

THE URGENCY OF THE ETHICAL: THE ETHICAL-POLITICAL TURN IN THE THEORY OF HISTORY AND IN THE HISTORY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

Marcelo de Mello Rangel¹

Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP) MG

Department of History and Graduate Programs in History and Philosophy

Email: mmellorangel@yahoo.com.br

Abstract:

Our intention is investigate and describe what we can call an ethical-political turn inside theory of history and history of contemporary historiography. Besides that, we reflect on the hypothesis that a significant part of historians and theorists committed to these fields are increasingly concerned with thinking and/or intervening in the contemporary world and doing this from the problem of difference/alterity. In this sense, our ambition is to thematize and explain – even if we have to do it briefly – some of the categories elaborated and operated by contemporary historians and theorists who have also mobilized themselves within the ethical-political turn, namely: François Hartog, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Hayden White.

Keywords: Ethical-political turn; presentism; presence; practical past

¹I am grateful to Antônio Fernando de Araújo Sá for the invitation to the “Seminário Internacional Intercâmbios Historiográficos (Brasil, Argentina, México)”, in November 2015, in which the first version of this text was presented.

The ethical-political turn

We think that the theory of history and the history of historiography are becoming spaces that support: 1 – the careful reflection and understanding of contemporary world, which take place 2- from the problem of difference/alterity. What is at stake here is if, on the one hand, theory of history and history of historiography were most intensely devoted during the 70s and 80s to the: a- epistemological activity, understood here as an meta-investigative exercise towards the understanding of the conditions of possibility of historical knowledge, and b- to the specific analysis of the historians, with the intention of explaining the fundamental elements to the constitution of both their perceptions and narratives, taking as a starting point the constitution of what we might call a “disciplinary matrix”. On the other hand, we are probably living an expansion, if not a reorganization, of these fields since the late 80s and the beginning of the 90s.² Or, according to François Hartog:

Into the framework of French professional history, for example, the appearance of a story that claimed itself from the 80s onwards, as a history of the ‘present time’, accompanied this movement. The profession was asked, and sometimes even summoned, to respond to the multiple demands of history. (HARTOG, 2006, p. 262. My translation).

Therefore, it is fundamental to bound and describe – although provisionally - why we are interested in working with the concept of an ethical-political turn. Next, we need to address the conditions of historical and epistemological possibilities themselves, the ones responsible by the constitution of this *turn* inside human sciences in general and, more specifically, in the theory of history and in history of historiography.

We think of an ethical-political turn because this seems to configure a significant movement, or a trend inside human sciences. It concerns the theory of history in general and therefore of contemporary theory of history and historiography. We made a choice for the term *ethics* because we are dealing with a movement towards the thematization of difference/alterity, and this implies the need to safeguard spaces for groups and specific ways of being and, also, due to the etymology itself.³ The word ethics comes from the Greek *éthos*, which means men’s abode. That means we are talking about the space where men mobilize in general, of men’s

² See JENKINS, 2006; LACAPRA, 2001, p. 207-240 and 2008, p. 183-217; WHITE, 2012, p. 19-40, ARAUJO and RANGEL, 2015 e CEZAR, 2018.

³About ethics from the problem of difference or otherness see DERRIDA, 2007, LÉVINAS, 1997 and KLEINBERG, 2007 and 2013.

world. Therefore, the ethical activity is – or could be – a theoretical activity concerned and dedicated to think the world within with it (this activity) becomes possible, at least more generally and in its most original sense.⁴ In other words - words that bring us closer to a Heideggerian understanding – dedication to ethics can mean the concern about issues, limits and possibilities proper to the space or to the world in which we find ourselves, what we understand that is being intensely accomplished by historians, philosophers and contemporary theorists as François Hartog, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Hayden White, thinkers that will be brought to our reflections.

Finally, we choose to use the term *political* with a hyphen, and we do it because we understand that it describes a more specific type of ethical behavior, one that has been expanding within the discipline of history in general and in the fields that belong to the theory of history and history of historiography.⁵ Generally speaking, we are dealing with ethical behavior concerned about thematizing the world itself, but more specific insofar as it is guided by an explicit objective (as it is possible), by a more systematic set of determinations. In this sense, we can name historians, philosophers and contemporary theorists as Achille Mbembe, Angela Davis, Bell Hooks, Christopher Hill, Edward Palmer Thompson, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Edward Said, Eric Hobsbawm, Jacques Rancière, Judith Butler, Paulo Freire, Raymond Williams, etc.

The historical and epistemological conditions of possibility of the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography

When referring to the historical conditions of possibility for achieving this *turn* in the contemporary world, we understand that if, on the one hand, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were constituted on the basis of two sets of senses or key-words, namely, Nation

⁴ According to the writing of Heidegger: "... if, then, according to the fundamental meaning of the word *éthos*, the name of the ethics wants to express that ethics thinks men's abode, then the thought that thinks the Truth of Being, as the fundamental element where man exists is already the original ethics" (HEIDEGGER, 2009, p. 88-9. My translation). Or, according to Olgária Matos: "First found in Homer, the word *éthos* means abode. Not being architecture or building technique, *éthos* means *Habitat*, 'den', but also the fact and the way of inhabiting it". (MATOS, 2008, p. 75. My translation)

⁵ See RICOEUR, 1986, p. 403-406.

