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Understanding the Concept of God in Santal Traditional Myths

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1. Introduction

Theologising in India has to become an effective proclamation of the message of liberation of human life in this country. The methodology of this Proclamation will be conditioned by the life situation of the human community that needs to be liberated. It is in this sense A.P. Nirmal writes:

The Primary task of theology, therefore is to make sense of human life and give it a certain direction and goal. The criteria of theology then must be derived from human life and not from other givens. Any theology which fails to make sense of human life and fails to fulfil, it ceases to be relevant and cannot be a living option.^{n_1}

C.S. Song affirms more clearly that, doing theology is not an act of the intellect divorced from the commitment of the heart. To approach the heart of God it is for us to engage in "constructive imagination". For this we have to use the imagination of the people in Asia expressed through myths, songs, symbols, poetry and novels. Their myths (sacred stories) touches something of the depth of being. Jesus used stories to point to the mystery. The theological basis for this imaging is "Imago dei."²

According to song, Christian Theology has to be conceived in the womb of peoples' experience of suffering and joy, agony and ecstasy. Therefore for him their tears and struggles become the raw ingredients of theologising. Tears bring people together. Tears are signs of life, Jesus is a person of tears, a Man of sorrows (Jn. 11:35; Mt. 23:37; Lk. 13:34). God in Jesus Christ is able to identify and express solidarity with those people who are in tears because of their culture and suffering.³

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This article is an attempt for constructive imagination of the Santal traditional Myths in order to be able to imagine God's own self in the Santal culture and at the same time to bring out meaningful and relevant concept of God and the salvific potency of God hidden in their traditional myths for contribution towards the Santal Christian theology as the basis for Church's witness and service to the contemporary realities of the Santals.

2. A Brief Background

The majority Santals are living in Bihar, but scattered over a wide area in Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Bangladesh and Assam. Now the Santals of the district of Santal Parganas, which was formed after the rebellion of 1855 enjoy special legislative Protection. The Santals are one of the largest primitive tribes of India. The original name of the Santal is *Kherwar*, which is the common stock of 9-10 tribes. They were united with Mundaris tribes. The Santals used the term, *Horhopon*" for themselves as a distinct tribal name which simply means "Sons of Man." Later on they received the name Santal, because they settled some years in the land called *Soant* or *Santh* which means peace. According to this etymological meaning the tribe is called Santal which signifies 'peace loving people." The land called Soant is in Midnapore, West Bengal.⁴

Many scholars consider the original Homeland of the Santals in Babylon. The historian Rev. C.H. Koomar called their land Babul which is actually referred to as Babylon. The Santals entered in India through Khyber and Bolan Pass, and established a homeland three hundred miles to the Southwest near Chota Nagpur plateau.⁵ But a large and important colony was once settled in Parganas Chai and Champa in Hazaribagh. From Hazaribagh the Santals have wandered into Manbhum and into the Santal Parganas.⁶

Most of the Santals moved towards Northwards and settled in the district of Santal Parganas around Dumka, the headquarters of Santal Parganas in 1790 and 1810. The Government formed the "Damini-Koh" in 1832-1833 of an area of 1,366 square miles. The Government gave the Santals legal settlement here in 1836 with 860 square miles of elevated highlands for corn fields and village settlements and 500 square miles of plain land for rice fields. By 1851, 82,795 Santal settlers were found and spread over 1,473 villages.⁷

3. The concept of God in the Santal Traditional Myths

The peculiarity of the Santal tradition is its abundance of myths and images which systematically analyses the human situations, the creator of the myths, and reveal profound insights of the characteristics of "Thakur jiu", the creator and sustainer of the Universe (The supreme God).

a) Belief in Supreme God

The word "Thakur jiu" is a Sanskritized term used for the name of the Supreme God in Santal traditional belief. The word 'Thakur' means Baba (Father) and Malik (owner of everything), Maran Isor (High God), who is worthy to be worshiped, and 'jiu' means supernatural spirit of God with the personalities of omnipresence and omniscience. The etymology of the name "Thakur jiu' does not represent the idea for polytheism nor Animism, but they express the Santals' attempt to present their God in language known to them. Nowadays the Santals say that, the Cando bonga or Sin bonga (the Sun God) is the functional name for one God. Among the Santals, the Supreme God is identified with the natural objects, the Sun, thus He is Cando bonga or Sin bonga (the Sun God)." But the forefathers of the Santals have witnessed that the Cando bonga or Sin bonga (Sun God) is not 'Thakur jiu'. The Sun is the natural object created by "Thakur iiu."

