



**«Bleie's book it is
a revelation and a must!**

Elsa Stamatopoulou,
Columbia University, NY

TONE BLEIE

A NEW TESTAMENT

SCANDINAVIAN MISSIONARIES
AND SANTAL CHIEFS FROM COMPANY
AND BRITISH CROWN RULE TO INDEPENDENCE

SOLUM BOKVENNEN



The author Tone Bleie (PhD) is Professor at the University of Tromsø (UiT) – the Arctic University of Norway. Among her publications are the monograph *Tribal Peoples, Nationalism and the Human Rights Challenge: The Adivasis of Bangladesh*, UPL (2005), and the anthology *Indigenous Borders* (as author), Duke University Press (2023). This volume offers a recast international economic, legal, and social history of the strangely neglected, power-laden relationship between a Scandinavian Transatlantic mission and the Santals, Boro and Bengalis of South Asia. Bleie's kaleidoscopic, penetrating portraits and customized text invite readers to navigate in 'grand' and 'little' histories, brimming with storytelling. (The author by the Indian artist Jamini Roy's painting Santal women.)

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Scandinavian missionaries and
Santal chiefs from Company and
British Crown Rule to Independence

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*The words of the ancestors are ended.
I learned from Buku guru of the village Pabea in Pandra country, and I have made you two, Kerap Sabeb [L.O. Skrefsrud] and old Jugia my disciples in the country,
in order that the words may not be lost, may they remain generation after generation.*

Benagaria [Mission], 05.08.1887¹
L.O. Skrefsrud and Jugia Haram

*My story is about to be unravelled.
I learned from the written sayings of the ancestors in the collections and archives in foreign countries, and the living tales of gurus, pastors, missionaries, and villagers in Benagaria, Mohulpahari, Dumka, Ranchi, Bishnubati, Kolkata, Copenhagen, Oslo, Hurdal, Minneapolis, and Dinajpur, in order that the words and deeds may not be lost, may they remain generation after generation.*

Tromsø [University], 02.11.2022
T. Bleie

1 Sage Guru Kolean's conclusive words that ended his recitation of the ancestors' epics (*binti*), as rendered in *Traditions and institutions of the Santals: Horkoren mare hepramko reak' katha* (1887/1994).

Preface

The Scandinavian–Santal legacy entwines two histories, one ‘little’, the other ‘grand’. *A new testament* interrogates this entanglement over centuries of the colonial history of major European powers and missions, unraveling an ignored settler story. It began in the jungle in the late-1860s in the newly designated district of Santal Parganas in Eastern British India. Readers are invited to journey through an extraordinary history of Mission Station Christianity among Santals initially, then expanding to Boro and Bengalis of Lower Assam and tracts of West Bengal and East Pakistan, later Bangladesh.

As awakened messengers of the Gospel, missionaries traversed an enormous Atlantic World. They propagated universalist ideas about the saving grace of becoming born again and achieving earthly social justice before the coming of the Kingdom of God. In Eastern India, Santal missionaries toured the countryside in winding elephant caravans, on stools and on foot. Prayers, biblical readings, hymns, and mission photography of evangelical ‘progress’ lifted “Santalistan” into an imaginary utopian mindscape. This notion of ‘progress’ lent legitimacy from clergymen and philosophers’ justification of Christianity’s ‘civilizing’ mission worldwide. Another underpinning for expansion was the global spread of ideas of private property, bounded territory or enclosure. Such cataclysmic ideas originated in the lush British countryside, before being brutally tested on the Irish peasantry in the 17th Century. They eventually reached prosperous Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The victor, the British

East India Company, superimposed a largely alien legal notion and an intermediary revenue class, a tenurial regime that undermined ancient land arrangements. Usury landlords assumed ownership over enormous territories, previously held by a mosaic of neighborly ancient chiefly and royal formations. In the 1870s and 1880s, the Scandinavian faith entrepreneurs maneuvered on a knife's edge in a societal cauldron. Seething anger boiled over during the Santal rebellion of 1855–1856. We portray a chiefly organized society, bitterly divided over how to deal with white godmen and settlers. And we show how the latter – as religious gurus, patrons, landlords, medics, peacemakers, and advocates – painstakingly earned a measure of goodwill among colonial officers, chiefs, and locals.

