one answer was correct and they had to find it.Historians, on the other hand, opposed the question with comments like “What did actually happen? What was actually going on there?” Their final result was more a suggestion than an answer. Secondly,

in the reconstruction of the event, historians were more able to take into account the matter of where and when things happened. A third difference was related to beliefs about the texts, the conception of the primary documents. Whereas historians considered information about the text, such as who wrote the text and at what time, to be very important, students focused on the information in the text. Reading

Fig. 2

Except of a Whole-class discussion in which a Collaborative reasoning is initiated by a historical question	1	Mary	You can see knights with armor, a lance, a shield and a sword
	2	Mary	The serfs walk in front of the knights.
	3	Mary	those are a kind of peasants who work for the nobility
	4	Mary	and they had to till the ground of that nobility
	5	Teacher	Yes
	6	Teacher	Yes, guys, Mary actually mentions a lot of good things
	7	Teacher	And now the question, why did these people do this?
	8	Teacher	Because, we don't have this system anymore, we don't know this
	9	Teacher	Perhaps it is interesting to see how this system developed
	10	Teacher	Why did people obey this system?
	11	Mary	Yes, they benefited from it as well
	12	Mary	When they tilled the ground they got food
	13	Mary	Yes, they had to pay a little bit for it
	14	Mary	And they also got protection
	15	Teacher	Can you repeat that, when they….?
	16	Mary	Yes, when they tilled the land, they got food
	17	Teacher	Who do you mean by 'they'?

18	Mary	The serfs till the land for the nobility
19	Teacher	The serfs till the land for the nobility
20	Femke	(raises her hand)
21	Teacher	Do you want to add something to this answer or want to make a change?
22	Femke	When the serfs tilled the land of the castle, in return, they got protection of the castle in case they were attacked themselves

texts seemed to be a process of gathering information for students, with texts serving as bearers of this information.On the other hand, historians seemed to view texts as social exchanges to be understood, puzzled about the intentions of the author, and situate the text in a social context. All this means that to historians what is said is inseparable from who says it.As a consequence, historians more often made use of the sourcing heuristic. A fourth difference was found in the corroboration heuristic, or in the beliefs about the nature of historical evidence. For historians, corroboration was indispensable because every account was seen as reflecting a particular point of view. They were mainly concerned with the question of how a source's bias influences the quality of the report. Students seemed to view bias as an attribute of some texts but not of others. In addition, the students also gave more importance to textbooks, whereas the experts ranked primary sources higher.According to Wineburg, the differences between students and historians resulted not so much from a difference in knowledge about the subejct at hand, as not all the historians specialized in the topic at hand and some students showed more factual knowledge about the topic, but from a difference in knowledge and thinking skills about historical evidence. Historians were able to reason thoughtfully about the accuracy of the documents and were in this way able to build up an elaborate model of the event at hand. Wineburg's study suggests that high-school students do not spontaneously use contextualization, sourcing, and corroboration heuristics when reading documents.

All the studies mentioned above involved students from high school and college.Lee and Ashby (2000) studied children's changing ideas about historical evidence between the ages of seven to fourteen. Based on extensive studies that included 320 students, they identified six steps in students' ideas about accounts and their relation to the past, namely (a) the past as given, (b) the past as inaccessible, (c) the past as determining stories, (d) the past as reported in a more or less biased way, (e) the past as selected and

organized from a viewpoint, and finally (f) the past as (re-)constructed in answer to questions in accordance with criteria. Students often treated the sources as information and only used that information which supported the claim. Information from the sources was neither critically discussed, nor compared to information from other sources.These outcomes are in line with the results found by Wineburg.

We define the use of sources in the context of historical reasoning as the evaluation of sources (e.g., their usefulness, trustworthiness) in relation to the question at hand and the selection, interpretation, and corroboration of information from sources in order to answer a historical question or to provide evidence for a claim about the past.

The example in Fig.3 shows two students discussing the content of a document, taken from a study on how students reason about the past in a computer-supported collaborative environment.Participants were students from pre-university education, 16-17 years of age. Each student worked on his or her own computer, physically separated from the partner and communication took place by chat and other shared tools.The computer-learning environment enabled students to collaborate in pairs on a historical inquiry task, which included studying historical sources and writing an easy of 1,000 words. The task, which took 6 h, was about the question "Were the changes in the youth culture in the nineteen sixties in the Netherlands revolutionary or not?" The chat discussions in this study were, among others, coded in elements of historical reasoning, for example contextualization, describing changes, argumentation, and use of sources. The excerpt below is one that was coded as use of sources.In the original study this excerpt was not analyzed in more detail.When considering this excerpt in relation to the definition of use of sources in the context of historical reasoning, the following can be noticed: Rosa and Wilma try to find out whether the historian, which is cited in source 22, thinks the changes of the sixties were revolutionary or not and use this in their argumentation. However, they do not relate the historians' viewpoint in this fragment to other views of historians, neither do they consider the context of the source or evaluate the trustworthiness of this source. Of course, only a small part of the complete chat discussion is shown here and coming to conclusions on how these two students used historical sources in general would require taking into account the complete chat discussion, as well as the products they made. The excerpt, nevertheless, provides an example of how two students deal with sources in the context of an inquiry task.

Contextualization.

The past is strange and familiar at the same time. In order to interpret historical events, one has to apply a wide

Fig. 3 Excerpt of a chat discussion in which students reason about a source

1	Rosa	source 22 is rather vague to me because he mentions so many features
2	Rosa	It's not really a change what he describes
3	Wilma	the end of an era and the beginning of a new era [quotes from the document]
4	Rosa	that sounds nice
5	Wilma	yeah it does, but that's a change then, isn't it….?
6	Rosa	But he doesn't think it's revolutionary because he says that when it comes to represe-ntation, the Sixties are heavily exaggerated
7	Wilma	that's a good one….
8	Rosa	so it's not all that much according to him
9	Wilma	Then I'll put that one in
10	Rosa	That's something you can work with
11	Rosa	?
12	Wilma	Yes, that's a good answer to me… don't you think it is?
13	Rosa	Yes, fine, I'm not very good at source work

range of general knowledge of how social variables function and interrelate these in order to interpret the specific events under consideration.But understanding and interpreting historical events and acts of persons also requires knowledge of the specific historical context, which is formed by the characteristics of the time and place of the event. It requires finding the appropriate historical context and, then, interpreting the phenomenon in accordance with that context.When talking about contextualization, Wineburg deliberately uses the term "creating" historical contexts, instead of

"placing" or "putting" something into context, verb forms that conjure up images of jigsaw puzzles in which pieces are slotted into pre-existing frames.He refers to the Latin contextere, which means to weave together, to connect strings in a pattern.Dewan Keyser and Vandepitte distinguish different frames of reference that can be used to contextualize a historical phenomenon: (a) a chronological frame of reference, including knowledge of periods, significant events, and developments; (b) a spatial frame of reference, including knowledge about locations and scale; and (c) a social frame of reference, including knowledge of components of human behavior and social activity such as socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural conditions of life. The chronological frame is especially fundamental in history, as it is the main organizing principle.Stow and Haydn point out that chronology in history education does not only refer to the sequencing of events, but also to a general understanding of historical time, such as dating systems and time-related vocabulary.

