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Editorial

The word plagiarism is derived from a Latin word *plagiarius*, meaning “kidnapper.” Kidnapper is someone who unlawfully steals/seizes a person against their will. Likewise, the modern concept of plagiarism is an ideal emerged in the academic world that denotes the deliberate stealing or reckless representation of someone’s ideas, thoughts or writings as one’s own without crediting or acknowledging the original source or author. Academic plagiarism, according to Bela Gipp is the “...use of ideas, concepts, words, or structures without appropriately acknowledging the source to benefit in a setting where originality is expected.” Thus, the literary thieving of all published and unpublished materials, whether in manuscript, printed or electronic form, is covered under this.

Within academia, plagiarism is generally treated as a heinous sin and intellectuals address the practice of academic plagiarism as a disciplinary sin. Over the years, several cases of extreme plagiarism have been identified where students, researchers and professors were caught for academic dishonesty. Academic offender is subjected to a number of penalties like suspension, public disclosure, and loss of research funding and even to the extent of constituting a crime punishable in court if it includes money, prizes, or job placement. Because of the raising issues of academic frauds, there is concern amongst writers, academics and scientists fearing that one’s ideas will be stolen by dishonest competitors. Thus, it results in extreme unwillingness to share their ideas and publish their works. In order to detect potential plagiarism and deter students and scholars from plagiarizing, many Institutions and Universities use anti-plagiarism software tools like *Turnitin and plagiarism.org* and so forth. Hopefully, a future will exist where plagiarism is nearly non-existent, if such software tool continues to evolve. In addition, thorough orientations on the issue of plagiarism should be provided and thrive towards reaching a virtual understanding amongst students and scholars that plagiarism is wrong and hence, unethical.

Yes, it is inevitable that idea and thoughts, in all aspects of academic study and research, are exchanged and learn from other writers or researchers which are considered as a legitimate and essential part of the academic process. However, academic integrity is more important and every independent thinker should not only review critically the work of others, but

also work towards creating one's own idea, weighing up different arguments and drawing one's own conclusions. It is true that plagiarism cannot be completely done away with but sincere efforts and measures to minimize plagiarism should be taken seriously by Institutions and Universities and, thereby, motivates serious scholars in the production of unique and great quality work on a consistent basis.

With this few lines I encourage all the readers of this Journal to be more cautious on plagiarism.

Resenmenla Longchar

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Status of Karbi Women

MAGGIE KATHARPI

Abstract

This article is an attempt to study the role and status of Karbi women and also weigh the pros and cons that they encounter. Gender has always been a burning issue in any given society. On the surface, Karbi women might seem to enjoy certain rights and freedom compared to their female counterparts. But an in-depth study reveals to some degree a different scenario; whether it's in the domain of education, religion, politics or economy. True, Karbi women need not change their surnames once married but there are areas where subtle inequality can be observed. God created everyone equal and therefore, this concept of equality must be sustained in a pristine form.

Keywords: *Karbi, Women, Work, Equality*

Women are truly unique. As stated by Ezamo Murry, "In a depraved generation in which you shine out like stars in the universe, as you hold out the word of life" (New International Version Study Bible, 2002, p. 1855). Murray is correct when he describes the strength of a woman in the following words, "This is what I mean by the power in women to appeal, persuade, envision and endure even when men cannot do"(Ezamo Murry, 2004, p. 53). Women are created for a special purpose and endowed with special gifts and qualities. If we were to review recent events it is clear that the role and status of women have not been realised to the fullest extent, despite their special qualities and abilities. This might be due to lack of commitment in implementing measures on behalf of women. Today, the status of woman has considerably changed. To a certain degree, they now share the same status as men and have their say on many issues. For instance, the status of Karbi women has been subject to many changes over the years. They are now shouldering not only responsibilities at home but also partaking and pro-actively participating in the field of education, socio-

economic, socio-culture, et al.

Earlier in Karbi Anglong, as with many other nomadic tribes, education was not seen as a necessity. To work and survive were the highest priority, however, in recent years, a drastic transformation has been observed. We now have more girls enrolled in schools, colleges and universities. A great number of Karbi girls are graduates and postgraduates now. The first Karbi graduate was Kabon Neli Timungpi Khongmen (1932). She had chaired the Assam Public Service Commission (from 1960 - 1962), became one of the members in the Union Public Service Commission (from 1962 - 1970) and chaired UPSC for three months. The education scenario has transformed greatly. The present generation has certainly made progress, and we can be confident that this development will be sustained. Many young girls are thriving in different courses that were previously undertaken only by boys. There are many female engineers, doctors, journalists, bureaucrats and even a few police officers. Many Karbi girls have learnt to move away from their cocoon by pursuing their studies in places such as Mumbai, Delhi, Pune, Bengaluru, Kolkata and even abroad. That education instills intelligence, wisdom and knowledge and also facilitates economic productivity is being understood now. Girls no longer remain secluded in the four corners of their homes. Access to education, irrespective of gender, is now widespread.

Many have rendered exemplary service to society through their hard work and dedication. The first Karbi female to pass in the Assam Public Service Commission was Larlyne Ingtipi (1983); Kadom Ingtipi, first Karbi female police officer (APSC- 2000), also adjudged best cadet; Priyanka Ingtipi, first Karbi female IAS officer (2004); Theso Kropi, first Karbi female Ph.D holder (2006) and many others working as doctors, nurses, bureaucrats, engineers, professors, air hostesses, journalists, martial arts experts, entrepreneurs, etc.

Karbi women have been highly instrumental in fostering and developing the economic status of the district. They account for more than 60% of the labour force. According to many, it should be more as majority of them are marginal workers. According to the distribution of work, a total of 173045 males and 58593 females are main workers, while a total of 33763 males and 65,079 females are marginal workers (Statistical Handbook Assam, 2007). A total of 1262 villages are referred to as sericulture villages (ibid, 2007). From 1999 until 2006, a total of 3195

Women SHGs (Statistical Handbook Assam, 2007) were formed.

They also depend much on paddy and other agro-based cultivation for their livelihood. A total of 2594 weavers are whole-time workers while a total of 47289 are working part-time (ibid, 2007). Women also breed cows, buffaloes, goats, pigs and other poultry fowls to sustain the family. Women skilled in weaving have opened up avenues for themselves. Both men and women make use of the traditional *poho* (headdress), *choihongthor* (vest) and *vamkok* (waistband) *pini* (lower wrap-around garment) and *pekok* (upper garment pinned to the blouse) respectively. These attires have been innovated and modified by the passage of time and most of these weavers as well as entrepreneurs have earned a handsome income through their hard work. A few educated women, instead of depending on government jobs, have established schools thereby providing an invaluable service to society. In this way, we see Karbi women scouring for ways to develop economically. We hardly see a Karbi woman sitting idle or doing nothing.

The religious activities amongst the Karbi are extensive. To them, religious practices are as essential as breathing and food. Women play a crucial role in making preparations for the ceremonies whether they are the devotees of Hemphu Mukrang, Bhaktitom, ISKON, Hinduism or Christianity. Their contributions include cleaning, preparing the seating arrangements and preparing the meals as and when necessary. *Lodeppi* (female shaman) plays an indispensable role when it comes to declaring future events. In addition to this, we have *Uchepi* (cook for the dead) and *Charhepi* (female dirge singer), without whom no funeral rites can be completed. Amongst the Karbi Christians there is no gender disparity. Many women have become church leaders, leading the congregation towards a fruitful life.

Karbi women are highly regarded in the society especially at times of birth, death and marriage. Prayers are offered by elderly women for the smooth delivery and birth of the children. In death rituals, as mentioned earlier, the presence of *Uchepi* and *Charhepi* is a must. The former sings and takes care of the deceased, and also prepares food (*Anjam*) in a special way to be offered to the deceased, while the latter sings dirges to direct the soul of the deceased to *Chom Arong*, a place of eternity and rest. On the day of the cremation, the *Uchepi* will be the one to lead the funeral procession, carry the belongings of the departed soul and “light the funeral pyre helped by young boys and men” (TadoTerangpi, 1993, p.26). *Chomangkan*, which is another obligatory ritual to commemorate the departed soul and pray for their wellbeing in their afterlife, requires the presence of both *Uchepi* and *Charhepi*. Dirges and other folk hymns are sung by them. It is said, “Women often vie with one another for this important position.” (TadoTerangpi,

1993, p.26)

According to Karbi customary marriage law, the first rung has to be taken only by women. This first step is known as *Nengpi-Nengso Kachingki* wherein female relatives of both the families discuss the prospect of the marriage. The boy's mother offers the marriage proposal to the girl's mother. The proposal is conveyed but the decision of the girl is taken into account. Without the girl's consent, the marriage ritual does not proceed. Also, the bottle of wine (*horlang*) or flattened/pounded rice offered by the boy's family cannot be touched either by the father or by any of the relatives until the girl has given her consent. The parents are not the sole decision-maker for the girl; she gets to decide for her future. Sir Charles Lyall wrote, "...without her consent the beer and spirits cannot be accepted. If the wife reports consent, the beer and spirits are drunk by the two fathers. Sometimes they sit the whole night before the girl's consent is obtained" (Narola Imchen & E. Humtsoe, 2011, p. 67). There is mutual respect in the community and as a result this has helped to maintain relationships at home as well as at work.

