ETHNOMEDICINE AND HEALING PRACTICES
IN GOA
(THE KUNNBI CASE)

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CERTIFICATE

As required under the University Ordinance No. 0413, I certify that the thesis entitled "Ethnomedicine and Healing Practices in Goa" submitted by Kum. Bernadette Gomes for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, is a record of research work done by the candidate during the period of study under my guidance. It has not previously formed the basis for the award to the candidate of any Degree, Diploma, Associationship, Fellowship or other similar titles. I state that the study on the Bārāḍi Kuṇṇbi embodied in this thesis represents independent work on the part of the candidate.

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STATEMENT

As required by the University Ordinance, I state that the work embodied in this thesis, is based on original field work conducted in the village of Bārāḍi, in Salcette taluka. The work has been carried out under the guidance of Dr. William R. Da Silva, and represents original contribution to knowledge in the existing field of medical anthropology.

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## CONTENTS

| MAP OF GOA | 1 |
| MAP OF SALCETTE | 2 |
| MAP OF Bārāḍi | 3 |

**CHAPTER 1.**  INTRODUCTION TO ILLNESS AND HEALING.  4

**CHAPTER 2.**  SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE Bārāḍi Kūnṇbī.  33

**CHAPTER 3.**  THE CLASSIFICATION OF ILLNESSES.  96

**CHAPTER 4.**  THE CURES FOR ILLNESSES.  123

**CHAPTER 5.**  THE SYSTEM OF HEALING.  153

**CHAPTER 6.**  THE AGENTS OF HEALING.  181

**CHAPTER 7.**  CONCLUDING REMARKS.  215

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**  246
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

1. THE MELL 39-40
2. ANCESTOR WORSHIP 41
3. THE HOLY CROSS OF BĀRĀḌI 51
4. THE SOṬI (INITIATION) 58
5. COMMON PAIN KILLERS 135
6. COMMON ANTISEPTICS 136
7. PLANTS THAT REDUCE FEvers 147
8. SOME MEDICINAL PLANTS USED BY THE BĀRĀḌKARS 164
9. PROTECTIVE SYMBOLS AGAINST ILLNESS 180
10. THE AGENTS OF HEALING
    a) THE GHAḌDI 185 A
    b) THE BUDVONT AND DIȘTIKARN 199 - 200
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO ILLNESS AND HEALING

a) Approaches to Illness and Health:

Man has always been concerned about his survival and therefore about health. It is inherent knowledge that health is not within the conscious control of mankind. People are exposed to their immediate environment, to the cosmos and to other members of the community. All three are believed to affect the health of an individual.

Since man has no actual mastery over the forces of nature and the cosmos as such, he has to order social life into an intricate programme of practices. The embodiment of which is called a system of medicine. Through it he brings about a symbolic mastery over health.

Every system of medicine has a set of health beliefs, and a set of health practices.[1] It is a social product. Cross cultural illness have been defined in different ways. The definition of an illness depends on the way it is experienced by the sickperson. The experience is drawn from the health beliefs, and cures derived from health practices accordingly.[2]

Before approaching the cure, it is essential to understand the approaches to illness. As societies evolved from traditional to modern ones the concepts of illness changed considerably. In many traditional societies illness was conceived as the handiwork
of evil spirits, breach of tabu, or curses from deities. The
wrath of the Goddess Sitala was known in Bengal by the illness
called smallpox. In Goa she was known as Asuk Saibin. Durga
caused vomiting and Parvati caused headaches[3].

Within traditional society too approaches differed. In the
Indian system of medicine called Ayurveda, we find a theory of
the five forms of matter making up animate and inanimate things.
Living creatures constantly absorb the five elements through
nutrition. Good health is a dynamic state of equilibrium of the
three bodily humors - wind, bile, and phlegm, which are formed
from the five elements. The imbalance of humors causes disease in
man. Restoration of health lies in the proper consumption of
environmental matter[4].

Ayurveda brings the body into a relationship with the cosmos
through the humoral theory. Good health is conceived through a
cosmic physiology, as an art of managing vital fluids and, as
Zimmerman puts it, Ayurvedic medicine in this respect is actually
analogous to agriculture.[5] There are however other approaches
to illness found in the Ayurvedic treatises, some of which border
on caste prejudices like an invocation in the Atharvaveda,
against the demon Takman, the demon of fever. This invocation is
obviously suited to an upper caste patient only. "May refusal
meet Takman, O Takman go to the Mujavant, or further. Attack the
Sudra woman, the teeming one; shake her"...[6]
Ayurveda is seen by some scholars as a synthesis of early magico-religious, and later empirico-rational traditions, wherein Brahmanic sources recount the origin of Indian medicine through a lineage of divine transmitters, and Buddhist sources focus on the empirico-rational elements.[7]

Ayurveda is based on the understanding that health is normal, illness is undesirable and, by following a set of procedures, one can achieve good health. In contrast, folkmedicine tends to view illness as part of life itself. Illness cannot be avoided, but it could be cured. Though the approaches of the two systems of medicine begin from a different world view, folkmedicine and Ayurveda share in common the idea that a person is not just an individual, but a member of a social group, in constant interaction with nature and the community. In a traditional society illness was the concern of the entire family and neighbourhood. When a member fell sick the neighbourhood acted as a health care unit by itself. Health was inseparably linked to the institutions of the community.

More often than not, a number of symbolisms were used to treat illness. Curative rituals, and public healing ceremonies were part of medicine, just as the treatment given by Parcelsus. He gave patients their own excreta on a needle point mixed in a pill made of bread, to cure plague. Justifying it he said - "imagination takes precedence over all".[8]
Samuel Hahnemann, on the other hand, believed that disease could be cured by similarities. He believed there were fixed principles which govern the practice of medicine. The philosophy of Homeopathy could be summed by the statement 'Similia, Similibus, Curentur' (Like cures like). A weaker dynamic affection is permanently extinguished in the living organism by a stronger one, if the latter (whilst differing in kind) bears a strong resemblance to it in its mode of manifesting itself. [9]

The curative power of medicine depended on the capacity to produce symptoms similar to the disease but superior to it in strength. [9] Homeopathy accepts that human health is affected by partly psychical, partly physical forces. But we are made ill only when our organism becomes susceptible to them. [10]

Approaches to illness changed gradually with changing societies. The changes could be traced as reflections of changing images of man, society and the universe at large. At this stage one cannot talk of changing societies without talking of changes that took place in the West.

Two of the most significant changes, which had serious implications for the medical systems of the entire world, were industrialization in the West and the rise of Colonization. All critiques of modern medicine are actually addressed to the problems of industrialization and the aftermath of colonialism. Asian Medical systems, today in particular cannot be fully
understood outside the stream of history.[11] The rise of modern western medicine is seen by historians of medicine as an unfolding of scientific discoveries, whereas medical anthropologists see modern medicine as a cultural artifact, or a mark of modern industrial culture.[12]

Western medicine itself was undergoing changes with scientific discoveries. From Greek medicine to Paracelsus, down to the 16th century western medicine narrowed its domain of causes. The focus was moving towards the human body.[13] Morgagni in the 18th century made the organs and organisms as the units susceptible to disease.[14]

Its history has followed a similar path, where a human being was seen as a continuity with the cosmos, as in Ayurveda, to the fact that psychical and natural causes made man ill, as in Homeopathy, to the idea that disease is nothing but a foreign object in human body, as in Western medicine.

The success of the germ theory with Pasteur and Koch, placed western medicine on a pedestal of supremacy. Not only the European scientists, but the Europeans as a people prided themselves about their scientific understanding of diseases. Western medicine placed itself against the assumed irrationality of other indigenous non-western systems of medicine.[15]

Political changes brought about as a result of
industrialization changed the relations between man and man. Despite the Enlightenment and the dominant philosophy of human freedom, industrialization generated an "unfreedom". Persons became objects and not subjects of the social whole. After the French Revolution and with the rise of the bourgeoisie, the plan was to engineer health for the entire society. 'Hospital medicine' originating in Paris killed the 'sick man' and substituted the 'patient' instead.

For medical scientists disease became a biological fact, independent of the thinking of human beings. Diseases were seen as objects which existed independently and prior to the discovery of the physicians which only the doctor could describe in objective terms. Modern medicine or allopathy has become a technical subject, where the decision to declare a person sick or not depends on technical procedures. Symptoms are treated as the disease which has to be countered with the use of a large number of expensive drugs. Sickness became a part of industrialization. In keeping with the tenets of capitalism a great collusion began between doctors, pharmaceuticals and governments, to make medicine a profit-oriented industry. This new trend in modern medicine could be sensed as far back as 1847, when a small group of allopaths formed a professional organization. The Journal of the American Medical Association stated in 1991: "Growth of the profession must be stemmed if individual members are to find the practice of medicine a
lucrative profession". [20]

Monetary consideration and the scientific detachment, have led towards a violent approach to the human body and illness. Large number of casualties admitted to hospitals are seen as nothing but valuable opportunity for surgical practice, and patients in hospitals become an ‘abundance of clinical material’. [21] Violence in alarming proportions has given rise to a new category of disease called iatrogenic disease, and Illich himself says modern medicine has become a major threat to health.[22] Medical violence is the product of technological advancement, financial greed, and an induced paranoia in usefully ignorant public.[22]

Institutions with state sanctioned power have laid claim over the human body, detached from its self, to be controlled and manipulated for the benefit of the powers that be. The new nexus between medicine and science in modern society has created a new weapon of falsification, where all other systems of knowledge, particularly those of pre-industrial times are 'scientifically' deemed 'unscientific'. Other medical systems like Ayurveda and folkmedicine, became things of the past, based on superstitions and magic. Modern medicine could establish its position not so much by improving the status of health but by proving other systems of medicine as unscientific. Thus approaches to illness have changed drastically. Colonialism and Industrialization being points of departure from the non-Western
b) Social Construction of Illness and Healing

Changing approaches towards illness and medicine indicate that there are ways of looking at illness. Ways of looking depend on culture, because culture, besides being a set of rules and values, is also viewed as a system of knowledge. Culture, therefore, gives a theory of knowledge and its own rules for sharing knowledge.[23]

Culture shapes our thoughts. Thoughts influence practices. Health beliefs and practices become cultural practices. A system of medicine becomes the mark of a particular culture. Several critics of health have also acknowledged the relationship between health and culture. Illich calls health and culture two names of a programme by which a social group lives. Rather than seeing it as a set of customs and traditions, he sees it as a set of plans, recipes and rules for surviving, coping, and as viability in a given human group.[24] Each society constructs a definition of illness, builds a model of medicine and moulds the experience of disease for a person. But for a particular construction to be a real living experience, it is necessary to have a particular social and political organization.[25]

Thus medicine in traditional societies was based on dominant ideas of those times and medicine in a modern society is based on dominant ideas of modernization. Who is healthy and who is ill
varies according to society. It is culture that gives meaning to the experience of disease so what exactly is defined as illness can vary temporally, culturally and geographically.[26]

Frederique A. Marglin has demonstrated how smallpox is perceived in two different cultures. One in non-modern India and the other in a modern western society.[27] The two ways of knowing smallpox according to her were by a logocentric and non-logocentric mode of thought. While the bodily symptoms were identical, smallpox in a western society was not the same as 'Asuk' or 'Asura' in Indian society. Modern medicine sees smallpox as a disease, whereas smallpox in non-modern India was the goddess Sitala. She was the disease and its cure.

Among the Ainu in Japan, an illness called 'Kemasinke' (blood-vomiting illness) includes not only tuberculosis, but also peptic ulcer and stomach cancer. Yet tuberculosis of the bone are not included in Kemasinke because there is no blood vomiting. Further all cases of blood-vomiting may not be classified as kumasinke because blood vomiting can also be the work of sorcery.[28]

Among the Azande, Evans-Pritchard found magic and witchcraft to govern all aspects of social life, including illness. In all traditional societies spirits and deities were known to make people sick. Personal anxiety was exercised through beliefs in spirits and witchcraft. Given such a condition a member of
society behaves in a culturally defined and predictable way. [29]

Cultural beliefs can be extremely influential in causing illness, up to the point of death. A person can bring death upon himself through an absolute conviction that he is bewitched. Such 'voodoo' deaths have been reported from South America, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. [30]

Even the experience of pain which is a universal suffix to illness is moulded by culture. Culture transforms pain as an experience. Illich sees pain as an inevitable part of the subjective reality of a person. Whereas in modern culture pain is an unnecessary evil which has to be banished at all costs. [31]

The seemingly objective conditions of the human body are actually subjective experiences derived from one's own culture. What constitutes illness and what constitutes cure is socially defined. Disease can best be described as a socio-cultural construct. The cause and the cure emerges within the same context.

Folk societies were characterized by folk medicine, modern society is characterized by modern medicine, or allopathy. It has also come to be known as western medicine, scientific medicine or cosmopolitan medicine. This system of medicine has come to be almost a universal system today. The infiltration of allopathy or
modern medicine has become a feature of culture even in non-modern societies today. The phenomenon is seen as a consequence of colonialism. The experience with modern medicine has been different for the colonial and colonized societies Frederique A. Morglin points out, that for a particular cultural construction to become a reality, a particular social and political organization was necessary. So did allopathy require the presence of a political organization to make it a reality. The political organization came in the form of colonial rule. Every society confronted by colonialism was also confronted by allopathy. The experience of allopathy was not the same in the host country as it was for the colonial countries. For western society it was a change from within. For host countries like India, it was a change from without.

The change was not restricted to the use of drugs for curing illness. It meant a crossing over to an entirely new belief system. Throughout history a system of medicine operated in concurrence with a society’s culture. Culture provided the meaning, name, explanation and rationale for treating an illness.[32] With the colonial encounter the existing culture was deemed absurd and incapable of explaining illness.

Modern medicine intervened in a society yet to be modernized. Allopathy was thrust as the only solution to a healthy life. Western medicine became an apparatus of the colonial state. Health care passed from the hands of the
community into those of the colonial state. The world over, allopapy came to represent a scientific understanding of disease and medicine. It was taken as a reflection of a superior mode of thought.

The initial fascination with allopapy soon turned into a nightmare. Western medicine could not live up to its proposed ideals. The dream of having a disease-free society soon crumbled. People in western countries began to lose faith in allopapy. Gradually, post-modern society gave rise to a number of celebrated critics of western medicine such as Foucault, Nandy, Kothari, Mehta, Illitich, Szasz and Laing.

As a reaction to the threat posed by western medicine, scholars are now making efforts to understand non-western systems of medicine. Rejected in favour of what was thought to be a scientific understanding of disease, traditional systems are now staging a dramatic comeback in post-modern era. The western world is experiencing an entirely new trend in health care. There is a sudden rise of what can be termed as a medical revivalism, an effort to redefine disease, and health. A reconstruction of illness, through the recovery of traditional systems of medicine.

This phenomenon in the field of medicine and health care is unique because, for the first time a new construction of health and illness is sought by spanning the gap between traditional and modern systems of medicine on the one hand and reviving non-
western systems of medicine on the other.

Both trends seek to bring in non-modern systems of healing, into a modern context. The works of Francis Zimmerman, Srinivasamurthi or Sudhir Kakar are aimed at reinterpreting traditional systems of medicine. Once again the intellectual and political thrust has come from the dilemmas faced by western societies. The West is undergoing a revitalization in medicine where they have begun to see beyond mere symptoms. What began as a war between allopathy and other systems of medicine is taking a new turn, wherein indigenous systems are taken on as allies in the battle against disease.

The WHO which has an international infrastructure for allopathic medicine, has formally endorsed the need to bring in indigenous medicine in the modern health care programmes. It has called for 'radical development and promotion of traditional medicine'. WHO is already involved in gathering information on medicinal plants and their mode of utilization.

The changes taking place in medicine today reflect changes taking place with in the larger social structure. A growing tide of nationalism in Third World countries and a growing globalization of environmental issues has led to an approach that gives legitimacy to the interaction between culture, body and environment.
The present movement in the medical world is an attempt to construct another model of illness. It is the inherent interplay of culture and technology where every definition of illness, requires a cultural context. There is no objective meaning in illness beyond the subjective construction of the experience of illness.

c) Methodology

Non-western systems of medicine, attracted the interest of scholars with the rise of anthropology in the West. The discipline itself was the product of colonialism. For the early scholars medicine was a field for intellectual curiosity, or a part of the study of non-western societies. The ethnographic accounts were seen as fuel for the politico-economic processes of colonialism. The discipline itself has been called colonialism's social science and the method of field work using participant observation became the characteristic feature of anthropology.[39] Works like those of Boas, Evans-Pratc\-hard, Malinowski became celebrated accounts of non-western societies.

At the time when observations were made on the use of medicinal plants and shamanic healing, medicine was not studied as a system. One of the reasons for this was that medicine in non-western societies was treated as of no consequence to anthropological needs of that time. The growing faith in the superiority of western medicine was responsible for the anthropologists lack of interest in undertaking a holistic study.
of non-western medical systems. [40] The same trend is observed in many of the classical accounts of Portuguese scholars in Goa. The works of Garcia da Orta, [41] and D. G. Dalgado, [42] are excellent examples. These works are extensive collections of information on local flora and their usage. There are also briefs accounts of the local ghadi (shaman) malevolent spirits, and sacred plants. [43] But a holistic approach is missing.

It was only after skepticism about western medicine grew in the West, the approach towards non-western medical systems changed. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of works relating to non-western systems of medicine made their appearence and they were steeped in eurocentric bias. [44]

Today we have a considerable number of studies on non-western systems of medicine. There is a growing need to understand non-western systems of medicine in their context. It is also imperative to understand how common people as an organised group construct ideas of health and illness, and how they deal with sickness.

The colonial bias in understanding non-western systems of medicine still persists. It can be seen from the way non-western systems of medicine are approached. Often the study is addressed as 'ethno - medicine', referring to an aggregate of people who are at a temporal distance from the West.
However, the conception of illness and health in an industrialized society is not taken as a study in ethno-medicine. The same bias that made anthropology a discipline of colonialism tends to enter the field of medical studies today. Studies are meant to bring out people's model of medicine. What actually results is the interpretation of the people's understanding of illness. It is for this reason that scholars have advised caution about cross-cultural studies of medicine. Any attempts to construct a people's model is immediately met with a number of complexities. The problem becomes even more alarming when studying a non-literate society.

In a non-literate society all communication is effected by a spoken language. Meanings are derived from the way language is used to describe the experience of illness. Much of the meaning is lost when the researcher tries to use his/her own language in order to give a written account of the explanation. The following illustration will put the problem in perspective.

This is account of a woman who explained the death of a neighbour who had fever:

"Teka zor yeylo ani to boro na zalo. Tindis zor aangant urlo, magir chovtea disa zor mateak marlo, ani to melo". These were the exact words used to describe the illness. In analyzing the woman's language a literal translation would prove meaningless. The researcher would be required to interpret or explain the meaning in his own language:
"He had fever and fell ill. For three days the fever persisted and on the fourth day the fever hit his head, and he died". One would have to interpret such statements with the underlying ideas coded in the language used. Language is a major cultural resource that participants draw on to create reality.[46] In non-literate societies the whole of knowledge has to be compacted. Language is condensed, so that a variety of alternate meanings are to be found in the same terms.[47]

The paradox remains. The very tools used for analytical research prove inadequate. One way to resolve the question would be accept the ambiguity of methods. It may not be possible to construct a real model of the peoples' medical programme. Instead, we can hope for levels of interpretation that retain as much meaning as possible.

The other problem that arises is from the anthropologists' view of treating non-western systems of medicine like that of Chinese medicine, or Ayurveda as representative of the entire society respectively. The fact that these medicines were practiced by a small elite, creating a high tradition within the non-western systems of medicine is often over-looked.[48] In addition to these systems of medicine, communities that were aggregated as small groups, shared popular beliefs of medicine, and practised a system of medicine which was specific to their evolutionary and social formation. It did not require specialised
full-time healers, and knowledge of such systems were passed only
by word of mouth.[49]

Barth defines such groups as having
1. A population that is biologically self-perpetuating.
2. Sharing fundamental cultural values realized in overt unity
   in culture forms.
3. Making up a field of communication and interaction.
4. Having a membership which identifies itself, and is
   identified by others as constituting a category
   distinguishable from other categories of the same order,[50]
   as an ethmic group. The medicine of such a group of people
   is what Emiko refers to as ethno-medicine.

Each ethnic unit is culture bearing unit. Rather than
studying systems of medicine as Ayurveda, Chinese, Unani, ethno-
medicine could give an understanding of the dynamics of culture
and health given the fact that it is a community as an
organization that constructs illness and health, understanding
the functioning of such ethnic units could throw light on how a
system of medicine is actually lived in a community.

Such studies could possibly help establish a new model, to
deal with the newly emerging view of illness. Given the present
 cultural crisis and a revision of the concepts of health and
illness in modern societies, no suitable medical model has been
worked out.[51] The resurgance of non-western systems of medicine
are brought into health care programmes only as complements to allopathy. The present cultural context is yet to evolve its own system of medicine.

The present study is one such attempt to understand how a community as an ethnic unit constructs its system of medicine. Environment, culture, food habits, and neighbourhood cohesion have been shown to be essential for healing, and also defining illness. In other words, in order to understand illness and healing one must begin with ways in which the group maintains itself as a community.

With the emergence of allopathy, the medicine of the folk came to be known as ganvṭi vokod or pāḍāmūţāţē vokod, or zhāḍapālāţē vokod in Goa. The term ganvṭē suggests its rural connotation. Pāḍāmūţāţē and zhāḍapālāţē suggests that the medicines are from the various plant parts. Though often feathers, blood, shells are used the same term is used to include all, plant as well as animals parts.

As a preliminary study, some places known to be popular for zhāḍepālāţē vokod were visited. In all sixteen such places were observed.

In all of them the patients were from such zats as the Sudir, Mhar, Kharvi, Kūñnbī, Rēnder and Pagi. The healers were also from the same zats. None of the healers were full-time
professionals. All were either cultivators, fishermen, wage labourers or shepards. Since the patients were from particular zats it was important to understand how the members constructed an understanding of the ganvți vokod. For this, it was essential to understand how they organized themselves as a cohesive group. Their socio-cultural organization along with all aspects of social life would have to be the point of departure to throw light on their system of medicine.\[54\]

The zat selected for the purpose was the Kunndi of Bārići in Velim, Salcette. This community is a non-literate community. The average adult having the ability to read and write would be about 5%. Even with this small percentage all knowledge is passed orally. Language is the sole vehicle used to organize sense perceptions. Meanings are created and shared through the spoken language. Ideas of health and illness are also created through language. A patient expresses her experience of illness through language and the healer effects a cure through the use of same language. All meanings necessarily issued from their spoken language.\[55\] More than actual curative ceremonies, narrations take a primary place. As Sahu\[56\] has pointed out, a people’s system of medicine should not be restricted to explanations of practices, they should be accompanied by the people’s meanings of the respective illness.

As noted earlier, the very tools of inquiry pose the problem whether a real people’s model can ever be constructed. A
particular understanding can be relevant only for a particular people. We cannot really live the life of another community. We can only gain our sense of the people's experience through the words in which they describe their lives to us. [57] A people's model can be a construct only in relation to their life. The present work has been titled as "Ethnomedicine and Healing Practices" considering the definition of ethnic communities, and the medicine as practised by them in the form of a living tradition, as a cohesive group. I have used the term Western medicine for allopathy to show its origin and nature, in contrast with non-western systems of medicine. I have also used the term ethno medicine or folk medicine to contrast it with Ayurveda and Unani medicine in India.

Western, scientific, cosmopolitan medicine is the system of allopathy, since it originated in the west with the rise of cosmopolitan culture and in the age of scientific revolution. Traditional, folk, indigenous, or holistic medicine refers to the non-western system of medicine. It is constrained with Ayurveda, Unani Chinese as systems of medicine, because it is practised by the common folk, its members not removed in community labour division for specialization. Data for the present study has been collected purely from word of mouth, and through participant observation. However as mentioned earlier the world of medical beliefs have been organized according to the researchers understanding of them. Despite field work over a period of two
years, it was an extremely difficult task to create a model of the people's conception of medicine. The world of the Bārāḍi Kunbi offers such a rich and complex variety of anthropological data, that I daresay I may not have done justice to it all.

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19. Ibid. p.17.


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44. Ibid., p.3.


49. Ibid., p.122.


52. Illich I. op.cit., p.17.

53. 1. Bhutēzi Mirovṅuk, Dasara at Pernem.
   2. 'Rama montri', snake charmer, Manus vaddo, Pernem.
   3. Dabalkar Zhādekar, Parxem, Pernem.
4. 'Prasad Ghevop' at Sri Rawalnath temple, Pernem.

5. 'Voktakarn', and Voktakar, Chopdem, Pernem.

6. 'Bade' at Sal, Bicholim.

7. Fire walking, Shirgão, Bicholim.

8. 'Mel' at Velim, Baradi, Salcette.

9. 'Punnu Ghaçi', Basroye, Quepem.

10. Foṭṭi Ghaḍī, Kananganium, Fatorpa.

11. 'Shigmo' at Cuncolim.

12. 'Śīśā Randni' at Sristhal, Canacona.


14. 'Brahamāṇī Mahamaya' Dharmashala, at Copardem, Valpoi.


16. 'Dištikarn' at Santo Estevão.


CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF BARADI KUṆNBĪ

a) Location

Barāḍī is a village situated in the taluka of Salcette in Goa between the villages of Betul in the South, and Velim in the North at the foot of the Barāḍī hill. Adjoining it are a range of smaller hills beyond which lies the plateau of Betul and the villages of Fatorpa, Kaṅangiṁim, Honant and an area called Muslamfondū through which runs a fresh water stream.

Around Barāḍī there are a number of springs, the most famous being one at the foot of the Barāḍī hill. There is also a larger stream flowing through the village of Panpelim which enters Betul. It is quite popular among the people of Barāḍī.

The village comes under the administration of the panchayat of Velim. The people of Barāḍī call themselves Barāḍkars and identify themselves as Kuṅnbī. They are all Christians converted in the year 1585 along with some vangodds from Velim and Ambelim. The Barāḍkars were part of the parish of St. Francis Xavier of Velim. At the vaddo called Tollecanto situated next to Barāḍī, is the church of St. Roque. This was initially a chapel, raised to the status of church three decades ago. The population increase in Velim, Barāḍī and Betul created the need for a new parish. Hence Velim and Tollecanto are now two parish areas. The people of Barāḍī belong to St. Roque church along with the people of Tollecanto and Betul.

