COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE

All comparative studies imply simultaneously an identity and a difference, a situation that is replete with intellectual difficulties which give rise to interminable disputes regarding whether we are talking about the same thing or different things. One may cut the gordian knot by deciding either way, but the situation would reappear again as it is bound up with the comparative perspective itself and not with any particular example of it. How long shall we go on "naming", for the process is unending and ultimately "everything is what it is, and not another thing". Or, if we do not like "names" as they hardly give us any knowledge and if we opt for "description" which gives us "facts", then they too are as unending as the "names", for, as the Jains taught us long ago, they are a function of the *dṛṣṭi* that we have or the point of view that we adopt

"How similar is the similar?", is a question that can always be asked and hence is the bane of all comparisons, infecting them with an uncertainty that is irremediable in principle. Yet, bare identity is not interesting to anybody. "A = A" hardly makes one move

forward and "A = B", as everybody knows since Frege, raises problems which seem insoluble at least to pure theoretical reason. As for the practical reason, particularly not of the kind that Kant called "Pure", it has never had problems with the difficulties that the pure or even impure theoretical reason has raised—a situation that earned philosophers the dubious privilege of being considered the most impractical people in the world.

But "comparative studies" are not just comparisons. They are comparisons between societies, culture and civilizations. Across the boundaries defined by the "we" and the "they", the world of the "comparative studies" is inevitably an attempt to look at what, by definition, is "another reality" from the viewpoint of that which is not itself. The contradiction lying at the very foundation of "comparative studies" is sought to be glossed over by the appeal to the universalism of all knowledge and the identification of the knowledge with the privileged "we" from whose viewpoint all "other" societies and cultures are judged and evaluated. The roots of this "privileged position" have generally lain in the political and economic power of the society of which the "viewer" happened to be a member. The anthropological studies from which most "comparative studies" have arisen were, by and large, an appendage of the extension of political and economic power of some countries of Western Europe over the globe during the last three hundred years or so. As this expansion was accompanied not only by phenomenal growth in some of the traditional fields of knowledge but also by demarcation and consolidation of new areas designating new fields of knowledge, the feeling that the claim to universal validity of everything that claimed to be "knowledge" belonged to what was being discovered in the West was felt to be justified. It was seen, therefore, as a universal standard by which to judge all other societies and cultures anywhere in the world, not only in those domains of knowledge but in all fields, whether they had anything to do with them or not.

"Comparative studies", thus, meant in effect the comparison of all other societies and cultures in terms of the standards provided by the Western societies and cultures both in cognitive and non-cognitive domains. The scholars belonging to these other societies and cultures instead of looking at Western society and culture from their own perspectives, accepted the norms provided

by Western scholars and tried to show that the achievements in various fields within their cultures paralleled those in the West and thus they could not be regarded as inferior in any way to those which were found there. This hindered the emergence of what may be called "comparative 'comparative studies'" which might have led to a more balanced perspective in these fields.

Further, the so-called comparative studies were primarily a search for facts or a reporting of data in terms of a conceptual structure already formulated in the West. The questions to which answers were being sought were already predetermined in the light of the relationships that were regarded as significant or the theories that were to be tested. In cases where cultures were seen as autonomous it was more in terms of values embodied in the institutions of the culture than in terms of conceptual structures defining the cognitive terrain itself. Philosophy is, however, nothing but the conceptual structure itself and hence any attempt at comparative philosophising is bound to lead to an awareness of an alternative conceptual structure, a different way of mapping the cognitives terrain than that which one is used to. Yet, however, natural as such an expectation might be, this is not what happened. How could one allow for the possibility of an alternative conceptual scheme when what was "possible" was itself determined by the conceptual scheme into which one was born?