The Karbi community (which belongs to the Mongolian race) nurtures a greater amount of tolerance, respect and flexibility towards women. Tribal communities are without doubt often liberal and open-minded to a considerable degree. But if Karbi women are to be compared to their female counterparts in other communities, they might be a little above in status. One of the main reasons for this is because a Karbi woman need not change her surname after getting married despite rigorously abiding by the patriarchal system. Her individuality remains intact. Also she can be reincarnated (Karbis believe in re-incarnation called *menkachevang* or *menchi*) provided the birth takes place in the same clan. Widows may also remarry. There is no dowry system as such, therefore, the burden of marrying off a daughter is felt less. According to G.C. Medhi, "no mother-in-law demands dowry, no question of bride burning" (G.C. Medhi, 1993; p. 37). In fact, we have many families in the community yearning for baby girls.

On the home front, women play an indispensable role. She not only nurtures and manages the home but she is highly respected. The role of elderly women applies not only on the home front but also in societal matters. At times, her 'say' on important matters becomes decisive. According to the Karbi traditional system and which is still extant, the '*Hemariipi*' or the mistress of the house (normally the title is given to the eldest son's wife) is solely responsible for looking after the family, house and property. Without

her consent no one can take a grain of rice from the *Sokpuru* and *sang rangtik* (place wherein rice is stored). The husband seeks her opinion and advice on almost every matter. All undertakings are mutually agreed. From this standpoint, it may be seen that Karbi women are highly regarded in the family.

The Karbi Customary Laws of inheritance have two main categories:

(a) *Mo Kardik* (immovable property)

(b) *Mo Karjang* (movable property)

According to the mode of inheritance, the sole daughter of a family may inherit the ancestral property if she has no brothers, provided she lives in her parental home, even after marriage. No relatives can lay a claim over this inheritance. Also, if a widow remarries and gives birth to a daughter then the latter may claim fifty percent of the property. Besides this, only the male child has the right to claim over the property. But if she remarries a man belonging to a different clan other than her husband's then her right to inheritance becomes null and void.

The present political scenario shows that Karbi women are enjoying political achievements. They are given equal rights in “the voting process for the selection of the members of the District Council, Legislative Assembly and parliament etc. and thus enjoy equal political rights in this independent India” (Aswin Bora, 1993, p. 14). At present, there are two sitting women Executive Members on the esteemed Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council and include women’s wings such as KNCA (Karbi Nimso Chingthur Asong) and this wing has stood up for women’s causes since its inception.

True, Karbi women as compared to their female counterparts in other communities may not have been subjected to various social stigmas, however, there are areas wherein things are subtly different. The following is an excerpt of Rasinja’s response to her brother Mukrang when asked about her decision in regard to the marriage proposal offered by Rang Mukrang for his son Long Mukrang:

“Nelipisiphardunthekjilang ma ik. Nelitum so-arloatumkelothuiason, hanthuiasonsikemathakachojorjikehotangjiahormuasonmandet. Lapuapot, ha nanglikemathaaling lo”

(Elder brother, what decision can I give? We girls are like rolled up plantain leaves, like bundles of herbs. We are like your possessions to be sold and exchanged. Therefore, you may do what you deem

best). (Rongbong Terang, 1993; p. 41)

This response by Rasinja appears to contradict the view that Karbi women have equal rights. However, according to Prof. U.B. Pandey, Rasinja replied in this manner because Hemphu is no ordinary being. He is “God Himself.” (1993, p. 46)

While Padmashree Rongbong Terang in this context opines, “Women are regarded as instruments of labour. From that point of view women appear to be bound to the male and the family by the bondage of slavery” (Rongbong Terang, 1993, p. 41). P.C. Phangcho writes in the same vein: “Thus, one can see that a Karbi woman enjoys freedom, high regard and status on one side, and is deprived of some social status and privileges” (P.C. Phangcho, 1993, p. 21). Spouses are always referred to as the other half – there are many things which cannot be done without her, but then, very sadly, women are still not equals. There are homes wherein sons are given more preferences than girls. Being a girl, she has to focus on household chores, consequently, she doesn’t have much time to study. There are undernourished women in every nook and corner of Karbi Anglong. This is because the literacy rate is low amongst women. Without education how are they supposed to know about hygiene or about remedial measures to resolve health problems? It is extremely sad to learn that there are still many Karbi girls who haven’t learnt their 3R’s. The educational enrolment of women in Karbi Anglong at the pre-primary level was 48806 out of 99201 and in the middle level it is 12213 out of 27748 (Statistical Handbook Assam, 2007). At the high school level it’s 5016 out of 11322, higher secondary level, 960 out of 2152 and in junior college, 157 out of 443 (Statistical Handbook Assam, 2007). The female literacy rate is only 47.30 % compared to the male literacy rate of 67.22% (Statistical Handbook Assam, 2007). According to the 2011 census, out of a total of 69.25 %, the female literacy rate is 62.00 % while the male literacy rate is 76.14 %. A low literacy rate will prevent women from understanding their capabilities and health and hygiene requirements. Many women are still not aware of HIV, AIDS and STD. According to the statistics collected by Jirsong Asong (an NGO in Diphu, K/A) in collaboration with Catholic Relief Services Guwahati, “Among those that have not heard of HIV (216), 94 (43.5%) are male and 122 (56.6%) are female. Thus, it is seen that there is disparity even in the basic knowledge between the male and female respondents on HIV, AIDS and STD. The knowledge on HIV is high among male respondents in comparison to the female respondents” (p.30). The immediate need is to educate more girls and women. Progress has been made, however, there are still many steps that need to be undertaken. The

report by Zila Sakhsarata Abhijan Samity, Karbi Anglong-Diphu, shows that according to the 2001 census, the urban population is 48,950 (male) and 42,980 (female) while the rural population is 3,73,300 (male) and 3,48,081 (female). According to the 2011 census, the total population in Karbi Anglong is 956313, of this, the male total population is 490167 and female is 466146.

The survey of illiteracy rates between the age group of 15 to 35 shows:

	Male	Female
URBAN	1,756 42.80%	2,346 57.19%
RURAL	49,295 45.44%	59,171 54.55%

Almost every block in Karbi Anglong shows the same representation – female population and literacy rates are very low. Human health and hygiene, intelligence, knowledge, standard of living and economic productivity can be successfully achieved only when one has learnt the 3R’s. If we are serious about creating and sustaining a better future, priority should be given to educating more women because women shoulder household responsibilities as well as activities pertaining to economic productivity. When women are educated, they’d be intelligent enough to take up nutrition as one of the main objectives to remedy health problems. We all know only a healthy person can work and be successful in life. Women will surely enlighten those around her. The workload at home should be equally distributed and equal opportunities given to all. This will not only ensure her rights but will also safeguard her future.

The mode of property inheritance provides ‘something’ to young females but customary law does not proclaim equal rights and inheritance among sons and daughters. Daughters, wives or widows can only inherit based on certain conditions.

Economically, almost every tribal woman is independent. In Diphu, vegetable vendors/sellers work till 8 o’clock at night. Most of these women sellers live in remote areas. On their way home, they are often victimized by people having bad intentions. Even though they enjoy economic freedom they are still traumatized. There are many men who live off the earnings of their women. There is nothing wrong in working as long as the yoke is shouldered equally. But if women are made to be the sole earners, burdened with housework and childcare, this is gross injustice. In fact, whenever we

talk about Karbi women, we are often reminded of her carrying her child at the front with a *peba* (a piece of cloth to carry a child) and a *khangra* (basket) on her back, laden with firewood or vegetables. This is clear evidence of the hard-working nature of Karbi women. The workload undertaken by the present generation might be done in different ways but it still remains the same.

We might have two women representatives in the council but their political status speaks otherwise, “A woman is not permitted to attend a village court for any trial” (Bora, 1993, p. 14). She is not allowed to be a member of a Village Council (called *Me* in Karbi). *Me* is the pillar of justice and local administration; almost every problem is looked into by *Me*.

In religious activities, women cannot participate in the rituals wherein sacrifices are offered. Equivalent honours are not given to all without reference to gender. Till today a woman has never been ordained a pastor. These are some of the prevailing discrepancies or the inconsistencies notwithstanding the pristine construction of equality to all men.

The aim of this article is not to find fault or assign blame to certain sections of society. It aims to awaken the consciousness of the people, present the facts and figures, weigh the pros and cons and pave the way for remedial measures. There is no readymade or easy panacea for solving all the ills besetting women. One of the ways by which society can be uplifted is through the quest for her identity. This can be achieved only through knowledge of the ‘*self*’ – and acknowledgement and knowledge of the ‘*self*’ can be gained only through education, support and proper boosting of self-esteem and confidence. In this way, one can be assured that none in society is deprived in any field, and every individual has the opportunity to make the most of their lives, thereby, sustaining the pristine form of equality as handed down to men by God Almighty.

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United Nations Organization's (UNO) Policy Initiatives on Ageing: A Review

JOSEPH ALUGULA

Abstract

The paper focuses on the policy initiatives concerning the aged undertaken by the United Nations (UNO) and its allied organisations namely, International Labour Organisation (ILO) and World Health Organisation (WHO). The first part of the paper deals with the UNO and its two world conferences namely the Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing (1982); and the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (2002). The second part discusses the policy measures undertaken by the ILO in different conferences initiated by it. In the third part, the role of WHO and its global programs, projects, conferences, and surveys, for the aged people have been discussed.

Key Words: *Ageing, Policy, UNO, ILO, WHO*

Ageing is a universal phenomenon and a biological process which occurs naturally to all living organisms, and human beings are no exception to it. A human baby is born, it grows, attains its infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, reaches old age and ultimately passes away. A person is generally considered old when he attains a certain years of age, wrinkles on the skin; lose their teeth, eyesight, physical and memory power. Ageing became one of the major challenges in the contemporary world due to moderate improvement in medical care, increasing life expectancy and proportionate increase of the elderly population. The elderly people constitute one of the most vulnerable sections of every society. They are not only physically weak but also economically dependent on others.

