Theories of History

History Read across the Humanities

Edited by Michael J. Kelly and Arthur Rose



"This intellectually elegant collection of essays explores the complexities of historical theory as it applies to the humanities, broadly conceived. With erudition, insight, and scholarly imagination, it neatly challenges disciplinary boundaries and will reward attentive readers in every humanistic field."

WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG, Professor of History Emeritus, University of Michigan, USA

"In a series of case studies and theoretical reflections from across the humanities – from archaeology to law to rhetoric – this book gives a vivid snapshot of the most progressive thinking on history today."

ALAN O'LEARY, Professor of Film and Cultural Studies, University of Leeds, UK

"A major achievement. Theories of History instigates thinking about history from a refreshingly new perspective."

ALENKA ZUPANCIC, Professor of Philosophy and Psychoanalysis, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Slovenia

The central question of this book is "what is history?". By describing "history" through its supplementary function to the field of History, rather than the ground of a study, this collection considers new insights into historical thinking and historiography across the Humanities. It fosters engagement from around the disciplines in historical thinking and, from that, invites historians and philosophers of history to see clearly the impact of their work outside of their own specific fields, and encourages deep reflection on the role of historical production in society.

As such, *Theories of History* opens up for the first time a truly cross-disciplinary dialogue on History and is a unique intervention in the study of historical representation. Essays in this volume discuss music history, linguistics, theater studies, art, film, archaeology and more. This book is essential reading for those interested in the theory and practice of history, philosophy, and the humanities more broadly.

MICHAEL J. KELLY is Visiting Assistant Professor in Comparative Literature at the State University of New York at Binghamton, USA. He is the General Director of the project Networks and Neighbours and Co-General Director, with Dolores Castro, of the series Visigothic Symposia.

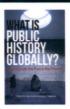
ARTHUR ROSE is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in English Studies and Medical Humanities at Durham University, UK. He is the author of Literary Cynics: Borges, Beckett, Coetzee (Bloomsbury, 2017).

HISTORY

BLOOM SBURY ACADEMIC







Also available from Bloomsbury Academic

www.bloomsbury.com

ISBN 978-1-4742-7130-1 9 0 1 0 0

Cover image © Getty Images

Edited by Michael J. Kelly

Theories of History

Theories of History History Read across the Humanities

Edited by Michael J. Kelly and Arthur Rose

BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC Bloomsbury Publishing Plc 50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK

BLOOMSBURY, BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC and the Diana logo are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2018

Copyright @ Michael J. Kelly, Arthur Rose, and Contributors, 2018

Michael J. Kelly and Arthur Rose have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Editors of this work.

For legal purposes the Acknowledgments on p. ix constitute an extension of this copyright page.

Cover image @ Getty Images

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-4742-7130-1 ePDF: 978-1-4742-7131-8 eBook: 978-1-4742-7132-5

Typeset by Newgen KnowledgeWorks Pvt. Ltd., Chennai, India Printed and bound in Great Britain

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com and sign up for our newsletters.

Theories of History

Also available from Bloomsbury

The Ethics of Theory: Philosophy, History, Literature, by Robert Doran
History in Practice (2nd edition), by Ludmilla Jordanova
Writing History: Theory and Practice (2nd edition), edited by Stefan Berger,
Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore

Contributors

F. R. Ankersmit is a renowned leader in and Professor of Historical Theory and Intellectual History at the University of Groningen, Netherlands. His books include Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1983), History and Tropology: The Rise and Fall of Metaphor (LA: University of California Press, 1994) and Historical Representation (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Adi Efal-Lautenschläger is a research fellow at the a.r.t.e.s Humanities Graduate School at the University of Cologne, and a Ph.D. candidate in philosophy, University of Lille 3 Charles de Gaule. She is the author of Figural Philology: Panofsky and the Science of Things (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) and translator into Hebrew of Alain Badiou, L'Éthique: essai sur la conscience du Mal (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2005).

J. P. E. Harper-Scott is Professor of Music History and Theory at Royal Holloway, University of London. His publications include *The Quilting Points of Musical Modernism: Revolution, Reaction, and William Walton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and an *Introduction to Music Studies*, edited with Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Michael J. Kelly is the Director of Networks and Neighbours, Co-Director of the Visigothic Symposia, and Co-Director of Capitalism's Past. He is Visiting Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature at SUNY Binghamton. Prior to this, he was Associate Lecturer of Early Medieval History at the University of York (United Kingdom). He is the author of, amongst other books and articles, Writing History, Narrating Fulfilment: The "Isidore Moment" and the Struggle for the Past in Early Medieval Iberia (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2018).