State/identity⁶ and science/truth in a strong sense (we are talking about the privileged and definitive statements), the twentieth century, on the other hand, sought its constitution on two specific senses. And it sought this from the negation of what the twentieth century understood as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which would be based on difference/alterity and a “controlled” truth. What is at stake for us is how the twentieth century produced the interpretation (more or less correct, although it doesn’t matter here) that 1- the keywords identity and truth strongly determined the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that 2- the centuries in question, because of that specific constitution, would have been responsible for the traumatic events experienced in the twentieth century, between which are two great wars, the forms of fascism, nazism and the totalitarianisms in general, the imperialism and the struggle for decolonization, the civil wars and so on. In this sense, it is interesting to look at the interpretations of the “Frankfurt School”.⁷ In other words, we can thematize the hypothesis of a political ethical turn within the human sciences in general and, more specifically, in the fields of the theory of history and history of historiography. This happens because the *turn* itself – now driven by the question of difference – may have been, and still be, a necessity placed by the contemporary historical horizon, that has been rebuilt, since the first half of the twentieth century, from the keywords difference and “controlled” truth. (Cf. WHITE, 2012, p. 23).⁸

In this sense, a reevaluation of the discipline’s own history is required, as well as one of the fields that we are discussing. And this happens because some of its specific developments also presented themselves as (epistemological) conditions of possibility for this we can call ethical-political turn.

First of all, we will treat 1- the constitution of history itself as an autonomous discipline within modernity. Then, we will look into 2- what we might call, as Foucault called it, the “crisis of representation”. Or, as Gumbrecht put it, “a second-order observer crisis”. We do this in the intention of 3- understand part of what the linguistic turn meant and, therefore,

⁶ What we call identity here concerns the understanding that we would have about specific human groups (“races”), that they would be qualitatively distinct, and organizable from a hierarchy. This argument supported Imperialism, for example, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

⁷ Derrida and Judith Butler, for example, name this very 20th century movement, which is characterized by a significant thematization, or even needed, of the question of difference/alterity, now as a *democratization* process. Jacques Rancière gives this the name of “democratic historicity” (RANCIÈRE, 1994, p. 101).

⁸ See, also, LACAPRA, 2008, p. 183-217, and RANGEL, 2017a.

understand what would be the ethical-political turn. We want to analyze the question of the thematization of the limits of historiography in the constitution of privileged and definitive statements that tell us about the past throughout the twentieth century – and especial within the linguistic turn, where it would have been responsible for significant self-doubt. In other words, what happened was the generalization of one question: Why should the historian continue to investigate the past if his statements are much more related to his world, history, body/desire, etc., than to his object more properly? In the end, we propose that the ethical-political orientation responsible for the *turn* has proved - even if constituted itself - as a reasonable or sufficient justification amid what we might call a significant epistemological crisis. It is a crisis that the history, theory, and history of historiography went through during the 1960s and 1970s.

It is within modern temporality - from it and to respond to part of its challenges – that the discipline of history is born. And in our case, specifically, the fields constituted by the theory of history and the history of historiography. What we are addressing is that with the “acceleration of time” that constitutes modern temporality, the profound political, economic and socio-cultural instability experienced from the loss of immediacy or “hegemony” of the meaning of God, the investigation of history as a way from which it would be possible to reestablish this historical horizon, or even to restore a specific meaning to the condition of centrality.⁹ It is this understanding that drives us to the relevant role that history has come to play in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which made it possible for history to constitute itself as an autonomous discipline.

It was from the necessity of restoring historical time, of reorganizing it, that most of the illuminists (the philosophies of history) and historicists devoted themselves to the detained and methodical study of history. In general, and safeguarding the specific differences between philosophies of history and historicism, we consider that its purpose was to describe and highlight the meaning(s) that are fundamental to history, which would be responsible for executing it in a more properly ideal (or perfectible) way, so that men could thus devote themselves to the meaning(s) that are fundamental to history and, consequently, rearrange the deeply unstable horizon in which they appear inserted.¹⁰ What happens is that this careful

⁹ See AGAMBEN, 2008, p. 111-128, KOSELLECK, 2006, p. 41-60, ARAUJO, 2006a and 2008, and ARAUJO and RANGEL, 2015.

¹⁰ See CALDAS, 2007, MATA, 2008, MARTINS, 2008, SCHOLTZ, 2011.

movement of the illuminists and historicists would not have been able to provoke a general mobilization towards this or that meaning. It turns out that this careful movement of the illuminists and historicists would not have been able to mobilize this or that meaning in general. In general, the investigations made by most of the illuminists eventually intensified (contrary to what they intended) the “acceleration” or temporal instability, as they presented different explanations and logics, thus accentuating the very dispute between senses or perspectives that also characterized modernity.

At this moment, we have what Koselleck calls “*Sattelzeit*”, which is also a radicalization of “acceleration”, or the instability proper to modernity (KOSELLECK, 2006). Illuminists are criticized by historicists because, although their purpose is considered adequate – the intention of reorganizing temporality from (a reenchantment) of history – they would have been careless about the constitution of rigorous methods sufficient to “suspend” the subject of knowledge from the determination of this world, such as history, body/desire, etc, (GUMBRECHT, 2011). This is how history emerges as a discipline and – at the same time – makes possible the constitution of the fields that we call the theory of history and the history of historiography. Firstly, this was based on the objective of highlighting fundamental historical meanings proper to the reorganization of its horizon based on significant methodological care. However, this effort also does not seem to have been sufficient, once again, for the (at least intended) restabilization of modernity. Thus, very close to the illuminists, this movement eventually reinforced the disputes for “hegemony”, as it also liberated distinct and even competing meanings.