Barāḍī is divided into three vaddde or wards (singular vaddo).
Zorivodd, Modemvodd and Horta. Velim is divided into Baga, Caxetta, Cappbeam vaddo, Caeram vaddo, Cumbeabhat, Goemchem bhatt, Gorcomorodd, Zaino, Tollecanto and small area called Velim Ambelim. Betul is divided into Muxer, Bapsoro, Zůvear, Rangalli, Poklevodd and Pirvaddo. Betlant is the area across the river the edge of which forms a cliff overlooking the mouth of river Sal and is known as Handdint. The narrow strip of land reaching across the area of Handdint is known as Mobrar (Mobar).

The population of Baradi is approximately 1,385 in roughly 280 households. They are located in a cluster without separating fences. A few houses have been either repaired or reconstructed, in recent years and have compound walls separating them from the cluster of houses.

Each house consists of three typical rooms: Randchi kudd (cooking room) Yepar dorpa kud (store room) and Raupa kudd (living room). Each family in a single household consists of parents and their children. After the marriage of a son, each household builds a new house for him. The eldest son may retain his residence with his parents.

The terms Kuññbi is said to mean cultivator. According to the Bārādkars Kuññbi are those who dwell on the hills and practice cultivation (‘kamot marta te’ or ‘kumeri marta te’). This is commonly known as shifting cultivation. There were others who lived on the slopes and in the plains. They are called Gavdidi. There is also another group called Velip who practice kumeri.

The People of Velim identify themselves as chardde, which
the equivalent of kshatriyas. They proudly speak of their warrior ancestry. The people of Betul identify themselves as Gavddi, Kuṇṇbi and Render. There are other fifty families called the Gabti (fishermen). These came to Betul in search of fishing opportunities three decades ago. They call themselves Konkne or Gabit.

In Bārāḍi today opinions are divided on nomenclature. Few call themselves Gavddi while others call themselves Kuṇṇbi. The Bārāḍkars say that they do not live in the mountains any more. Until the Liberation of Goa they practiced kamot marop cultivation in Musllam fondd, but they lived there seasonally, six months spent at Bārāḍi.

Kumeri marop is done in hilly tracts freshly cleared for cultivation. The Bārāḍkars say they cultivated khazan lands before Liberation. They grew gongdē (ragi) and vegetables, and three varieties of wild rice called urio, damgo, pakōdonly at Muslān.

Some people in Bārāḍi say there are no Kuṇṇbi among them, that the Velip are actual Kuṇṇbi. The Velip insist that there are no Kuṇṇbi among them. Opinions are divided even among the Bārāḍkar, and no clear distinction is available.[2] So I shall call Bārāḍkar Kuṇṇbi in this work.

The Ėhardde of Velim and the Render of Muxer and Zūear call them Kuṇṇbi, but they refer to the people of Betul, Rangalli, and Poklevodd as Gavddi. The Bārāḍkars give their daughters in marriage to the Gavddi of Betul, and bring women as daughters-in-law to Bārāḍi.
Bārāḍī hill in south Salcette offers a panoramic view for people. There is a large cross on the hill which is reputed to be miraculous. Devotees flock to it every Friday to make vows or pray.

b) **Vangods** The Kunbh of Bārāḍī are internally divided into three vangods: Raikar, Gōykar and Gāydo44c. Each vangood is made of several kuṭum that claim a common ancestor. A kuṭum consists of a man, a woman, and their children. Occasionally it may include grandchildren. The Kunbh sometimes refer to their vangodd as kuṭum. In this sense they see the entire vangodd as their family.

Each vangodd is headed by a budvont, also known as vhodil, or vhod. The budvont is always a male member. He comes from a fixed family. However if there is no male member to be the next budvont, any other male member, who has taken sufficient interest in the life of the Bārāḍkar is appointed by consensus at the ganVPoNN.

The kuṭum of the three vangodd are roughly distributed into the three vaggde of Bārāḍī. The Zorivodd is inhabited by Gāyndōlkers, the Raikars are concentrated in the modern vod, and the Gōymkars in Hotra.

As a rule the Kunbh have nuclear residence. Joint residence is an exception. In Bārāḍī there are three houses with joint residence. Two houses were built jointly by brothers who went on board the ship, and a third brother who went to the Gulf for employment. Although joint residence is not the rule, jointness is maintained through extremely strong kinship ties, so much so
that they regard the entire vangodd as a single kutum.

Until a decade ago all Bārādkars had houses with mud walls, and thatched roofs. A zhodd (external matting from coconut leaves) covered the outer walls of the house. Few houses have stone fences enclosing them. The land was thought to belong jointly to the entire kutum or the vangodd. Being a common family land, no fencing was required. The entire vaddo is like a large house, with the kutum residing in each smaller house.

Each vangodd also has a house which is known as the voddleem ghor. This house is not called so because of its physical size. It is said to be the house where the original ancestor lived. Here vhoodle refers to the special status it has, as the place where their ancestors reside. A vhoodle ghor can be a small hut, but it is central to the lives of the Kuṇnbi. It is almost treated like a place of worship. Each vhoodle ghor has a small corner in the yepar dorpa kud, where a coconut symbolizing their ancestor is kept. The coconut is kept on a paat (stool) with copper coins. These copper coins are the ancestors of the vangodd.

The vangodd celebrate all important festivals at the vhoodle ghor. The soṭṭī (initiation of the child), marriage, Mēļ, ḍeti, (ritual meal to the ancestors) and death rituals are all held only at the vhoodle ghor. Since the vangodd is also the kutum, it had to celebrate all important events in the house that ancestrally belonged to everybody, that is the vhoodle ghor. The actual inhabitants from the vhoodle ghor change from generation to generation. The eldest son or the Mhalgoddo lives with his
kutumā. But all vangodd members have privileges in the vhodlē ghor. Although each male member of the vangodd builds a separate house, it still remains as a common house of the entire vangodd. The structure of the households appear to be inevitably linked to the vhodlē ghor. It is equivalent to the Raupa kuḍḍ, and the other kuṭum houses equivalent to the kuḍḍ of the house. The vaḍḍo can be said to consist of a single ghor with several kuḍḍ, each of them housing the kutum of the vangodd.

The Raikar vangodd is addressed as the poilo vangodd (first vangodd). The Gőykar are second, and Găydolkar are third. Though there is no hierarchy among the Bārādkars, every person unmissably, repeats the three vangodd names in the sequential order—Raikar, Gőykar, Găydolkar. Here the ordering is sequential rather than hierarchical. Because the Kunnbi also insist that vhodlo or dhakto vangodd does not exist. It is just that the Raikars have the first privilege during certain important ceremonies like the Mēl.

The members of a single vangodd are known as Ek Moğkechī. (Moğki is a large earthen or copper vessel used to boil paddy). According to the elder members the kuṭumā cultivated land jointly. All the other allied activities like harvesting, boiling of paddy, bhat kandop (pounding paddy to make rice) was all done collectively at the vhodlē ghor. The moğki stood as a symbol of jointness in matters of cultivation and otherwise.

Due to a sheer rise in population the kuṭumā of the vangodd had to undergo a segmentation or fission. The division was called moğki vanṭli. Literally it means the moğki has been divided.
SHARING A COCONUT MEAL AT THE CROSS

INVOCATIONS AT THE CROSS

BUDVONTS GOING TO THE MAAND

THE MEN AT THE MAAND
MEL OFFERING PRAYERS AT THE ABODE OF BARADKARN (CHARDDE WOMEN IN BACKGROUND) OF MELL.

BUDVONT BREAKING A COCONUT AT THE CROSS

PASSING THE LIGHTED LAMP TO THE HOUSE

BARADKARS AT THE COLLECTIVE RITUALS

PROCEEDING TO HANĐINT TO HONOUR THE HAPŞI
COCONUT AND COINS - ANCESTORS

STONES OF THE ANCESTORS

COCONUT AND COINS - ANCESTORS
AT THE VOGLE GHOR
Actually it meant a division of the vangodd into 2 groups, each having at least one ancestor traceable to four generations back.

Each vangodd becomes a lineage group. Through the lineage fission the vangodd divides into 2 groups, maintaining an autonomy in matters of cultivation, through modki vantop, and unity in rituals and religious ceremonies. After the formation of Don modkeo (two modki). The cultivation is done separately and, those who now form each new lineage group boil their respective paddy together. From Ek modki, are formed Don modkeo, and each member of the respective modki are again called Ek modki or Ek modkechim (belonging to single modki).

Often the Ek modki members may boil their paddy in separate houses, for the sake of convenience. Want of drying space force them to set up two modkeo for boiling. However this does not amount to modki vantli. Modki symbolizes a corporate identity for the lineage group.

Each new modki that is formed, also sets up a new vhoḍlē ghor. The house of the eldest male member after modki vantli becomes a vhoḍlē ghor. For the rest of the descent group it is the vhoḍlē ghor. It is only during the Mell that the entire kutumbā gather at the original vhoḍlē ghor, for the ceremonial meal. Even the budvont, if he is not a resident of this vhoḍlē ghor, comes in order to initiate the ceremonies. Just as boiling of paddy is done separately by Ek modki, for the sake of convenience, so do the various kutumbā have separate meals, in separate aangans to make serving and eating feasible. They only gather at the vhoḍlē ghor as a symbol of their corporate unity.
Those who remain within the modki of the original vhodlē ghor become the manḍkaram, meaning care takers of the manḍ. These kutumōs have the privilege of looking after the manḍs for major occasions like the Mell, Fati, and the ritual meals. (see Meļ pg77)

The manḍ is an area outside the vhodlē ghor, or in its vicinity, which is used for the kutumō to assemble, and offer collective sacrifices. It has a deeper significance than just meeting place. The manḍ becomes sacred during such occasions and it is treated as a space apart (see concepts of space and time pg57).

The male member of the three vangodd meet together at the ganvpon and the Mel. This is a time when every male member of the vangodd exhibit their corporate identity. The Mell proceedings or the ganvpon is delayed till all the members have assembled. At the ganvpon neighbourhood feuds, disputes between the kutumō or a respective Ek modki are settled by the budvont. the Expenditure and finances of the mel are also discussed.

Though there may be several modkeo with, their respective vhodlē ghor, there is a single budvont for each vangodd. when a budvont grows old, the next budvont is selected by a concensus between the elders of the vangodd.

Each vangodd has its respective vangodd deity. The Raikars have Tamaskin (Sree Kamakshi) from Shiroda. The Gōymkars have Sree Shantadur gauge Faterpekariṅ (Mamai Saibin) and the Gāндolkars have the Bārādkarn Saibin. The vangodd bear an allegiance to their particular deity. The Gāндolkars inhabit the actual abode of the Bārādkarn Saibin. They have been entrusted with the role of maintaining it. Bārādkarn Saibin is actually the Saibin of the
entire village of Bārāḍi, but the Gāyndolkars have taken her on as their vangodd deity. They shares a confraternity through their affiliation to the respective deity.

After a marriage or the birth of a child the members of the kuṭumb (a few men and women) have to visit their deity at the temple and offer tributes of Kajal, Kumkum, red cloth, bananas, coconuts, and flowers. The temple priest obliges them, by offering lunch. They are accepted as devotees of the deity.

After the Meg the three vangods send offerings of coconuts to the Bārāḍkarn Saibin, who now resides at Canacona. At the gampon the budsvonts appoint some representatives to carry the offerings. These are from the Raikar and Gāykar vangodd may also accompany them. During the annual zatras of the Mamai Saibin and Tamaskin, the respective vangodd representatives taking offerings of coconuts and flowers to their temples. The after marriage visit to the temples is significant for the women of the vangodd. They have to obtain the maan (blessings) from the duties in order to attain motherhood.

c) Economy
The year 1962 marked a profound change in the annual occupational cycle in the line of the Bārāḍkars. Kumeri cultivation was banned by the government of Goa. Kumeri had been the occupation of the Kuṇbhi’s since antiquity. The Bārāḍkars had been engaged in kamot marop on the hills of Musllam fonde, a place about seven kms away from Bārāḍi. The people spent six months from June to November setting up their seasonal residence at the fonde. The next six months were spent back at Bārāḍi.
The Kuṇṇbi chose the most thinly forested areas for kamot marop. It was a simple method wherein the forest was cleared. The wood was stacked in piles for burning. The ashes were allowed to spread with the first showers of the rain. The soil was mixed to allow the ash to mix. By this it would be mid June, time for the Kuṇṇbi to shift residence to Musllam fondd.

Each Kuṭumë erected a 'homp' (hut). All the requirements ranging from food, to medicines were taken to Musllam fondd only those who were too old to travel the journey uphill remained back at Bārādi. The crops such as gonde (naēne, ragi), uric, damgo, pakod, were sown, and harvested in October. The grain was brought back to Bārādi. The huts were demolished.

Prior to 1962 the Bārādkars did not cultivate khazan lands, adjoining Bārādi. They began cultivation of those lands only after 1962. Their supply of paddy otherwise came from Musllam-fondd.

Division of labour is gender specific in the case of certain jobs and occupations. Plucking coconuts, repairing roofs, cutting fire wood, fishing, ploughing fields, stacking the paddy into kutorl (bales) are occupations performed only by the men. Collecting firewood, weeding, transplanting paddy, pasting cowdung on the floor, washing clothes, collecting medicines, is the responsibility of the women. Other jobs like cooking, fetching water, looking after the children, cleaning the house, is done by men and women.

During the monsoons the Bārādkars now cultivate the khazan
lands. The men take up jobs as wage labourers at Velim. After the monsoon they engage themselves in fishing and helping at the trawlers. The women take up jobs as maid servants, fish sellers, and labourers. There are also a few men who have gone on board the ship, or found employment in the Gulf. Giving up Musllam-fondd, brought about other changes in the economy. As the people did not have to go to the hills for half a year, they could seek regular salaried jobs. Some took up jobs as bus conductors, waiters, helpers at grocery stores, and the like. It was the younger men and women (age group of 20-25) who first took up such jobs. The elders continued with their previous occupations.

The men and the women are bread earners in the family. The elders speak of money entering into their lives, after coming from Musllam-fondd. Earlier there was little money with the people. Many families would often live for months, without owning any money. The Biradkars had managed a life without much money, for two reasons. One, their food included rice, occasionally curry, chillies, salt, vegetables, fish, and meat. Breakfast is pes (conjee) or bakri made from rice (rice cake). Rice and vegetables are cultivated, coconuts are plucked from the place. Fish is obtained from the river, and meat is shared from the kutum hen house or piggery. Occasionally wild boar and beef is eaten.

The basic food requirements do not require much money. Other groceries like chillies, onion, cocum, oil, jaggery, are exchanged through a system of barter. Money is used for buying items like cloth, foot wear, soap, and miscellaneous articles like, bangles, beads, gold ornaments, paint, copper vessels etc.
Some money is also spent for the education of the children.

Many commodities can be bartered in exchange for other goods or services. Rice can be exchanged for firewood, onion, coconuts, jaggery. Coconuts can be exchanged for a day's labour, fish and rice. Coconuts are exchanged for liquor, fish can be exchanged for wood, liquor, rice. Baskets can be got in exchange for rice and coconuts. Beside individual kutums exchanging goods. A single moñki can also barter the common paddy grain in exchange for other items. These items in turn are distributed to the kutum in the moñki.

Through these exchanges the Baradkars also maintain a close network of social relationships with their exchanging kutums. The exchanges are not merely economic exchanges, but have a deeper significance. Exchange becomes a cohesive force in the community. It transcends the economic function and becomes a moral obligation. Such exchange and their significance for the social structure have been explored by earlier anthropologists among other tribal groups.[3]

The economy of the Baradkars is partly monetary and partly barter. Economic life is not much affected by the market. Social relations are dependent on their exchange pattern and are independent of the market forces outside the community. The localized exchange structure coupled with selective use of money has kept the Kuñmbi on primary relations with one another. The exchanges cut across vangodd and Ek Moñki kutums. They bring together kutum of different vangodd, maintaining close ties even when kinship relations do not exist. It is not only kinship that...
keeps a group cohesive but the exchanges too play a decisive role.

d) Food

Food is an important aspect of maintaining good health. The Kunnbi have an elaborate nutritional programme, through which ill health is sought to be avoided. The local deities too should be offered the appropriate food items to ensure good health to the Baradkars.

The type of food consumed is season specific, and even varies with the time of the day. The system of hot-cold classification of food, found in several other parts of the world, [4] is present among the Kunnbi too. Here the people believe that some diseases can be caused by excess heat, or cold in the body.

Temperature changes in nature also bear a relationship to the respective diseases. Diet has to be changed depending on seasons. Certain foods can give rise to a hot disease or a cold disease. Accordingly such foods are classified as hot or cold. The foods for the winter (including monsoon) includes liberal intake of hot foods. In the summer months a lot of fruits and vegetables are eaten.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT OF INTAKE</th>
<th>WINTER DIET</th>
<th>SUMMER DIET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIBERAL</td>
<td>dry fish</td>
<td>goči bhaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seashells</td>
<td>red bhaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beef</td>
<td>mussels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>watermelon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bakri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prawns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LESS</td>
<td>allu</td>
<td>beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>potato</td>
<td>mussels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pork</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sweet potato</td>
<td>fowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fowl</td>
<td>kurdu bhaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taykilo bhaji</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prawns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY LITTLE</td>
<td>cucumber</td>
<td>pork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wild boar</td>
<td>fowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>melons</td>
<td>oils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>milk</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STANDARD INTAKE</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>(načni) amil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>curry</td>
<td>amil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>curry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foods are termed as hot or cold depending on the type of disease they will give, if eaten in excess. Underlying the hot/cold dichotomy have been found associations of disease with heat and cold.[5]

DISEASES ASSOCIATED WITH HEAT
- heat boils
- scabies
- measles
- chicken pox
- German measles
- jaundice
- diarrhoea
- dysentery
- sore eyes
- stomach upsets

DISEASE ASSOCIATED WITH COLD
- common cold
- cough
- whooping cough
- asthma
- painful joints
- rheumatism
- paralysis
- flu

The entire diet is a balancing of hot and cold foods depending on the season. Diseases like heat boils, sore eyes, chicken pox stomach upsets are frequent in the season, whereas common cold, rheumatism, are frequent in winter. The changes in temperature in nature are related to occurrence of disease. Further particular types of foods which give rise to the same disease are termed as hot cold respectively.
Foods are also termed as light or heavy depending upon the approximate time taken for digestion. Munde rice (without spine) is light, because it is digested sooner than the korgut rice (with spines). Tendli vegetable is heavy, whereas red bhaii is light. Heavy food if eaten in excess causes heat.

The people are aware of a relationship between food and disease. They face an ambiguity when it comes to the exact nature of this relationship. The food codes and tabus are followed strictly. Over eating of any food is a bad deed and speaks of bad character.

Good health depended on the deeds of a person. Man being a microcosm of the universe, his body had to be adapted to the seasons through proper dietetics. Good health depended a lot on proper food habits.

There are a number of food more to be foloed. Harmful spirits can enter the body through the food. Eating food items along the roads at night is strictly forbidden. If food has to be eaten in a strange place a small portion has to be thrown aside for possible evil spirits.

Food items should not be eaten by a single person in the company of others. Such a person is likely to suffer a stomach upset (aoge podta). The food going into the body has the desire (aas) of the people around. The food turns into a harmful substance in the stomach.

Flora and fauna which form part of the diet are also used as medicine. Plants and animals have multidimensional uses. Foods
THE HOLY CROSS OF BARADI

CROSS OF THE BARADKARN ON HER ROCK.
THE SITE OF HER ANCIENT ANTHILL IN BACKGROUND
under certain circumstances can be harmful, and under others, be of medicinal value.[7]

   a) Moong and jaggery water makes a good tonic for people suffering from colds.
   b) Mutton leg soup (bokāte dōke) is good for people with rheumatism and asthma.
   c) Beef bone soup is good for people with chronic asthma and anaemia.
   d) Rice water (nivöl) and jaggery is a common febrifuge.
   e) Papaya is eaten in case of constipation.
   f) Blood of monitor lizard is used against asthma. (The meat is edible as food).
   g) Amil made from fermented načni is used for healing wounds, dissolving kidney stones, and bringing skin infections under control. Sick persons with old wounds are kept on an amil diet.
   h) Jambul (zambālā) and karella fruits are eaten to prevent diabetes.
   i) Rice congí (pez) is the only diet for people with fevers.

Social Categories among the Kuṇnbī

The Kuṇnbī of Bārāḍī have distinctive divisions of male and female among them. There are fundamental divisions between 'types of male and types of female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF MALE</th>
<th>TYPES OF FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ėgo - boy</td>
<td>1. Ėdu - girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dālo - man</td>
<td>2. Bail - woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Ėhêdo becomes a dadlo, a dodlo can become a ghaḍdi or Budvont, and they are all munis. But at any given point of time a Ėhêdo, is not the same as dadlo. A ghaḍdi and budvont are dadle (men). But a dadlo and a ghaḍdi or budvont are different. A Ėhêdum is not the same as a bail, and a bail is not the same as avoi. They are not referred to as munis. The people refer to a group of men and women as Munšā. But a group of men alone are referred to as Munis. Though munis is used to mean a person, it is also use to distinguish a human being from an animal. When identifying the types of individuals, the biological distinction of male and female are not primary, but an individual’s cultural position such as Žedo, dadlo, is his biological distinction itself.

GHAḍDI, BUDVONT (VOĠIL)

CEDDO (boy)  X  DADLO (man)  X  MONZAT (animal)

CEDŪ (girl)  X  BAIL (woman)  X  AVOI (mother)

Man is at the centre of the social organization. The ghaḍdi and the budvont are at the apex. A Ėhêdo is contrasted by Ėhedum, A Dadlo by a Budvont or ghaḍdi. Munis becomes a corporate term to include men and women as contrasted by monzate. A Ėhêdo becomes a
dadlo after his marriage. A ādudum becomes a Bail after puberty. A Bail becomes an Avoi after the birth of a child. An Avoi is also a Bail, but a Bail need not be an Avoi. Similarly the ghadi and the Vodil have to be a dadlo and not a ānedo.

All these categories as we shall see later (Chp. 4.) are useful in classifying diseases that generally are thought to affect the people. Certain kinds of illnesses like dist are known to be caused by a Bail and not ānedum. There are again illnesses that afflict only a Bail, like those connected with pregnancy and menstruation. Certain healing rituals can be performed by a budvont or ghadi. Others can be performed only by the dadle. Certain medications can be given only by a Bail. These classifications of functions are important for the process of healing. Distinctions between types of individuals are fundamental to the organization of social life and for healing.

There is no ghadi among the Bārādkars today. Earlier, as the elders narrate the Budvont himself played the role of the ghadi, for finding out the reason of some misfortunes. The budvonts were also known as the zolmi. However the ghadi also existed besides the budvont, in order to make contact with the spirits of the dead (see Chp. 5).

Animals and Nature: Animals are distinguished from man on immediate external differences, discernable to them. Animals live in the forests, they wear no clothes. They have no devospoñ (worship). People often use the pharse - Tum munis o monzot? (Are you a man or animal?) to show disgust at a persons behaviour. Animals are different from man and they are lower in status than
man. It is only the sorop, or Nag (Cobra) that is treated with almost reverence. This reptile is not addressed by name even when narrating any event related to it. A hand gesture showing the spreading hood is made. The word mama is also frequently used to refer to a nag.

Some animals can identify dadlo from bail. The makod (monkey) is not afraid of a bail or a ēMedum. They can be a nuisance, during the cashew season. The women folk tend the cashew orchards given on lease to some of the Bārādkars. The monkeys come in large numbers to feast on the fresh cashew apple. They flee at the sight of a men or boy. With the womenfolk they play truant, often hurling twigs and cashew nuts at them. It is extremely difficult for the women or girls, to drive away the monkey. To fool the monkey, the women wear men’s clothing when they go to guard the orchards. The makod sees the appearance of a man and they flee.

The divode (rat snake) also frightens women. The serpents will jump up and wriggle themselves in front of the women. They will not bite until attacked. Whereas in the presence of a man the divode simply crawls away (unless attacked). Even the animals can make differences between women and men.

Raan, (nature, forest) with its plants, animals, rivers, streams, hills, and forests is a world by itself, distinct from the place where the people live (Baradi). When people go into the hills, they know they are entering another world. This world is governed by beings and laws other than those that they have. They are consuming from this other world.
Just as you give back after you take, so should you give back to the forest and sea after you take from them. The Kunñbi system of exchange extends even unto nature. Their economy includes an exchange with nature too. Nature is personified. They exchange with people and with nature just as if nature was also part of the entire community. (see Mell) They take from the hills and have to give in return. They take from the sea and likewise they have to give in return. When the Kunñbi give back, it is not to the plants or animals or to the sea water. The exchange is between the Bāradkars and the personified form of nature. Thus offerings are made to the Dhoni of the forests (Lord). The Dhoni of the sea, and the Dhoni of the Šim (borders of the village). These are representative of the world of Nature. (see Hāpāi).

The Kunñbi are confident of full protection accorded to them by nature. They have treaded the forest paths for generations, and not a single Bāradkar has been injured. How could they? Because they have paid their debts to the raan. Harm can befall only to those who have not paid debts.

Kunñbi may hunt for wild boar, or porcupine, but a portion is always offered to the Dhoni. No one kills or injures a snake, expect if it attacks. How can they kill? say the Kunñbi. They are in the property of the snake. They should be grateful that the snake has not attacked them for trespassing.

In the village of Bārādi, they are the gaunkars. They have a right to the land. But in the hills they are intruders, and therefore they have to respect the creatures of the raan. The Kunñbi do not touch a raen (termite mound). They consider it to
be very sacred. (see p.48) Zadda (Trees) are classified as: 1) Zaddam - trees. 2) Romuleo - small plants, herbs. 3) Rouke - very large trees. Zadda also stands for plants as opposed to animals. Zadda are of two types. (a) Zadda, and (b) Vokti zadda (medicinal plants).

Tolob (rocks and boulders) grow slowly but continuously. If a rock was just above the surface, it can rise above and even grow in size. The Betul Plateau, was known to be the home of the Pandavas. There are carved forms of men, and kings on the rocks there. But the rocks have grown so much above the ground that the carvings cannot be discerned. Just as plants grow, so do the rocks.

