OPEN PAGES IN SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES



Alexander Stolyarov, convene Joe Pellegrino, editor

Open Pages in South Asian Studies

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THE RUSSIAN STATE UNIVERSITY FOR THE HUMANITIES

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CHAPTER 9

DOMINIK WUJASTYK

How to Choose a Good Indological Problem

should like to begin by saying what a privilege it is for me to stand here today as a guest of the Russian State University for the Humanities and to be invited to offer some general reflections on a key process in academic life at this inaugural conference of this new centre for South Asian Studies. My sincere thanks to Professor Stolyarov and to all of your colleagues and to the university itself, for the kind invitation to come here.

A beginning is always a sensitive time, a time of balance, when even small words can continue to echo for many years. So I wanted to think carefully about what I might say today about choosing a good problem for research, especially in the field of Indology. I decided to try to say something a little more general, a little more reflective, perhaps, rather than dive into detailed Sanskrit or indological matters; to try to step back, and to think generally about this problem. All I can do is share some of my resulting reflections with you on this question of choosing an indological problem.



One of the battles that I think we all have to fight, and especially at the start of a new Centre for South Asian Studies, is the battle with the metaphors we use. We all live, and work, and think within a world of metaphors as was so elegantly shown by Lakoff and Johnson years ago in their book Metaphors We Live By.1 We all of us, I think, in the academic field these days, feel pressure, feel that there is something difficult. Not just difficulties of Sanskrit interpretation or difficulties of epigraphy and so on, but that there is something difficult in our professional lives that we are struggling with. And very often that is a struggle for financial funding. We also struggle often for recognition, for positions at universities and so forth. And there is a strong sense of struggle in our field. I put this down firmly to the fact that our academic lives are lived mostly under the domination of inappropriate metaphors. That is to say, we are living in a world dominated by metaphors of business, of productivity, of customers, of finance. And that is, at root, not what we indologists do. We are not manufacturing a product in the same way that a factory produces a packet of fish. That is not what we do. We are generating new insights, moments of cognitive awakening, new knowledge. And if we are lucky we are creating a sense of revelation in our students. We may produce that moment when the student goes, "Ah! Yes! I understood something for the first time! Wow, that's interesting!" These are among the moments that define our professional lives. But we do not talk about them very much. And we do not talk enough to the people who pay us about how important the inappropriate governing metaphors are in distorting our professional lives.

I tried an experiment for a while, when I was working at the University of London. In the committee



meetings that I went to, I quietly but systematically replaced the word "productivity" with the word "creativity." Thus, whenever one of our administrators or funding bosses would say, "Well, we have to think about productivity," I would say, "Yes, I agree, I think creativity is very important." Or, "When you say 'productivity' maybe we could also think about creativity?" I persisted with this. I was surprised by how well it was accepted. It was not received as something annoying; it was received as a change of view, with mild approval. I do genuinely believe two things: that the heart of what we do is creative work, not productive work, in any crudely economic sense, and that changing the language we use can lead to changes in thought and institutional policy. I feel that we should frame what we do, and the problems we choose, in Indology and in the wider field of South Asian Studies, from the point of view of creativity. And that has some ramifications for the metaphors that govern this meeting, the images of "open doors" and "filling lacunae," and finding out what it is that we do not know. I think it is important and admirable that Professor Stolyarov has framed this meeting. It does not happen often enough that a new initiative starts with such a beautifully open-ended opportunity for the examination the fundamentals of what we do. However, I also feel that the metaphor of, say, "blank pages," suggests that there is a book. And the book is nearly complete. But we need to fill it in a little bit, just finish it off, or put something there that is missing. All this rather contrasts with my idea of creativity. Rather than completing unfinished work, I see the activities that we engage in as scholars of South Asia as much more analogous to those of novelists or painters. We are creative people. We have an idea, and we follow it through. Something we write to-



day did not exist before. We write our book, we write our article, and then it exists. It is a new object that is created out of our minds, and out of our personal interests and passions and enthusiasms. Of course it is controlled by the money we can raise, the people we talk to, and what is possible in our department, by what is available in our library, and all the other constraints. But, essentially, the core of it is a creative act, rather than the act of filling in a blank.

