
UNIT 4 TRIBAL LIFE AS ORIGINAL PHILOSOPHIZING

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this Unit—the last one with which tribal philosophy-study is concluded—is to give a sense of having delved into tribal philosophy by looking into a couple of its intricacies. Although many details of the ‘tribal worldview and philosophy’ have been considered in the earlier units, the importance of the present Unit is that it sums up the rationale as well as the possible outlook on tribal philosophy with special reference to Indian context. In this unit we shall try to trace the Contours of Tribal Life out of which or through which we access the philosophy as wisdom heritage of tribal peoples. Tribal Life in the way it manifests a worldview and wisdom compares with other peoples and therefore we shall trace the common philosophical undercurrents that links the tribal worldview with rest of humanity and end by showing how the texture and discourse of philosophy as among all peoples is under transition also among tribal peoples.

Thus by the end of this Unit you should be able:

- to have a deeper understanding of tribal philosophy;
- to relate it with wisdom heritage of all peoples;
- to understand the cosmotheandric character of tribal philosophy;
- to know the reasons for transitions in the philosophy of living communities of peoples

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Learning and writing the philosophy of the tribal/indigenous/adivasi peoples of the world/India is a project to reclaim an ancient tradition. It is not merely a revisit to some ancient land, peoples or way of life. Because in its pristine purity in an uncontaminated stagnant manner it never existed nor is it presently available. However, the ongoing evolution of traditional worldviews is available wherever

there are tribal/advansi communities of sizeable number preserving their way of life – customs, beliefs and practices. The reclamation process is a manner of revisiting these life-experiences and strengthening them, or allowing them to undergo the process of adjustments and adaptations to the evolving sensibilities on the one hand and preserving their resilience to withstand and outgrow the onslaught of massive interventions by the agents of progress, development, change.

In this unit in what follows an attempt shall be made to explain some aspects or ways of perceiving the worldview of tribal communities across the world and especially in India as having much to offer for modern day living. The original contribution, in the insightful ways in which the concerns of nature, the human beings and the divine realm have been understood and related with offers the scope for tribal and all other philosophies.

4.2 TRIBAL LIFE AND PHILOSOPHIZING

The geographical and numerical spread of the numerous tribes becomes a matter of significance in assessing their origin, history of movement and the present problems. The original settlers of the land, wherever they are is a credit which goes unsaid. The reasons for migration might have been the urge to preserve their life style by seeking distance from the onslaughts they were subjected to over the millennia in different waves.

A serious look at the philosophy of the tribal/advansi peoples is necessitated not only because of the pressures they face in these times to perpetuate and preserve their identity but also because their legacy and heritage is a cultural resource that can address many a contemporary problem. This projection arises equally from the distaste towards the aggressive proliferation of a homogenizing monocultural worldview backed by science and technology and their promoters who stand to gain but also because of the potential contained in tribal/advansi worldview to address the pressing problems of the world with a viable alternative.

A deeper look into the tribal worldview is necessitated also by the numerical size and spread of the population across the country especially in its mountainous ranges. Besides along with their counterparts, the Dalit people, they form ¼ of the population of the country. Secondly these peoples have been by stroke of a pen subsumed into or coerced into an identity which has been thrust upon them. The allegiance they offer to such claims made by the dominant groups needs to be revisited.

In other words, the indigenous, advansi, tribal worldview is being reclaimed not as antidote but rather as a valuable precursor to the mainstream that awaits its integration on a dialogical egalitarian premise for the welfare and sound future of either groups. Therefore it becomes imperative for both tribal/advansi/dalit groups as well as the dominant communities to address the worldview of the tribal. Once this worldview is recognized, acknowledged and promoted its impact will begin to challenge prevailing paradigms of perception that tend towards either isolationism or assimilationism on the part of majority.

The search for the tribal/advansi worldview /philosophy is also a matter of empowering a new generation of young people who have been partly integrated

or assimilated into the dominant worldview to see the continuity with the past and the possibility of creating a future that offers new possibilities or stays clear of the potential threats the contemporary world is facing economically and ecologically.

The study and elaboration of the tribal worldview across the country and continents also brings gain to the respective tribal/tribe groups in creating a network, link and points of mutual admiration and assimilation of values. The adivasi tribal of Chotanagpur are unique in the world in terms of coexistence without inter-tribal warfare or mutual extermination.