The consequence of this movement that takes place within the discipline itself, especially in the fields of theory of history and the history of historiography, is what Foucault called “the crisis of representation” and what Gumbrecht described as a crisis brought about by the emergence of “the second-order observer”.¹¹ So, what we have left, as a thoughtless deployment of the efforts of the illuminists and historicists, oscillates between the radical questioning of the very existence of any meanings that are ideal to history and the constitution of a deeply “skeptical” understanding of the possibility that any science, including history, would be able to understand and evidence such meanings, thus making available and

¹¹ On the “crisis of representation”, see FOUCAULT, 1999 and 2000, ALBUQUERQUE JUNIOR, 2007, and RAGO, 1993. On the emergence of “the second-order observer”, ARAUJO, 2006a.

generalizing the epistemological perception that would be resumed within the linguistic turn. It is about the conception that any scientific statement would be determined by the world, history, body/desire proper to the announcer subject.

Now, taking as its starting point the considerations more properly related to the constitution of the historical discipline between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we can understand the origin of a problem that will be fundamental to the fields of the theory of history and the history of historiography throughout the twentieth century. Consequently, we can understand the very constitution of what we are calling an ethical-political turn, which is a significant epistemological “skepticism”. The hypothesis we work with is that this epistemological position was intensified from the late nineteenth century and widespread by the linguistic turn. And that was how it became responsible for a crisis within the discipline. The crisis we are referring to happened during the 60’s and 70’s having especially affected the theory of history and the history of historiography. And the crisis weakened the justification that until that moment was sufficient for the accomplishment of the historiographical activity: the justification which affirms history as privileged space for the constitution of true and definitive statements about the past. In other words: “historians believed that their discipline was legitimized by its mere existence” (RÜSEN, 2011, p.27). Therefore, as we will see, the ethical-political justification would have found the conditions of possibility of epistemological ideals to strengthen and occupy the same space that today is fundamental within these fields.

In this sense, we can say that it is from the generalization of this epistemological perception, as well as the need for clarification of other sufficient justifications for the activity of history, theory of history and history of historiography, that what we are calling ethical-political orientation might have conquered more spaces within the discipline. Consequently, this achievement would have triggered what we consider to be an ethical-political turn.

François Hartog

François Hartog has been thematizing the contemporary world, understanding it as a space constituted from a certain hypostasy regarding the responsibility and the task that would be the establishment of justice in relation to certain groups or identities that were victims of traumatic events proper to the twentieth century. What is being addressed here is the way we would be experiencing, since the late 1980s, certain temporal anomie. Or yet, a double reduction: of the “space of experience” and the “horizon of expectation” (KOSELLECK, 2006. p. 305-309), what he calls “presentism”. What we would have would be a significant loss of a certain desire regarding the reconstruction of projects and expectations (future), and also a decrease in the epistemological-pragmatic interest in the pasts in general. And this would happen from an investment that would happen from an investment that would be hypertrophied in the thematization and restitution (or justification/justice) of certain more immediate traumatic events (proper to the twentieth century), so that “... the question of time became a strong issue, a problem: and sometimes an obsession” (HARTOG, 2006, p. 263).¹²

Therefore, the guiding thread of our reading is the one that the French historian - starting and intensifying the ethical-political turn within the theory of history and the history of historiography - understands that the contemporary world, while at the same time dedicated to thematizing groups and identities hitherto denied or obscured with the objective of justice, which it often does without an epistemological-empirical care that he considers sufficient, has also been guided by a kind of "blame" or "remorse" that seems excessive, to be faithful to the text, which would at the same time be responsible for: 1- the reconstitution of identities that would be, at the limit, arbitrary, violent and even deeply hierarchical, and 2- by the very obscuration of problems and possibilities that would be emerging on our horizon. (HARTOG, 2006, p. 266). It is in this same sense that the problems of “patrimonialization” and “museification” – taken today as an “obsessive” duty of memory – would be an obstacle for the possibility that other pasts show themselves, that new futures are provoked, and that the present can be properly differentiated of this more immediate past, “while we seem to take a step in the present and ruminate on an endless past” (HARTOG, 2006, p. 273. My translation).¹³

¹² See CEZAR, 2010 and 2013, p. 29-46, and NICOLAZZI, 2010.

