

Kora Religious Belief: A Fusion of Traditional Tribal Faith and Hinduism

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ABSTRACT In West Bengal Koras are migrated from their original home land Bihar and found to maintain their existence in the threshold of Hinduism. They develop stable dependent economic ties and culture contact with the Hindus. Gradually they aspire for a corporate status in the caste hierarchy by adopting some sanskritic rituals and try to prove that they are not far away from the Hindus. On the other hand they retain their original tribal spiritual belief; persist the idea of *bhut* (spirit of the dead), animistic belief, and worshiping traditional deities of hills, earths etc. They remember and make its use while worshiping their deities. They are however, standing on the bridge between orthodox Hindu religion and the ideal traditional tribal religious belief, sometimes which may be the witness of the fusion of these two. In the present study, an attempt has been made to grasp the nature of belief of the Koras in supernatural powers to understand their world view and of the mechanisms they have adopted to regulate the relationships with their visible, invisible and unexplainable worlds around them. Focus has also been made on the world of dynamic isolation they maintain even after their long term aspiration for complete integration with Hindu religion.

INTRODUCTION

Belief in the existence of superhuman and supernatural powers is almost universal. Day-to-day unexplainable experiences have led the tribal people into believing in other than the material visible world i.e. in the invisible spiritual world or supernatural power. Generally the tribal people are found to establish a close relationship with the spiritual world either by controlling or overpowering the spirit by enchanting or practicing some techniques and canalizing the power, for good or bad or by offering *puja* or worship to propitiate the superhuman power for acquisition of the thing or object desired. The former one is magic and the later is the religion. Among the tribal magic is sometimes an integral part of their religion or may be a method of propitiation.

Religion is an essential part of the constitution of a society enabling its members to live together in an orderly social way. The existence and continuance of an orderly social life depend on the presence of collective sentiments in the minds of the individual members. These in turn regulate the conduct of each individual in conformity with the needs of society. The symbolic expressions of these collective sentiments which regulate, maintain and transmit from one generation to another on which the constitution of the society depends are known as rituals. Rituals can be said as the expression of religion. According to

Radcliffe Brown (1959), rituals have a useful function in ordering society and this function is the essential and ultimate reason for their existence.

The Kora is a small tribal community having a restricted distribution in the eastern India i.e. in West Bengal and Bihar. In West Bengal they constitute only 3% of the total tribal population. In this State the Koras are found to maintain their existence in the threshold of Hinduism, even forgetting the original mother tongue which Grierson (1931) had referred to as 'Kora' language under the Munday family of language. Very little is known about the ethnic affiliation of this little known, small tribal group who are already in an advanced stage of integration with the Hindu society. Risley (1891), had specifically mentioned about the Kora that they claimed to be orthodox Hindus calling themselves as *saktas* or *vaisnavas*, yet the process of social mobility leading to complete integration with the Hindu social system and attaining a single status is still going on among the Kora. Koras, like other major tribal communities of India of their own accord have come within the fold of Hinduism. It is, in fact, they can maintain their individual identity even within the broad Hindu socio-religious system.

The Kora as an ethnic group is provided with a more or less specified *britti*, traditional calling of earth work. Now-a-days they get the ritual services of Brahman priest, *vaishnava* preceptor,

barber, washerman, mid-wife etc., although of “degraded” (*nichu*) classes, in all their rites of passage. There are clear indications that the Hindu religious ideas have penetrated into their religion. The Kora aspire for a corporate status in the regional caste hierarchy. Of course they are not succeeded in their move very much for getting a stable status and in fact, they all still ranked with other low castes. In this context the study of H.N. Banerjee among the Koras of Barabhum may be remembered. His study was primarily concerned with the pattern of interaction of the Kora with the dominant social system of the Hindus and the process of their absorption into the larger system. At the initiative of the Hindu Raja of Barabhum the landless Kora labourers get somewhat economic security and thereby they found a place in the Hindu productive and social system. They have taken up certain ‘Sanskritic’ rituals as well as participate in the worship of Hindu gods and goddesses. Excepting their relative physical isolation from the higher caste Hindus, Banerjee says that with certain amount of avidity that the Koras as a group have definitely come within the Hindu social fold. Side by side they retain their traditional tribal social and religious rites which are altogether free from Brahminical influence.