The north eastern tribes have shown great resilience in preserving their traditions through adaptive strategies by means of giving free education that brings access to the wider world. Similarly the earth related sustainable economies of most groups of tribal peoples become a pointer for the future of humankind. The communitarian sense of the tribe acts as a strong antidote to the evils of extravagant individualism visible in the consumer market oriented societies.

Reclaiming the philosophy of the tribal is in other words reinstating their traditional conceptions of God, relational bonds between the humans and their self-perception vis-à-vis the land and its materiality. These can be elaborated and much work has been done in this direction. This worldview is to be viewed as original rather than an imitation of some other group or people is a point to be noted in particular.

4.3 PHILOSOPHY AS TRIBAL WISDOM

Philosophy of a people manifests the collective wisdom gathered and preserved in oral or written form over a period of time and across many generations. The Tribal communities and their worldviews are inherently related to and part of their religious perceptions and practices. We shall look at the ways in which this diversity of religious manifestations have been codified and also look at the very name the carriers of this wisdom have been assigned.

The religious diversity has been variously described: personal-impersonal; great-little traditions; cosmic-metacosmic, organized-unorganized, of scripture and without scriptures, with founders and without founders, theoretical oriented and non-theoretic; orthodox /traditional and new age. There is also the delineation of the religious reality into the three broad categories of 'world religion', 'new religious movement' and 'indigenous religions'. Along this diverse categorization process of religion and their underlying religious experiences what is attempted is to map the contours of the primordial religious experiences enshrined in practices that still continue even under the cover of metacosmic, major religious traditions of the indigenous communities wherever they are found in India or other parts of the world. The tribal communities across the world have been agents of assimilation as well as resistance to the practices whether political, social or religious of dominant communities. This phenomenon ought to be seen as part of a process of establishing their autonomy and means for claiming acknowledgement for their uniqueness is something that surfaces on closer scrutiny of different tribal communities and especially their histories.

Study of indigenous wisdom is often taken to be an overflow from the anthropological studies on 'indigenous cultures'. In describing the varieties of religions or activities known as indigenous the focus is on 'finding the common ground'. In capturing the sense of 'indigeneity,' often the labels used - 'primitive,' 'archaic' and 'pre-literate' or 'non-literate' – turn out to be misnomers. The word 'primal' though objected to because of its reference to something of the 'archaic' meaning technologically simple could nonetheless carry forward a positive meaning of being original and of the source. Any of these terms if intended to describe a people's situation to be replaced by 'western rationality' or by any 'one of the missionizing world religions' would be a problem notwithstanding the possibility of agency being granted to these communities to rework these intrusions to their advantage. How they attempt this reworking and recording the same is what contemporary research projects are engaged in.

In capturing the wisdom of the indigenous experience there is a stress and emphasis on the 'traditional religiosity.' It is 'indicative of strong links to remember past activities and intimates various interesting ways of encouraging memory, acknowledgment and observance.' It refers to the non-personal power animating all of reality, visible and invisible and approximation of that power through religious activity and its manipulation for the personal and community benefit. In this sense every 'tribe' is a nation however small and localized numerically or spatially and not to be taken in the pejorative use by the dominant forces to subdue and assimilate peoples at the peripheries to come into the mainstream of language and religion shelving their ethnic identity and uniqueness.

In contrast, the indigenous experience is viewed within the alternative modernity scheme by scholars, be it in the studies on religion or medicinal knowledge systems and be it of Australian Aboriginals or African populations or Indian Tribals and Dalits. Some would like to link the indigenous experience as a continuation of the vitalism that Henri Bergson referred to; a promotion of the primal life force into modernity, against modernity and seeking its own modernity. In this worldview the earth is a 'magical territory perceived as the extension of the community body in relation to the ancestors'. Wisdom, in the tribal perspective, emerges out of a synchronic relationship experienced by the collective giving them legitimacy for action and existence.