¹³ Berber Bevernage and Mateus Pereira, for example, argue that the nature of this past is that of “irrevocability”. That means they are talking about a past that does not end, or that would always impose itself on any and all present constituted from that point, and that is because of its more traumatic character. Therefore, any movement

Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht

When we approach the thinking of Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, for example, our hypothesis is that his reflections on modernity and the contemporary world also point to a kind of temporal double-reduction, the reduction of both the “space of experience” and the “horizon of expectation”. For Gumbrecht, this double reduction would hinder the movement proper to the fulfillment (happiness) of men in general, and this is because it (the fulfillment, or happiness) would be closely related to the possibility of relying significantly on past and/or futures.¹⁴ Thus, given that the contemporary world would make it difficult to produce meaningful confidence in specific pasts and futures and therefore the very possibility of realization or “happiness” more effectively, we would be observing the constitution of a kind of “culture of the selfishness” (and hedonism), from which much of scientific and practical behavior would be determined. So, what Gumbrecht has demonstrated is that: 1- if, on one hand, people are determined by “fascination”, which means that they are anthropologically characterized by the need to want or seek more experiences, or to constitute new relations, and if 2- on the other hand, the historical horizon would have become a space that would hinder what would be the ideal path to an effective achievement – we are referring to significant confidence in past and/or futures. Then, what we would have would be: 3- a deeply arid and unpleasant world for people in general, within which “selfishness” and hedonism would be decisive. It is from this perspective that we can understand his notion of “*broad present*”, which we believe that points to a kind of obsessive investment in a limited and already available set of experiences, especially from the constitution of virtual spaces. This would, therefore, have caused a kind of “suspension” and even negation of the time understood as the possibility of transformation or reorganization of the past in the name of other futures.

In the innermost part of this “selfish” world (and hedonistic), in which people would be devoting themselves insistently to the pursuit of their own pleasure, the anthropological and

of justice in relation to traumatic pasts is a necessary as it also carries the risk of causing a kind of “obsessive” behavior regarding its restitution. BERBER, 2012, and PEREIRA, 2015.

¹⁴ On the anthropological question to which we refer, see the problems of the “life-world” and “fascination”, GUMBRECHT 2011, and the problem of “pleasure”, AGAMBEN, 2008, p. 127-128. Regarding the problem of happiness, see RANGEL, 2018a and 2019a.

defining strategy of modernity, that of “producing meanings”, which in his view is fundamental to the constitution of history as a discipline, for example, there would be a need to give some space to another also anthropological strategy (perhaps more or still significantly suited to the contemporary world) which is the one of “production of presence”. In other words, still according to Gumbrecht, it would be very difficult for the humanities in general and for history in particular to produce an expressive interest and thus effective transformations in a world determined by the feeling of “selfishness” (and hedonism) *only* from the “production of meanings”. Here we are talking about the construction of logical-formally constituted speeches, which are structured from the logic of causality and the Aristotelian effect and imperatives of identity, non-contradiction, and the excluded third, leaving a secondary role to body, experience and sensibility. Taking the German Romantic tradition as a starting point, for example, Gumbrecht understands that the strategy – or the space most suited to denying “selfish” (and hedonistic) modes – is aesthetics, sensibilization and impression. Or, in his own words, of the “production of presence”. This may also mean, as far as history is concerned, an openness to the possibility of experiencing denied realities or historicities that were little known from a descriptive rather than explanatory gesture. This would happen in order to constitute the ideal conditions of possibility for new experiences and emotions, and – from them – for the (intellectual) reworking of concepts and languages more suited to a complex reality.¹⁵

The path proposed to Gumbrecht, to which we refer, is founded on the understanding that any and all the intellectual-existential transformation, in this case configured from and beyond “selfishness” (and hedonism), must be born of the enrichment and expansion of what I call experience (of sensitivity). Also, as he approaches Heidegger, he understands that this also historiographical strategy – that of “production of presence” from the material reconstruction and from historical climates or specific and denied sentimental spaces (*Stimmungen*) – would be fundamental to the very possibility of expanding experience. And this would be so that it may also be possible to constitute new and more appropriated senses (*Gegenständlichkeit*) to/and other possible “worlds” (GUMBRECHT, 2011, p. 42).¹⁶

¹⁵ In this sense, see the discussion of Valdeci Lopes Araujo about the “analytical of historicity”. ARAUJO, 2013.

¹⁶ See ARAUJO, 2006a, 2006b and 2013, and, also, RANCIÈRE, 2009, with an emphasis on the Chapter 1.

Hayden White

With regard to the thought of Hayden White, we understand that if, in one hand, we have a critique of historicist epistemology because of what he understands as a disinterest in the present and especially the perception that it would be possible to constitute privileged or definitive statements about the past, findings that would be beyond the determinations that are proper to the world, history, and to the body/desire that belong to the subject of knowledge – on the other hand, almost paradoxically, Hayden White himself makes an effort to constitute an ethical-politically oriented epistemological space within which it would be as possible as necessary to create true, appropriate and definitive statements. In this sense, Hayden White's fundamental concern would be to thematize (and also to make historiography thematize) an event proper to the contemporary world – Nazism and *Shoa* – based on a set of specific procedures and also understanding that they would be boundary events capable of communicating their nature, namely evil (WHITE, 1992). Thus, historiography would be a field on which truth (adequate and definitive) could and would need to be made explicit, and this because of a responsibility with regard to the victims of Nazism and humanity in general.