The Scandinavian–Santal Mission 'in the jungle' arguably contributed to reshaping cultural landscapes in British East India. An earthly vehicle, the early Santal church was mainly modeled on apostolic ideas and traditional 'tribal' democratic consensus-oriented assemblies. But this would change. The Mission expanded, building supporter constituencies on both sides of the Atlantic. Modern printing presses, cameras, telegraphs, rails, and oceanic post and passenger ships formed a transformative technoscape. Remote mission estates and the 'global village' became connected. Scholar missionaries, chiefs, and sages set written standards for Santali, this ancient Northern Muṅḍa language of the Austroasiatic family. They embarked on a generational treasure hunt (1890s–1930s), collecting ethnographic and prehistoric artifacts. The Protestant notion of holy scriptures in the vernacular melded with Western education. The impact on the Santals, steeped in an ancestral millennia-old oral legacy, was enormous. Universalization processes transmuted the oral legacy onto handwritten manuscripts, publications, artifacts, and grammar standards.

A new testament is not a straightforward history of a European core and a colonized periphery. We may speak of two, unequal, peripheries. From remote capitalist-penetrated borderlands, Santals and Norwegians upheld compatible egalitarian values. Painstakingly they built trust despite racial bars. The book covers mainly three mission epochs. An awkward combination of modern ideas of rural improvement from below and colonial schemes of indirect rule and pacification (1867–1910) from above characterizes the first. The 1911–1947 period represents a shift from Indian home mission to a transatlantic society. Foreign, expert-composed staff

pioneered humanitarian, health, and educational service delivery. The third, development aid epoch, began after the independence of India and Pakistan (1947) and Denmark and Norway (1945). Liberations from British imperialists and Hitler Germany caused cascades of consequences for the relations between independent states, Christian missions, and their successor churches. The Lutheran successor churches and para-church organizations remained constrained by a neocolonial paternalistic mindset hampering the delivery of public goods and self-rule.

Above all, this book seeks to fill unconscionable gaps and silences in current public memory, co-produced transnationally under unequal political, economic, and cultural conditions such as pernicious language and racial barriers for non-Scandinavian speakers. Eminent academic works highlight specific mission periods and iconic themes like the Santal Rebellion. This volume's extended timeline takes in early Dano-Norwegian and British Company Rule, Crown Rule, and the early post-Independence period. This helps to fill certain critical knowledge gaps of the *longue durée*. Secular scholars have mainly grappled with the Scandinavian Santal Mission as cultural, and hence religious, history. This volume acts as a counterpoise with greater attention to economic, legal, and political history – thrust onto local, regional, and global canvases.

Two citations adorn *A new testament's* first inner page. One is taken from the famous *Ancestors' Tales* by the Guru Kolean (*Hor̄koren mare hepr̄amko reak' katha*). The other conveys my unbounded gratitude to the authors and harbingers of the oral and textual sources of a 170-year-old Scandinavian–Santal literary tradition. The Norwegian pioneer missionary and cultural nationalist, L.O. Skrefsrud, and his accomplice, Chief Jugiā Haṛam, recorded in 1871–1872 the sacred epics. The time that has passed since Skrefsrud's subsequent publishing of the *Ancestors' Tales* in 1887, represent a mere blink of the eye compared to the millennia of the Santal oral tradition.

A new testament consults historical archives on three continents and revisits ethnography crafted over my own participant observation and interviews (1982–2005) with living custodians of orality: gurus, healers, oracles, and ordinary villagers. Santals or *Hor̄ Hopon, Oraons, Munḍas* and other *Adivāsis* across states and districts in East India, Northern Bangladesh, and Eastern Nepal, sustain annual ritual cycles. Joyful and

graceful enactments unfold in a parallel memorial universe most outsiders are ignorant of or prejudiced about. Their indigenous lifeworld was already facing tremendous pressure at the time when the Scandinavian settlers claimed a tract of jungle and sat at the feet of Guru Kolean. Skrefsrud's doomsday prophecies about the demise of the oral heritage have been proven wrong. Guru Kolean's portrayal of inner and outer strains on his society as dense forests was razed, and the land laid bare to cultivation and plunder was closer to reality. These desecrations have not merely come to pass but have become more pervasive and destructive.