Relationship to God, in African Tribal religions is a comparative case in this regard. In a number of traditions, the supreme God is not any farther nor less active than other entities: it is the mode of His presence and action, which is different. It is not human being who commands His manifestations. He has neither temple nor priests. One does not pray, one does not offer sacrifices, one only thanks Him. He gives those things which human beings need and it is offensive to ask Him 'for one does not tell the boss what he should do.' It is up to the human beings not to place any obstacles to the circulation of God's gift. It is up to him to re-establish the harmony with all creatures. He does it through a collective meal as a sign of communion with God, with spirits with ancestors, and human beings. It is not a question of mediation nor an efficacious right to placate God, but a gesture of communion to signify that human beings are disposed to receive his gifts. Love does not constitute the background of this relation and it is difficult to speak of an alliance because an alliance is tied to a cult and gives its *raison d'être*. God is not the principal object of cult in animist religions. According to Goetz "the ultimate conduct of God is to leave to human beings to

decide for themselves in what concerns them... He is a gentleman more than a Lord, who, having decided to create human beings, free and responsible, plays the game till the very end. He is too great to make histories.”

The traditional conception of the divinely human and humanly divine wisdom is best seen in the diverse forms of accessing the spiritual realm found in various communities. Hitchcock comments that the phenomena of trance and possessions have a sense of ‘immediacy of everyday importance, but a part of their fascination for the observer is the knowledge of how central they have always been in human experience. The central feature a belief that we can enter into a direct and very personal communication with another world – was probably born with self-consciousness and the ability to talk.’ Accessing the multiple levels of consciousness to which special occasions and special persons were privileged lead to the derivation of the wisdom perspective.

In looking into ways in which possession has been understood two orientation can be noted: one, ‘a movement of the soul outward and upward to immerse itself in what lay beyond’; the other, ‘when what lay beyond came inward and penetrated the soul.’ Flight as a symbol of mystical experience, feather as a symbol of the flight that takes to connection with the world beyond is central to many communities. The mediators of this experience become significant persons in the community. Shamans are in control of the psychic world of the possessed as well as the community that want an interpretation of the possession. In this regard they resemble psychiatrists. Shaman is one whose personality resonates empathetically with the possessed and the family kith and kin. It is a process of curing and thus restores the harmony. The persons capable of restoring harmony thus became the ‘wise men and women’ of the community, playing the mediatory role of providing ‘enlightenment’ to the rest. This harmonious tenor of the wisdom provider needs further clarification and we shall do so in the next section.

Check Your Progress I

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer.
b) Check your answer with those provided at the end of the unit.

1) What is your understanding of original tribal philosophy?

2) What does it mean to say Tribal philosophy is part of an indigenous experience?

4.4 COSMOTHEANDRISM IN TRIBAL WORLDVIEW

Cosmotheandrim is a word coined by a contemporary intercultural philosopher of repute Raimon Panikkar. However, it is an encapsulation of the philosophies underlying diverse traditions inclusive of the philosophies of the primordial peoples. A quote from his very writings conveys what the concept means and then we shall try to see how it captures the primordial/ adivasi/ tribal people's worldview.

The cosmotheandric principle could be stated by saying that the divine, the human and the earthly – however we may prefer to call them – are the three irreducible dimensions which constitute the real, i.e., any reality inasmuch as it is real... What this intuition emphasizes is that the three dimensions of reality are neither three modes of a monolithic undifferentiated reality, nor are they three elements of a pluralistic system. There is rather one, though intrinsically threefold, relation which expresses the ultimate constitution of reality. Everything that exists, any real being, presents this triune constitution expressed in three dimensions. It is not only the fact that everything is directly or indirectly related to everything else: the radical relativity or *pratityasamutpada* of the Buddhist tradition, but also it is stressed that this relationship is not only constitutive of the whole, but that it flashes forth, ever new and vital, in every spark of the real.

Three assumptions lay behind Panikkar's cosmotheandric vision. The first is that reality is ultimately harmonious. It is neither a monolithic unity nor sheer diversity and multiplicity. Second, reality is radically relational and interdependent so that every reality is constitutively connected to all other realities: "every being is nothing but relatedness." There is, if you like, organic unity and dynamic process where every 'part' of the whole 'participates' in or 'mirrors' the whole. This corresponds to the ancient notion that every reality is a microcosm of the macro-universe. A contemporary version would be the *Gaia* principle. Third, reality is symbolic, both pointing to and participating in something beyond itself. We do not have a God separate from the world, a world that is purely material, nor humans that are reducible to their own thought-processes or cultural expressions. While it is important to recognise the "symbolic difference" between God and the world, as between one religion and another, for Panikkar, all cultures, religions and peoples are relationally and symbolically entwined with each other, with the world in which we live, and with an ultimate divine reality. He describes the cosmotheandric principle as an "intuition of the threefold structure of all reality, the triadic oneness existing on all levels of consciousness and reality."

