

# Historical Consciousness and History Didactics in Jörn Rösen's Theory of History

Valentina Della Gala

Settore Ricerca, INDIRE

*e-mail*: v.dellagala@indire.it

Historical consciousness is the most successful concept in history education of the last 20 years. Although its definition is debated, the literature in the field of history education recognizes the German historian and history theorist Jörn Rösen as the main reference. Rösen's work is not well known in Italy. As a contribution to the knowledge of the historical consciousness concept, this article proposes a synthesis of the theory of history he developed in the 1980s, and updated in 2013, within which historical consciousness is placed at the basis of historical knowledge and education.

*Keywords* Historical consciousness; history education; history didactics; theory of history; historical competencies.

## *Coscienza storica e didattica nella teoria della storia di Jörn Rösen*

La coscienza storica è il costrutto di maggior successo nell'ambito della didattica della storia a livello internazionale degli ultimi 20 anni. La sua definizione è oggetto di dibattito anche in considerazione delle molteplici tradizioni culturali entro cui è stato utilizzato, la letteratura d'ambito storico-didattico, tuttavia, riconosce nella teorizzazione dello storico e teorico della storia tedesco Jörn Rösen il riferimento principale. L'opera di Rösen non è abbastanza nota in Italia, nonostante sia stata in parte tradotta in italiano e in inglese. Come contributo alla conoscenza del significato del costrutto entro l'ambito della didattica della storia, proponiamo in questo articolo una sintesi della teoria da lui elaborata negli

anni '80 del XX sec. e aggiornata negli anni '10 del XXI sec., entro cui si colloca la coscienza storica come costruito alla base della conoscenza e della formazione storica.

*Parole chiave:* coscienza storica; didattica della storia; storia; teoria della storia; competenze storiche.

### *Introduction*

Jörn Rüsen (1938) is a theorist of history, historian of ideas and historiography; he is a protagonist of historical studies in Germany since the 1970s, belonging to that generation of historians trained after World War II who, starting from the end of the 1960s, advanced fundamental criticism of the German historiographical tradition (Iggers, 1983, pp. 269-293; Rüsen, 1984, pp. 14-15). In over 50 years of activity, he was the author of over 320 monographs and articles, of which over half were translated or published in first editions in languages other than German: English, Chinese, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish, Bulgarian, Korean<sup>1</sup>.

His work and biography show how his interest in the epistemology and didactics of history has been at the center of his intellectual path. In 1966 he received his doctorate with a thesis on Johann G. Droysen. In the 70s and 80s he was assistant of philosophy at the *Technische Universität* of Braunschweig, and later professor of "Theory of History" in Berlin and of "Modern History" in Bochum. From 1989 until 1997 he was Professor of "History and Theory of History" at the Bielefeld University, occupying the chair that had been held by Reinhart Koselleck, from 1996 to 2009 he was Professor of "General History and Historical Culture" at the Witten/Herdecke University, and Director, from 1997 to 2007, of The Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI) in Essen. In the 1980s he published in English studies on the history of *Historik*, the history of historiography and the history of ideas which in 1993 converged in the volume *Study in Metahistory*<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.joern-ruesen.de/html/english\\_version.html](http://www.joern-ruesen.de/html/english_version.html)

<sup>2</sup> Rüsen J., *Studies in Metahistory*, Pretoria: ed. Pieter Duvenage, 1993. This volume was updated and published in 2005 with the title: *History – Narration – Interpretation – Ori-*

which has long been the point of reference in the English-speaking world for understanding his ideas. In *Theory of History in Historical Lectures: The German Tradition of Historik, 1750-1900*, he reconstructed the diffusion and object of *Historik* (translated in English as metahistory and in Italian as *istorica*), the practice of self-reflection of German historians that dated back to the 18th century, considered as a necessary stage in the path of professionalization of historians (Blanke *et alii*, 1984, p. 331). Over the same years he participated in the debate on the nature of history with a contribution published in the first version in an Italian translation in the volume edited by Pietro Rossi, *La teoria storiografica oggi*. In it, Rüsen defended the theory of narrativity as developed by Arthur C. Danto, and the methodological autonomy of historical knowledge, against attempts to reduce it to an imperfect nomological knowledge on the one hand, or to an essentially poetic act on the other. Historical narration constitutes, Rüsen wrote, the process by which the historical consciousness of human beings operates, and history is that form of historical narration in which the claim to truth is guaranteed by specific motivations (Rüsen, 1983, p. 201).