About the contents of the book

Section I: Contexts of a Scandinavian-South Asian legacy

Chapter 1: Legacy contexts, topics, and landscapes

The chapter's opening portrays the imperial context in which Protestant evangelicals began propagating the Gospel among the forest tribes of Bihar and Bengal. The topics of *A new testament* are presented before portraying the cultural landscapes that sustain current public memory of the populace, heritage custodians, the Transatlantic successor missions, and their Lutheran Churches in East India, Northern Bangladesh, and Eastern Nepal. The narrative focus shifts to unraveling the odyssey of research and the craft of academic storytelling. The Scandinavian–Santal–Boro–Bengali legacy is likened to a magnificent tapestry. Scrutinizing in depth Scandinavian–Santal transnational history, the chapter introduces a kaleidoscopic story examining the legacy's designs, peculiarly solid base, and generations of weavers, many forgotten, others scandalized or canonized. Troubling blind spots in public and academic debates justifies telling a compelling history of this remarkable religious, cultural, and economic legacy since Danish Company Rule in the 18th Century until the early post-Independence period.

Chapter 2: Archives and public blind zones

How much patience, imagination, and devotion to rigorous craft does it take to research a secretive and disorganized archive and produce the narrative building blocks of a historical tapestry that engages both academics and non-academics? This chapter lifts the lid on the work of a historical anthropologist who consulted public and private archives on three continents and revisited her anthropological records going back to the early-1980s. Paradoxes in contemporary public debates on the homeland, multiculturalism, and the post-secular turn, particularly in Norway, are explored. Contemporary debates stir up moral anxiety about invasive aliens showing an unapologetic indifference to mounting evidence of transformative rather intrusive presences of the double-monarchy Denmark–Norway and later evangelical missions in South Asia.

Chapter 3: Missions, missionaries, and merchants – global and regional contexts

Indigenous-inhabited Raj Mahal's location on the fringes of an enormous forest-shrouded world and the mighty Ganges attracted hunting parties, *nawabs*, and sailing European merchants in the 18th Century. Missionaries were yet to arrive. Taking the global history of Christianity and of Christianity in South Asia as contexts, light is shone on how different phases of colonialism impacted the recruitment, routes, and moving frontiers of generations of emissaries of the Gospel. A reexamination of the epochs of Denmark–Norway's fortified mission enclaves (1706s–1790s) in Bengal and South India and dispersed interior mission estates (1860s–2000s) in Bihar and Bengal exposes how intimately the spatial layouts of missions in the two epochs reflected the stages of colonialism – from mercantile trade to fuller territorial control, resource extraction, and pacification of rebellions tribes. The narration switches once again from the global and regional to the local in the form of a revelatory story of the Scottish Grant family's proprietorship in Dumka, Santal Parganas. The background for the Grants' generous bequeathals of two estates evinces the pro-mission stance of the Grants' 'illustrious' ancestor Charles Grant (1746–1823), an Anglican reformist politician and chairman of the British East India Company.

Chapter 4: Missionaries and Santal chiefs as actors – intellectual meetings

Acknowledging the Transatlantic area as a fertile recruitment ground for 19th-Century evangelists, this chapter examines what lay behind an unlikely intellectual convergence and budding alliance between Scandinavian–Santal missionaries and Santal chiefs (1870s–1900s). The counterintuitive narrative explains how early local opposition turned into a meeting of utopian ideas, egalitarian values, and joint advocacy for chiefly self-rule and land protection. Santal chiefs drew on their mobile prehistory. They nurtured an undying hope of a restorative social order despite the bloodshed and dire repercussions of the Santal Rebellion (1855–1856). The North European mission founders drew on contrasting class, religious and social backgrounds, ranging from a politically and religiously changing East Norwegian countryside, to a rowdy working-class milieu in Copenhagen, cosmopolitan evangelical Berlin, and Calcutta's high society. The chapter concludes by discussing the missionary pioneers' intellectual sources and posturing as rising international evangelical stars and the consequences for their mission's Lutheran turn in the early 20th Century.