The insight of Panikkar, we could say, goes back to the primordial vision of reality enshrined in tribal worldview even as it is in the Buddhist, the Christian or the Hindu worldviews. As for Tribals it is coloured by a profound reverence for life, and a deep sense of connectedness to the spiritual realities underlying all creation; further it is a view-point that human beings are a part of the natural universe, as spiritual beings are, including the human people; and that it entails a deep love for "mother" earth, for the natural landscape, for the animals and birds and fishes and skies and waters and mountains and oceans.

Tribals believe in a supreme God who is the creator of all that exists. He has created human beings and taken care of them. Some tribes speak of God creating the earth with the help of some creatures such as golden kingfisher, earthworm or tortoise. Tribals believe in benevolent and malevolent spirits. The supreme God has control over all the spirits who control as it were the cosmic elements and the spirits in turn can be maneuvered by the humans through their sacrificial ritualistic actions.

Fellowship and solidarity are the basic characteristics of a tribal society. Solidarity is expressed and experienced in giving and receiving life, being responsible for one's deeds and sharing one's possessions with other human beings. Tribals have a strong sense of community centeredness. They help each other through cooperative farming. All their celebrations end with a fellowship meal. In tribal religion, sacrificial meal concludes the ritual sacrifice. Its symbolic meaning lies in the ritual transformation of and harmony in the world through immolation of the victim. After the animal has been sacrificed the tribals cook its meat and all eat the sacred meal. It is a joyful celebration in which everybody is invited to participate and it comprises the aspects of gift, communion and reconciliation.

The tribal communities interact with all living and non-living realities of the world. In fact, according to them, all the realities have life. They speak to the particles, to the stars, constellations, land, rivers, stones and rocks, hills) and mountains and every living and non-living beings during these prayer sessions. Through this sacrifice or the worship, the tribals wish to strike a cosmic balance and create an atmosphere of brotherhood and sisterhood, with the whole of cosmic realities. It is an attempt to have a cosmic fraternity. The Lepchas, an East Himalayan autochthonous tribe has for instance over the years tried to bring this cosmic balance locally and trans-locally through a principle called *NUNG-NAHAN*. Literally speaking, it would mean, the "guest first". It manifests a philosophy of life where, the guest or the other is more important than oneself. A philosophical attitude such as this can pervade every aspect of the life of a people and can influence their very existence.

While speaking about the relationship between Humans and the nature, for most tribes, it is the nature that takes precedence. It is the nature that occupies the first important place. It is the nature that deserves care and respect. It shows that there is an eco-centric approach instead of an anthropocentric one. Therefore the journey is through nature to God with the celebrations marking the gratitude to the Creator God for all that has been created.

They have an abiding sense of responsibility for restoring the ecological balance between human beings and mother earth. The tribal people revere the Earth as '*Mother*', *to whom they belong*, the source of life, a gift from the Creator, and that humankind can never be more than a trustee of the land, with a collective responsibility to preserve it. The Earth is the core of their culture, and the origin of their identity as a people. It is the land that connects them with their past as the home of their ancestors, with the future as the legacy they hold in trust for their children and their children's children. Along with economic significance, the traditional land base holds important symbolic and emotional values for tribal people. It is the repository for ancestral remains, group origin sites and where their sacred spirits dwell.

Philosophy is a vision/worldview/a perspective. Yet it is a total vision and comprehensive perspective. It is self validatory and all encompassing. The tribal worldviews have this ‘all encompassing’ perspective without at the same time there being a missionising totalitarian tenor to it. Tribal worldviews do not claim totalitarian subscription by all other than those within the tribe; it does provide vision of God, world and the human realm to its members.

Check Your Progress II

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer.
b) Check your answer with those provided at the end of the unit.

1) What is your understanding of Cosmotheandrisism?

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2) How is Cosmotheandrisism a part of Tribal philosophizing?