Rüsen derived the use of the construct of historical consciousness from Karl-Ernst Jeismann, (Rüsen, 1987, p. 282), and integrated it into a theory with which he explained both the operations to produce historical knowledge and how thinking about the past shapes human beings.

Historical consciousness was considered at the same time a process (of knowledge production) and a set of skills (Körber, 2015, p. 9): an approach that revolutionized history didactics in Germany since the 1980s, and internationally since the mid-2000s.

### *Theory of History*

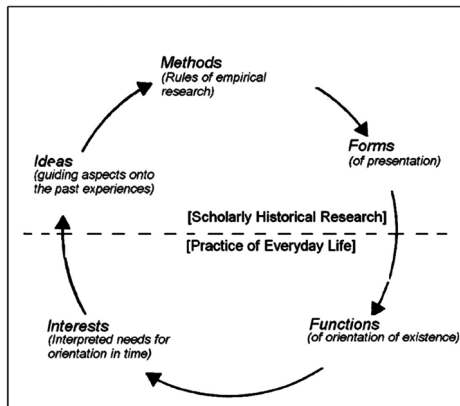
Rüsen published his theory in 3 volumes in 1983, 1986 and 1989, translated into Italian in 2001 under the title *Lineamenti di un'istorica*; then updated in 2013, and translated into English in 2017 under the title *Evidence and Meaning. A Theory of Historical Studies*. His intent was to reform Droysen's *Historik* by integrating the logic of historical thought of analytical philosophy and the acquisitions of 20th century historical studies (Ankersmit,

*entation*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2005.

1988, p. 87), in order to clarify the role that *scientific historical thinking* could play in society and individuals<sup>3</sup>: today more than ever, Rüsen stated both in the first edition and in the update, it is necessary to reflect on those dimensions of history that favor the stabilization of individual identity and broaden the perspectives of human beings towards the idea of humanity.

Through operations of identification and abstraction of the formal principles common to historical studies in all their variants, Rüsen recognized a “disciplinary matrix of historical studies”, (Rüsen, 2013/2017, p. 78)<sup>4</sup>, consisting of 5 factors connected to each other in a dynamic way, a schema that has the great advantage to “reveal the fascinating dynamic of the relationship between academic study and practical living in the foundations of historical thinking” (Rüsen, 2013/2017, p. 80). The 5 factors are: the need for orientation in time (the historical question) that initiates historical thinking; the interpretative perspective that guides our gaze on the past; the elements of experience (of the past), or rules of empirical research; the representation of the past in historiographic form; and the historical orientation (the effect on practical living of the historiographic answer) (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Model of the process of historical thinking (Rüsen, 1983/2001, p. 25).



<sup>3</sup> Rüsen defines historical consciousness also as general historical thinking and scientific historical thinking as a particular manifestation of historical consciousness, (Rüsen, 1983/2001, p. 88)

<sup>4</sup> Reference being made to: Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

*Historical thinking in practical life (pragmatica)*

The first factor resides in the living world, which is also the reference for the other factors, and amounts to the need that activates the historical thinking of everyone:

[...] il punto di partenza è dato da ciò che nell'umana connessione vitale sta alla base della formazione della coscienza e del pensiero storici (e in cui si forma anche la storia come scienza). Questo punto di partenza si colloca nell'ambito dei bisogni umani di un orientamento temporale delle azioni e delle passioni. La storia come scienza si lascia per così dire edificare a partire da tali bisogni, cioè per rendere razionale la risposta ad una domanda, la soluzione ad un problema, la soddisfazione (spirituale) ad un bisogno (d'orientamento) (Rüsen, 1983/2001, p. 19).