Section 2: Mission Station Christianity's universalization

Chapter 5: Faith entrepreneurship and its foundation

Faith entrepreneurship theory departs from the recognition that Scandinavian missionaries and Santal chiefs were actors directed by, respectively, a supreme Lord and a Godhead. This and supporting evidence explain how missionaries and chiefs operated as proactive faith entrepreneurs rather than mere colonial pawns (1870s–1900s). A visionary legal trust-based ownership made the tapestry unassailable solid. Using middleman strategies as godmen, legal advisers and arbiters, humanitarians, and peace mediators, reformist missionaries, chiefs, and friendly British administrators made progress during these volatile decades. Santal chiefs deployed strategically their white *Sahibs* and their own dreaded reputation for deadly mass action. Semi-traditional chiefly powers, amid advo-

cacy for self-rule and land reform, humanitarian food-for-work, education, benevolent landlordism and colony and tea schemes in Assam, demonstrated a seemingly divinely blessed endeavor. A nearly omnipotent missionary presence raised Santal hopes for a return to a social order of greater justice and dignity, preparing the ground for a period of rapid progress of Evangelical Christianity.

Chapter 6: Christianity, mother tongues, and ethno-nationalism

This and the next chapter develop a theoretical perspective on the under-rated designs of universalization propagated by the Santal Mission and its later iterations. The enduring impact on the fabric of the host society remains understated by scholars and policymakers alike. A theoretical perspective is developed by initially revisiting the influential thesis of religious universalization in Bengal's enormous forest frontiers in the medieval period. Against this backdrop, our narrative unravels 19th- and 20th-Century universalization by scholar-missionaries, gurus, sages, pastors, and evangelists. They were variably influenced of low-church evangelism, post-Rebellion resistance forms, and a literary turn inspired by Scandinavian cultural nationalism. In a reassessment of a contemporary academic argument that views the scholar-missionaries, gurus, and sages as purely ideology-driven kingmakers of vernacular Santali, neglected evidence of their lives and innovative research methods is revealed. Vernacular Santali is conclusively reviewed as a politics of recognition and identify formation between the two world wars (1918–1939) and following Independence (1947).

Chapter 7: Rights, moral, and social reforms

Constitution-making and related legislative reforms form the points of departure for this chapter's inquiry into entitlement-based designs of universalization. Taking the original Indian Constitution as a starting point, the designs of entitlement-based politics of ethnic minorities, tribes, *Adivāsis* and Indigenous in South Asia are reexamined, drawing on comparative human rights law and political anthropology. A comparison of constitutionalism, lawmaking, and popular politics in the British-ruled Golden Mission Era (1860s–1947) and the post-Independence epoch brings to light why Nepal's, India's, and Bangladesh's Constitutions and

international commitments to ethnic minority rights differ. A second analyzed design of universalization draws on this author's earlier theoretical works on gender and modernity, opening a new vista on the impact of the Santal Mission as social and moral reformer.

Section 3: Globalization localized: settlers, heirs, icons

Chapter 8: Ebenezer Mission in the jungle as settler history

In 1867, the faith entrepreneurs Lars Skrefsrud, Edward Johnson, and Hans Peter Børresen 'discovered' and claimed a 'pristine' tract adjacent to three Santal hamlets in Santal Parganas. Over the following decades (1867–1892), the 'dark' jungle gave way to a palatial 'white' mission headquarters designed and supervised by white settlers, built by them and local craftsmen and laborers. Following early legal and reputational difficulties, the Santal Mission got to work in saving souls, expanding its imposing headquarter and acquiring several new mission estates. Revisiting the colonial settler myth of site possession by divine grace, this chapter pieces together a colonial cultural and economic geography. The Santal missionaries maneuvered within this geography as godmen, gurus, estate lords, architects, constructors, and fundraisers among local and foreign foes, allies, and mission friends. In reexamining official mission history, the chapter offers a new and grander narrative of the Santal Mission as an expansionist landlord and universalist reformer constantly extending Christianity's 'civilizational' frontiers.

Chapter 9: The Trust Deed and a succession drama

The partly self-made myth as pioneer missionaries living heroic detached lives on their jungle estate was debunked in an earlier chapter that revealed their transnational style of living. This chapter further dispels this myth by showing how the Santal Missionaries operated their propertied faith enterprise under the aegis of evangelical patrons and Anglo-Indian trust law. The early sections disclose how these faith entrepreneurs mobilized social capital connecting them to the inner circles of the British Raj, to be at the forefront of new colonial legislation, shedding light on the favorable timing of the Trust Deed in 1880. Skrefsrud, on behalf of his

mission, also positioned himself as a central intermediary in the drawn out Santal Parganas Land Settlement (1872–1910), a role that proved advantageous for the Mission's trust property accumulation. Access to a trove of original correspondence involving heirs, wills, a legal counsel in Calcutta, and leaders in Scandinavia exposes a succession drama. In eye of the storm was a dying Lars Skrefsrud, his co-founder and confidante Caroline Børresen and his earlier protégé and supposed successor Paul Olaf Bodding.