In the present study, however, an attempt has been made to grasp the nature of belief of the Koras in supernatural powers. An endeavor has been made to know the form of their religious practices, rituals, ceremonies which its members observe and how they maintain a harmonious relationship among themselves, nature and supernatural powers. It would facilitate to understand their world view and of the mechanisms they have adopted to regulate the relationships with their visible, invisible and unexplainable worlds around them.

For the purpose of the study intensive field investigation has been made among the specific group of Koras of Kamalakatapur mouza of Ruppur Gram Panchyat of Bolpur-Sriniketan Block of Birbhum district, West Bengal. It is a multiethnic revenue village inhabited by the Kora and the Hindu caste peasants. They live there in two separate hamlets, operate as two distinct units. The Koras designate their own hamlet as ‘Kora tola’ thereby meaning a village of the Kora. This hamlet is known as Rindanga. The hamlet of the Hindu caste peasants is, however, referred to as ‘Bangali Para’. This hamlet is known as Samajdaha. Though these two have their own

mechanisms of social control and cultural organization, they interact with each other on some socio-economic, political and obviously in religious contexts.

SPIRITUAL BELIEF AMONG THE KORAS

The Koras of Rindanga have a sacred belief in the presence of *Bhut*, the spiritual being emerging from the soul of the dead. It remains behind all activities and is the fundamental cause of all events and happenings of the world. For them spirits are present in different objects and things, animals, plants, ponds, rivers etc. The Kora religion is however, based on the animistic belief. They observe certain rites in order to appease various spiritual beings, whom they classify into following groups:

1. Sprits of the Dead

The entire fabric of the spiritual concept of the Kora is built under the notion that man after death is transformed into ethereal forms and however on earth as spirit which activate things of the world. The Kora believes in rebirth i.e. after death a man becomes an animal or man again. The types of animal he will transform depend on his previous work. If the man was moral good and kind hearted and if he had no bad record of crime against his name he would become man again.

Whenever a Kora wishes to build up a house he first tries to appease the ancestral spirits on the plot selected for constructing the hut. Some quantity of rice or paddy is kept on the four corners of the plot in the evening of that day and a red fowl is sacrificed in the central point of the land. In the next morning if the rice or paddy is found intact, it is assumed that the spirits of the dead satisfied with the blood of fowl and they will not disturb the inmate of the proposed house during the construction period. They call that spirit as *ora deota*, the deity of the house. In this connection they also arrange the *sasa giddhi puja*.

The *ora deota* of the Kora is none but the spirit of a great ancestor from whom the present members of the family have descended. On the very first day of the Bengali month *Magh* each Kora family offer the most coveted drink *handia* (country liquor) and at least a pair of fowls to him. The head of the family generally officiates in this propitiatory act.

After completion of the new hut certain rites are performed to free the hut from any evil spirits.

A cow is allowed to go through the new empty house and if the cow enters freely into the hut then it is held that the house is safe and the inmates can use the hut for residential purpose. It is believed that the cow has the guessing power whether the new house is under the influence of any evil spirit or not.

The appeasement of the ancestor's spirit forms an important part of the religion of the Koras. They believe that a dereliction to perform the necessary propitiatory rites will be punished with some sort of calamities on the family. A household in order to maintain its peace and property must make offerings of fowl and country liquor to the ancestral spirit on suitable day or on the suitable occasion. They think that the ancestral spirit has the controlling power in the family's welfare as well as the main factors in maintaining the integrity and sanctity of family life.

2. Spirits of Natural Objects

The basic idea which is very much in their mind is that all objects of nature have some spirits. The Koras of Rindanga believe that the *deotas* created the nature. It is very interesting to note that they think there is a close resemblance between the *deotas* and *bhuts* and all the natural objects are the creation of both of them.

The Koras have an idea that their ancestors lived in the hilly areas. The hill spirit is known among them as *pahar deota*. The deity of the hill is also known to them as *Parganath* - lord of *pargana* or community. Hill was probably the predominating natural element in some unknown phases of Kora life. The Koras of West Bengal were migrated from the hilly region and rapidly spread out due to their traditional profession of earth digging. But still here they worship *pahar deota* in their traditional way with *handia* and two red fowls. On the first day of the Bengali month, *Magh*, along with *Pahar deota*, her wife *Prithvi Mai*, the earth spirit is worshipped.