Comparative philosophy, thus, has been bogged down from the very beginning with the questions as to whether there is anything such as "philosophy" outside the Western tradition. It took a fairly long time for scholars to realise that the so-called histories of philosophy which they were writing about were mainly histories of Western philosophy and not of philosophy outside the Western hemisphere. Russell was the first person to explicitly acknowledge in the very title of his work relating to the history of philosophy that it was a history of Western philosophy and not of philosophy in general. But even today the problem remains the same. Shall we acknowledge what exists outside the Western tradition as "philosophy" or not? The question has repeatedly been raised with respect to Indian and Chinese philosophies, the two major traditions outside the Western one. Recently, the same debate has erupted around the question as to whether or not there was such a thing as "philosophy" in Africa. Surprisingly, the question has

never been raised with respect to Islamic philosophy, presumably because it derived its inspiration directly from the Greeks and self-consciously built upon their work. In fact, most histories of Western philosophy have a chapter on Arabic philosophy, but mostly they treat it as important in the context of the West's access to Plato and Aristotle till the time when they became directly available in their Greek sources, or else as an interlude with little interest for the development of mainstream philosophy in the West.

The debate regarding the status of philosophy in China or Africa or even in the Arabic world is not the subject of discussion here for the simple reason that I know little about the philosophical tradition in these cultures. A discussion of the Indian case about which I know a little more may, however, be expected to throw some light on the problems of comparative philosophy as it has developed up till now.

The first and foremost question that has engaged all those who have been seriously concerned with the so-called "philosophical" tradition in India relates to the issue as to how it can be regarded as "philosophy" proper when it is supposed to be primarily concerned with moksa, i.e., liberation from the very possibility of suffering which is a practical end par excellence and has hardly anything theoretical about it. To this is added the consideration as to how any cognitive tradition can be regarded as genuinely philosophical which accepts the authority of revelation or of some superhuman authority which is supposed to have an over-riding authority over both reason and experience. In fact, the Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies officially underwrites the necessary relationship of Indian philosophy with moksa, and maintains that the former cannot be understood without the latter. It is, then, no wonder that Indian philosophy is not taught in the departments of philosophy of most Western universities, for neither the students nor the teachers in these departements are presumably seeking moksa. The relegation of Indian philosophy to departments of Indology and its effective segregation from all active philosophical concerns of the day speaks for itself. The other side of the same coin is attested to by the so-called revival of interest in Indian philosophy on Western campuses in the wake of interest in such subjects as Trascendental Meditation, Yoga, etc.

Yet, one has to square this widespread impression about Indian philosophy with the fact that in any work of Indian philosophy pūrva-pakss has necessarily to be presented and refuted before one can establish one's position. The counter-position, it should be remembered, is not merely stated but rather present with all the arguments that have not only been already given in its favour but also those which one can imagine to support it in any way whatsoever. If one simply asserted something and could not provide any reason or hetu for it, one opted out of the philosophical arena and ceased to be counted therein. Even the sūtras of the various philosophical schools which are supposed to be the foundational works for them, not only give reasons for the positions they hold but refute counter-positions also. In addition, all reasons are not regarded as equally valid and a lot of thought went into determining what was valid reasoning and how to distinguish it from that which was fallacious.

Not only this, the history of the debate on any philosophical issue documents, thinker by thinker, the development of the argument and the flaws pointed out by each in the position of the others. There was, however, in this no static repetition of positions but a modification of one's position in the light of the trenchant criticism of the opponents or even a more sophisticated reformulation of one's position in the light of those criticisms. The great debate between the Buddhists and the Naiyayikas starting from Dingnaga in the fifth century A.D. and ending sometime around the eleventh century A.D. is evidence of this. This period of about six hundred years saw on the Buddhist side such well-known figures as Dingnaga, Dharmakirti, Dharmottara, Śāntaraksita and Kamalśīla. Ranged against them were Uddyotakara, Kumārila and Prabhākara of the Mīmānsā school, Vācaspatimiśra, Jayanta, Udayana and Śrīdhara. After the disappearance of the Buddhists from the Indian scene, there is the great debate between the Advaitin and the non-Advaitin whose last great representatives were Vyāsatīrtha on the side of the latter and Madhusūdan Saraswatī, on the side of the former. Along with this were the radical and revolutionary developments in Nyāya after Gångesh from the twelfth century which lasted up to the seventeenth century, a period of almost five hundred years in which there were at least thirty-six thinkers whose names are known and who by their works contributed to the development and refinement of logical thought in India—a development that set such new norms for intellectual precision that no study remained unaffected by it.¹