Recently, Hayden White developed a reflection on what he called “practical pasts”, which is a notion that is also constituted from an ethical-politically oriented epistemological interest or position. Hayden White's hypothesis is that historiography has lost its power of orientation/intervention within the contemporary world. On the one hand, this would lead us to the realization that we would continue to be deeply guided by statements and discourses based on pasts from spaces of “historical culture”, such as literature. On the other hand, historiography, especially because of its constitution – based on the need to suspend itself in relation to its time and produce statements capable of describing any and every past in each of its determinations – would have lost touch with the world that belongs to it, in this case with the contemporary world. In this way, historiography would have departed from specific demands of the contemporary world, and thus becoming uninteresting to the general public, losing much of its power to participate (WHITE, 2012, p. 19-39).¹⁷ This is how Hayden White also devoted himself to what we might call a reorganization of this space proper to the “historical culture” that is historiography, questioning it about the possibility of some

¹⁷ See AVILA, 2018.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

reorganization based, for example, on formal strategies expensive to “modernism” in literature. (WHITE, 2006, p. 205).

Bibliography

ABREU, Marcelo; RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Memória, cultura histórica e ensino de história. **História e Cultura**, 2, 4, p. 7-24, 2015.

AGAMBEN, Giorgio. **Infância e história**. Destruição da experiência e origem da história. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2008.

ALBUQUERQUE JUNIOR, Durval Muniz de. **História**: a arte de inventar o passado. Ensaios de teoria da história. Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2007.

ALBUQUERQUE JUNIOR, Durval Muniz de. Tema, Meta, Metáfora: porque a historiografia teme e treme diante da literatura. **Linguagem**. Estudos e Pesquisas (UFG), 17, p. 17-41, 2013.

ANKERSMIT, Frank; DOMANSKA, Ewa; KELLNER, Hans. **Re-figuring Hayden White**. Cultural memory in the present. Califórnia: Stanford University Press, 2009.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de; RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Introduction – Theory and History of Historiography: from the Linguistic Turn to the Ethical-Political Turn. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 17, p. 318-332, 2015.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. História da historiografia como analítica da historicidade. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 12, p. 34-44, 2013.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. Para além da autoconsciência moderna. A historiografia de Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. **Varia História**, Belo Horizonte, 22, 36, p. 314-328, 2006a.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. Sobre o lugar da história da historiografia como disciplina autônoma. **Locus**, Juiz de Fora, 12, p. 79-94, 2006b.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de; PEREIRA, Mateus H.F. **Atualismo 1.0** - Como a ideia de atualização mudou o século XXI. Ouro Preto: SBTHH, 2019.

ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de; PEREIRA, Mateus H.F. Reconfigurações do tempo histórico: presentismo, atualismo e solidão na modernidade digital. **Revista da UFMG**, Belo Horizonte, 23, 1 e 2, p. 270-297, 2016.

ASSIS, Arthur Alfaix. Bolingbroke, a política, e os usos da história. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 11, p. 304-318, 2018.

AVELAR, Alexandre de Sá; GONÇALVES, Márcia de Almeida. Giro linguístico e escrita da história nos séculos XX e XXI, In.: RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello et al (Org.). **Teoria e Historiografia**: Debates contemporâneos. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2015, p. 57-78.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

AVILA, Arthur Lima de. Indisciplinando a historiografia: do passado histórico ao passado prático, da crise à crítica. **Revista Maracanan**, 18, p. 35-49, 2018.

BENJAMIN, Walter. Experiência e pobreza. In.: BENJAMIN, Walter. **Documentos de Cultura, Documentos de Barbárie**. São Paulo: Cultrix: Editora da USP, 1986.

BENJAMIN, Walter. Über den Begriff der Geschichte. **Walter Benjamin Gesammelte Schriften**, t.1 (2), p. 691-704. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991.

BEVERNAGE, Berber. **History, memory, and state-sponsored violence**. Time and justice. New York: Routledge, 2012.

BEVERNAGE, Berber; LORENZ, Chris. **Breaking Up Time: Negotiating the Borders Between Present, Past and Future**. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

BUTLER, Judith. **Quadros de Guerra**. Quando a vida é passível de luto? Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2015.

BUTLER, Judith. **Relatar a si mesmo**. Crítica da violência ética. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2015b.

CALDAS, Pedro Spinola Pereira. As dimensões do historicismo: um estudo dos casos alemães. **OP SIS**, 7, 9, p. 47-66, 2007.

CALDAS, Pedro Spinola Pereira. Para além do giro-linguístico: uma abordagem existencialista da obra de Hayden White. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 11, p. 272-278, 2013.

CARVALHO, Augusto de. A estrutura ontológica do tempo presente. **Tempo e Argumento**, 10, p. 43-63, 2018.

CATROGA, Fernando. **Os passos do homem como restolho do tempo**. Memória e fim do fim da história. Coimbra, Edições Almedina, 2011.

CEZAR, Temístocles. Entre antigos e modernos: a escrita da história em Chateaubriand. Ensaio sobre historiografia e relatos de viagem. **Almanack Braziliense**, São Paulo, 11, p. 26-33, 2010.

CEZAR, Temístocles. Escrita da história e tempo presente na historiografia brasileira. In.: DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas (Org.). **O Brasil em dois tempos**. História, pensamento social e tempo presente. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Editora, 2013.

CEZAR, Temístocles. Hamlet brasileiro: ensaio sobre giro linguístico e indeterminação historiográfica (1970-1980). **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 17, p. 440-461, 2015.

CEZAR, Temístocles. O que fabrica o historiador quando faz história, hoje? Ensaio sobre a crença na história (Brasil séculos XIX-XXI). **Rev. Antropol.** (São Paulo, Online), 61, 2, p. 78-95, USP, 2018.

