

## CHAPTER – VI

### CONCLUDING REMARKS:

#### POSSIBILITY OF A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT OF GOD VIS-Á-VIS LANGUAGE GAME ANALYSIS

The idea of God is inseparably related to religion. Though it is a matter of religion but it is also the important concept of philosophy. The matter of God is maintained purely from metaphysical and religious standpoint. It is most popular as a matter of religion though the metaphysical concept is beyond the reach of common people.

From the natural theology or from the general point of view, 'God' stands for a being who is the ultimate source of values and power, who is also immortal and creator of this world. Philosophers and theologians and all other religious people are concerned with the different statements about God or about the supremacy of the powerful 'God'. Philosophers and theologians have argued that the world has such a design that there must be a designer who fashioned it and whom we call God. "To Spinoza God is one alone, i.e., there is none like Him, or in the nature of things only one substance can be granted, and that is absolutely infinite<sup>1</sup>". God is absolutely the first cause. Though all the arguments regarding God have subtle debates but some are found extremely lively in the history of philosophy and theology.

The idea of god is inseparably related with all religions of the world though the religions like Buddhism and Jainism etc. donot start with the pre-supposition of the existence of God. But some natural

power or agency is granted by all the religions of the world. The idea of God is so closely related with myth that without the series of myths no concept of God can be explained. The concept of God is so closely associated with the different minds that every individual born and die with that very idea. "It is but a small step to the belief, held by many that God Himself must somehow be responsible for the presence of this idea in our mind at birth<sup>2</sup>".

From Philosophical standpoint God is the Absolute Being and nothing can be distinct from him. The personified gods are really mere forms of one Supreme Puruṣa. The Upaniṣads develop this Puruṣa into Brahman or Ātman which is both immanent and transcendent Brahman and Ātman are ultimately one.

From the general view of God of some major religions, 'God' stands for a being who is the ultimate source of power and creator of the world. Ultimately the destiny of man and the world lies in his hands. Philosophically the idea of God is associated with sublimity, ineffable majesty, holiness and transcendence. The philosophers and theologians have finalized that God is the supremely powerful Being who is the intelligent designer of the world. He is the universe. In vedāntic conception, he is the supreme truth, the Brahmā.

Boros are sociologically and numerically one of the most important tribes of North-Eastern India, particularly of Assam. The Boros are mainly depend for their livelihood on agriculture. They dwell near river. "The river names of the whole Brahmaputra Valley are Boro names, and it is demonstrable that the Bodos were the aborigines of the Valley<sup>3</sup>". They belong to the indo-mongoloid group of family. They are also generally regarded as the Kirātas in purānas. Religions has an significant and important role on the traditional, social and cultural life

of a Boro. The worship of Bathou and creation of altar in traditional Bathou religion has sociological and philosophical significance. The natural living symbol of Bathou as the Sijou plant in the courtyard are noteworthy features of the philosophy of the Bathou religion. In addition to the domestic worship in Bathou religion we have also community worship made collectively by the villagers in the open field. Religion is a spiritual process. It is the basis of man's faith regarding the power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stability in life in the face of various forces which threaten him. The traditional Boro religion is a great advance in the concept of animism of the primitive culture. It is the stage of polytheism but traditional Boro religion is the movement from many to one. Boro religion has different gods and goddesses which are regarded as the manifestations of one supreme Deity, Bathou. Monotheism is attained in Bathou religion through the realisation of spiritual unity among the differences.

The information of Brahma religion by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be marked as a new era in the history of Boro society. Brahma religion of the Boros adopted Param Brahmā as the ultimate reality, the supreme being. Every individual self is identical with Param Brahmā. To realise Brahman the performance of Hom Yojña by reciting Gāyatrī Mantram is must. To realise Brahman and truth in 'self' is the ultimate goal of this religion. Pure monotheism is found in Brahma religion. "The Brahma religion is monotheist and believes in eternal Almighty Brahmā, who is omnipresent and source of all creation, existence and destruction<sup>4</sup>".