From the 5th century A.D. to the seventeenth century A.D. is a long period indeed and to find evidence of a fairly high degree of hard-core philosophising with continuous interchange of argument and counter-argument between the participants resulting in a cumulative sophistication of the positions held is an intellectual achievement of the highest order of which any culture can be reasonably proud. Yet, the general picture of Indian philosophy is that it can hardly be regarded as philosophy proper in the Western sense of the word as it is primarily concerned with moksa and cannot rid itself of its ties to revelation which it regards as authoritative over and above both reason and experience. Moreover, this privileged sense of the word to which the West lays a monopolistic claim and which is supposed to provide the standard in terms of which every other enterprise which claims for itself the title of "philosophy" would have to be judged, is supposed to characterise it uniformly from the time of Thales down to the present time. But as everybody knows this is a false claim and, for long stretches of time, what passes for philosophy in the West could not be characterised as such if the definition were to be as strictly enforced in the West as it is usually in the case of Non-Western cultures. To treat Plato and Aristotle as exclusive parts of Western patrimony and to retrospectively re-read the whole of the Western tradition in terms of what has happened there since the seventeenth century are the usual means through which this is ensured. However, surprisingly enough, it is not only Western scholars who perpetrate this but many non-Western scholars accept it unquestioningly also.

The Indian scholars who have concerned themselves with philosophy have, for example, not only swallowed the bait hook, line and sinker but tried to gain respectability for Indian philosophy either by discovering parallels to the Western

¹ M. Chakravarti, "History of Navya-Nyāya in Bengal and Mithila" in Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya Ed. *Studies in the History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, Calcutta; K.P. Bagchi & Co., 1978, pp. 146-82.

philosophical positions in the Indian tradition or by taking pride in the fact that philosophy in India was no mere arid intellectual exercise engaged in logic-chopping for its own sake, but concerned with the deepest existential issues of the bondage and liberation of man's deepest innermost being. Indian philosophy, thus either had everything which Western philosophy had to show in terms of the utmost sophistication of epistemological and ontological reflection or had the special, unique characterization of being spiritual and concerned with *mokṣa*. It was conveniently forgotten that if philosophy is an enterprise of the human reason, it is bound to show similarities across cultures to some extent and, similarly, as a human enterprise it is bound to be concerned with what man, in a particular culture, regards as the highest good for mankind or as the summum bonum for man.

The inevitable position of the privileged terms in any comparison can only be overcome if the terms which are functioning as a standard for comparison are deliberately changed to provide a different standard for comparison. Normally, this would have naturally been provided by the fact that each culture would have seen the other from its own point of reference and thus been the subject and object of comparison, in turn. But due to political and economic factors, such a situation has not come to pass as the intellectuals of the observed cultures have themselves internalised the Western categories and standards of intelligibility so that they observe, understand and compare their own cultures in terms given to them by the West. To adopt a well-known phrase from Sartre, all other cultures except the Western one have been reduced to the status of "objects" by being looked upon, that is, observed and studied by Western scholars in terms of Western concepts and categories which are treated not as culture-bound but universal in character. In a deep and radical sense, therefore, it is only the West which has subtly arrogated to itself the status of subjecthood in the cognitive enterprise and reduced all others to the status of objects.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that most of the discussion about Indian philosophy is carried on in European languages. Perforce, therefore, the Sanskritic terms have to be translated into their Western equivalents giving the latter a magisterial status in deciding what the former mean or ought to

mean. The converse situation normally does not take place, but recently when at Poona the experiment was tried of translating some issues in Russell and Wittgenstein into Sanskrit so that the response to them of persons trained in philosophy in the traditional manner might be elicited, the difficulty became transparent. How were the Pandits, that is, philosophers trained on the Sanskrit classics in the traditional manner to make sense of what Russell and Wittgenstein were saying? As most of them did not know English, the matter had to be translated into Sanskrit, but then those Sanskrit terms carried the usual connotations associated with them and resisted the imposition of new meanings into them. Earlier, a similar experiment had been tried in the pages of *The Pandit*, a journal published in Benares in the nineteenth century with results that have, as far as I know, not been clearly analysed until now.