Thakur jiu is the living God. He sees and knows the human hearts. When He sees sins and immoral activities of humankind, he punishes them through many distresses. Johannes Gausdal says:

He (God) can not be seen with bodily eyes, but He himself sees all. He has created heaven and earth, human beings, animals, birds and insects in fact everything and every one, he keeps and controls all and supports our lives small and big."11

J. Troisi supports the idea of Santal belief that the "Thakur jiu' is the creator, owner, sustainer of the whole universe and the Father of all humankind.¹²

The etymological meaning of Thakur jiu carries something of God's inner nature. In other words, an attempt is possible to interpret God in the language of the Santals, their own. Thakur jiu', therefore may be considered as a principal name for God. This name, by which God is called in Santal tradition, is descriptive of His character, His reality and that He is not an abstract concept. It conveys the clear expression of the Santal religious thinking and their religious experience. God is real to the Santals, God, in fact as He is known, thought of and spoken of by the Santals ever present and ever acting reality in the world.

The name for the Supreme God is uniquely used for Him only and no part of it is shared by any other bongas (Spirits), according to the sacred stories (Myths) of the Santals. But in the contemporary religious practices of the Santals the name "Thakur jiu' God is often invoked with the 'Maran Buru' and rest of bongas (the chief evil spirit and the rest of the spirits).¹³ Besides the name, the Santals have rich terminologies for the attributes of God which express the reality of God. He is addressed as Father, Grandfather, Friend, but not in a human sense. They invariably refer to their dependence on God, whether in cases of success or failure, trouble and happiness they often invoke or Praise such as "Baba Dayate," "by the Grace of God." Yet He can be angry, He can love, understand and hear.

The Santals felt and experienced God as a real friend or helper of all people who reveals and helps them in their trouble and blesses their hard work. The Santals of course suffered a lot through drought, famine, epidemics and socio-economic oppressions, even poverty. Those calamities are believed to be the signs of God's displeasures. But at the same time the Santals have experienced God's merciful liberative acts recorded in the history of the Santals. The history of the Santals shows that the Supreme God created them, pruned them, enquired of them, punished them while commiting immoral lives, and liberating them while they were in all kinds of trouble. The "Thakur jiu' (Supreme God) knew and participated in the joys and sufferings, that is socio-economic prosperity and oppression of the Santals in history. A particular Santal Historical event reminds us of God's personal revelation in a human form to liberate the Santals from their tears of distresses. T.K. Rapaj quotes Kalikar Datta,

The revelation came all of a sudden, Sidhu and Kanhu were at night seated in their home, revolving upon many things (in their minds); their brothers, Chand and Bhyrub (Bhairab), were ten miles away at Simul chap, a bit of paper fell on Seedoo's (Sidhu's) head, and suddenly the Thakur (God) appeared before the astonished gaze of Seedoo (Sidhu) and Kanhu, he was like a white man though dressed in the native style; on each hand he had ten fingers; he held a white book and wrote therein; the book and with it 20 pieces of paper in 5 batches, four in each batch, he presented to the brothers, ascended upwards and disappeared."¹⁴

The content of this historical revelation is that God was moved with compassion on the socio-economically oppressed people, who were exploited by the Mahajans, of the weaker sections of the Santals at that time. Here the story of a miraculous divine revelation, just ocurred in 1855, inspired the Santals to take prompt and open measures for the removal of their distress and pains under the leadership of the Santal Saints and heros Seedoo and Kanhu. They were strengthened and unitedly stood for the justice by the inspired determination from God. The Santals shed blood and lost lives, but won the victory against injustice.

From the beginning of the creation the 'Thakur jiu' has been a God of benevolence and justice in the experiences of the Santals. For Santals the Supreme God is a male deity, the Father of all. He does not tolerate injustice, He fights against injustice and liberates all from bondage.

The Santals believe that God upholds the moral law. "He is the judge of human both now and in life after death and so humans are responsible to Him for their deeds."¹⁵ God is not only believed as a judge, but He is considered benevolent and does not require to be propitiated by the daily offering of sacrifice. He is worshipped and offerings are made to Him in Thanksgiving for bumper harvest. When everything else failed, the Supreme God is appealed to because He is the final court of appeal, the judge of all, and to Him humans turn to in despair.

b) Mankind and their Relationship with God.

i) Original state of Mankind.

