

BJIR

Brazilian Journal of International Relations

ISSN: 2237-7743 | Edição Quadrimestral | volume 10 | edição nº 3 | 2021

*A "Dark Root" of Global History:
Contributions made by Oswald
Spengler and Arnold Toynbee*

Diego Martín Pereira

 Igepri
Instituto de Gestão Pública e
Relações Internacionais

 unesp
Universidade Estadual Paulista
"Júlio de Mesquita Filho"

*A Brazilian Journal Of International Relations (BJIR) está indexada no International Political Science Abstracts (IPSA),
EBSCO Publishing e Latindex*

A “DARK ROOT” OF GLOBAL HISTORY: CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY OSWALD SPENGLER AND ARNOLD TOYNBEE

Diego Martín Pereira¹

Abstract: This is a historiographical inquire about a specific source of Global History. The aim of this article is to demonstrate the links between Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee’s works and contemporary Global History. Both authors raised a holistic, non-State centric and pretending anti-Eurocentric approach of world history. Nevertheless, both remain as controversial writers for their anti-academic claims, particularly the cyclic vision of history and the intention to predict the future. Despite that, in the following years, several scholars had filtered the controversial elements of those authors to adapt them to scientific standards. Among authors such as Fernand Braudel, Raymond Aron, Martin Wight and Helio Jaguaribe, William McNeill stands out as a fundamental link to contemporary Global History.

Keywords: Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee, Historiography of Global History.

I. Introduction

Global History is a complex, heterogeneous and not well-defined subject. Sebastian Conrad points to three paradigms: the history of everything, the history of connections and the history based on integration. The first one looks for “planetary comprehensiveness”, and it ranges from global syntheses of a specific time period (BAYLY, 2003; LANDES, 1999) to massive time scales such as the "big story" of David Christian (2011, 2018). The second and most widespread variety, focuses on connections and interactions as the fundamental mechanism of History (BERG, 2013; GILLS; THOMPSON, 2006; MCNEILL; MCNEILL, 2004). The third paradigm, preferred by Conrad, tries to see beyond the interconnectedness of humanity, and pays attention to the conditions that preceded it, which is “the systemic dimension of the past, and the structured character of social change” (CONRAD, 2016, p. 65). An example of that perspective is Stefan Tanaka's study of the profound cultural transformation

¹ Graduado no Uruguai no ano 2007 como professor de história no Centro Regional de Profesores (CeRP). No Brasil se formou como Especialista (2017) e Mestre (2019) em Relações Internacionais pela Universidade de Brasília (UnB). Seus interesses são a História Intelectual, Integração da América Latina, História Global, História Ambiental e Historiografia. Email: historiadiego.x@gmail.com

occurred when the Western conception of time was introduced to Japan in the Meiji era (TANAKA, 2009).

Despite all the varieties of Global History, there are “core concerns” that refer to “processes that transcend borders and boundaries” and take “the interconnected world as its point of departure” (CONRAD, 2016, p. 8–9). In this article we use the concept as widely as possible, even taking into account other broader historical approaches which cannot be defined as global histories *strictu sensu* but they are relatively close, such those based on geopolitical, cultural and International Relations (IR) studies.²

This article is a historiographical inquiry about one of the many historiographical roots of Global History, specifically what we call a “dark root”. The concept “dark root” refers to the controversial, speculative and anti-scientific claims of its two main representatives: Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) and Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975).

Starting from a critical study of the works of Spengler and Toynbee, we construct a framework, looking for ideas that connect people until today. We do not affirm that Spengler and Toynbee were the primary influence on any of the authors mentioned here. However, we aim to demonstrate that Spengler and Toynbee were part, in different degrees, of their intellectual training.

Unlike other studies on the subject,³ we first delve into the ideas of Spengler and Toynbee, highlighting both the controversial and innovative aspects of their theses. After that, we focus on the “filtering” process that subsequent authors applied to these issues. In this process, our objective is to bring new light to the links between the different authors, and also to include academics and intellectuals related to IR, such as Raymond Aron, Martin Wight and Helio Jaguaribe.

On the hypotheses of our work, we argue, in the first place, that the book of the German author Oswald Spengler *The decline of the West* (1927), first published in 1918, was a foundational work of a “dark root” of Global History, particularly because the anti-academic and anti-modern justifications, the cyclic and metaphysics conceptions of history and the

² Conrad mentioned the “competing approaches” of Global History: the comparative studies, transnational history, world-system theory, postcolonial studies and the concept of multiple modernities (CONRAD, 2016, p. 36). About IR, we can also include authors such as Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington, whose works were relevant to the development of the field (HARTOG, 2009, p. 61–62; SANTOS; SOCHACZEWSKI, 2017, p. 484).

³ Some studies briefly mentioned Spengler and Toynbee as part of a major and complex framework of sources and currents of thoughts (CONRAD, 2016, p. 30–31; HARTOG, 2009, p. 59; MAZLISH, 2006, p. 154–155). Brett Bowden, for instance, highlight the contributions of the two authors, especially Toynbee, to Universal History, but not from a perspective of historiography of Global History, but theory and philosophy of History (BOWDEN, 2017, p. 35–36). On the other side, many articles completely ignores the role of Spengler and Toynbee on Global History (HAUSBERGER; PANI, 2018; SANTOS; SOCHACZEWSKI, 2017; VASCONCELLOS, 2021).

declared intention to predict the future. Furthermore, many academics considered the book a semi-official manifesto and justification of the National Socialist ideology.

Secondly, we claim that the work of Spengler, despite being criticized, went through several revisions that kept aspects considered useful. The first filter to the Spengler thesis came from the English historian Arnold Toynbee. He criticized the deterministic approach of the German author and proposed a more empirical study about the same subject (the civilizations of the world). However, Toynbee failed to criticize the anti-academic claims of Spengler. In fact, he praised those ideas and proposed a theological approach. Our third assertion is that Toynbee belongs, together with Spengler, to the “dark root”.