Therefore, the issues and problems of the aged people have drawn the attention of international organizations such as the United Nations Organization (UNO) and its aligned organizations like International Labour Organization (ILO) and World Health Organization (WHO). These

organizations have come up with some conventions and guidelines for the member states, concerning the aged. UNO in its two world conferences that is the Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing in 1982, and the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing in 2002 have set precedence on discussing the issue of ageing.

During the post-Second World War period, the growing awareness about ageing and its related issues particularly the disadvantaged situation of aged people in general led to the global attention on ageing, its care and protection. Therefore, international organizations have come up with different initiations related to social security, policy guidelines and programs concerning ageing at the global level.

1. The United Nations Organization (UNO) Initiatives for Ageing

Certain pioneering efforts to address the challenges of ageing began in the 1940s, shortly after the Second World War. The United Nations Organization (UNO) adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Article 22 of the Declaration guarantees the right to social security, (including old age protection) for all citizens of the world in its first conference in 1945 (Parduman Singh, 1998, p.1). The United Nations Organization took the first initiative for ageing when the government of Argentina submitted a draft declaration on old-age rights to the General Assembly in 1948. The draft contained several articles that referred to the rights of older people with respect to assistance, housing, food, clothing, health care, recreation and work as well as 'stability' and 'respect'. The issues mentioned in the draft stayed on the UNO agenda without being adopted and two years later, the United Nations Organization secretariat produced the report titled *Welfare of the Aged: Old-Age Rights*. (Sergei Zelenev, 2007, p.2)

The UNO in 1969 took up the issue on the conditions of the aged population, when the government of Malta submitted the topic for discussion to the General Assembly. In the 1970s, debates on the economic and social consequences of ageing ensued and it were in 1978, that the General Assembly decided to convene the first World Assembly which would be devoted to the issues of ageing. It was a step toward framing an international action plan on ageing which would tackle the needs and demands of the aged. It was also meant for analyzing the relationship between the ageing population and economic development. (UNO, 1982) Consequently, the first World Assembly on ageing was held in Vienna in 1982 which adopted

the Vienna International Plan of Action on ageing. Together with legal mandates stemming from the legislative and consultative bodies of the UNO such as the General Assembly, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) as well as the Commission for Social Development, the recommendations of the plan put the range of issues of the aged firmly on the international agenda. (UNO, 1982)

1.1. *Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing*

The Vienna International Plan of Action on ageing which was held from 26th July to 6th August 1982 was the first international instrument for action on the development of the aged. Over a thousand delegates attended the Assembly from a total of 124 member states, international bodies and non-governmental organizations. Fifty-two countries participated in the Assembly and the outcome was the Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing. It identified three priority areas: (a) looking for a sustainable form of development in a world with an increasing age of population; (b) the maintenance of good health and well-being of people belonging to an advanced age; and (c) the establishment of an appropriate and supportive environment for the people of all age groups. (Kasturi Sen, 1994, p. 45)

The Vienna Plan addressed various issues in its 62 recommendations for action. Such issues were those of health and nutrition, housing and environment, the protection of elderly consumers, family, social welfare, income security, employment and related areas. It also addressed issues concerning research, data collection and analysis, education and training.

In the wake of the Vienna plan which raised awareness on ageing issues around the world, several regional plans of action on ageing were adopted and coordinated by the United Nations Organization's regional commissions. They helped to (a) examine the existing situation in different regions; (b) identify the needs of the regions in order to improve the condition of older persons in forthcoming decades, and (c) propose measures and initiatives to aid the governments in this aspect. The regional plans made it clear that taking into account regional and national circumstances, the increase in the share of older persons in the population has a larger economic, social and political consequence that requires attention. (Sergei Zelenev, 2007, p.2)

A number of inter-regional meetings have taken place since the World Assembly in 1982: in Dakar in 1984 to consider the situation of the aged in Africa, and in Kiev in 1985 to review implementation of the international plan of action. In 1986, the United Nations Economic and Social Council

(UNESCO) reviewed specific achievements since the 1982 meeting. This international meeting called upon member states, multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations to combine the key elements of the international plan of action. It held with particular recognition that women form the larger proportion of the world's elderly and that special measures need to be undertaken in order to guarantee economic and social security for older women, including the provision of appropriate forms of social support and primary health care.

A global meeting organized under the aegis of the International Federation of Ageing (IFA) and the UN Office for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (UNSDHA) in 1990 have produced a series of briefing papers which examined the needs of older women. The meeting generated a number of important recommendations based upon knowledge of the socio-economic and health status of women in developing countries. It emphasized in particular, the need to recognize the valuable contributions being made by older women to the development process. It recommended for the first time the need to incorporate older women's economic and social security into national development plans. (Kasturi Sen, 1994, p. 47)

The General Assembly, in 1991 adopted the United Nations Organization Principles for Older Persons, for their inclusion in the national development programmes by the policy makers. There are 18 principles which have been grouped under five quality-of-life characteristics highlighting the contributions that older persons make to their societies:

1. Independence
2. Participation
3. Care
4. Self-fulfillment
5. Dignity

Later, the General Assembly assigned the year 1999 as the International Year of Older Persons. (UNO, 1999)

1.2. Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing

The Second World Assembly on ageing was a historic event and it was also the twentieth anniversary of the first World Assembly held in Vienna and it took place in Madrid between 8th and 12th of April, 2002. Its primary task was to review the execution of the commendation made by the first

assembly and the Vienna plan. Its aim was to formulate a new action plan to address the social, cultural, economic and demographic realities of the 21st century with special emphasis on the requirements of the developing countries. (UNO 2008)

It extended and improved upon the initiatives of the international community in the Vienna plan, and considered new paradigms of ageing and new realities of international cooperation. In order to share ideas and design policy solutions for the world's ageing population, the representatives of 159 countries gathered at the Second World Assembly on ageing (UNO, 2002). The Madrid International plan of Action on Ageing is a portrayal of a global consensus on the social dimensions of ageing resulting out of multilateral activities performed by the UNO over several decades.

2. The International Labour Organization (ILO) on Ageing

The concept of old age, and survivor's protection as an essential element of social security was included in The International Labour Organization (ILO), set up after the First World War in 1919. Before these objectives were formulated and its recommendations adopted by ILO, these were put in practice by introducing old age survivor's pension scheme in European countries. The first country to introduce such legislation was Germany in 1889. The International Labour Organization (ILO) since its creation in 1919; has actively promoted policies to countries to offer optimum levels of social protection to all members of the society. It is mentioned in the Declaration of Philadelphia and included in the ILO's aims and purposes. This has been considered a basic right of all individuals in the following ILO declarations and in a number of International labour standards.

The 17th International Labour Conference (ILC) of the ILO held in 1934, adopted six conventions relating to old age insurance (industry) of 1934, old age insurance (agriculture) of 1934, etc. The 1944 session of ILC adopted income security for the destitute (Parduman Singh, 1998, p.1). In 1952, the ILC in its 35th conference adopted the historic minimum standards (social security) convention 102 which includes old age, disability and survivor's benefits. Thus, the ILO has been continuously playing its role in respect of extending and amplifying old age, disability and survivor's protection. It is because of the concern of the ILO, the International Social Security Association (ISSA) and trade unions of various countries in the world. (Parduman Singh, 1998, p.2)

The ILO has long been committed to the issue of older workers and population ageing, specifically extending the international labour standards on older workers in employment, invalidity, old age and survivors' benefits, standards and guidance on retirement policies, the level of pension entitlements, and maintaining the standard of living for pensioners.

At the 89th ILO Conference in 2001, social security was an item on the agenda. The committee had before it, Report VI, titled "Social Security: Issues, Challenges and Prospects" prepared by the office which deals with the effects of ageing on social security. The report notes that social security systems must respond to new demographic challenges, such as ageing and changing family structures with important consequences for the funding of social protection. The committee also adopted a resolution and conclusions related to social security. (ILO, 2002, p.1)

3. The World Health Organization (WHO) on Ageing

WHO defines active ageing as "the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age" (WHO, 2004:1). The policy framework takes into account the indicators of health through the course of life, aids in the formulation of ageing policies at national and international levels and directs academic research on ageing. It has also influenced the practical application of policies at community level. The framework's conceptual approaches have been adopted by the policy-makers at various levels.

WHO has been interested in the health of older people since 1955, and the WHO expert committee on the planning and organization of geriatric services had its first meet in 1973. The establishment of a WHO global program followed this meeting on the health of the elderly. In 1982, the WHO adopted the theme "Add Life to Years" for World Health Day at the same time as the United Nations Organization first global assembly on ageing. Numerous studies were sponsored to assess the health and well-being of older populations in developed countries. The WHO global program maintained that one of the greatest advances in health care had been the recognition that many of the illnesses and disabilities previously considered inevitable in the elderly could now be regarded as remediable. (Kasturi Sen, 1994, p.48)

Since 1985, the WHO has also compiled a number of demographic and health profiles of ageing, in collaboration with national agencies in its member

states and the WHO special program for research on ageing was established in 1985. Its primary aim was to increase collaboration between scientific institutions in developed and developing countries in order to develop databases on the epidemiology of old age and improve understanding of the basis of preventive health care for older people (WHO, 1987). In addition, the WHO sponsored study of the western Pacific region has been extended to the southeast region of WHO (Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand), with the findings being processed. Collaborative studies with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) were also undertaken on ageing, with the WHO providing guidance on the health component of major socio-demographic studies. This will complement WHO plans to extend support for longitudinal studies on ageing in developing countries.