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4.5 TRIBAL PHILOSOPHY IN TRANSITION

Tribal communities across the world are experiencing the onslaught of modernity, western, Europeanized mold of progress and development eating into their land physical space and their younger generations the carriers of their ancient tradition. On the one hand no culture whether tribal or not, have remained static down the centuries. Changes of place, continent and changes effected through climatic and other factors of rivers and earthquakes and volcanoes have shifted people and their life styles have undergone transformations. However, the present ecological crisis has thrown up the opportunity before the world of recovering an attitude and approach to life that values nature and environment. In order to do so as return or reappraisal of traditional tribal worldview is a requisite. If so, it is neither a matter of civilizing the Tribal nor a matter of de-civilizing the moderns but a way of rising up to the challenge of transition imperative for survival.

The cultural transitions are bound to affect the way life is being viewed by the present and upcoming generations of tribes. This in effect is bound to bring in a change in their philosophy. The more intriguing and yet interesting aspect of a study of tribal philosophy is that every one wherever one is located, and considers himself or herself as having had it all in terms of understanding and self perception,

is ultimately cocooned in a tribal world. The tribal worldview salvages such avocations because of its innocent non-claim to universality, and yet it challenges as all tribes across the past four hundred years have been, ever since the onslaught of modernity and enlightenment paradigms, to rethink ones assumptions and question ones presuppositions as to be understood by other tribes across the road, or even within ones own household. The interculturality of which there is ever growing acceptance and demand is arising out of the tribal worldviews that have prevailed down through the centuries, despite attempts to eradicate and nullify them.

There is a prevailing tendency to perceive and assess the tribal reality in a static frame. It means a normative reference is applied to the anthropological and ethnographic descriptions available of communities. On to these descriptions, besides, a value judgment is often added as to mean that the tribal is yet to be mainstreamed and developed. This assumption leads to casual and negligent approach to the disruption caused to the people and their livelihood in the name of development. Though the project is undertaken in their name yet they turn out to be the victims of development which others continue to enjoy. A development work begun in an area attracts people from else where and additional qualified workforce is brought into the location. These and other processes of alienation of the tribes from their natural habitat have lead to the transitions in their way of life and mentality affecting their very worldview.

These transitions can be observed in the following:

Environmental Changes

Societal Changes

Generational Changes

Family Changes

Personal Changes

Collective Changes

Environmental Changes: Tribal way of life and outlook intrinsically dependent as they are on nature and on it their livelihood and sustenance any climatic and environmental changes are bound to affect their lifestyle and mode of adherence to tradition with its values and customs. These may not always be radical or immediately perceivable. However environmental changes do bring about cultural changes.

Societal Changes: The composition of society changes when foreign non-tribal elements are introduced into their habitat. This has often been encouraged as a means to assimilate or even co-opt them into mainstream dominant community's practices. Sometimes these social engineering interventions have eventually wiped out the uniqueness of tribal outlook and way of life. On the other hand, occasionally, these societal interventions have also been instrumental in preserving their way of life despite odds.

Generational Changes: The impact of environmental hazards – volcanoes, drought and famine, earthquakes etc which forced them to move to other locations or developmental projects by which outsiders infiltrated into their habitat wherein the impact has been felt especially on the younger generations. The upcoming generations have as a matter of survival adapted to new circumstances and

expectations. This has in general resulted in the transitions of tribal outlook and way of life.

Family level Changes: The interventions of external agents, the adaptability of families to new neighbours and work opportunities elsewhere have brought in changes at the family level which too eventually is indicative of the tribal philosophy undergoing transition. Changes in family values and ethics, morality and religion are to greater or lesser extent indicators of transitions in their philosophies.

Personal Changes: Any and all of the above transitions have a personal level implication. The subject, the individual tribal is the one who ultimately bears the brunt of the changes that the environment or society experiences or allows itself to be subjected to. On the other hand, it is the resistance of the individual, despite odds, to preserve language and culture, religion and customs that makes the tribal world to survive as a distinct entity even amidst the modern conceptualizations of life and its meaning.

Collective Changes: All of the above changes when collectively applied to a tribal community of one region then that tribe can be said to be in throes of transition and its worldview thereby undergoes minor or major modifications. This is also apparent from ethnographic descriptions.