The sun spirit, which is known as *kapsa* is worshipped along with his consort *Joogni*, an imaginary female spirit living on earth. They offer white fowls to the sun while red fowls to the *Joogni*. The spirit of the tree, popularly known as *Briksha deota* is worshipped during their marriage.

The corn spirit is propitiated through the observation of the common rituals known as *Muth* and *Janthal*. *Muth* puja is performed before scattering of seeds after the completion of the preparation of the paddy field. To the corn spirit

they pray for good crops. Again before harvesting another ritual is observed known as *Janthal*, by way of giving thanks to the corn spirit for a good harvest.

3. Spirits of Animals

The Kora community of Rindanga is divided into different clans. The members of a clan believed to have descended from a common ancestor. They believe that the spirits of the animal inevitably form their clan signifies one of the animal as their totem. For this belief they stick to the rule of clan exogamy as the members of a same clan are bound together as brother and sister.

Among the Koras, animals like *Merom* (Goat), *Hara* (tortoise), *Chake* (Frog), *Kishar* (Dove), *Kaho* (Crow), *Samar* (Sol fish) are objects of religious sentiments and taboos on the use of their meat are still adhered with great tenacity by those Koras of whom those are totems.

The most important animal spirit that they dread and worship is *Naga-Era*, the spirit of snake. It is the parallel belief of the caste Hindu religious festival *Manasa puja*. They think that if *Naga-Era* is angry, she would immediately send one of her agents i.e. a snake to chastise the disobedient Kora by poisonous bites.

However, the Koras at the one hand have a deep conviction in the efficacy of totemic objects and on the other hand have an attempt to neutralize the malevolent influence of animal spirits of surroundings. To a Kora totem is also a means to achieve clan solidarity.

4. Spirits of Miscellaneous Objects and Places

Different material objects like, *Kudi* (spade), *Mahetta* (plough), *Mai* (levellor), *Asor* (bow), *Sor* (arrow), *Ballam* (spear), *Hanke* (axe) *Dheki* (husking lever) are all supposed to be animated by spirits specially when these are used for economic purposes. These objects and their spirits are venerated by affixing vermilion marks on the day of *Vijaya Dashami* (last day of Hindu festival *Durga puja* in the Bengali month of *Ashwin*) to have prosperity in life.

Gareya or Go Parab : Due to agricultural activities cattle have occupied a special position in the economic life of the Koras. They are, however, worried over their welfare on whom they depend much for food. It is, therefore the spirit of cattle shed, *Gareya* is worshipped in the morning of the day of *Shyama puja*. The eldest member of the household put vermilion marks on the

forehead of the cattle. The spirit *Gareya* is adored in order to ensure the welfare of the cattle domesticated by the Koras.

Pukur Biha/Bandh Biha: Although the Kora entirely depend upon agriculture for their subsistence, they still observe the ritual associated with their traditional calling of tank-digging. Whenever they are called for this they do so with a belief that if they do not participate in the pond or tank digging, the water would never be sacred. The ritual observed in this connection is commonly known as *pukur biha* or *bandh biha*.

After completing the digging of a pond, a Kora couple is brought in a ceremonial procession and is let to sit on the bank of the tank. New cloths and fruits are offered by them to the spirit of the tank. Prayers are made for good water free from malicious spite of mischievous spirit. The water is useable after the ritual.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES PERFORMED BY THE KORAS

Aakken Kali Bonga: One of the most important deity of the Koras of Kamalakantapur is *Aakken Kali*. It also regarded as the deity of the village, *gram deota*. The Koras of this region are believed to be originated from the Modis of Chhotonagpur. *Aakken Kali* is originally the supreme deity of the Modi and now it is a popular festival of them. *Aakken Kali* is worshipped on the first day of Bengali month *Magh*. At first the worship is performed outside the village beneath a *pakur* tree where a mud built square shaped platform is prepared. Before worship the platform is mopped with cow dung solution. This ritual is performed by the Brahmin of their, popularly known as *Degharia Brahmin*. He uses sacred thread like Hindu Brahmin only during the worship.