The Santals have an interesting myth on the creation of mankind by Thakur jiu (Supreme God). The Santal sacred story of the origin of humanity combines the Principles of creation and evolution, for according to it humankind are ultimately derived from two images, which were modelled in human form out of damp clay, but afterwards accidently transformed into birds, from whose eggs the first Man and woman of flesh and blood were hatched. This story of origin of Mankind finds some similarities with the biblical view of creation of Adam and Eve (Gen. 1:26-27; 2:7).

In the beginning there was only water and underneath it soil. First of all "Thakur jiu' (Supreme God) created fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, earthworms, sun, moon and all kinds of living creatures of the water and finally human beings.¹⁶

Thakur jiu' (God) made two human couples of earth. When He was ready to impart souls or breathe (life) into them, the "Sin Sadom" (The day horse of the Sun in the form of horse) came down from above and trampled them to pieces. Thakur jiu' became awfully grieved by this. Thakur Baba (God the Father) did not give up His plan of creating humankind. The myth further asserts, "Then Thakur jiu created physical formation of male and female birds instead of human formation out of damp clay. The birds were imparted breath or soul (life) by the "Thakur jiu' from the inner part of His bosom."¹⁷ He named the birds—Has and Hasil (meaning goose and gander). He used to keep the birds on his hands and talk and play with them. When the birds needed place to live, "Thakur jiu' formed the earth and whole creation along with all the necessities. The birds made a nest in a clump of thatching grass. The female bird (*Hasil*) laid two eggs. From those eggs two humans were born—one male child and another female child. They were called by the name, "*Pilcu Haram*" and *Pilcu Budhi*."¹⁸ The first human couple grew up in "*Hihiri Pipiri*," the original birth place of the Santals. The place Hihiri Pipiri, geographically is uncertain. But one of the songs denote that the Hihiri pipiri was a place like paradise, a peaceful place situated somewhere in Babylon. The first human beings were taken care of by the birds according to the advice of the "Thakur jiu" (God).

It is at this situation, when the birds faced difficulties to feed the first human couple, offered supplication to the Thakur jiu' for providing food for the human couple.¹⁹ In this context of neccesity Thakur jiu' created the whole universe for the wellbeing of humankind. Then the birds easily found fruits for the human beings. Therefore the earth and the whole creation is created out of the necessity as the source of life for all human beings. In this context of loving providence of God the Santals have never thought of the absence of God's rule, care and relationship with creation and humankind.

The first man and woman lived in joy and happiness under the loving care and protection of God. They talked with Him and had fellowship with Him. In those days they knew nothing of illness and death. They were not afraid of death. In their first generation, they had abundant peace, prosperity and security.

They did not work hard because labour was mostly free from toil. "The rice grew ready husked and cotton bushes, bore cloth already woven."²⁰ They believed that this Providence and easy supply were possible only by the Grace of "Thakur jiu'.

The Santals' vision of communion with "Thakur jiu' (Supreme God) is much deeper. God is real and the only shelter to them. As Dr. Timothy Hembrom writes, "Thakur jiu' (God), being a spiritual power cannot be reduced to any form of Image, hence the tribals (Santals) have never been idol "worshipers."²¹ The belief in a Supreme God is a distinctive feature for the Santals. He is understood and believed as the High Spirit in contrast to the many other deities and spirits.²² They worshipped God as it was willed by God. He may be approached and worshipped by any person in any place. As once again to quote Dr. Timothy Hembrom, "The import of the dictum, God is neither worshipped in Jerusalem nor in Gerizim (Jn. 4:21), is well known to the tribals in India since time immemorial."²³ Here the emphasis is that the Santals worshipped the kind of God, who does not exist in a limited worshipping abode, but ever active and ever present everywhere.

