ISSN (ELECTRONIC): 2945-3135

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH & REVIEWS

journal homepage: www.ijmrr.online/index.php/home

A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal

Mrinal Kanti Mahata

Research Scholar, University Department of English

Ranchi University,

Morabadi, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Email: mahatomrinalkanti88@gmail.com

How to Cite the Article: Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

https://doi.org/10.56815/ijmrr.v5i4.2026.210-221

Keywords	***Abstract***
Junglemahal, Creation Myth, Kudmi, Santal, Munda, Oraon, Bhumij, Oral Tradition, Totemism, Cosmogony, Tribal Ecology	The forested borderlands of West Bengal and Jharkhand — historically known as Junglemahal — have been home to several distinct indigenous communities for millennia. Each of these communities carries its own story of how the world began, how human beings came to exist, and why things are the way they are. This chapter brings together the creation myths of five such communities: the Kudmi, the Santal, the Munda, the Oraon, and the Bhumij. Rather than treating these narratives as isolated curiosities, the chapter reads them as a family of stories — related, overlapping, and yet meaningfully different from each other. The comparison reveals patterns that run deep across the region: a world submerged in water at the beginning of time, a creator god who works gradually and sometimes imperfectly, the role of animals in helping bring the earth into being, the creation of humans from clay, a chance accident that disrupts the original plan, and the emergence of clan identity through totemic bonds with the natural world. At the same time, each community has its own emphases, its own cast of characters, and its own way of understanding what it means to be human and to belong to a community. Together, these myths form a rich, living archive

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

	of indigenous knowledge about the world, about society, and about the relationship between people and the land they have always called home.

SETTING THE SCENE: JUNGLEMAHAL AND ITS PEOPLE

Anyone who has travelled through the districts of Purulia, Bankura, Jhargram, or the western fringes of Medinipur knows that this is a different kind of country. The land changes here — the flat paddy fields of lowland Bengal give way to red laterite soil, scrub forests, and low rocky hills. Villages sit under sal trees. Drums can be heard from a distance on festival nights. The people here have a long memory, and much of what they know about themselves and their world is carried not in books but in stories.

This region, known historically as Junglemahal — literally, the jungle estates — has been home to tribal communities for longer than written records can trace. The Santal, the Munda, the Oraon, the Kudmi, the Bhumij, the Ho, and others have lived here through centuries of change: through the rise and fall of kingdoms, through the violence of colonial conquest, through the upheavals of the independence movement, and through the uneven promises of modern development. Through all of it, they have held on to their stories.

Among the most important of those stories are the creation myths — the accounts each community gives of how the world came into being, how the first human beings were made, and how social life began. These are not just old tales. They are, as the anthropologist Mircea Eliade once observed, sacred histories: accounts of events that happened in a primordial time that is not really past but perpetually present, renewed every time the story is told and every time a ritual is performed. To understand a community's creation myth is to understand something fundamental about how that community sees the world and its own place in it.

This chapter brings together the creation myths of five major communities of Junglemahal — the Kudmi, the Santal, the Munda, the Oraon, and the Bhumij — and reads them alongside each other. The aim is not to rank them or to explain one by reference to another. It is simply to listen to each story carefully and then to think about what they share, where they differ, and what those similarities and differences might tell us.

A note on the Kudmi narrative: the primary source for this chapter is the Srishti Katha (creation story) of the Kudmi community, as narrated by Bhupendra Nath Mahata and published in Janjati Parichiti, edited by Lakshmikanta Mutruwar. This text forms the foundation from which the comparative analysis proceeds.

THE FIVE CREATION STORIES

The Kudmi: Rengha and Renghi

The Kudmi creation story begins where most creation stories in this region begin — with water. In the beginning, the whole earth was covered by a vast ocean. Into this watery emptiness,

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

God begins to create: first the sun, moon, and stars; then rain, fire, and wind; then plants, trees, and crops; then insects, birds, and animals. The ordering matters. Each thing is created as a foundation for what comes next. God is not creating at random but building a world, layer by layer.

When the time comes to create human beings, God shapes two clay figures — a boy and a girl — and sets them out to dry. But before he can breathe life into them, a female dog running after birds accidentally knocks them over. The figures shatter into pieces. God is furious, but the dog, trembling with fear, begs forgiveness and promises to protect human beings forever. That promise is, the myth says, why dogs have been the faithful companions and guardians of humans ever since.