The Kora males and females observed fast from the morning till the end of the *puja*. Few pieces of Mango leaf, leaf of *nim* tree, flowers, incense sticks, *dhuno*(resin) are used for the worship. They offer different types of fruits like banana, lemons, white potatoes, *atap chal* (sunned rice), flattened rice, sweets and cow milk also. Generally two Brahmins are selected to perform the *puja*. At first they assemble the fruits on the brass dish and fetch some water in an earthen pot from the river and keep it just in front of the platform. They keep *atap chal* on the earthen pot and some sweets (*batasa*) are kept on it. When the sweets fell down from the *atap chal* they think that their *puja* is successful and

the spirit is pleased with them. Then goat, fowl or duck are sacrificed at a little distant from the sacred platform. The whole village shares the expenditure equally. It is interestingly noted here that the neighbouring Hindu people are also participating in the *puja* actively. They make different types of offerings with due respect. Not only that they also give animals for sacrifice like he goat, duck, cock, very often they promise the deity to sacrifice for having a son, for a good crop or for passing the examination. After the end of the *puja* they distribute the fruits and flattened rice among the villagers and then return back. Country liquor is being prepared by some villagers. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked then by the females but they are strictly prohibited to eat the head of the animals. After drinking country liquor with meat they start their traditional group dancing and singing since the stock of *handia* is over.

Henda-a-Giddhi: Generally the *Henda-a Gidi* is worshipped in every family twice in a year, one on the last date of *Jaistha* and other on the last date of *Agrahayana* of the Bengali month. Every family worships in their own family. The host family invites a male member as a priest from any clan group other than of his own. It has no image or idol. On the day of worship the elder male and female member of the family fast until the *puja* is over. At first the place of worship is smeared with cow dung solution. Then they draw six squares by sunned rice powder. The squares are filled up with cow dung, few pieces of small grain coals and burnt mud. The black fowl is sacrificed and drop few blood into the squares. They do not utter any mantras but repeatedly remember their fore fathers name. After the end of the *puja* they cook the meat of the sacrificed fowl mixed with rice and take it as *Prasad*. The head of the fowl is burnt separately and only the male members can take it. After eating *Prasad*, all the villagers assemble at a common place where country liquor is ready to serve. Then all day long they drink, sing and dance in groups with their musical instruments *madal*, flute, *aktara* etc.

Bonga-Buru: Worship of *Bonga-Buru*, 'the spirit of hill' is one of the most important festival, generally performed on the last day of Bengali month of *Chitra* i.e. the day of *Chaitra sankranti*. It is also known as *Hompuja*. As they believe that one day their ancestors lived in the hilly area of Chhotonagpur, so they pay respect to their homeland and hope that if the spirit is pleased they will be happy, prosperous and secured in life and the production of crops will be maximize.

At first the spirit is worshipped in a place far away from the village boundary. The place is mopped with cow dung solution. The priest takes a thread (*Alo Suto* – the thread of light) dipped into the mixture of oil and turmeric and put on across his body. He draws two figures; one of the sun and other of the moon. Now three cakes are offered to the sun and three to the moon. These cakes are made by the housewives with sunned rice and mustard oil. Two cocks are fed sunned rice and then sacrificed to the sun and the moon. Its meat is distributed among each and every member of the village present there. After this a glass of *Handia* is poured on the mopped place in the name of the spirit *Buru*. Now the place is rubbed with water only. A big stone with some thorns are placed there so that dog or any other animal can not step on the place.

Bonga Buru is also worshipped either inside the house or under the cowshed to keep the cattle in good health. At first the cowsheds are cleaned with brooms and then mopped with cow dung solution. Some twigs of *Pakur* (banyan) are daubed with oil and turmeric solutions are kept on the mopped place in three vertical rows. In each row, four leaves are placed. The cakes which they have prepared with sunned rice and mustard oil, are broken each one into three pieces and placed on each leaf. Now a big plate with full of rice is kept before these leaves by the eldest member of the family. The rice is fed to a red cock (*katari*). After feeding a little the worshipper sacrificed the cock with a blow on the plate in such a manner that the blood of the bird drenches the rice.

The blood soaked rice now becomes *Prasad*. It is cooked and distributed among the members of the family. After taking the *Prasad*, every family member washed his/her hands with water and then takes mustard oil to apply over his/her face. It is specifically mentioned here that after the worship of *Bonga-Buru* the Koras are sanctioned to start the preparation of their cultivable lands.

Soso-Giddi: Basically this is a worship of the Koras ancestral spirits. Interestingly, they use the term *Satyanarayan*, one of the most familiar god, worshipped by the Hindus very synonymously. Generally, the worship is performed just before sowing seeds in the month of *Jaistha* and also before harvesting in the month of *Agrahayan*. They also organize the worship personally after marriage ceremony, or after first rice eating ceremony (*anyaprasan*). The priest is employed from any other clan group besides of his own.