CHARBEL, Felipe. AZEVEDO, Danrlei. Escrita da história e representação: sobre o papel da imaginação do sujeito na operação historiográfica. **Topoi** (Rio de Janeiro), 9, p. 68-90, 2008.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

CHARBEL, Felipe. AZEVEDO, Danrlei. Uma filosofia inquietante da história: sobre Austerlitz, de W. G. Sebald. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 19, p. 124-141, 2016.

DERRIDA, Jacques. **Espectros de Marx**. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 1994.

DERRIDA, Jacques. **Força de Lei**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2007.

DERRIDA, Jacques. **Perdonar lo imperdonable y lo imprescriptible**. Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2017.

DOMANSKA, Ewa. “El viraje performativo en la humanística actual”, in **Criterios**, La Habana, 37, p. 125-142, 2011.

Ferraz Felipe, E. Renovar votos com o futuro: nostalgia e escrita da história. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, p. 117-134, 2018.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **A arqueologia do saber**. São Paulo: Forense Universitária, 2000.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **As palavras e as coisas**. Uma arqueologia das ciências humanas. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1999.

GUIMARÃES, Gêssica. Sattelzeit: modernidade e história. **Revista Brasileira de História & Ciências Sociais**, 1, p. 1-8, 2009.

GUIMARÃES, Gêssica; NICODEMO, Thiago Lima; SOUSA, Francisco de. Uma lágrima sobre a cicatriz: O desmonte da Universidade pública como desafio à reflexão histórica (#UERJResiste). **Revista Maracanan**, 17, p. 71-87, 2017.

GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. A invenção do passado. **Nossa História** (São Paulo), 3, p. 24-26, 2005.

GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. Repensando os domínios de Clio: as angústias e ansiedades de uma disciplina. **Revista Catarinense de História**, Florianópolis, 5, p. 5-20, 1998.

GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. Usos da História: refletindo sobre identidade e sentido. **História Em Revista**, Pelotas, 6, p. 21-36, 2000.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **After 1945: Latency as origin of the present**. California: Stanford University Press, 2013.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **Atmosphere, mood, stimmung**. On a hidden potential of literature. California: Stanford University Press, 2012.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. Depois de ‘Depois de aprender com a história’, o que fazer com o passado agora? In.: NICOLAZZI, Fernando; MOLLO, Helena Miranda; ARAUJO, Valdeci Lopes de (orgs). **Aprender com a história? O passado e o futuro de uma questão**. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2011.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **Graciosidade e estagnação**. Ensaios escolhidos. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto: Ed. PUC-Rio, 2012.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **In 1926**: Living at the Edge of Time. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **Our broad present**. Time and contemporary culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. **Production of Presence**: What Meaning Cannot Convey. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004

HARTOG, François. **Croire en l'histoire**. Paris: Flammarion, 2013.

HARTOG, François. O regime moderno de historicidade posto à prova pelas duas Guerras Mundiais. In.: DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas (Org.). **O Brasil em dois tempos**. História, pensamento social e tempo presente. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Editora, 2013.

HARTOG, François. **Régimes d'historicité, présentisme et expérience du temps**. Paris: Seuil, 2003.

HARTOG, François. Temps du monde, histoire, écriture de l'histoire. **L'Inactuel**, 12: p. 93-102, 2004.

HARTOG, François. Tempo e Patrimônio. **Varia História**, Belo Horizonte, 22, 36, p. 261-273, 2006.

HEIDEGGER, Martin. **Carta Sobre o Humanismo**. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 2009.

HEIDEGGER, Martin. **Ser e tempo**. Petrópolis, Vozes, 2006.

JASMIN, Marcelo Gantus. Tempo e História. In: Aduino Novaes. (Org.). **Mutações**: Entre dois mundos. São Paulo: SESC, 2017.

JASMIN, Marcelo Gantus. Silêncios da História: experiência, acontecimento, narração. In: Aduino Novaes. (Org.). **Mutações**: o silêncio e a prosa do mundo. São Paulo: SESC, 2014.

JENKINS, Keith. **¿Por qué la historia?** Ética y posmodernidad. México: FCE, 2006.

KLEINBERG, Ethan. Haunting History: Deconstruction and the Spirit of Revision. **History and Theory**, 46, p. 113-143, 2007.

KLEINBERG, Ethan. **Presence**. Philosophy, History, and Cultural Theory for the Twenty-First Century Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2013.

KOSELLECK, Reinhart. **Futuro Passado**. Contribuição à semântica dos tempos históricos. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto: Ed. PUC-Rio, 2006.

KOSELLECK, Reinhart. **Sentido y repetición en la historia**. Buenos Aires, Hydra, 2013.

LACAPRA, Dominick. Conclusión: psicoanálisis, memoria y el giro ético, In.: **Historia y memória después de Auschwitz**. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, p. 207-240. 2001.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

LACAPRA, Dominick. **Representar el holocausto**. Historia, teoria, trauma. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2008.

LÉVINAS, Emmanuel. **Entre nós**. Ensaios sobre a alteridade. Petrópolis; RJ: Vozes, 1997.

LORENZ, Chris. It takes three to tango. History between the 'historical' and the 'practical' past". **Storia della Storiografia**, 65, 1, p. 29-46, 2014.