It was taken for granted by the Santals that God was with humankind from the beginning of creation. He liked to be with human beings. He is a relational Being. The Santals believe that the present life does not end with death, but what concerns a Santal is both his present state of life and the life after death to be in the hand of God. Therefore, the Santal religious concern about human beings begins from birth. This life is a part of God as a whole. The word 'Jivi' (soul), imparted from the inner part of God's bosom, to human beings, is part of God (Amsa of God). The 'Jivi' (Soul), being a part of God. is a living force in human life, which makes human beings capable of acting, reasoning and moving. The 'Jivi' (Soul) relates humanity with God. In this sense we imagine God's own self exists in humanity according to Santal religious belief: So. God's special gift to humanity is His Jivi (soul or breath) as having some similarities with God's gift of His Image in Biblical view to humanity. That is why, the Santals believe that the Supreme God has a living and intimate relationship with all human beings, here in this world and in the life after death. As the forefathers have been saying, "Thakur jiu has sent us to this world -. He will take us back to next world."24 (Mare hapram ko ko ror akat'a, Thakur ge dhartiteye kol akat' bonakhane idi bona hanapurite).

Their simple belief is that, as God is the giver of 'Jivi', He takes initiative for relationship with human beings and in that sense humanbeings are the relational beings, who can maintain a relationship with God and his neighbours.

God is the source of all good gifts. The earth belongs to Him. He gives intellect to human beings and they can enjoy all good things that God has bestowed upon them. This belief shows that God Himself maintains a personal relationship by His very nature of relational character. Humanity remains as human only on the basis of his relationship with God and with others, As Dr. R. Chandran, writes quoted by Dr. D.W. Jesudoss,

The nature of man and the purpose of his life can be known only on the basis of his relationship with God. In fact, his every existence as man depends on his relationship with God.²⁵

Thus to the Santals the nature of humanbeings is good or bad depending on whether they are related to God or not. This idea runs parallel to the idea of Christian Theology, which teaches that Man (humanity) is totally dependent on God for all his spiritual, intellectual and material possessions. Therefore, when mankind reject God, it only shows their ungratefulness in receiving the gifts and not recognising the Giver.²⁶

The Santals give importance on the original creation of humanity, the combination of the Principles of creation and evolution. Thakur jiu' created birds out of damp clay (the dust) and the damp clay became living creatures by the breath of God's life and then in the process of evolution the first human beings were hatched from the eggs of the birds. Here by the act of imparting breath to the damp clay, the inanimate physical formation of birds made out of damp clay becoming . animate. The breath of God became a living force inside those models of birds that makes them capable of moving and acting. In this combination of matter and a spirit or spirit force may be recognized as having similarities with Biblical view of original creation story of Adam and Eve (Gen. 1:26-27: 2:7). As John Macquarrie writes. "If man is formed of the dust of the ground, he is also said to have breathed into him by God the breath of life."27 The idea of evolution, i.e. the transformation of the birds into mankind, is absent in the Bible. But it is a popularly accepted fact by the Santals that, the first human beings were created from the damp clay of the soil (the dust of the ground) and they are the creatures of God. John Macquarrie asserts:

Man is a creature of God, he has the potentiality for becoming the "offspring" of God or for being "adopted" into sonship and so somehow participating in God's life. It is when we consider this openness whereby a creaturely being may be taken up into holy Being that we get, so to speak, a breathing view of creation in all its unimaginable possibilities."²⁸

The Santals to need realise their potentiality for becoming offspring of God and to have communion with 'Thakur jiu' (God) for their liberation from their contemporary culture of suffering (spirits worship, and offering sacrifices in vain). This point is helpful to make a bridge between Christian understanding of returning to a living God and the Santals returning to the original concept of God and their relation with God.

ii) The Separation between God and humankind:

The Santals have a myth which speaks of how human beings were separated from God by the 'Maran Buru" (Satan, the chief evil spirit). "Maran Buru" is the evil spirit who possesses the most clearly defined individuality.²⁹ The name "Maran Buru" means "great mountain", but the word 'buru' means not only a mountain, but also used for spirits in general. Another name for "Maran Buru" is 'Lita', 30 which is a proper name for the chief evil spirit, just as Diabol for Satan found in the Bible. The references to 'Lita' in Santal mythology clearly indicate his dominant position. As W.J. Culshaw denotes, "He appeared on the scene at a very early stage in the life of the first pair."31 At a very early stage, he visited them and found them in a state of innocence and told them that they have not yet learnt to taste the joy of this life. He introduced himself to them as their grandfather and so established an intimate relationship between himself and them. He taught them how to prepare beer and asked them. "Now both of you drink this after first of all having poured on the ground some to Maran Buru." He then left them for few days and when he returned he chuckled to see the change in their appearance, for during his absence they had become drunken. In that condition they lost all the sense of purity and moral dignity. Their innocent nature was changed to Pride and covetousness. It was the time of temptation when they acquired all the natures of the chief evil spirits. In this changed inhuman situation they had for the first time experienced sexual intercourse and realizing their nakedness and felt ashamed. They made loin clothes to cover. Maran Buru taught them that they must always offer beer in his name whenever they invoke his name.²⁰ The Santals consider this fact as the original disloyalty to the "Thakur jiu" (God) and loyalty to the 'Maran Buru' (the Satan). They forgot their God, but He did not leave them from His sight.