The need for orientation is transversal to all cultures, as its foundation is an anthropological universal: the excess of intentionality of human beings, which pushes them to prefigure the future (“essere oltre ciò che accade”) (*ivi*, p. 46). It becomes more acute when faced with the interruption of a familiar time course and the appearance of an unexpected contingency (Rüsen, 2007, pp. 177-178).

In the 2017 English edition Rüsen exemplifies this temporal culmination by quoting Shakespeare, recalling Hamlet's experience of disorientation when faced with the discovery that his father's death had occurred at the hands of his uncle: “Time is out of joint; – O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right!” (Rüsen, 2017, p. 35). In the face of this discovery, the world as known until then loses meaning, and in this contingency, (“nella divergenza tra tempo come intenzione e tempo come esperienza”) (Rüsen, 1983/2001, p. 48), human beings feel the need to reformulate a new interpretation to connect present, past and future, and thus rediscover the meaning of their temporal experience (forming historical meaning)<sup>5</sup>.

When people accomplish this meaning-making work they acquire a new self-confidence. The original helplessness against the challenge of time is transformed into capability of integrating it into our interpretive

<sup>5</sup> The meaning, (in German, *Sinn*; in Italian *senso*), is considered by Rüsen as the key category defining culture in human life, see Rüsen, 2017, p. 121.

world in such a way that we gain ourselves. It is like the expressions what doesn't kill you makes you stronger'. Through coping with experiences of time that define life everywhere and at all times, the human self grows (Rüsen, 2017, p. 37).

### *History as Academic Discipline (scientistica)*

But how is it possible to carry out this universal process of forming meaning for the purposes of orientation in a specifically scientific way?

History has its claim for truth in common with all the other sciences and exercises it *in the way* in which operations aimed at orientation are conducted; in this, history distinguishes itself also from the other forms of narration of stories. History as a science is a *specific way* of proceeding of historical consciousness: i.e. a “methodical process of eliciting knowledge [...] to strengthen the validity of this knowledge and to systematically establish its plausibility or soundness” (Rüsen, 2013/2017, p. 64).

Pensare storicamente significa che il soggetto di questo pensiero, con la sua soggettività, i suoi bisogni ed interessi, più esattamente con l'intenzione di una presa di coscienza, si immette nel processo conoscitivo in cui il passato umano viene conosciuto come storia. Pensare storicamente in modo scientifico significa che proprio questa soggettività viene superata a vantaggio di un'obiettività in cui la conoscenza storica è fondamentalmente suscettibile di consenso da parte di tutti e la sua validità non dipende più da particolari qualità soggettive dei suoi destinatari [...] (Rüsen, 1986/2001, p. 123).

### *Perspectives and method (sistemica e metodica)*

The second and third factors are the traditional ones of the theory of history: systematics and methodics.

History, Rüsen says, is knowable as a science also through the ability to systematically explain the conditions of the human being's gaze on the past, and the criteria with which experiences are selected from the infinity of facts of the past. These conditions consist of norms and values of the historian's life and in ideas which are ultimately, Rüsen says, theoretical constructions

that constitute heuristic assumptions and working hypotheses. The definitions and role of these constructions are fundamental and argued at length by Rösen.

On a general level that pertains to the very nature of history as a science, there are the forms of explanation employed.

On a more concrete level, history makes use of theory through what Rösen defines as an “antropologia storico-teorica” (Rösen, 1986/2001, p. 42), (anthropology as it relates to human experience) or as a set of historical universals, for instance the concepts of progress, development, decline, individuality, structure, transformation, trend, epoch, revolution, etc. (*ivi*, pp. 43-44), i.e. categories ordering reality which indicate the temporal and universal connections of facts and allowing, starting from the experience of the present, to compare different stories, to delimit and divide the field of experiences of the present and the past and to think of history as a *totality*, (“la storia nelle storie”) (*ivi*, p. 40).

This network of historical universals can evolve into *medium-range theories*, (e.g., the theory of modernization; the Weberian interpretation of the Protestant ethic; theories on fascism, development, etc.), halfway between the historical universals and the theoretical constructs of real and partial histories.