In some, the work of the WHO on ageing has evolved over a number of different phases. Between 1950 and the early 1970s, the focus was essentially a clinical one, which examined the need for establishment of geriatric medicine as a clinical specialty in the training of medical students. This perspective was broadened following the Alma Ata meeting of 1978 which introduced the notion of incorporating the needs of older people within systems of primary care under the rubric of “Health for All”. Three studies which have undertaken by the WHO in the developed countries have implications for the developing world. These are the multinational Monitoring of Trends and Determinants in Cardiovascular Disease (MONICA) project being conducted by the WHO’s NCD (Non-Communicable Diseases) division in forty countries including China. The European Risk Factors and Incidence Collaborative Study (ERICA) have produced data on more than 40,000 people including many over 85 year old. The sample in the proposed disability study in China amounts to over 1 million older persons (WHO, 1987).

The WHO renamed its “Health of the Elderly Program” as “Ageing and Health” in 1995 and it indicated an important change in orientation. The new name adopted a life course perspective rather than compartmentalizing older people; that everyone will age and preventing diseases and promoting health throughout the life course is the best way to ensure good health for the future of older people. Conversely, if the life events which the older people have gone through are taken into consideration, the health of the elderly can be fully understood. In addition, the program highlighted the importance of:

1. Adopting community-based approaches by taking communities as primary units for interventions.
2. Considering cultural contexts and influences.
3. Acknowledging the importance of gender differences.
4. Strengthening inter-generational links.
5. Understanding ethical issues related to health and well-being in old age. (WHO, 2002, p.54)

The “International Year of Older Persons 1999” was a landmark in the WHO’s work on ageing and health. That year, the World Health Day theme was “Active Ageing Makes the Difference” and the “Global Movement for Active Ageing” was launched by the WHO director-general, Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland. Dr. Brundtland stated maintaining health and quality of life across the lifespan will do much towards building fulfilled lives, a harmonious intergenerational community and a dynamic economy. WHO is committed to promoting active ageing as an indispensable component of all development programs. (WHO, 2002, p. 54)

To emphasise the importance of the life course perspective, the name of the WHO program was changed again in 2000 as “Ageing and Life Course”. Refinement of the “Active Ageing” concept has been added and translated into all the program activities, including research and training, information dissemination, advocacy and policy development. In addition to the ageing and life course program at the WHO headquarters, each of the six WHO regional offices has its own advisor on ageing who can address specific issues from a regional perspective. In order to sensitize and educate primary health care workers and build capacity in primary health care centres, the WHO initiated the related age-friendly primary health care project in 2002 to provide for the specific needs of their older users. Despite the important role of such centres in older people’s health and well-being, there are many obstacles to health care that may result in older people not changing behaviours detrimental to health or becoming discouraged from seeking or continuing treatment. (WHO, 2004, p.2)

The project thus provides a set of age-friendly principles for primary health-care centres and training and information materials for primary health-care workers on how to confront such challenges. With the aid of a set of training and information materials, including a protocol for evaluating the impact of the project, implementation of the principles will be piloted

in at least four developing countries. Upon completion, the package will be widely circulated to health and social care providers through electronic and other setups.

The world health survey collected information in 71 countries in 2003 on population health status and health services coverage which included data on older age groups. The information also helped have better understanding of the determinants of health and causes of morbidity at older ages. A longitudinal study on health and ageing stemming out of the survey is being conducted in six countries. (WHO, 2004, p.3)

A series of international conferences on ageing, such as the International Federation on Ageing Sixth Global Conference in Perth, Australia, from 27th to 30th October, 2002 and Seventh Global Conference in Singapore, from 4th-7th September, 2004 were organised. Moreover, the active ageing conceptual approaches with its three pillars of health, participation and security in their respective agendas have been adopted at the XVIII World Congress of Gerontology in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 26-30 June 2005. The WHO has taken an advisory role in international as well as in national research projects on active ageing such as those sponsored by the European Commission. (WHO, 2004, p.3)

The WHO health action on the ability of older people to maintain their self-sufficiency and autonomy through work, intergenerational support and social pension schemes ultimately determines their capacity to cope with and recover from crises. Similarly, to cope with chronic health conditions and disabilities, subsidized health care and medicines can help older people. To the extent that these conditions place older people at increased risk in emergencies, appropriate health care and social services are important steps towards mitigating the effects of disasters (David Hutton, 2008, p.27). The WHO as a division of the UN became more actively involved and the global program for the health of the elderly was established. It was evident that there were only a handful of health-based studies of the aged in developing countries. Thus, the early 1980s saw a shift in the overall emphasis from developed to developing countries and a support for a number of major research projects under the aegis of the WHO regions.

In conclusion, discussion mentioned above are the initiatives taken by international organizations such as the UNO and its allied organizations ILO, WHO. United Nations Organization (UNO) and its two world conferences like Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing in 1982, Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing in 2002; the ILO and its resolutions,

the WHO and its global programs etc. have led many countries to throw some light on ageing and its related issues for the policy consideration.

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Predicament in Understanding the Human Biology and Cognitive System

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Abstract

Mind-body dichotomy has been generating lot of interest not only in the academic and scientific communities, but also among laities. The traditional folk psychology and mythologies have been subjected to serious scientific scrutiny and most of them have been put aside as superstition and baseless imagination. Over the last few decades the understanding of the human mind and its cognitive abilities have taken a remarkable stride towards ethereal materialism – a materialism of 21st century that bases its operation on the intangible language and logic of the cyber technology. It is argued that the human mental world can be simulated in the algorithm of a computational machine. This makes logic and language the most potent tools in understanding and re-creating the mental world. However, medical science, with its diversified perspectives in Allopathy, Ayurveda, Homoeopathy, and so on, gives out diverse views on life itself. Although the humans have been fairly successful in simulating the human cognitive abilities on non-living material, yet the human biology is still a big mystery. In the contemporary times, humming to the tune of scientific temperament, the understanding of man is reduced to the understanding of the matter; the subtle is sought in the gross. However, as philosophy teaches, the appearance is not reality; time has come to draw a paradigm shift. The human cognitive system is not only conditioned by the physiological factors of the individual, but also the socio-cultural factors and personal life-style that influence one in forming a certain set of assumptions and the cognitive perspective. Hence, this paper is aimed at drawing one's attention to yet another dimension of mind-body issue, through the concepts of Clinical Philosophy.

Keywords: *Ethereal materialism, Vital force, Limbic system, Thinking, Thosene*

Why can't we stop thinking? What will happen if we stop thinking? These are the two questions that interest both the young and the old alike. These two questions are highly pertinent to anyone who is concerned with the functioning of the human mind. Thinking is a complex activity that

happens in the cognitive system of animals; although there could be variations in the processes involved in this activity among different species of animals. However, thinking is not only conditioned by the physiological state of the thinker, but also the socio-cultural factors and personal experiences that influence one in forming a certain set of assumptions and the cognitive perspective. Thinking in the Cartesian perspective is a highly distinctive feature of the *Homo sapiens*, and in modern philosophy it is the interplay of logic and language; and to the neurophysiologist it is an outcome of the release and re-uptake of the neurotransmitters. Over the last few decades, the understanding of the human mind and its cognitive abilities has taken a remarkable stride towards *ethereal materialism* – a materialism of the 21st century that bases its operation on the intangible language and logic of the cyber technology. It is argued that the human mental world can be simulated in the algorithm of a computational machine. This makes logic and language the most potent tools in understanding and re-creating the human mental states.

Traditionally, it has been held that Cognition, Conation and Volition are the processes of the mind; true to a great measure. But the question is: What makes these processes happen? Is it the physiological jigsaw of pile of chemicals or something else? Centuries ago, Descartes claimed mind to be an intangible substance. Descartes lived in a fairly sophisticated time, when things were gradually moving towards science. Although in his time there were no computers, they did have something similar to robots in the French Royal Gardens. They were some sort of hydraulic characters that would operate according to the flow of water. So, if one stepped on a certain panel, a warrior would jump out with a sword, and if stepped somewhere else, a princess would stand up in elegance. This made Descartes think that the human body works exactly the same way, being controlled by some invisible substance from within.

Descartes sought to explain the mind in terms of an amorphous substance; Ryle thought of it as dispositional behaviour; Hume thought of it in terms of fleeting experiences; Freud gives it more abstract colouring with the tripartite division. And enthralled by the glamour of scientific temperament, the scholars of 20th and 21st century would be tempted to explain these processes in terms of neurobiology. In the present times, it is thought that mental states can not only be explained but also be replicated on a silicon based material, given the right combinatorial prerequisites. It is further argued that such mental states can be posited to entities in all possible worlds; even if the physiological matter that constitute them are different from the one

seen on the humans. The dominant theory, at present, suggests that locus of all mental states is in the brain; and the precise substances implicated, for instance, in mood fluctuation and the state of chronic depression, are the typical sort of neurotransmitters – the biogenic amines. It is held that the temporal-limbic region, an action oriented part of the limbic system, regulates emotions. Further, it is argued that Amygdala and hypothalamus are the prime locus of emotions; Amygdala is thought to be the area in the brain that controls Fear; and if the Amygdala is removed then the person may intellectually know something to be fearful, but will not be afraid of a fearful stimulus. The current research on mind and its cognitive abilities are carried out in terms of physiological traits of the human cells and nerve fibers. However, all these explanations, at the final analysis, will lead to something that is intangible and abstract. It is possible to assume that if the same sort of neurons triggers neurotransmitters for different set of mental states, then mental states do not necessarily depend on the triggering of the neurotransmitters, as their function is not limited to producing a single mental state, but something more. More so, if it is possible to consider that any given nerve cell may have receptors for more than one neurotransmitter, and so can receive more than one kind of message, then it is also possible to assume a mechanism that could help in firing more than one kind of neurotransmitter by the same neurons.