Thus, I think one of the first answers I would give to the question of how to choose a good indological problem is to say, well, let your enthusiasm and creativity run wild, and listen to your inner voice about this. I was pleased to discover, quite by accident, that somebody else has said all this already, in the context of molecular biology.

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This is how I made the discovery. I am quite interested in bibliography and the management of bibliographies. I think in five or ten years' time, the way we handle our bibliographies will be completely different. We'll all be just reaching into online databases, and the whole problem of formatting academic notes for a particular journal will probably fade away as an issue. It already is like this for many people in the sciences. One of the online bibliographical services that moves in this direction is called Mendeley. Some of you may have come across it. It is an interesting tool for managing your bibliographies on the hard drive of your computer, but also interacting with the web, and sharing information with other people. So you can set up a departmental bibliography, and so on. And there are other tools that do this, Citeulike, Zotero, and others. It is a growing world of activity. Mendeley is just one of them.

But Mendeley has some nice features. One of the things it does is publish tables of who is reading what. Because the Mendeley people have all this data provided by us, their users, they can very easily measure what we are all looking at. Here is one of the Mendeley pages, showing the most read articles in all the disciplines (see Figure 1). The numbers of readers given are not vast, because Mendeley is a fairly young service. But "How to Choose a Good Scientific Problem" as you see here, is number one on the science side.² Almost 2000 people have read that article. It is the top article on Mendeley, and it has been for months and months. It is just staying in that top position. I recognize that this is not the *New York Times* bestseller list, but it does give some measure of popularity for learned articles.

Uri Alon wrote the article, "How to Choose a Good Scientific Problem," and for most of a year it has main-



tained its place as the article that scientists most want to read. The numbers are telling in other respects too. In the sciences, people are reading things in the thousands, in the humanities it is ten, twenty, thirty, forty people. This mismatch is probably an artefact of the fact that Mendeley is presenting itself as a service for scientists more than the humanities. That is generally true for all online services, of course: these services are predominantly science-driven. It is also interesting to see—although the numbers are probably too small to be statistically significant—what people want to read in the humanities, namely "Imagined Communities" and so forth, and the classic article and book, "The Invention of Tradition." But it is also interesting to see the dates. Alon's article was published in 2009, and the second most popular science article was published in 2007, whereas the top two humanities articles are from 1991 and 1983 (for the famous Hobsbawm piece). It looks, from these (admittedly weak) statistics, as if people in the humanities are being much more strongly influenced by articles written 20 or 30 years ago than the scientists. The scientists are being influenced by what was written two or three years ago. Very different patterns emerge about how people, and how their disciplines, work. But, as I said, the numbers are too small to say anything statistically significant especially about the materials on the humanities side of the equation.

Having examined these trends, I thought I would join with the large number of other scientists and read what Uri Alon had written. It is a fine article, and is very interesting. On top of that, it is just two and onehalf pages long, which is certainly refreshing! This is the wonder of it, that we all have time to read it. Alon says some surprisingly high-minded things in shuch a



small space. I expected something grittier from a molecular biologist. But, for example, he says,

> Choosing a problem is an act of nurturing. What is the goal of starting a laboratory? [What is the goal of starting a Centre for South Asian Studies?] It is sometimes easy to pick up a default value, common in the current culture, such as, "The goal of my [Centre] is to publish the maximum number of papers of the highest quality." However, in this essay, we will frame the goal differently: "A [Centre] is a nurturing environment that aims to maximize the potential of students as scientists and as human beings."

He goes on to describe how choices such as these are crucial because values, even if they are not consciously stated, flow into all of the decisions, big and small, that are made in a Centre: what the Centre looks like, when the students can take a vacation, and what problems to choose. Alon then discusses how he feels the scientists in Molecular Biology should go about choosing a problem (see his graph here in Figure 2).