LORENZ, Chris. Can a criminal event in the past disappear in a garbage bin in the present? Dutch colonial memory and human rights: the case of Rawagede. In.: TAMM, M. (Org.). **Afterlife of events: perspectives of mnemohistory**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 219-241. 2014.

MATA, Sérgio Ricardo da. Para além do neokantismo: o conceito de ciências ético-históricas em Ernst Troeltsch. **Revista de Teoria da História**, 16, p. 90-100, 2016.

MATA, Sérgio Ricardo da. Visões da posthistoire em Arnold Gehlen e Ernst Jünger. **Pandaemonium Germanicum** (IMPRESSO), 22, p. 158-181, 2019.

MARTINS, Estevão C. de Rezende. Crítica e crise na história contemporânea. **Estudos do Século XX**, 10, p. 85-100, 2010.

MARTINS, Estevão C. de Rezende. Democracy and the Threat of Populism. **Estudos do Século XX**, 17, p. 91-111, 2017.

MARTINS, Estevão C. de Rezende. Historicismo: o útil e o desagradável. In.: VARELLA, Flávia Florentino; MOLLO, Helena Miranda; MATA, Sérgio Ricardo da; ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. (Orgs). **A dinâmica do historicismo**. Revisitando a historiografia moderna. Belo Horizonte: Argvmentvm, 2008.

MATOS, Olgária C.F. *Ethos* e amizade: A morada do homem. **Ide**. Psicanálise e Cultura, São Paulo, 31 (46), p. 75-79, 2008.

MENDES, Breno; BARBOSA, Pedro Henrique. Quentin Skinner e Paul Ricoeur: do giro linguístico ao Giro ético-político na História Intelectual. **Revista de Teoria da História**, 16, p. 177-196, 2017.

MUNSLOW, Alun. **The Future of History**. Londres, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

NICODEMO, Thiago Lima; CARDOSO, Oldimar Pontes. Metahistory for (Ro)bots: Historical Knowledge in the Artificial Intelligence Era. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 12, p. 20, 2019.

NICOLAZZI, Fernando. A história entre tempos: François Hartog e a conjuntura historiográfica contemporânea. **História: Questões & Debates**, Curitiba, 53, p. 229-257, 2010.

NICOLAZZI, Fernando. BAUER, C. S. O historiador e o falsário: Usos públicos do passado e alguns marcos da cultura histórica contemporânea. **Varia Historia** (UFMG. Impresso), 32, p. 807-835, 2016.

NICOLAZZI, Fernando. Muito além das virtudes epistêmicas: o historiador público em um mundo não linear. **Revista Maracanã**, 18, p. 18-34, 2018.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

OHARA, João Rodolfo Munhoz. The Disciplined Historian: 'Epistemic Virtue', 'Scholarly Persona', and practices of subjectivation. A proposal for the study of Brazilian professional historiography, In.: **Práticas da História**, 1, 2, pp. 39-56, 2016.

OLIVEIRA, Maria da Glória. Fazer história, escrever história: sobre as figurações do historiador no Brasil oitocentista, In.: **Revista Brasileira de História**, São Paulo, 30, 59, p. 37-52, 2010.

OLIVEIRA, Rodrigo Perez. O engajamento político e historiográfico no ofício dos historiadores brasileiros: uma reflexão sobre a fundação da historiografia brasileira contemporânea (1975-1979). **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 26, p. 127-222, 2018.

PALTI, Elías José. **Giro linguístico e história intelectual**. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1998.

PAUL, Herman. **Hayden White**. The historical imagination. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

PAUL, Herman. Historicismo fraco: sobre hierarquias de virtudes e de metas intelectuais, In.: **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 21, p. 25-42, 2016.

PAUL, Herman. What is a scholarly persona? Ten theses on virtues, skills, and desires, In.: **History & Theory**, 53, p. 348-371, 2014.

PEREIRA, Luisa Rauter. O debate entre Hans-Georg Gadamer e Reinhart Koselleck a respeito do conhecimento histórico: entre tradição e objetividade. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 1, p. 245-265, 2011.

PEREIRA, Mateus Henrique de Faria. Nova direita? Guerras de memória em tempos de comissão da verdade (2012-2014). **Varia História**, Belo Horizonte, 31, 57, p. 863-902, 2015.

RAGO, Margareth. O efeito-Foucault na historiografia brasileira. **Tempo Social**, São Paulo, 7 (1-2), p. 67-82, 1995.

RANCIÈRE, Jacques. **Figuras da história**. São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2018.

RANCIÈRE, Jacques. **O ódio à democracia**. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2014.

RANCIÈRE, Jacques. **Os nomes da história**. Um ensaio de poética do saber. São Paulo: Educ: Pontes, 1994.