Javier López-Alós is a member of the research group Biblioteca Saavedra Fajardo of Hispanic Political Thought (Complutense University of Madrid). His main research area has been the history of ideas between 1750 and 1850 in Spain, with an emphasis on Spanish and European Catholic antimodern trends and their impact on a range of cultural and political fields. He is the author of Entre el trono y el escaño. El pensamiento reaccionario español frente a la Revolución liberal (1808–1823) (Madrid: Congreso Diputados, 2011).

Rik Peters is Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Groningen, Netherlands. He teaches Philosophy of History, Advanced Methodology and Learning Histories and Organizations. Among his publications are *History as Thought and Action: The Philosophies of Croce, Gentile, de Ruggiero and Collingwood* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2013) and "Calliope's Ascent: Defragmenting Philosophy of History by Rhetoric," in *Rethinking History* 20.2 (2016): 235–58.

Arthur Rose is a postdoctoral research fellow in English Studies and Medical Humanities at Durham University, United Kingdom. He is the author of *Literary Cynics: Borges, Beckett, Coetzee* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Samaila Suleiman is Lecturer in History at Bayero University, Kano. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Cape Town in 2015. Samaila is a recipient of many prestigious fellowships including the *Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Fellowship* (SSRC) and the *African Humanities Program* (ACLS).

Andre Szczawlinska Muceniecks earned his doctorate in social history from the University of São Paulo in 2014 and now is an associated postdoctoral researcher at the State University of Campinas and Professor of the History of Christianity at the Theological Baptist Faculty of São Paulo. He is the author of Saxo Grammaticus: Hierocratical Conceptions and Danish Hegemony in the Thirteenth Century (Michigan: Arc Humanities, 2017).

Sarah Teasley is Reader in Design History and Theory and Head of Program for History of Design at the Royal College of Art, and a historian of modern and contemporary Japan. Her publications, including *Global Design History* (New York: Routledge, 2011), often combine historical inquiry with critical issues in design, technology and society today.

Acknowledgments

This book is the result of a series of meetings, seminars, and extended discussions that began in 2011 with the formation of the *Philosophies of History* group. Countless people facilitated these events and ultimately the production of this volume. We would especially like to thank Emily Abbey and the Schools of History and English and the Leeds Humanities Research Institute at the University of Leeds for their extensive support of those meetings and seminars, from funding, to space, to encouragement. Thank you as well to St. Mary's University Twickenham, the University of Oulu, and to all of those who have presented and participated in *Philosophies of History*. Thank you too to Beatriz López, Emma Goode, and all the support staff at Bloomsbury for their unwavering support of this project.

Editorial Note

This volume is the product of the international project, Philosophies of History (PoH) —in affiliation with Networks and Neighbours—and its regular seminars, regional public history workshops, and multi-institutional relationships. Based now in New York, previously in Leeds (United Kingdom), PoH was founded and is still directed by "practicing" historians, many of whom are early medievalists. The latter point alone makes the group unique—as almost all theorists of history study the modern world—but our composition as a body of practicing historians also makes PoH anomalous, since most theorists of history are, by training and interest, philosophers. PoH held its inaugural seminar in the Spring of 2012 on the campus of the University of Leeds. From that, it has developed alternative avenues of enquiry, research and collaboration. Some of the contributors to this volume have been speakers in the PoH series, and we would like to thank them for their participation in the seminars. We are very excited to have been moving historical theory in novel directions for more than five years and we look forward to expanding our history-centered approached to theory into the next decade.

Contents

List	t of Figures	vi
List	t of Contributors	vii
Ack	knowledgments	ix
Edi	torial Note	х
1	Introduction: Evental History and the Humanities Michael J. Kelly	1
2	From the Extended Mind to the Anthropocene: Rethinking Scale	
	in Literary History Arthur Rose	17
3	How We Got Out of Music History, and How We Can Get Back	
,	into It J. P. E. Harper-Scott	37
	•	
4	Humanist Matters Adi Efal-Lautenschläger	61
5	The Rhetoric of Time and the Time of Rhetoric Rik Peters	81
6	Past, Present, and Future F. R. Ankersmit	103
7	The Nigerian "History Machine" Samaila Suleiman	119
8	History as a Scam: Confrontation and Resentment between	
	Archaeology and History Andre Szczawlinska Muceniecks	141
9	Alternative Forms of Historical Writing: Concepts and Facts in	
	Goya's Disasters of War Javier López-Alós	159
10	"Methods of Reasoning and Imagination": History's Failures and	
	Capacities in Anglophone Design Research Sarah Teasley	183
No	tee	207
	Notes Index	
	TOTAL CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY O	249