Alon gives two axes; one is "how much knowledge are we going to gain" and the other is "whether the research is hard or easy." In effect, he is saying: "Here is a group of problems that are very difficult, and we are not going to learn very much. Here are problems that are also very difficult, but they are potentially very rewarding, we are going to learn a lot. Here are problems that are very easy, but we are not going to learn a great deal. And here is a problem, just one, that is very faint, that is easy and it is a big-ticket question; we are going to learn a lot by doing that." One can imagine that a lot of our academic predecessors in nineteenth-century



Figure 2 - Alon 2003, fig. 1

Asian Studies were picking off problems up there in the top right-hand corner, because the whole field was wide open and there was a great deal of new material. Almost anything one picked up told one a lot. We are not quite in that easy situation any more.

Alon then presents something that I do not fully understand, called a Pareto Front. I do not know if any of you have done enough economics to know what Pare-



to Normalization is; I have not. But it appears to be a statistical technique that allows Alon to draw a curve and to think a little bit more about where in a person's career these different kinds of problem may be addressed. So, the bottom right-hand corner—things that are easy and do not tell you very much—may be more suitable for students beginning in their careers. But problems where there is potentially a large gain of knowledge but great difficulty may be more suitable for senior scholars who have more experience and a lot of research already accomplished. But there is an even more valuable part to this paper.

Alon goes on to talk about nurturing students and guiding them to the choice of problems. One of the key points that he makes is that it is important to take time. He suggests that with students thinking about PhD topics, for example, at least three months thinking time is necessary. He recognizes that the problem that funding is difficult and that it is very hard to find three months and to last that long without having made a final choice about what you are going to do. But he emphasizes that before you commit to an academic problem, you should take at least three months to think about it yourself, to talk about it with your colleagues, to shake it around with everybody you can, and see whether it lasts with you as something you want to do.

The next point that Alon raises is that problems should be personal; we must have a personal enthusiasm for the project. We should listen our inner voice. Alon says that there are two voices that we are likely to hear. One is a loud voice of the interests of those around us, in conferences, in our department, and so on. The other is the faint voice in our breast that says, "this is interesting to me." Alon says that if you rank your problems with regard to your inner voice, you are



more likely to choose problems that will satisfy you in the long term. He then talks about strengthening this inner voice, and about how the mentors, the professors or supervisors in a department, can help students to listen to their inner voice. One of the ways he suggests of strengthening this voice is to ask, "If I were the only person on earth, which of these problems would I work on?" Or, "How does it feel to describe your research to another person?" And he offers some other keys to thinking about what you personally are interested in. He talks about reflecting upon your own world view, again with the help of your mentor.

I was lucky enough in my own career, when I was just beginning doctoral research, to meet a pandit from Benares who said to me, in slightly different words, "have you got fire in your belly, are you excited about this, do you really, really want to do this?" I said, "yes, I really do!" And he said, "Good, because it is a long process, and you will get tired and frustrated, and only if you are personally committed, personally enthusiastic will you have the energy to last through those difficult periods, and do this piece of academic work that may last three, four, or five years." This is exactly Alon's point. Alon then talks about writing, deprecating the linear view—"I am starting here and finishing there"—when compared to a model of academic writing that is more open and has fluid pathways.

I recommend Alon's paper as a short, refreshing piece that refocuses attention on the highest goals of academic work and the inner dispositions that determine the success of our working lives.