The Saivism sect or Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma is a modified or refined cult of traditional Bathou religion. Unlike the traditional Bathou

religion, Mani Bathou Śiva dharma does not offer sacrifice of animals to the deities. Here Śiva is believed as the supreme god. Boros worship him in the form of Bathou. Śiva is depicted as has the three forms ----- Brahma as creator, Vishṇu as saviour and Maheswar as destroyer. The union of three is the Śiva. Unlike Brahma religion and like traditional Bathou religion saivism is the sect of polytheistic form of religion as having the beliefs of various gods, ghosts, spirits etc. It is here found that the mode of performance of Yojña is almost similar to that of Brahma dharma, except the conceptual difference regarding the existence of god. The different religious sect accepted by the Boros prove a refined religious society giving them a high religious position. The saivism sect of Guru Rupamani Devi is a Sanskritized and refined form of the traditional religion whose complete structure is no other than a Hindu religion.

The Sat Sang religion of Boros (Sat Sang religion of Anukul Thakur) is the monotheism in nature and it believes in the incarnation of Purusottama. The Sat Sang of Thakur Anukul is a well institutionalised and organised religion which have a great effort towards the ascending social position of the Boros.

Bathou represent the five basic elements of creation. Bathou is also known as Sibrai (Śiva). He with his wife Siburi is called to create the universe and Man-sin-sin was the first creature (man). Thus the religious consciousness of the Boros was lifted into the region of speculative thinking.

Some awe of ghosts of the departed (dead man) is prevailed among the Boros. So, the ancestor worship exhibits a tribal loyalty and a fellowship between the members of the tribe is established. Rites and rituals performed in religious ceremony represents the hope and desire.

The main aim of rites and rituals are the public and private welfare as well as for the good harvest of crops. Blind superstition and religious beliefs are found in Boro religion in high order. The use of Deodhini (possessed women) and ojha (medicinal man) in the Kherai Puja represents the mystic elements in traditional religious beliefs of the Boros.

Bathouism was regarded by some scholars like S. Endle, Gait, Stack etc. as animistic. But Bathouism is not animistic. According to R.N. Mosahary, "The traditional Boro religion is not animistic but Bathouism presided over by supreme God-Bathou Borai or Bathou Raja<sup>5</sup>". Bathouism is not a world religion. It has the primitive religious character, may be termed as totemistic form of primitive religion. Bathou is a purely local term used by the Boro-Kacharis for Sijou Plant (*Euphorbia splendens*) and worshipped as supreme God accordingly. It may be said that the Boro religion is not animistic in nature, but shares the same status with the ancient Rg. vedic religion.

The religious essence is indicated in Boro religion as monotheism, the plurality of gods and goddesses are treated as the manifestation of one supreme God. But there are ample examples of beliefs in gods and goddesses which may be termed as polytheism among the primitives. Lack of scientific knowledge over the phenomena was the source of belief among the primitive men. Suitable offerings are seen in regard to different deities. Though Boro religion appears to be polytheistic but a native bent towards unification or monotheism is found. The polytheistic anthropomorphism is a step towards a spiritual monotheism. The ultimate principle of Boro religion is the theistical concept symbolized by a plant. The different deities found in Boro religion are the reflection of the growing needs of human beings but none of them can represent

the highest conception of God. Bathou is not a shadowy Absolute but a determinate Being.

The World and culture of Boro religion are in a heap of gods and goddesses. Diseases of man and catastrophies of the world inspired these people to believe ghosts and spirits. So gods and goddesses are propitiated. So, to do this some expert personalities like 'deori', 'ojha', 'deodhini' etc. are required. Sacrifice and prayer are also the main bone to propitiate gods and goddesses. Dread and fear are the underlying principles of Boro religion.

To propitiate gods and goddesses different offerings like rice, plantains, Pigs, goats, poultry etc. are offered which indicate the deep religious spirit. The genuine religious spirit of Boros is also proved by the sorcery and magic.

Boro social structure is patriarchal in character. There are some definite rules and regulations to construct their houses and their maintenance to the homstead. They perform various ceremonies and festivals in relation to birth, death, marriage, religion and agricultural activities. The status of the woman is equal with a man. The women share with different activities equally in the field or home. Social customs and traditions play a very important role in the cultural life of any ethnic group. It transcends our narrow individuality and small interests. The word 'Boro' is closely related with 'a man' allied with the -Tripuri language. Thus the religion of Boros is concerned with the religion of man which is universal in outlook not concerned with particular personality.