In any case, the issue remains as to how to translate one conceptual structure in terms of another, particularly when the latter is not only in another language but also has a history of sophisticated development of its own over millennia. The point is important, for there was a time when difficult philosophical texts were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and Chinese, and later from Chinese into Korean or Japanese. But in most of these cases as there was no very developed native philosophical tradition, one could coin new terms without coming into conflict with the already well-settled ways of thinking about things. Even in such a situation, as Nakamura has shown, the translation had to come to terms if not with the intellectual then at least with the cultural ethos of the country.²

However it be, the only way in which even the first steps could be taken towards any solution of the problem is to look at it from both sides, that is, to see how each looks when seen from the point of view of the other. No culture or tradition can be assigned a privileged place in this game of observing the other or understanding, judging and evaluating it in terms of itself.

But there are not just two cultures in the world. It may be difficult to say with any certainty how many there are or even

² Nakamura, Hajime: Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1964.

give some agreed criterion in terms of which one may determine the distinction or demarcation between cultures. Also, it is not necessary that each culture have a distinctive identity in all the domains or even that it might have been creative in all of them. But there can be little doubt that whatever dimension of a culture we may choose to consider, it has been creatively pursued by more than one culture, each of which has made major contributions to it. But if this be so, the alternative plurality of standpoints from which each would have to be seen from the viewpoint of the other would have to be really multiple in character. Such an expectation at the present time would almost be Utopian. Each country today is only aware of the West in terms of which it sees, measures, and judges itself. It is not even aware of its neighbours, even though they might have made the most impressive contributions in the field in which it may be interested. Of course, there are historical reasons for the situation as it obtains at the present time, but these reasons continue to operate and it is difficult to see how they can be overcome except by the joint effort of scholars in a discipline who belong to diverse cultures and yet are aware of the need transcending their culture-centric predicament.

The problem of the self-identity of an intellectual tradition within a cultural area, however, runs against the claim to universality which all truth professes. But the claim to universality, it should be remembered, is a claim which has hardly been fulfilled by any of the existing claimants to the title. It is only a tacit imposition of the Western models that they are universal, and not culture-bound as all others are. There is, of course, the other problem of how to compare alternative conceptual structures or decide between them. The Kuhnian approach has argued for the incommensurability of alternative conceptual structures even within a tradition with a common language, culture and history. But when these latter differ radically, how can one even think of comparing, contrasting or judging them? Yet, the judgement of incommensurability involves not only the fact that the two have been compared, but that each has been intelligibly grasped and understood. The consciousness that does so has thus the capacity of that intellectual empathy which through conceptual imagination can enter a different world of intelligibility and feel if not at home, at least not alien in it.

The decision between alternative conceptual structures is made, it has been urged, not on grounds of logic or evidence but in terms of their fecundity for suggesting significant research programmes, particularly these days when the number of persons engaged professionally in research is so large and is increasing day-by-day. Of course, what is ultimately supposed to decide between alternative theories or conceptual schemes is the evolutionary struggle between them resulting in the survival of the fittest. It is conveniently forgotten that survival is a function of many factors including those that happen to be primarily political and economic in character and that in which they are embodied is itself destroyed without leaving any traces or copies of itself and beyond the possibility of all retrieval. Further, there is a difference between domination and survival. Those who bring evolutionary considerations into the comparisons of cultures tend to forget this. They also tend to gratuitously assume that what is dominant today will remain so for ever.