God buries the broken pieces near a great banyan tree, and something extraordinary happens. From the different parts of the human body, five sacred plants grow: the pakur tree from the torso, sugarcane from the arms, bamboo from the legs, the keuya plant from the fingers, and the mahua tree from the head. Human flesh and plant life are shown to be made of the same stuff.

God then makes two new clay figures, but this time, afraid they will break again, he breathes life into them while they are still soft and wet. He places them inside the hollow of the banyan tree, and the sap of the tree turns to milk, which feeds the children drop by drop. A goddess called Shashthi takes over their care from the sixth day. The two children — Rengha and Renghi — grow up playing by a pond, where a tortoise becomes their companion. One day Rengha falls into the water, and the tortoise saves him on its back. That rescue is the beginning of the bond between the Kudmi people and the tortoise, which they call kurum — and from which the name Kudmi itself is derived.

When Rengha and Renghi grow into adults, God arranges for them to eat a preparation made from tree bark and leaves that intoxicates them. They become husband and wife. They have nine sons and nine daughters. Each pair of children is drawn, by God's will, toward a different creature, plant, or natural thing — an animal, a bird, a fruit, a tree — which becomes the totem of their clan. Over generations, the community grows to eighty-one clans. All of them together are the Kudmi people.

The Santal: Has and Hasil, Pilchu Hadam and Pilchu Budhi

The Santal creation story is in some ways the most elaborate and layered of all the traditions considered here. There are actually two main versions recorded by scholars, and both are accepted within the community, which tells us something important: for oral traditions, the question is not which version is correct but what the tradition as a whole is saying.

In the older and more widely known version, the supreme god is Thakur Jiu. The world begins, as always, in water. Thakur Jiu first creates aquatic creatures — crabs, crocodiles, fish, and others — to fill the primordial ocean. He then tries to create human beings from clay, but his first attempt fails: the clay figures are trampled before he can bring them to life. Rather than make another pair immediately, he takes a different approach. He creates two divine birds — Has (a gander) and Hasil

(a goose). These birds fly together over the waters, but they have nowhere to rest. They weep and call out for solid ground.

To create the earth, Thakur Jiu once again calls on the tortoise and the earthworm. The earthworm dives deep into the ocean and brings up clay; the earth is spread on the tortoise's back and gradually expands into the world we know. The two birds eventually come to rest on this new earth and lay eggs. From these eggs emerge the first human beings — Pilchu Hadam and Pilchu Budhi, the founding couple of the Santal people.

Pilchu Hadam and Pilchu Budhi live together as brother and sister at first. But Thakur Jiu, wanting human beings to multiply, sends a spirit to intoxicate them with the juice of a plant. Under the influence of this substance, they forget their relationship and come together as husband and wife. They have seven sons and seven daughters, and from these children come the seven founding clans — known as pari — of the Santal people. The names of these clans — Hansda, Murmu, Marandi, Kisku, Soren, Hembrom, and Tudu — are still the surnames of Santal families today. Each clan is associated with a totem: the Hansda with the goose, the Murmu with the nilgai deer, the Kisku with the kingfisher, the Tudu with the owl.

The Munda: Sing Bonga and the First Humans

The Munda creation story is told in connection with their supreme deity, Sing Bonga, the Sun God. In Munda belief, Sing Bonga is the source of all life and the ultimate moral authority of the universe. His creation of the world follows a pattern familiar from the other stories in this region, but with its own distinctive logic.

At the beginning, the earth is covered in water. Sing Bonga is brooding over this primordial ocean when three creatures come into being from his contemplation: a tortoise (kachua), a crab (karakom), and a leech (lenda). These are the very first living things in the world. Sing Bonga then gives them a task: go down to the bottom of the ocean and bring back clay. The tortoise tries, but the currents wash the clay from its back before it can surface. The crab tries, but the water rinses the clay from its pincers. Finally, the small and unassuming leech fills its mouth with clay from the ocean floor and manages to bring it up successfully. From this lump of clay, Sing Bonga fashions the earth.