Kuṇṇbī Sense of Time

Kuṇṇbī have a method of organizing their temporal sense. The past is temporalized through significant events which are taken as temporal nodes. The earliest times begin with the Bārāṅkarn.
The time of their birth, or the occurrence of an event is related to the respective temporal node. A woman of eighty years explained her age as follows: Her grandfather was of the zorie fuđli pilgi (next generation after the plague). Her father and her self were the next successive pilgi. She is that old (not those many years old). Her children were born 'čedna zu zam choltalim tedna.' (When the Packle were fighting against the liberation movement in Goa).

The Church of Velim and Tolecanço were built by the Pandavas. They built them in one night. This is a significant period for the Bārādkars. The Pandavas were living in their hills at this time. Their home was the plateau of Betul. The Pandavas left a box of jewels for the Bārādkars, before they left for the sea at Cabo de Rama. They built two Dovorni (a stone bench to rest a load carried on the head). These were done so that ne
people could rest their bundles of firewood, on the way back to Bārādi.

Time is important, because certain curative ceremonies are to be held at particular moments. Diseases can be caused at certain times. Under certain conditions time becomes sacred.

Time shows a characteristic of repetition and irreversibility. The repetition of sacred time through festivals is an attempt to deny death through a constant revival of sacred time.[9]

Sacred time is recreated, during the religious ceremonies. Such instances are repeated in order to rejuvenate the community.[9] Here the Bārādkars repeat sacred time for the well-being of the community.

Concept of Space: A zago (space) can be sacred or profane. A profane space can become sacred just like time. Sacred space is accessible to men at certain times and to women at times other than that of the men. A sacred space can also be a tabu for women. There are other spaces (sacred) where the women alone can be present. The presence of a man can be a tabu. The removal of dist (see chp. 5) requires the diṢṭikarn to make a space sacred. She can remove dist only in this sacred space created by her. The Maand is a space outside the vhodle ghor. This is a place used by the people for all important events like marriages, ancestor worship, Mell and the ganvpoṇ. This is a space which is sacred during these events, except the ganvpoṇ. During the maandaći jevṇa, prior to the Mell, the ancestors visit this place to
partake in the festive meal. The maand is therefore a sacred space. The madi is fixed at the centre of the maand during the Mell (see Mell). The madi with the flag and the maulem (brass lamp), installed by the budvont, make it a sacred space. The space is used for healing by the budvont.

There are certain spaces, which are known to be the abodes of the Hapsi (see Hapsi). These are also sacred spaces, at all times. They were always sacred, at no point of time do they, or can they become profane. These spaces are never accessible to the women, or girls. The men can go to such spaces whenever they have to make offerings.

The Shimono are sacred spaces because they are treaded by the Hapsi. A very sacred ritual called Shimono marop is performed during the Mell. At this time the Shim becomes a sacred space. It is to be treated with utmost respect. The sacrifice of blood should be performed accordingly, for in this space, at that time nothing should go wrong. If any of the rituals cannot be performed in the right manner the Shim becomes a source of untold misfortunes during the year.

The sacrecy of space in linked to time. The particular spaces like the maand, the Shim, or the place where the dipt is removed, become sacred during certain times. The abodes of the Hapsi, and the Bārādkarn Saibin are sacred all the time, they are sacred independent of time, and are not affected by it.

e) Marriage and Kinship

Until a decade ago the Bārādkars did not contract marriages outside the village. Cases of marriage outside Bārādi were
extremely rare. There are a few women who were brought in marriage from Fatorpa, Betul, and Cumbeabhat. By far marriages were contracted between the three vangodd of Barādi. Marriage with members of the same kuṭumb could not take place because they had the same blood. All three vangodd contracted exogamous, consanguinous marriages. A daughter was given in marriage to her mothers brothers son, and a son was given in marriage to his fathers sisters daughter.

With the formation of several Modi within a vangodd Marriages within the same vangodd have been allowed. (though they are few). Marriage within a modki is however strictly not allowed.

For the Kunbbi marriage within a modki is Cod lagin (too close in blood) whereas marriage outside the modki is pois, and can take place. Most marriages in Barādi have taken place between the Raikars and Gāyolkars. The Raikars had stopped giving their daughters in marriage to the Gāyolkars. As the incident is narrated, a woman was once devoured by a tiger, from a Gāyolkar household. She happened to be a daughter from the Raikar vangodd. The Raikars then stopped giving their daughters in marriage to the Gāyolkars. They were afraid of the safety of their daughters. The Gāyolkars could now contract marriages only with the Gāyolkars in Barādi. Kunbbi marriage is an exchange of a bride and a bridegroom from one vangodd to another. If a woman from the Raikars has been given in marriage to the Gāyolkars the following year the Gāyolkars had to take a woman from the Raikars. Where a woman was brought in marriage from Betul or Fatorpa similarly,
the following year a woman Fatorpa had to be brought into the respective vangodd in baradi. The people say that the giving of women has to be batak baat, meaning when one takes from another, one has to give back. Giving a daughter-is-Ww is also a mark of respecting each kutumðes alliance, for matters of exchange and social relationships. One is reminded of the 'gifts' that Mauss speaks of. It is a serious offence if a kutumð does not complete the batak baat. The kutumð can never hope to receive any help from the other kutumð, and they are likely to suffer misfortunes. This would include the woman who had been given in marriage to the other kutumð.

All marriages in Bārāḍi had to take place before the Mell in the month of March. A few months before the Mell the Kutumðs went looking for brides in the vangodds that they had given their daughters to in the previous year. Marriages were arranged by the male members of the kutumð. The budvont accompanied the group of men. The woman would only discuss matters in the household. The official 'utor', (betrothal) where the marriage was agreed upon was done by the men.

The members of the boys kutumð accompanied by the budvont set out for the girls house in the early hours of the morning. (The Kuṇñbi rise by 5:00 a.m.). The desire to take the daughter in marriage was announced in a ceremonious or poetic manner. The girls family would ask them: 'Tumi kiteak yeileaim'? (why have you come?)

Boys family: 'Tumger ek ful fulolam, tea pormollan amī yeileaim'. (we have smelt the perfume of a flower that has bloomed in your
Girls family: 'Tesh zale, yeai bođi geai, ani bitor sorai'. (in that case you may come in).

A burning stick was handled over to a member of the boys family. This indicated their consent to give the girl in marriage. The age of marriage when the people were at the Musllam fond was 12 years for women and 16 years for the men. A girl had to be given in marriage before she attained puberty. If a girl menstruated before her marriage she could not be given in marriage to any of the two vangodds within Bārādi. The bride had to be given in marriage outside the village. The Bārādkars said about such a woman: 'Tem Devar podona'. (she is not good for marriage within the village).

The bride and the bridegroom did not live together after the marriage. The woman came to her husbands house in the morning, did work with the family, and returned to her own house or stayed with the relatives of the husband. The marriage was consummated only when the woman reached the age of 15-16.

A woman can give her daughter in marriage to her brother's son (bačo) but not vice versa. A woman can also marry her mother's father's brother's son (avoićo bapulbhav). Marriage with the father's brother's children (bapulbhav/boin) is strictly prohibited, marriage with the mother's bapulbhav is allowed because the relationship is pois. In a single kuṭumā, the son and the daughter marry into the same vangodd. A Raikar man may marry a woman from the Gōmkars. In exchange the Gōmkars have to take a daughter from their vangodd. So a Raikar woman also is given in marriage to a Gōykar man.
With the exchange of women from one vangodd, a woman often has her daughter-in-law from her own vangodd. Her daughter's children also belong to her vangodd. It is only the women who move from their father's vangodd to their husbands vangodd after marriage. The men remain in a single vangodd throughout their life.

A man or a woman belong to the vangodd of their father. After her marriage a woman is affinally related to her husband's vangodd. But she is still the daughter from her father's vangodd. When a woman is asked her vangodd she replies - Aa Raikaralē Ėddu, mak Gãydkarager dili, (I am a daughter of the Raikars, given in marriage to the Gãydkars). The women do not identify themselves as members of their husbands vangodd primarily.

Though she is still a daughter all her husbands vangodd, she
has to fulfill all social obligations of her husband's vangodd. She is a member of her father's vangodd by blood, and a member of her husband's kutumb by marriage. Women only change residence, they do not change vangodd. However, they are affected by their husbands kinmen, by virtue of their marriage.

The Kuṇṇbi perform an important ceremony called 'ṣhimm katrop' after the marriage jevon. The kutumb members (dadle) of the bride and bridegroom, go to the ṣhimm of the village. A stick is placed across the road, and the two kutumb members standing on either side of the stick hold a long blade of grass, (like in a tug of war). The blade is snapped and liquor is splashed on either side of the ṣhimm. The ceremony is performed in honour of the purvoz, who have to be remembered on the occasion of marriage.

The formal entry of the bride into her husband's kutumb takes place through the ceremony called Modki Eodovni. The bride lights the fire to the modki, in which the kutumb boil rice for the guests. The symbolic lighting of the modki is her incorporation as a member of her husband's modki.

Kinship among the Bārādkars is maintained through a system called Ek rogot or Ek rogtācī (one blood). Members of a vangodd are said to have Ek rogot. Those who have ek rogot cannot marry each other. In a kutumb the children have the blood of their father. Their mother has the blood of her father in turn. She does not share Ek rogot with them. Kinship bond is strongest among brothers. Children of the brothers are treated as bhav ani boinam (brother and sister).
The fathers parents are called vodlo pai and vodli māi, also mataab and matavoī. The eldest brother and wife are also called vodlo pai and vodli māi. There are three terms for the fathers sister (a) Titin (b) kak (c) Timāi.

The father's sister husband, and the mother's brother are known as mam. The children of the father's brother are called bapul bhav and bapul bhoin, they are also called bhav ani bhoin. The children of the mother's brother are also called bhav ani bhoin.

Descent is patrilineal, traced to four generations before a man. Ego's pai (father), Abpai (father's father), and shepai (father's grandfather). All other relatives older than the shepai are called by a single term purvoz (ancestors). The modki remains together through the male members and the relations that bind them together. Hence relations between the male members of a vangodd are very strong. The kinship bonds extend even to the male purvoz. In life, so in death the kinship relations simply continue.

f) Ancestors and the Hapśi
The elaborate rituals that the Kuṇṇbi undertake in honour of their dead, speak of a very deep relationship between the people and their ancestors. They perform an important functions of protecting the Kuṇṇbi here on earth.

Each vangodd traces its origin to a separate progenitor. This purvoz is symbolised through a coconut placed in the vhodleghor.
Not all dead can qualify as purvoz. Only certain categories of the dead become purvoz. Men and women who have beheaded children, and have died in old age can be called purvoz. Fudli pilgi dovrun gele te log (those who have left a generation of people behind) can only be called so. As we have seen earlier (Kuñnbī categories) age is an important indicator for the definitious of dadlo and bail. The zan tealim (old people) on their death become purvoz. A Ēmedo and Ēmedum on their death do not constitute purvoz.

A Kuñnbī traces his purvoz from his fathers vangodd. All those purvoz will also have ek rogot, (one blood) like himself. A woman's purvoz are those of her father's lineage. When she marries, her husbands purvoz become her purvoz by virtue of the marriage. Here even though she does not possess ek rogot with them, she comes under their domain, because now she is married to a man who has ek rogot with the said purvoz. Through her marriage she establishes a symbolic blood relationship with:

a) her husband and his moqki
b) his purvoz and
c) his vangodd.

The melleli are those who have died recently. They are different from purvoz. The categorization of the dead into melleli and purvoz depends on generic distance from the living members. Those dead, and are three generations apart from the living members, become purvoz.

There are certain categories of the dead who became malevolent after their death. These include:
a) A boy and a girl who die at a marriageable age.
b) A man who is newly married and dies under some tragic circumstances.
c) A woman who dies in her pregnancy delivery, or after the birth of the child.

Aas dovrun melean tī (Dying with unfulfilled wishes). Such a dead man is called a khetro and the woman is called an Alwantin. They cannot be placed with the purvoz.

While the purvoz offer protection, the Alwantin and the Khetro have to be appeased for they can cause harm to their kutum members through their ek rogot. When people die at such crucial stages of their lives like marriage, or child birth, their strong desire to fulfill those stages brings them back to their kutums. They become envious of the other members who are undergoing the same stages. The spirits begin to affect them, causing harm to their bodies.

The Alwantin or Khetro can affect a person having one blood. Both can affect persons only from their fathers or husbands lineage. If a person's mam, (mother's brother) or masen (mother's sister) becomes an Alwantin or Khetro they cannot affect him. Whereas his fathers brothers son, fathers sister can affect him.

The children from the mothers kutum cannot be affected by any Alwantin from her kutum. Only the Alwantins from the father's kutum can affect them. The malevolent spirits sharing one blood with their vangodd members, can affect their body. Affectivity though one blood is continued their living members and between the purvoz.
Blood relations therefore, are extremely binding on the modki members. Rituals to be performed collectively by modki members are held with solemnity, because blood relations are influential even after death. The purvoz protect the members of the vangodd whereas the Alwantin and Khetro can cause harm to the modki members. Just as purvoz protect through one blood the Alwantin and Khetro affect through the one blood.

Prior to the Mall, the Bārāḍkars hold special ceremonial meals in honour of their purvoz. These are called the Mandaĉe meal or Melleĉe Jevon. The meal has to be cooked at the vhodlē ghor. If a vangodd has several Modkeo, then for the sake of convenience each modki may have its own jevon. All vangodd members have to be present for this jevon. It is believed that the purvoz are also present for this gathering to partake in the jevon.

Such a belief exists among some tribes in Africa too. The Baloma or the spirits of the dead come once a year for the annual festivals.[10] The annual meal is specially held as a mark of gratitude for the protection given to the Bārāḍkars.

The budvont directs all the procedures of these jāwko. He decides the day. He formally announces that cooking can begin. He lights the fire. When the meal is cooked he eats the first mouthful and tells the rest to eat. Each kutump brings a share of coconuts, rice, vegetables, jaggery, chillies, fire wood.

The Raikars have the meal in a different manner. It is called the vadi korop and is done before the meal. The Raikars
gather at the vhodlä ghor before dawn. They make the vodde (puris) under the supervision of the budvont. The vodde are stealthily placed at the door step of the Gőykar vhodlä ghor. They are also placed, one each at the houses of all the others in Bărădi. In the morning the people find the puris. Each kutum member has to take a bite of it. With the vodde they know that the Raikars are having their Mandakānā Jevon. Mandkaranim, (Raikars) about the meal. Gőmkarank sanglem, (Raikars have informed the Gőmkars). At the Raikars vhodlä ghor a young boy and a girl are dressed in new clothes and served the puris in front of the purvoz (symbolized through the coconut). After they finish and leave, the budvont lights the fire once again for cooking the meal. The puris that remain cannot be given to any person besides the Raikars. If there are a few left they have to be thrown away.

The Gőydolkars at zorivoll, perform the most elaborate ceremony as part of their meal. Their meal continues for three nights, with worship for the Ancestors, Hapši, and Bărădkarn. The vangodd members gather at night under a matov (central place with canopy). Persons from other vangodd are brought to the canopy, to eat the jevon. These persons represent those Gőydolkars who have died the previous year. If seven members have died, seven persons are brought, and so on. While they are outside the canopy the Budvont and a few other elderly male members of the vangodd go to the place called Handint which is across the river from Bărădi. Here they make the necessary offeringd of liquor and a poli (loaf) to the Hapši or the ÑimeÊo Dhoni. On their way back they perform another ritual at the Mus (stone bridge). This is the site of the roen of the Bărădkarn Saibin. The budvonts place
fresh fish (one of the budvonts from the party goes to catch the fish) along with three pairs of coconut pendi (very young fruits). Covering himself with a camol (tweed blanket) he releases the items placed in a põvli (sheath covering the coconut inflorescence), into the water.

When the budvont and the party comes back, the Gãydolkars formally invites the representatives of the dead to join the meal. The vangodd members have to be present. On the second night, five members of the vangodd, offer five coconuts, kajal, kumkum, flowers and bangles to the Bãrãdkarn at her zor (spring), at the foot of the Bãrãdi hill. They wash themselves and come back to the canopy to eat. After these offerings are made, no one is allowed to go to the spring that night. It is said that the Saibin comes there for her annual visit to Bãrãdi.

On the third day of the meal, a fowl is offered to the Bãrãdkarn, before day break. The meal is held during the night. The Gãydolkars perform the rituals on behalf of the three vangodd.

The second important event in honour of ancestors is called the Feti. Presently it is celebrated on the eve of All Souls Day. Feti was otherwise celebrated after the first rice was made from the annual paddy crop. Here too the members of the kutumã gather at the vhôlê ghor at sundown. Each brings a portion of the paddy, coconuts and jaggery, and they make the fov (puffed rice) out of it. The women take turns for the fov kandop (pounding rice with the pounding stick). The budvont initiates all the procedures of making fov. Fov kandop is done throughout the night. The women may take turns in catching some sleep too, but
the kutumbo cannot sleep during the night, it has to be a zagrut raat (a night of awakening) or as the people say raat marunk zai, (they have to remain awake) in honour of the ancestors.

Early the next morning, the fov are prepared with jaggery and coconuts. One portion is offered to the purvoz in the house, and another portion is offered to the melleli of the vangodd. Any fruit or vegetable from the first harvest has to be offered to the purvoz. When they have been served the rest of the kutumbo can share the sweet meal. The rest of the fov cannot be brought home. They had to be kept outside the house for the melleli.

On All Souls Day the Baradkars may go for mass to the Chapel. Most older people do not necessarily go for the mass. They feel that the fov kandop and the offering to the ancestors is the way in which they honour their dead. The main celebration is the Feṭi, and mass is only included as part of the celebration of Feṭi, not vice versa. Pressures from the Church have resulted in some families giving up on the night long pounding ritual. Instead they bring fov from the market. The members gather at the vhode ghor and have the meal before going for mass. Only some families in the three vangodd perform the Feṭi to day. When a kutumbo has to separate into two modkeo due to its sheer increase in size, it can be done only by offering a meal to the purvoz. This is like obtaining their consent to separate. On the day of the maanda jevon, the two kutumbos wishing to separate have to have two separate meals. If one has it in the afternoon the other should have it at night. This collective meal amounts to a mutual consent from both modkeo and from the ancestors.
The Kūṇbi have a practice of ḍunj vosop (to bring home) for their purvoz and melleli. When an elderly male or female person from the families dies, a year later this person has to be brought home. He is treated as a part of the kuṭumh, yet given a sacred place. The budvont and a few kuṭumh members go to the house of the ghadi where he does the maan korop (divination). He brings the dead man’s spirit to the place, and announces to him, that his kuṭumh has come to take him back. He breaks a coconut with one stroke. If the two halves fall kernel side up, it means the dead man’s spirit has agreed to come home. If the first coconut does not fall in the required manner, the ghadi has to break another one and so on. Next he has to get the answer by breaking a fruit called the foṭli fol like the coconut. Sometimes it takes even one dozen coconuts to get the dead man’s spirit home.

When the dead man’s spirit agrees to come home a man or a woman represent the spirit. They are dressed in clean clothes and asked to accompany the spirit home (with the budvonts party). The ghadi brings the spirit on a copper coin. This coin is brought home by the budvont. The man or woman representative are brought into the house along with the coin. Their head is oiled, they can leave after having a meal served to them. The coin is placed on the paat (stool) where the coconut is kept. Each vhodlē ghor has several copper coins which are the purvoz of that kuṭumh. Sometimes the spirit makes it known to the ghadi that he wishes to stay on a coconut tree or at the original vhodlē ghor of the vangodd. The kuṭumh members must respect his wishes and place the coin on a coconut tree or the place of his request. Those who had
represented the spirit during the adunk vosop, cannot come into the house where he now resides, for one year.

Coming back to the Modki vantop meal held prior to the Meṣl, each separating Modki has to bring home one another dead person's spirits in the first year. If a kuṭumā divides into Modki A and Modki B, A has to bring home the first person who can fall under the category of purvoz, and similarly B should bring home the first person to become the purvoz of Modki A. It is a symbolic act, wherein the moḍkeo though separated for convenience and cultivation, still maintain jointness by accepting the others ancestors as their own. Thus each moḍki in a vangōḍ has the first purvoz belonging to the other separating moḍki. The jointness of the entire vangōḍ is maintained through a network of keeping one another's purvoz. In this manner all the moḍkeo of a vangōḍ share common purvoz and therefore though separate for cultivation and mundane activities, the several moḍkeo make up a single kuṭumā - the vangōḍ.

The Hapṣi is a being who is neither Dev (god) nor atmo (spirit) he is the denvēkar (demon). He has no name and is called by various metaphors such as Rakhno, Hapṣi, Žageažo zolmi, Žimežo dhoni, or just tho (he). He was never living in Baradi like the other Bārādkars, nor is he dead. He always existed in this present state.

He can take several forms, no one knows what his actual form is like, for he does not have such a thing as an actual or original form and hence he does not possess a definite name.
The Hapṣi may take many forms. He can appear as an old man, a warrior with a sword and big boots or a young gallant man. He may also take the form of animals such as a buffalo, a bull, a dog, or a goat. A Hapṣi never takes the form of a woman. He possesses extreme qualities of being very good and very bad. To those who respect and revere him, he can be very helpful. He will protect against any evil. But to those who do not respect him the Hapṣi will show no mercy. He can even kill people.

He knows when his people are in need, and helps people find their path home when returning late in the evening. He also knows when his people are afraid. He calls out their names to make his presence felt. Old men and women are often accompanied by him up to their door steps.

Bārādi is full of examples of the deeds of the Hapṣi. Anyone who unknowingly curses the Hapṣi, or abuses a bull or old person long the roads at night might fall prey to his wrath. There is no way to know if the old man, or animal is the Hapṣi. Bārādkars never curse or abuse anyone unfamiliar on the roads they are gently persuaded to get aside, lest one of them turn out to be the Hapṣi.

No person gets the bhar from the Hapṣi. Bhar can come only from a Dev, Devi, or a otmo (spirit). The Hapṣi is neither of these so no person can be possessed by him. He can cause harm and death simply by his desire to do so. The Hapṣi has his own abodes. Certain parts of the Bārādi Hill are part of the areas of his abodes. The border with Cumbæabhat is another abode. There is a third one in the place called Hanḍint across the river Sal.
No women are allowed into the abode of the Hapşi. All devotions to him should be done by the men alone. It has to be done with utmost precision, for the Hapsi does not even tolerate mistakes from his people. The common offerings are urrac (dry fish), poći (local bread), and sur (toddy). The Barádkars ancestors held a zagor once a year to honour him. This celebration has however died away. Presently there is no zagor but the Hapşi is venerated in a special way during the MeİL. At this time the Barádkars visit all the abodes of the Hapşi. They are, (a) Handint (b) Muser (c) Gorcomorod (d) Barādi Hill. An important ritual called the Šim katrop has to be performed in honour of the Hapşi. This is done during the MeİL. The budvonti along some male elders sacrifice a fowl at the Šim. This ensures protection from the Hapşi, for the entire community. It is a collective ritual for the collective well being of the community. If anything untoward happens during the Šim katrop, it could bring harm to the people the following year. Anyone could be harmed by the Hapşi. No one could insure himself against such misfortunes. Thus the Šim katrop had to go right, for nothing can stop the harm done to the people by the Hapsi. He is most feared by the Barádkars.

The Hapşi, besides being called the denvear is also called the purus or the ganv purus. There are no shrines for the Hapşi.

b) The MeİL

The MeİL is the most important festival for the Kūṇbī. Rather then calling it a festival it is apt to call it a season in their annual labour cycle. The season begins in spring time. About a
month before the Meḷḷ, the divli or maulem (lamp) is brought out from the house of the maandkarā i.e. the Raikars. It is cleaned to the singing of chourong (verses in konkani) and animated drumming. The maulem is lighted by the budvont at the maand. It is called maand dorlo (maand has been prepared). For a month the maulem has to be lighted at night accompanied by the drumming. Due to the price of oil, and the changing work cycle of the vangodd members the maulem is often lit about ten days before the commencement of the Meḷḷ. In the meantime the mellian āim jevnam are held at the vhodlē ghor of each vangodd. The Kūnnbi Meḷḷ culminates into the final revelery and rituals from a Friday evening two days before the beginning of the Carnival or Intruz. The final celebrations (also to be referred here as Meḷḷ itself) last for five days.

DAY 1 – Friday The whole of Bārådi gathers at the maand. At the centre lies the maulem with the national tri colour hoisted in the centre too. With the lighting of the maulem, the nature of the space of the maand changes from profane to sacred. No footwear is allowed, and women are strictly forbidden to enter the maand while the men are in it. Even the path leading to the Chapel is tabu for women at this time.

The three budvont, each wielding a torsad (sword), lead an assembly of men outside the Chapel in Bārådi (adjoining the maand). In front of a candle lit cross, they invoke the deities of Baradi:

Ae Bārådkarni, Aiz tuji, Meḷḷyeta,
vorsāēi, ek dandian porot votle.
The invocation are a public announcement of the Men comming together for worship, and a promise that they will also go their ways in peace as they have come together. Each time an invocation is pronounced the budvonts hit the swords on their shoulders, indicating a promise. After the invocations the people recite an Our Father and Hail Mary. After these prayers the Mel comes to the maand. The men fix a međi (wooden pole) with three fagre (branches). Each fagro represents a vangođ. Each budvont heralds the beginning of the festivities by climbing up the three fagre. Here the order of the climbing is reverse of the usual way of addressing the three vangođ. The Gəydolkar climbs first, next comes the Gəykar, and then the Raikar.

The men dance animatedly around the maulem to the tunes of the chourong. The Mel disperses in the early hours of the morning. This ceremony is called the Mađi. It cannot commence without a representative from the Charannes from Velim. A member of the Caeiro family represents them.

DAY 2 - Saturday The Bərədkars assemble at the maand in the morning. The maand is forbidden to women. The Budvont breaks the previous years coconut that had stood by the maulem in the vhoğlə ghor of the Raikars. Every body shares the kernel. The Raikar budvont then plucks a fresh coconut to be kept for the ancestor
as a collective offering of the community. The deities are invoked, and an Our Father and Hail Mary offered by the budvonts. Only the budvonts can do the Sangne (praying to God) on behalf of the people. During the Meli the budvonts take on the role of healers. They are bestowed with sacred attributes by virtue of which they can heal. The Kunmbi have the first privilege of offering prayers. Only after all have finished can the Render, and Chardde offer prayers through the budvont. People bring offerings of candles, urrac, coconuts and flowers.