Finally, at the most concrete level we find historical concepts, “the bricks of historical theories”, halfway between historical universal concepts (the bricks with which the totality of history is grasped), and proper names, and are for example: Bonapartism, pietism, medieval city, ancient polis (*ivi*, p. 81).

The third factor defines the historian as a specialist (*ivi*, p. 32), and it concerns the historical method in a *strict sense*:

Dalla manifestazione empirica e ‘presentificata’ del passato, ‘affluiscono’ allo storico le informazioni su ciò che accadde in passato e che deve riferirsi a quanto avvenuto, affinché il sapere storico da lui prodotto sia fondato empiricamente. Perciò la ricerca è il processo in cui il sapere storico esaminabile è ricavato dalle informazioni delle fonti (*ivi*, p. 82).

Information is not *distilled* from the historical sources, rather it must be considered as *preformed* by the already developed working hypotheses. The analysis of the sources leads to the reformulation of the initial hypotheses: a

movement of thought between theory and empirical data that Rüsen places at the center of the historian's activity (and, as we will see, of the historical learning).

This factor gifts to the process of meaning generation the cognitive significance of the methodical and regulated reference to the experience of the past, and the possibility [for the subject] to interpret himself in broader and deeper areas of historical experience (*ivi*, p. 115).

### *Narrative forms (topica)*

The third volume of *Historik*, having the meaningful title *Lebendige Geschichte: Formen und Funktionen des historischen Wissens (Storia viva. Lineamenti di un'istorica III. Forme e funzioni del sapere storico)* is the most quoted volume within the field of history education. Rüsen deals in this volume the fourth (*Narrative forms*), and the fifth factor (*Practical functions of Historical Knowledge*), of the disciplinary matrix.

The fourth factor, and the further phase of the process of meaning generation (and production of historical knowledge), consists in developing the form to communicate the research work. In it, historical thinking turns back to the living world (the readers). The historical narrative completes, in the sense that it brings to completion, the work of remembrance, theorization and empirical research, appealing to the reader to contribute to giving an answer to his need for orientation. Writing history is considered an independent part of the meaning making process, although the distinction from the empirical research is to be considered for analytical purposes only. It has the specificity of having to refer to the readers to satisfy their need for orientation (Rüsen, 1989/2001, p. 12). Rüsen traces the writing of history back to the language procedures used to connect facts together, but he specifies that this does not limit the cognitive significance of the historical knowledge that remains anchored to the regulated reference to the experiences of the past and to the explanatory form of stories (*ivi*, p. 20). Since it is addressed to a reader, writing has a communicative dimension in the way in which historical knowledge is presented. Aesthetic and rhetorical strategies coexist in it. The aesthetic dimension is a pre-cognitive level, on which knowledge must be anchored to be effective. The aesthetic strategies address the sensitivity of the readers by stimulating their symbolic imagination, and their effectiveness

is determined by how much they are able to activate the meaning making process in the readers, also managing to design a perspective of liberation from contingency, "...qualcosa di simile a una catarsi della memoria attraverso la storiografia" (*ivi*, p. 23).

[L]a scrittura della storia non soltanto radica il sapere storico nella profondità intenzionale della vita pratica dell'uomo, ma nello stesso tempo ripone in essa la visione storica come liberazione dalla coazione pratica, visione che può portare i lettori, nella loro memoria storica, ad una comprensione spontanea e libera di se stessi (*ivi*, p. 22).

The rhetorical dimension of historical writing is even more precise in its addressing the readers, not activating their imagination like the aesthetic strategies, but providing references on how to operate in real life. Since historical consciousness is instantiated in the linguistic form of narration, it is in this part of his work that Rösen deals with the organizational models of historical narration that are particularly effective in determining the practical dispositions of the receivers. Rösen identifies and presents four different modes for meaning generation for the first time in English in *History and Memory* in 1989, and again in 2004 in the article *The Development of Narrative Competence in Historical Learning – An ontogenetical Hypothesis Concerning Moral Consciousness*, in the book edited by Peter Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, which can be considered the starting point for the spread of the construct in the field of history didactics (or history education in the English-speaking world).