Figures

7.1	Chart showing the frequency of articles appearing in JHSN	130
9.1	Albrecht Dürer, Book of the Apocalypse, "The four horsemen"	165
9.2	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 1: "Sad presentiments of	
	what must come to pass"	166
9.3	Francisco de Goya, "Christ on the Mount of Olives"	167
9.4	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 29, "He deserved it"	170
9.5	Jacques Callot, Miseries of War, "The hanging"	171
9.6	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 36, "Not [in this case] either"	171
9.7	Francisco de Goya, Caprices, 43, "The sleep of reason produces	
	monsters"	175
9.8	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 79, "Truth has died"	176
9.9	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 80, "Will she live again?"	176
9.10	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 81, "Proud monster"	177
9.11	Francisco de Goya, Disasters of War, 82, "This is the truth"	178

Introduction: Evental History and the Humanities

Michael J. Kelly

Lex divina triplici sentienda est modo: primo ut historice, secundo ut tropologice, tertio ut mystice intellegatur. Historice namque iuxta litteram, tropologice iuxta moralem scientiam, mystice iuxta spiritalem intellegentiam.¹

In the past few decades, scholars have celebrated the end of history and proclaimed its rebirth. Outside the walls of the academy, in the media, it is easy to find claims that readers and viewers are "witnessing" (or consuming) history, that certain events, from pie-eating contests to war catastrophes and natural phenomena, are "historical." Governments too are part of this trend, with the US Senate, for example, establishing a formal definition of history in 2006.² This increasing interest in the historical has emerged, in large measure, from elementary and outdated notions of history, eliciting the questions that drive this volume: what role does History, the discipline and its professionals, play amidst an expanding public craving for history and revived discourses in historical theory? To what extent is History informing and leading the discussion on history and on the past? What is its impact on historical theory? These are fresh and urgent questions for the field and for the state of history publicly, and they deserve a collective and inclusive response. This volume aims to initiate that response by exploring the current relationship between History and its cognate humanistic disciplines. To develop a reflection on History itself, this volume looks at History from the perspective of the Humanities.3

The contributions to this volume, and their respective authors, represent a spectrum of humanistic inquiry: anthropology and archaeology, architecture, art, design, education and pedagogy, medieval studies, music, theater and performance, law, literature, rhetoric, and philosophy. By exploring the humanistic

fields with which History is in dialogue, as well as the institutions that correlate between them, the discussions presented can serve as a firm basis through which to elicit original discourses between History and the other Humanities. The chapters of this volume introduce complementing and common theses and have been arranged accordingly. Primary themes and topics include: facticity, facts and the event of (historical) "truth"; objectivity and subjectivity; and the disagreements, and at times apparent dissonance, between History and other humanistic fields, and the partial reconciliations between them since the linguistic turn and postmodernity.

The expanding interest in evental history, today, is largely the result of a diverse, interdisciplinary engagement with the work of Alain Badioucorresponding to the general proposition that Philosophy presently steers historical theory (to the detriment of History). Badiou's historical theory is more the product of scholars' careful exposition of his writing than his own advanced historical-theoretical exposition.4 The first Being and Event (1988) develops a theory of being. The second, titled Logics of Worlds (2006), develops a theory of appearing. In Logics of Worlds, Badiou tackles the question of how a truth appears in a world, which can be read as "how history can happen"? Badiou refers to this mode of appearing as a subject-body, a new subject is born from fidelity to a trace-event, which one can call "historical becoming." Thus, truth engenders history. For Badiou, philosophy cannot find or develop new truths. Neither can history be about finding or creating truths. Truths find history; that is to say, historical conditions develop by which a truth can (re-)emerge from the void (through, as I argue elsewhere, the antihistorian).⁵ In short, history is the history of truth; there is no history of the finite, only of the eternal; history is singularly associated with humanity (which is not to say the latter).

In *The Rebirth of History*, Badiou effectively lays out his philosophy of history, alternatively the history of truth, by analyzing recent riots around the world and schematizing the process of revolt. Here, he establishes three types of riots: *immediate*, *latent*, *and historical*. The immediate riot is the unexpected moment in a world, when the possibility to describe the current state of the world springs forth, announcing through its action that there is a truth that does not fit into this world: for example, the communist idea. The latent riot is the period when subjective decisions are being made, when it comes to be decided whether the immediate riot will be an event or not, and this is defined by subjective choice: faithful, reactive, or obscure (occult). The subject that is born from these riots—a subject for Badiou is almost always a group, or collection of people, or a party, or a movement—who is faithful to the event of the emergence of

Introduction 3

the new truth inaugurates a third stage of riot: the historical riot. The historical riot occupies a space and has a unified commitment to alterity; a unified Idea, it is the rebirth of a truth.