I have emphasized creativity and listening to your inner voice, and making your choices about the problems you want to work on that are anchored in your own personality, that are personal choices. This ap-



proach leads to more interesting research and strengthens the researcher's ability to persist with a project for long periods. In our field of Indology, some of the most interesting recent projects that we have seen come precisely out of this kind of personal interest. I am thinking of James McHugh's PhD at Harvard a little while ago on scent and smell in Ancient India.3 It is a new idea: that would be obvious. It is not a subject that has much of a history of scholarship behind it. But McHugh has written a fascinating and important book on this topic. I think Sheldon Pollock's work on epigraphy is very interesting because of his different way of thinking about inscriptions.4 For Pollock they are not purely historical data, but a kind of literature, a kind of poetic expression (kāvya). Pollock also thinks about the uses of language by maharajas in the past and the relationship between language and political power in the early Sanskrit world. I think of the work of Joanna Jurewicz, that illustrates another point. Jurewicz's new book is on fire and cognition in the Rigveda.⁵ I think that illustrates another point that is very important for all of us in thinking about academic problems and where to place our energies. Jurewicz has used a newly-developed field of linguistics, Cognitive Linguistics. This field was new to me; until I got her book, I didn't know much about it. But this new development in linguistics, a different way of thinking about metaphors and structures of texts and so forth, has allowed Jurewicz to revisit the Rigveda, one of the most-studied artefacts in our field, and come up with new information, new knowledge, new ways of looking at it, and a whole new argument about what the Rigveda is doing. Jurewicz now feels, and feels that she can prove, that the Rigveda is a far more coherent philosophical text than was thought in the past. She has also been able



to discover new things about the *Rigveda*; for example she has argued that the doctrine of rebirth, *punarjanma*, is quite definitely present in the *Rigveda*. This is something that, as a student, I was taught to question, so a new argument on this point is welcome.

There are several other external academic fields that have a lot to offer us Indologists in the way of methodologies and ideas. Two examples are Intellectual History and Cultural History, neither of them particularly new, although the latter has been enjoying a resurgence recently.6 Sheldon Pollock's project, "Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism" (SKSEC) ran from 2002 for several years.7 As a direct result of this project, the words, "knowledge systems" etc., have started to be used rather freely in the field of Indology, especially in India. People unrelated to the SKSEC project now talk about "eve of colonialism" and "Sanskrit knowledge systems" as established categories of thought. The latter expression just means sastra - there's no magic about it - but by using innovative language, it creates English discourse that enables people to relate to the concepts in an interesting and different way. The same is true of the phrase "intellectual history." Through the work of the Early Modern project, as one might call SKSEC, people are now talking about Sanskrit intellectual history in a way that did not happen before, and that in some cases brings the world Sanskrit intellectual endeavor into interesting comparison with pre-modern Europe. The focus on the early modern period, and using the phrase "early modern" to describe the period from 1550 to 1750, is a little controversial, and requires discussion. Historical periodizations always do. But people are settling into this, now that we have discussed what we think we mean, and there are enough publications about wheth-

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er we will allow ourselves to use the phrase "early modern." Now we are talking quite happily about the early modern intellectual period in India. Nobody did that ten years ago. Formerly, this was not an umbrella under which you could publish an article or hold a conference, or do a book. But now it exists as a way of talking about the field.

I feel that the introduction of new language, terminology, and ways of looking at Classical Indian Studies that draws other adjacent fields of Humanities is very important. And this is perhaps the second major point I should like to make today. In order to survive as a field, we really need to integrate our studies into the global intellectual world. It is no longer really possible for somebody to sit in their study, have one student per annum, and do a critical edition of a 500-page manuscript. I know from personal experience that there are enormous intellectual pleasures to be had by working like that. But we are seeing centres for South Asian studies closing down one after another. In Britain, for example, the professorship in Sanskrit at Cambridge was lost, because Professor Brough did not prioritize student numbers. He was a great scholar, and has made huge academic contributions, but after he left, the professorship was cancelled and the department nearly folded. And a few years ago they announced that Sanskrit would no longer be studied at Cambridge. It may survive, but the situation is not certain. There is no longer a professorship of Sanskrit at London University since Professor Wright, nor at Edinburgh since Professor Brockington. An isolationist approach leads to the closure of our departments. We have to communicate. We have to convince our colleagues in classical studies, in anthropology, cultural studies, intellectual history, art history, that actually India is interesting.



And that means we have to adapt our language and modes of thought, and we have to communicate. We may lament the passing of an earlier style of scholarship, of a depth and detail of knowledge of Indology. But there are gains too, and we should focus on those.