To move on further, the act of thinking involves minute alterations in the cell chemistry, electrical charges, blood pressure and so on. But, none of these isolated episodes can make thinking happen. Everything that happens to a person happens as a whole; it is inappropriate to explain the whole in terms of the functioning of isolated part or for that matter merely in terms of network of a few parts. The medical researchers that are inclined to move beyond the nervous system and the human physiology, indicates the presence of similar chemicals like the neuropeptides and corresponding receptors in other organs, such as heart, kidneys, stomach and intestine; as both the peptide hormones and the neuropeptides are synthesised by the same set of enzymes. It makes one wonder, along with Dr. Deepak Chopra, if these organs can ‘think’ in the same sense as the brain; as they are capable of producing identical neuropeptides – perhaps, a valuable reason behind the success of cloning. In a similar way, some researches on mind-body interaction shows that Insulin, a hormone produced by pancreas, is known to be capable of being produced by the brain also, just as brain chemicals like transferon are produced by the stomach. It is, further, held that the potential for ingenuity and humour weaving comes from the brain’s left

hemisphere's language centres, and the subsequent activities of the frontal lobe and the instantaneous response of the right hemisphere in construing the incongruence in the message being conveyed.

As a matter of fact, all humans have the capacity to express happiness in the form of a smile or laughter; that even the primates seem to show some pant-like laughter. However, research also shows that *anacephalic* infants, born with nothing but a brain stem, will appear to laugh when tickled. How is that possible, if what one considers as mental states is the outcome of certain neuro-chemical activities of the brain and nerve fibers? Several such medical findings makes it possible to assume that what we call Mind is neither confined to the brain, nervous system and the neuropeptides or neurotransmitters, nor confined to mere networking of them; but it is in what I call the all pervading *energy field*, within.

This energy field exists in the form of "I", which is an *aggregate of sum total of thoughts, sentiments and energy (Thosene)*. Thus, the "I" is an ontological entity – an ethereal field; the *Prāna śakti* / the *Ojas* (in India), *Chi* (in China), and *Ki* (in Japan). Given its true nature, this ethereal field, being a non-spatial and non-temporal universe of frequencies, is in no requirement of an overt language for communication; because all sort of communication is intrinsic and spontaneous in this non-spatial and non-temporal realm. It is this non-spatial field that holds all information pertaining to the human organism – the memory of learnt information, the memory of old experiences and the cognitively ascribed meaning, the progress and defences of the old ailments, the memory of immune system and so on. One may call this field as the *vital force* with an all-encompassing Consciousness -- as held by Ayurveda, Homoeopathy and such other systems of medicines.

Consciousness has been the subject of much discussion. It has been generating a lot of confusion for quite some time now. The reason behind this could be that the human existence ceases to have meaning in the absence of consciousness. Medically speaking, consciousness is the outcome of electro-chemical activities of the human physiology; aligned with this is the common sense opinion that consciousness means having one's eyes open, responding to questions, and humming one's favourite tune when in a joyful mood etc. This, in other words, means that one's being conscious assures one's awareness of what is empirically happening around oneself. However, there is much more to consciousness than the functions of sum total of electro-chemical activities. Life is the product of the complex inner relationship that exists within a large number of cells, nerve fibers and their overall behaviour.

As a matter of fact, in describing the human body it is only the relationship between cells and different anatomical units that matters. But, the human body is in flux! Fresh materials are continually replacing the old ones, in the process of growth and development. In fact, little material that constitutes one's present body was there a decade ago. Yet, no sane person will deny that one *was* and *is* the same person, with individual, historical and socio-cultural identity. However, the explanation for continued identity cannot be sought in the transient cells and nerve fibers or the neurotransmitters; rather it has to be in the aggregate of the sum total -- the *Conscious field*. This aggregate is the intangible field, which is overshadowed by the parts; this intangible field is the continuum in the bodily flux. So, Consciousness consists of the *thoughts* of one's awareness, *sentiments* of affections, and *energy* of one's being (*Thosene*). Consciousness is the "I"; the Self"; "the non-spatial and non-temporal substratum of being human".

Thus, what we call the "I" (the receptacle of all experiences) cannot be identified with any individual component of the body. This is vivid in one's everyday expressions such as *my son, my hand, my body, my father, I am happy, I am suffering, I love..., I hate...* and so on; where the terms "my" and "I" implies something over and above the ever changing biochemical pile of the corporeal bodies. The corporeal bodies are the by-product of, several ever-evolving, tangible and intangible elements such as the physical proximity between the organic and inorganic entities; the dominion of one over the other; the quantum movement of energy and astrophysical entities; the environmental determinants, and so on. This, in other words, means that the *thosene* is a conglomeration of several factors and, as a constitutional whole, emanates certain electromagnetic energy; with an *energy field*. It is this energy field that works in extra-sensory communication and extra-sensory perception, without a spoken language – as in the case of telepathy and clairvoyance.

Thosene is essentially the spirit of *being human*. Man in this sense is the holistic sum of the ephemeral organism, and *Thosene* (which is the ethereal field). For instance, the first time one learned the art of writing, the brain chemicals present on that occasion have been vanished by the time one had finished the writing activity at that time. However, now, when one re-creates that activity, by engaging in the act of writing, there are actually cellular reactions that begin *afresh and from nowhere*, since the brain cells are devoid of the same old molecules. Further, it has been pointed out by the medical research that between the ages of 30 to 90 the number nerve fibers in the nerve stem falls by 25 percent, and that the weight of the brain falls

from an average of 3.03 Ib to 2.27 Ib. Now, the question is what gives the continuity of the contents that are being supposed to be stored in the brain, despite the transience and discontinuity of nerve cells and bodily chemicals? Where are the contents of the memory stored? The only possible answer to this question is that the information is imprinted and assimilated in *thosene*; because *thosene* is not subject to mitosis and meiosis, and the information is never eradicated completely. It is, then, right to treat the human organism as a network of bio-physical information system, with *thosene* as the substratum. This, in other words, shows that *thosene* controls the frequency and the sequel of triggering neurotransmitters or of the combinatorial properties of neuropeptides that would give rise to certain psycho-somatic states.

Further, the humans are not limited to reflexive actions alone. Rather, the humans are capable of coordinated, creative, and spontaneous things. The Humans can use language, and the spoken language as a human construct has been perhaps the epistemological necessity of the *thosene*, for certain day to day empirical transactions. Any information that one acquires is supposed to be retained, recalled and expressed in a language. But, the symbols and the sounds of the human overt language in themselves do not have any meaning; they are rather the representations of the inner concepts and the meaning of experiences. The meaning is the outcome of the conceptual schema of the *thosene* within the cognitive system. The human cognitive system has its own syntax; and the semantics is unique to the individual. It is a medically held postulate that an infant develops the sense of recognition only after ninety days or so. The first and foremost activity of an infant is to make sense of the world that s/he experiences through his/ her senses. During this phase, infants experience various sounds, various visual stimuli, varied temperature, and so on. But, they are not capable of classifying these experiences as the experience of so and so, in the language of an adult or as an adult does it. This is so, because for the experienced stimulus to be identified and classified as sound, sight, temperature and so on, one needs to have certain set of concepts formed about the world; and for the formation of concepts, a language is required. Here, the question is, as an infant does not have any idea about the language that an adult speaks, at least for two years, how does s/he conceptualise the world or cognise the world? The answer is quite simple. The infant has his/her intrinsic private language; the language of the self (*thosene*). Every stimulus that an infant experiences is assessed, coded and assimilated in this private language. This is evident from the infantile talks. The infant speaks his/ her own private language, which others are not privy to. However, as s/he grows up, the language that

an adult speaks becomes an object of knowledge – an object language. Like any other object of knowledge, the language in question is cognised and the syntax of it is conceptualised.

The language used for conceptualisation of the syntax of an adult language is the language of the self (the Meta Language). The infant / child learns to use an Object Language only if they are exposed to other people who use that language; and they learn to conceptualise the words by imitation and repetition. They learn about the world ostensibly, through the senses, by understanding the intensity and the dimensions of various stimuli. This is the time when the individual starts writing the visual, auditory and kinaesthetic representational information on the slate of one's Cognitive System, by sieving the essence of the raw sense datum. This process of conceptual coding is done in the private language of the self. Once the syntax of an adult language is learnt, the Cognitive System of the child establishes a symbolic equivalence between the syntax of the *thosene* and that of the adult language. So, basically one creates the meaning of an experience or a word as s/he has conceptualised it in one's own private language. This is the basis of cognition. For example, words like 'comfort' and 'relax' mean different things to different people, though apparently they seem to evoke the same meaning. The private language of an individual is the symbolic language of the Cognitive System. This language is imbued with certain affective contents; and has the power to arouse certain affective states, as and when an appropriate stimulus is introduced to the Cognitive System. Thus, the private language is the language of the Unconscious Ratiocination, and often the cause of epistemic block in intra-personal and inter-personal interactions.

This means that the meaning of an experience is equivalent to the privately deciphered and coded information in one's Cognitive System. At this juncture one might ask: *Can an adult understand the private language of an infant?* This question is genuinely valid; although this question could be raised about the inner states of adults too, as one can rarely know the inner state of another person in its entirety and intensity. This is so, because the above mentioned process is true of all individuals. The significance of this question lies in the fact that there is a constant interaction between the mother and the child, with an apparent indication of some form of communication. Well, the only (possibly) convincing answer is that one (the mother and/ or the child) makes conjectures about the other's inner states by *introspective-analogy*; and often the conjectures turn out to be almost correct! The human cognitive system is the sum total of Fundamental

Assumptions, Fundamental Position, Cognitive Perspective, Unconscious Ratiocination and Consciousness (in the sense of common awareness). What we call knowledge is the meaning attributed to the experienced stimulus in one's Cognitive System, in the language of one's *thosene*. This is the reason for different reactions to the same situation by different people; and possibly the reason that different people recall different segments of the same event in clear and vivid manner, and forget (ignore) some other segments of the experienced contents. The contents of human experiences enter into *Thosene* through the cognitive system and get registered there in visual, auditory and kinaesthetic chunks. And what makes each memory unique to the individual is what in the experience has been the most striking, peculiar, and common to the assumptions and position of the cognitive system; and what is not peculiarly in tune with the cognitive system is rejected as irrelevant and unimportant, and so forgotten.