Our fourth and final claim is that after Toynbee, many scholars adapted the “dark root” visions and approaches to an explicit academic and scientific format, taking away any kind of theological or metaphysical statement. Among others relevant scholars as Fernand Braudel, Raymond Aron, Martin Wight, Samuel Huntington and Helio Jaguaribe, especially William Hardy McNeill (1917-2016) stands out. As a recognized Toynbee’s disciple, McNeill not only cleaned the anti-academic and anti-scientific assertions of his master, but also placed the concept of interaction as the key element to comprehend the intrinsic complexity of global processes. Since that time, many others as John McNeill, David Christian and Yuval Harari have developed the field, to collaborate with other scholars of other disciplines until the present day.

II. Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee: the founders of the “Dark Root”

The first volume of *The decline of the West* appeared in Germany in 1918. Until then, Spengler was an unknown high school teacher, depressed by the vision of an entire life teaching disinterested students (HERMAN, 1999, p. 245; JOLL, 1985, p. 92), but the timing was perfect. In the context of the obliteration of the German Reich, economic crisis, and consciousness of living a transcendental moment of history, the book was destined for success.

To Spengler, the Age of Enlightenment and its culmination, the French Revolution, were the beginning of the darkest moment in Western history. What many perceived as progress, such as secularism, machines, metropolises, and human rights, were, in fact, signs of decadence. The rising modern world represented the revolution against the essences of Western society, his creative intuition, the foundational myths, the rural way of life and its traditions.

On these claims, there was nothing new. For a long time in Germany, there was a tradition of nihilistic and anti-modern thinking, represented among others by Paul Lagarde

(1827-1891) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) (JOLL, 1985, p. 92). Spengler himself was part of a generation of pessimist intellectuals like Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), Ernst Junger (1895-1898), Hans Freyer (1887-1969), Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (1876-1925) (HERMAN, 1999, p. 257). Nevertheless, Spengler, without hiding his arrogance, considered his work as the zenith of German Philosophy. “For I am convinced that it is not merely a question of writing one out of several possible and merely logically justifiable philosophies, but of writing *the* philosophy of our time” (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 15).

Spengler began his work as follows: “In this book is attempted for the first time the venture of predetermining history, of following the still untravelled stages in the destiny of a Culture” (1927, pt. 1, p. 3). To the author, there are two main concepts to understand the birth, life and death of societies: Culture and Civilization. Culture represents the first stages of society: growth and maturation, which Spengler calls the spring and summer of a Culture. Civilization refers to the two final stages, decadence and death, autumn and winter. Culture is an organic body, and therefore, collaborative and interconnected processes give life to the social organism. Those processes are, among others, traditions, religion, philosophy, law, art, architecture, social and economic organization and even mathematical thinking. However, the motivation to all these complex manifestations came from a single psychological idea: the “world-fear”.

This world-fear is assuredly the most *creative* of all prime feelings. Man owes to it the ripest and deepest forms and images, not only of his conscious inward life, but also of the infinitely-varied external culture which reflects this life. Like a secret melody that not every ear can perceive, it runs through the formal language of every true art-work, every inward philosophy, every important deed, and, although those who can perceive it in that domain are the very few, it lies at the root of the great problems of mathematics (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 79).

A culture dies when the organic, intuitive and creative growth becomes artificial (inorganic), and the human rationalizes the world-fear. At that moment (the French Revolution in the West), Culture becomes Civilization. Rationalism and Science substitute traditions and religions, the Culture loses its soul, and the Civilization continues to expand its body but is a dead body, that expands because of its putrefaction.

Culture and Civilization — the living body of a soul and the mummy of it. [...] the organism born of Mother Earth, and the mechanism proceeding from hardened fabric. Culture-man lives inwards, Civilization-man outwards in space and amongst bodies and ‘facts’. That which the one feels as Destiny the other understands as a linkage of causes and effects, and thenceforward he is a materialist - in the sense of the word valid for, and only valid for, Civilization (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 353).

Every culture canalizes the world-fear uniquely, what Spengler calls “idea of destiny”. All single materials or symbolic creations of a Culture are expressions of a single ‘idea of destiny’, that is different from each Culture. For Spengler, cultures are like living beings of the same species, but spiritually distinct from each other. Although the approach is still Eurocentric (the West is the center of its inquiries), an interesting quality of his vision is that, among other cultures, Spengler does not consider the West as superior or privileged. In fact, the book contains a strong critique of the Eurocentric view of world history.

Thanks to the subdivision of history into “Ancient,” “Medieval” and “Modern” — an incredibly jejune and meaningless scheme, which has, however, entirely dominated our historical thinking — we have failed to perceive the true position in the general history of higher mankind, of the little part-world which has developed on West European soil from the time of the German-Roman Empire, to judge of its relative importance and above all to estimate its direction (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 16).

World history witnessed, for Spengler, at least eight “high cultures”: Babylonian, Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, Mesoamerican, Classical, Arabian and Western, each one with its own processes and dynamics. Nonetheless, the book focus in the last three, and as mentioned before, particularly in Western culture.

To the author, the “idea of destiny” of Western culture is the idea of infinite, or also called the ‘Faustian Soul’ (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 181). That idea is comprised in basically all western creations and manifestations as: the tall towers of Gothic cathedrals and the skyscrapers, the Cartesian philosophy, the infinitesimal mathematics, the perspective techniques in paint, the travels of discovery, the sound of the violin, utopias, socialism, the search of the atom, the long avenues of the cities, psychology and an infinite etcetera. Spengler did not live to see the atomic bomb, space travels, and the internet. Throughout the book an effort is made to show us the relations and interactions of all the dimensions of the culture, but from a more intuitive than scientific or logical-methodological approach.

Spengler also compares different cultures and civilizations. For instance, to Ancient Greek culture, the idea of destiny was the “Apollinean Soul”. (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 1, p. 181). Different from the Faustian, Apollinean Soul indicates the idea of corporeal, as the pursuit for proportion and equilibrium, Euclidean mathematics, the statue of a naked man, the political fragmentation, as well as presentism and superficiality in philosophy, music, theatre, and history. Whereas in response to the world-fear, the Apollinean Soul clings to an eternal present, the Faustian Soul seeks to escape to the beyond.