In the *Traditional* mode, the orientation is defined by tradition. The connection among the temporal dimensions is understood as continuity in change: "[t]raditional orientations present the temporal whole, which makes the past significant and relevant to present actuality and its future extension as a continuity of obligatory cultural and life patterns over time" (Rösen, 2004, p. 71). Narratives are given and invite imitation of behavioral patterns. Time acquires a meaning of eternity; it is experienced as origin and repetition. This is the form of historical narration prevalent in the ancient age (Rösen, 2017, p. 13), but it has not disappeared (for instance, in some monuments, or in the references to distant origins). The example that Rösen used in the 1980s to explain how this mode intervenes on individual identity is the sexual identity.

In the *Exemplary* mode, the criterion of meaning is not traditions but rules: from the abstraction of the experiences of the past, rules are obtained to guide the conduct of life, beyond those affirmed and reported by tradition. The past is interpreted as exempla from which to draw lessons for the present. Time is experienced as change, but according to universal rules that go beyond time. It is this logic of understanding the past that was referred to with the expression *historia magistra vitae*. An example of an identity characterized by the exemplary mode is national identity (Rüsen, 1989/2001, p. 47).

The *Critical* mode denies the validity of a pre-established orientation; time is discontinuous; identity is formed in a stubborn resistance to the demands of tradition.

Finally, the *Genetic* mode sees the source of meaning in temporal change itself: the perfect example is the concept of progress, but also process, development, etc. This is the prevailing mode of historical thinking in modernity, whose origins go back to the Enlightenment. However, as a reaction to the crises of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, Rüsen noted in 2013 that the traditional mode seemed to be regaining ground.

The four modes of meaning generation (or forms of narration) are mixed in every story, with one mode prevailing over the others and in a dynamic relationship among them, which makes it possible to move from one model to another.

### *Practical Functions of Historical Knowledge: History Didactics and Historical Culture*

The fifth and final factor realizes the orientation functions whose need has activated the meaning making process of temporal experience. Rüsen focuses on the two functions that he considers most important: history education and historical culture.

The fundamental answer of *Historik* to the functions of scientific historical thinking in life is that it is *formative* in itself: if it is carried out in a scientific way (with the operations and rules described in the disciplinary matrix), it contributes to reconfiguring the subject's reflection on himself and the world around him, and to influencing his actions. In Rüsen, there is equivalence between the meaning making process and historical learn-

ing (Körper, 2015, p. 27). Actually, the latter can be considered the very reason why history as a science and scientific historical thinking have developed: to fill the lack of meaning that arises from the experience of temporal change, which limits the understanding of the present and weakens actions.

In discussing how history as a science can contribute to history education, Rösen borrows from the academic language then (and still today) current in Germany the use of the term *competence*<sup>6</sup>, and set the target of historical instruction in the development of the *narrative competence of historical consciousness* (Rösen, 2017, p. 320).

The process of learning history essentially consists in a movement between the two poles of the experiences of the past and of interpretation. The subject can experience only in this way those transformations of orientation in practice and of identity that are the targets of historical education. Rösen repeatedly emphasizes that it is the rationality of history, experienced in the process of forming historical meaning, that allows individual transformation, not the *effect* that past experiences can have on the subject. This is because he wants to warn against the dangers that history and the subject of learning incur if the relationship with the past concerns only the aesthetic point of view. Nevertheless, the aesthetic dimension plays a fundamental role in the development of historical consciousness, as it enables the subject to open up fully and spontaneously to the past. An opening that can only occur through significant questions for individual orientation (Rösen, 2012, p. 45). The continuous movement of historical learning between experience and interpretation, capable of transforming the starting hypotheses, thus broadening horizons by restructuring points of view, is achieved only if the entire process is triggered spontaneously and is experienced firsthand.