The men come to the maand and put kajal tilak on one another's foreheads. This is a symbol of brotherhood. The first tilak is put by the Caeiro representative on the forehead of the Raikar budvont. The men then move out of the maand. Now the women can move into the maand to apply the holy oil from the maulem. While the women are at the maand no man is allowed to step in.

The women then follow the Meli, to the Bārādī hill. On their way they stop at the abode of the Bārādkarn Saibin. Here the budvonts invoke the Saibin and the other deities, light candles, offer kajal, kumkum false hair, flowers, and areca nut to her. Women are not allowed inside the Saibin's enclosure.

This was the site of her roen. It was not accessible to men and women during the year. Only during the Meli the budvonts may enter the area to place offerings.

The Meli next visits surrounding areas, collecting coconut offerings and dancing. They come up the Bārādī hill following a particular route which is said to have been taken by their
ancestors. At the hill the budvont perform the Pradakshaṇa in the anticlockwise direction, around the famous Bārāḍī Cross. The coconuts are shared by each person present at the hill. To go back without having a piece is a tabu.

About ten meters away from the large Cross is another smaller Cross erected on a rock, this is the Bārāḍkarnicho Huris (Cross of Bārāḍkarnī). Here the budvont breaks a coconut to find the fate of the community in the forthcoming year. If the two halves fall on kernel side up, it is a good sign. If not, there is something in the way to obstruct harmony and wellbeing. Similarly the budvont breaks two more coconuts on either side of the large Cross, to ascertain if all will be well.

The Meḷḷ returns back to Bārāḍi via the hills of Bārāḍi. The women have to go back through the main road leading down the hill. They are forbidden to turn back while they are going down hill. No woman can also follow the Meḷḷ through the forests. When the Meḷḷ is entering Bārāḍi, women cannot be seen on the roads. They have to enter the nearest house. The open roads are only accessible to the men.

With conclusion of this ceremony the Bārāḍkars vaat ugti kortat (open the way of the Meḷḷ). Only after the Bārāḍkars invocations can other Meḷḷs come to the Cross on the hill. Meḷḷ from Cumbeabhat, Gōmēmbhat, Velim, Chinchimin, Sarzora, Ambleim, Assolna, Tollecanto all come to the Bārāḍi hill. They perform pradakshaṇa around the Cross and share the coconut meal. Each Meḷḷ carries the national flag.

The Meḷḷs come to Bārāḍi for two reasons; they commence their
own Melt festivities, and also play their official visit to the Bārāḍkars. The Bārāḍkars reciprocate but not moving outside their ūm (boiler). They stay in the village to welcome the other Melt.

DAY 3 - Sunday. There is no visiting for the Bārāḍkars, because Melt from other areas keep coming. They come visiting their bhav (brothers) in and around Bārāḍi. The entire village comes alive to the vibrant drummings of the dhol and tase. There is spontaneous street dancing. Men, women and children pour onto the street to frolic.

DAY 4 - Monday. The Melt gathers at the maand invokes the deities, and go visiting the neighbouring areas like Asslona, Tollecanto, Goemchembhat, Betul, Zuvear, Caxetta. The women wait for their return at lunch time. After performing the Šen Shitole (sprinkling of cowdung water, for cleansing) all sit down to eat. Earlier, the budvonts only drink Šena udok (cowdung water) for cleaning themselves. They do not eat any food until noon.

After lunch the Melt sets out again covers areas that they had stopped at. When they return in the evening there is more dancing at the maand. On this day the local youth perform the khell. These are satirical skits, performed on the streets, without a stage. On their way home the budvonts are escorted with drumming and dancing.

DAY 5 - Tuesday - The Bārāḍkars gather at the maand. Recite the invocations, and later also do the sangne galop on behalf of the people. Sick people queue at the side of the maand for the healing touch of the budvonts. This is the day when the Bārāḍkars
aat bond kortat (close the way to the Me'). All Me' festivities come to an end on this day. Once again the Me' with women and children, set out from the maand, for the Bārāḏi hill. On their way they stop at the roen of the Bārāḏkarn, for prayers and offerings.

The budvonts pour oil on all the purmoozace fator (ancestors stones). This is meant to protect the Bārāḏkars from floods, and assure safety during fishing. The offering also protects the Bārāḏkars from illness and misfortunes. Newly married women have a compulsion of pouring oil on the purmoozace factor. It symbolizes their entrance into a new state - a wife. Through appeasing the ancestors, they can protect her through her first pregnancy.

The Me' proceeds to the hill, then to Zuvel vaddo, Rangallim, Poklavod, and to the Taar. At the Rangallim Šim, the budvonts pour oil over a stone linga and a Nandi. This Šim is the most sensitive because of its proximity to the sea. The oil that the budvont pours is thought to reach down to the sea, to cool its fury.

The Me' now proceeds across the taar to the place called Handint. Here they invoke the Hapsî. The next halt is at a place called Pirwada. There is a turbath (tomb of saint) of a Muslim saint called Babar Pir. The Kunbi Me' goes to the turbath, and dance around it. The Mullah offers them coconuts and jaggery along with some firewood. The budvonts today narrate how the Muslims from this vaddo kept a sweet dish of rice, packed in a budkulo (pot) near the spring of the Pir. The pot was placed on
the night of the Urus. A few weeks later when the Meh came to make their official visit they were offered the sweet in remembrance. Today they are offered coconut and jaggery.

The Meh has to return to Baradi from over a particular path over the hills. On no account can they change the route going back to Bārādi. When the women folk hear the Meh approaching from over the hills, they do the Sen Šitolă and wait for their arrival.

At about 5:30 p.m. the Meh sets out once again from the maand this is the final detour of the village to bring the Meh to a close. The entire village come out onto the streets to welcome the Meh, and there is much dancing and frolic than the rest of the days. The Meh takes the first halt at the cross at Hortā. Here after invocations and prayers the Meh moves towards the place called Borkomoroq. Here lies one of the Šhīm of Bārādi. There is a stone known as Odu Paikačo fator (Odu Paik's stone). It is anointed with oil. The Rakhno or Hapși is called Odu Paik here.

The Charddeao Meh comes from Tollecanto to greet them. The budvonts exchange embraces. The two Meh join together and proceed to the Tollecanto Šhīm. They stop at road side crosses for prayers, and follow the traditional paths to the Šhīm. The men and youth indulge in several hours of frenzied dancing. Many of the dancers go into a trance.

The two Meh part ways. The Bārādkars return to Bārādi. with their return the Bārādkars - vaat bond korte (close the Meh festivities). No Meh can come towards the hill after them. The
Mel comes to a close. The Bārādkars now perform two rituals in the night.

a) Toloi divop (passing the lighted lamp. (b) Sim katrop.

For the Toloi divop, the budvonts and a small party of drummers visit each house in Bārādi with the lamp. Playing the drums and singing the chourong they take offerings of coconuts, and the poli (sweet rice cake) from the people. Those families that are in mourning are avoided.

Later the party performs the Sim katrop ceremony at the three Šhimo of Bārādi. Here the Hapṣi is invoked, a fowl's blood and urrac is offered to him. This is the offering to Hapṣi, to ask for protection the year round.

Ki tem erta tem Hapṣhian polon gnačem. (The Hapṣi will see to the rest). This is the phrase used to describe the ceremony.

After the Sim katrop has been done no Bārādkar can venture outside the house. The roads, sims, hills, in fact the entire space of Bārādi becomes tabooed, until day-break. The next afternoon all the male members of the three vangodd have a ganvpon (zomat, meeting). Here they settle accounts, and settle petty inter vangodd tensions.

During the Mel the entire Baradi is transformed, though ephemeral, but the transformations are extremely important for the people. Their corporate identity is articulated at the Mel through the reenactment of the myths like those of the Babar Pir, Pandavas jewels, Baradkarn Saibin. The ancient routes that are deliberately taken form part of their articulation. Also important is the budvonts role, as healer and medium. He is
thought to have the power over nature, through Bārādkarn he can control the fury of the sea and make the forest safe from wild animals.

The budvonts though apparently drumming and dancing, perform all rituals with drastic precision. If people suffer from frequent illnesses, misfortunes it is immediately related to the rituals of the Mell. No ritual should be done haphazardly.

h) Birth and Death

The birth of a child in Kuṇṇbi society is the power of fertility. It is the power of the woman to procreate. A woman becomes a mother, and a man becomes a bapoi (father). These states are important for the membership in the Modki or Kuṭumā. They are closer to becoming purvoz. If there are no fudleo pilgeo (next generations) then the vangoḍḍ cannot survive. purvoz are for the fudli pilgi, so that they may be protected.

An Avoi brings a new person into the vangoḍḍ. When the child is just born the state of the mother is sensitive, if she dies she becomes an Alwantin. Avoipoṇ (motherhood) is therefore significant for the Kuṇṇbi. A pregnant woman is a a Nozo zaloli bail. This can have many meanings. It is a particular status accorded to her, because of her body condition, which is not like the body of other women.

The birth of a child takes place at the house of the woman’s husband. The voijin (midwife) assists balont zatana (delivery). When a child is born, he is not yet a member of the vangoḍḍ. He becomes so only after the sixth night, when the Soṭi is done.
This is a ceremony performed in honour of the Soṭi Mai, who is a Saibin giving the child its noṣib (destiny). Only when Soṭi Mai koplar boroita (Soti Mai writes on the forehead) can it be said that a child is like the other Kunnbi. He is the member of the Modki.

The Soṭi also marks the mother’s end of the period of Nozo zaloli (period of confinement). She comes back to normal routine life. Before soṭi an avoi does not perform any chore in the house. The Soṭi is held at the fathers house. The mama mai (mothers mother) comes to the house of her zavoī with a bottle of urrac and oil. When she comes to the doorstep all neighbours and the child’s relatives come to greet her. All the people enter the house and shut the door. No person can enter or leave the house until the Soṭi is over. The mama mai feeds the mother and her child with a meal of Ċavio (wild beans) coconut and jaggery. The child is given a symbolic meal. The mama mai passes her finger in the bowl of beans and puts the jaggery syrup onto its tongue.

The budvont blows into a tambio (copper pot) making sounds of phoo-phoo-phoo; and he turns it round the child, thrice. Then still blowing into the pot he comes to the outer room where the people are waiting. He initiates the dancing of the fugdi. Only the women can participate in the dance. The men play the gumot. There are two dances, the fugdi and the girgirê.

The only meal for the night are the Ċavio. The kutumā cannot cook anything else. The Ċavio are tied into small bundles in leaves and kept outside all the houses in Bārådi. This is done after the people have gone home from the Soṭi. The next morning
each kutumb shares the ōvino, to partake in the Soṭi of the child.

When the Soṭi is on for a child, it is dangerous to keep another child without a Soṭi, in the neighbourhood. The Soṭi of the one child may interfere with the Soṭi of the other that is to be held, and the child may face problems throughout life. The destiny of one cannot be mixed with the destiny of the other. A baby kept in the neighbourhood would not have a clearly given nosib. Once a destiny is given nothing can change it. A good nosib remains forever. A destiny that is not clear also remains so forever. All other new born babies are taken away during the night of the Soṭi, to avoid the Soṭi lagop (interference).

Death, like birth is also a new life. Different from the kind that proceeds birth. A person enters another world. He belongs to the sōusar (world) of the mellelī nevertheless death is mourned. Rituals and mourning has to be properly followed after the death of kutumb members.

The dead become powerful after they die. They can protect their families in this world or they can even harm them. All the dead have contact with their kutumb. They come back to their favourite places in Bārādi. They visit their fields, houses, and places of worship. Kuṇbī divide their time as - time of the mellelī, and the time of the Bārādkars. Night time is the time of the mellelīm. Bārādkars respect their time by not moving outside at night.

When a woman loses her husband she has to go for a ceremonial meal to her fathers house. She is accompanied by
another widow. At the house the meal is laid, for both women. The widow cannot make eye-to-eye contact with any kutum member. The fathers kutum members keep a black kapod (saree) oil, and black bangles for her. The accompanying widow oils her hair and drapes the black kapod in a dentuli (Kunjbi style of the sari). The woman is declared as raan (widow). Her status as raan is stamped through this ritual meal and draping at her fathers house. It launches her into a life of widowhood.

1) Bārādkarn Saibin

The Saibin was living in Bārādi before any human being came. Her name is Shenvtē (Chrysanthemum). Her dwelling place was a roen at the Mus. (An arched stone bridge). She bathed at the spring at Zorivoll. Bārādkarn had ankle length hair which she combed with a golden comb. She liked jasmines. The entire mus area was full of jasmine shrubs.

She protected her people very jealously. Nothing could happen to them as long as she was there. Bārādkarn also punished without mercy, anyone who offended her. There are many stories telling her of sense of justice and protection.

Once there was a great flood that threatened the whole of Bārādi. Bārādkarn came to the Mus and kicked the water. The flood waters began to recede. Since then there has never been a flood in Bārādi.

Once there was a girl who saw her sitting on a tree. She did not recognize her as the Saibin, and abused her. Bārādkarn was so angered she made the girl childless after marriage. Even after
her marriage she was always sick. She never led a healthy life ever.

When her roe was cut down by a man, his son was taken by her. She kept him for several days. No one in Bārāgī could find him. When he was found near fields in voḍatholi, he said he was taken by a long haired lady who gave food for three days. Bārādkarn also punished people who did not obey. A drunken man, a menstruating woman were not allowed to pass by the roe. If they did they were sure to fall sick.

Bārādkarn is the deity of the Gāydolkar vangoḍḍ. But she is also the Saibin of the Bārādkars. After people began rearing pigs in Bārāgī, she could not tolerate the pollution, and went and stayed in Canacona (Sreesthal). Now she comes during the Ṣeṭi and the Meḷḷ, to visit her people. One month before the Meḷḷ the people light a candle at the Zor, acknowledging her visit. They also leave offerings of flowers, kajal, kumkum, and bangles. When women go to her they have to wear the hompo (a plain knot of hair on the left side of head). They had to wear the dentuli, without the blouse.

The Saibin is given extreme characteristics, like the Hapāi. the same qualities are seen to govern their kinship relations. The Bārādkars affection for their kin is without bounds. They protect them selflessly. If they are offended by some one, the entire kuṭumb will seek revenge, without giving up. Since Bārādkarn still protects her people, they have the obligation of taking an annual offering of coconuts to her present home in Sreesthal.
The next day after the Mefi, Bārādkarn goes back to Canacona. The three budvont pluck a sack of coconuts. These are carried to Sreesthal by a group of Gāydolkars and their budvont. The coconuts have to be plucked only by the budvonts, it angers the Saibin if others have plucked them.

The Gāydolkars have to go walking along the ancient paths to the temple. They have to drop bits of sweet laodu on their way back from Sreesthal. This is meant for 'vaat tong korpak'. The paths are made safe for walking. These paths are through thick lonely forests, the people travelling at dusk hours could face attacks from wild animals, some could be attacked by the spirits. Only the Bārādkars can make the path safe because they are the people of Bārādkarn.

Their trip to Canacona is significant as they have to perform this ritual. It is their duty in honour of Bārādkarn to exercise their power to control the safety of the path. Only when they sprinkle the sweet can it become safe for firewood collectors, shepards, and travellers. Once again this trip to Sreesthal becomes an articulation of their identity.

Though Bārādkarn has gone to Canacona the roen is still worshipped as a sacred area. It is associated with Bārādkarn Saibin and the nag (cobra) who is thought to reside in it. The Kuṇnbi never kill a nag, expect if it about to strike. These symbols of the fertility cult of Santeri are alive among the Kuṇnbi. It is an active religious cult.

j) Sant Huris and Christianity
Christianity is first known to have come to Barādkars in the year 1585 when some of the vangodd of Velim were converted. The Kuṇnbi who had a professed loyalty to the Charddes in Velim also converted. However till date the Kuṇnbi assert that they are Kuṇnbi first and then Christian. They have absorbed elements of Christianity into their culture. In the process they have synthesized a kind of Christianity that is distinct from the Charddes of Velim.

The Sant Huris (Holy Cross) is an important symbol. It is evident from the number of Crosses around Bārādi. The Sant Huris is important not so much as a Christian symbol, but as a symbol of all the local deities of Bārādi. It does not primarily represent the suffering of Christ, as in Catholicism. The Sant Huris is itself personified and deified like the rest of the deities in Bārādi.

All deities of pre-christian times were aniconic. They were represented by mere space, as abodes, like those of the Hapāsi, or they were granite/laterite boulders like those of the Odu Paik, and the purvoz. In Bārādi there are seven boulders, known as the purmozace factor (ancestors stones). They were also represented through the roen, as the Bārādkarn Saibin.

With the Sant Huris these deities, got a common symbol. They were all incorporated into a single form i.e. the Cross. There are Crosses representing the deities. Thus the Crosses erected at the abodes of the Bārādkarn are known as Bārādkarniže Huris, Odu Paik's abode has an Odu Paikačo Huris. Betal has a Betalačo Huris, the abode of the Hapāsi has an Hapāsočo Huris. There is yet
another Cross erected at a Da Zamaço Zago (public square or meeting place of ancestors). To represent the da zan, there is a da zanaço Huris. The Sant Huris is a polysemic symbol which is itself personified. The Bārādkars refer to the Sant Huris, as Tho (He). It is during the Mēl that one can see the articulation of this polysemic form of the Sant Huris. The budvonts invoke all deities through the Cross.

At the Mus the Huris erected on the rock is referred to as the Bārādkariņ. The people seldom say Bārādkarniço Huris, the Cross is directly called the Saibin. Pointing to the Cross the people will say - Ee amge Saibin (This is our Saibin).

Any single motif has no universal meaning. Symbols are culturally constructed. Religious symbols encompass many referents some of which may not be compatible. One culture's symbolic analogy is another culture puzzle.[11]

The incorporation of the deities in the symbol of the Sant Huris, is a reflection of the nature of synthesis between Christianity and Kūnɔbi culture. Certain important pre-christian celebrations are still held. They are held to coincide with christian festivals. The Mēl is held at a time when christians celebrate the Intruz. The Feti is held during All Souls Day. And the Rakhnea Fest is held a couple of days before the feast of the Sant Huris in Bārādi.

During the celebration of the Mēl, Feti, or Raknea Fest, the Kūnɔbi are actively involved in the celebrations. But in the christian parallel celebration they become passive observers, their vangodd or budvont takes no active part. Though the
Bārāṅkars revere the Babar Pir from Pirwaḍa, they do not go there for the annual Urus. For during the Urus the Kunnbi would not be active participants. They go during the Mell, because then they are the main celebrants in the festival. The Urus, and the Christian festivals do not find parallels with their social organization.

They have chosen to transform Christian symbolism in order to keep the participatory nature of their culture alive.

References

1. A document preserved by the Fernandes family, Maanḍkars of Baga Velim, shows the list of vodil converted to Christianity in 1585.


CHAPTER 3
THE CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASE

A person become ill (boro na) when certain factors affect his body (kud). These may be spirits, evil eye (dišt) or curses from deities and ancestors. Wrong food and bad habits may also cause illness in a person. This condition is an inseparable part of life. One can correct food habits and improve hygiene, but one cannot eliminate spirits and the presence of evil eye. There is no method of destroying the spirit (bhut). Purvoz, Alwantin and Khetro cannot be killed or destroyed either. Their existence is independent of all the Baradkar. Yet they affect them in a significant manner enough to make them ill. Sometimes they can cause even death.

Ancestors deities are there to protect as well as to harm. They possess both qualities. There are certain times when a deity or names become an agent of healing and at other times they may be the agents of illness. Disease cannot be avoided, but it may be cured.

An understanding of illness and health has to begin with an understanding of the human body. Health and sickness are both experienced by the self. Both are ontological conditions of the self. The human body cannot be viewed as an objective entity independent of the self. It becomes objectified through the subjective definition of self built up by a particular society.

Satre has pointed out the ambiguous position of the body with respect to the person. It becomes his being his property
called the body at the same time.\[1]\) The object form of the ego, which is a person's self is inseparably integrated with other members and with surrounding environment. The body and its functions are symbols for spiritual and social dimensions underlying them.\[2]\)

\[a\] **Head and Body**

Among the Kunbi, the body is viewed as a composite structure consisting of two distinct parts tokli and aang, or the head and the body. Among these two parts the head is given greater importance. It has apertures through which one eats, drinks, smells, hears and talks. Medicine can reach the body through the head. It can also reach through the tali (soft scalp on the head) which again is a part of the head. The body of a woman is different from the body of a man. A woman has large breasts, vagina and a womb. A dadlo has a penis and no large breasts. Though the vagina and the penis are acknowledged as important for procreation, it is still the head that gets primary importance. The head controls a number of indications of what goes on in the rest of the body. For fevers, jaundice, low/high blood pressure the face is first observed.

When a person first utters the word 'I am ill' (aum boro na, or mak bor diisna) the family members take a close look at the face, touch the neck and the forehead first. If a person comes down with a fever, and the hands and feet become warm, the neck and forehead are checked. If these two parts of the head are cool, there is no need to worry. If the head is hot, it is a condition where the person is not only ill, but also that the fever has set in. He is a patient in the proper sense of the
term. For jaundice the eyes are checked for signs of paleness.
Next fingertips and urine are checked. For high or low blood
pressure, kidneys and urinary are observed, problems and the face
is observed for puffiness or paleness.

The look on the face is also an indicator of pregnancy. A
woman's face is said to change (roop bodolta) when is expecting,
though this is ultimately verified through the menstrual cycle.

The Kunni have developed a special vocabulary to establish
the relationship between the head and the body. In the head it
is the tali that has a relationship with the rest of the head,
and the body. To illustrate this we can take the case of the
therapy of sweep/thrash (zhaddr) used in the treatment of bites,
and the treatment of sadde sati as a cure for dog-bites.

The zhaddr (see ch. 4) involves beating with medicinal
plants on the head and wounded part of the body of the patient.
The plants used are uski (Calycoptris floribunda) and shivdi
(very young coconut leaves). Zhaddr is administered in the case
of bites from dog, snake, scorpion, rat, cat, and any other known
or unknown insects. In some cases septic wounds are also treated
with it. It is a method by which the blood is cooled in order to
remove the poison, (Eskar kadon) is done by zhaddr. In the case of
bites, the poison from the insects enters the body. Poison is hot
(gorom). It heats the blood causing fever in the body. Some
poisons do not heat the blood immediately. The person does not
experience any fever. The Kunni call this condition (poison does
not rise) as fiik chodona. The poison may heat the blood after
several days, and cause fever. This condition is called poison
rises' (iik choṭa).

Zhado can be administered soon after the bite or in the condition of 'poison rising' (iik choṭa). Once the condition of iik choṭa has reached the poison goes the head. The condition where in fever rises and the head becomes hot is called 'poison affects the head' (iik mateak marta, or iik toklek choṭa).

As long as this condition does not develop the patient is not serious. Once iik toklek choṭa reaches, the zhado has to be called in so that the blood will cool and the poison will come down from the head. Since poison does not always heat all blood at the time of its entry, it may never heat the blood at all. But if there is a wound caused by the poison is there it is believed that the poison is present in the body and not in the head. There is every possibility that the poison may cause the blood to heat up and give rise to the condition of iik choṭa. Thus when a wound does not heal and there is no fever the condition is 'poison is in the body' (iik aangan aṣa). When a wound heals externally, but comes up again after a period of time, the condition is 'poison was in the body' (iik aangan ahlem). The poison was still present, and so the wound could faster again. Poison never remains in the head. It always remains in the body.

Through the zhado, the zhadekar tries to estimate the amount of poison in the body. At the same time the heating of twigs on the head brings down the poison. Next he beats the twigs on the affected part. The amount of poison in the body is known from the condition of the leaves.
If it is established that there is poison in the body, the zhaddekar gives a herbal paste to be applied on the head. It can stop poison from going to the head (tokli). If the person gets an uncontrolled fever, that ultimately causes death. The condition is always referred in the past tense as 'head is full of poison' (iik toklek bhonvlem or iik mateak marlem).

Cooling can also be done by making the patient inhale fumes from certain burning leaves. These fumes reach the body through the head. External exposure to the fumes does not amount to cooling. They reach the body only when inhaled through the head. Cooling of body (aang neuvolta) takes place through the medium of the head (tokli).

The other therapy which helps establish the relationship between head and body is the treatment of dog-bites through the medication called saqde sati (from 'seven and a half'). It is a decoction of 7 1/2 portions of certain roots made with 7 1/2 cups of cow urine or spring water. If a person is bitten by a dog, saqde sati can be given only on certain days. It is safe on the 3rd day or after the 21st day, but before the 90th day. It is to be between the 3rd and 21st days. If it is given, medicine turns to poison (voktaző eekar zata). The patient may die instead of recovering from the bite. Medicine dispensed from the 4th to 20th day causes the voktaző eekar, and the suňeaz(587,647),(925,759) eekar toklek chodta, or eekar mateak marta. After the 21st day but before 90th
day poison is there in the aang but it does not reach the tokli. After the 90th day, the eekar toklek chodta, if the sadde sati is not given. If it is given after the 90th day, and has no effect on the patient, can also die if the medicine is given on the first or second day of the bite, due to iiik mateak marta.

These two therapies establish the following relationship between the head and the body: The body and the head function like two autonomous parts. Movement of blood or poisonous substances can take place within the aang only without reaching the tokli. Poison from a dog bite can remain in the aang even for three months without reaching the tokli. Poison can go to the tokli and come back to the aang without being destroyed.

The head is the important part. It control life. When eekar reaches the head the patients condition is thought to be serious. When iiik mateak marta, or iiik toklent bhonvlem takes place the patient dies, if not treated immediately.