Only few empirical studies have focused on contextualization and on how it is shaped by historical knowledge, thinking strategies, and epistemological beliefs.Based on a series of interviews with adolescents, Shemilt concluded that adolescents have special difficulty in making sense of the story in which the particular events and episodes are located. He compares it with students who are able to talk sensibly about certain scenes and characters of a play, but having no idea what the play is about.The failure to grasp the nature of historical context is often described as an important source of student misunderstanding. Novices in the domain find it difficult to try to think about the past in its own terms and not to judge past actors and actions solely by present standards. Often, one must be able to imagine oneself in situations that he or she is not likely to experience.This ability is referred to with the term empathy.In the CHATA project carried out by Lee et al. in primary and secondary schools in England, children's ideas about explanation and inquiry in history were investigated.One of the outcomes of this project was the model of progression for rational understanding in history, in which contextualizing and empathy are important aspects. The lowest level is what they call The Divi Past: past action is unintelligible because people in the past were 'divi' stupid, not as clever as we are, inept, morally defective, or 'didn't know any better'. Students in a more advanced level begin to view history as an explanatory system but make little attempt to understand the past in its own terms. At the highest level called contextual historical empathy, actions of people in the past are set in a wider context of beliefs and values. It is recognized that there are differences between the mindsets of the past and the present.According to Lee et al., only from the age of 11 to 14; some students are beginning to distinguish between what they know about the situation and what the historical agent knew at that time.

In an expert/expert study Wineburg describes in detail how two historians build a historical context. He compared the interpretation of historical texts

about Abraham Lincoln of a historian who was a specialist in the Civil War period and a historian in the general field of American history. Based on the outcomes of the study, six different types of contextual comments were distinguished: (a) spatio-temporal comments, about the physical location and temporal sequence of events; (b) social-rhetorical comments, about social demands of situations, intellectual, and ideological landscapes; (c) biographic comments, about life histories of individuals; (d) historiographic comments, about the body of historical writing about the past, (e) linguistic comments, about historical meanings of words, terms, and phrases; and (f) analogical comments, drawing explicit comparisons to other historical periods. For the more knowledgeable historian, the documents activated broad associations and extensive declarative knowledge that let him situate documents in a web of chronologically ordered events. Both historians were able to create a context.A more knowledgeable historian used a broader range of ways to do so, for example, through knowledge of the life history of Lincoln, the historical meaning of words, terms, and phrases and comparisons to other time periods. It was concluded that it was not only the factual knowledge that helped the historians to create a historical context, but also the awareness that words give rise to multiple interpretations.The historian that brought more background knowledge to the task and had more resources for building a context raised more questions about his knowledge and showed more doubt.

Currently, not much is known about the kind of knowledge that helps students to contextualize. Van Boxtel and Van Drie focused on the prior knowledge that novices (students) and more expert persons (history teachers) in the domain of history use to build a historical context for an unknown document or picture from the past in order to date it. Students who managed to date the sources correctly used (a) knowledge of significant historical events or so-called landmarks, such as the abolition of slavery; (b) a rich network of related and colligatory historical concepts, such as concepts related to communism or the Roman empire; and (c) knowledge of periodization and narrative structures, such as the rise and fall of the Roman empire and the beginning and the end of the Cold War.

To conclude, in the framework of historical reasoning contextualization is defined as situating a historical phenomenon, an object, statement, text or picture in a temporal, spatial and social context in order to describe, explain, compare, or evaluate it.

Figure 4 gives an example of contextualization in the context of interpreting and dating a historical cartoon from the Cold War period. The cartoon is about Stalin's proposal in 1952 to unite and neutralise Germany.The aim of study was to investigate which means novices (students in several grades) and experts (in our study history teachers) use to interpret an unknown historical document or picture.The students and teachers worked in pairs and their conversations were videotaped and transcribed.We

coded the conversations on the utterance level using a coding scheme that focused on the identification of important ingredients of contextualization, as, for example, making reference to characteristics of time, space, and social context. Lara and Sanne are 16-year old pre-university students. In line 11 Lara starts to build a context for what she and Sanne see on the cartoon.The contextualization episode that follows contains several statements in which reference is made to different types of knowledge that is used to build a historical context, as, for instance, knowledge of a particular period (Cold War, line 11), knowledge of characteristics of a location (Germany was divided during the Cold War, line 11), and knowledge of a particular event (Russia tried to make the East communist, lines 13 and 15).

Argumentation.

Because historical accounts are based upon various kinds of sources that often contain partial and contradictory information and because historical interpretations are not definite, assertions and claims about the past must be supported by rational arguments, which, in turn, should be based upon well-evaluated evidence. Historical reasoning does not mean just giving an opinion or a viewpoint; it is the arguments and evidence used to support the opinion that counts.The skill of argumentation is, therefore, fundamental to historical reasoning. Reasoning in the domain of history can be considered as informal reasoning. Contrary to formal reasoning, informal reasoning is related to ill-structured problems.Conclusions are reached on the basis of weighing arguments and evidence. They are never definite, but only more or less probable, as new evidence can alter these probabilities.Voss et al. mention three criteria for evaluating the soundness of informal reasoning.These criteria include (a) whether the reasoning providing support is acceptable or true, (b) the extent to which the reason supports the conclusion, and (c) the extent to which an individual takes into account reasons that support the contradiction of the conclusion, also known as counter argumentation.In relation to argument-based reasoning in history.

Fig. 4

Excerpt of a discussion in which students build a historical context

1	Lara	that cat is communism
2	Sanne	that cat liberates that angel to make peace with the mice, or something like that
3	Lara	yes
4	Lara	Look at [points] all these Countries, they are not Communist, these are Communist, aren't they?

		Poland, Czechoslovakia…
5	Sanne	yes, they are taken by the Russians, yes
6	Lara	these are
7	Sanne	perhaps they try to catch it with that small angel [points] or something like that
8	Lara	yes that it is a trap
9	Sanne	yes, a trap, yes I think so
10	Sanne	thus it is
11	Lara	and in the Cold War… Germany was divided then, wasn't it?
12	Sanne	yes
13	Lara	and with that wall, that ehm Russia also had the East and tried to make it communist, isn't it?
14	Lara	that was the case in the Cold War
15	Lara	in the Cold War they tried to make Germany a communist country
16	Sanne	yes

Perfetti et al. maintain that sound reasoning requires awareness that (a) arguments require evidence, (b) evidence is documented, and (c) documents are not equal in their privilege as evidence. The process of argumentation is, thus, closely related to the use of sources.

Research has shown that, although people in general are able to support their claims with arguments, even from a young age onwards, weaknesses can be found in relation to the generation of different types of arguments, taking into account of counterarguments, and weighing of different theories. Research in the domain of history shows the same pattern.For example; Pontecorvo and Girardet found that discussions between 9-year old students, who were asked to reach agreement about a historical claim, largely consisted of claims and justifications for these claims.Our own findings in a study on writing argumentative texts in history showed that most students (pre-university level) only mentioned several arguments in support of their claim, with hardly any counterarguments given, and with no

weighing of arguments pro and contra.In their study of children's changing ideas about historical evidence between the ages of seven to fourteen, Lee and Ashby also found that students often treated sources as information and only used the information which supported their claim.Spoehr and Spoehr argue that taking into account counterarguments is a very difficult aspect of reasoning in the domain of history.

Kuhn et al. relate the differences in level of argumentation to epistemological beliefs and discerns a progression of epistemological understanding. Initially, at the first level historians' accounts of events are not distinguished from the events themselves: the subject focuses on statements about the events themselves, meta-statements about the accounts are rare, and two different accounts are not compared but information is added to provide a more complete version. In the second level, different accounts are seen as genuinely different: differences are attributed to wilful misrepresentation or bias on the part of one of the historians, and a neutral, third party is seen as capable of discerning the "truth".Leadbeater and Kuhn found that only one quarter of 6th graders showed this second level of reasoning.In the third level subjects maintain that both accounts could be right, because everyone sees things from their own point of view: all accounts are regarded as opinions. This level appeared in the study of Leadbeater and Kuhn among ninth graders and became the most frequent stance by the twelfth grade. Furthermore, they observed two subsequent levels of reasoning among adults. At one level, an objective reality is regarded as ultimately known through critical evaluation of multiple accounts. At the other, the realm of facts exists only as interpreted by human observers and do not yield a single reality.

To conclude, as a component of historical reasoning, argumentation concerns putting forward a claim about the past and supporting it with sound arguments and evidence through weighing different possible interpretations and taking into account counterarguments.