**Chapter 10: Cast selves, submission, silences
– a person gallery uncovered**

In the pioneer era, the Santal Mission propagated a civilizing enterprise on two fronts. Externally, it spanned transatlantic member missions and the evangelical circles in the British Raj. In Norway, Denmark, and America, an early women's civil and political rights movement necessitated internal balancing acts. Religious societies sought to maintain men's exclusive right to pastoral duties as priests and pastors but began recruiting single women as missionaries and native evangelists. In the British Raj, the Mission was an architect of moral reform that sought to curb libertarian tribal mores. Moral reform put strict demands on missionaries as gurus and star evangelists to behave as icons – displaying an impeccably puritan moral self-discipline. Drawing on the author's earlier works on body politics and modernity and archival material, an intriguing person gallery of prominent foreign missionaries and a Santal evangelist is unveiled. This gallery testifies to the personal sacrifices and tragedies caused by an unbridgeable distance between lofty pietistic ideals and personal lives torn between duty on remote estates and alluring metropolises with their star-struck adoration and emancipatory promises.

Section 4: Museums, churches,
and mission in the 20th Century

**Chapter 11: A history of a Norwegian ethnographic museum
and its Bodding collection**

This history is composed from narratives on the rise of the Victorian public museum, Norway's first ethnographic university museum and a particular non-European "tribal" collection amassed and donated (currently questioned by way of oral history) between 1901 and 1934. Having characterized how the early museum's collections were acquired under shifting collection and exhibition policies and practices, we trace how the parliamentary and national breakthroughs motivated the collector and scholar-missionary P.O. Bodding and his mentor L.O. Skrefsrud to embark on a generational dual-purpose collection effort. Our exposition interrogates Bodding's notions of custodianship, in/tangible artifacts, and his trained collectors' protocols of recording the oral legacy and amassing allegedly archeological artifacts, some considered sacred locally. The following sections chronicle the hidden 'life' of conserved artifacts and manuscripts in Oslo (mainly) over a 120-year period (1901–2022), until a first virtual repatriation to India in the late-1980s and the current digitized repatriation. Informed by an ethnography of museums, and minorities and indigenous rights to cultural heritage, the chapter concludes by examining the painful dilemmas inherent in coming to grips with what can justifiably be called a postcolonial custodian policy.

**Chapter 12: The Society and its Church
– constitutionalism as a prism**

**Chapter 13: The Post-Raj period of churches
– neocoloniality as a prism**

The final chapters narrate how a revamped Transatlantic mission society handled a constitutional reform agenda amidst unprecedented changes in global, regional, and national politics and religious affairs. Chapter thirteen explains how a secular international order rose from the ruins of World War 2. The order's secular ideas of solidarity challenged Christian

compassion and prompted state-society accommodation under the new state-funded aid regimes. Employing an interdisciplinary social science viewpoint, both chapters tease out new insights into how this faith entrepreneurial enterprise responded to and exploited new opportunities. The case holds wider relevance as other Asian Lutheran missions were similarly compelled to navigate the Asian theatre of Cold War politics. Chapter twelve may profitably be read as an international precursory history of aid (1911–1950) and chapter thirteen as a history of aid (1950–2000). Together, they address religious globalization, social technology transfers, and liberal foreign funding under asymmetrical conditions of internal bargaining power. Both chapters delve into a centenary history of traffic in Lutheran theology, constitutional principles of the Mission Society and its Lutheran church, missionary expertise, and, not to forget, a financial policy wrought with dilemmas. This transnational traffic unfolded amidst attempts of church nationalization and self-financing. Complementing chapter eleven on a technology-facilitated traffic in museum artifacts and people, the final two chapters build a 20th-Century framing to *A new testament's* narratives of the previous two centuries.