When a snake bite causes instant death iiik mateak marta takes place directly. The poison reaches the head and the patient dies. Iik chodta and iiik denvta here in Kurnbi terms refers to the poison affecting the patient. The terms would actually refer to levels/degree of toxemia. Since the head is above the body, poisoning or the intensity of the symptoms are indicated by the position of poison in the body. Acuteness of symptoms are taken as equivalent to position of poison in the body.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Acuteness of Symptoms</th>
<th>Condition of patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taḷi</td>
<td>iik toklek bhonlem</td>
<td>Lethal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iik toklek marlem</td>
<td>Lethal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(poison has circulated inside the head)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Tokli</td>
<td>iik toklek marta</td>
<td>Very serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(poison is reaching the head)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aang</td>
<td>iik choqta</td>
<td>Serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(poison is affecting the body)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iik aangan aha</td>
<td>Not serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(there is poison in the body)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having established the relation between head and body it is important to understand the Kuṇṭnbi concept of the human body. The boundaries of the human body extend much further than the skin. The very conception of the body cannot be limited to the skin. The Kuṇṭnbi body is a composite body and a corporate body as well. Those sharing the ek rogōt share such close kinship ties that the body of one is also intimately linked to the body of another. There are certain categories of illness like the (variaㄣ), which can be caused by one dead person having one blood with living another person having same blood.

Questions about the biological and social aspects of the body have found to oscillate between it being a thing and being. [3] The being is the self, and the thing becomes the body.
The biological body of the individual is thoroughly incorporated into a social body. The individual self is not restricted to the biological body alone, the body boundary extends to all members of the moğðki, vangoðd and the entire community of Bārādkars. The body is also continuous with ancestors (purvoz) and the dead (melleli) as seen from the illness of variačē. Through the medium of blood (ek rogot) the melleli can affect the body of the Bārādkars.

'Deities can cause illness to the individual biological body or the social body. When an individual breaks a code of conduct or breaches a tabu, it is his biological body that can be affected. When the vangoð or the Bārādkars as a community do perform their devospon in the required manner, or when the budvonts have not performed the required rituals at the auspicious time the deities can affect the social body of the Kuṇnbi. In this case since the boundary of the social body extends to the entire community, any one of the Bārādkars can be affected.

The concept of the human body reflects the social organization of the Kuṇnbi. The budvonts form the head of their community, the vangoð forms the body. The head controls the body. It is the medium through which medication reaches the body. Medication on the head can also affect the rest of the body. The budvont can be equated to the head and the people to the body. The budvont performs all the important functions on behalf of his people. He is a medium through which the people can be kept as an
the effect is experienced by the entire vangod.

The Kunnbi pattern of habitation also bears a relationship to the concept of the body. There is one vhodlem ghor, like the chief or parent house, the rest of the houses form a body of houses distinct from the vhodlem ghor. All important functions are to be done at the vhodlem ghor. The purvoz of the vangoq reside at the vhodlem ghor too. The vhodlem ghor is like the head and the rest of the group of houses form some kind of body.

The Kunnbi body is derived from their social organization and pattern of habitation. All three being based on a dichotomous division:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budvont</th>
<th>Vhodlem Ghor</th>
<th>Tokli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vangoq</td>
<td>Ghor</td>
<td>Aang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social organization | Habitation | Body

b) Causes of Duvanse (disease/illness of groge).
This category of illness is not caused by any human or superhuman agent. It is caused by non-human agents like jeb (germs) or bad food habits on the part of the patient lack of personal hygiene, excessive exertion not followed by proper diet, can cause duvence. The Kunnbi identify about 50 such illnesses.

Each illness has a meaning:

1) Foroz. Wounds on skin, rash, are caused when person get themselves soiled in the forest, by muck or dirt. If the meu or chikol remains on the body it can give rise to foroz.
Some ikaryim zhadam (poisonous plants) may also give rise to foroz. After coming back from the forests, the hands or feet may break out into foroz.

2) Sorpi. Herps (seven types) is like a foroz but it is like a snake. It appears as small boils and forms one or more chains. If it appears in the region of the neck it may try to encircle it. It can appear around the palm or leg. When one end of the sorpi ton ches the other the patient is likely to die.

3. Dadd#. Ring worm, it is also a type of foroz in which the wound is round. If it becomes big it does so in the form of a round shape.

4. Guavo. A wound made by a pincing object it scratches. A burn injury can also cause guavo. Foroz, if scratched can cause a gavo. Zhodovta, is when a gavo gets filled with mater (pus) and the affected part is swollen. A shoe bite can cause a gavo, so too can sharp ornaments on skin.

5. Kensoee. A heat boil which is caused due to gormi (heat) in the body. They appear in clothed areas or on joints such as the armpits, the bullocks, the thighs or on the face. When a boil comes on the body it takes away gormi, because kensoee is gormi given out.

6. Urvurem is measles, small boils particularly on children's body. Urvur futla refers such on in adults.

7. Sursurem is German measles. It is like urvurem but the boils
are smaller and densely spread.

8. **Fuganv** is chicken-pox. They are large boils with watery blister.[4] They look like balloons and hence the name fuganv.

9. **Piteu**, are reddish patches on the body. They itch mildly.

10. **Kamin** is jaundice (seven types). It is formed rogtan kamin zata. Kamin makes the eyes, urine and skin yellow. It makes a person vomit, it makes him giddy. When kamin becomes severe it causes fever leading to death in some cases. A person may get all the seven types of kamin or he may get 2 types or only one type. Seven times kamin in the body gives immunity.

11. **Bhair zata** is diarrhoea. A person passes motion more than twice a day. It is caused by a bad stomach and by drinking.

12. **Modshi Podta** is blood in stools, or dysentery. This condition begins as bhair zata. On the 3rd day the patient begins to pass blood. It is accompanied by trembling of hands and feet and loss of weight and causes faintness. Patients could die if modshi podta continues for a long time. It is a condition of rogtan gormi (heat in blood).

13. **Zor Yeta** is fever. A person’s body becomes hot. It is caused by various things. A wound too could cause fever. In this case it is known as dukïzo zor. The duk (pain) of the wound makes the body hot. If there is a thondi (common cold), a
person could get fever. This is called the tondeaco zor. Repeated drenching in the rain could also cause zor.

14. Dole Yeta - sore eyes, occur when there is too much heat in the body. The eyes become red and swollen. Looking at a person having Dole can cause another to get it. Hence the term Dole yeta - you can get the same eyes as the other person has.

15. Dome - Asthma, when a person gets vordean tonđi (cold in the chest). Patient cannot breathe freely and there is shortness of breath. Cough is dry and the cough increases at night during sleep. Dome is the result of the body becoming cold. The patient has a cold body and therefore he gets the dome.

16. Poṭan zata - stomach pain, is when the dört (worms) begin to move about in the stomach. Bad food, overeating and eating a mixture of some foods also causes poṭan zata. A pain in the stomach is the condition for potan zata.

17. Tokli foğta - Headache, is when the head pains. The Tokli foğta can be in several forms:
   a) Tokli zođ zalea - head feels heavy.
   b) Tokler danđe marta - throbbing headache.
   c) Tokli usovta - mild throbbing headache.

There can be several reasons for Tokli foğta. Tondi (cold), bad stomach, constipation and the monthly menstruation, can cause headaches.
18. Beeg - piles, is the condition when the bair zavpaći is blocked, due to improper bair zavop (motions) when bair zavop is not regular it gives rise to beeg.

19. Rematismo - Rheumatism, or rogtan zni aqđank tonđi, this condition occurs in older people. The joints swell and begin to pain. There is not sufficient gormi for the joints.

20. Kaizačė - heart trouble, this condition is of two types: a) kaiez dođodta - when a person gets palpitations, b) kaiez pođta - heart attack, this is when the heart is thought to fall from its place, and therefore is unable to beat.

21. Tondi borlea is common cold, when phlegm runs from the nose. This happens when a person has too much sour things to eat. If certain foods or fruits are eaten at the wrong time they can cause tondi, certain variety of sour - sweet bananas eaten at night can cause tondi. Too much exposure to the cold and rain also causes tondi. When a person becomes weak he also loses much heat, and gets cold.

22. Fonkli is cough, when a person gets cold in the chest and the phlegm is thrown up repeatedly. A person coughs when cold reaches the lungs.

23. Colle fonkli - whooping cough, this is a severe form of the fonkli, the patient coughs with deep guttural sounds, as if howling like a fox, hence the term colle fonkli.

24. Kushi borta - pneumonia, here the fonkli may be mild by
there is a lot of tondi in the chest, this tondi is daat tondi - dense tondi, and differs from dome. It makes breathing difficult, and ultimately the kushi (lungs) get full of tonddi and the person dies.

25. Ganguna - mumps, a swelling of the gungu on the portion below the ear. It makes eating and drinking painful.

26. Lut - an illness afflicting balont bail, or recently delivered mother. The cheek bones become black and feet swell.

27. Barig zor - typhoid, is when a person gets repeated fever. The fevers are mild but persistent.

28. Koď - Leprosy, is the condition when the Aang kusta, (the body rots) while the person is living. This illness is attributed to a curse from God. Those ho do posťe pon (obscenities) are likely to get this disease. When a person gets koď, he has to be isolated from the rest of the people. They had to live in the hills. Until it was time for them to die. There was Saint Roque who had koď, through treating patients. He lived in the hills till his death.

29. Bailem duvence - (a) T.B, this illness is characterized by excessive tondzi in the chest. The patient passes blood in the phlegm. There is a progressive loss of weight. The Kuņnbi have very rare cases of bailem duvence. The term suggests that the illness was not always having known to the Kuņnbi. Bailem means having come from outside.
(b) Cholera - is also called bailem duvence. This illness makes a person vomit uncontrollably. It is separate from vomiting due to stomach upsets. This disease makes a person very weak, and nothing remains in his stomach. Both these are known by a single term as bailem duvence. David Arnold mentions people in other parts of India referring to certain illness as 'firangi roge' associating it with the arrival of the white men. The term bailem duvence could well be an equivalent to the 'firangi roge' mentioned by Arnold.

30. Dōntē – worn trouble, dont are formed in children's stomach when they eat mud, along with food dropped on the ground. Once the dont are formed they have to be thrown out of the body or killed in the stomach. Adults also gets dontace. The dont can be large or very minute called kus (small speck-like or thread).

31. Sorop zata – Tape worm, this is the case when the scrop (snake) is formed in the stomach. It kills the appetite, and the person loses weight. The worm may pass out with the stools, but if its head remains in the body, it can grow again.

32. Monņem marta – convulsion due to worms, when a child has too many dont in the stomach a condition called dont mateak marta takes place. Here the child's body becomes feverish, and it loses consciousness, the jaws and mouth harden. The child rolls the eyeballs. Often a child may even succumb to the monņem.
33. Don't muton yeta - Nausea, sometimes bad food, a combination of certain fruits and food like watermelon and sour food, or jackfruit and certain meat dishes can cause a feeling of vomiting. The person does not actually vomit out food by only saliva. Don't muton yeta, literally means the worms urinate. It is caused when there are worms in the stomach too. In a healthy person, combination of food may be digested. But a person with don't, would immediately experience don't muton yeta.

34. Vōkaro yeta - vomiting, this is when a person throws up food that he has eaten. It can be caused due to various reasons. It can range from stomach upset, to hailem duvence (cholera). When there is gormi in the stomach, it can cause vōkaro. Too much gormi can be caused due to overeating.

35. Poṭ fulon yeta - gas in the stomach, is caused when there is a feeling of heaviness in the stomach. The stomach feels tight and painful. Eating too much of any particular food can cause poṭ fulon yeta. Too much tengī vegetable, too much dal, too much dudiațe fol (pumkir. vegetable) can cause the condition.

36. Potant gant poṭta/gant kushin sorta - literally means a knot in the stomach or a knot in the intestines. Gant kushin sorta also refers to the navel being affected by the stomach. When there is an uneasy feeling in the stomach, either due to bad food, overeating, or eating in wrong
combination, it is because of the gang.

37. Rogotna - refers to either high or low blood pressure. When a person experiences a feeling of giddiness, with sweating, it means rogot na. There is no blood in the aang Rogot na means no blood in the body. But when explaining the condition of rogot na, it refers to a decrease in the volume of blood in the body. Sometimes the condition of rogot na refers to rogot na in the head. While there is blood in the body it does not go to the head.

38. Dorta - paralysis, when there is rogot na condition in the body too often, or when the blood in the body becomes thong zata (cold), a person experiences dorta. The body part becomes cold, which is why the blood is believed to be cold. When blood becomes cold it makes the body part cold and hence dorta. Rogot na can also make body parts cold, leading to dorta. The body parts continue to remain cold, unless heated by special gorom food or external heat application.

39. Ikarlam - poisoning in the body can be caused due to bites, eating unknown fruits which may contain iik (poison). When there is a gavo on the body, ikarlam can be caused by dirty, gorom food, or muddy water on the wound. When a small cut or bite, instead of healing becomes a wound it is called ikarlam. When this wound get pus, and becomes swollen, it is the extreme form of ikarlam and is called zhagovta (sepsis).

40. Asuk - small-pox, this disease is no more there among the Kunnbi, but there are people in Bārādi who had the asuk in
their childhood. Asuk is actually a Saibin called Asuk Saibin. When a person got asuk, it was said that Asuk Saibin yeylea. (Asuk Saibin has come). This disease like bailem duvence was very rare among the Bārāḍkars. Frederique Marglin (1990) has brilliantly exposed the way in which asuk was perceived among the people in India.

41. Mutkodo - stone in the urine, when people do not drink sufficient water, the urine becomes thick, and a stone may be formed. Too much gormi in the body can also cause the urine to become dry and cause mutkodo.

42. Sakričē - sugar in urine, people can have sugar in their urine. When there is too much sugar in the body the extra sugar goes into the urine. Sakričē is a relatively recent disease to the Bārāḍkars. The old people say at Musllam fonde no person had sakričē. It has come only after they came back from the place for good. The Bārāḍkars attribute this to the lack of gonde in their diet.

43. Vovyeta - inflammation of a body part. Vov can be caused in many ways. A kensoli on the arm or leg can give a vov on the joint nearest to it. An injury on the arm or leg can cause vov, and lifting a heavy load, bending too long, can also give a vov.

44. Kan foḍta - earache. Children get earache when they get a cold. Adults may get it if they have not cleaned their ears, or if an object has gone into the ear.
45. Dādi foṭa - tooth ache. Sometimes the teeth are affected by keeḍ (literally means worm). The keeḍ eats into the tooth and affects the flesh, that how the tooth begins to ache. Keeḍ lagota actually refers to the effect of the worm eating up wood, or flesh. Just as the keeḍ eats into the wood, so does the same thing happen when the dādi is affected. Keed in the case of the tooth does not mean an actual worm attacking the tooth, by the same effect as the wood.

46. Gunv yeta or dolleacher kauk yeta - feeling giddy. This can happen, when person is exposed to too much heat, has not had water for a long time, has gone hungry for a long time, rogot na situation, kamin, and pregnancy. The person feels tired and a feeling faintness accompanied by sweating. There is also blackness in front of the eyes.

47. Moore - meu in the urine, or dirt in the urine. When there is excess of dirt inside the body the urine becomes thick. Moore passes in the urine. A person feels weak as a result.

48. Binḍā - tonsils. Binḍā is the cocum fruit. The tonsils are analogically called binḍā because they look like the fruit. Eating too much sour fruits can cause binḍā fulta (tonsils swelling) in the throat. When the Bārādkars were at Musllam fonde no one removed the binḍā. But now the people say that binḍā are removed by surgery (kaafun).

49. Donki - tetanus. A wound sometimes causes ikarta, in the body, and gives rise a high fever with a stiff jaw. The
patient may succumb to this fever. This fever is called 
donki. It can be caused even to a menstruating woman. Her 
bleeding condition can cause poisoning in the body giving rise 
to donki. Wounds from rusted objects are particularly 
susceptible to donki.

C) Causes of Nadreêê

This is a category of disease caused by a human agent. Nadreêê 
stands for Nødër (sight). It is believed that the sight of a 
munis can cause a person ill. Human beings sometimes posses 
super-human capacities with which they can cause diseases to 
others. Such persons who can cause illness by the will or their 
sight are called dištikar (male) and dištikarn (female). Such 
persons can alter the functioning of the tokli and aang of 
people. Illness becomes a function of social relations that have 
gone wrong.

Not all people can cause dist. A bail and a dadlo can cause 
dist. A Ñhodo and Ñhodum do not cause dišt. Though a dadlo can 
cause dist, it is the bail that cause nadreêê most of the time. 
The ability of a bail to cause nadreêê can often be hereditary. 
She can get it from her parents or grand parents. Once a bail 
gets the ability it remains throughout her life. Among the baila, 
those without children, those thought to look ugly, and those who 
are known to be jealous about other women.

Though nadreêê can be caused only by certain individuals, 
dišt can strike anyone, and anywhere. If one is on a visit to a 
neighbouring village, a weekly market place, or just visiting
neighbours, there is no way of knowing if one has been affected by dist until one falls ill. The people from neighbouring villages may not know the diṣṭikarni of that village. They are likely to get dist. Within one's own village one can also get diṣṭ. There is no particular time when a person may get diṣṭ.

Some people are particularly susceptible to diṣṭ. (a) Those who are beautiful. (b) Those who are brave. (c) Those who are clever. (d) Those who are hardworking. (e) Those who have talent for skills, like fishing, cutting wood, making articles out of coconut leaves and hay. Skills include here even the little chores in the house like cleaning fish and prawns, grinding masala, sweeping. The Kuṇṇbi perform each activity with precision. Cleaning fish, sweeping or cutting firewood, all are an art which is learnt by careful observation and full participation. Hence good woodcutting or good sweeping can be the envy of others.

One of the signs of NadreEē is sudden unexplained events. A healthy person may develop a stomach ache, with no apparent cause. A person with a skilled hand may suddenly become clumsy, or a man or woman may trip and fall on a clear flat road, a woman with a beautiful face may develop boils and scars all of sudden.

The victims of dist are not restricted to munsā alone. House hold objects, and the house itself may be the target of diṣṭ. A earthen pot, that has been in use for several years may break without impact. A healthy blooming plant may wither without reason or even a paddy plantation may not give sufficient ears of corn, all due dist. The super-human qualities of the diṣṭikarn
extends to nature as well. The only way of knowing if dist has been caused, is when an unfortunate event including an illness occurs suddenly.

The distikar/n, is sometimes known in the village. This happens when her mother, her Matavoi, or ḍiį has also been dištikarn. When there is no hereditary distikarn, the same is established through the effect their presence has on the people. A woman may remark about the skill of another, or she may comment on the beauty of a girl, if these persons fall ill immediately afterwards the illness is attributed to dist.

The victim of dist may not take ill immediately. She may become ill in the same night or same evening. Several hours after the dištikarn has moved away. In this case the method used to identify dist is to recollect who the last person was that the victim spoke to. She is asked if she remembers any person making an envious statement about her looks, skills, or clothes. If a particular person has actually been identified, the illness is attributed to dist caused by that person. When no such person can be identified, the condition of sudden illness is sufficient for establishing dišt.

The dištikar(n) cannot help causing dist to others. Often they are unaware of the ability to cause it. Even when they do become aware, they cannot stop themselves from causing it. Their capacity is independent of their conscious will to cause dist. Those who have the ability for dist as hereditary, as well as those who have it, due to their classification as children, ugly
etc., cannot avoid causing dist to others. The ability becomes socially accepted as biological, which cannot be corrected. A woman always has the potential for dist. She may cause it only once in her entire life, but she cause it.

A Zhedum when she becomes the bail (here, when she reaches puberty) has the potential to cause dist. But she can actually cause it only after she gets married. During the menstrual period a bail (unmarried and married) can cause dist. If they are cooking sweetdish, it may not set to the right consistency. If they are with women who are washing clothes, the washed linnen may fall into the mud. A bail who cannot otherwise cause dist can do so only during her periods. Every bail therefore has the potential to cause dist, under certain circumstances. By the very virtue of her body she can cause dist. The result of dist can be the illnesses classified under 'roge'. Just as a stomach ache is caused by bad food, so can it caused by dist. Headaches, kensoli, dontače, bair zata or zhodovta can all be caused by dist. There are some 'roge' illnesses which cannot be caused by dist, like (a) Vov (b) Koč (c) All Bailem duvencea (d) Asuk (e) Sakritë. These illnesses have other causes, Koč and Asuk are the result of the wrath of Gods and Goddesses, Vov is result of a previous injury or fall. Unless the injury itself was established to be the cause of dist. Even so Vov does not, by itself becomes due to dist, it follows naturally after the body injury. Baille duvence also cannot be due to dist because it has come at some point of time. There is no known meaning of the disease among the Bărăđkars. The illness is identified by its symptoms. No person
can cause it because it is Bailem (from outside)

d) Causes of Variață (disease caused by spirits)

Variață is the category of illness caused by bhuta, purvoz, Alwantin, Khetro, and the deities such as Hapși, Bărășkarn, Odu Paik. Varem refers to air or wind. Varem here is likened to spirits because they do not have a definite shape like human beings. They do have a solid body, they cannot be seen or touched like other objects. Only the effect of their presence can be felt. They can travel great distances in a short time, and be in several places at the same time. Just like the varem spirits are formless and shapeless. Hence analogy between varem and spirits.

A spirit such as the Alwantin and Khetro, has a strong desire to come back to earth. They do not have a body now, so they have to possess one from the Bărășkars. They have urges which have been unfulfilled at the time of death (see Chp. 2). Such spirits try to take possession of the body of a person. A purvoz, Hapși, and the deities, affect the body not to take possession of it, but to punish the person concerned. The purvoz protect their kuțumă living in Bărăși, but if they are disrespected or not appeased in the right manner they can cause variață. The Hapși and the other deities can cause variață to individual body of the Bărășkarn or the social body. When the individual has broken the rules, the Hapși affects the individual body. When the community as a whole has not performed the necessary rituals in the required manner, or if the budvont have not conducted the Meli proceeding accordingly, the social body is affected. In this case any Bărășkarn can be struck by variață. It is only when several people
fall ill one after another that, the cause is attributed to variace to the entire community.

Variačė can occur in two ways.

a) Bhila or Bekdaila. This is when the spirits or the Hapšhi, has made attempts to affect the body of the person, but has not succeeded. The victim shows signs of mental disturbance, like nervousness, occasional shivers, accompanied by headaches or lethargy. Such a person is said to have good purvoz to protect him. But inspite of good purvoz the person can become a victim of variačė.

b) Varem lagta or variačė zalam. This is when the persons body has been possessed—bhutan gote dorla, the bhut has taken hold of the body. Varem lagta can also happen when the Hapšhi, or purvoz have affected the body in response to the misdeeds of the person. In this case the person is declared sick by the family and neighbours.

Variačė can be identified in two ways. One, when the sick person does not respond to the therapy of herbal medications or dist kačop (removal of dišty). Second, when the illness follows subsequent to any known breach of tabu, like having abused the Hapšhi, walking to the Bārādkarn with foot wear on, not having participated in the Feti meal, and so on. Any participation for the purvoz, Hapšhi and deities can result in variačė.

When variačė strikes the spirits can affect the person through the ek rogot. It is easy for the Alwantin, Khetro, and purvoz to affect living members of the same vango. Since they
have common blood the spirits have easy access to the body of their vangod members. The body of a vangod member is continuous with those of his purvoz through the medium of ek rogot. It is for this reason that ek rogot member in the vangod are clearly defined and kinship relations maintained with great respect. In death the mellelim should not have reason to harm the body of their kinsmen.

Illness is classified accordingly to the causative agency. If a headache can be caused due to excessive exposure to sum, or a cold, it can also be caused in exactly the same manner by dist or by variace. There is no mutually exclusive causative agency of disease causation. Nadrečē and variačē are accepted as causes only when the roge does not respond to the zhđel papālačē vokod. Further when dišt kaqop does not help them the focus shifts on variačē.

The people have certain assumptions about disease causation. Natural causes must be discovered by using reasoning and practical questions about day's activities. Supernatural causes must be discovered by supernatural means.[4]

There are no separate body conditions for Nadrečē and variačē. The same conditions of the body which come about as a result of roge, can also be caused as a result of roge, can also be caused by the dišt, and variačē. Only in variačē, the tokli can be affected, in which case the illness is called toklečē. The patient may show signs of mental disturbance. The body can be affected only, in which case the patients tokli is normal, but he
shows other illnesses, like those classified under roge.

References:


CHAPTER 4 - CURES FOR DISEASES

When a person falls ill the kutumô (family) and the entire neighbourhood comes alert. The illness afflicting the sickman is given meaning. Only after this cultural act of defining him as sick [1] is he treated with palamulānē vokod (herbal medicine). Even when the person has been known to be affected by dist, (evil eye) or Bekdaila, (scared) the first treatment is undertaken for the biological body of the sickman. Unlike in Nadreēq (evil eye) and Varīaē, (spirit affliction) in treating roge category of illness, each one has a specific cure.

a) Cures for Duvene/Roge (sickness due to non-human agents):

1) Foroz (scabies): It is washed with plain warm water and dried immediately. The milky latex of the Eêt Mogri climber is painted on the lesions. This causes eekar kaṭta (removes poison) from the wounds. With the application of eêt mogri the wound opens up, and pus flows out on its own. The meu (dirt) comes out. The wound is now cleared to heal.

Small wounds caused due to scratches are patted with a little tumeric powder for healing. To remove poison from a wound the following methods can be adopted. a) The wound can be tied with pez (congi) and jaggery mixed and mashed. b) The wound can be tied with roasted kaṭe kūvor (Aloe vera). c) The latex of the plant eêt mogri can be put.

These three methods are used when the wound becomes septic, and the pus has to be cleared out. When a leather shoe bite
causes a wound, the eekar kadop is done by sprinkling the ashes of leather on to the wound.

A gavo (wound) by itself does not amount to roge, and the person is not treated as ill. If the wound becomes big and septic, resulting in a swelling of the body part with a fever, then the condition is treated as illness.

The person with scabies or wound has to kept on a simple diet of pez, gonde (nachni), and vegetables. No meat, fish, or oily fried food is allowed. Prawns, grams, and pulses should also be avoided.

2) Sorpi (Herpes): Sorpi is cured by a daily application of the leaves of Beňši (Syzygium caryophyllatum) ground in spring water. Persons are again given a light diet. Sorpi can occur in seven different ways depending on the size of the boils and the rate of growth.

3) Kensolì (Heat boil): Since a kensolì is the result of heat, the person is given pez to eat. Pez is also tied to the kensolì to allow it to mature. Pezen kensolì pikta—The pus comes to the surface and the blister bursts releasing all the gormì (heat in the form of pus). Once the kensolì bursts, it is allowed to heal by the application of a little tumeric powder.