Figure 5 shows an example from an essay written by Rick and Joni in a text-editor in an electronic learning environment from the same study as the example in Fig. 3 in the section on using sources.This essay gained a relatively high score for argumentation. In their complete essay, only one section of which is included in the example, they take the standpoint that the sixties were revolutionary and not only support this standpoint with several arguments but also discuss counterarguments and try to refute them. In the example, Rick and Joni discuss the fourth counterargument in which they refer to the fact that most radical youth was located in Amsterdam, and that Provo (a protest group) was not as revolutionary as is commonly assumed.They discuss whether the actions of Provo were unique or more general, which is an important disciplinary heuristic when reasoning about processes of change and continuity.The students also refer to information in one of the sources, a text written by a Dutch historian and

make a meta-statement about this source when they conclude the source to be trustworthy.Although the remark "a man who should have knowledge on this subject" might not be a very strong argument, the fact that this remark is made shows that these students have some understanding that not all the documents are equal in their privilege as evidence.In the last sentence of the example. Rick and Joni try to refute this counter-argument by stating that this is only the viewpoint of one historian.Again, this might not be a strong argument, but it shows that they understand that they can't trust on the argument of one person and need to be open for alternative interpretations.

Using substantive concepts.

Each domain has its own language.Discipline-bound concepts are "tools" to think about, question, describe, analyze, synthesize, and discuss historical phenomena. Husbands describes concepts as the grammar of history, as they have the power to organize the infinite number of facts that characterize history. Student understanding and use of historical concepts is one of the major goals of history education. A distinction can be made between methodological and substantive concepts. Methodological, second order concepts, or meta-concepts refer to the methods used by historians to investigate and describe historical processes and periods and will be described in the following section. Substantive concepts refer to historical phenomena, structures, persons, and periods (e.g., pharaoh, feudalism, Charles V. Enlightenment).Different types of substantive concepts are used in history.Haenen and Schrijnemakers distinguish between unique and inclusive concepts.A unique concept applies to a thing, person, event, or period each of which is the only one to which the name applies (e.g., D-day, Middle Ages, Peace of Westfalia).Inclusive concepts are concepts that cover instances to which these names apply (e.g., castle, depression).Hallden points to the fact that in history many so-called colligatory concepts are used; higher order concepts that bring a series of events together by describing them from an aspect that makes them intelligible or relevant in an explanation. Examples are the fall of the Roman Empire,Renaissance,Enlightenment and industrial Revolution.Such concepts provide a thematic organization of historical knowledge.

Fig. 5 Fragment of an Essay in which students Put forward claims and Supper them with Arguments

Fourth, most of the actions took place in Amsterdam, a city that was much more progressive than the other parts of the country. Therefore, in Amsterdam, many action took place and here Provo was founded. Provo took part in the city council elections and won one seat (source 15). The most famous plan of Provo was the 'White Bicycle plan'. They wanted to have public

bicycles, without a lock or deposit. In this way they wanted to get ride of the cars. In the city centre of Amsterdam. Provo was note that innovative the revolutionary.The way in which Provo expressed itself was new, however, their ideology and values had strong roots in the past, as it is said in source 22 historian Pas, a man who should have knowledge on this subject, summer-ize it as follows: "We should see Provo, more than we did up to now, as an amalgation of generations, traditions and ideals". (These ideals have been the same throughout the years, though the form in which they were expressed changed.) Still, this is an opinion of one person, and we have to be careful with drawing general conclusions.

Students face various problems in understanding and using substantive concepts.The first problem is that historical concepts are often abstract and theoretical. They do not refer to concrete objects in the past and are given meaning in the context of related concepts within a conceptual network. For example, to explain the concept of democracy, other concepts must be used, such as parliament, representation, and government.Each of these concepts is abstract and difficult to understand.The second problem is that substantive concepts often have no fixed meaning.This is related to the fact that historians themselves differ in their interpretation of concepts and that the discipline of history does not have a large specialized vocabulary and uses concepts taken from other disciplines (e.g., economics, politics, and sociology) and from everyday life.Concepts used in everyday life often have a different meaning in the past. For example, trade meant something different in the middle Ages than it means in our present Western society.Thus, the meaning of concepts differs in time and place, and students must learn to describe phenomena that are different from those experienced in the present with known terms.Students often interpret a concept on the basis of their knowledge at present time and, thus easily develop misunderstanding or misconceptions through anachronism. In addition, some concepts, such as fascism or slavery, give rise to strong feelings, making it sometimes difficult to distinguish between moral judgment and historical explanation.Students should, thus, learn to differentiate between the present meaning of concepts and the meaning of concepts used in a specific historical context.The third problem arises from the fact that some concepts may be very specific and related to one period, so students may come across them only a few times, which limits their opportunities to understand and learn these concepts.Finally, Limon points out those historical concepts are often implicit and not presented in an isolated way, but within a narrative.

Students often have to infer their meaning, which may give rise to misunderstandings.

Relatively little research has been conducted into students' ideas on particular substantive concepts. The studies that did focus on students' concept knowledge found that this knowledge is limited. Berti, for example notes that students' use of concepts does not guarantee the correct understanding of their meaning.McKeown and Beck studied young students' knowledge about the American Revolution just before and a year after they studied the subject in schools.They found that students in both groups were only able to provide simple associations with the concepts, as well as simple links between ideas, and that there were a lot of misconceptions and confusions. Others have shown that conceptual understanding in history is related to one's social experience and culture.Especially younger children, having only limited social experience, may have difficulty in understanding historical concepts.

To conclude, using substantive concepts in historical reasoning concerns the use of concepts that name historical phenomena, persons, and periods when organizing information about the past in order to describe, compare, and/or explain historical phenomena.

The example which is presented in Fig. 2 also shows how substative concepts shape reasoning in a whole-class discussion. In our analysis of the discourse we distinguished reasoning episodes with and without substantive concepts relevant to the task at hand. The group task that is discussed was successful in provoking student reasoning with substantive concepts, as students transformed their more everyday language into the language of history. For example, students first (not in the excerpt) talked about "men with armour" and "peasants" and then about "knights" (line 1) and "serfs" (line 2). The students use the terms knights, serfs, and nobility and the teacher brings in the abstract term system (which he explains later on the discussion) in order to explain why peasants worked for the nobility. In lines 3 and 4 Mary gives a description of the concept serf. The concepts nobility, serfs, and feudal system are important tools in the explanation of the actions of concrete persons in the middle Ages.

Using meta-concepts.

As described in the previous section, meta-concepts are related to the methods used by historians to investigate and describe historical processes and periods. Limon for example, mentions evidence, cause, explanation, empathy, time, space, change, source, fact, description, and narration. She argues that these meta-concepts from the basis of historical knowledge and mediate students' understanding of substantive concepts. Research has shown that students' knowledge about these meta-concepts is often implicit; Voss et al. found that although college students did seem to have some understanding of methodological concepts, this understanding was not well integrated.

We discuss meta-concepts in relation to historical reasoning meta-concepts guide the asking of questions about the past as well as the description, comparison, and explanation of historical phenomena and the use of sources in an argumentation. In our framework we consider the use of meta-concepts in historical reasoning as the application of discipline-based heuristics that help to describe processes of change and continuity, to compare, and to explain historical phenomena.Meta-concepts and heuristics related to the use of sources, as, for instance, evaluating the trustworthiness and corroboration of information from different sources, were discussed in the section about sources.

According to Stearns understanding the phenomenon of change over time is the main purpose of history.He describes change as a multifaceted or multi-layered subject, which can occur in very different areas of society, for instance, political systems, technologies, fundamental beliefs, and family life. Historians often distinguish between political, economical, social, and cultural changes. Studying historical changes also raises questions about how change came about, whether it came about gradually or suddenly, as well as questions about the impact of changes and continuity or discontinuity. Barton showed that the socio-cultural setting of history education is an important factor shaping the focus on the role of individuals as agents in historical change.In a comparison of the reasoning of students from the United States with that of students from Northern Ireland, he found that US students particularly emphasized the role of (famous) individuals in bringing about change, whereas the Northern Irland students gave more attention to social factors such as political and social movements, economics, and the government.