RANCIÈRE, Jacques. **A partilha do sensível**. Estética e política. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2009.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. **Da ternura com o passado**: História e pensamento histórico na filosofia contemporânea. Rio de Janeiro: Via Verita, 2019a.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Entrevista Professor Doutor Marcelo de Mello Rangel. **Revista Ensaios Filosóficos**, XVI, p. 119-139, 2017a.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. História e Stimmung a partir de Walter Benjamin: Sobre algumas possibilidades ético-políticas da historiografia. **Cadernos Walter Benjamin**, 17, p. 165-178, 2016.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Justiça e História em Derrida e Benjamin. **Sapere Aude**, Belo Horizonte, 4, 7, p. 347-359, 2013.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Melancolia e história em Walter Benjamin. **Revista Ensaios Filosóficos**, XIV, p. 1-12, 2016.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. **Modernidade e história a partir de Walter Benjamin e Derrida**. Rio de Janeiro: Via Verita, 2019b. (To be published)

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Nietzsche e o pensamento histórico: justiça, amor e felicidade. **Trágica: estudos de filosofia da imanência**, Rio de Janeiro, 10, 2, p. 69-85, 2017b.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Rehistoricization of history, melancholy and hatred. **Cadernos Walter Benjamin**, 22, p. 1-18, 2019c.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. Temporalidade e felicidade hoje. Uma relação possível entre o pensamento histórico, a democracia e a experiência da felicidade/Can One Be Happy Today? **Artefilosofia**, 25, p. 52-66, 2018a.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello et al. **Teoria e Historiografia**. Debates Contemporâneos. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2015.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello; RODRIGUES, Tamara de Oliveira. Temporalidade e crise: sobre a (im)possibilidade do futuro e da política no Brasil e no mundo contemporâneo. **Maracanan**, 18, p. 66-82, 2018.

RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello; SANTOS, Fábio Muruci dos. Algumas palavras sobre o giro ético-político e história intelectual. **Ágora**, Vitória, 21, p. 7-14, 2015.

RICOEUR, Paul. **Du texte a la action**. Essais D'Herméneutique II. Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1986.

RICOEUR, Paul. **Temps et récit**. III. Le Temps raconté. Paris, Seuil, 1985.

RODRIGUES, Henrique Estrada. Pensar a história e seu risco de sangue: o momento drummondiano. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 05, p. 189-203, 2010.

RODRIGUES, Tamara de Oliveira. Theory of history and history of historiography: Openings for unconventional histories. **História da Historografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, 12 (29), p. 96-123, 2019.

RÜSEN, Jörn. Como dar sentido ao passado: questões relevantes de metahistória. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography. Ouro Preto, 02, p. 163-209, 2009.

RÜSEN, Jörn. **Jörn Rüsen e o ensino de história**. SCHMIDT, Maria Auxiliadora; BARCA, Isabel; MARTINS, Estevão de Rezende (Orgs.). Curitiba: Ed. UFPR, 2011.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

RÜSEN, Jörn. **Razão Histórica**. Teoria da História: Os fundamentos da ciência histórica. Brasília: UNB, 2001.

SANTOS, Evandro. **Ensaio sobre a constituição de uma ética historiográfica no Brasil oitocentista**: Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, o historiador no tempo. Porto Alegre: IFCH/UFRGS, 2014 (Doctoral thesis).

SCHITTINO, Renata Torres. **Hannah Arendt a política e a história**. 1. ed. Curitiba: Prismas, 2015.

SCHOLTZ, Gunter. O problema do historicismo e as ciências do espírito no século XX. **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 6, p. 42-63, 2011.

SILVA, Daniel Pinha. O lugar do tempo presente na aula de história: limites e possibilidades. **Tempo e Argumento**, 9, p. 99-129, 2017.

SILVEIRA, Pedro Telles da. História, ação e ética – comentário a respeito de Herman Paul. **Revista História e Cultura**, Franca, 6, 3, p.104-127, 2017.

SOUSA, Francisco Gouvea de. Por que não sou um sábio? Um comentário sobre a resposta de Hans-Georg Gadamer ao elogio de Reinhart Koselleck. **Revista de Teoria da História**, 18, p. 246-266, 2017.

TOZZI, Verónica. **La historia según La nueva filosofía de La historia**. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2009.

TURIN, Rodrigo. Entre o passado disciplinar e os passados práticos: figurações do historiador na crise das humanidades. **Tempo** (Niterói), 24, p. 168-205, 2018.

TURIN, Rodrigo. Uma nobre, difícil e útil empresa: o ethos do historiador oitocentista, In.: **História da Historiografia**. International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography, Ouro Preto, 2, pp. 12-28, 2009.

WHITE, Hayden. El pasado práctico. In.: TOZZI, Verónica; LAVAGNINO, Nicolás. (Orgs.). **Hayden White, la escritura del pasado y el futuro de la historiografía**. Sáenz Peña: Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2012.

WHITE, Hayden. Enredo e verdade na escrita da história. In.: MALERBA, Jurandir (org.). **A história escrita: teoria e história da historiografia**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006.

WHITE, Hayden. Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth in Historical Representation. In.: FRIEDLANDER, Saul (org.). **Probing the Limits of Representation**. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

WHITE, Hayden. The public relevance of historical studies: a reply to A. Dirk Moses. In: **History & Theory**, 44, 4. p. 333-338. October, 2005.

WHITE, Hayden. **The Practical Past**. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2014.

WHITE, Hayden. **Tropics of discourse**. Essays in cultural criticism. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.



RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello. The urgency of the ethical: the ethical-political turn in the theory of history and in the history of historiography.

VOIGT, André Fabiano. Há um ‘giro ético-político’ na história? In.: RANGEL, Marcelo de Mello et alii. **Teoria e Historiografia**: Debates contemporâneos. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2015, p. 79-93.

Recebido em 2019-11-18 Aprovado em 2019-12-19 Publicado em 2019-12-31