The learning process begins with the definition of the research question, which originates from an uncertainty experienced in life. It continues with the analysis of *points of view*, starting from one's own, and with a reflection on historical categories, theories and concepts, in order to frame the research field. Then, it develops in the repeated comparison with the experiences of the past (and all that this entails in terms of research, selection, criticism and interpretation of evidence, of the experience of otherness and of estrange-

<sup>6</sup> The definition of competence is by Franz W. Weinert and means a construct that combines cognitive and non-cognitive skills, knowledge, volitions, emotions. (Weinert, 1999, p. 10).

ment that can derive from it), which modifies the initial hypotheses until obtaining an answer in the form of a plausible narrative, capable of orienting the subject in practice and transforming his identity.

There are four competencies involved in the development of historical consciousness, which, taken together, build up the narrative competence of historical consciousness: 1) the competence to deal with temporal experiences, 2) to interpret them, 3) to use them for orientation, to which Rüsen adds in the 2013 update: 4) the dimension of motivation which he defines as the ability to motivate one's actions "according to the idea of one's own place in the changes of time" (Rüsen, 2017, p. 320).

As with the English-language research in the field of education, for Rüsen too, history teaching must be based on the awareness that every student is not a *tabula rasa*, but an "incorporated history" (Rüsen, 2012, p. 528):

The students already live in the social context of a civil society. This organizes the lives of its members according to some basic universal rules and values, which allow and guarantee individualism as a matter of being different. Historical instruction in school has to present this life form as a result of a long-lasting historical process (Rüsen, 2017, p. 320).

### *Historical Culture*

The final pages of the trilogy are devoted to historical culture, the historical consciousness of a society.

Historical culture is the area of Rüsen's reflections that has had the widest development from the 1980s until the 2013 update. Historical culture should be considered as the set of instances of a society that turn to the past (teaching, academic history, artistic creation, political struggle, education, public memory) (Rüsen, 2017, p. 18). Rüsen underlines the unsustainability of the traditional distance between memory and history, bringing both back to historical consciousness and to the common claim that the past constitutes a powerful element of orientation (*ivi*, p. 281).

## Conclusions

In recent years Rösen has further developed his reflections, delving into themes that he had already touched on: historical thought being accused of ethnocentrism, and the need to overcome the latter; the role of trauma (in particular the memory of the Holocaust) for individual identity; the analogy between mourning and historiography; the responsibilities of historians; the role of the future in historical thought; the reflection on universal history starting from a new humanism. On the one hand he remains firm in his commitment not to lose sight of the great cultural challenges of contemporary times, which increasingly appear as threats, on the other his reflection becomes further complicated making it difficult to see a solution to the shallows in which the post-modernist perspective seems to have steered historical studies. Iggers, in one of his latest contributions, reflects exactly on this difficulty. He describes Rösen's efforts as the attempt to develop a post-postmodernist theory of history, but without a possibility yet to clearly identify a solution giving history back its cognitive strength of regulated and founded attachment to reality (Iggers, 2009, p. 126).

In the field of history education, however, there is no doubt that his thought was disruptive:

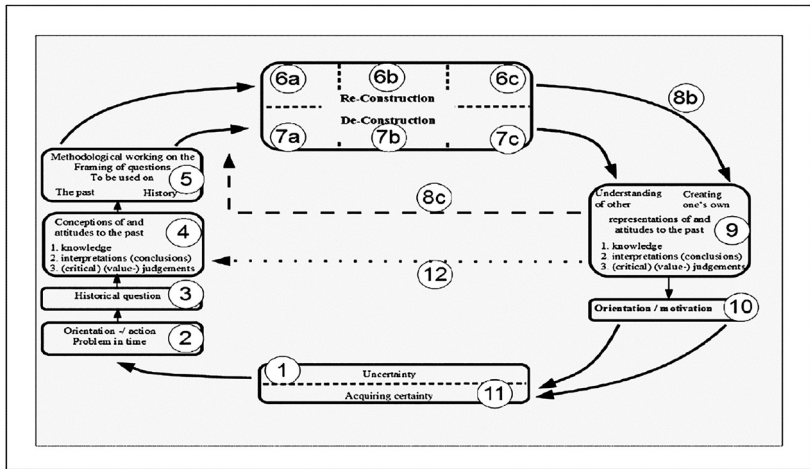
From time to time an idea appears that seems to offer the possibility of reconceptualizing an area of academic study and research. (I was tempted to say academic field, but in our own area of history education this seems a touch grandiose. 'Patch' might be more appropriate.) Jörn Rösen's idea of 'historical consciousness' is, on the face of it, just such an idea (Lee, 2012, p. 34).