The use of comparison to analyse and organise information about the past implies a focus on aspects of similarity and differences. Comparison as a heuristic can help to separate extraordinary situations or acts from more common ones.For example, in order to illuminate a particular political revolution, it can be helpful to compare it with other political revolutions.McCarthy Young and Leinhardt studied a specific form of comparison in history classes: analogical reasoning. They make a distinction between direct historical analogies involving comparison with other historical phenomena (events, structures, or meta-systems) and contextual analogies in which a historical phenomenon is compared to a familiar base drawn from personal or shared experience.Direct historical analogies are especially helpful to explain what something was, whereas contextual analogies tend to explain what something meant.Though overgeneralization and misleading comparison are potential risks of such analogical reasoning.McCarthy Young and Leinhardt did not find this kind of “misuse” in the classes of the three history teachers they studied.

In case of explanation, it is often stressed that causation in history does not involve simple cause-effect relationships: instead, many actions and events occurring over time could play a role in producing a historical event.A distinction can be made between immediate and long-term causes and between manifest and latent events or long-term developments, such as population shift or climate change.Jacott et al. describes two different theoretical models of explanation in history.The intentionalist model conceptualizes historical explanation basically in terms of human actions, attributing major importance to the particular motives, intentions, and beliefs of the agents involved.The structural model of explanation is based on

the relationship between a set of conditions (e.g., economic, demographic, social, political, religious) that constitute social reality.Thus, in case of explaining, historians search for more than one cause and/or for more than one type of cause. Results from several studies show that students tend to explain historical events from the intentionalist, personalistic point of view. In the study conducted by Carretero et al. novices and experts were asked to explain four historical events by ranking six different types of causes in order of importance (political, economic, ideological, personalistic, remote, and international policy).The results showed that non-experts attributed greater importance to personalistic causes. This is in line with findings of Riviere et al. that show that personal factors are better recalled, especially in lower levels of education.Experts tend to vary the importance given to different causes according to the historical event in question.They do not attribute the same influence to political, economic, and cultural-ideological causes, but consider each event in its own context. In short, when explaining the past, students face difficulties in using multiple and different types of causes, often have difficulties in realizing that some event can be a cause and a consequence at the same time, and tend to maximize the role of human action over the influence of institutional factors.

To summarize, using meta-concepts in historical reasoning involves using heuristics related to (a) the description of processes of historical change, for example distinguishing change and continuity, gradual and sudden changes, and political, economical, social, and cultural changes; (b) the comparison of historical phenomena, for example distinguishing similarities and differences and unique and generic aspects; (c) the explanation of historical events, for example the identification of multiple causes, types of causes, relationships between causes, and of long term and immediate consequences; and (d) the use of sources providing information about the past, for example evaluating the trustworthiness of the source and corroborating information from different sources (see also the section about the use of sources).

Figure 6 presents a fragment of an essay written in a text editor in an electronic learning environment by two students, taken from the same study as the example shown in Fig. 3. Pairs of students worked on the question of what caused the changes in the behaviour of Dutch youth in the 1960's.The fragment shows the organization of information from several documents in an explanation.In this study, the scoring of the essay took, among others, into account the amount of causes given and the quality of the description of the causes (e.g., are different types of causes mentioned, are the different causes interrelated, is a distinction made between long term and immediate consequences?).This fragment forms the conclusion of their essay, which shows that these students are aware that there is not a single cause that explains the changes in the behaviour of the youth in the nineteen sixties.They take into account multiple causes and distinguish different types of causes (e.g., Second World War, social-economic developments and a changing mentality).They identify the Second World War as an important cause, together and in relation with societal developments. In the first sections of the essay (not presented here) the students are more specific about these societal developments, where they mention, for instance, increasing welfare, more education for youngsters, and the influence of television, and explain how these causes relate to changes in the youth culture.

Reasoning or Historical Reasoning?

Having explored historical reasoning in more detail, the question may arise to what extent there is something like historical reasoning or whether it merely reflects general reasoning skills.This question is related to the fundamental question whether thinking and reasoning are general skills or domain-specific skills. Kuhn argues that there is a general reasoning ability, which is independent of domain-specific knowledge. The philosophers in her study, who are considered experts in reasoning with no specific knowledge in the domain, outperformed the domain experts on quality of reasoning.

Fig. 6 Fragment of an essay that reflects the use of heuristics related to the meta-concepts cause

After reading and discussing a lot. We have come to the conclusion that there is single cause for the changes of the youth in the fifties and sixties. There are more events that have caused the drastic change or youngsters in that period. One of the main causes is that war. After the Second World War people started to think definitely. They experienced that it could go not the way they expected. Due to this awareness, together with societal developments, the behaviour of the youth in the fifties and sixties changed a lot.

Better reasoners tend to be analytic, generate different types of arguments and also arguments opposed to ones own position, and they are more inclined to use meta-cognitive mechanisms. On the other hand there are findings that stress the domain-specific aspects. Perfetti et al. state that historical reasoning may be informed by specific (historical) information but is guided by general reasoning principles.They consider historical reasoning as "neither specifically historical nor fully general".Historical reasoning then depends on skills to approach texts and evidence critically and with an attempt to sort out evidence and construct arguments.We consider historical reasoning as a sub-concept of the overarching concept reasoning, just as, for instance, geographical reasoning or jurors reasoning.Historical reasoning can, thus, be regarded as a more specific form of reasoning.Consequently, historical reasoning requires general reasoning skills, but also contains several characteristics that are more specific to this particular domain. Historical reasoning is not only informed by historical information, domain-specific knowledge, and domain specific epistemological beliefs, but also implies the application of historical heuristics or thinking strategies related to the meta-concepts of history. An example may clarify this.In one of our studies we asked both students and their history teachers to discuss in pairs and write a short essay about the question 'To what extent can Saddam Hussein and Adolf Hitler be compared?' that was given together with a text claiming that there were many communalities.Whereas the discussions and essays of the student dyads hardly reflected historical reasoning, those of the teachers did.The reasoning of the teachers was informed by a rich historical knowledge base that enabled them to judge carefully the claims made in the text, for example, two teachers criticized the claim that both Hitler and

Hussein knew a personality cult, by discussing several characteristic features of the personality cult of Hitler and bringing in an alternative comparison with the personality cult of Stalin.The teachers did not only focus on communalities (arguments in favour) but also on differences (arguments against), always contextualizing features of the reign of Hussein and Hitler.Domain-specific epistemological beliefs seemed to underlie their reluctance to compare persons from different times and places and their careful analysis of the historical context of each person.

Using the Framework in Empirical Research.

The framework of historical reasoning presented here helps guide future research. Firstly, the description of the components of historical reasoning shows that not all components have been investigated to the same extent and that some need further elaboration and specification. Although there are a reasoning number of studies which focus on heuristics related to the explanation of historical phenomena and the use of historical sources, there are not many empirical studies that focus on asking historical questions, contextualization, comparisons between historical phenomena, reasoning about historical changes, and the use of substantive concepts in reasoning.In addition, as far as we know, studies in which different components are more coherently studied are also still rare.Secondly, more insight is needed into the relationship between ways and levels of historical reasoning and historical knowledge, historical thinking strategies, and epistemological beliefs. The analytic framework presented here may provide a good starting point for investigating the question of the extent to which differences in reasoning are due to available historical and epistemological knowledge, strategies, and attitudes.Thirdly, historical reasoning is quite a complex activity and future research should shed more light on how to overcome the problems students face with historical reasoning, asking such questions as “What are good learning tasks that elicit and promote historical reasoning?” and “What are the effects of different learning tasks on students’ reasoning?” As mentioned before, we have studied the effects of different inquiry questions and the role of the construction of different kind of external representations (e.g., diagram, list, and matrix).In future research projects we will focus on how whole-class discussions influence students’ reasoning in small groups and on how students can be stimulated and supported to ask historical questions themselves.