Section One

Contexts of a Scandinavian- South Asian legacy

Chapter I

Legacy context, issues, and landscapes

Scandinavians in British India

In directly ruled British India (1858–1947 CE) Protestant evangelicals moved from wind-beaten coasts to inland terrains. Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Irish, Scots, English, and Americans viewed the densely forested interiors as tamable frontiers. Scandinavian arrivals swelled when the state-church monopoly on associational life was lifted in the late 1840s.²

Evangelicals vied to propagate the Gospel among forest tribes in the interiors. Outcomes of early encounters between white ‘godmen’ and natives in East India differed. Some rejected self-proclaimed messengers from afar. Others gradually acquiesced. Among ‘infidels’ turned Christian, some became pastors, evangelists, and churchwomen. Santal, Oraon, Muṅḍa, Boro, Garo, Khasi, and Naga preachers constituted formidable mobile forces.^{3/4} Christianity’s progress in several Eastern tribal

2 Freedom of religion depended on public education and the end of state-church monopoly in Sweden–Norway and Denmark: see Stensvold (2018), Rian (2018), Reeh (2009).

3 Of a vast body of academic literature on encounters with early and later Christianity; see e.g. de Maaker (2007), Longkumer (1999, 2019), Myllemngap (1999), Bara (1997, 2007), Dasgupta (2016), Chandra (2016), Lorin (2014).

4 On political, legal, administrative, and academic meanings of scheduled tribes,

heartlands depended on them. Civilizing efforts pacified ‘wild’ tribes and secured British military and civilian supremacy.⁵

A new testament begins with unraveling the Scandinavian–Santal legacy since as international history. This is a captivating story of imperial ideology, theological justifications, and colonial statecraft in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Centuries. Imperial global and regional conditions made it possible for Norwegian, Danish, Irish, Scottish, English, American, and Prussian missionaries to travel overseas and ‘discover’ legions of native ‘souls’ in East India. Protestant missionaries who settled in the interiors of the Bengal Presidency after the 1860s, constituted the second wave.⁶ The first Protestant wave was sponsored by the expansionist

tribals, and ethnic groups anchored in the Constitutions of India and Bangladesh and specific UN instruments; see chapter 7. On a postcolonial critical approach to these terms as a history of colluding worldviews in Tribe-European relations; see, e.g., Behera (2021).

5 Given the ideological luggage of colonial-era tribal names that survived Independence in 1947 as nomenclatures in the official state language, this volume also employs self-referential terms of pre-European origin. Ḥṛ Ḥṛṇ is composed of human (*Ḥṛ*) and offspring – female and male (*Ḥṛṇ*). The name, Santal originated in colonial era encounters; e.g., Bodding (1935), 143, 146. Both Santal and *Ḥṛ Ḥṛṇ* are employed self-referentially; see Pierce (2018), Short and Lennox (2016), Bleie (2023a). In the 1880s, the Santal Mission began missioning among Boro of lower Assam. Of uncertain antiquity, Boro means ‘son of Bara’; Longkumer (1999). *Adivāsi* and *Kherwar* are umbrella terms in contemporary use. Originally borrowed from Hindi, *Adivāsi* means ‘original inhabitants’ as *ādi* means beginning and *vāsin* means dweller. Indigenous intellectuals reinvented this term for political purposes in the early 20th Century. *Adivāsi* has recently been appropriated by indigenous umbrella movements in Bangladesh and Nepal. *Kherwar*, a term that might predate the Moghul period, is employed by Northern Muṇḍa speakers including Santali speakers. *Kherwar* is employed when debating revivalist movements of the 19th and early 20th Centuries. Due to continuity with current Sadri-speaking *Kherwars* in Chota Nagpur, ‘*Rajputization*’ is a more accurate characterization than ‘*Sancritization*’. The *Kherwars*’ mythical origin was as *Kshatriya* heroes of the *Suryavamśa* and *Candravamśa*, of the turbulent eleventh–sixteenth hundreds; see chapter 6. Tonol Murmu helped clarify the issue of *Kherwar* origins; correspondence of 03.12.2021.

6 The Bengal Presidency, officially the Presidency of Fort William, later renamed Bengal Province, was a subdivision of the British Empire in India. The Eastern wing was Lower Bengal proper, a region currently composed of Bangladesh and the Indian states of West Bengal, Odisha, and Assam; on missions, see, e.g., Oddie (1977, 1999), Carrin and Tambs-Lyche (2008), Nyhagen (1990b).