Once the earth exists, he fills it with trees, plants, birds, and animals. The first human beings emerge from an egg laid by a divine bird called Hur, the swan. From this egg come a boy and a girl, the progenitors of the Munda people, who call themselves Hor-on — the children of men.

In another version of the Munda origin story, Sing Bonga makes clay figures as in the Kudmi and Santal accounts. He places them out to dry, but a horse kicks them and they break. The tiger chases the horse away and is blessed for it; the horse is cursed to bear the weight of humans on its back forever. The Munda people are ultimately descended from a founding couple — Lutkum Hadam and

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

Lutkum Budhi — whose union is, as in the Santal and Kudmi stories, divinely arranged through intoxication.

Munda clans, called kili, are totemic in precisely the same way as those of the Santal and Kudmi. Clans bear the names of animals, plants, and natural phenomena: Nag (cobra), Bagh (tiger), and many others. Members of a clan do not harm their totem and do not marry within their own clan.

The Oraon: Dharmesh and the Making of People

The Oraon people, who call themselves Kurukh, have a somewhat different linguistic and cultural background from their Munda and Santal neighbours. They speak a Dravidian language related to Gondi, rather than an Austroasiatic one, and scholars believe they migrated to the Chotanagpur plateau from the south and west of India at some point in the distant past. Their creation story reflects this distinctive heritage while still sharing the broad cosmological framework of the region.

For the Oraon, the creator god is Dharmesh — also addressed as Dharmes or Dharami — who is believed to exist within the sun. The Oraon worship the sun as Biri, the moon as Chando, and address the earth as Dharti Aayo, or Mother Earth. This trio — sun, moon, and earth — sits at the centre of Oraon religious life.

In the Oraon creation account, Dharmesh creates the world and then human beings in his own image. The story as preserved in the Oraon oral tradition has a three-part structure: first, the creation of the earth and of human beings; then a period of ease and plenty that is disrupted when human beings fall from their original state; and finally a restoration. In the time of creation, rice grew already husked and cloth grew ready-woven on trees. Life was almost effortless. This state of original ease is understood by the Oraon as a kind of paradise — an echo, perhaps, of their memory of a time before the hardships of colonial land displacement and bonded labour.

The Oraon do not preserve as elaborate an account of the founding couple as the Santal or Kudmi, but their social structure is equally governed by exogamous totemic clans. Oraon clans are associated with animals, plants, and mineral totems, and marriage between members of the same clan is strictly forbidden. The underlying logic is the same: clan identity is rooted in a relationship with a specific part of the natural world, and that relationship carries both social rules and ethical obligations.

The Bhumij: Born from the Soil

The Bhumij are, in many ways, the most deeply rooted community in this landscape. Their very name means one who is born from the soil — from the word bhumi, or earth. Scholars have described them as an eastern branch of the Munda people who gradually moved away from the Chotanagpur heartland and settled in the borderlands between Jharkhand and Bengal, particularly along the valleys of the Subarnarekha and Kasai rivers. Over centuries, the Bhumij in the east

absorbed considerable Hindu cultural influence, while those in the west retained stronger connections with their Munda heritage.

The Bhumij share the broad cosmogonic framework of the Munda, including the figure of Sing Bonga as the supreme creator deity and the belief that the world began in water. Their clan system — called kili, as in the Munda tradition — is organised on totemic principles: clans named after flowers, animals, trees, and natural substances. Examples include Hotalva (a type of flower), Naga (cobra), Tarai (lotus), Sura (pig), and Mati (earth itself). This last totem — earth — is particularly striking. A clan that takes the earth itself as its symbol seems to compress the entire cosmogony into a single heraldic sign: we are born from the soil, and the soil is who we are.

What makes the Bhumij case especially interesting is the way their name itself encodes a cosmogonic claim. To be called the people born from the soil is to carry one's origin story in one's identity. It is a living reminder that the separation between human beings and the earth is, from their perspective, not absolute. They came from the earth, they live on the earth, and they understand themselves to be continuous with it in a way that mainstream modern culture has largely forgotten.

Similarity:

The World Begins in Water

The single most striking thing about these five creation stories, taken together, is that they all begin in exactly the same way: the world is covered in water. There is no land anywhere. The creator god — whether called God, Thakur Jiu, Sing Bonga, or Dharmesh — looks out over an infinite ocean and begins the work of creation.