As a matter of fact, a single thought can not only arouse a certain set of feelings, but also can make alteration in the endocrinal system and in the pattern of triggering of the neurotransmitters; so is also the case with the food and beverages that one ingests. People from different socio-cultural background consume different sort of food and beverages. Each of the food and beverage that one consumes, in conjunction with the oxygen and other gaseous elements in the circulatory system, produce multiple forms of hormones, enzymes, neuropeptides and other biochemical components in the body; the effects of which becomes obvious in the blood vessels, on the skin, the limbs, the body odour, the fat cells, and in the brain and the nervous system. The repeated adoption of a certain sort of food habits and the repeated exposure to a certain sort of socio-cultural, environmental and interpersonal stimuli, amounts to the creation of an unique memory of the traits and pattern of those stimuli and the food habits (with all other physiological concomitants), in the energy field; and this memory forms the part of the immune system. As the people of a particular socio-cultural terrain gets adapted to that form of food habits and life style, it is logically congruent to believe that their psycho-physical state of affairs is different from that of people from other socio-cultural background; as the kind, the pattern of triggering, and the sequence of hormones, neurotransmitters, and other biochemical components are different. This brings us to the point that constructing generalisations about mental states, on the basis of the studies on the physiological concomitants of a group of people, of a certain socio-cultural terrain, is not only incongruent with the facts about the physiology, but also that it is a mistake to seek the mental states in the flux of the

physiology. Perhaps, Albert Einstein was right in saying that the ‘human being is a part of a whole, called by us as “universe,” a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest, a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness.’ As philosophy teaches us that *appearance is not reality*, the time has come to formulate a paradigm shift, in understanding the human cognitive system and its operations, towards an oriental perspective; a shift from the west to the east!

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Economic and Political Aspects of Marriage: A Study on Marriage Rite of Nadars of Southern Tamil Nadu

C. JUSTIN SELVARAJ

Abstract

Marriage is a standard means for converting actual or potential enemies into allies. Marriage encompasses economic considerations. The prime aim of this paper is to explore the economic and political aspects of marriage of Nadars especially in Tamilnadu. Nadars are identified into two major categories. As they are the northern residents of Virudunagar, Madurai, Theni and other cities of Tamil nadu to their home land, they are known as northern Nadars. The second category of southern Nadars is the inhabitants of Thoothukudi, Tirunelveli and Kanniyakumari districts of Southern Tamilnadu which is considered as their home land. For analyse, descriptive analysis has been used with ethnography data on marriage alliance and dowry of the present marriage rites of Nadars. Through the social organisation of Nadars, it substantiates the recent changes in social structure of sub-group of Nadars and Nadars as whole. It is also to be noted that a new marriage alliance has been identified among the Nadars of Tamilnadu after the observation of migration among the Nadars occurred in recent decades.

Keywords: Nadar, Marriage, Kinship, Economy, Political, Alliance, Dowry

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to deal with marriage rite by examining its economy and political aspects. Marriage rite has been taken from Nadars of Southern Tamilnadu. Nadars are identified into two major categories. Since they are the northern residents of Virudunagar, Madurai, Theni and other cities of Tamilnadu to their home land, they are known as northern Nadars. The second category of southern Nadars is the inhabitants of Thoothukudi, Tirunelveli and Kanniyakumari Districts of Southern Tamil nadu (Templeman Dennis, 1996). Thus these three districts are considered the home land of Nadars. According to Hardgrave reconstructed history of the Nadars, which begins from the nineteenth century, their original house land was Tiruchendur

taluk of the modern Thoothukudi district of Tamil Nadu. Their traditional occupation was toddy tapping. Most of the Nadars (the Shanars as they were then known) were engaged in cultivation and climbing of the palmyra, an endogamous sub-group called Nadan, 'land of the soil' owned the lands and the trees and each Nadans had a group of dependent climbers to work for them (Robert L. Hardgrave, 1969, pp. 27-28). This paper will explore on the economy and political aspects of marriage of the Nadars with the support of marriage rites data collected from the field.¹

Social Organisation of Nadars

The social organisation of Nadars is found in the following manners: *Karukkuppattai*² (which is also known as *Manattan*) and *Nilamaikkaran*³ of Nadars' families are identified with their region names. Their identification of clan names (despite of not having clan as such) are identified with their regions they belonged to. Among the *Karukkuppattai* and, *Nilamaikkaran*, there is a new arrival in their social organisation is religion. Religion plays a major role in all their life cycle ceremonies. Whereas *Nattathi*⁴ Nadars, another sect of Nadars are mostly Hindus, their clan is observed as a key role in all the ritual ceremonies of every family. Nattathi Nadars' clan is identified as *indi*⁵ (family/house). There are 113 clans found among the Nattathi Nadars of Tamilnadu. Due to migration within the state in many districts, the clans are being identified with different names such as ancestors' names, place names, occupation names etc. Another sect of *Sirukudi*⁶ Nadar has no practice to call their clan with any names, but other sect of Nadars calls them *MarumakkaVazhi*⁷. They do not have any clan structure as other groups of Nadars have, and moreover many of them embraced Christianity so their marriage alliances are made with Christian Nadars. Despite the marriage alliances with other sects of Christian Nadars, if other sects of Christian Nadars come to know about their lineage is from *MarumakkaVazhi* or *AruthuKatti* (who practices widow remarriage); they may not go for marriage alliance. The next major element is religion, once the clan and region were seen as the important markers for having marriage alliance among the Nadars. Then it gradually decreased its importance in their social organisation. It is to be noted that the major changes of Nadars took place after the entry of Christianity and the new way of looking the Hindu religious views through AyyaVazhi⁸.

Kinship Terminology of Nadars

Abbreviation	Referents	Folk terms of Kinship
FFFF	Great-Great grandfather	<i>Ottan⁹/Muppattan¹⁰</i>
FFF	Great grandfather	<i>Poottan¹¹</i>
FF	Grandfather	<i>Thatha</i>
FM	Father's Mother	<i>Appamma/Valathamma</i>
F	Father	<i>Appa/Ayya</i>
FeB	Father's elder Brother	<i>Periyappa/Moothappa</i>
FyB	Father's younger Brother	<i>Sithapa/Sinnaiyya</i>
M	Mother	<i>Amma</i>
MeZ	Mother elder Sister	<i>Periyamma/Moothammai</i>
MyZ	Mother's younger Sister	<i>Sithi/Sinnammai</i>
MB	Mother's Brother	<i>Mama</i>
FZ	Father's Sister	<i>Atthai/Mami</i>
HM/WM	Husband's Mother/Wife's Mother	<i>Mamiyar</i>
eB	elder Brother	<i>Annan</i>
eZ	elder Sister	<i>Akka</i>
yB	younger Brother	<i>Thambi</i>
yZ	younger Sister	<i>Thankachi</i>
MBeS	Mother's Brother's elder Son	<i>Atthan</i>
MBeD	Mother's Brother's elder Daughter	<i>Maini/Mathani</i>
MByS	Mother's Brother's younger Son	<i>Machan/Mappillai</i>
MByD	Mother's Brother's younger Daughter	<i>Kozhunthiyal</i>
eZH/ yZH, WeB/ WyB, Atthan/ Machinan/Mappillai (ms)	elder Sister's Husband/ younger Sister's Husband, Wife's elder Brother/ Wife's younger Brother	<i>Atthan/Machinan</i>

yZH, HyB, MByS, FZySKolunthan (ws)	younger Sister's Husband, Husband's younger Brother, Mother's Brother's younger Sister, Father's Sister's younger Son	<i>Kozhunthan</i>
WeZ/WyZ, eBW/ yBWAnni/ Maini/ Mathani/ Nangaiah, Kolunthyal (ms)	Wife's elder Sister/Wife's younger Sister, elder Brother's Wife/younger Brother's Wife	<i>Kozhunthiyal/Anni</i>
HeZ, HyZ, HeBW/ HyBWSammanthi/ Nathanar/Orpadiayal (ws)	Husband's elder Sister, Husband's younger Sister, Husband elder Brother's Wife	<i>Maini/Sambanthi/ Nathanar</i>
Sambanthi (SWF/ SWM, DHF/DHM)	Son's Wife's Father/ Son's Wife's Mother, Daughter's Husband's Father/Daughter's Husband's Mother	<i>Sambanthakudiyar/ Kolaudaiyar</i>
S	Son	<i>Makan</i>
D	Daughter	<i>Makal</i>
DH/ZS ms,BSws	Daughter's Husband/ Sister's Son	<i>Marumakan</i>
SW/ZDms, BDws, BSWms, ZSWws	Son's Wife/Sister's Daughter	<i>Marumakal</i>
SS, DS	Son's Son, Daughter's Son	<i>Peran</i>
SD, DD	Son's Daughter, Daughter's Daughter	<i>Pethi</i>
SSS	Great grandson	<i>Kolluperan</i>
SSD	Son's Son's Daughter	<i>Kollupethi</i>
SSSS	Great-Great grandson	<i>Elluperan</i>
SSSD	Great-Great grand- daughter	<i>Ellupethi</i>

Economic Aspect of Marriage

This segment of economic aspect of marriage deals 'dowry' and 'bride wealth' practices which are found among the Nadars of southern Tamilnadu. Inheritance is from father to son as far as landed property is concerned, but women receive a marriage dowry as their share (Good, Anthony, 1978). At the time of the marriage or before, the agreed 'dowry' payment is made to the bridegroom by bride's father. Although bride wealth is not predominantly found in marriage rite of Nadars of southern Tamilnadu, there is a practice identified in which some amount is given by bridegroom to bride's father. After this presentation is given by bridegroom then marriage is proceeds further. So, it is considered that bride is taken from a group with the presentation given by bridegroom. Thus it can be identified and termed as '*Parisam*'¹² in indigenous and bride wealth in analytical.