Rösen's reflections inspire curricular solutions adopted in many central and northern European countries. The FUER<sup>7</sup> competence model for history, developed in 2001 and adopted in Austria and several German *Länder*, is based on the Rösen disciplinary matrix (Fig. 2), and operationalize historical consciousness into a complex competence: the competence of thinking historically (Körber, 2015, p. 19), which aims to enable learners to participate in the historical culture of their societies both by thinking about their own

<sup>7</sup> FUER is the German acronym for "Research and Development of Reflective Historical Awareness".

history, and by analyzing the stories written by others. The starting point, here too, is a significant and destabilizing experience of the present, which forces us to look to the past for a new orientation towards the future. This must lead to the elaboration of one or more historical questions and the activation of previous knowledge, concepts, and judgments, etc., to answer to the need for orientation (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 The process of historical awareness, developed by Hasberg and Körber within the FUER model of competencies (Hasberg et alii, 2003, p. 187)



The narrative competence of historical consciousness (or thinking historically) is composed of four competencies:

1. Transforming uncertainties into historical questions that can be researched (1-5, Fig. 2).
2. Activating and completing the process for researching the answer, by using categories, concepts, and methodological skills and heuristics (6a-7c, Fig. 2).
3. Combining the results to satisfy the need of orientation (8-11, Fig. 2).
4. Knowing historical concepts and categories (the *first* and *second order concepts*, as developed by the English history education researchers), procedures and contents.

The construct of historical consciousness as theorized by Rüsen broadens the function of history education to include the role of history in society, and integrates that of historical thinking resulting from English-language research, broadening the educational objectives of history in the direction of an autonomous construction of individual identity:

The formation of identity therefore is one of the most important, if not the most important function of historical thinking in the way of life of any given time. There is a surprising discrepancy between this absolute fact and the highly disputed concept of historical identity (Rüsen, 2017, p. 329).

Although in the last 10 years the international field of history education has seen a prevalence of interest in empirical research, many are calling for a return to theoretical reflection (e.g., Hasberg, 2021, p. 75), and rereading Rüsen's works also in Italy can be functional, not only for knowing one of the references of the use of the construct of historical consciousness, but also for drawing attention to the epistemological aspects of history and their role in history education and learning.