When I was preparing the talk for today, I suddenly thought about Aurel Stein, who was an excellent example of this. Aurel Stein, as you know, undertook many expeditions, at the turn of the twentieth century, into Central Asia, and the Taklamakan Desert, and discovered a wealth of physical treasure in the form of manuscripts and paintings, but also a wealth of new knowledge about early Central Asia and indeed about early India.8 After all his major expeditions Stein produced two publications. He published a scientific series of books: these were long, perhaps four volumes or more, huge scientific reports on what had happened, with catalogues of the artifacts that had been gathered. But he also wrote a second series of books, one each after each expedition. These were for the public, describing where he had been, about the camels, the desert, the struggles through sandstorms, the mountain pathways strewn with human bones. These were extremely popular books. People loved them and read them avidly. They were printed and reprinted and circulated widely. As a result, Stein became very well known to the general public of his day, and increased his ability to raise funding from the Royal Geographical Society for his later expeditions on the back of his public persona. That is a lesson for all of us: we do well to communicate with a wide public.

My time is nearly up, and I would like to mention just a few more areas of indological endeavor that I believe will grow in the future. One of them, I think, is natural language processing. We are beginning to see



the birth of a corpus of Sanskrit literature. We haven't quite got a corpus of Hindi or other major languages vet, but the corpus of Sanskrit is beginning to appear in the Kyoto Text Archive, the GRETIL repository in Goettingen, in the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit, in the SARIT repository that I am building, in the Muktabodha Digital Library Project, and in other places. I think it is really in the last five years that indologists have begun to take it for granted that the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Rigveda, and other major texts are online. It is all still a bit chaotic. But this is coinciding with announcements by, for example, Google, of their N-gram program, where they are presenting huge English language corpora with simple tools to query these corpora of language. With Google N-gram, one can, for example, search for all occurrences of the words "love" and "truth" in the 19th century, and so forth, and see very interesting patterns emerging about the changing meaning of words, and their frequency. Even very simple searches can be revealing: if you search for the word "war" and you see it rising in the years before the outbreak of the World War I. Some of these things are very simple, but they can nevertheless give great insight. We are on the verge of being able to do some of this kind of statistical work on Indian language corpora. I believe that this is an area of work that will grow; I am not the only person who thinks this.

A few months before this conference, in a public discussion on computational linguistics, the question was asked, "is computational linguistics the new computer science for the humanities?"¹⁰ There is a lot of material about this topic, and there are many informed people who think that this is going to be really important. It has been bubbling away under the surface for twen-



ty or thirty years, but perhaps now is the time when this can become really important for a wider group of scholars. Because of the corpus of Sanskrit literature that is now available, this is going to be something that will affect our field.

There are many other subjects. The history of food, for example, I think is an area that is ripe for development. The history of emotions could be fascinating in our field. It is not very much studied anywhere; it is considered part of cultural studies in most universities in Europe and the USA. And I think that the study of the history of emotion could be very fruitful if applied to the South Asian case. I also think that we have a long way to go in re-theorizing caste. There are people here today with much greater expertise than I in this field. But I think that we are still working with ideas about caste that do not fit reality on the ground, and that are not sufficiently theorized. I feel that this is an extremely critical subject for modern India, critical for social and modern historic reasons.

As part of the same discussion, we in Indology need to theorize Sanskrit more deeply than we have in the past. We need to think explicitly about the attitudes surrounding the Sanskrit language, from the idea that this is the language of God, through the idea that it is a highly privileged language, to the ridicule that is sometimes heaped on Sanskrit as an absurdly theoretical topic of study.¹¹ In English, Sanskrit is often used as a word for something completely arcane and useless, most famously, perhaps, in Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, when Professor Higgins says, "Do you know Colonel Pickering, the author of *Spoken Sanscrit*?" That is presented as a joke: here is a man who does something impressive but completely useless. Attitudes to Sanskrit, I think, need to be examined and theorized carefully.