Using the Framework for Educational Practice.

Although the framework of historical reasoning was initially developed for research reasons, it can also be used by teachers in their daily classroom practice.Using the framework could help direct teachers’ attention to the question of what students are supposed to do with the information about the past that they are confronted with. An important task of the teacher then becomes to create ample opportunities in the classroom for students to practice historical reasoning, for themselves, in dialogue with other students, and in dialogue with the teacher. Leinhardt, for example, showed that historical reasoning could be promoted by teacher-student conversations and by writing tasks. In addition, Van Drie (2005) showed that collaborative learning in the context of an inquiry task could be a suitable instructional strategy to engage students in historical reasoning.

Clearly, teaching students to reason in history is a challenging job. It may take much time in an already time-limited practice of teaching several classes for only a few hours a week, it puts high demands on the reasoning skills of the teacher, it may be difficult and time-consuming to assess, and it requires good instructional materials and learning tasks. The framework of historical reasoning presented here may provide a structure for the design of a curriculum and learning tasks. It could, for instance, be used to evaluate the current curriculum on how much time is directed to the various components. It may be a useful starting point for thinking about the desired goals students should attain in various schools and age levels.In addition, the framework could be used to derive criteria for the assessment of students' products, such as essays.

Conclusions and Discussion.

In this article a framework of historical reasoning was presented. This framework aimed at gaining more insight into historical reasoning and its' different components and at assisting the analysis of historical reasoning in the context of history education. Six components of historical reasoning were distinguished; (a) asking historical questions, (b) using sources, (c) contextualization, (d) argumentation, (e) using substantive concepts, and (f) using meta-concepts. From the literature on the components of historical reasoning we conclude that skilled historical reasoning can be described as reasoning which reflects contextualization or taking into account the historical period and setting, the use of substantive and meta-concepts to describe, compare, and explain historical phenomena, and sound argumentation based on a careful inspection and evaluation of available sources.

Historical reasoning, as described above, is a complex activity. Wineburg even describes it as an "unnatural act".Most research on learning history has been conducted at the level of high-school and university students, which has consequences for what might be expected of students, but it is clear that historical reasoning as such contains several problematic aspects for students.First, while discussing their claims, students tend only to use arguments supporting their own point of view, do not take into account alternative views, and have difficulties in weighing different arguments.A second, related problem is that students do not use sources extensively, do not consider the trustworthiness of the source, and hardly use corroboration of sources when studying historical documents.Thirdly,contextualization of historical problems requires detailed factual knowledge of the issue at hand and a broader chronological frame of reference, as well as knowledge of how people and societies function, which students may posses only to a limited extent. Fourthly, judging the past by its own standards and not by our present ones is difficult for students. Fifthly, in describing historical changes students often find it difficult to take into account processes of continuity and in explaining them, they face problems in using multiple and different types of causes, and tend to maximize the role of human action and minimize the role of institutional factors. Finally, many substantive concepts are difficult for students to understand and use in a correct way. From the perspective of individual differences, the level of historical reasoning appears to be related to several factors, as, for instance, age and development, culture, working memory capacity, and epistemological beliefs.In addition, specific content knowledge plays an important role.

In this essay we have provided some examples of how the framework of historical reasoning can be used to analyze historical reasoning in studies on teaching and learning history. These examples suggest that it is a useful tool to analyze students' historical reasoning in speaking and in writing and that it works in differentiating between different experimental conditions. Future research should focus on the validation of the framework and these outcomes may be considered as the first small step towards it. The framework can be used to analyze historical reasoning in more qualitative, as well as in more quantitative ways. As stated before, the framework does not specify fixed levels of historical reasoning. When it is desirable to specify levels of historical reasoning, the age and experience of students, the specific task, information, and support that are provided should be taken into account. For most of the components, there exists a reasonable amount of studies that would be helpful for such a specification.

To summarize, the proposed framework of historical reasoning suggests future empirical research on specific components as well as on their overall interrelations. Such research may support the development of instructional formats and principles to provoke and improve historical reasoning in history classrooms. At the same time, the framework can be used in educational practice as a framework to design and evaluate learning activities, learning materials, as well as criteria for assessment.

CHAPTER-VII

FORMULATION OF AN ARGUMENT

Reading a Historical Argument.

I. Definition.

An argument is a set of propositions designed to demonstrate that a particular conclusion, called the thesis, is true. An argument is not simply a statement of opinion, but an attempt to give reasons for holding certain opinions. An historical argument gives reasons for holding a certain opinion about an event in the past.

II. Purpose.

There are many disciplines in which the answers to questions can be presented in a straightforward, unambiguous manner. History is not one of these. Unlike physics or chemistry, where there is usually only one generally accepted answer to any question, in history there are usually many ways that one can understand, or interpret, what has happened in the past. It is therefore necessary to choose from among these possibilities and decide which one is correct. This choice should be based on a solid understanding of the issues and the evidence. We should be able to give reasons for our choice, our opinion, on that subject. This choice should be based on evidence.

There are two principal sources of evidence which we can use for developing our opinions about what happened in the past: primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources are useful because they present the conclusions of those who have more knowledge and expertise on the subject than we are like ly to have. On the other hand, if we want to find out what really happened for ourselves, we need to look at the primary sources, just as those who wrote the secondary sources did. This exercise, therefore, will help you develop an argument based on primary sources.

III. Parts of an Argument.

A.Thesis: that statement which you are trying to prove. In an argumentative essay, this conclusion would appear as your thesis statement. In a philosophy class, this would be called the "conclusion."

B. Argument: the reasons you give for your conclusion. An argument is considered persuasive if the reasons given are good reasons for the conclusion; an argument is considered unpersuasive if the reasons are not good reasons for the conclusion. In an argumentative essay, these reasons will generally appear as the topic sentences of individual paragraphs. In a philosophy class, these reasons would be referred to as "premises."

C. Evidence: the concrete "facts" upon which you base your argument. Evidence can be descriptions of events, philosophical concepts, economic statistics, laws, battles, paintings, poems or any other information you have about the past. Some of this information you will find in secondary sources, such as your textbooks, but for this course, most of the evidence should come from primary sources.

IV. Evaluating an Argument

- 1. Is the argument persuasive? That is, does the argument in fact give reasons to believe the thesis?
- 2. Are the reasons plausible?
- 3. Is there sufficient evidence to support the argument? While writers often cite an example as a way to illustrate a particular point, a single example is often not sufficient to support a generalization.
- 4. Are the examples representative? That is, do the examples chosen truly reflect the historical situation or were they chosen to exclude evidence which would tend to disprove or complicate the thesis?
- 5. Does the argument present enough background information so that the reader can assess the significance of the evidence presented?
- 6. Does the argument take into account counterexamples?
- 7. Does the argument refute possible objections?
- 8. Does the argument cite sources?

For more details see chapter VI –side heading titled Argumentation.

CHAPTER-VIII

WRITING AN ASSIGNMENT

MECHANICS OF THESIS-WRITING.

"Mechanics of thesis-writing" deals with the art of constructing a thesis in concrete terms.The writings of a scholar might take the shape of a term paper, or a thesis or a dissertation according to one's requirements.A term paper fulfills the requirements of a course or an undergraduate major.A thesis fulfills the requirements of a graduate-level course or meets the specifications set for a master's degree.A dissertation meets the requirements for a doctoral degree. Such research works must meet specifications set by the degree-granting institutions.In this chapter the term thesis has been treated as a synonym for dissertation. A thesis has a mechanical format or a structure which is absolutely necessary in the presentation of the matter of a thesis.Format or structure is the mould into which you pour your thoughts in order to give them a meaningful concrete shape and invest them with life. Structure is the skeleton which is organically related to the thought content of a thesis.Without a structure thesis is a shapeless mass.