The Roman Empire, with all its technical and military advances and geographical expansion, represents to Spengler the death of the true creativity of the Ancient Greek city-

states. In that sense, the perspectives to the Western culture were not different. In fact, every major Culture of the world goes through the same stages invariably; therefore, the future of the West was clear. First, there will be a rule of democracy and money (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 2, p. 431), marked by unprecedented technical and material growth and dominated by powerful financial elites:

Even now the world-cities of the Western Civilization are far from having reached the peak of their development. I see, long after A.D. 2.000, cities laid out for ten to twenty million inhabitants, spread over enormous areas of country-side, with buildings that will dwarf the biggest of today's and notions of traffic and communication that we should regard as fantastic to the point of madness (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 2, p. 101).

New problems and perspectives would arise that require a great transformation in law, such as legislation on abstractions, as intellectual property and electricity (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 2, p. 81-82). By the turn of the 2000s, at the same time as megalopolises expanded uncontrollably, there would be great wars of annihilation. In that circumstance, a new generation of leaders will put an end, by force, to the realm of democracy and money (1927, pt. 2, p. 431).

From that point, in what Spengler calls "Caesarism", the final stage of Western society begins, with a progressive rudimentarization of culture and an increase in despotism and authoritarianism until about the year 2200. From 2200 onward, while the human condition would advance to a high civilized mode of living, the world would become a spoil of private and family policies, as well as "young people eager for spoil, or alien conquerors", that take advantage of the weakening of the "imperial machinery" (SPENGLER, 1927, pt. 2, p. 432-444).⁴

To the new generations of readers, Spengler recommends, "to devote themselves to technics instead of lyrics, the sea instead of the paintbrush, and politics instead of epistemology. Better they could not do" (1927, pt. 1, p. 41).

The book was an international success and effectively influenced numerous intellectuals and especially frustrated young-veterans of the Great War as Adolf Hitler. The future German dictator was strongly influenced by Spengler and not only because he devotes "to politics instead of the paintbrush". In fact, the nihilist philosopher served as a public intellectual to the nascent national socialist ideology. The concept of National Socialism, used by Hitler to rename his political party, was inspired and filled with Spenglerian terminology.⁵

⁴ See also the tables at the end of the volume.

⁵ In *Prussianism and Socialism* of 1920, Spengler never used the concept of National Socialism as suggested by Herman, but the very similar 'Prussian Socialism'. That is, the true socialism, opposed to a 'pseudo socialism' or

Spengler was, in fact, responsible for the material consequences of his ideas. Nonetheless, different from other public intellectuals of that generation like Carl Schmidt and Martin Heidegger, Spengler was not highly involved with the *Nazis*. He never accepted a position in the government of Hitler, always raised doubts about the German dictator, protested against the anti-Semitism and even the regime banned him in 1934.⁶ Spengler, who was in poor health, died shortly thereafter, in 1936.

Among those who felt challenged by the book outside Germany was the English historian Arnold J. Toynbee. Unlike Spengler, in 1918 Toynbee was a promising student of Balliol College of Oxford. He was also the cousin of Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883), famous historian and philanthropist, who coined the term Industrial Revolution in the 1880s (MCNEILL, 1989, p. 3–37).

Before reading Spengler, Toynbee reflected on the rise and fall of civilizations. During the Great War, and thanks to a false medical license (MCNEILL, 1989, p. 67–69), Toynbee immersed himself in reading the Greek and Latin classics, which were his specialty. Thus, he thought he discovered that the same events of the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides were repeating at the same time in present Europe. “I was re-reading [Thucydides] now with a new perception-perceiving meaning in his words, and feelings behind his phrases.” (TOYNBEE, 1948, p. 7).

Having read *The decline of the West* for the first time in 1920, Toynbee thought that Spengler had already done what he was thinking to do. “I wondered at first whether my whole inquiry had been disposed of by Spengler before even the questions, not to speak the answers, had fully taken shape in my own mind.” (TOYNBEE, 1948, p. 9). However, Toynbee soon comprehends that Spengler’s outlooks, speculations, and previsions were “unilluminatingly dogmatic and deterministic” (1948, p. 10), and resolved to use a more English (empirical) and less German (aprioristic) method to the same issue.

The result was *A Study of History*; a massive historic comparative analysis of the civilizations of the world comprehended in eleven volumes published between 1934 and 1961. As Spengler, Toynbee protested against a National-State based historiography and proposed a larger approach: “The intelligible unity of historical study is neither the National State nor (at

‘international socialism’, represented by the liberals and the Marxists (BOLTON, 2018; HERMAN, 1999, p. 259–260; SPENGLER, 1967, p. 109–132).

⁶ This was after the publication of the *Hour of decision* in 1933 (HUGHES, 1975; JOLL, 1985, p. 93; SPENGLER, 1934).

the other end of the scale) humanity as a whole, but a certain human community that we call society." (TOYNBEE, 1970a, p. 34)

Motivated by Spengler, and based in a deep erudition on world history and the recent discoveries of "modern Western physical science" (TOYNBEE, 1948, p. 8), Toynbee explore big trends and long duration processes. In his revolutionary time-scale vision, the Ancient Egyptian civilization emerged in the fourth millennium B.C. was contemporary with the present Western civilization. Therefore, they were comparable.

On the time-scale now unfolded by geology and cosmogony, the five or six thousand years that had elapsed since the first emergence of representatives of human society that we labeled "civilizations" were an infinitesimally brief span of time compared to the age, up to date, of the human race, of life on this planet, of the planet itself, of our own solar system, of the galaxy in which it is one grain of dust, or of the immensely vaster and older sum total of the stellar cosmos (TOYNBEE, 1948, p. 8).

Western civilization was in fact, to Toynbee as well as Spengler, just one among others of a recently surged type of human community. There is a clear intend to be the less Eurocentric possible and the volumes are filled majorly with examples of all civilizations.⁷ All examples are based on an extensive use of primary sources and very well informed of the most recent advances of science. Conversely, Toynbee did not criticize many of the anti-scientific and metaphysics assumptions of Spengler but also praised and expanded them. In addition, despite their anti-Eurocentric effort, the deep concern of the thesis is the fate of the West.