This shared starting point is not a coincidence. Scholars of comparative mythology have noted that flood myths and primordial ocean myths are among the most widely distributed narrative forms in the world. But there is something more specific happening in Junglemahal. These communities have all lived for generations beside rivers — the Damodar, the Kasai, the Subarnarekha, the Kangsabati — in a landscape that floods regularly during the monsoon. The image of the world drowned in water is not an abstract metaphor for them. It is a memory of things they see with their own eyes every year, and a reminder of how thin the line is between the world as a habitable place and the world as a formless expanse of water.

The creation of solid ground from this primordial water is, in all five traditions, a gradual and collaborative process. God does not simply will the earth into existence with a word. He works through intermediaries — through animals, through the humble labour of creatures like the leech and the earthworm, through the patient accumulation of clay. This is a vision of creation as labour, as process, as something that requires time and effort and multiple participants. It is a vision very different from the sudden divine fiat of some other religious traditions.

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

The Animals That Built the World

In almost every story here, animals play a crucial role in making the earth possible. The tortoise appears in the Santal, Munda, Kudmi, and Bhumij traditions — a creature of extraordinary symbolic importance across this entire region. In the Munda story, the leech succeeds where the tortoise and crab fail. In the Santal story, the earthworm brings up the clay and the tortoise provides the platform on which it is spread. In the Kudmi story, the tortoise is the companion and rescuer of the first human child, and the community takes its name from the tortoise.

What does the tortoise represent in these stories? Partly, it is simply the creature best suited for the role: it can move between water and land, it carries its home on its back, and it has an ancient quality — tortoises are one of the oldest surviving animal forms on earth, and people in these forests have always known this. But beyond the practical, the tortoise seems to embody something about the slow, patient process of world-building itself. It is not quick or clever, but it endures. It is not glamorous, but it carries the weight. In a landscape shaped by the monsoon and the long labour of cultivation, these are the qualities that matter.

The dog in the Kudmi story plays a similar, if more ambivalent, role. She causes the destruction of the first clay figures through carelessness, but she redeems herself through her promise of protection. This is one of the most psychologically interesting moments in any of these stories: an act of harm is transformed, through repentance and commitment, into an enduring bond. The Kudmi story does not pretend that the relationship between humans and their animal companions began without friction. It was founded on an accident and a promise. That feels honest.

The horse in the Munda story offers a darker contrast. Where the dog makes amends, the horse refuses to — and is punished by being made to carry humans forever. Between the dog's voluntary bond and the horse's involuntary one, the myth lays out a whole philosophy of the human-animal relationship, distinguishing between relationships based on love and loyalty and those based on domination and punishment.

Clay, Breath, and the Making of Humans

Every community here believes that the first human beings were made from clay. God shapes a boy and a girl — or creates a pair of birds whose eggs hatch into a boy and a girl — and breathes or arranges life into them. The clay origin is shared not only across Junglemahal but across a remarkable number of the world's creation traditions. It speaks to something felt rather than merely believed: that human beings are made of the earth, that we are continuous with the soil, that our bodies return to the same material from which they came.

In the Kudmi story, this idea is taken to a remarkable extreme. When God buries the pieces of the broken clay figures, those pieces grow into plants — the pakur tree, the mahua, the bamboo, the sugarcane, the keuya. The first human body literally becomes the forest. The implications of this are

profound. It means that these five plants carry within them, in some sense, the substance of the first human beings. To cut down a mahua tree, to burn a bamboo grove, is to harm something that is, in the deepest mythological sense, human. This is indigenous ecological ethics expressed not as an abstract principle but as a story about origins.

The Santal version adds another layer. Their first humans are not made directly from clay but hatch from eggs laid by divine birds. This places the human body in an even more direct relationship with the animal world. The first human beings are, literally, bird-children. The boundary between species — so rigid in modern scientific classification — is porous here from the very start.

The Accident, the Intoxicant, and the Origin of Society

Three of the five stories — Kudmi, Santal, and Munda — include a moment where the original divine plan is disrupted by an accident. In the Kudmi story, the dog knocks over the clay figures. In the Munda story, the horse kicks them. In the Santal story, the first clay figures are trampled before God can bring them to life. These accidents are not incidental details. They are the pivot point of the narrative, the moment where things go wrong and where the creator has to adapt.