Sasa-giddi puja acts like a bridge between their faiths towards the orthodox Hindu religion and their traditional belief system. The Kora religion originated from the Munda religion and during this worship presence of the Munda people is must. When they could not find the Munda, they select the Munda from their own Kora society. After the end of the *puja* they should give country liquor to the Munda and the priest. On the day of the worship some adult male members take bath in the river and then enter into a room and close the door. Then the priest asks them about their identity. They reply that they came there for some work and tell their surname as 'Modi'. Then they are allowed to participate in the worship. Their conversation should be in the Munda language. In this way Koras convert themselves to a Munda.

When *soso-giddi* is worshipped before sowing seed they also try to please all the spirits of animals connected with the paddy field. Not only that the spirit of the sun and the moon are also venerated to give proper protection. *Sona Giddi*, the spirit of gold and the *Rupo Giddi*, the spirit of silver are worshipped at the same time as a symbol of wealth. The *puja* is performed at a place inside the boundary of the village. The place is cleaned and mopped with cow dung solution. With the help of the Mundas the priest draws a big rectangular room which is separated by a middle line keeping a broad opening for the spirit to move inside the rooms without any obstruction. *Sona Giddi* and *Rupo Giddi* are placed together in the right part of the rectangular figure with a belief to get extra protection for the paddy crop. In the left side of the figure the sun is drawn which symbolizes as a controller of both day and night. The moon is drawn outside the room as it is less powerful than the sun as it controls the night only. The priest keeps two cakes of sunned rice one in each compartments indicating the presence of two spirits there.

Now small circles are drawn both on the right and the left side of this room. Three circles are on the left whereas five are on the right. The three circles are represent the Crow, Cuckoo and the Drongo from bottom to top respectively and the five circles represent the fox, jackal, dog and centipede in the same order. A palm is also drawn below the room where after praising each animal a pinch of sunned dried rice is put.

The worship starts with the praising of the Drongo because it causes awake the people from bed by making the whistling sound. Next the

cuckoo, as it gives alarm that the dawn is at the door. This follows the worship of the crow because it cries to show the morning – the right time to go to the field. The animals, here are praise to make quiet so that they won't harm the people in the field. These are the fox, jackal, dog, scorpion and centipede. The dog has a better position because it also watches in the fields.

Now the sun and the moon are praised requesting to control the weather in such a way that the farmers do not have to face many hazards in agriculture. The priest continuously praises the sun requesting not to cause drought so that they enjoy a nice shower during the rainy season. At the same time the sun is believed to control the flood with the help of the moon.

At the end, *Sona-giddi* and the *Rupo-giddi* are remembered as they are believed to give additional protection to the Kora in coordination with the sun and the moon respectively. They believe as the *Sona*, i.e. the gold, is yellow in colour, it has a close association with the sun and since the colour of the *rupo*, i.e. the silver is white, it is closely associated with the moon. They pray deeply for a rich production. This follows the presentation of a small mound of rice on the figure of palm and offers a cock to the *giddi*.

After the ritual is over, the items offered are taken as *Prasad* i.e. the sunned rice kept on the palm. The cooked meat of the sacrificed cock is now distributed among the villagers. They believe it provide them strength to be laborious agriculturists.

The worship of *soso-giddi* when performed before sowing seeds is followed by *muth puja*, propitiation of corn spirit. Before scattering the seeds, a handful of paddy is brought in contact with the agricultural fields and ceremonially back home by the cultivator. The sacred grains being placed on a winnowing fan are worshiped at home by the senior male members of the family by the application of vermilion and the offering of fruits and sweets. No one dare to start sowing operation without performing this ritual. Before harvesting, another ritual known as "*janthal*" is observed by way of giving thanks to the corn spirit for a good harvest. On that occasion fowls are sacrificed on paddy fields. Another item being dedicated to the deity is the new paddy crop.

HINDU RITUALS PERFORMED BY THE KORAS

The Koras of the village Kamalakantapur are found to attain, participate and also perform

different rituals and festivals of the neighbouring Hindus. They worship Hindu gods and goddesses wholeheartedly. They accept the idolatry and anthropomorphic, the typical trend of Hindu religion. It makes deep impression upon the ideal traditional Kora religious belief system. They worship some gods and goddesses communally and some one personally.