One of the main questions of Toynbee was about the genesis of civilizations. He wanted to find, like Spengler, a unique law that explains the dynamics of history, and was not convinced of contemporary explanations based on race or geographical determinism. To solve that problem. Toynbee decided that the best way was to "close our eyes, for the moment, to the formulas of science, in order to open our ears to the language of mythology." (TOYNBEE, 1970a, p. 105). Based on religious myths and symbols as the Genesis of the Old Testament and the Buddhist Ying-Yang, Toynbee formulate the primal law of history: "challenge and response".

Challenge and response mean, for Toynbee, the key interaction to understanding history development, the "flint and steel by whose mutual impact the creative spark is kindled" (TOYNBEE, 1948, p. 12). Civilizations flow as results of a positive response to a determinate challenge, and subsequent responses to the subsequent challenges will determine the success or fail of a civilization. For instance, in response to the climate change and desertification of North

⁷ Toynbee counts 26 civilizations in total: Western, Byzantine, Russian, Iranian, Arab, Hindi, Japanese, Southeast-Asia, Hellenic, Syrian, Indian, China, Minoic, Sumerian, Babylonian, Andin, Mexican, Yucatecan, Maya, and Egyptian.

Africa after the last Glacial Period (11,000 B.C.), first Egyptians adapted to the new circumstances by modifying the environmental, building channels to manage the water of the river (TOYNBEE, 1970a, p. 117–18). The original challenges of the first generation of civilizations, like the Babylonian and the Egyptian, were geographical, but as civilizations progress, social and ideological challenges emerge.

Western civilization is a progeny of the Greco-Roman civilization, and born by the incitement of the migrations (*völkerwanderung*) occurred during the three or four centuries after the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire in the seventh century of the present era.

The present challenge of the West was also clear to Toynbee: nationalism. If the West does not come with a creative response to nationalism, the civilization is doomed (TOYNBEE, 1970b, p. 280). The perspectives, also, were not much optimistic. It is true that Toynbee's outlook was less determinist than Spengler was, but the possibilities of civilization to sustain a positive response through millennia seemed unrealistic to him.

To the English historian, there was a limit to creativity or *Élan vital*⁸ (TOYNBEE, 1970a, p. 283–84). When the vital energy is exhausted, the civilization collapses, and a slow and long process of disintegration and finally dissolution begins. The Toynbian prediction of the final decline of the civilization is, as Spengler, perfectly determined by the succession of different stages.

In the last moments of civilization (that can be prolonged for centuries), in a context of not legitimacy of the leading class, the “internal and external proletariat” go to undermine the Society simultaneously from the inside (social conflict, revolution) and outside (immigration, invasion). The reaction of the elite, once creative, but now only dominant, will be authoritarianism and the creation of a Universal Estate, leading by a universal authority (1970b, p. 289–320). Similarities with Roman history are not a coincidence, and because of that, Toynbee, like Spengler, commits the major historiographic sin, the prophecy. Behind the material and technical power of the Universal Estate hides the internal weakness of illegitimacy. Progressively, from outside the pressure of a new *völkerwanderung* will be uncontrollable (1970a, p. 36–38). Internally, an emergent new religion, born in the periphery, but expanding rapidly into the heart of a morally corrupt society, will prevail over philosophy and science. That religion will be the “chrysalis” (1970b, p. 409) of the next civilization, as was the Christian religion at the end of the Roman Empire.

⁸ Toynbee takes the term from the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941).

At first, public and academia received well the study, and it was well sold and debated around the world (JOLL, 1985, p. 91). However, historiographical production gradually abandoned a “philosophy of history” considered speculative, unscientific and even potentially dangerous. The new social history follows the steps of the *Annales* School, founded by the French historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in 1929. In 1936, Febvre writes a harsh diatribe about the thesis of Spengler and Toynbee, call them “opportunistic philosophers of history”. To the French, the book of Spengler was basically *Nazi* propaganda, his philosophy of history was “totalitarian” and its author, “a prophet, a magician, a visionary perfectly adapted to the needs of Germany between 1922 and 1929” (FEBVRE, 1936, p. 579). Regards Toynbee, if the reader “resist the seduction of the magician”, it will be possible to disclose the same Spenglerian sins: “the seductive devices, the decadent taste for rough approaches, for unexpected contacts of facts, ideas and divergent aspects” (FEBVRE, 1936, p. 592).

Since the 1940s, the disciple of Febvre, Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), became the leader of *Annales* School and one of the most famous historians of all times, numerous authors, in fact, consider him the main root of Global History (HAUSBERGER; PANI, 2018; KUNTZ FICKER, 2014; VASCONCELLOS, 2021). Another representative of that historiographic tradition, Jacques Le Goff, defined Spengler and Toynbee works as ‘the product of a reactionary philosophy of history, a concept of little use for historical science’ (LE GOFF, 1990, p. 14). In 2002, Cameron Thies wrote a pragmatic guide to qualitative historical analysis in the study of IR, citing Toynbee’s “total” story as an example of what a researcher should not do. (THIES, 2002, p. 361).

III. Clearing the Dark: The presence of Toynbee and Spengler in contemporary Global History

Contemporary historiography generally disregarded the contributions of Spengler and Toynbee, and especially the first one, as being speculative and outdated. The once exciting volumes were now gathering dust in the shelves.

The School of *Annales* of France, one of the most respected historiographical traditions, from its very foundation strongly attacked the works and visions of Spengler and Toynbee. Nevertheless, Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), one of the most iconic figure of that historiographical school, was less critical and passionate. He highlighted positively some aspects of these authors, and especially of Spengler, such as the focus on long-term and cultural processes, the civilizational dimension, the comparative method and the efforts to search an

interconnection between the different human manifestations. About *The Decline of the West*, Braudel said in 1959 that was a book “vehement and still fervent”.

I think that today, unlike what happened to Lucien Febvre at the time, it is possible to judge him by abstracting from the circumstances that accompanied and followed his birth. We cannot deny that the work, given its tone, the breadth of its considerations, its eagerness to understand and its love of heights, retains part of its excellence (BRAUDEL, 1970, p. 147).

For instance, regarding the first chapter of Spengler’s book, which is about the concept of number in different cultures, Braudel said that it has “a beauty that nothing has withered” (1970, p. 147). However, the general verdict was not positive. To Braudel, *The Decline* was not a historical work, especially because of the fundamental error (to a “reasonable historian”) of trying to organize the idea of fate with the idea of history (1970, p. 151).