The first human pair, 'Pilcu Haram' and 'Pilcu Budhi' got children, seven sons and seven daughters. They got married with each other, which was sin at that stage, without rules and regulations, as per the later development of the clan organisation of the Santal customs and religious culture. It is said that from these seven couples became a huge tribe classified in twelve clans with systematic cultural clan organisations, as follows: Hansdak', Kisku, Murmu, Hembrom, Tudu, Soren, Baskey, Marandih, Besra, Core, Pauria and Bedia. This clan organisation was set by the first pair for the social and moral wellbeing of their Children as E.O. James writes:

"The sacred lore of the tribe is not a fanciful tale told in explanation of natural phenomena and inexplicable events, but a method of expressing certain ways of thinking and feeling about the facts of life and of regulating human moral actions."³³

The above passage emphasizes the purpose of the division of human race into clans, i.e. regulating one's way of thinking, feeling and human moral actions for maintaining community spirit, solidarity, racial identity and moral dignity in the society. The clan organisation is an accepted norm for the Santal society. That is why, non-conformity to the accepted norm is sin, in Santal community life. And each act of sin, for the Santal, is an insult to the community and it is the duty of the community to punish every act of sin. They believe that if anyone does not confess and repent for his or her sins here in this world, he or she would be punished in the next world, after death.

4. A Theological Evaluation.

Behind the Santal original state of humanity, universe and their separation from the Supreme God, it can be discerned that something had gone wrong with human beings and the universe. The Problem was that, they did not enjoy perfect bliss. Humankind's original, peaceful life had been interrupted and they had to reap its consequence in this present life. It is perhaps here that the Christian doctrine of "the fall of humanity" may serve as a point of contact for the Santal understanding of the Present state of human life.

The myth about the separation between humanity and 'Thakur jiu' (God) has an important theological significance. It is noted that the main cause of separation was not God but human beings through the evil motivation of the evil spirit. Human beings misused their freedom. They rebelled against their creator. They were innocent but became proud. As a result it brought tragic consequences for humanbeings and the whole universe. They lost the privilege of speaking directly to God, hence they became helpless. They lost happiness, peace, joy. Sickness visited humankind and death remained with them. Their ability to understand and gain knowledge of God were affected.

Humankind having lost the original fellowship with God. their knowledge about God too, has been distorted and come short of glory of God. (Rom. 3:23). Direct conversation between God and humanity is no longer possible. Their communication with God, which was possible without the mediation of sacrifice and priests has been cut off. Humankind have lost not only fellowship with God, but also the easy supply from the creation-animal, vegetation and natural forces. They have had to struggle alone for their lives. The universe became a riddle for them. They often confused themselves more and more. Their freedom of expression, relationship and movements were distorted. The evil thought, immorality impurity, licentiousness, sorcery, enmity, envy, drunkenness, carousing and evil spirit worship followed humankind and have been dominating them. This idea has close similarities with the Genesis account of the "Fall of humanity".

The Santal myth about the original state of Mankind and the separation suggest their concept of God. In their traditional belief the question of God's existence was never raised. They took it for granted that God exists and mankind were at the mercy of God. The myth, regarding the relationship between God as the creator and human beings as the creatures, also introduces the origin of worship. Worship is willed by God. This idea discloses, the importance of maintaining unending relationship with God as mankind's responsibility to God. Human beings are responsible to God and to the whole universe. So, the Santal traditional myth traces that their religion originated from God. It is the will of God for humanity.

The Santals have a strong belief in life in this world and its continuance in the next world. Thus the Santals take this present life seriously because the future will be determined on the basis of the present life in this world. Life in this world is as important as the life after death in the next world. So they believe in immortality of soul.