The matters of comparison may be said as a scientific study of the various features of different religions of the world. The name

properly, perhaps, is to be called 'comparative Religion'. "A.C. Bosanquet while making his aim of writing a book on Comparative Religion clearly asserts that it is a survey and comparison of the great religions of the world<sup>6</sup>". Comparison is possible among the two or more religions because every religion has its own distinctive character. There may be similarity and differences also. With regard to god also religions of the world both agree and differ in many important points.

Hinduism is a medley of rites, beliefs and rituals. Hinduism holds the view that men differ only in temperament and level of aspiration. Synthesis is the guiding principle of Hinduism than culmination which can be claimed as the mosaic of all types and stages of religious endeavour. As Radhakrishnan says that Hinduism is not based on any racial factor it is an inheritance of thought and aspiration to which every race in India has made its distinctive contribution. There is no real conflict among the Hindus, Bathouist and Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma sect of Bathou religion. All of them observe almost same religious system in different rites and rituals. The process of assimilation of the two faiths is evident from the fact that Hindu gods and goddesses are given seats at the time of Garja puja of Bathou religion. We see Śiva, the Hindu god is identified with Bathou, the chief god of Bathou and Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma. Some legends depict the origin of the Boros from Śiva, the third power in Hindu Trinity. Bodo religion is based on culture and tradition. The religion of the Bodos can also be said as within the Sanātana dharma of the Vedas.

The use of mantra in Hinduism is one of the important features which has resemblances with Boro religious rites like the Hindus. Boros believe in disembodied existence as well as transmigration of soul. This belief is the basis of rites of birth and death.

The major religious belief and tradition of Boros of the Brahmaputra Valley is nothing other than a part of Hinduism. A thorough analysis shows that the origin and development of the Bathou religion is also a part of the evolution of the spirit of Hinduism in the sub continent, India. It is found that many of the Hindu deities like Brahmā, Vishṇu, Maheswara, Bisahari, Lakhi etc. have been occupying prominent place among the Bathou pantheons.

Like the Ṛg. Vedic gods, the traditional Boros believe different gods and goddesses. They believe five traditional gods such as Ailong (gods of earth or pṛthivī in Ṛg. Veda), Agrang (god of water or Apsara, the anthropomorphic form of water in Ṛg. Veda), Khoila (god of air or Vāyu or Vātā in Ṛg. Veda), Sanjhborle (god of fire or light or Agni in Ṛg. Veda) and Rajkumbre (god of sky or Varuṇa in Ṛg. Veda).

Bathou is not presented in idol form but is well in evidence through his living symbol, the 'Sijou' (Euphorbia Splendens) which is seen in the homestead of Bodos. In this respect it has similarity with Hindu religion, because some of the Hindu people also worship the holy plant, the 'Tulsi' in front of the house, specially as seen in Kati Bihu. So, the Sijou Plant or Tulsi Plant is not only a forest deity or plant but also has deep philosophical significance. It is also seen that trees and plants are the direct objects of invocation in the Ṛg. Veda. It is true, however, that the greater veneration to some trees and plants at a special reason, for example, Tulsi, Asok Tree, Sijou plant etc. have the medicinal values. On the other hand, a pair of trees namely, Banyan tree (Ficus idica) as Bride and peepal (Ficus religiose) or pakar (Ficus venosa) as groom are closely planted together as sacred plants. This is known as married couple plants known as 'Bar-Kaina' (Bride-groom).

The sprouting leaves of these trees are very essential for many pujas in the Hindu religion.

Bodos speak of only one God, called Bathou. They are the worshippers of Bathou, the supreme God. They have also minor deities. They believe in ghosts and spirits also. Like the Hindus Bodos believe that different gods and goddesses are various manifestation of the supreme Deity. Thus the conception of the supreme God is predominant in Boro religion which, therefore, transcends the tribal stage and reveals a very great enlargement of outlook and significant content of religious consciousness.

The Bathouists can be compared with the Hindus with regard to the worship of nature. Parwa show or bhatheli is a festival where people enjoy themselves by dancing, wrestling and tom-toming around a tall bamboo pole. This type of common festival is specially seen in Barpeta, Nalbari, Baska and Darang district of Assam. This type of festival is observed probably to welcome the monsoon, which is necessary for growth of bamboo, because bamboo was the primary house building material for the Boros in early days.