This is a significant theological claim. The world as we know it is not the world as it was originally intended. It is the world that resulted from an accident and from the creativity with which God responded to that accident. The plants that grew from the buried fragments of the Kudmi clay figures were not in the original plan — they are a gift born from failure. The divine birds that became the Santal ancestors were not Plan A — they were Plan B after the clay figures were destroyed. Creation, in these traditions, is not a smooth and perfect operation. It is improvisational, adaptive, full of unexpected turns.

Then there is the intoxicant. In the Kudmi, Santal, and Munda stories alike, the founding couple who are always siblings — are prevented by custom and shame from becoming husband and wife. God has to intervene. In each case, the solution is the same: a preparation made from plants that causes intoxication and dissolves their inhibition. The couple wakes up from their intoxicated state to discover that they have become lovers. They are given new names. Social life begins.

This is a remarkable narrative of origins. It is candid about the fact that the first marriage was technically an act of incest, and equally candid about the fact that it was arranged through a kind of divine manipulation. At the same time, it is saying something important: the rules of ordinary social life — the rules about who can and cannot marry — were not in force at the beginning. They came into being precisely because this founding transgression made them necessary. The rule of exogamy is not handed down from on high as an abstract command. It grows out of a story. It makes sense because of something that happened.

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

Totems, Clans, and the Bond with the Natural World

The emergence of clan identity through totems is common to all five communities, though the details vary. In the Kudmi story, the nine couples who are the children of Rengha Hadam and Renghi Buri are each drawn to a different natural creature or object; their attraction becomes their totem and the basis of their clan. In the Santal story, the seven founding clans are each named for and associated with an animal — goose, deer, owl, kingfisher, and others. The Munda and Bhumij clans are named after snakes, tigers, flowers, earth, and lotus. The Oraon clan system follows the same pattern.

What is a totem, really? At the simplest level, it is a symbol — a natural creature or thing that represents a social group. But it is more than a symbol. In all these traditions, the totem is a relationship. Members of the goose clan do not just use the goose as a badge. They do not harm geese. They treat geese with respect. They understand themselves as connected to geese in some deep and meaningful way that derives from the time of origins.

This is one of the most striking features of these mythological systems, viewed from the perspective of contemporary ecological thought. The totemic system distributes across every clan in the community a specific custodial responsibility toward a specific part of the natural world. The cobra clan does not kill cobras. The tiger clan does not harm tigers. The lotus clan protects the lotus. If you add up all the clans and all their totems, you get something like a comprehensive system of nature protection — a distributed, community-based conservation ethic embedded in the deepest structures of social identity. Nobody invented this as a conservation policy. It grew, organically, from stories about where people came from and who they are.

The Kudmi community's relationship with the tortoise is perhaps the most vivid example of this. The tortoise saved the life of the first human child. Because of that, no Kudmi person harms a tortoise found in their field. They anoint it with oil and vermillion and set it free. This is not a rule imposed from outside. It is a practice that flows naturally from a story — the story of a friendship that began at the beginning of time.

Difference:

For all their similarities, the five stories are not identical, and the differences between them are as instructive as the resemblances.

The most obvious difference is in the name and character of the creator god. Kudmi tradition refers simply to God (Ishwar), without a specific proper name, in a way that is close to a universal theism. The Santal god Thakur Jiu is more specifically defined and has a name that carries a sense of both majesty and intimacy — Thakur means lord or master, and Jiu is a term of endearment. Sing Bonga, the Munda god, is explicitly identified with the sun. Dharmesh, the Oraon deity, also dwells in the sun. This convergence around solar symbolism in the Munda and Oraon traditions is interesting, and

may reflect either shared ancient origins or the influence of a broader sun-worshipping culture that stretched across this region.

A second significant difference is in the role of the founding female. In the Kudmi, Santal, and Munda stories, the first woman is created simultaneously with the first man — she is not an afterthought or a derivative. The names by which these founding couples come to be known after their union are also telling. In the Kudmi tradition, the man's new name means virile man and the woman's new name means fertile woman. These are biological designations, but they are equal biological designations — neither is subordinate to the other. In a culture where the real social position of women is often complicated, the myth at least imagines an original equality.