I was very shocked, and perhaps one should not be, when I was recently re-reading Ronald Inden's book *Imagining India*.¹² It is a widely-read book that I, and perhaps many people, think is profoundly misguided. It can be read as a sustained and often misguided attack on Brahmans and on Sanskrit culture generally. We need to continue the professional discussion about what Sanskrit is, and what its complex basis in the social life of India has been.

Please allow me to conclude by summarizing just some of the key points that I would like to leave with you today. In order to survive and prosper, there are a number of things we must do:

- Systematically replace "productivity" with "creativity" in our thinking.
- Be prepared to surprise yourself and others in matters of scholarship.
- Ask bold, probing questions, and try to bring to the fore of your mind those niggling uncertainties that have always irritated you.
- Be aware of the forces at work, external to Indological scholarship, not only in popular fields such as yoga and ayurveda, but also the polarization caused by the fundamentalist thinking related to politics in contemporary India. That's a big discussion that we cannot really have today, but it deeply affects our field.
- ► Nurture the strengths and interests of the people already in the department. Identify their interests, support them, and nurture their talents. Give them the freedom to work, and encourage them to write by showing interest in what they do and providing support where necessary. Commensality is an extraordinarly powerful tool for enhancing academic communication, as has been understood in the



- older universities since the twelfth century.
- Study the general trends of scholarship over recent decades in Europe and North America. Indologists always trail behind everybody else, because the field is small and under-funded. We should observe what the classicists, the historians, the anthropologists and the philosophers are doing elsewhere.
- ▶ Finally, and with perhaps a slightly depressing note at the close, study the availability of funding. Be prepared to work hard at fundraising, even dedicating staff specifically to this task. Consider hiring external experts in funding applications. Grant application procedures are commonly difficult and time-consuming, to say the least, but there are extremely large amounts of money at stake. In some cases there is funding for teams of people to work together for many years. But to get it is extremely hard, not intellectually but administratively. So we should think professionally and strategically: for example, there are specialists who will work on a no-win no-fee basis preparing European Research Council grant applications. This may sound a bit shocking; we scholars are not accustomed to thinking like this. But I believe that today we have to think like this. We have to think seriously about learning the language of funding applications. We should share our successful application documents with each other, and learn from each other. If you have made an application and got the funding, put your application on the internet, so that colleagues can see the language you used, and the scheme you laid out, and don't be too fussy about "talking the talk," that is, tailoring your language to get the money. Because if you just talk like an



nineteenth-century indologist, you won't get your funding. You have to use phrases like "cultural flows across boundaries," whose meaning may be puzzling, but that succeed in attracting funding. And of course once you have the money, you can do the Indology.

Good luck with all these processes, and congratulations on the birth of this new Centre!

Notes

1. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980).

2. Uri Alon, "How to Choose a Good Scientific Problem," *Molecular Cell* 35 (2009): 726-8.

3. Since published as *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Premodern Indian Religion and Culture* (New York: OUP, 2013).

4. The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

5. *Fire and Cognition in the Rgveda* (Warsaw: Dom Wy-dawniczy ELIPSA, 2010).

6. Exemplified by the founding of the International Society for Cultural Studies in 2008 and the launch of its new journal, *Cultural History* in 2012.

7. <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pollock/ sks/>

8. Amongst several biographies, Jeannette Mirsky's *Sir Aurel Stein: Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago, 1977) is a good starting point.

9. Some collections are indexed at <http://indology. info/etexts/>.

10. <http://www.neh.gov/divisions/odh/grantnews/computational-linguistics-the-new-computer-sci-



ence-the-humanities >.

11. Sheldon Pollock's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (Berkeley, 2009) is of course exactly such a study. The field bears expansion.

12. Bloomington, 1990.

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The 2011 Open Pages conference celebrated the launching of Russia's first South Asian Studies program housed at the Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow. Participants included scholars from Russia, Europe, the United States and India. This volume is dedicated to their budding friendship and continuing collaboration.

Dr. William Vanderbok

President, South Asian Studies Association