However, the more serious thought is to be given to the fact the tribal worldview is a constant in the history of human civilizations and it does well for humankind to appropriate its values and preserve the same given the trajectory of collapse and resurgence of civilizations that the world has witnessed thanks to the ever replenishing nature.

Check Your Progress III

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer.

b) Check your answer with those provided at the end of the unit.

1) What are the reasons for the transitions in Tribal culture/philosophy?

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2) How do Tribal communities experience the Transitions in their culture?

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4.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have tried to give a summation of Tribal philosophy, by highlighting its originality as consisting in the way it links the pre-philosophical age of ancient traditions with the ever vibrant and changing concerns of post-modern societies. In keeping with the contemporary understanding we have shown the uniqueness of Tribal Life and ways of philosophizing in order to show the unique Tribal wisdom therein. We have besides made the claim that ‘Cosmotheandricism’ as understood and elaborated by Raimon Panikkar enables us to link the ancient past with the present not only of the Tribal communities but also the dominant societies. It is our conviction that the transitions being experienced by the Tribal communities, especially in India, though places them in a constraining situation of having to rework their wisdom, have much to contribute to contemporary search for new modes of wellbeing. Finally the original philosophizing contained in the ‘first philosophies’ of these diverse communities carry forward the future of humanity in these times of ecological and environmental awareness.

4.7 KEY WORDS

- Original** : A positional source from which arises something new and creative for the benefit of the future.
- Tribal Wisdom** : The unique knowledge and way of life accumulated over centuries by the Tribal communities of the world.
- Cosmotheandricism** : A Panikkarian way of defining the perennial wisdom as consisting in the coexistence of the threefold dimensions of the ‘divine’, ‘human’ and ‘cosmic’ in each and every aspect of the totality of reality.

4.8 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answers to Check Your Progress I

- 1) Tribal Philosophy is the worldview which contains the meaning systems of the tribal peoples of the world. These tribal philosophies are original reflections on the relationship human beings have from primordial times experienced and have passed on. Down the centuries these peoples have innovated their understanding and preserved their traditions not only for the benefit of their own communities, but for the welfare of the human family. Assimilating their value systems, therefore, is imperative for the future sustenance of humanity upon earth. They communicate an original mode of perceiving and relating to nature by which one may attain enlightenment and succeed to preserve harmony.
- 2) The term ‘indigenous’ has come to mean that which is of the place than something that has been brought from outside. In recent times a debate is on as to who are people who can rightfully claim the status of indigeneity. In India, it cannot be denied that the tribals of central, south and especially north east India must be granted this status, as people who by and far the inhabitants of their habitats from ancient times. The unique relationship a people have with their environment which colours and shapes their worldview is also implied in the expression ‘indigenous experience’. Transcribing that experience in a coherent universally understandable language brings about ‘tribal philosophy’.

Answers to Check Your Progress II

- 1) Cosmotheandricism is a word that communicates the intricate connections and permanent relationships between the three dimensions of reality – World, God and Human beings. The world view of any and every people contain an explanation of the relatedness between these three dimensions. In this sense, cosmotheandricism is part of all philosophies, marking it as the core of a perennial philosophy.
- 2) The attempt in the present study is to show that Tribal Philosophy is primarily cosmotheandric, meaning to say it highlights the relationships between nature (world/earth), human (community) beings and the transcendently or immanently divine (more than worldly and human) aspect in diverse ways in their myths and legends.

Answers to Check Your Progress III

- 1) Cultures whether small or big, are never static. The changes that tribal communities have experienced over the past centuries have primarily to do with their habitats – either by migration they had to leave their places, or due to ‘development’ they have had to seek out new locations for survival. Natural calamities like volcanoes, earthquakes, floods and famines too have had a toll on the tribal communities and their efforts to preserve a pristine

tradition. Contemporarily, the phenomenon of Globalization too is making inroads into tribal cultures affecting their worldviews.

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- 2) The challenges to Tribal philosophy come from the varied ways in which the changes occurring on many fronts have to be faced creatively by the new generations of a community. The changes they have to confront are therefore, environmental, societal, generational, family and personal levels besides the collective impact. In mutual encounter of diverse sets of people in a spirit of mutual understanding than desires to exterminate or exclude can bring about beneficial opportunities for the survival of peoples.