Regarding Toynbee, Braudel states that he did not commit many of the “imprudence” of Spengler, and confesses that he “read and reread, sometimes with enthusiasm, the clever allegations, and the intelligent evocations of Arnold Toynbee” (BRAUDEL, 1970, p. 151). Braudel also praises his long duration’s approaches and the cleverness of its examples, but also points that he made the same fundamental mistake of mixing religion and history.

We do not defend that Spengler and Toynbee were fundamental influences on Fernand Braudel. However, both authors were part of his intellectual formation. Spengler and Toynbee explored before Braudel the idea of *longue durée*, (a concept coined by the French) and the civilizational approach. About this, Braudel published in 1987 *Grammaire des civilisations* (BRAUDEL, 2013), originally written in 1963, a scientific and resumed version in the same Spenglerian and Toynbian subject.

The works of Spengler and Toynbee also influenced another relevant French scholar, Raymond Aron (1905-1983). In his memoirs, Aron recognized the influence of both authors in his thinking. “Whatever our judgment of Spengler, the fact remains that his principal work, essentially written before 1914, already predicted the great wars and vast empires, as well as the diffusion of critical thought, positivist and materialist, with a yet marginal, mystical reaction” (ARON, 1986, p. 742). About Toynbee, Aron says that not had “neither the genius, nor the arrogance, nor the anger of Spengler”, but as the German, “attempted to discern the pattern of development characteristic of civilizations, while granting each of them a margin of freedom”. Toynbee also “created or diffused concepts that have now become banal; collapse or breakdown, times of troubles, battling states, the internal or external proletariat, universal empire, universal religion, and so on. (1986, p. 743)”. In his *Peace and War*, first published in 1962, a key piece for Global History and IR, Aron cites and discusses in several parts of the

book the ideas of Spengler and Toynbee that refer to the concept of civilization (2018, p. 186, 388–389, 448).

We can also mention Henry Kissinger’s (b. 1923) undergraduate thesis at Harvard, *The meaning of history* (KISSINGER, 1951) where he discusses and compares the idea of history in Spengler, Toynbee and Kant. It is true that in his subsequent and most famous works Kissinger never mentions directly the influence of Spengler or Toynbee, with the notable exception to the final paragraph of *World Order*, published in 2014 (2015a, p. 376). We can speculate, at least, that the visions of Spengler and Toynbee are present, for example, in the broad spatial and temporal approaches of Kissinger, or the use of mythology to help to explain some dynamics of Chinese culture (2015b, cap. 1 and 4).

Clearer is the case of one of the disciples of Kissinger, Samuel Huntington (1927-2008). He recognized and praised the influence of Spengler and Toynbee in his famous *Clash of Civilizations*.

In 1918 Spengler denounced the myopic view of history prevailing in the West with its neat division into ancient, medieval, and modern phases relevant only to the West. [...] A few decades later Toynbee castigated the “parochialism and impertinence” of the West manifested in the “egocentric illusions” that the world revolved around it, that there was an “unchanging East”, and that “progress” was inevitable. Like Spengler he had no use for the assumption of the unity of history [...] The illusions and prejudices of which these scholars warned, however, live on and in the late twentieth century have blossomed forth in the widespread and parochial conceit that the European civilization of the West is now the universal civilization of the world (HUNTINGTON, 1996, p. 55).

Huntington retakes the civilizational approach and intends in fact, to predict the civilizational nature of future conflicts (KUIPERS, 2017). In that trend, Robert Kaplan (b. 1952) in *The Revenge of Geography* of 2013 also takes some Spenglerian and Toynbian approaches to explain the future. As, for example, the border conflict between Mexico and the United States.

Surely, one can argue that, with Herculean borders controls, a functional and nationalistic America can coexist alongside a dysfunctional and partially chaotic Mexico. But that is mainly true in the short run. In the long run, looking deep into the twenty-first century and beyond [...] as Toynbee notes, a border between a highly developed society and a less highly developed society will not attain an equilibrium, but will advance in the more backward society’s favor (KAPLAN, 2013, p. 342).

Another important ramification of the “dark root” were the works of Martin Wight (1913-1972), a foundational figure of the English School of IR. Ian Hall (2003) studied that relation and defended that the works of Wight were a response to a challenge represented by Toynbian visions. Toynbee and Wight were actually close friends and colleagues at Chatham House in the late 1930s, and in a first moment, *A Study of History* delighted the young Wight

(HALL, 2003, p. 393). Later in time, Wight raised some criticisms of Toynbee's work, such as the lack of a scientific method, his reasoning in circles, false analogies and other issues. Moreover, the “greatest weakness” of Toynbee according to Wight was his “inability to learn from criticism of his premises or method” (WIGHT, 1976, p. 12). Nevertheless, Wight never denied his revolutionary historic perspective, especially the comparative method and the holistic approach (HALL, 2003, p. 398). As Hall said, “Wight adopted and adapted some of Toynbee’s methods, applying them not to the study of civilizations, but instead to the international thought of international society” (2003, p. 400).

In South-America, it is important to note a school of international thinking originated in the works of Brazilian sociologist Helio Jaguaribe (1923-2018). Jaguaribe was a key figure, not only to international Latin-American thinking, as well to Brazilian policies in the 1950s. He created, together with a group of Brazilian intellectuals, the concept of *Nacional-desenvolvimentismo* (National-Development), a fundamental notion to understand the economic and foreign policy of Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s (LESSA, 2013). Moreover, Jaguaribe is a foundational figure of the theory of autonomy in IR, that theorized about the capabilities of development of peripheral regions of the world (BRICEÑO RUÍZ; SIMMONOFF, 2015; MUÑOZ, 2016).

Jaguaribe was an admirer of Toynbee, and we can identify his terminology throughout all his works⁹. Moreover, like Braudel and Huntington, Jaguaribe joined in the task of actualization and adaptation of *A Study of History* to a more scientific model. Regarding Toynbee’s book, Jaguaribe states:

Whatever criticism it may deserve, *A Study of History* is the most expansive, cultured and penetrating work ever written on its subject. It represents a milestone in the field of philosophy of history and is probably the last and most striking illustration of a teleological interpretation from Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* (413-426) — embracing, competent, of extraordinary erudition (JAGUARIBE, 2001, p. 51).