As structure is integral to the organization of a thesis, so is the question of originality.A Ph.D. thesis is supposed to be an original contribution to knowledge. But originality of thought in the strict sense of the term is impossible for any one except perhaps a genius or a lunatic, for in the 18th century England the word "originality" meant idiosyncracy or madness.Therefore, what is meant by originality in a thesis is not saying anything new but expressing one's thoughts in a new way."A well-written Ph.D.thesis may be constructed as an advancement of knowledge in a big or small way thro' refinement of inherited thought in our possession".

Generally the mechanical format or structure of a thesis consists of three parts: i) The Preliminaries, (ii) The Text and (iii) The Reference Material.The order in which individual items within the three main sections appear is outlined herebelow and this order is to be strictly followed.

I. THE PRELIMINARIES

a) The Title Page

b) Certificate of Approval

c) Preface (including acknowledgement)

d) Table of Contents

e) List of Figures or Illustrations

II. THE TEXT

a) Introduction

b) Main Body of the Thesis

c) Conclusion

III. THE REFERENCE MATERIAL

a) Bibliography
b) Appendix (or Appendixes)
c) Index (if any)

} The order of these two may be reversed

Let us take these individual items under all the three sections for a detailed study.

I. THE PRELIMINARIES

1. The Title Page: In the Title Page the following information is furnished.

a) Title of the Thesis

b) Designation of the Faculty (optional)

c) Name of the Institution to which the Thesis is submitted

d) Degree for which the Thesis is submitted

e) Name of the Candidate

f) Date of Submission of the Thesis

The Thesis Title should be self-explanatory as far as possible and should be capable of defining the specific area of investigation.Title should not be romanticized, for the display of emotion in the title is likely to spill over into the body of the thesis and spoil its contents.The practice of adding the honorific “M.A.” or “M. Phil”, to the name of the thesis writer is in bad taste and it should be given up. It is unnecessary display of his basic educational qualification without which no one will be permitted to write a doctoral dissertation.

(A sample Title Page is produced here under)

THE SOCIAL SETTING OF CHRISTIAN CONVERSION IN SOUTH INDIA

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the Ruprecht-Karl-University, Heidleberg, Germany, for the Degree of Dr. Phil

By

Sundararaj Manickam

October 1976

2. The Certificate: The certificate from the guide is no formality. It is an honest confession made by the guide with the timid consent of the researcher that no part of the thesis is stolen or reproduced verbatim from another thesis without permission or proper acknowledgement. The certificate is an indication of the degree of responsibility and honesty shared between the guide and the researcher.

3. Preface: The preface is often synonymous with the writer's foreword or preliminary remarks on the thesis. It should be as brief as possible and should be a matter of fact account of how the thesis came to be written.The preface may include: purpose in conducting the study, a brief resume of the background, scope, and general nature of the research upon which the report is being based.A preface cannot be written until a thesis or major report is in its final form.

Acknowledgements recognize the persons to whom the writer is indebted for guidance and assistance and credit institutions for providing funds to make the study possible or for use of personnel, facilities and other resources.To obtain a clear idea of what is included in a preface, writers and research scholars are advised to go through a number of Theses.

4. Table of Contents: The Table of Contents, sometimes headed simply CONTENTS, lists all parts of the thesis except the title page, blank page, dedication and epigraph.The Table of Contents normally includes the major divisions of the Thesis.The Introduction, the Chapters with their subsections, the Bibliography, Appendix and Index (if any).Page numbers are given to them in Arabic numerals while Preface and Acknowledgements, List of Tables and Illustrations are given Roman numerals in lower case, indicating that they do not form part of Thesis proper. Care should be exercised that the titles of chapters and captions of sub divisions within chapters correspond exactly to those included in the body of the report. It is optional whether the Title Page, Preface and Acknowledgement, List of Tables and Illustrations are entered in the Table of Contents.The purpose of a Table of Contents is to provide a writing outline, which is a skeleton guide to the patterns of flow of thought and ideas in a work.The writing-outline indicates the crucial steps in the development of author's argument. The Table of Contents is thus to provide an analytical over-view of the material included in the study with the sequence of presentation.To this end the relationship between major divisions and major subdivisions needs to be shown distinctly.

II. THE TEXT

The Text proper follows the preliminaries and begins with the first page of the text.The text is the most important part of the thesis and therefore the writer should devote the greater part of his energies to a careful organization and presentation of his findings. The more logically, concisely and coherently the writer develops his thesis through chapter divisions, the more readily the overall purpose and strength of a study become evident.The Text falls into three parts which constitute the logical framework of the thesis.They are Introduction,Main body of the thesis and Conclusion.

Introduction: If the Preface is a matter of fact, the Introduction is critical and it gives flying start to the thesis. An introduction should be written with considerable care with two major aims in view: It should introduce the problem in a suitable context and it should arouse and stimulate the reader's interest. It would usually start with a brief review of all the past investigation with critical comments.It should deal with the nature and scope

of the writer's investigation and its comparative merits.The writer makes a clear statement of the problem, adding explanations of the concepts and technical terms, if he is adding to or changing their normal meaning. If in the choice of the title of the thesis, he has already bitten, more than he could chew, he should explain in clear terms the restrictions the researcher has imposed upon himself and the limitations under which he is going to labour.The introduction thus helps to clear any doubt or misunderstanding created by the wording of the thesis title.

If a critical review of the intellectual situations forms the first part of the introduction, it is to be followed by what is known as the proposal in which the writer describes in the form of an outline what he hopes to prove in the subsequent pages of the thesis.Thus an introductory chapter contains the following essential points:

a) A lucid, complete and concise statement of the problem being investigated or the general purpose of the study.

b) A justification for the study, establishing the importance of the problem.Indication of limitations of the project and definition of terms used in the study which have a specific significance and meaning.

c) A resume of the history and present status of the problem, done by a concise critical review of previous researches in the field.Care should be sufficiently taken to avoid any attempt to throw aspersions on or belittle the scholarship of the previous writers on the same or allied topics.

d) A brief statement of sources of data, the experimental procedure and the method adopted is given.

2. Main Body of the Thesis:

The Main Body of the Thesis is divided into three parts: The boost; the demonstration and conclusions.The boost is that in which the writer proceeds to magnify the importance of his discovery or argument.The purpose of boost is to stimulate the reader's appetite.The boost is followed by the demonstration in which the discovery is explained in an ordinary manner; for example by the statement of facts in a chronological order, if the subject is of a historical nature.Order means that chapters should follow one another logically. Each chapter should be preceded by a brief summary of what it contains. In point of time a summary should be written after the completion of a chapter, and a summary writing is a memorial exercise which is meant to recheck the main points the writer has elaborated in the chapter.Materials for every chapter should be arranged under such headings to strengthen the coherence and unity of the thesis.

Before a chapter is written let the writer pick out from his card collection the relevant cards.Let him shuffle them or re-arrange them to suit the framework of the chapter and write an outline in the form of a series of points, each point to be later developed into a paragraph or paragraphs.Let the writer check up the outline for logical development and then write out the chapters.The same method may be followed in arranging the chapters in order and developing the dialectical structure of the thesis.The body of the thesis should consider in detail "sources, subjects and methods by which the data are divided". It "should contain classified data, running description of narrative to bring the tables into the form of orderly discourse".Next in order is the interpretation of the data, leading to generalizations.On the basis of the findings, the writer is free to formulate principles and then relate them to the already existing body of knowledge.Apart from the clarity of exposition, the writer has to furnish in the main body of thesis tables of statistics and enliven the discussion with diagrams or maps.To support his arguments the writer may cite memorable statements from experts.