But the idea that a choice has necessarily to be made between alternative conceptual structures, whether they be rooted in different cultures or not, itself may not be accepted. Conceptual structures may be seen as tools for the organisation of experience and giving it meaning and significance. Each available conceptual structure thus shows the limitations of the others and suggests an alternative possibility unexplored by them. Also, they may be seen as drawing our attention to those facts of our experience which have been neglected in other perspectives and to ways of organising and patterning experience which were not seen by them.

This, it may be urged, brings the whole cognitive enterprise perilously close to the artistic one and, if taken to its logical conclusion, would make us give up the truth-claim altogether. The parallelism with the arts may, however, not be seen as a danger signal, warning us that we are not on the right track but a sign, at least for those who value the world of art very highly, that things are not far wrong, even if they are not completely all right. Concepts can never be simply images or symbols and hardly ever a matter of just feelings and emotions. The questions of truth and falsity can never be allowed to remain absent for long, even though they may be interactable in nature. Yet, what we should remember is that the cognitive enterprise is as unending as any other

enterprise, and that though the truth-claim has inevitably to be made, it is equally certain that it shall remain unfulfilled in time. The future shall always be there to show us not only the limitations of our knowledge and the falsity of our claims but also to bring to our notice new horizons, undreamt of before.

It is, of course, true that the diversity of conceptual structures we have been talking about is rooted in the historical isolation of cultures with little communication, if any, between them. The isolation has been fostered by geographical, political and linguistic factors which have simultaneously facilitated interaction within certain peoples and hindered it between others. Trade and religion have generally tried to cross the boundaries for material or spiritual profit, but they have seldom had substantial success to their credit unless backed by political power. Behind the individual stamp given by this development in the relative isolation of a culture, however, lies the accident of what struck the great minds as problems requiring solutions or questions requiring answers at the very beginning of a civilization.

Absolute beginnings, it is true, can never be determined with certainty, but there can be little doubt that at the beginnings of all the recorded civilizations there stand outstanding individuals who pose the problems, raise the questions and lay down at least the direction in which possible solutions or answers may be sought. It is this distinctiveness in what is perceived as a problem or the direction that is chosen for its solution that marks out one tradition from another, and that is what is or should be significant for other cultures or traditions.

There is, of course, an objective universality of human reason on the one hand and of the conditions of human living, on the other, which ensures that there would be a fair repetition amongst the problems seen and the solutions suggested. But this can only be of momentary interest except for those who have identified themselves so much with a particular sanction of humanity that the only paramount concern for them is to prove that all worthwhile things originated with them and were borrowed by others. Basically, their conviction is that what was not originated by them or their ancestors could not possibly be worthwhile or even if it were so, it must surely be inferior to what they themselves have produced or discovered. But just as one travels to come across

something different, something that makes one look afresh at the world with renewed sense of wonder and novelty, so does one make conceptual journeys to other cultures to look at the world through new conceptual frames.

The interesting approach in comparative philosophy would, then, be not to search for similarities but for differences. But even the differences are philosophically interesting only when they are articulated not in terms of the doctrines held, but in terms of the problems perceived and the solutions attempted. Ultimately, it is the arguments given for a certain position that are of interest to a philosophical mind and in this respect the Indian philosophical tradition is especially rich as its very format of presentation consists of giving the arguments of the opponent first and the establishment of one's position by their rebuttal.

To search for the distinctive philosophical problems seen as problems or for distinctiveness in the solutions offered to a familiar problem is not only to see the alien tradition in a new way but to enrich oneself with the awareness of an alternative possibility in thought, a possibility that has already been actualised. The awareness of this alternative actualised possibility may, hopefully, free one's conceptual imagination from the unconscious constraints of one's own conceptual tradition. Thus comparative philosophy may function as a mutual liberator of each philosophical tradition from the limitations imposed upon it by its own past rather than be what it is at present, the imposition of the standards of one dominant culture over all the others and the evaluation of their philosophical achievements in terms of them.

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