4) Kamiň (Jaundice): can be formed in the urine—mutan kamin, and can be formed in the blood—rogtan kamin. Kamin is saat basanči (seven types). A person may get all seven types, or he may get a few varieties, but seven times in all. No one can get
Kamin after the seventh time. Once a person has been found to have Kamin he is immediately put on a Pez diet. A decoction of the parts of seven plants is made, ground in tanne (rice water). The plants are Rogta kago, Dovo Kudo, Tambdo Kudo, Nalling, Purnornvao, and two other plants. A part of their decoction is also patted on the tali (top part of head) for cooling. If the Kamin is mild it has to pass with the decoction after seven days. If the patient does not show signs of improvement then the Kamin Lasop (burning the Kamin) is done. This is said to be an effective cure for Kamin.

Kamin Lasop is a procedure by which a part of the skin is burnt with a hot metal piece. There are two methods for Kamin Lasop:

a) A red hot iron rod is pressed onto the inner arm or inner calf muscles. The skin area has to be soft so as to get a quick blister. The blister should burst. If it does not, it has to be rubbed with a little sugar to cause it to burst and create a wound. The blister has to ooze blood and Kamin. Kamin vavonk zai is the requirement for cure. Kamin vavta from the wound, is a yellow, honey like secretion from the wound. It is transparent and does not have any odour. In order to make the wound ooze, a little egg yolk is dropped on it. Once it has oozed sufficiently, the wound is dried and dusted with turmeric powder and covered with a leaf of the Sino tree. When the Kamin vavli takes place, the meu from the blood is also let out. When the wound dries up, the Kamin disappears from the body.
b) The other method is to press a red hot iron piece or coin on the sole of the foot. Since the skin is thick, there is no blistering of the skin. Yeg yeta is caused. This is a sharp shooting pain which reaches up to the tokli. This spasm of pain, on contact with the hot metal is itself enough to throw the Kamin out of the body. However if a wound is formed, it can ooze and is allowed to heal. Some people press the hot coin on the forehead so the Yeg can reach the tokli faster. Here too without a wound the Yeg itself is enough to throw the Kamin out of the body.

Meat and fish have to be avoided by Kamin patients for three months. Kamin makes the person look yellow. His eyes, finger tips and urine become yellow. To avoid further Kamin in the body yellow fruits like mango, papaya, and egg (because the yolk is yellow) are not given.

5) Bair zata (loose motions): There can be two conditions of Bair zata. A person may get motions 3-4 times a day, or a person may get motions more than 7 times a day, in the form of watery stools. The second case is said to be severe. When the bair zata is mild, the patient is given tannem (rice water), jiria udok (jeera water) and tuši udok (tulsi water) and fūši udok (badishep) water. When the bair zata is severe Tannem with ground kudo root is given thrice daily.

6) Modshi Podta (Dysentery): When blood begins to pass in the stools, the patient is immediately put on tannem and ground kudo root. The mixture is given without boiling. The patient only has
pesz and tannem diet. The kuço stops the dysentery within 48 hours.

7) Poțan Zata (Stomach Pain): When the stomach aches, the person is asked what he had eaten. If he has eaten too much of a particular kind of food, it causes gormi in the stomach. Certain foods causes the stomach to pain when eaten in excess. Tenglí vegetable, meat, jack fruit, causes potan zata. If tenglí have caused poțan zata, tenglí leaves are crushed and rubbed on the stomach. Urrac is cooling, and is also rubbed on the stomach for curing an upset. Coconut oil poured into the navel also stops poțan zata.

8) Poț fulon yeta (gas): Is similar to poțan zata, but here the stomach feels puffed and tight. Jeera is munched with a little warm water. The stomach is rubbed with urrac.

9) Zor (fever): When a person gets fever, he is given hot āini (rice water without salt). The patient is given a hot bath of vodaso water (water boiled with Adathoda vasica leaves). Shitan shekta (hot rice massage) is done to cause sweating and lowering of fever. Patient is patted all over the body with a bundle of hot rice, and covered till he is sweating. Diet is kept light, and the patient is made to rest till fever subsides.

10) Doļe yeta (Sore eyes): Sore eyes are washed with coriander water, every hour. Patients have to be kept away from any heat, and fried food is to be avoided. A paste of padavel leaves is applied on the eyes.
11) Domo (Asthma): An inhaler made of kerosene and crushed garlic is given to the patient. A paste of Tumo (Leucas aspera) is rubbed in the nostrils to give relief. Warm food is given, because asthma is said to make the patients body cold. Meat soup and pulse soup is given. If the gaar (monitor lizard) is available, the blood is given mixed with liquor. This is given even once in two months to avoid asthma from recurring.

12) Tokli foţta (Headache): There is no medications as such for a headache. For relief a cloth may be tied tightly around the forehead. Head aches are taken as indicators of disease. The nature of the headache is often used to identify the illness (See Chapter 5).

13) Beeg or Moaţ (Piles): Medicine for piles is given on Wednesday. Some plant parts are ground, made into laddus, the size of marbles, and dried in the shade. Three laddus are to be taken three times a day on every alternate Wednesday.

14) Rematismo: Rheumatism is also called shirank tondi borta. The shiro (blood vessels) are said to become cold hence the joints pain and become stiff. Leaves and roots of certain plants are ground in coconut oil. The oil is massaged by the Voktakarn or other women who are experienced at massaging.

15) Kaizate (Palpitation): The Bārādkars claim that they do not usually suffer from kaizate. Those who do suffer mild heart attacks are asked to take rest for a few days. There is no definite medication for curing a heart attack.
16) **Tondi**: Common colds are treated with an inhaler of kerosene and garlic. Rather than medications the kúñbi eat certain food which are good for curing tondi. Methi, ground rice and jaggery porridge is eaten in the evening. Moogāzē gojśē made with moong water and jaggery is also eaten. Amil is eaten in the morning. Adult men and women also take a gulp of caju feni to fight cold.

17) **Fonkli and Colle Fonkli (Cough and Whooping Cough)**: For a Fonkli children are given the inhaler of kerosene and garlic. Adults take a cusumene of onions, ginger, jaggery and soñ biam (a kind of grain). This tea is drank thrice a day. Colle Fonkli occurs in children they are given crushed Hođi sakor (cane sugar) to chew.

18) **Kushi Borti**: Pneumonia makes the body cold. The patient is given hot foods. Amil, mutton bone soup, hot tea, pez, and cusumene. They help to relieve chest congestion. Fruits such as cucumber, bananas, water melon are avoided. The patient is never given anything cold. All meals are taken hot.

19) **Gonshe**: Constipation in children. Oil is massaged on the stomach to stimulate bowel movement. Herbal paste is applied on the stomach.

20) **Urvurem (Measles)**: it follows its own course and subsides after a few days. The patient should never be kept near the fireplace, and should never be allowed to eat fried food. A diet of pez and ambit, is sufficient to let him get through urvurem.

21) **Sursūrē** (German measles): This is the same in nature as
Urvurem only the boils are smaller, and more numerous than urvurem. They pass off just like urvurem.

22) Fuganv : Chicken-pox. This illness also follows its normal course. The patient is only kept on a cooling diet of pez. No fried food is given.

23) Gaṅuṇa : Mumps. A paste of medicinal leaves is applied on the mumps. A piece of paedro (slate stone) is rubbed in water to make a paste. It is applied on the mumps. No oily food, and cold liquids given.

24) Dade : Ringworm. The common treatment for dade is to put a few drops of eet mogri on it. the lesion is kept dry till it heals.

25) Barig Zor : Typhoid. First treatment is to give a Vodaso bath and do the Shit Shekop. If the fever really weakens the patient the Bārāḍkārs consult the doctor at the health centre. Antibiotics are taken to cure the bariq zor.

26) Koṭ : Leprosy. Koṭ is a curse from God there is no known cure among the Bārāḍkārs, although they speak of the dangers of the disease. They speak of St. Rock who had the disease because he was helping other Koṭ patients. He lived in a cave on the Betul plateau. Koṭ patients had to be completely isolated from the village.

27) Bailem duvence (Vōkaro) : When Cholera is confirmed the patient is given tannem and sapus (Indian sarsaparilla) light bitter tea to contain the vomiting. The patient is taken to the doctor for bailem vokod (allopathy).
28) **Dontačé (Worm trouble):** It is treated with a decoction of kiraité (Andrographis paniculata) periodically. When the dontačé causes monne in children they are given the inhaler of strong garlic and kerosene. The smoke from a freshly made pomparo (cigar) is puffed on the baby's tali, so that they don't stop affecting the head till the child coughs back to consciousness. Kodu from the tree bark of kudo (Holarrhena antidysentrica) is given as a tea.

29) **Dont muton yeta (Nausea):** This is also treated with a hot cup of light bitter tea.

30) **Rogot na (High/Low blood pressure):** People are put on a saltless diet for some time. Some people take a treatment from the doctor.

31) **Dorta or Dorlam (Paralysis):** Dorta is caused by excessive tonđi in the body. In order to heat the body the blood has to be made hot. A person who is dorlam has cold blood. The blood of a parvo (pigeon) has hot blood. Hence its blood is rubbed on the affected parts, in order to make the blood of the patient hot. In some cases of Dorta the patient remains so far life. Oil massages are also given to heat the body part.

32) **Duk (Pain):** When there is a pain due to a fall, or a muscle injury it is said as duk zalea. To heal the pain the following methods can be used depending on availability of herbs.

   a) **Enagričo shek** - A koito (iron axe) is made red hot. A piece of cloth is dipped in vinegar and pressed on koito. The hot cloth
is then pressed on the area of Duk.

b) The leaves of the pithpapaḍ herb (Rungia crenata) are ground in feni. The paste is applied on the part. It is removed every 5 minutes for airing the part. This has to be done to avoid a blister forming on the duk area. If the pithpapaḍ is ground in plain water there is no need to air the affected area. The application has to be done for three days.

c) Oña sal (bark of the tree) is ground and applied on the area of duk. This bark paste duk vodun kadta (it pulls out the pain).

d) Muiiëi Sal and Tamde Sal are ground and applied to the affected area.

33) Chabla: Bites of different animals or insects are treated in different ways.

a) A rat - bite is treated with a piece of rat bone paste rubbed on the bite.

b) A cat - bite is treated with a cat bone paste rubbed on the bite.

c) A bite from a vagoni (centipede) and Ichu (scorpion) are treated by putting the sungtaço mendu (prawn head matter) on the bite. Another irritation called ici caused by scorpion is treated by a paste of scorpion tentacle.

d) A bee - bite is treated with tamarind.

e) A snake - bite is treated for healing the wound and for removing poison. A paste of the sarpagandhi (Rawolfia serpentina) flower head is given internally. A portion of the paste is patted on the head. Some Sarpākar (snake charmer, who also treats bites)
make a cut on the tali and pat the medicine on it. It is called tali chirun vokot borta. This is done to prevent eek mateak morta. The sorpakar also tries to identify the type of snake that has bitten the person. Some adopt the method of tasting the wound to find out the taste of the poison.

Maindol (Russells Viper) - acrid poison
Parro (Cobra) - sweet poison
Furshem (Banded Krait) - bitter poison

According to the taste of the poison, the dose of the medicine is given. Along with the medicine the therapy of Zhado is also used. This helps to bring down the poison from the head and also makes the body cool, so that eekar kaqta can take place.

Snake – bite victims are kept on a diet of pez, milk, and vegetables. As a protection against further attacks by the snake, the family members are given a piece of the charmed medicine stick to wear in the neck.

Poisonous snakes like the maindol, the parro and the Dome (King cobra) are believed to do sodunk eyop (to come in search of the victim). These snakes if they have been dukoila (hurt) by the victim, will smell him out and come however far the person might go. The snake can bite even one week later. When a person knows that he has dukoila a snake, the place around the house is sprinkled with coconut, to attract ants. A snake never goes close to ants as they cannot withstand ant bites.

f) Dog – bite: When dog bites a person, the first thing to do is for the victim to feed the dog with a piece of coconut kernel.
and jaggery. It is believed that the poison in the victim's body is stopped from reaching the head. When the dog eats the sweet meat the poison becomes goad (sweet), which means the poison becomes less in the victim's body and therefore its passage to the head is slow.

This method is not a cure for dog bites. It is only a preliminary measure to bring the poison under control. Further medication has to be done eekar kadpak (to remove poison), the treatment is in two forms.

i) Zhaço and ii) Sade-sati. (See head and body)

34) Asuk (small pox): There is no asuk among the Baradkars today. The illness was treated as a manifestation of the Asuk Saibin. The patients were given a bath of neem water. If any person did get the illness, bailem vokod was used.

35) Bina: A herbal medication made with jaggery was externally applied to the bina. If bina fulon yeta (inflamed tonsils) the patient is taken to a doctor for bailem vokod, and the bina may also be removed.

36) Mut kodo (Kidney stone): A number of herbal preparations are available. One common medication given is the juice of phatatamfod plant (Bridelia squamosa). Patients are advised to drink plenty of water and avoid heavy food like too much fat, meat and fish. The people have amil, made from gonde, this grain is said to have the property to dissolve any hardened substance in the body, which includes the mut kodo too.
ONBA TREE (Bark)

MUII TREE (Bark)

TAMDE TREE (Bark)

PITHPAPO (Rungia crenata)
MILKY LATEX OF EET MOGRI CLIMBER USED AS ANTI-SEPTIC

DONKUTI PLANT ROOT PASTE AGAINST TETANUS

KATE KUOR (Aloe vera)

JINO (Leea macrophylla)

COMMON ANTI-SEPTICS
37) Kan foṭta: For earaches, patients are asked to clean the ear with coconut oil. Bailem vokod is also used. A little milk from a lactating mother is dropped in the ear.

38) Daḍī foṭta: Tooth aches are treated with the vōgāsārī kemri (tender leaves) of Adāthoda vasica. They are crushed and held in between the teeth for 5 minutes at a time. The process is repeated every 1/2 hour, when the leaves are not available, caju fenī is taken in a mouthful and held for about 5 minutes. This acts as a pain killer. The vōgāsā leaves if kept for a longer time can cause the teeth to fall.

39) Nalkuṭ: Kidney malfunction. This is known or confirmed by giving the patient a few grains of pepper to munch. His stomach is measured before and after eating the pepper. If there is a considerable increase in the size of stomach it is confirmed as Nalkuṭ. To cure this the patient is then given 7 1/2 cloves of garlic in 1/2 cup cow's urine or spring water. This is to be had seven times.

40) Siro marop: Blood letting. Blood letting was done by the people of Bārādi, particularly by the women, after moiniač ţ bond zalea uprant (after menopause). Blood letting is thought to regulate the condition of rogot na. It also thins the blood. Older people are said to have daat rogot (thick blood). Siro marop causes rogot patov zata (blood thins out).

41. Gant Podta (Knot in the Stomach): Cooling herbal paste is applied. This disease is found mentioned in the Buddhist treatises on Ayurveda. But it is said to be a knot in the bowels,
caused due to wind.[2] Each cure can be given only when the sick person has effectively described his condition. It is complemented by the other members who ask him questions about his illness. Language can bring out detailed distinctions between types of illnesses.[3]

Investigations of language used to explain illness have further shown to give valuable clues to the peoples notions of etiology.[4]

b) Cures for Nadreē:

When an illness is confirmed as Nadreē, there is one common method for treating it, and that is the diśē kadop (removal of dist). People also adopt certain practices in order to avert evil eye. Though all acknowledge that evil eye cannot be fully avoided, it can strike at anytime and anywhere. Cures for Nadreē are in the form of two types of practices. Those that are used as preventive measures, and those that are used to remove evil eye once it has occurred.

Nodor zaina zavpak: (practices to avert evil eye) - 1) Babies are particularly susceptible to evil eye as they are very playful and chubby. They are adorned with black and white bangles. The black ones protect from evil eye and the white ones protect from dontāē due to evil eye. The cheeks and the forehead are adorned with a tiklo of kajal. These are meant to distract the attention of the women causing evil eye. A necklace of black, orange and green beads are strung around the neck for the same purpose.
2) When the dištikarn is known, people avoid showing her their new clothes, and babies are taken inside the house. Even when the dištikarn is encountered on a road, people do not look at her straight in the eye.

If a woman is complimented on her good looks or beautiful clothes, she is afraid of evil eye. Some women quickly reply by saying payakožá poi (watch out your feet). The method is used to break the spell that the dištikarn might cast on her.

If a woman is wearing a saree for the first time, there is every possibility that she may get evil eye. To avoid it she tears a small strip of the garment, porne korpak (to make it old), so that she may not get the evil eye. Here the dištikarn need not know if the garment has been torn or not. The fact is independent of her conscious knowledge. In appearance the saree may look new to her but it is actually porni (old). It has been made porni so that evil eye cannot be caused. This way the woman wearing the garment can avert evil eye.

3) Children as well as adults are made to tie a small piece of fodki ( alum) around their neck. Fodki traps the evil spell inside it. Sometimes nodor comes in the form of a rat, dog, or cat. The fodki is tied on a Wednesday. The following Wednesday it is thrown into the fire embers. It is said that as the fodki puffs with the heat, the person who was going to cause evil eye is shown in the shape of the fodki. Thus if the form of a rat appears it was the evil eye in the form of a rat, or cat and so on. The puffed fodki even shows the face of a woman who would
have caused the evil eye, had it not been for the fodki. The fodki may also bear resemblance to a neighbour or a known distikarn. This way the people find out who would have been the likely culprit.

After the fodki has been burnt a fresh one may be tied around the neck which is then burnt the next Wednesday.

**Nodor Kadpak:** (Practices when evil eye has already occured) This involves procedure of evil eye kadop (removal). It can be removed by a distikarn, as well as an elderly women in the family itself. evil eye can be removed in the following ways. 1) When a baby cries repeatedly, or a child complains of stomach pain all too suddenly, the mother or grand mother splashes a dash holy water. If holy water is not available, salt is turned around the child's head thrice, in the clockwise direction and thrown into the fire.

The evil eye is said to be attracted to the salt and ultimately it is burnt in the fire. The sharp jets of holy water also drive out the vait nodor (evil eye).

2) When the woman who has caused evil eye is identified, a common practice adopted is to take the victim to her neighbours house and casually draw up a conversation with her. In the process she is told how the victim suddenly took ill, and that her family suspects somebody’s nodor to have affected her. When the distikarn hears what has happened the evil eye is said to be removed.

Words are known to have magical and even curative power.
Words uttered in such a context carry the power to heal. Though they are directed towards the dištikarn, the healing effect is on the victim.

This method can be effective only when the dištikarn is known. If a particular woman is suspected, but not confirmed, this method is of no use, on the contrary it may cause tension among the neighbours. It is an insult to accuse someone of evil eye. Even when a person is known to cause evil eye, it is done tactfully. People do not condemn a dištikarn, she is tactfully avoided or certain evil eye causing situations with her are avoided.

3) Dišt kadop is the most elaborate and exhaustive way to remove evil eye. There are several ways of removing evil eye.

i) The dištikarn is called in the house of the person affected. She takes the person in isolation in a secluded corner of a room. This space is now sacred space. Only the dištikarn and the patient can be present there. No other persons can or should witness the removal of evil eye.

The dištikarn uses items like red chillies, dust, salt, and koḍu soro (bitter liquor). She begins by caressing the chillies along the patient's head, arms, and legs. As she does this she chants some verses to drive the nodor away.

".... Ani teglea tokler, hatar, pīyar, urlea zalear bhair sor".

".... Ani teglea aangan, kitem vait ass zalear bhair sorondi".
Throughout the chants she rubs the chillies, and liquor on the patient. The dust, and the salt are turned around the patient's head thrice in the clockwise direction. All the ingredients except the kōdu soro are placed on an earthen tile and burnt at a cross roads. The nodor which has been drawn onto the tile, through the chillies and soro is fooled and confused and then burnt away.

ii) In another variation of evil eye removal the dištikarn makes the patient wear an old garment. Besides the chillies and dust, she uses a black chicken to turn it around the head thrice. The old garment, the dust and chillies are burnt at a cross roads, and the chicken is either eaten by the dištikarn or the patient's neighbours. The patient's family has to provided the chicken. If the dištikarn brings it, the family has to pay for it, so that it becomes the contribution of the patient's family.

iii) When liquor is not available, only chillies, and salt may be used to turn them around the patient's head. If a cross roads is not in the vicinity, ingredients in the tile may be burnt at a road frquented by more people preferably at a turn.

The methods used to effect a cure for Nadreći may be several, depending upon availability of ingredients and the proximity of the dištikarn. They are all intended to remove the evil eye which has taken hold of the body of the patient.
Just as a diśṭikarn can cause evil eye, so also she can remove it, if she is the one who has caused it to the particular person. This can be done on condition that the victim acknowledges the fact that she has identified the diśṭikarn. The spell that she has cast on the victim travelled from her to the person. When the victim or a close family member translates this act of the diśṭikarn into words, using a particular style of language the spell is extracted from the victim or it is thought to be portech zata for the diśṭikarn (the spell is reversed).

The power that is inherent in her capacity to cause evil eye, becomes entrenched in the language used by victims neighbour. Thus she is cured from Nodor, by the mere power of the language used. Each of the items used in removing or averting evil eye have a significance, once again drawn from their experiences in daily life.

Anthropologists have observed that relations found in nature are apprehended by the people and used to synthesize cultural practices.[6]

1. Red Chillies — They are attractive and have a better aroma than green ones. When they are burnt they give off strong, pungent suffocating fumes, that are enough to drive away persons, who are nearby. One also coughs up thoroughly. In evil eye Kadop the Nodor is attracted towards the bright colour, but when burnt it has to run away from the tile on which it is placed, because even the nodor cannot stand the fumes of the burning chillies.
2. Salt - This is an important ingredient of food. It acts as a preservative for cocum solà (dried skin of cocum), coconut kernel, fish, mango, bamboo baskets, mats and poles. Meetaco far zata (salt explodes), meet nach zata (turns it into nothing). Nodor is thought to be caught in the salt. Once it is caught the salt is burnt and it explodes. The meet nach zata also makes the nodor nach zata. It becomes nothing just like salt.

3. Kođu Soro - This soro is used to cure stomach upsets. Its characteristic property is that it has a strong flavour but is acrid to taste. The nodor is attracted to the flavour, but is caught unawares by the strong acrid taste. Once it gets into the soro, it cannot escape because soro evaporates quickly. Along with it nodor too becomes nach zata.

4. Fodki - Alum is used to clear dirt from water. The meu (dirt) from the water is trapped by fodki together. The wait nodor is taken as equivalent to meu. The fodki traps the nodor before it can effect the person. When it is burnt fodki crumbles to a powder after puffing up. Thus it also exposes the face of the dištikarn.

5. Black chicken - A chicken has an undulating anal aperture. It is used to suck out poison from the wound of the snake bite. This property is also used to suck out the nodor from the patient.

6. Char roste - A cross road is a place which is confusing to a person who is in an unfamiliar place. The Nodor too is confused at a char roste. Before it can escape it is burnt up.
c) **Cures for Variaếː**

Variaếː can be cured by the ghaţi. Just like nadrecean variaếː too have preventive practices and curative practices.

**Variaếː zaina zavpak** - These include practices to avoid variaếː. Some are in the form of wearing charms and others are rituals which are performed collectively.

**a) Ghagrio** - These are the short thick spines of the saal (porcupine). They are worn around the neck of children to avoid variaếː. They are to be worn when children begin to walk outside, as the exposure to the environment brings them in contact with the malevolent spirits.

**b) Saalaæe bhałe** - These are the quills of the porcupine. They are pierced outside the front door. They can stop variaæː from entering the house. With this quill the entire kutum6 gets protection. The bhalo however cannot be taken inside the house. If it is taken, the variaæː enters the house, and any member of the kutum6 can fall ill.

**c) Raibukriæe kes and Raandukraæi sondi** (the hair and snout of the wild boar). It offers protection against variaæː for adults. They are worn around the neck or arms. The end of the snout, the sondi is hung on the front door to keep all varem out. The property of this part is similar to the bhalo, if it is brought inside the house the varem can enter the house and cause harm.

**d) Vagaæio nakæeo** (Tigers claws). They are powerful and strong
they can tear people apart. The vaag is much feared and admired by the people. Its claws are thought to offer protection against variače. They are just as powerful when worn around the neck. The men wear this charm because they often come home after sunset. It gives them the confidence while on a hunt in the jungle, and to walk through the jungle after dark.

The other practices which are undertaken to avoid variače are in the form of rituals during the festivals like the Meļļ, Feţi, and Novem. During the Meļļ the budvont has to perform the ritual of offering food to the purwoz during the mandači jevnam. He has to pour oil on the purwozce fator, and offer coconuts to the Sant Huris on behalf of his people.

During the Feţi, and Novem the first meal is offered to the purwoz by the budvont. The kutumṭ members make a whole might zagran on behalf of them. These practices are just as important as the charms that are used for avoiding variače. These practices are directed towards the purwoz. They are an appeal to them to protect their vangod members in Bārādi. While the charms keep the malevolent spirits away from the people, the rituals and sacrifices of the budvont, and his kutumṭ draw the purwoz of each vangod to their people to protect them.

Variače Kadpak (Removal of evil spirit). When variače has affected a person, it is only the ghadi who can cure him. The patient has to be taken to the ghadi, in order to remove the influence of the bhut that has possessed him. The ghadi uses several methods in order to identify the nature of the spirit possessing the patient, and at the same time removing the evil
TU LSI (Ocimum sanctum)

PLANTS OF THE OFAD (Adathoda vasica)

PLANTS THAT REDUCE FEVERS AGAINST JAUNDICE AND COLDS

DARO (Oldenlandia corymbosa)

PLANTS THAT REDUCE FEVERS

PLANTS AGAINST JAUNDICE AND COLDs
influence to heal the person.

A patient may be taken to the ghadi in a highly possessed state. It is known as the pise lagla, or ghot dorla. The spirit has actually seized the patient. The second case may be where the patient is normal, but had been in a state of ghaṭ dorla to begin with. The third may be the case of bekdaila where the patient is not possessed, but the spirit has made attempts to possess.

When any of the above cases are brought to the ghadi, the procedure begins with him asking a few preliminary questions. The first and most important one, if there had been an Alwantin or Khetri in the kuṭump. The rest of the questions follow as:

1) Place of the patient. 2) Where did he go prior to illness? 3) If there was a serious fight between patient and any other kuṭump. 4) Who is the kuldeo or vangdaCo deo? 5) Whether the patient had eaten food from any particular house? 6) Whether he had been to a funeral, or had seen a person dying?