Generally argumentation should not lead to a digression which often interferes with the flow of narration and may even lead to the suspicion that it is the direct result of poverty of facts.When a digression is, however, necessary, make it clear that it is a digression.Let facts be stated as simply and as clearly as possible and even boldly.Since in thesis writing, language is an implement, the medium of expression, it should not obscure thought through flowing eloquence or literary ornamentation.Neither should the language be strange or colloquial. Argumentation is the very essence of thesis writing and therefore there is no place for cryptic statements or literary paraphrases.

While developing the main theme, the following points should be borne in mind:

a) Incorporate all the relevant source materials into the narrative. Organize the presentation of the argument or findings in a logical and orderly way, developing the aims stated or implied in the introduction.

b) Substantiate arguments or findings.Each statement should demand the recall of its evidence on which it rests. Footnotes accompany or support each statement made.

c) Be accurate in documentation. Subordinate style to accuracy:

The third part of the Text proper is the conclusion in which the writer sums up his arguments.Strictly speaking, it is only a "summing up" because no intellectual discussion is conclusive; at best the conclusion is only tentative, as it is part of a continuous debate.Thus conclusion serves the important function of tying together the whole thesis. In a summary form it

succinctly sums up the developments of the previous chapters, while at the same time bringing out the important findings discussed and conclusions drawn from the whole study.

DOCUMENTATION:

While preparing the Text, care should be given to documentation of evidences.Documentation is a technical procedure by which sources consulted are listed and authorities cited duly acknowledged.This is done through pagination, footnotes, quotation and bibliography.A thesis is expository writing which is mainly based on judicious selection, interpretation and evaluation of evidence. A thesis is different from other types of expository writings because it not only presents evidence but also documents it. Documentation helps an intelligent reader to trace and check up the validity of the evidence the thesis writer has used in support of his argumentation.Besides apt quotations to reinforce important points, footnotes tracing the sources of quotations or books or journals used for information are given. At the end of the thesis should be given a detailed bibliography which lists all the sources actually quoted in the thesis.

Documentation is an indication of the writer's honesty that he is placing all the cards on the table because he has nothing to hide.This method of presentation of evidence is different from the one adopted by a lawyer in a court of law.A thesis constitutes an intellectual defence of a point of view and therefore all the evidence in its favour is frankly discussed and neatly documented. What a lawyer defends in the court of law is legal and not moral truth.To the thesis writer truth is truth and it is to be established scientifically through proper documentation in the form of quotations and footnotes.This academic truth is intellectually established through the exercise of discussion and reasoning in the body of the thesis.

QUOTATIONS:

It is not always possible to avoid quotations in thesis writing. For one reason or the other writer at times may have to quote scholarly authorities to strengthen his case or for the sake of dissipating clouds of doubts.Though the researcher is permitted to shine at times in borrowed feathers, it is not adviceable to do so habitually. It is not only dangerous but also ridiculous role for the researcher to expose his ignorance by an excessive use of quotations.Where it is difficult or impossible to summarize the significant views of other people because of the nature of language or the argument, quotations should be used.They should not stand out prominently but should always form part and parcel of the main discussion.For this purpose every quotation should either be preceded or followed by an intelligent comment which is the link between the text and the quotation. To put it

plainly a researcher should know in documentation when to quote and what to quote.

When to quote:

1. Direct quotations should be used only when the original words of the author are expressed so concisely and convincingly that the student cannot improve on these words any more.
2. Direct questions may be used for documentation of a major argument where a foot-note would not suffice.
3. Direct quotations may be used when the student is to comment upon, refute or analyse ideas expressed by another writer.
4. Direct quotations may be used when changes, through paraphrasing might cause misunderstanding or misintepretation.
5. Direct quotations should be used when citing mathematical, scientific and other formulas.
6. Direct quotations should be used when there is doubt or disagreement as to the meaning of a statement made in a secondary source.
7. For unpublished material it is not necessary to obtain permission to quote.

What to quote:

1. The exact words of an author using the same words, the same punctuation, the same spelling, the same capitalization, etc.
2. If the tense of quotation does not fit the introduction of the quotation etc., interpolations may be used in square brackets.
3. When a quotation is too long, omit sections not necessary.This is called ellipsis.To indicate ellipsis, three spaced full stops are inserted (e.g.…)

FOOTNOTES:

Footnotes make documentation scientific.They talk of the writer's honesty as a researcher. A careful documentation will certainly convince even a cynical reader.Footnotes give evidence of the scholarship of the researcher.There are several reasons for the use of footnotes. First of all, exact and quick means of documenting the entire useful information one has painstakingly gathered in one's thesis.Next, like the use of quotations it is a test of one's honesty as a thesis writer. A third reason for the use of footnotes is that it is an unmistakable evidence of the kind of scholarship which a thesis writer possesses.This scholarship is both personal as well as

historical.The personal scholarship is the writer's own knowledge of the subject displayed without being ostentatious in the discussive or argumentative part of the thesis.The historical scholarship is thesis writer's knowledge and recognition of the earlier works done by scholars and used by him in his thesis.The footnotes in which such knowledge is documented are a measure of the width of his scholarship in the field of investigation.

The writer of a thesis has to be particularly careful in utilizing the findings of his forerunners in the field, even in using the ideas, words and sentences of another; a strict code of conduct exists. To use without proper citation or acknowledgement the words and ideas of another is to plagiarize i.e. academic piracy.Footnotes are generally used for the following purposes:-

1. To validate a point, statement or an argument. (In the interest of scholarly honesty, the source or authority should be acknowledged through the use of footnotes.
2. To explain, supplement or amplify the material that is included in the main body of the thesis.
3. To provide cross-reference to other sections of a paper.
4. To acknowledge a direct or indirect quotation.
5. To provide the reader with sufficient information to enable him to consult sources independently.

The footnotes should contain specific information derived from the bibliography cards.This information must be complete when a source is acknowledged for the first time, but it should be shortened in a repeated reference to that source through the use of abbreviations such as op. cit., loc. cit., and Ibid.The following information are usually included in footnotes.

a) Sources of information, usually the name of the author
b) Title of the source
c) Exact page or pages of the source of reference
d) Date of publication
e) Publisher and place of publication

Footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout the chapter and placed either at the bottom of the appropriate page or in one list at the end of the chapter.Recently the latter method is increasingly used. Footnote numerals in the text should come immediately after the part of the sentence to which footnote refers and should come after all punctuations except the dash. Never put the numerals in the middle of the sentence.The footnote numbers are put slightly above the line followed by a space.The number of

footnotes needed will vary from chapter to chapter, but every important idea in the passage must be supported by an evidence or source whose reference appears in the footnote.Four to six notes for each page of the chapter appears to be desirable but there is no rigid rule about it.The names of the books or the title of the journals are underlines in typed theses and put in italics in published works.Standard abbreviations as are applicable in appropriate bibliographies are used.

MEANINGS AND EXAMPLES OF ABBREVIATIONS

COMMONLY USED IN ASSIGNMENTS AND THESES:

cf. : 'confer': compare (e.g. of table 2 on page 20)

f., ff. : 'the page, pages following' (e.g. 4f – page 4 and the following. Page 4ff. page 4 and the following pages till the subject is finished.)

e.g. :'exempli gratia', for example

et al. : 'et alii' and others

fig(s). : 'Figure(s)'; e.g. (fig. 3)

Ibid. : 'ibidem', in the same place of work (used when two or more successive footnotes refer to the same work; if reference is different page or pages' number(s) are indicated.

Idem : 'the same', (used when a footnote refers to the same work and the same page as the previous footnote)

i.e. : 'ideology establish,' that is

infra : 'below', (used to refer to text following)

Loc. cit. : 'loco citato', in the passage cited (used when reference is made to the same work as a preceding reference; used with last name of the author only).

op. cit. : 'opere citato', in the work cited (used when reference is made to same work as a preceding but not immediately proceeding reference, abbreviation follows author's name but precedes page reference)

sic. : 'thus', (used to call attention to the fact that an error in spelling, grammar or fact is in the original; enclosed by square brackets and placed immediately after the word or phrase in quotation)

supra : 'above', (used to refer to text already cited)

P.and pp. : Abbreviations for page and pages respectively.

passim : 'here and there' (generally used to refer to opinions, attitudes etc. on a number of different pages).