The result was two volumes published in 2001 under the explicit Toynbian title of *A critical study of history*. The aim of the book was to “elucidate the principal factor and conditions that have influenced the emergency, development and possible decline of 16 major civilizations” (2001, p. 15). However, the author clarifies that his work was not a philosophy of history, but a sociology of history, based on strict empiricism and without any trace of teleological content.

⁹ Among others, we can consider his seminal work of 1958, *O Nacionalismo Na Atualidade Brasileira*, his article of 2002 *O século XX no mundo e no Brasil*, and his magnum opus, *Estudo crítico da história* of 2001 (JAGUARIBE, 2001, 2008, 2013, p. 313). In addition, Celso Lafer study the influence of two Toynbian concepts, 'Zeotism' and 'Herodianism', in the works Jaguaribe (LAFER, 2014).

Nonetheless, among all the scholars cited until now, the most significant was the Canadian-born historian William H. McNeill (1917-2016). The role of this academic was fundamental to the emergence of Global History as a distinct field in the contemporary study of history (MAZLISH, 1998, 2006). In addition, he was a direct disciple and admirer of Arnold Toynbee. To Arthur Hermann, the seminal work of McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A history of Human Community*, published in 1963 (MCNEILL, 1992a), was a “revised and extended version of Toynbee’s analysis of the modern world” (HERMAN, 1999, p. 302). However, the work surpassed in many levels the Spenglerian and Toynbian assumptions. To McNeill, Western civilization had some special qualities different from any other civilization, like more receptivity and freedom that allowed the Westerns to adapt inventions and creations of other civilizations to their own interest, as Chinese and Arabic technology, and Mid-East religions. Additionally, in this new “total” approach, there was a new significance of the concept of interaction: the interaction between communities. While Spengler and Toynbee (and Huntington) conceive civilizations as separate bodies with its own dynamics, for McNeill “the principal factor promoting historically significant social change is contact with strangers possessing new and unfamiliar skills” (MCNEILL, 1992a, p. xvi). Besides the Cold War bias (1992b), McNeill was the first, as David Christian pointed, to argue that interactions between humans were the major driving force in history (CHRISTIAN, 2018, p. 175).

In 1976, William McNeill published *Plagues and Peoples* (1977), where he studies the role of germs and pandemics in world history, pioneering and still relevant work in what we now call Environmental History. In 1989, at the request of the family of Toynbee, he wrote the biography of his former professor, *Arnold Toynbee: A life* (1989). At that time, the approaches of McNeill had nothing of the metaphysics claims and dogmatism of his professor. Nevertheless, the look for the global explanations, the contempt for national and Eurocentric approaches, the long duration and large comparative analysis, all that remained. Even the idea of interconnections and networks was not entirely new, reminding the Toynbian concepts of challenge and response.

Later, in 2003, William McNeill wrote, in collaboration with his son and fellow historian John R. McNeill (b. 1954), *The Human Web: A Bird’s-Eye View of World History* (MCNEILL; MCNEILL, 2004).¹⁰ In the book, the authors took the concept of interaction and creation of communication networks to its maximum expression. To them, a human web is the diversity of connections that put some people in relation to others.

¹⁰ In the Spanish translation, the subtitle of the book was change to “*una historia global del mundo*” (a global history of the world).

These connections may take many forms: chance encounters, kinship, friendship, common worship, rivalry, enmity, economic exchange, ecological exchange, political cooperation, even military competition. In all such relationships, people communicate information and use this information to guide their future behavior. They also communicate, or transfer, useful technologies, goods, crops, ideas, and much else. Furthermore, they inadvertently exchange diseases and weeds, items they cannot use but which affects their lives (and deaths) nonetheless. The exchange and spread of such information, items, and inconveniences, and human responses to them, is what shapes history (MCNEILL; MCNEILL, 2004, p. 1).

The book is a history of the formation of the present “cosmopolitan web” (MCNEILL; MCNEILL, 2004, p. 3), a planetary human network in which virtually all of us interact in an accelerated and vertiginous way. The book also continues the ecological line of work initiated decades ago, declaring that climate change and the reduction of biodiversity, may be the most important event of modern times, more than ideological struggles or world wars (2004, p. 324).

In the final chapter, William McNeill warns that the major menace for the future is the obliteration of the massive cosmopolitan web in which we live and interact at unprecedented levels. In a resemblance with old Toynbian previsions, McNeill presages about the role of new religious sects and Churches, and their role in the creation of new “primal communities” in an open challenge to the cosmopolitan web (2004, p. 369).

From there on, John McNeill, continued to deepen in Environmental History, especially with the collaboration of professionals of other disciplines, like biology, geology, chemistry and climatology. In 2007, in association with chemist Will Stephen and the popular atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen, John McNeill wrote *The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature?* (STEFFEN; CRUTZEN; MCNEILL, 2007). The interactions were now not only between humans, but also between humans and the Earth, and the concept of Anthropocene became the focus of his research. John McNeill remains as an active environmental historian with relevant works until today, as *The Great Acceleration* of 2014 wrote with Peter Engelke, (MCNEILL; ENGELKE, 2016) and *Environmental histories of the First World War*, of 2018 (TUCKER et al., 2018). We can also mention his collaboration with the renowned collection of *The Cambridge World History* in 2015 (MCNEILL; POMERANZ, 2015).

Among other important authors inspired by William McNeill, besides his own son, we highlight Jared Diamond (b. 1937), Pulitzer Prize winner for *Guns, Germs and Steel*, one of the first books on Global and Environmental History published in 1997 (DIAMOND, 1997). At the end of the volume, Arnold Toynbee’s *Study of History* and William McNeill’s *The Rise of the West*, appears as recommendations for further readings about “large scale comparative histories” (1997, p. 450). Diamond has also continued this path in subsequent books as *Collapse*

of 2005, *The World Until Yesterday* of 2012 and the recent *Upheaval* of 2019 (DIAMOND, 2005, 2013, 2019).