The line of questioning gives the ghadi important clues to the nature of the spirit possessing him. He does not question to find out if the patient is possessed or bekdaila. When the patients family brings him in, the possession is not questioned, it is accepted. Since Zādeapāleacē and Nodreçē has not worked, it follows that the causes of illness is variacē.

The ghadi douses the patient with jets of water, if is bekdaila, the spirit is washed away. Those who are in a state of ghoṭ dorla (already possessed) are flogged by the ghadi. While he flogs them, he also questions the spirit addressing it through
the patient. Ghadi asks the spirit why he wants the patient, what
is it that he wants, where he is from, whether anyone from the
patient's kutump had harmed him. The patient begins to reply to
the questions of the ghadi. If it is a woman possessing him he
speaks in a woman's voice. A woman patient too speaks in a man's
voice, if she is possessed by a male spirit.

In order to drive the spirit out of the body, the patient may
be tortured mildly, but there are cases of death due to torture
also. Torture is in the form of pain inflicted on the patient,
and in the form of polluted practices, like stuffing a soiled
sandal in the mouth, pouring liquor over the body. Forcing the
patient to fall at the feet of the ghadi.

The ghadi has to go into a trance (See Chapter 6) in order
to make contact with the spirits. Every spirit requires blood in
order to return back to earth. Only the ghadi can make contact
with them. He promises the spirits blood in return for leaving
the body of the patient. The blood from a fowl is offered by the
ghadi at a secluded spot. This fowl has to be brought by the
patient's relatives. They have to offer the fowl at particular
temples. Bāraikars offer blood sacrifices at Chandreshwar temple,
Paroḍa, Shantadurga temple, Fatorpa, and Mallikarjun temple,
Canacona. Besides these three places, blood sacrifices are done
at the shimo of the village.

The ghadi can also trap the spirit from the patient's body,
inside a bottle. The bottle is corked tightly and buried in a
jungle. A copper coin can be used for the same purpose. the
spirit is called on the coin. This is then thrown into a jungle.

The curative rituals of the ghadi are in two forms. He uses the trance method, and the rice picking method to find if the spirit has finally left the patient. The trance method serves two purposes simultaneously. The ghadi finds out the spirit troubling the patient, and at the same time the contact with the spirit helps to rid it, by promising blood.

**Trance method** - In this method the ghadi sits for the trance - ghadi bosta. He has to invoke the local deities. The language is direct and simple such as: Ay Mahadeva! Kopne ghot dorla te dakoi, bhutak vospa vaat ugti kor .... (O! Mahadeva, reveal the spirit possessing him, clear the way for it to leave him). It takes the ghadi thirty minutes to reach a deep trance. He utters the names of the patients' kin like, Kak, Mam, Voni, or Bapulo. These are important clues to know who has caused the variaćś.

The Patients relatives try to recollect which of these relatives would have a reason for causing harm to him. Accordingly the term that comes most frequently to the ghadi's mouth is taken to be the cause of variaćś. Once the spirit has been identified the ghadi has to make contact with his own mediator Alwantin or Khetri asking them to remove the influence of the spirit troubling his client. This is done for the promise of blood. The ghadi may provide the fowl for blood but the patient has to pay at least a small sum as a symbolic buying of the animal.

150
Rice picking method - Here the ghadi has a small pile of rice on a paat (stool) before him. He addresses a number of questions to spirits or the deities. Questions about the patient and his recovery. Everytime he asks a question he dips his forehead in the rice. Then he counts the number of grains sticking to it, on a taat. If the number is even the answer to his question is NO. If the grains are odd in number the answer to his question is YES. In this manner he can find out if the bhut has gone, or if the patient is recovering.

When a patient does not show any improvement. The ghadi is consulted once again. He advises more blood offerings and other procedures like offering a meal to the purwoz, offerings to the Hapshi, and deities. He gives the patient voktae, (a small piece of medicated wood), to be tied around the neck, so he will not be further attacked by the same spirit.

If a person does not recover from his ailment, it is taken that the spirit has done the damage permanently though he may not be troubling him presently. Cases of dorla, (paralysis) are cited as examples of it. When a patient dies it is accepted that the spirit was too powerful. Bhutan tek sarko ghot dorlo - the spirit possed him completely, killing him in the process. Such cases are rare.

References:

University of Groningen. p.353.


CHAPTER 5
THE SYSTEM OF HEALING

a) Diagnostic Methods:
A person can be declared as borona, roge zala, or jevak bore disna, (illness) under certain conditions. A healthy person may get an accidental cut on his body, which is promptly treated with zhādēapālačē vokod (herbal medication). Through the condition calls for a medical remedy, it is not treated as a case of illness. But had the same cut festered on the body without proper care, and caused a swelling with a pus or fever, the person would not be in a position to participate in the routine activities of labour. Now the person is said to be ill. He is removed from labour, because the condition of his body is not normal, like that of the others. It is only when illness in the form of roge or Nodrečë or varyace affects the normal work of an individual that he can be termed as ill.

A sick person does not call himself ill. He is confronted by family and neighbours who tell him that he should not participate in work. He needs rest to recover from his condition. It is the community that terms him ill.

The community legitimately exempts sick people from certain social relationships. On the contrary the family members assume additional responsibilities on their behalf.[1]

A number of persons in the community play a significant role in identifying the illness of a persons play a role of healing the patient as well. The people involved in identifying illness
are the budvont, dištikarn voktakarn, ghadi, and the zanteli (elders) of the family and neighborhood. Among these the budvont, dištikarn, (woman removing evil eye) voktakarn (medicine woman) and the ghadi (shaman) are endowed with special powers to heal.

An illness is a body condition, which can be caused due to any of the three classified causes of illness (roge, nodrețe, variațe). Illness and disease are two different realities. A disease represents an organ dysfunction, while illness is what the dysfunction means to the sick person. [2] It is the meaning of illness that is important for diagnosis.

Tokli foșta (headache), can be caused due to prolonged exposure to the sun, due to evil eye or due to possession by evil spirits. The very condition of a headache can be due to any one of the causes, for the person who experiences them.

When a person is actually struck by illness such as a headache, the cause cannot be ascertained immediately. The sick man can only say he has a headache. The primary task of the family and neighbours is to find the cause of the headache. The sickperson is asked a series of questions. They begin with identification through the person's activity prior to illness.

The questions asked are as follows:

a) What did you eat? (b) Where have you come from? (c) What work did you do today? (d) Were you out in the sun? (e) Did you oil your head? (f) Did you pass motions today? The sickperson is asked to explain how and when his illness began. Based on his
food intake, interaction with people and whereabouts, prior to illness, the diagnosis will be made.

Primitive diagnostics are meant to find natural as well as supernatural causes. Accordingly therapeutics cover herbal to magicoreligious rites.[3]

The first question is regarding the intake of food. Food is thought to cause illness to the biological as well as social body. Evil eye and evil spirits can pass into the body through food. It can cause illness due to evil eye as well as evil spirits.

Based on what information the sick person gives, the family and neighborhood decide the type of illness affecting him. If the sickperson has had the wrong food, or has been out in the sun for a prolonged period, the cause is identified as a non-human, non-spirit agent. Whereas if the sickperson has not eaten anything untoward, if he has not broken the food consumption code, but if he has come through a lonely area, or if he has met certain women along the way, the cause of illness is taken to be evil eye.

Here the biological body is affected through the social body. The biological body can be affected independent of proper food and living habits. It is incorporated into the social body, which is subject to the influences of evil eye.

In the former case the sickperson would be given herbal medication, or advised to take rest. The biological body has to recuperate. In the latter case herbal medication alone does not
help, because the cause of illness does not lie with the biological body alone. It is through the social body that the biological body has been harmed. As long as the evil eye persists on the social body, the biological body cannot be healed.

Further, if the sickperson continues to suffer from headache even after the removal of evil eye, the cause is attributed to the work of evil spirits. The sickperson has to be taken to the ghadi. Because like the case of the evil eye, the sickperson's social body which also extends to the spirits of ancestors and deities can be affected by them.

The real cause of illness is determined through a successive elimination of causes from non-human, non-spirit agent, evil eye, to evil spirit. The diagnostic procedure does not always follow the sequence. Sometimes there is sufficient reason to suspect evil eye right away. When a sickperson immediately says he had met a particular woman (and if she is known to cause evil eye) the illness affecting him is taken as (evil eye). When a person says he returned from a funeral, or was frightened in a jungle prior to the illness, then the case can be attributed directly to the work of evil spirits.

Both evil eye and evil spirits can affect the social body of the person, without affecting the biological body. Here again the illness is identified by the behaviour of the individual. There are no body symptoms, but the person experiences lethargy, fits of violence, body shivers, mutters strange words, has a dazed look on his face, or becomes restless. These are taken to
be signs of possession by evil spirits. But the spirits have affected only the social body. No herbal medication is required here. The person has to be taken to the ghadi or the evil eye has to be removed accordingly.

The ailments affecting the biological body independent of the social body, together classified as roge, have diagnostic methods also. For some diseases the meaning of the disease is its diagnosis also. Others have specific methods for identification.

1. Jaundice (Kamīn) - When a person shows pale eyes and pale finger nails, the urine is tested for signs of jaundice. A piece of white cloth is dipped in the urine and dried in shade. If the cloth leaves a yellow stain the condition is jaundice.

2. Kidney problem (Nalkut) - If a sick person is suspected of suffering from kidney trouble, he is given a pinch of pepper grains. The size of the stomach is measured before and after eating the grains. If there is a swelling after the administration of pepper the illness is Nalkut.

3. Boils - An out-break of boils have to be carefully watched. They could be rash, measles, chicken-pox, german measles, herps, ring worm or prickly heat. The pattern of appearance is watched.
   a) Boils minute, scattered and bright red: German measles.
   b) Boils small, red and spreading in a linear fashion: herps.
   c) Hives medium, scattered, red: measles.
4. Headaches - A headache can be of several types. Some are indicative of other illnesses.
   a) Dande marta (throbbing headache). This is a sign of high or low blood pressure.
   b) Jel marta (pain with giddiness) could be due to jaundice.
   c) Pez yeila (heaviness in the head) due to constipation.
   d) Ek ordan foqta (one sided headache) due to cold.
   e) Tokli foqta (not localized, just ache) can be due to fever or fatigue.

5. Bites - Persons may be bitten by insects in their sleep, in the dark, or in a forest where the grass is abundant giving enough camouflage to the insect or animal.
   a) Centipede bite: The centipede bites and remains clinging for a few seconds. This makes it easy for identifying the insect.
   b) Scorpion bite: A scorpion too does not move away quickly after a bite, giving time for identification.
   c) Snake-bite: Snakes strike at the victim and move away quickly. Snake-bites are commonly identified by the teeth marks on the flesh. Poisonous snakes leave a two fang marks on the skin. The type of poisonous snake is identified by tasting the poison. (see cure, pg.9)

Perhaps zhado is the most elaborate diagnostic procedure,
and a cure incorporated into one therapy. Through the zhado the, zhadekar can know whether there is poison in the body, the amount of poison in the body, and he can stop the poison from reaching the head.

From the few examples of identification of illness we can arrange the diagnostic pattern for the three categories of illness as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATURE OF INTERACTION (CAUSE)</th>
<th>AFFECTED PART</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTIC SYMPTOMS</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE AGENT</th>
<th>CURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malafide interaction</td>
<td>Biological body</td>
<td>Illness with plausible</td>
<td>Non-human agent</td>
<td>Zhadépálabgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malafide interaction</td>
<td>Biological body</td>
<td>Sudden illness</td>
<td>Human agent</td>
<td>Dišt kadop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malafide interaction</td>
<td>Biological body</td>
<td>Sudden illness</td>
<td>Spirit agent</td>
<td>Ghagiaponen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with nature.</td>
<td>body through</td>
<td>no immediate</td>
<td>non-spirit agent</td>
<td>(herbal medicine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with community and deities.</td>
<td>social body</td>
<td>sudden changes in</td>
<td></td>
<td>(removal of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>explanation.</td>
<td></td>
<td>evil spirit).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>behaviour, no immediate</td>
<td></td>
<td>(removal of evil-eye).</td>
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**b) Collection and dispensing of medicine**

Medicines for the respective illnesses can be collected and stored in advanced or have to be collected and administered fresh. The curative procedure begins with the collection of the medicine itself. Strict regulations are of to be observed from
this point. The agents who are involved with the collection of medicines observe a rigid code of conduct, both in their personal behaviour and in their interaction with nature from where all medicines come. Herbal medicines can be collected by both men as well as women, but actual collection is done by the women. The number of women collecting medicines far out number the number of men who collect them. The number of women dispensing medicine are also far larger than the men too.

Among the women, collectors there are some who are known to have the haat'gun (healing touch), these collectors are known as such Voktakarn (medicine women). Men who have such qualities are known as the Vokțakar. Though all can collect medicines, not all can dispense them. A girl and a boy cannot dispense medicine. Rather on the instruction of the medicine woman, they can collect the medicine.

There are procedures to be followed while collecting medicines. Some medicines can be collected at particular time of the day, particular season of the year, and on particular days of the week. Others can be collected at anytime of the year without restriction of day or time. Medicines for illnesses like fever, jaundice muscle pain (due to fall) can be collected at any time. Whereas medicines for piles, worms, dog-bite, kidney problem have definite collection time. The illnesses which would require immediate medication (jaundice, fever) are the ones where medicines can be collected at anytime. Piles, dog-bite, kidney problem, worms have to be treated at length. Medicines for these
can be collected only on particular days.

Certain plant parts like barks, roots and leaves which can be collected and stored, are obtained in the proper seasons. Leaves are collected after the monsoon, as they are fresh, large and plentiful. Barks are collected in summer when they are dry and easy to chip off. Roots too are to be collected towards the end of the monsoon as the soil is soft at this time. These are medicines which can be taken in their dry form. The same medicines may be taken in a fresh form too if needfully available. Some however are taken only dry. Kiraitē (Andrographis paniculata) decoction against worms can be had from fresh leaves if they are available and needed. The same leaves can be collected dried and preserved for future use. Porpotō (Oldenlandia corymbosa) used to bring down fevers, should be collected only after the herb has dried in the fields. The dried herb can be stored for future use.

Although medicines are preserved in advance, they are still collected with strict ritualistic fervor. The women collect firewood from the nearby forests, throughout the year. During these daily trips they also collect the medicines. As a result they do not have to make special visits to the forests for the sake of medicines. They can also space the time period from one day of collection to another.

If medicines have been collected on Wednesday, the next day for collection would be Sunday. Some women do not go to collect firewood on Sunday. Those who do, collect on Wednesday and
Sunday. Others collect them on Monday and Thursday. Thus there is an ecological theme related to the collection medicines. The spacing of collection days avoids haphazard collection and ensures a constant supply from one year to another.

Dispensing medicines to the sickpersons is done with equal ritualism as collection. Medicine women have to be secretive as part of the procedure of dispensing medicine. Illness have several medications at time. A fever can be brought down using Adathoda, or Oldenlandia leaves. Jaundice can be cured with two types of decoctions and kamin lasop (burning of jaundice). The people know the remedies for the respective illnesses. When they are actually ill, the medicine woman will not reveal the type of medicine given. She cannot and should not because her healing power is linked to the secrecy of the medicine.

The sickperson thus, despite having knowledge of medicines will not have any knowledge of which medicine is actually being administered to him/her. If the medicine is known to the sickperson it is said vokod baadona (medicine has no effect). When there is a single remedy for an illness, like Sorpi (herps). The sickperson is told that the remedy being given is different from that which is commonly available. The sickperson takes the remedy not knowing that it is the same medicine which he already knows.

Some ailments can be treated through self medication: A wound can be dusted with turmeric, a sickwoman suffering from a nagging cough can make her own cusument (decoction of ginger and
medicinal seeds), for a cold one can make a cosai (coconut juice boiled with crushed coriander and jaggery). Such medications consist of household condiments, or they are included under food preparations also. When such items have to be used to treat illness they can be prepared by the sickperson or the family. There is no need of medicine woman's intervention.

There are some medicines which are not available to the people of Barādi because they do not lie on their fire wood collection routes. They have to be obtained from further treks along the forests. The women cross paths with other groups of women from nearby Fatorpa, Ornant, Quitel and Bondi. They also know the medicine women from these villages. They have intricate knowledge of what illnesses the respective medicine women treat. When there is need for the treatment of those illnesses the respective medicine woman is consulted immediately.

Medicine men and women may also have the healing power for certain specific illnesses only. A zhaḍekar (person who performs the zhado) has the healing gift for zhado, he does not dispense other medicines. Others give treatments for dog-bites only. Each medicine woman gives treatments for a limited number of illnesses only. It is not because they do not possess knowledge of other medicines or that they are unable to obtain medicines. Each will dispense medicines for which she possesses the healing power.

Likewise a dištikarn (woman who removes evileye) can perform a curative ritual only for cases of evileye. A Ghadi gives cures only for cases of illnesses caused by evil spirits.
DUKŚIRI (Hemidesmus indicus)
Root used in case of arthritis

ERAND (Dysoxylon binectariferum)
Crushed leaves to relieve pain.

KUDO (Holarrhena antidysenterica)
Against diarrhoea, dysentery.

SARPAGANDHI (Rauvolfia serpentina)
Paste of flowerhead against snake bite.
Though they have knowledge of another's healing techniques, they do not possess the required healing power to dispense the medicine.

Time is an important factor for dispensing medicine too. As is evident from the treatment given for some illnesses: The best time to perform the zhago is before the sun becomes hot or after sunset. It should be put during the cool hours of the day. Zhago should be put only on a Wednesday.

A medicine for piles is collected on Wednesday, prepared on the same day. The medicine should be given on an alternate Sunday only. As the medicine has to be made with fresh plant parts all the doses cannot be given to the sickperson all together. The medicine woman has to prepare them on Wednesday and give them on Sunday. Which means the sickperson has to collect the medicine personally on every alternate Sunday.

Treatment for Vaydeman (palpitation) is to be taken on Wednesday and Sunday only. A treatment for jaundice is to be given on Wednesday only. For skin afflictions like herps, ring worm and eczema medicines are to be taken before sunrise and after sunset.

Perhaps the best example of the significance of time for dispensing medicine is that of the treatment of dog-bite with sahe-sati. This medicine can be given but before the 90th day. The efficacy of the medicine depends on taking it at the right time. Medicine taken before or after the specified time can act as a poison in the body.
Likewise removal of dist, and the burning of fołki (alum) are done on particular days. Ghadiapon is done on Wednesday and Sunday. Emergency cases of dist and ghadiapon can be handled as they are required by the sick person. The days assigned for the curative rituals are auspicious days.

Time is an important factor in the overall lifestyle of the Bārādkars. There is a right time for every activity. There is time for work, rest, and worship. Collective ceremonies are to be held at invocations for opening the way to the Meñ cannot commence without all the male members being present. The right time because that time when all the members are present.

Performance of rituals have their time too. Šimo katrop (ritual sacrifice in honour of the Hapāhi) should be held in the early hours of the morning. Ritual meals like that of the Feći should be held before sunrise. A share of the meal had during the soći, is distributed to the neighbouring houses before day break. These are but some of the many examples where the Bārādkars observe time regulations.

The same observances of time are followed in medical practices too. Doing the right at the right time ensures harmonious relations with nature, community, and the deities.

Appropriate time is an essential characteristic of the system of Ayurveda as reflected in all Indian systems of medicine. It is an act of maintaining equilibrium of the body with nature. [4]
Good health is related to all the three. The belief is reflected in the administration of medicine. No medicine woman collects medicines besides the auspicious days. If sick people come for medicines on non auspicious days, they are told to return on the following auspicious day.

Medicines given by the medicine woman, are either to be applied externally or taken internally. Expect in the case of zhado, where the zhadekar performs the beating of the twings all around the sick person. In the removal of evil-eye and removal of evil spirits, the medication is in the form of a performance. The distikarn performs the act of removing the dist. She moves around the sick person, making swinging movements, feigning the removal of the evil eye. The chillies and the liquor are caressed all over the boy of the sick person, and thrown into the tile simulating the dragging of an object from the body to the tile.

The ghadi’s performance is even more dramatic. He sits for the trance. His incantations begin with a soft basal voice. Head swinging, and body jerking he proceeds, swallowing a lighted wick of fire. The jerks, and swinging movements remain throughout the trance often slapping his chest, legs and back (see chp.6).

The two above performances are an essential part of the treatment. Ghadiapon is not complete without the performance of the ghadi. Evil eye cannot be removed without the simulations of the woman who removes the evil eye.

Medicine for the biological body is given internally or as external applications. Afflictions of the social body are treated
through the performances. The medicine is dispensed as the performance itself.

c) The process of Healing:

In order to go through the process of healing, one need not necessarily be declared as sick. Among the Bārāḏkars there are certain conditions of the body which need medications but the individual as such is not treated as a sick person. A cut on the body needs to be treated with medicines. Yet the condition of a cut on the body does not make a person sick.

Though he is not sick he needs healing. The body is injured. Despite the injury the individual is in a position to carry out normal work. His condition though it requires healing, does not remove him from the labour process. So although he is not declared sick, he needs to be healed.

For those who are declared sick, healing begins with the biological body to illness due to result of the diagnosis points to illness due to non-human, non-spirit agent, or evil eye or evil spirits. It is the first biological body that is sought to be healed. When the illness affects only the social body, like certain cases of evil eye and evil spirit possession, it is healed through the therapeutic performances of the diṭṭikarn and the ghādi. There are cases when the sickperson is known to suffer from an illness like a headache, caused due to (roge) non-spirit non-human agent. From the series of diagnostic questions; it may be established as a case of roge. But actual confirmation will take place only when the patient responds to the treatment given.
If for reasons unexplained, the patient does not respond to the medicine, the focus of the cause shifts to evil eye or evil spirits.

Though both have equal probability the sickperson is tried for evil eye. If he responds to herbal medicine after the removal of evil eye. The case is then confirmed as evil eye. If the sickperson does not show any improvement even after removal of evil eye, the final alternative is to try a cure from the ghadi. The illness is thought to be due to possession by an evil spirit. If the herbal medicine acts on the sickperson, after the removal of the evil spirit, the case is confirmed as possession by the spirit.

When only the social body is affected by the human or spirit agent, there is no need of herbal medicine. This distinction has to be brought out clearly, because healing practices have to be conducted according to the aspect of the body which has been affected. When the social body only has been affected it is said that the tokli (head) has been affected. The condition is called tokleči (pertaining to head). For such an illness the cure is the removal of evil eye or the removal of the spirit.

This social body symbolized through head, has a certain control over the functioning of the biological body. Whereas the biological body is subject to the functioning of the social body. This body can be affected by members of the community, the deities and spirits. Interaction with the community, and the
spirits bears a relationship on the biological body of every member of the society.

The body of every Bārāḍkar is thus believed to be linked to the members of the community (vangoḍ) and influenced by other Bārāḍkars, their dieties and spirits. The mechanisms of their culture play a significant role in healing. Through the biological body may be affected independent of the social body, it is constantly and inevitably under the influence of the social body. The Kūṇbi use analogy of a number of symbolisms for bringing about cures. These are seen in the medications used for all these categories of illness. Listed below are some examples where symbolisms are used as means of cure:

1. Symbolisms in cure for the biological body:
There are those symbolisms drawn from the hot and cold model of food. Tendli, radish, papaya, jackfruit, pumpkin, ragi, are hot foods. Bananas, cucumbers, cocum, rice conjee, urrac, red and green bhaji, are cold foods.

When a hot food leads to a stomach upset, a cold food should be given during the next meal and vice versa.

There are illnesses caused when the body becomes cold or hot. There are illnesses on the otherhand which make the body hotter or colder. Asthma makes the body colder. The sickperson cannot be given cold food. Dihoerrea, jaundice, and dysentry make the body hotter. Sickpersons suffering from these diseases should be given only cold foods. Stomach upsets are caused when the stomach gets heated with hot food. Urrac is cold, and has to be
rubbed on the stomach. The tendli vegetable gives a stomach upset, tendli leaves have to be rubbed on the stomach. Tendli are hot, but the tendli leaves are cold. Crushed tendli leaves can help cool the stomach. This remedy cannot be used for upsets caused by other foods.

Paralysis of the limbs is brought about when the blood in the body becomes cold. The blood of a pigeon is hot, and should be rubbed on the body of the sickperson to heat his own blood. The blood of the gaar (monitor lizard) is hot and is given to people suffering from asthma to heat the body. Colour symbolisms are used in medicine too.

Jaundice make the body yellow. All foods that are yellow are avoided. Foods like the mango, papaya, pumpkin, and egg being yellow are also avoided. To remove evil eye a black chicken is used. When blood is not available a red cloth piece is offered to the spirit.

Bites from a cat, rat, scorpion, and leather shoe-bites are treated with a paste of the ashes of the respective animal. Shoe bites from leather have to be treated with the ashes of leather. Bones of the dead animals are thought to heal the wound.

2. In the removal of evil eye the items used to remove the evil influence are taken through an analogy. The properties of Alum, chillies, liquor throwing salt in the fire, burning at the cross roads, all have symbolic relevance to the removal of evil eye. A typical example of a symbolic gesture in removal of evil eye is
making a new garment "old" by tearing a strip of cloth. This is a prevention against evil eye. Though the person with the potential to cause evil eye may think that the garment is new, she cannot affect the nearer because irrespective of the appearance the garment is old.

3. To avoid illness caused by evil spirits people use parts of animals such as tiger's claws, hog hair, porcupine quills. The ghadi himself uses a number of objects to obtain his powers. The use of body parts of the dead, like bones, teats, hair, help him to call on the spirits. Offering fowl's blood to the spirit to represent human blood, and when that is not available, a piece of red cloth is offered. (see Chp.6).

The budvont himself takes on the role of a healer during the Mevl. He performs rituals as part of collective healing. These are symbolic, as he is representing the community he performs them on their behalf.

The use of the quantity seven in medicine deserves mention. There are preparations made with seven roots (jaundice), or 7 1/2 portions of medicines (sade-sati for dog-bites). Medicines for jaundice and skin infections are to be taken for seven days. One can get jaundice or herpes seven times. The illness can occur in seven different ways. The quantity of seven is taken as symbolic of making a complete whole. Including seven medicines in the preparation taking it seven times and so on, ensures complete effect of the medicine, in a symbolic manner.