From philosophical standpoint God is the Absolute Being and nothing can be distinct from him. The personified gods are really mere forms of one supreme puruṣa. The upaniṣads develop this puruṣa into Brahman and Ātman which is both immanent and transcendent. Hindu belief in God ranges from polytheism through abstract monism to a concrete monotheism. The Vedas are the sources of Hindu faith which are polytheistic in nature. But a monotheistic tendency seems to be present in Hinduism. The Philosophical significance of Bathou religion can be stated as monotheism through the polytheism. Among the different gods and goddesses Bathou is the chief god of the traditional

Bodo religion. The same type of monotheism is prevailing in Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma also, while on the other hand Brahma religion of the Bodos has, no doubt, monotheism. According to the Gītā, God is Puruṣottama which can be compared and identified with the concept of Puruṣottama of Sat Sang (Thakur Anukul) of Bodos. But Gītā's concept of God is pantheism. Christian's concept of God is monotheism through the aspect of polytheism as 'God the Father', 'God the son' and 'God the Holy spirit'. This God is of the nature of a pure spirit and has got will and consciousness. Islam is strictly a monotheistic religion. It believes in one and only God. According to Quran, there is no God except one called 'Allah'. Here prophet Hazarat Mohammad is the incarnation of 'Allah'. Here the concept of incarnation is equivalent with the incarnation (Thakur Anukul) of Sat Sang. The philosophical concept of Monotheism is found in Sikhism. Judaism is a religion of monotheistic concept. The original Zoroastrianism is monotheistic in character, but later on we see the sign of polytheism. Various gods like sun, fire etc. are seen which may remind us very well the Vedic polytheism. The dualism of Ahura Mazda and Ahirman seem to be the dominant character. The overall tone of Zoroasterianism is ever taken to be monotheistic in which Ahura Mazda is recognized as the only supreme all powerful, all-wise, all-good etc. From philosophical standpoint God's monotheistic character is considered by all the religions except jainism and Buddhism.

In-Zoroasterian religion, Ahura Mazda (God) is the supreme. In Zoroasterianism the world consists of good and evil, hence, it is very clear that the Zoroasterian world is ruled by two forces : one Good and the other Evil ; Zoroaster called Ahura Mazda is the Good Force, the Supreme God and Evil Force he named as Angra Mainyu. The concept Evil Force is of the same type with the concept of Malevolent gods of

Bathou religion. The Bathou's malevolent elements are believed as the cause of diseases and sufferings to the human beings.

The Hindu concept of Trinity has similarity or identified with the traditional concept of Trinity of Bathou religion and Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma. "The traditional concept of Trinity- Rongrchi, Maithahschi and Barigongtham has been identified with the Hindu Trinity- Brahmā, Vishnu and Maheswara<sup>7</sup>". In Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma, the chief god Śiva in the form of Bathou has three aspects in the name of Brahmā (creator), Vishṇu (Sustainer) and Mohesh (destroyer) which has the resemblances with the concept of Trinity. "There seems to be a striking similarity between Hinduism and Christianity in point of taking God as three into one or as one in three (trinity)<sup>8</sup>".

From our elucidation of the concept of God as present in different religious traditions we may form an impression that all the religions of the world are monotheistic in character except Buddhism and Jainism which do not believe in any God at all. The monotheistic character is seen too much in Islam, Sikhism and Judaism. All of them have monotheistic character and their monotheism is depicted in their very creed which are remembered and repeated by Jew and Muslim. The Jewish and Muslim creed are as follows: "Hear O Israel, the Lord, our God, the Lord is One," "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammad is His prophet<sup>9</sup>". There is a doubt regarding the monotheistic character in Zoroastrianism, it apparently seems to be ditheistic. There is also doubt in regard to the monotheism of Christianity as it believes the concept of Trinity. Monotheism is vivid in Bathou religion and other sects of Boros though they believe different gods and goddesses. 'Bathou' is chief god of the Bathou religion, 'Brahman' is the supreme reality of Brahma religion and 'Siva' in the form of 'Bathou' is the chief god of Mani