Nattathi, a sub-sect of Nadars will never decide dowry for their bridegroom. Instead of that, bride family shares somewhat as wealth from bride which is regularly accepted by the bridegroom's family. And bridegroom is honoured by bride's father during festival in the village or feast at home. The practice of dowry in Kanniyakumari, Tiruchendur, Nanguneri regions is seen as one time settlement by bride's family; and in the regions of western part of Tirunelveli, Thoothukudi (especially among the Nattathi Nadars) dowry is seen as an instalment payment (bridegroom is honoured in every festival in the village and feast at home as mentioned before). It is to be noted that as an obligation, bride's father gives gifts (in the form of cash or goods) to newly married couple for one year from the date of marriage in the following auspicious days such as the birth of *Adi* month¹³, Eve of *Avani*¹⁴ in the year, Pongal, Easter, *Thirukkarthikai*¹⁵, Deepavali, and Christmas.

Political Aspect of Marriage

Marriage is a standard means for converting actual or potential enemies into allies (Mair, 1971: 78 & Alan Barnard & Anthony Good (Eds.), 1984, p.139). Marriage rules itself is political act, for instances, who can marry whom? What sort of category, a person would make a good spouse? Questions may be increased according to its marriage rules. Marriage is regulated by two categories of rules. One is exogamy and other one is endogamy. As we all know, exogamy is a rule of marriage in which an individual can marry outside

his own group. It prohibits marrying within the group. Another practice of endogamy is a rule of marriage in which the life-partner is selected within the group. It is marriage within the group and the group may be caste, class, tribe, race, village, religious group etc. Thus, “exogamy is the requirement that one marry outside a particular unit, endogamy the requirement to marry within another, obviously larger unit” (*Ibid*, p. 93).

In the western part of Tirunelveli namely Tenkasi, Alangulam, Mukkoodal, Ambasamudram, Kalakkad region- Nadars follow the eZD marriage. This practice of eZD marriage is seen very rare among the eastern parts such as Tiruchendur, Nanguneri and Kanniyakumari regions (Laltha Thomas, 2002). Nadars who are in the western parts in Tirunelveli district namely Alangulam, Tenkasi, Ambasamuthram, Surandai have the practice of giving and taking bride within these regions. It is very rare to see among them that giving and taking bride from outside (A. Thasarathan (61), Tenkasi of Tirunelveli district). FZD/S and MBD/S alliance is accepted among the Nadars (both Hindu and Christian) of Kanniyakumari district but not eZD marriage.

New Political Alliance

Among the Nadars new spatial division is found after the migrations occurred.¹⁶ One observation from the field, the Nadars of Madurai, Coimbatore, Erode, Chennai have formed local associations with their native village names. Although the person is identified from the same village, the family name is given for the importance.¹⁷ Hence the growth of economy makes new rules of marriage alliance. Sometimes in lieu of being identified as Nadar as whole, this new group is identified with the name of their home lands.

Conclusion

Among the three districts of Thoothukudi, Tirunelveli, Kanniyakumari; Thoothukudi, Tirunelveli Nadars have similarities in business and in terms of occupation. Whereas Kanniyakumari Nadars consider, education as a yardstick to all kind of life matters. However, Kanniyakumari has Christians and Hindus are equal in number but they differ in religious practices in marriage, they have the unique feature in hospitality, gift giving practices, many of life cycle ceremonies and dowry systems. In terms of dowry in a

society, patrilineality may be associated with community, the non-existent female right over lands property is observed after the payment of large dowries.

Among the Hindu Nadars of Southern Tamilnadu closeness is observed by having marriage alliance with FZD/MBD and eZD whereas, marriages are contracted with distant relations in Christian marriages. The reason is that most of the Christians follow precepts of the church in which to obey the laws of the church concerning matrimony is considered as very important one. It is also to be noted that political condition for getting married is made with vindication for having alliance with distant relatives.

S. J. Tambiah says 'education may lead instead to the payment of very high dowry' (Jack Goody & S.J. Tambiah, 1973, p. 63) but in reality, among the educated, expectation of dowry has vastly increased, in line with the costs of education and the presumed benefits of the marriage for the girl and her family. Dowry is given in the form of gold, materials and cash. Even though dowry is given to bridegroom or his father, they would not have any rights to use it except cash. The rights of using dowry go to bride at the same time she can share her rights with her husband.

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Endnotes:

¹ Field data for this article is with the author.

² In the Census Report, 1891, the division Karukku-mattai (petiole of the Palmyra leaf with serrated edges) has been mentioned. *Maanattaan* is also another designation to the *Karukkuppattai*. Seventy percentage shared by these *Karukkupattai* among the Nadars

³ The Nilamaikkara Nadars claim to be the superior sub-sect among the Nadars.

⁴ Nattathi is another sub-sect of the Nadar community. They are found in Nattathi, which is situated near to Sayerpuram town in Thoothukudi district of

Tamilnadu. They are traditionally cultivators, traders and money lenders.

- ⁵ Nattathi Nadars' usage of words for their families is known as *indi*.
- ⁶ Among the Nadars this sub-group is known as lower status than others. Sirukudi Nadars will have marriage alliance within their group.
- ⁷ Sirukudi Shanar is found in a few villages of Kanniyakumari and a few villages of western part of Tirunelveli districts of Tamilnadu. But they are less in numbers. Although many studies have been done on Nadars, no one has mentioned about the population distribution of Sirukudi Nadars. They are also known as with some other names namely *MarumakkaVazhi* (avuncular marriage practices) Nadars and *Aruthukkatti* (widow remarriage) in Kanniyakumari and Tirunelveli districts respectively.
- ⁸ It is one of the religious paths of Indian sub-continent. It originated from Kanniyakumari district of Tamilnadu by AyyaVaikundar. AyyaVaikundar was born in A.D. 1809 to Ponnu Nadar and VeyilalAmmaiyar in SasthanKuttivilai (presently it is known as Swamythoppu) in Kanniyakumari district. His parents named him MudisoodumPerumal but it was latterly changed as Muthukutty due to urging of caste hierarchy by his teacher. "Akilathirattu" it is the main religious book of AyyaVazhi.
- ⁹ *Ottan* – Great – Great grandfather
- ¹⁰ Muppattanar = Mup + Pattanar -- three (third) & elder + great grandfather which means here it is known as father of great grandfather in another words it says that the elder to great grandfather.
- ¹¹ Poottanar/Paattan = Paattan/Poottan -- Great grandfather
- ¹² On fixed day, the groom's family goes to bride house with gifts called *Parisam* (nuptial present) which is supposed to give to bride's father. That time a tied piece of cloth is dipped in saffron water as marker of noticing nuptial present.
- ¹³ Fourth month in Tamil Calendar.
- ¹⁴ First day of Avani month the fifth schedule in Tamil Calendar.
- ¹⁵ A Tamil Folk Festival occurred in the Tamil month of Karthikai.
- ¹⁶ This statement is given here after the analysis of 'migration and structural changes of Nadars' social organisation'.
- ¹⁷ This disparity is made on the base of one's economic growth.

Buddhist Art from South India: A Study on Mara-vijaya of the Buddha

SABITA KUMARI

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to study the verbal discourses in general and visual depictions from South India in particular related to the theme of Mara-vijaya of the Buddha. It closely studies the panels depicted Mara's attack and the great victory of the Buddha from various sites of South India.

Keywords: *Buddha, Peninsular India, Aniconic art*

Introduction

In the Buddhist tradition, Mara is understood as an evil spirit, who always tries to dissuade people from the path of righteousness. There are various texts such as *Mahapadana Sutta*, *Mahavastu*, *Lalitha Vistara*, *Buddha Charita*, *Nidana Katha* and *Abhinishkramana Sutra*, which narrate the story of Mara, who tried to disturb Siddhartha Gotam, either before or after his attainment of the enlightenment. *Nidana Katha* and *Lalitha Vistara* particularly unfold the detailed illustration of Mara's visit to the Buddha just before his enlightenment. When Siddhartha Gotam was meditating under the *Bodhivriksa*, Mara along with his ten-fold army appeared to distract him. However, they could do no harm to the Buddha and then Mara's daughters came to seduce him. Eventually they had to flee as well. Then, Buddha called the mother earth to be his witness, by touching the earth with his middle finger. The earth gave a response by roaring and bore the testimony for the Buddha. Thus, Mara realized his defeat and went back.