## References

- Ankersmit F. R. 1988. Grundzüge einer Historik II: Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit by Jörn Rüsen. *History and Theory*. 27(1). 81-94. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2504964>
- Blanke H. W., Fleischer D., Rüsen J. 1984. Theory of History in Historical Lectures: The German Tradition of Historik, 1750-1900. *History and Theory*. 23(3). 331-356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2505079>
- Ceccoli P. 2021. Storia: Narrazione, Interpretazione, Orientamento. Introduzione all'opera di Jörn Rüsen. *Novcento.org*. 16 agosto 2021. DOI: 10.52056/9788833139883/08
- Da Mata S., Lopes de Araujo V. 2013. Jörn Rüsen: Theory of History as Aufklärung. *Historia da Historiografia*. 11. 339353. <https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v0i11.565>
- Iggers G. G. 1983. *The German Conception of History. The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Id. 2009. A Search for a Post-Postmodern Theory of History. *History and Theory*. 48(1). 122-128.
- Hasberg W. 2021. Historical Consciousness: Exploring a Third-Order Concept. German Experiences and General Observations. *Dimensioni e Problemi della Ricerca Storica*. 1. 53-76.
- Hasberg W., Körber A. 2003. Geschichtsbewusstsein dynamisch. In A. Körber (Ed.), *Geschichte – Leben – Lernen. Bodo von Borries zum 60. Geburtstag*. Schwalbach: Wochenschau-Verlag. 177–200.
- Körber A. 2015. *Historical consciousness, historical competencies – and beyond? Some conceptual development within German history didactics*. 56 S.- URN: urn:nbn:de:0111-pedocs-108118 – DOI: 10.25656/01:10811
- Lee P. 2009. Walking Backwards Into 'Tomorrow' Historical Consciousness And Understanding History. *International Journal of History Teaching Learning And Research*. 10(2). 1-45.
- Megill A. 1994. Jörn Rüsen's Theory of Historiography between Modernism and Rhetoric of Inquiry. *History and Theory*. 33(1). 3960. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2505651>
- Metzger S. A., McArthur Harris L. (Eds). 2018. *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Rüsen J. 1969. *Begriffene Geschichte: Genesis und Begründung der Geschichtstheorie* J. G. Droysens. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Id. 1983. *Vol. 1: Grundzüge einer Historik: Historische Vernunft. Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht (It. trans ed. by B. Maj, *Lineamenti di un'istorica I. La ragione storica. I fondamenti della scienza storica*. (2001), Florence: Aletheia).
- Id. 1984. Theory of History in the Development of West German Historical Studies: A Reconstruction and Outlook. *German Studies Review*. 7(1).11-25.
- Id. 1986. *Vol. 2: Grundzüge einer Historik: Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht (It. trans ed. By B. Maj, *Lineamenti di un'istorica II. La ricostruzione del passato. I principi della ricerca storica* (2001), Florence: Aletheia), (En. trans by A. Cordero, *Reason and History. An Essay on Metahistory*, [https://www.academia.edu/14081879/Reason\\_and\\_History](https://www.academia.edu/14081879/Reason_and_History) 10/04/2024).
- Id. 1987. The Didactics of History in West Germany: Towards a New Self-Awareness of Historical Studies. *History and Theory*. 26(3). 275-286.
- Id. 1987. Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason. *History and Theory*. 26(4). 87-97.
- Id. 1989. *Vol. 3: Lebendige Geschichte. Formen und Funktionen des historischen Wissens*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht (It. trans ed. by B. Maj, *Lineamenti di un'istorica III. Storia viva. Forme e funzioni del sapere storico* (2001). Florence: Aletheia).
- Id. 1989. The Development of Narrative Competence in Historical Learning. An Ontogenetic Hypothesis concerning Moral Consciousness. *History and Memory*. 1(2). 35-59.
- Id. 1994. Was ist Geschichtskultur? Überlegungen zu einer neuen Art, über Geschichte nachzudenken. In K. Füssmann, H.T. Grütter and J. Rüsen (Eds.), *Historische Faszination. Geschichtskultur heute*. Köln: Böhlau. 3-26 (Sp. Trans by F. Sánchez Costa, Ib Schumacher, *¿Qué es la cultura histórica?: Reflexiones sobre una nueva manera de abordar la historia*, unpublished <http://culturahistorica.org/Jörn-Rüsen/> 23/04/24).
- Id. 2007. How to make sense of the past – salient issues of Metahistory. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*. 3(1). 169-221.
- Id. 2008. *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn.

- Id. 2012. Tradition: A Principle of Historical Sense-Generation and its Logic and Effect in Historical Culture. *History and Theory*. 51(4). 45-59.
- Id. 2012. Forming Historical Consciousness – Towards a Humanistic History Didactics. *Antíteses*. 5(10). 519-537.
- Id. 2013. *Historik: Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft*. Cologne: Böhlau (En. trans by D. Kerns, K. Digan, *Evidence and Meaning. A Theory of Historical Studies* (2017). New York/Oxford: Berghahn).
- Id. 2021. The Horizon of History Moved by Modernity: After and Beyond Koselleck. *History and Theory*. 60(4). 74-81.
- Rüsen J., Templer B. 1989. Historical Enlightenment in the Light of Post-modernism: History in the Age of the “New Unintelligibility. *History and Memory*. 1(1). 109-131.
- Rossi P. (Ed). 1983. *La teoria della storiografia oggi*. Milan: Il Saggiatore.
- Seixas P. (Ed). 2004. *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Weinert F. E. 1999. *Concepts of competence*. München: Max-Planck-Institut für Psychologische Forschung.