More directed influenced by William McNeill were David Christian (b. 1946) and his *Maps of Time* of 2004, in which he coined the concept of Big History (CHRISTIAN, 2011).¹¹ William McNeill collaborates with the book and Christian recognizes explicitly the intellectual debt with the Canadian historian. Nonetheless, Christian focuses not only in human history but also in the long processes of formation of the Universe and Planet Earth, to dialogue with cosmology and astrophysics in addition to geology, and other natural sciences. Christian notes that one of the leading reasons that allowed him to realize a “grand total history” was the accelerated technological and scientific development in recent years, especially in natural sciences, a situation still incipient in the times of Spengler and Toynbee (CHRISTIAN, 2017, p. 10–12). In fact, for Christian, the possibilities of access and accumulation of knowledge, and the development of new techniques, methods and research instruments, have enabled him to create a “myth of modern creation” (CHRISTIAN, 2011, p. 1). That is, a new myth based on science and not religion or philosophy of history, and even with the power to respond accurately to some questions about the future of our planet and humankind. For instance, the fate of our oceans and rainforest, or the incoming demographic, social and political transformations, as well as the role of technology and information networks in those changes.

Ironically, the path of science leads Christian to the same Spenglerian and Toynbian destinations, that is, that the major and fundamental hazard to civilization, in this case a global civilization, comes from inwards and not outwards. As Toynbee warned, society dies preferably from suicide and not murdered. To Christian, humans in the immediate future need to respond creatively to the challenge of an unsustainable and predatory way of life, which consumes the vital resources of our planet without recovering them. Something similar, but on a planetary scale, to what happened to the primitive inhabitants of the Easter Island, victims of starvation and cannibalism after clearing the forests of their island (CHRISTIAN, 2011, cap. 15).

In an intriguing paradox, the dark “totalitarian” approaches of Spengler and Toynbee, the pretension of predict the future, the mythical foundations and also many of his assertions had returned, but this time on a solid scientific basis instead metaphysics or religion.

IV. Conclusions

¹¹ A discussion of the concept in: Wolf Schäfer (2006), also see: Christian (2015, 2017, 2018)

Concerned about the problems and future of Western society in the years that surrounded the First World War, Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee saw, with the limitations of their time, the global dimension of human history. They criticized the Eurocentrism and nationalism that prevailed in nineteenth-century European historiography and offered a more complete vision of the temporal and spatial coexistence of a diversity of societies and cultures, as well as the long-term processes that affect them.

However, Spengler placed an extremely determinist, aprioristic and cyclical philosophy of history, of cultures that born, develop, and invariably decay and die. On the top of that, his obscure personality and predictions of doom of Western Civilization, as well as his influence on the National Socialist ideology, condemned the author and his work, to be representatives of a dark reactionary German philosophy.

Despite that, Toynbee draws inspiration from Spengler, refutes some of his concepts and proposes a more empirical basis for his study. Nevertheless, his historiography continued to be extremely philosophical, theoretical, theological and teleological. The fantastic visions of these authors, initially received enthusiastically, were later disappearing from the academic field.

On the contrary, some authors, as Fernand Braudel, Raymond Aron, Martin Wight, Samuel Huntington and Helio Jaguaribe filtered the unscientific elements of Spengler and Toynbee and maintained the civilizational, comparative, and long duration methods. Of those scholars, William McNeill was a key actor, because he took the global outlook to its maximum. Conserving the long-scales approaches, he centered in the interconnections between civilizations and human communities and the constructions of complex human networks. Later on, McNeill opens the field to biology and the importance of germs and migrations. As a disciple and admirer of Toynbee, McNeill was a pioneer of contemporary Global and Environmental history.

More recently, other “Faustian Souls” as John McNeill and David Christian, sought to break the limits of the historiographical possibilities, creating a massive, complex e interconnected history. Thanks to this, new historiographical and methodological possibilities opened up by science can now answer questions that Toynbee and Spengler could only answer through metaphysics and religion.

For David Christian, the new global historiography also has the force of a myth, a new founding myth. He has his justified reasons to affirm that, after all, the tree of Global History

has grown, evolved and given its succulent fruits. Nonetheless, at the root of that tree, it remains the original, wide, deep and obscure vision of Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee.

V. Bibliography

ARON, R. **Memórias**. Tradução: Octavio Alves Velho. Rio De Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1986.

ARON, R. **Paz e guerra entre as nações**. Tradução: Sergio Bath. São Paulo: WMF Martins Fontes/UNB, 2018.

BAYLY, C. A. **The Birth of the Modern World, 1780 - 1914**. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003.

BERG, M. **Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century**. 1st edition ed. Oxford: British Academy, 2013.

BOLTON, K. Oswald Spengler An Introduction to His Life and Work. In: **Prussian Socialism and Other Essays**. London: Black House Publishing, 2018.

BOWDEN, B. **The Strange Persistence of Universal History in Political Thought**. Sydney, New South Wales: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

BRAUDEL, F. **La historia y las ciencias sociales**. Tradução: Josefina Gómez Mendoza. Madrid: Alianza, 1970.

BRAUDEL, F. **Grammaire des civilisations**. Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2013.

BRICEÑO RUÍZ, J.; SIMMONOFF, A. (EDS.). **Integración y cooperación regional en América Latina: Una relectura a partir de la teoría de la autonomía**. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2015.

CHRISTIAN, D. **Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History**. Second Edition, With a New Preface edition ed. Berkeley, Calif London: University of California Press, 2011.

CHRISTIAN, D. **The Cambridge World History**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. v. 1

CHRISTIAN, D. What is Big History? **Journal of Big History**, v. 1, n. 1, p. 4–19, 31 dez. 2017.

CHRISTIAN, D. **Origin Story: A Big History of Everything**. New York, Boston, London: Hachette UK, 2018.

CONRAD, S. **What Is Global History?** Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016.

DIAMOND, J. **Guns, germs, and steel: the fates of human societies**. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997.