MS. MSS. : 'Manuscript', 'Manuscripts'

NB : 'Nota Beno', note well

rev. : 'revised or revision' (e.g., rev. ed.)

vid or *vide* : 'see'

viz. : 'videlicet', namely

Vs. : 'versus', against.

III. THE REFERENCE MATERIAL

1. Bibliography: The word 'bibliography, has two meanings:

a) The study of editions, dates, authorship, etc. of books and other writings. (b) A list of sources of information on a given subject or of literary works of a given author, indicating the range of literature consulted for the collection of data.The list of sources must contain full bibliographical information on all the books and articles quoted in the text of the thesis and used in the footnotes.Any omission in this respect will be treated as a serious error by the examiners who adjudicate the thesis.Most foreign scholars first go through the footnotes and the bibliography carefully before they evaluate a thesis.Any significant omission in the compilation of one's of bibliography will damage the validity of the writer's thesis.

Sometimes one may have a genuine difficulty in compiling one's bibliography.Important critical books or articles have either not been directly accessible or found them discussed in other references.Though the writer has not read them, still they must be included in the bibliography to show that the researcher has not missed any significant critical information.However, please don't fail to mention in the footnotes your genuine disicomfiture over the missing references or your indirect use of them.

2. Appendix: An appendix, although by no means an essential part of a thesis, is a useful device to make available to the reader material related to the text but not suitable for inclusion in it. An Appendix is a group of related items.Appendixes may contain tables and illustrations, technical notes on method, schedules and forms used in collecting data, copies of rare documents generally not available to the reader, etc.Important publication that makes its appearance after your thesis has been written can also be discussed in the appendix.Important articles already published on the basis of some chapters of your thesis may also go into the appendix.But on no account should the appendix be used to swell the size of the thesis by the treatment of topic irrelevant to the main subject of the thesis.All appendixes

go at the end of the thesis, never at the end of the chapters to which they pertain.

APPENDIX 1:A.

SAMPLE FOOTNOTE ENTRIES

The first footnote reference is complete giving even the facts of publication, especially in those research papers which contain no bibliographies at the end. But many scholars prefer to give in the first footnote only the name of the author and the full title with, of course, the relevant page number, the succeeding references to the same source containing the author's name and the abbreviated title, or simply the author's name with the relevant page number in his work. It is, however, advisable to give full details in the first footnote reference.

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1. Saiyid Nurul Hasan, Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973), p. 8.
2. R.S. Sharma, Light on Early Indian Society and Economy (Bombay: P.C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., 1966), p. 27.
3. S.C. Misra, The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442 (London: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 20.
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5. Raghubir Sinh, Malwa in Transition or A Century of Anarchy: The First Phase, 1698 – 1765 (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 1936), p. 97.
6. Nurul Hasan, Thoughts, p. 12.

2. One author, more than one edition.

1. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707 – 1740, 2nd edition (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1972), p. 104.
2. T.V. Mahalingam, South Indian Polity, 2nd edition, rev. (Madras: University of Madras, 1967), p. 211.
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4. S.U. Kamath, Karnatakuda Sankshipta Itihasa [in Kannada], 2nd edition (Bangalore: Bapco Publication, 1976), p. 82.

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3. Two authors.

1. H.K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, History of Medieval Deccan (1295 – 1724), Vol. I (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), p. 162.
2. B.N. Goswami and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori: A Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents (Simla; Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1968), p. 98.
3. A.P. Karmarkar and N.B. Kalamdani, Mystic Teaching of the Haridasas of Karnataka (Dharwar: Karnatak Vidyavardhak Sangh, The Golden Jubilee Publication, 1939), p. 76.
4. Sherwani and Joshi, op. cit., p. 186.

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1. P.N. Chopra, B.N. Puri and M.N. Das, A Social Cultural and Economic History of India (Delhi: Macmillan India, 1974), pp. 324 – 26.
2. Ibid., p. 257

5. More than three authors.

1. Wood Gray, et al., Historian's Handbook: A Key to the Study and Writing of History, 2nd edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), pp. 26f.
2. Ibid.

6. An edition.

1. K.A. Nizami, ed., Medieval India: A Miscellany (Aligarh: Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Asia Publishing House, 1969), pp. 96 – 98.
2. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, ed., Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol. II (Madras: University of Madras, 1946) p. 29.

7. A compilation.

1. G.C. Vad, compartmentalize., Sanada-patratil Mahiti (Sanads and Letters) ed. P. V. Mawjee and D.B. Parasnis (Bombay : Published by P.V. Mawjee with the permission of the Government of Bombay, 1913), p. 87.
2. Sri Ram Sharma, compartmentalize, A Bibliography of Mughal India (Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, n.d.), p. 33.

8. A translation.

1. G. Buhler, trans., The Laws of Manu, Vol XXV of The Sacred Books of the East Series (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), p. 88.

9. A volume of the work (all volumes published in the same year).

1. B.A. Saletore, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (Madras: B.G. Paul & Co., Publishers, 1934), II, 143.

[If both the Vol. No. and page are given, it is not necessary to write Vol. and p.]

10. A volume of the work (volumes published in different years.)

1. G.S. Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, III (Bombay: Phoenix Publications, 1968), p. 251.

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2. V.K. Bhave, Peshwe-kalina Maharashtra [in Marathi] (1935; rpt. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1976), p. 178.

II. CHAPTERS/ARTICLES IN A COLLECTION

1. K.S. Lal. "Nature of the State in Medieval India", The Medieval Indian State (Chandigarh: Punjab University, n.d.), p. 33.
2. Sukumar Sen, "The Natha Cult", The Religions, ed. Haridas Bhattacharyya, Vol. IV of The Cultural Heritage of India Series, 4 Vols., 2nd ed. (1956; rpt. Calcutta: The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1969), p. 282.

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2. P.M. Soshi, "Muhammad Adil Shah and the Portuguese", Journal of Indian History, XXXIII (April, 1955), 7.

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IV. NEWSPAPERS

1. News item in the Times of India, July 29, 1960.
2. V.V. John, "The Voters' turn, Indian Express, October 27, 1979,p.6

V. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

[Unpublished materials such as archival sources, manuscripts, theses and research papers are not underlined.]

(1) Archival Material.

1. Pune Archives, Karnatak Jamav, Rumal No. 240.
2. Kolhapur Archives, Niwadi Daftar, Rumal No. 20.
3. Taher Muhammad Hasan, 'Imad-ud-did, "Rauzat-ut-Tahirin", British Museum Muslims. Or. 168, fol. 4.
4. "Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya", Oriental Public Library, Patna, Muslims. No. 551.
5. Ibrahim bin Harir, "Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi", India Office Library, Muslims. 104 and Bodleian MS.97.

(2) An unpublished thesis.

V.S. Kadam, "The Maratha Confederacy: A Study in its Origin and Development" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Poona, Pune, 1979). P. 27.

(3) Paper read, but unpublished.

B.C. Ray, "Maratha Religious Policy in Orissa" (paper read at the Maratha History Seminar, Bombay, November, 1971).

APPENDIX. 1:B.

SAMPLE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES

(Corresponding to the sample Footnote Entries in 'Part A' above, hence not arranged alphabetically)

1. BOOKS

1. One author.

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Times of India, July 29, 1960.

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1. Archival Material.

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1. E.H. Carr, What is History?
2. L. Gottschalk, Generalization in the Writing of History.
3. Marc Bloch, the Historian's Craft.
4. William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, The methods in Social Research
5. Jacques Barzun, The Modern Researcher
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7. Anderson, Thesis and Assignment Writing.
8. Kate Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations.
9. L. Baxter, C. Hughes and M. Tight: How to Research.

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