It is exciting to imagine in the Santal tradition that human beings' possibility of restoring fellowship with God was not completely destroyed by their rebellion against God. God continues to bless them in general. The tradition tells us that through repentance that is, turning back to the creator God, a new relationship could be restored once again. This new relationship with God will surely lead humanity to a new community where people might feel the living active presence of God. Their forefathers witnessed that human beings return to God for help and refuge when all other means fail them. Therefore, all that they have to do is to submit everything to the mercy of God. The Santal religion does not offer mankind a message of forgiveness and redemption. It knows forgiveness of God. As "Thakur jiu" (God) lovingly declared, before annihilating the immoral human race by the fiery liquid rain, an invitation to mankind, saying, "return to me and to the path of the correct conduct while there is time."34 This insight of the forgiveness of God in Santal traditional religion maybe considered as a doctrine of forgiveness of God. It may be stated that the message of Jesus Christ, the Good News of God's free forgiveness, the gift of salvation and the liberation from bondage of cultural suffering is already present in the Primeval traditional myth of the Santal. In this context the message of God's forgiveness and salvation for all people in Jesus Christ could easily be understood as a unique and true message by the Santals.

5. Concluding Remarks

The traditional myths of the Santal portray the person (human race) as in need of Salvation as being in a condition that is estranged from the Supreme God. This estrangement from God is the tragedy of mankind. The real evil which prevents humankind from knowing and acknowledging God's salvation, according to Santal traditional religious belief is not their physical defectiveness but their spiritual darkness. If we examine Santals' present religious belief and practices. we find them dominated by the bongas forces (evil spirits forces) suffers and groans. This Animistic belief and practice of the Santal analyse the human situation as yet in a rather superficial way: mankinds are in want of riches, children and heaven, all those wants can be supplied by bongas (spirits) propitiation in one hand and mankinds are threatened by fear, and hunger, by old age diseases and by death. There is a deeper want in humanity or salvation as the Santal cultural realities (Past and Present) reveal pathetic human situation.

This study discovers the history of how God has been dealing with humanity in the past. This interpretation of the oral traditions shows the basic forms of religious faith, practices and moral teachings of the fathers. The oral traditions and customs are accepted as holy and authoritative for the faith and practice of the people. These had been carefully preserved and transmitted intact by the fathers from one generation to another, even down to this day. Therefore this interpretation of the Santal concept of God, mankind's relationship with God and their separation from God might evolve a creative and meaningful Santal Christian Theology that is relevant and contextual to our contextual realities.

This study contributes to an understanding of true freedom. In this attempt of contextualization, a bridge between Christianity and Santal Religion can be established to help the human race (the Santal) to move from Unreal to Reality and from Untruth to Truth-that results in a new ordering of religious activities and social obligations. The shadowy figure of the Supreme Being is invested with personality and comes into the centre of consciousness. He is not merely the Creator to whom little is ascribed as the dispenser of good and bad weather. He is vitally concerned with human life and conduct. The story of the Jews is appreciated as that of a people who suffered through a long history from oppression, and the story of the wanderings appeal to the Santal. It is altogether fitting that the one Saviour of all mankind should be born of a people with whom the Santal feels that he has much in common. The traditional story of the origin of mankind and their separation from Supreme God may be held to supplement the Biblical narrative. Adam and Eve may be referred to as Pilcu Haram and Pilcu Budhi and Maran Buru on the other hand is equated with Satan, and the cult of worship that he instituted may be regarded as a deception imposed on the Santals. To the Santals who have been led in any degree to appreciate the Christian teaching about God. the identification of Maran Buru with Satan seems to be obvious. He led the first human pair into sin and revealed to them the secret of sexual intercourse, for which the polite name among the Santals is always baric'kami or evil work. He caused their ancestors to wander through the forests and finally foisted on them the cult of the spirits centering in the worship of himself.

The Santals' hope is in the Supreme God for Protection and deliverance from evil spirits and all kinds of problems. The Supreme God—the Saviour God, who has revealed himself in the message of Christs' victory over evil, will provide freedom from the fear of malevolent spirits and all kinds of human problems.

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- 28. Ibid., p. 231.
- 29. W.J. Culshaw op. cit., p. 81.
- 30. 'LITA' is the proper name of the Principal Bonga (The chief evil spirit just as Satan is called Diabol in the Bible) also commonly called 'Maran Buru", meaning "The Great Mountain".
- 31. W.J. Culshaw, op. cit., p. 81.
- 32. Johannes Guasdal, op. cit., pp. 10-14.
- 33. E.O. James, Comparative Religion, Methun, London, 1938, p. 304.
- 34. L.O. Skrefsrud, op. cit., p. 8.