- DIAMOND, J. **Collapse: how societies choose to fail or succeed**. New York: Viking, 2005.
- DIAMOND, J. **The world until yesterday: what can we learn from traditional societies?** London: Allen Lane, 2013.
- DIAMOND, J. **Upheaval: how nations cope with crisis and change**. London: Penguin Books, 2019.
- FEBVRE, L. De Spengler a Toynbee Quelques Philosophies Opportunistes De L'histoire. **Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale**, v. 43, n. 4, p. 573–602, 1936.
- GILLS, B.; THOMPSON, W. R. (EDS.). **Globalization and Global History**. London ; New York: Routledge, 2006.
- HALL, I. Challenge and Response: The Lasting Engagement of Arnold J. Toynbee and Martin Wight. **International Relations**, v. 17, n. 3, p. 389–404, 1 set. 2003.
- HARTOG, F. De l'histoire universelle à l'histoire globale? **Le Debat**, v. 154, n. 2, p. 53–66, 2009.
- HAUSBERGER, B.; PANI, E. Historia global. Presentación. **Historia Mexicana**, p. 177–196, 1 jul. 2018.
- HERMAN, A. **A idéia de decadência na história ocidental**. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1999.
- HUGHES, H. S. **Oswald Spengler, a critical estimate**. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1975.
- HUNTINGTON, S. P. **The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order**. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- JAGUARIBE, H. **Um estudo crítico da história**. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2001. v. 1
- JAGUARIBE, H. O século XX no mundo em no Brasil (2002). In: **Brasil, mundo e homem na atualidade : estudos diversos**. Brasília: FUNAG, 2008. p. 936.
- JAGUARIBE, H. **O nacionalismo na atualidade brasileira**. Brasília: FUNAG, 2013.
- JOLL, J. Two prophets of the twentieth century: Spengler and Toynbee. **Review of International Studies**, v. 11, n. 2, p. 91–104, abr. 1985.
- KAPLAN, R. D. **The revenge of geography: what the map tells us about coming conflicts and the battle against fate**. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2013.
- KISSINGER, H. **The meaning of history: (reflections on Spengler, Toynbee and Kant)**. [s.l.] Harvard, 1951.
- KISSINGER, H. **Ordem mundial**. Tradução: Cláudio Figueiredo. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2015a.
- KISSINGER, H. **China**. Tradução: Carmen Geronès; Tradução: Carlos Urritz. Barcelona: Debate, 2015b.

KUIPERS, S. De doorwerking van Oswald Spenglers ‘Untergang des Abendlandes’ in Samuel Huntingtons ‘Clash of Civilizations’. **Radbout University**, 2017.

KUNTZ FICKER, S. Mundial, trasnacional, global: Un ejercicio de clarificación conceptual de los estudios globales. **Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux - Novo Mundo Mundos Novos - New world New worlds**, 27 mar. 2014.

LAFER, C. Zelotismo/herodianismo en la reflexión de helio jaguaribe. **Revista de Estudos Brasileños**, v. 1, n. 1, 2014.

LANDES, D. S. **The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor**. unknown edition ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999.

LE GOFF, J. **História e memória**. Tradução: Bernardo Leitão. Campinas: UNICAMP, 1990.

LESSA, A. C. Helio Jaguaribe: a geração do nacional-desenvolvimentismo. In: **Pensamento Diplomático Brasileiro: Formuladores e Agentes da Política Externa (1750-1964)**. Brasília: FUNAG, 2013.

MAZLISH, B. Comparing Global History to World History. **The Journal of Interdisciplinary History**, v. 28, n. 3, p. 385–395, 1998.

MAZLISH, B. **The New Global History**. London: Routledge, 2006.

MCNEILL, J. R.; ENGELKE, P. **The Great Acceleration An Environmental History of the Anthropocene since 1945**. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

MCNEILL, J. R.; MCNEILL, W. H. **Las redes humanas: una historia global del mundo**. Tradução: Jordi Beltrán. Barcelona: Crítica, 2004.

MCNEILL, J. R.; POMERANZ, K. (EDS.). **The Cambridge World History: Volume 7, Production, Destruction, and Connection, 1750–Present, Part 2, Shared Transformations**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

MCNEILL, W. H. **Plagues and Peoples**. New York: Anchor Books, 1977.

MCNEILL, W. H. **Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

MCNEILL, W. H. **The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992a.

MCNEILL, W. H. The Rise of the West after Twenty-five Years. In: **The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992b.

MUÑOZ, L. R. O conceito de autonomia em Puig e Jaguaribe: uma análise comparativa intertextual. **Carta Internacional**, v. 11, n. 2016, p. 200–221, 2016.

SANTOS, J. J. G. DOS; SOCHACZEWSKI, M. História global: um empreendimento intelectual em curso. **Tempo**, v. 23, p. 483–502, dez. 2017.

SCHÄFER, W. Big History, the Whole Story, and Nothing Less? **Canadian Journal of History**, v. xvi, p. 317–328, 2006.

SPENGLER, O. **The decline of the West, complete in one volume**. Tradução: Charles Francis Atkinson. New York: A. Knopf, 1927.

SPENGLER, O. **The hour of decision, part one: Germany and world-historical evolution**. Tradução: Charles Francis Atkinson. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1934.

———. 1967. *Selected Essays*. A Gateway Edition. H. Regnery Company.

STEFFEN, W.; CRUTZEN, P. J.; MCNEILL, J. R. The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature? *Ambio*, v. 36, n. 8, p. 614–621, 2007.

TANAKA, S. **New Times in Modern Japan**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

THIES, C. G. A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations. *International Studies Perspectives*, v. 3, n. 4, p. 351–372, 1 nov. 2002.

TOYNBEE, A. **Estudio de la Historia**. Tradução: Luis Grasset. Madrid: Alianza, 1970a. v. 1

TOYNBEE, A. **Estudio de la historia**. Tradução: Luis Grasset; Tradução: Luis A Bixio. Madrid: Alianza, 1970b. v. 2

TOYNBEE, A. J. **Civilization on trial: Essays**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.

TUCKER, R. P. et al. **Environmental histories of the First World War**. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2018.

VASCONCELLOS, P. M. C. DE. História Global: o novo encontro entre a História e as Ciências Sociais. *Revista História: Debates e Tendências*, v. 21, n. 1, p. 199–215, 2021.

WIGHT, M. Arnold Toynbee: An Appreciation. *International Affairs*, v. 52, n. 1, p. 10–12, 1 jan. 1976.

Recebido em: outubro/2020.

Aprovado em: novembro/2021.