Bathou Śiva Dharma of Boros. From all these religions we may claim that all the religions have monotheistic grounds. The Duality or Trinity in godhood is actually outward and secondary. Monotheism is the basic and essential to them. There is also doubt regarding the monotheism of Hinduism. In the earlier period we have seen polytheistic nature. But it is seen that under the apparent polytheism there is an undercurrent of monotheism. The average Hindu worshippers are aware that the different gods and goddesses worshipping are the manifestations or expressions or aspects of the same supreme, all powerful God. Hence, it seems to be a general point of unity of almost all the religions that they believe one supreme, all-powerful, all-knowing creator God either in very strictly or in somewhat a lenient form although this God may have his various manifestations or aspects. Here also it cannot be ignored that there are religions of the world which does not believe in god at all like Buddhism and Jainism.

Besides these all the religions of the world can be united together in attributing to God in regard to some of the metaphysical qualities like infinity, all-powerfulness, all-knowingness and all-pervasiveness as well as some of the ethical qualities like mercy, benevolence, justice etc. Furthermore, God is also regarded by all the religions as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the world and he is taken as both transcendent from and immanent into this world.

In spite of the common features of the religions we have some differences among the religions. Regarding the nature of God the Indian tradition sometimes sharply differs from that conceived in the semitic tradition. In semitic religions God has been taken as immanent and all-present in the world, but in Indian tradition God is Antaryāmī (inner-dweller) and the inner soul of the world. Rāmānuja and Nanak, the

original propounder of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Sikh religion, has already taken God as such. Rāmānuja specifies God as having the attributes like truthfulness, bliss etc. is the specific character of Indian tradition. Mystery is emphasized in some semitic religion like Judaism and Islam but it is emphasized in its own manner in the religion of Indian tradition. In Indian tradition God's concept (nature) is so mysterious and so beyond human comprehension that it can only be conceived in negative terms like Apar, Agocher etc. Judaism and Christianity take God as personal but in Hinduism God is neither taken as personal nor impersonal, but he is called super-personal. The most important difference is seen amongst the religions in regard to the relation of God to the world. In the semitic religions God is believed as the efficient cause and not the material cause. But in Hinduism God is both efficient and material cause of the world. Sikhism also adds the view that world is the revelation of God. But Sikhism denies God as the efficient cause.

Animistic expression or impulse is seen in the early Indian deities. It is also seen very well in many Indian tribes including the Boros. "The list of animistic expression is almost endless<sup>10</sup>". Primitive men worshipped really everything in nature. Trees, plants, mountains, hills, rivers etc. had been the objects of worship. The heavenly bodies ----- the Sun, Moon and the earth itself had become objects of worship.

Sacrifice is the most important rite in religion. In the history of religion lies its fact that it is meant by which it seeks to establish the communication and to enjoy communion with their gods. This type of communion is essential function for the religion. Sacrifice is not only possible by offering food and any article to their gods. The offerings are normally made by food or animal or vegetable. "If, for this purpose, offerings simply, or offerings of food simply, were all that was required,

then any article of food would serve to propitiate any god<sup>11</sup>". But such type of religious part is not seen in Buddhism, Mohmmadanism or in Christianity. But religious sacrifice is believed as the means to have the desired goal by some other worldly religions including the religions of the Boros. In Bathou religion the importance is given on animal sacrifice and offering drinks (rice beer) then the food offering. The concept of 'Soma' (wine) which is considered as the Vedic god is found in the Vedas. Here 'Soma' is also used as the offering. So, the sacrifice can be considered as a universal phenomenon for religion.

In Bathou religion we have one concept i.e. 'Garakhia Gossai'. Garakhia Gossai is the god of cowherds. He is also known as Laokhar Gossai. The concept of 'Garakhia Gossai' is equivalent with the concept of 'Lord Krishna' of Hinduism.

In Brahma Dharma Brahman is the sole reality. In Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma 'Śiva' is the chief god with believing the other gods and goddesses. The Brahma Dharma is monotheist. They devote everything to Param Brahma, the eternal God, but Mani Bathou Śiva Dharma being the believer of multi gods and goddesses, summon all deities to be present in Yajña (fire). But such type of Yajña culture is found in Indian mythology where different gods and goddesses are believed and worshipped.