A third difference lies in how each tradition relates its creation story to present-day practice. The Kudmi Srishti Katha is exceptional in this regard. At multiple points in the narrative, Mahato explicitly connects mythological events to current rituals: the Shashthi puja performed on the sixth day after a child's birth, the gathering of five specific plant branches during the Jitiya festival. The Santal tradition similarly connects the creation story to the Karam ritual and to the clan system that governs every Santal marriage. These living connections between myth and practice are what make these stories more than history. They are instructions for how to live — renewed in every ritual, carried forward in every festival.

CONCLUSION:

Reading the creation myths of Junglemahal together, one is left with the sense of a shared imaginative world — a set of deep assumptions about the nature of reality that all five communities hold in common, even as they express those assumptions through different stories, different characters, and different details.

That shared world begins in water and ends in community. Between the primordial ocean and the established social order, the journey passes through divine experimentation, animal assistance, botanical transformation, human imperfection, and gradual learning. The world these stories describe is not a world that was handed to human beings complete and ready to use. It is a world that was built — slowly, collaboratively, through effort and accident and repair — and that human beings are responsible for maintaining.

The Kudmi Srishti Katha with which this chapter began stands as a particularly rich example of this tradition. Its account of the five plants growing from the buried body parts of the first clay figures is one of the most striking images of the human-plant relationship in any indigenous cosmogony. Its story of the dog's promise is one of the most moving accounts of how an act of harm can be redeemed through commitment and loyalty. Its account of the tortoise who saved the first child, and of a whole people who take their name from that rescue, is as simple and as profound as any founding narrative anywhere.

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

But the Srishti Katha is also, as this chapter has shown, part of a larger conversation — a conversation that the people of Junglemahal have been having with each other and with the forest for a very long time. To listen to that conversation is to hear something that is not easily available elsewhere: a sustained, communally sustained, ecologically grounded account of what it means to be human and to belong to a place.

These are not stories from the past. They are stories that are still being told, still being enacted in rituals, still shaping the way families name their children and the way people treat the creatures they meet in their fields. As long as they are told, the forest of Junglemahal still speaks.

AUTHOR(S) CONTRIBUTION

The writers affirm that they have no connections to, or engagement with, any group or body that provides financial or non-financial assistance for the topics or resources covered in this manuscript.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

PLAGIARISM POLICY

All authors declare that any kind of violation of plagiarism, copyright and ethical matters will take care by all authors. Journal and editors are not liable for aforesaid matters.

SOURCES OF FUNDING

The authors received no financial aid to support for the research.

REFERENCES

Bodding, Paul Olaf. Traditions and Institutions of the Santals. Oslo: Norsk Folkmuseums Forlag, 1942.

Bompas, Cecil Henry. Folklore of the Santal Parganas. London: David Nutt, 1909.

Dalton, Edward Tuite. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1872.

Eliade, Mircea. The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.

Mrinal kanti Mahata (2026). ***A Comparative Study of Creation Myths Among the Indigenous Communities of Junglemahal***. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Reviews. 5(4). 210-221.

Hansdak, Ivy Imogene. 'Story-telling as Sacred Ritual: The Creation Myth of the Santals.' Tribal Cultural Heritage in India (online journal), indiantribalheritage.org.

Hoffmann, John Baptist. Encyclopaedia Mundarica. 15 vols. Patna: Government Printing Press, Bihar and Orissa, 1930–1941.

Kimmerer, Robin Wall. Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Totemism. Trans. Rodney Needham. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Mahato, Bhupendra Nath. 'Kudmider Srishti Katha.' In Janjati Parichiti, ed. Lakshmikanta Mutruwar. [Place and date of publication as per original edition.]

Ota, A. B., and S. Mohanty, eds. Encyclopaedia of Scheduled Tribes in India. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 2007.

Roy, Sarat Chandra. The Mundas and Their Country. Ranchi: Man in India Office, 1912.

Skrefsrud, Lars Olsen. Traditions and Institutions of the Santals (Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak Katha). Benagaria: Santal Mission Press, 1887.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. 2nd edn. London: Zed Books, 2012.

Xaxa, Virginius. 'Tribes as Indigenous People of India.' Economic and Political Weekly 34.51 (1999): 3589–3595.