The Koras worship the goddess *Saraswati*, specially with the interest of village youths. Every households pay subscription for the worship. They purchase an image of *Saraswati* from the local Hindu potters. The Brahmin priest comes from the neighbouring Hindu hamlets and worships the idol of the goddess. They arrange all the required materials and offer an oblation of flowers with folded hands to the deity. The priest is paid rupees thirty and some rice potato etc. for his service. Very often the school going children and youths are found to salute the image of *Saraswati* everyday for the betterment of their education.

The Kors are found to worship goddess *Manasa*, *Sitala* in the common place Known as *Sitalatala* with the help of a Brahmin priest comes from the nearby village. In the month of *Chaitra*, on the day of *Chaitra Sankranti* they worship god Siva. They give water on the *Siva Linga*. But the Koras are not allowed to give water on the *Siva Linga* of the sacred place *Sivtala* which is situated in the middle of Hindu hamlet Samajdaha. The Koras are found to start the worship of the deity in their own hamlet in their own way. They call it *Gosai puja*. Siva is referred to as *Gosai*. They place a earthen water jar and consider it as the seat of the deity. In this worship hemp and wine is very essential. They belief that the deity do not like animal sacrifice.

Some Koras are found to worship *Raksha Kali* or *Smashan Kali* personally in their own household. They maintain a separate place where they consecrate the image of the deity and throughout the year everyday they pay homage with incense and flowers and light lamp in the evening.

Some Kora households have *Tulsitala*, a sacred platform for the basil plant. They obviously borrow the idea of worship the *Tulsi* from the Hindus. Every day water the plant after bath and burnt incense and light a lamp in the evening.

The Koras also attain the largest Hindu festival, the worship of goddess *Devi Durga* with the neighbouring Hindus. They offer something

to the deity and help the organizer in different work but they are not allowed to enter into the *Puja mondop* (the hall where the worship is performed). They can witness the *puja* from outside the *mondop*, though their offerings are accepted.

CONCLUSION

The Koras are however completely separated group from their mother stock and composed mainly of the members of particular clans maintained by totemic and exogamous rules. They migrated from their original home land Bihar. Their traditional occupation as earth digger is no longer exists and now a days agriculture is their principal subsistence pursuit though the land holding of the Koras is very low. They have to depend on the neighbouring caste peasants either as share croppers or as agricultural labourers. So they are interspersed within the dominant Hindu caste population with whom they developed stable dependent economic ties. Moreover, the Koras conscious of the hierarchical system prevailed among the neighbouring caste society. So, they aspire for a corporate status in the caste hierarchy by adopting some sanskritic rituals and try to prove that they are not far away from the Hindus. But on the other hand they retain their original tribal spiritual belief. They do not forget that they are the offshoot of the Munda tribe and their traditional language is 'Modi'. They remember and make its use while worshipping their deities. Besides these there is no clue at all to warrant their affiliation to any particular tribe.

The Koras still persist the idea of *bhut* that is the spiritual being emerging from the soul of the dead remains behind the all activities of the world and is the fundamental cause of all events and happening of the world. They also have an idea of spirits in different objects of the world to which considerable individuality is ascribed by the village priests during the performance of rituals. However, it reminds their animistic belief and association with the traditional and primitive religious system. Along with the worshipping of the gods and goddess of Hindu pantheon, the Koras retain their traditional deities of hills, earths etc. all round the year.

Ideas of Kora religion found to raise their concepts to a high level of polytheism. It is evident from the employment of the 'Deogharia Brahmin' as their priest in different religious affairs. The Koras after a long course of interaction with Hindus are very much conscious that even if they get a corporate status in the regional caste hierarchy they would not be placed in a better position than the other low castes in the local caste hierarchy and be treated as a degraded caste (*nichu jat*) even sometimes by the lower Hindu caste people also. It is come to a light when the Koras are refused to use the sacred places as a degraded caste. But they are not dispirited. They try to find out a way of their own to pay homage for the Hindu deities.

The Koras are however maintaining a dual world – one to maintain a good relationship with caste peasant for economic and social security and the other is to maintain a dynamic isolation from the larger society. They are standing on the bridge between orthodox Hindu religion and the ideal traditional tribal religious belief, sometimes which may be the witness of the fusion of these two.

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