Visual Narration

This episode of Mara's assault on the Buddha has been immortalized in the sculptural art of South India. South India comprises present day Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala. From the material culture and archaeological remains, we find that Andhra Pradesh is one of the regions having the maximum number of Buddhist site. The evidence suggests that Buddhism flourished in this region before the Mauryan period. However, with the expansion of Mauryan Empire up to Pennar River and the adoption of *dhamma* by Asoka, Buddhism found numerous patrons. Later, the Satavahanas and the Ikshvakus also patronized the Buddhism. Many Buddhist sites were discovered in the trade routes in the Krishna Godavari river valleys. We find numerous Buddhist establishments all along the Andhra Coast. The efflorescence of Buddhist art from this region, especially the Krishna Valley, is such that a separate prominent school of Buddhist art known as the Amaravati School of Art has originated in this region. Most important Buddhist sites of this region are Amaravati, Nagarjunkonda, Jaggeyyapeta, Goli, Ghantasala, Phanigiri, Nandeyapalem and others.



Image 1: *Mara-vijaya of the Buddha, Ghantasala, 2nd-3rd century CE, Musee Guimet, Paris.*¹

The panel from Ghantasala represents a conflated narration (Dehejia, 1997, pp. 25-27.) of the assault. In this depiction, the Buddha is not shown in physical form. His presence is suggested by indexical signs such as the cushions on the decorated *simhasana* and a pair of footprints on the pedestal. The mutilated depiction from Ghantasala (Rea, 1894, repr. 1897, p. 37) shows the aggressive attack of Mara and his demon army on the Buddha from left, and the right side is the defeat of Mara, as here they are shown going back in *anjali mudra*. Right behind the *simhasana*, there is a *Bodhivriksa* depicted. The deep undercut carvings of the leaves and the branches projecting more realist image of the tree. Females are also shown standing, possibly the daughters of Mara.



Image 2: *Mara-vijaya of the Buddha, Nandayapalem, 3rd Century CE, Amaravati State Museum.*



Image 3: *Mara-vijaya of the Buddha, Nagarjunkonda, 3rd-4th century CE, Nagarjunkonda Museum.*

In Nandayapalem, we see a low relief carving of the tree and leaves. Here the shape of the empty throne is square, unlike Ghantasala where it is round. Usually, the *simhasana* is shown with curved animal legs. This mutilated panel depicts the defeat of Mara, as he is shown in the *anjali mudra* mounting the elephant Girimekhala. His daughters named Arati, Tanha, and Raga, are shown standing in the front. A beautifully decorated panel from Nagarjunkonda combines these two scenes – attack and defeat of the Mara's army. Here anthropomorphic image of the Buddha is shown meditating under the *Bodhi* tree. His left hand is on the lap and right hand is in *abhaya mudra*. The leaves of the *Bodhivriksha* are partially visible at the back of the halo.



Image 4: *Major Events of the Buddha's Life, Amaravati, 3rd century CE, British Museum, London, Courtesy: Knox, Amaravati Buddhist Sculpture, Pl. 83*

Unlike the aniconic depiction of Ghantasala, Goli and Nandalapalem we see the anthropomorphic depictions from Nagarjunkonda and Amaravati. There are drum pilasters from Amaravati, which generally depict the four great events of the Buddha's life in a sequence—renunciation, enlightenment, first sermon, and *mahaparinirvana*. In the enlightenment episode, the Buddha is shown with the dwarf army of Mara and his daughters. Mara's daughters are in either giving a provocative look to the Buddha or they are tired and shown in *anjalinudra*. Here, the focus is given on the image of the Buddha. In such scenes, Mara and his elephant Girimekhala are not shown.

Conclusion

Mara's attack on the Buddha and the temptation of the Buddha by his daughters are of great importance in the art of Amaravati school as in most of the depiction it has been associated with the second major events of the Buddha's life, that is, the enlightenment. In all the depictions, where the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha is carved, we see the Buddha sitting in *abhayamudra* and not in the *bhumispashamudra*. However, *bhumisparshamudra* is related to the defeat of Mara, as he calls the mother earth to bear witness to his victory. Though in the texts, Mara's attack is a persuasion of the Buddha's mind that was in search of enlightenment. As Mara's ten-fold army includes, Lust, Aversion, Hunger, Thirst, Craving, Sloth, Cowardice, Doubt, Hypocrisy, and, Conceit (Mahavastu II, 1952, pp. 224-227), the depiction of such emotions cannot be carried through art. Thus, the sculptors of the early phase depicted it in physical form with harshness on the face and weapons in the hand. After the defeat of

Mara, his three daughters named, Arati (craving), Tanha (Discontent), and Raga (Lust) came to avenge their father's humiliation by the Buddha. Therefore, they came to seduce the Buddha in the fifth week after his enlightenment. Thus, the visual depictions are not only a mere illustration of the text, but much more than that. In these depictions, the focus is given to the Buddha's victory over evil. To notify that, two separate episodes of the story such as Mara's attack and his daughter's provocative behaviour are depicted together. Here, on the one side, aggression of Mara and his daughters is shown and on the other, acceptance of the spiritual superiority of the Buddha with his centralized image, both in aniconic and anthropomorphic form, is depicted. Thus, the sculptors of this region have illustrated very skilfully the episode

of enlightenment as the victory over all kinds of evils.

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Endnote

¹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mara_\(demon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mara_(demon)). Accessed: February 15, 2017

Book Review

Robert Lyman. *Among the Headhunters: An Extraordinary World War II Story of Survival in the Burmese Jungle*. Boston: Da Capo Press. 2016. ISBN: 978-0-306 82467, Price: Rs. 1840.

Reviewed by

KHRIENUO LTU

“Among the Headhunters: An Extraordinary World War II Story of Survival in the Burmese Jungle” by Robert Lyman is a well written narrative and highlights two completely different worlds coming into contact with each other. It describes the encounter of the Nagas with the Westerners who survived a plane crash in the Eastern Naga Hills during World War II in 1943. The Nagas at that time were barely clothed, lived in a world of head-hunting and regarded an aeroplane as a big alien bird. It is this encounter between the Westerners and the Nagas that constitutes the basis of Lyman’s narrative.

This flight, carrying mostly American personnel and a few Chinese Army officers, had taken off from the Allied air base at Chabua, Assam, in Northeastern India, and was intended to fly to China, over the Hump, when it crashed into the Naga Hills. The survivors were rescued by the Pangsha villagers who were hospitable, treated them well and helped them return to the British camp in Mokokchung. The Nagas were in awe of those who survived the ordeal as they believed they came from the sky and this probably was one of the reasons for their hospitality. Lyman brings to light the interaction that took place between the Nagas and the Americans and their experience of staying with the Pangsha villagers.

This book does not view this airborne disaster in isolation but situates the episode in space and time giving due attention to all the actors who either participated or even remotely contributed to its making – (i) the Americans, their role in the war and their relations with the Chinese in the period, (ii) the Japanese, their attack on Pearl Harbour, their invasion of Southeast Asia and their victory over the British in Hong Kong, Singapore,

Malaya and Burma, (iii) British colonization of the Naga Hills. Lyman as a result builds a larger picture of the turbulent decade of the 1940s. When reflecting on the World War and events shortly preceding it, he highlights the impact of this phenomenon on the Naga Hills. He details the topography, climatic conditions and the geography of the northeast India and emphasizes the challenges faced by airmen flying over this dangerous terrain. When Lyman deliberates on the nature of British colonization, he speaks of how they came into contact with the Nagas and eventually began to colonize their territories through a series of expeditions and battles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Lyman, Naga perception of the white man and their interaction with the British changed over time. From being adversaries, they soon developed cordial and friendly relations with their colonizers. In detailing the history of the Pangsha village (Khamniungan village in Eastern Naga hills) where the American plane had crashed), Lyman notes that it was home to the fiercest warrior tribe which inflicted terror on neighbouring villages and was feared in the region. The British were forced to lead a punitive expedition against this village in 1936. The British in the venture had the support of other Naga villages. Pangsha villagers were defeated as their traditional weapons were no match for the modern firearms of the British and they were forced to sue for peace.

To conclude, this book is an important contribution to the history of the Nagas, especially with regard to the history of British colonial rule in the Naga Hills. Lyman has made a commendable effort to include a glossary and a list of individuals and place names to help readers (especially those unfamiliar with the region or the period) to navigate through the book. The book also makes a significant observation about the practice of slavery by the Pangsha village which although brief might be interesting for many. "Among the Headhunters" also gives useful information about the involvement of the Pangsha villagers in World War II. This is significant because Pangsha's role in the conflict is completely absent in history writing about Nagas in World War II. Apart from the apparent importance of the work for individuals studying Naga History, the book will also be useful for those interested in the history of encounter in the colonial period.

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Diacritical Marks

Vowels

आ ā

ई ī

ऊ ū

ए, ऐ ē } (long)

ओ, औ ō } (N.B. long ē and ō are for the particular syllables in Dravidic languages.)

ऋ ṛ and not ri; (long ऋ, which rarely figures, may be rendered as r̄)

Nasals

Anusvāra

(.) m̄ and not m̐

anumāśikas

इ, ण् ṅ

उ, ण् ñ

ए, ण् ṇ (or ṇa as the case may be)

Hard aspirate

Visarga

(:) ḥ

Consonants

Palatals

च ca and not cha

छ cha and not chha

Linguals

ट ṭa

ठ ṭha

ड ḍa

ढ ḍha and not ḷha

Sibilants

श śa

ष ṣa

स sa

Unclassified

ळ ḷa

क्ष kṣa and not ksha

ज्ञ jña and not djña

ल् ḷ and not ḷi

General Examples

kṣamā and not *kshamā*, *jñāna* and not *djñāna*, *Kṛṣṇa* and not *Krishṇa*, *sucāru chatra* and not *suchāru chhatra* etc. etc., *gaḍha* and not *gaḷha* or *garha*, (except in Hindi)

Dravidic (conjuncts and specific) characters

ॠ ṛ̣

ॡ ṛ̣̣

ॢ ṛ̣̣̣

ॣ ṛ̣̣̣̣