A historical riot represents the emergence of one political truth only; fidelity to the event that brought forth the truth and is now an event-trace in the historical riot: as Badiou states in *Theory of the Subject*, "there is only one political subject for any historicization." Accordingly, the *subject is always an exception to the world*, the subject is *always constituted, rare, finite and dependent on an event*. The subject is an exception to the situation, in a relationship to something in its world as also to something outside of it, an alternative truth, and it is in this paradoxical relationship that history becomes interesting, because it is here that the subject can touch the infinite and elicit a riot (a revolt against the norms)—a disruption that has the potential to call forth the philosophical conditions for a new truth.

Political solutions, that is, new political truths, emerge from outside history, and yet, history is fundamental to their creation. History is meant as a form of organization, a methodology. Central to Badiou's argument is that riots, including the historical riot, are precursors to the political; history is prepolitical. With the birth of a subject in its fidelity in the historical riot, people who are present in the world but absent from its power begin to become present, that is, there is a "historical" awakening, or, rebirth. The so-called Arab Spring, for Badiou, ushered in a new historical sequence, a new time, the coming to the end of the current period and the beginning of an event that could lead to a new historical sequence if the riots (bodies and languages) lead to an Idea (i.e., the political truth, the "communist hypothesis"). The goal of riots and the rebirthing of history is, for Badiou, the return to the world of the communist hypothesis, which simply means: "the proposition that the subordination of labour to the dominant class is not inevitable." The "rebirth of history" represents this universal communist potential.

Badiou's philosophy of history maintains history as a temporal descriptor; history is a sequence of time, as historical riots open the chance for new "long-term temporalities." History maintains, as a possibility, the reemergence of the communist hypothesis. History is thus, for Badiou, a fragmented collection (or not) of sequences defined by the subordination of labor to the dominant classes. History, in this sense, is a temporal-atemporal, double-sided line of truths, a meta-history that weaves its way alongside human existence; in certain moments the communist hypothesis exposes itself, while, mostly, an absence of history is characterized by this suppression. Sometimes history exists and

sometimes it is inexistent, and this existence/inexistence is directly correlated to the existence/inexistence of history and politics. Historical becoming is the chance for the rebirth of politics; the rebirth of history represents the chance for a rebirth of politics, and so the communist hypothesis.

In "History and Event," Quentin Meillassoux claims that for Badiou "there is only a history of the eternal, because only the eternal proceeds from the event." Meillassoux is correct: what this means is that history can only be the history of the eternal since truths are eternal and history is only about seizing truths. Truths and history derive from the finite but are, in themselves, infinite. From this logic, Meillassoux argues, truths are both eternal and historical, which might be clarified as *truths are eternal because they are historical*. Truths elicit history, they are history, and they are what end an intervallic period (between history and nonhistory). They and so history are eternal and infinite and capable of being reborn perpetually. Because they are infinite, though, they cannot be repeated: we cannot repeat history. "Marxism, the workers' movement, mass democracy, Leninism, the party of the proletariat, the socialist state—all the inventions of the 20th century—are not really useful to us any more." 10

Hence Badiou's philosophy of history is a double-sided, uneven relationship between infinity and finitude, between nonappearance and appearing, that cannot accommodate a vision of perpetual progress (or regression). History is radical potential, the grounding of a radical politics, or rather, I would say, antihistory is the grounding, the historical riot is the antihistorical event (eliciting evental history). Badiou's philosophy of history (re-)announces universal historical truths, in the sense that there are and must be the possibility for materially derived transcendental truths that do not fit into the logics of a world, but that can enter it through the conditions that bring forth the "riot" (antihistory), and which can start to be reborn through the historical riot. Performance reopens the past, thereby cutting a hole in the logic of the world.

Incorporating performance into historical analysis is central to History and the supplemental disciplines analyzed throughout this volume. Performance provides the basis for the unpredictable truth-event, and, in this way, is foundational to History. New musicology, as J. P. E. Harper-Scott elaborates below, instead of associating performance and text into an evental history establishes them as dichotomous, with a privileging of the latter, the historical object. Harper-Scott's model for showing this is the history of Beethoven. In the history of rap one can find a similar situation in the historical becoming and proliferates an "end of rap" narrative. The "end of history," Berlin-wall-fall moment