### **Language game of Bodo's religion:**

'Language game' which is the important philosophical concept can be applied with Bodo's religion and by using this concept the philosophical status and foundation of the Bodo religion can be enhanced. 'Language game' is the key term used by Wittgenstein in his later philosophy. It is the main part of his philosophy and forms the

foundation of his later philosophy. Earlier Wittgenstein talks of 'Language game' to dispel our language confusion, but this does not lead to a philosophy that tells us how to use language in our ordinary lives. But this later work as 'Language game' appeared as the philosophy.

'Language game' is the activity performed with rules. It concerns with the multiplicity of language practices through ordinary discourse. In language game people are said to use language to prompt to do particular action. As reaction a new move is prompted. Language is a game or communication between two actions. We can clear it with a primitive language game – A means builder, B means assistant. A builds and is concerned with brick, sand, stone, bim, slab etc. and B has to supply these as soon as A makes the call. "Notice that Wittgenstein says that people are trained to 'react in this way' to the words of other<sup>12</sup>". As Wittgenstein said correct responses are not inherited but acquired through teaching exercise. It is the game between action and reaction.

Language game can be divided into two types-Linguistic and Non-linguistic: Linguistic language game is pure because it is exercised through language discourses. Non-linguistic language is impure because it is performed with the help of some bodily movement. The symptom of Linguistic and Non-linguistic language game is found in Bodo religion. In Bathou religion worshippers make correct responses with the action of Doudhini, Douri and Ojha at the Kherai puja. Here Doudhini dances and moves round the altar and the worshippers also join in the circle of dancing with Doudhini. The "Ojha" is the person at the kherai puja who chants the mantras or formulas and which is correctly followed and responded by the worshippers. "At the time of chanting the formula the

"Ojha" is found in a half sitting position without using any tool or mate, while the Douris also follow his position<sup>13</sup>". The game is seen in Brahma Dharma also. In Hom Yojña the worshippers send flowers into the Homkunda as soon as Purohit chant the mantras. This is nothing other than a game between worshippers and the Ojha, Douri, Doudhini, Purohit etc.

Language game can also be classified into religious and scientific. From the point of view of Wittgenstein rationality does not play a role in religious language game but rationality plays a role in scientific language game only. Religious language game has no rationality which is based on empirical data. From the point of view of Wittgenstein it can be said that Folk religion like Bathou religion of the Bodos plays religious language game which contain different religious practices like rituals, prayer, worship etc. But philosophy of religion is the scientific study of religion. Wittgenstein offers an anti-rationalistic concept of God. He said that religious belief is neither rational, nor irrational, but something separate and distinct from the concept of rationality. From point of view of Wittgenstein Boro religion plays religious language game only. But Wittgenstein's concept of language game is not absolute as found in Boro religion. Boro religion though is a Hinduised type of religion, but is independent in their opinion, view and culture which has rationality because every religion is autonomous.

### **Family resemblance concept of Boro religion:**

Further, family resemblance is a philosophical concept of Wittgenstein. It resemblances the type of similarity that can be found within the family. "The daughter in a family could have the "same" nose as her father, while the father and the son has the "same" ears but there is no characteristic common to all members of the family, still

there is a bond between them<sup>14</sup>". "Reminding us that, in a family, one member will have brown hair like one brother or sister, blue eyes like another, and be left handed like yet another, Wittgenstein points out that a series of relationships of height, health, hair colour, left handedness or what have you relates each member of the family to all the others without there being any one thing which all the members of the family share<sup>15</sup>".

All components that constitute the "partnering family" where family resemblance concept can be applied. The family resemblance concept can be described as a 'partnering concept' or like 'flower' where centre contains the common components.

All religions are grouped under a family where similarities and differences are there. The similarities between different components of religion are just like the resemblances between the family members. The concept of God of religion as Wittgenstein speaks, resembling one another in the manner of family members. " 'Family resemblance' is not something like black hair that each member of a family possesses. To speak of human beings or games or whatever as forming a family is to draw attention to the existence of similarities among them<sup>16</sup>". There are differences and similarities among the gods and goddesses of Boros religion in regard to their characteristics and nature. In spite of these they have been bound up as a family having some resemblances. In Bathou religion the concept of 'Bathou' is the common element just like the centre of the flower. "I can think of no better expression to characterise these similarities than 'family resemblances'<sup>17</sup>".