The Baradkars have also absorbed a number of symbols
throughout history. Some of these are used in healing. During the Mey a number of such symbols come to the forefront. The maand becomes a sacred place for healing, with the placement of the linga, the national flag, the divili. The Budvont pours oil over the linga and plants the flag at the maand (see Mey). This maand is made sacred by these symbols. Sick people queue to get the healing touch of the budvont.

The Cross has been absorbed as a symbol for healing, it is treated as one of the deities, and referred to as Tho (He). The Cross is invoked along with the deities before the sick people make their vows. After the Budvont pours the oil on the linga and the ancestor's stones, all sick people newly wedded and pregnant women repeat it. The appeasement of the ancestors through the stones ensures good health.

The ghadi invokes several deities and spirits to help him on his spiritual voyage. These deities include the Babbar Pir, and the Holy Cross. These two "deities" have been inducted into the pantheon of other older pre-christian deities. The ghadi requests the help of the deities to remove the evil influence of the spirits causing illness to his clients. Among the things that the ghadi asks the sick persons to do, some are specifically meant for the Babbar Pir and for the Holy Cross. He asks sick people to light candles at Crosses, and offer prayers to the Pir, through the Muslim priests. (see Chp. 6). Just as symbols have been borrowed through time, and used as part of the healing tradition, so also has baile vked (allopathic medicine) been borrowed to make it a part of the healing system. Many skin ailments are
treated with ointments and removal of evil-eye. The following is a typical case of the use of allopathic medicine along with their own system of medicine: A woman was suffering from a skin infection. She had a rash on her feet. Her family treated her with herbal medicine. The rash did not heal. They began to suspect evil eye. Meanwhile some suggested bailem vokod (allopathy). She was taken to the doctor who gave her an ointment. The following day she was taken to the woman who removes evil eye. The herbal medication consisting of boram leaves and raw rice continued twice a day.

After a week's time the sores began to heal. The cause of the illness was attributed to evil eye, as the healing progressed after removing it. The allopathic ointment was included in the healing procedure. The medicine was meant for cure of rash, and causation of illness had not changed. Removal of evil eye was seen just as necessary as the use of herbal mixtures and the ointment.

Just as the Bārādkars have incorporated symbols into their culture, they have also incorporated allopathic medicines into their system of medicine. The Bārādkars use a system of medicine synthesized with the various elements assimilated throughout history.

Elements from different cultures such as the Holy Cross, Babbar Pir, allopathic medicines, the Shiva linga, all form part of the healing system. The Mēll is perhaps one fine example where
elements of culture interplay with healing practices. Rituals held during the Melt are for the well-being of the entire community. The Melt itself becomes an elaborate healing ceremony, where the social body is healed and further protected collectively.

There are certain conditions which are essential to healing:

1) The sickperson should have complete faith in the healing powers of the respective healer. Family and relativeship to build up the sickperson faith. Not so much because they themselves are convinced, but because the remedies have to work on the sickperson.

2) Medicines should be collected at the right time. The sickperson should take the medicines at the right time. Performances which are part of the therapy of healing should be performed at the auspicious time. Cures dispensed for illnesses like jaundice, pile and dog-bites, depend upon time as a crucial factor for healing. These medicines have to be collected by the medicine woman at the right time and handed over to the patient at the right time. These procedures being dependent on time take almost a ritualistic form.

3) Space is another important factor which plays an important role in healing. Therapies like the zhado and ghadiapon can be held only at particular spaces. The sacred spaces cannot be created anywhere else. Sick people have to go to house of the respective healer. A woman who removes evil-eye comes to the house of the sickperson, because she can create the sacred space there. In order to create the sacred space she
has to isolate the sickperson in the most scheduled spot in the house. After having recited the initial incantations the space becomes sacred. It can be used for removing the evil-eye. If an any other individual chances to enter this space, the secrecy is lost. The incantations have to be repeated once again.

4) The medicines have to be collected and administered in secrecy. Ethnographers have long reported the importance of secrecy for the workings of magical acts. Here secrecy is an important condition for effectivity of medicines. A medicine woman should not disclose the names of the medicines she is going to give. By for she should collect medicines alone. If she discloses the names of medicines, it is said that vokod baadona (medicine has no effect). Most people in the community have goof knowledge of the medicinal plants used. Yet the medicine woman tells the sickperson that she has made a perparation using other plants. She knows that the patient is likely to identify the plants used. When she says has used some other plants the sickperson believes her. He has gone to her because he has total faith in her healing powers. Thus the condition of secrecy is established by the medicine woman for the sickperson.

These conditons have to be met in order to heal the sickperson. Else as the Bārāḏkars say vokod baadona, (medicine has no effect) medications cannot heal, except under the required circumstances.

d) The place of Health among the Kuri: 
For the Bārāḏkars health is not the mere normal functioning of
the individual body. The focus of good health extends beyond the body of the individual to the community. Amg jeuan bora ahā (I am in good health) is secondary to amge lok jeuan bore aha (our people are in good health). The social body, which is subject to the influences of community relations, and relations between spirits, is the principle around which health beliefs are organized.

When the community suffers from ill health, a Bārādkar (not suffering from illness) will not talk about his good health. On the contrary the concern is about those who are suffering. When their own kutumb members are sick, one cannot consider oneself as enjoying good health. The health of the community is inseparably linked to one's own health. One could never know when one's own body would be affected by the same illness.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the boundary of the body extends to the entire community. The Kunbi body is a corporate body, defined and experienced through the community. As such when the Kunbi say Amg loh boro aha (our people have good health) it also means Anv borro aha (I am in good health). When a member(s) of the kunṭum belongs sick, the social body of the members is affected. Their biological body shows normal functioning. Such individuals are not removed from the daily labour routine, and hence are not identified as borona (sick). However since their family and vangōd members are in a sick state, by definition they cannot identify themselves as enjoying good health. Rather, the corporate nature of the body is brought out when the Kunbi say
our people are not in good health first.

Good health for the community also implies that ancestors and deities have been pleased. The body social can be assured of good health only through the collective rituals during Feṣi, Meṣu, and garant adop (bringing the ancestor home).

Rituals have healing properties for a corporate group. Individual health is restored only when the afflictions of the corporate body is corrected.[6]

The rituals have to be performed collectively by all vangod members. They have no meaning if some of the vangod members are not present. Each member partakes in the proceedings in a symbolic manner, because the budvont performs a number of acts on behalf of the vangod. The individual's participation in the rituals, contributes to the community's health. The collective participation of the community on the other hand contributes towards the health of the individual.

The Bărăđkars though using a number of symbols, charms and amulets which avoid illnesses, believe that it cannot be avoided together. It is a part of life. The body is affected by forces of nature, the community the spirits and ancestors. Their influence over the body can be regulated but cannot be eliminated. The Shagi or the Budvont has no method by which they can permanently keep these influences away. There is no method for destroying spirits and ancestors. They too are an inseparable part of life. Disease cannot be avoided. It may be cured.

178
Finally, health and the pursuit for good health is a moral responsibility. One that binds the community together. It's little wonder that collective rituals are given such great importance. They form an underlying collective health programme.

References:


PROTECTIVE SYMBOLS AGAINST DISEASE

FOPKI (ALUM) IN THE NECK AGAINST EVIL EYE

BLACK BANGLES AND BEADS IN THE NECK AGAINST EVIL EYE

PADAVEL (Cissampleos pereira) IN CASE OF SORE EYES

GOSIA VOKOD AGAINST CONSTIPATION

TUMO (Leucas aspera) AGAINST ASTHMA

WHITE BANGLES AGAINST WORMS

SAPUS (Aristolochia indica) AGAINST VOMITING Indian Sarsaparilla
CHAPTER 6

THE AGENTS OF HEALING

In the process of healing there are certain agents who play an important role. Medication is not just a process of extraction and consumption of herbs. The medicines have to pass through the medium of special persons who are known to be endowed with a healing gift. They have been termed as the agents of healing in this work.

Traditional or folk healers today are undergoing changes with the impact of Western medicine. Their position as healers is in a transitional phase. Yet among the Baradkars healers do play a significant role.

These agents of healing may be human or super human.

Among the human agents are:

1) The Voktakarn (Medicine woman).
2) The Ditikarn (Woman removing evil eye).
3) The Budvont (Headman).
4) The Ghaçi (Shaman).

The super-human agents of healing are classified together as Demons and Deities of healing. They are:

1) The Hapși.
2) The Bîrîdîkarn Saîbiņ (Shreśhantadurga Baradkariņ).
3) The Funțiîrkarn Saîbiņ.
4) The Odu Paik.
5) Pirawon (Babar Pir).
6) Mamai Saibi (Shree Shantadurga Fatorpekari).
7) Tamaskin Saibi (Shree Kamakshi Shiroda).
8) Sant Huris (Holy Cross).

In order to understand the role of the healing agents, I have discussed each human agent separately. The super-human agents have been discussed together, except the Hapshi, Baradkarn Saibin, and the Holy Cross. They have been taken separately. The reasons for this will be evident from the description of each.

a) The Voktakarn:
She is a person who is endowed with the gift of healing. She has deep knowledge of medicinal plants and their use. She is skilled in collection and preparation of medicines. She has developed the art of identifying the best varieties of plant parts. Her special skill and knowledge of the materia medica are peripheral to her healing power. I say this because there are many men and women among the Baradkars who have equally good knowledge of flora and fauna used in medicinal preparations, but they do not possess the healing gift and hence cannot be termed as Voktakarn.

The Voktakarn are women healers. There are also male counterparts, the Voktakar. They are relatively few as compared to the females. In Baradi there is no medicine man, only medicine women. Some villages may have one medicine man alone, if the women have expired.
chores, takes part in all activities connected to her being as member of her community. As she grows up into a bail (adult woman). She already has sufficient knowledge of medicinal flora and fauna. Being a member of the community she acquires this knowledge naturally from the elders. All men and women acquire knowledge of medicinal practices through a gradual process. Most of it narrated by elders when there is an illness. Some information is passed during the long firewood collection trips to the hills, tending the cashew orchards, or just when the people are relaxing after supper.

Though an adult woman may have all the knowledge of medicine, she is not yet acknowledged as a Voktakarn. A woman actually begins giving or advising people about medicines after she becomes a bail (here a married woman). She can put her knowledge into use only after her marriage.

Before she gets married despite her knowledge there are other elders in the family and neighbourhood who have the responsibility of giving medicines. Thus her position as a married woman is crucial to her start as a medicine woman. It is here that the categories of females are of three types, a girl, an adult woman, and a married woman (mother). A woman can become a medicine woman only after her marriage. When a female is still a girl she does not give medicine, even though she has the knowledge of medicines.

When a woman becomes a housewife she has the social sanction to give medicines to those who are in need. Often the first time
she gives medicine, it is a case when somebody in the neighbourhood takes ill. As the medicine woman may not be available in the immediate vicinity. This young woman offers to give medicine as preliminary medication, before the actual treatment of the illness begins. The sickperson may find immediate relief after the medicine. The relief is attributed to the haat gun (healing power) of the woman.

This is often the beginning of a woman's life as a medicine woman. Once her success has been established, (even a single case is taken as that of healing power) the woman is approached by other neighbours and family members in times of need. She continues giving medicines. The neighbourhood then begins to acknowledge the fact that she is really endowed with the healing gift. Even the woman herself is convinced that she has the gift. She begins to treat her own self as different from the self she had when she was just married.

The medicine woman gets a new personality. She is looked up to by the neighbours. She performs necessary rituals like, offering prayers at the Cross and to the various local deities in Baradi. She takes care not to do anything to displease them. Whereas she had just been collecting medicines and administering them to needy sickperson, now she collects them with the solemnity of a ritual. She recites Incantations before collection, incantations during collection, and incantations while dispensing medicines.

Her interest in medicines plants deepens at the same time.
She is alert to note the places where medicines are found. Her contact with other older medicine women grows. She learns of new medications for illnesses. The trips to collect firewood attain special significance, because she has to collect medicines too.

The entire process of becoming a medicine woman is accomplished as a member of the community. A medicine woman is not removed from the labour process in order to acquire the knowledge she does, neither does she cease to do any of the activities required of a wife and mother. Nevertheless her conviction that she is chosen to serve her community takes precedence above all. A medicine woman makes time besides her working hours in order to heal the sick. If need be she has to rise earlier than her family members to prepare medications.

The process is therefore a simultaneous one. A woman's healing power unfolds along with her cumulative information of medicines. The essential characteristic of the medicine woman is her power to heal. Her skill to collect medicines and prepare medications in time, is treated as power no medicine can be effective. The drugs have no therapeutic value without them passing through the medium of the medicine woman.

The medicine woman collects plants on the way to the hills and back. Even though she accompanies all the other women, she does it discreetly. She will stay behind or walk ahead, and go to the spots where she had earlier sighted the medicinal plants. The other women may be aware of the fact that she is collecting medicines. When asked, she simply replies she needs them for some
THE GHADI GOES INTO A TRANCE

GHADDI IN A DEEP TRANCE

RICE PICKING METHOD OF DIVINATION

COUNTING THE RICE GRAINS

THE GHADDI REVEALS THE EVIL SPIRIT
purpose. She does not even say she needs them for medicines.

Here the condition of secrecy tends to be jeopardized. In order to overcome this, the medicine woman deliberately gives vague, misleading answers. She deliberately asks to be left alone while collecting. When the women go collecting firewood, they perform all activities together. Despite this, the medicine woman has to maintain her secrecy.

In reality there cannot be a situation of secrecy, because all activities are done together. In order to fulfill the condition of secrecy she has to create a situation. The other women help her too. Both, the woman as well as the medicine woman pretend they are not aware of one another’s knowledge. They create a symbolic situation of secrecy, replacing it for the actual situation, in which there can be no secrecy. It becomes the real situation under which the medicines have been collected. This symbolic secrecy is also maintained when the medicine woman dispenses medicines to her patients.

A medicine woman, assists as a midwife too. She learns this skill from other older vojiŋ (midwife). A woman is expected to be toklen goŋ (brave) in order to assist in the delivery of a child. She has to pacify the mother, make her sit in the proper position, holding, manjering her breathing, bathing the baby, severing the umbilical cord, all involve the healing gift. the medicine women are often called by the doctors to assist in deliveries outside Bāriŋi too.

The knowledge of the medicine woman is passed on to her
children. Their mother being deeply involved in medicines aroused their curiosity as they grow up. They are socialized into an environment, where their mother's activity is seen as a humble responsibility towards the health of their community. As the children grow up they, have considerable knowledge of medicines. However all may not turn out to be medicine women. A son or a daughter may develop the healing gift when they grow up. None of the children may also develop the healing gift, despite the knowledge of medicines.

A daughter or a daughter-in-law acquire the healing gift just like their mother. They too can use their knowledge only after their marriage. A man can become a medicine man only after he becomes a husband or a father. A ãhodo (boy) cannot become a medicine man. The Bärâdkars believe that the healing gift may genetically pass from mother to children. Sometimes it passes, sometimes it does not.

No medicine women dispense medicines for monetary benefit. Their activity is a service to the community. Dispensing medicines is not an occupation among the Bärâdkars. But people may give goods to the medicine woman, as a reciprocation for the services rendered.

b) The Dištikarn:
The Dištikarn is a woman who can cause as well as ñåt (evil eye). The term includes women with one (causative) or both (causative and curative) characteristics. A woman who is known to remove evil eye, cannot cause it. But the woman who is known to
cause evil eye can act as an aid to remove the evil eye (see pg.). It is because the woman under certain circumstances aids in removing it, that the dame term is designated for both.

Dištikarn as Causative Agent. The cause and removal of evil eye is the domain of the woman. A woman is thought to have the ability to affect the bodily functions of others through the evil influence of her sight. Such an influence can be exerted by certain types of females only. A Ėhedu (girl) cannot cause dist. a bail (adult woman, and married woman) can cause dišt. A Raan bail (widow) a woman without children, a woman who is thought to look ugly, can all cause evil eye.

A young girl, even if she looks ugly cannot cause evil eye. But she has the potential to cause it when she grows up. At a young age a girl may signs of enviousness towards others. Accompanied with this trait may be habitual kleptomania, for beads, pebbles, and common play things. She may do the aa-s korop (show conscious desire to possess some things). These are all taken as signs that the young girl will grow up to become a dištikarn.

When such a girl grows up into a young woman, the sure way to find out if she has become a dištikarn is only when she actually affects another person. The woman shows envy for somebody's new clothes, new sandals, excellent skills, hardwork. She shows envy for any of the qualities or objects that she finds desirable for herself. The other person may take ill after her comments. She may not fall sick immediately, but may do so the
following week. If the illness can be traced to proceed from her remarks, the woman is taken to be the distikarn.

The same assumed distikarn could cause sickness to another unsuspecting victim. Communication is established among the neighbours about the woman who causes evil eye. Two cases of dist are sufficient, to declare her as the distikarn. At this stage the distikarn may not be aware of the peoples attribution to her. The people however regard her with caution. Direct eye contact is avoided. New clothes, house hold objects are not freely displayed to her. All the forms of behaviour adopted to avoid evil eye are adopted in her presence (see pg.).

It is the people who bestow the position of a distikarn on her. The woman in question may not be aware that she has been termed as the distikarn, though she may suspect her neighbours. When she suspects several cases, where the illness of persons are attributed to her, she begin to believe that she has the capacity to cause dist. Even so, she has no control over her super human ability. It is part of her, yet it is independent of her conscious control. Once she gets the power to cause dist, it is thought to remain in her body throughout her life.

The capacity to cause dist is often thought to be hereditary too. A woman's child may grow up with her mother's characteristic. Her ability to cause dist is again not in her control. People attribute her mother's qualities to her. If a person is found to suffer from a sudden illness after having contacted her, the illness is attributed to her hidden capacities
as she is the child of diśṭikarn.

When this child grows up, she realizes that she too is considered to be a diśṭikarn. Though she may not agree with them, the fact that people take ill after interacting with her, is sufficient for her to suspect that she has developed her mother's qualities.

There are some diśṭikarn who try and avoid carrying their neighbour's children, or community on new clothes that women wear. They avoid situations where they could be overtly accused of evil eye. However this does not stop from causing it, because they cannot control the effect of their sight upon others.

There is no means of avoiding diśṭ altogether. It can be caused anytime and anywhere. Neighbours and relatives do not shun women who are believed to cause diśṭ. People regulate their behaviour in their presence. No one would risk doing a skillful job, like stitching a beautiful dress, or weaving palm leaves in her presence. A activity which the people feel will may cause them illness through the evil eye. Some may cause it just once in their life time. Some may not cause it at all. There is no certainty about when the woman can cause evil eye. A sudden strong desire of another's possession, a sudden deep envy can be sufficient for causing evil eye, when the woman is not a declared diśṭikarn.

Diśṭikarn as a Curative Agent. A woman can remove evil eye after she becomes a bail (married woman). Like the medicine
woman, she too is not aware of this fact. From observing the elders in the house she learns the basic ritual of turning salt thrice around a victim's head.

If a family member chances to be affected by evil eye, the woman takes the initiative to turn the salt. She can attempt this only if there are no elders at the time. The sick person may or may not find relief. If he does, the woman is said to possess the heat gun (healing gift). The family members discover her gift. The woman herself is surprised at her own capability. She realizes that she has been endowed with the healing touch. She observes carefully the older dištikarn in the village. They become her role model. Through them she learns the various methods of removing evil eye.

The neighbours begin to ask for help. After several cases of healing, she is fully established as a dištikarn. Once a woman is so recognized, she cannot cause evil eye to any one. Though other women whose healing gift is not yet manifested, may cause evil. What is socially recognized in the woman is thought to be biological fact.

The healing power of the dištikarn can be transmitted to her next generation. Her daughter or grand-daughter gets her gift. Her daughter-in-law may also get the gift. Though she is not her own daughter, she may share the same blood (ek rogot) with her. This blood relationship is sufficient to transmit the healing power onto the daughter-in-law. Men who remove evil eye extremely few. In Bārādi there are no men who remove it. Men causing evil
eye are also seldom heard of. A man who becomes a curative agent of evil eye (diştikar), does so in the same manner as their female counterpart.

The diştikarn is called upon to perform the rituals for dişt kadop (removal of evil eye) not so much for her skill but because she now possesses the healing gift. The procedure of removing evil eye is known to many women, but only those with the power to heal can use it on the sick person.

When a woman who has caused dişt is identified (when she is the causative agent) she can also be used to remove it. In such a case it is not her healing power that is called into command. Since she has caused harm to the individual, she herself can break the spell of evil eye. She cannot ride a person of evil eye if she has not caused it. Known, narrating the illness to any other known diştikarn does not help rid the dişt in any way.

c) THE GHADI:

The Ghadi is a person who has supernatural powers to make contact with spirits. He is a person who can influence them to act in one way or another. A Ghadi has an important function in the community. He is capable of affecting the body of any individual through his powers.

The Ghadi does not enjoy special privileges in the village. Even in his own family he is treated like any other man. He goes about all his daily chores, cuts firewood, may go fishing, perform other services, and practices agriculture in the monsoons. He is not removed from the normal labour process of the
community. Shamans in other cultures too are considered like ordinary men, with special ability to contact deities.[2]

A man may get the bhar or bhang (trance) during certain rituals of the Mell or else the man may go into a deep trance as a result of intense prayer. This trance is a devo-sponacho bhang (holy trance). It is like the bhang which also appears due to frenzied dancing at the time of the Mell. The person begins to speak about things that will happen and things that have happened, but of which, he had no knowledge.

This person gets the trance repeatedly ever after. Once the entitle trances have been successful, people begin to consult him regularly. The appearance of bhang is now just the reverse. People do not wait for the Ghadi to get the bhang through the deep concentration and prayers. Now he can answer the questions of his clients. People come to consult this oracle for finding solutions to mundane problems like, a good job, to find a lost cow, to ask for advice about undertaking a particular job, or if a person has taken ill and does not respond to any treatment. Here we will take into consideration only that aspect of the ghadis functions, namely his role as a causative and curative agent of illness.

Causative Agent

In order to make contact with the dead the ghadi requires the assistance of a personal spirit. An 'Alwanto' or a 'Khetri'. These are spirits of persons who have died young, under tragic circumstances (see pg.). The Ghadi acquires this personal Alwanto or Khetri by securing any of its body part. This he may
achieve in two ways. When an Alwantin or Khetri is buried outside the village boundaries, he may dig up the remains and get a bone, hair or nail from the corpse. These body parts are used by him to call upon the spirit when necessary.

The body parts are useful because the spirits are thought to maintain a continuity with them. The ghadi works on the belief that every spirit has an insatiable desire to come back to earth. In order to do so they need human blood. They can cause irreversible damage to those whom they hate or envy on earth. They will thus harm anybody if they are promised blood in return. The ghadi operates on this principle. If a particular person is to be harmed or made ill, the ghadi offers to give blood to the spirit for doing his bidding. Since it is not possible to offer human blood, he tricks the spirit by offering a foal's blood. In fact this too becomes a symbolic offering of human blood. The fowl has to be purchased by the client of the ghadi. If it is the ghadi himself who wants the spirit to act then he has to buy a fowl for the purpose. He cannot use the fowl given to him earlier by any client.

The spirit accepts the blood offered and does the necessary function on the body of the victim. This victim as he is thought is supposed to become ill or meet with several misfortunes, which in turn makes him a sick man. The ghadi on the other hand can perform this function on behalf of any client. He can find out if there is any spirit troubling them. Through his personal spirit he can find out if any other spirit has been troubling his
client, and also who it is who has ordered the spirit to do so. Having established the identity of the person, the ghadi can ask his personal spirit to reverse the spell back on the client's enemy or else he can ask the spirit to cause harm to the client's enemy.

If the person has done the ghadiapon to a particular person, the ghadi gives an advance warning. If the spirit has not been able to do the required harm, it means he will not get the blood. So the same spirit which is used to cause harm to the body of others, attacks the body of the person himself. Because once the spirit is promised a way back to life on this earth, there is very little that the spirit will stop at to get what it wants.

A person who becomes the victim of a ghadi does not know about it, till someone else voices a suspicion. In case the person takes ill, or becomes sick that he nearly misses dying, it is said that this mellele are strong, and they protected him. This is when the role of the ancestors comes in. Each person's purwox protect their family members. The Alwantins & Kheteris are also part of the spirit world. They are malevolent spirits. The purwox of each family have the important function of protecting the family members from these malevolent spirits. They are the ones who cause various type of illness. (see ancestor worship). So though the Alwantin affects the body of the victim, the purwox protects him. This may not happen all the time. Besides when there is suspicion of varysis the patient cannot take a risk. He has to go to the ghadi either to check or to remove the evil influence. The patient may also ask the ghadi to revoke the spell
back onto the person who has caused it.

**Curative Agent:**

The ghadi can also be a curative agent of varyače. When a sickperson is suspected to be a victim of varyače, it is only the ghadi who can cure the spirit, in order to ask for his favour. The personal khetri, on the promise of blood, removes the evil influence of the other spirits. The ghadi can also find out if the patient that is brought to him is really suffering from varyace. He begins before the trance itself. When the patient is brought in, the ghadi asks him a series of leading questions.

1. First, he finds out if there has been an Alwantin or a Khetri in the family of the sickperson father or husband.

2. Second, he wants to know how relations were, when the person was alive.

3. If any living relative has strong enmity with him.

4. Who is their kul dev and the present gramdev.

5. Whether the patient has any bitter enemies in the neighbourhood or at the place of work. Based on these questions, he knows the background of the sickperson.

With these preliminary answers, he sits for his trance. The ghadi uses the assistance of all the local deities to effect a cure. Around Bāraḍi, the popular deities are the Bārāḍ karin, Funtir karin, the Odu Paik, Hapški, the Pirawoni, and the Sant Huris. Whether the patient that comes is a Hindu or Christian,
the ghāḍi invokes all the deities. He has to cure the person, as such he requires the assistance of all. He makes a synthesis of all part of the local pantheon and they have to be called on for help. Through their power they are able to pacify the evil spirits.

The offering given is a coconut and agarbattis. When the ghāḍi takes the assistance of the spirits he has to offer blood and therefore the sick person is required to bring a fowl. Instead of the ghadi offering the blood, he may sometimes ask the patient to offer it at a particular temple. Bārāḍkars mostly offer blood sacrifices at the Mallikarjun (Bageli Paik) temple at Canacona, the Shanta durga Fatorpekariṇ (Purva Khetri) temple at Fatorpa, or at the Chandreswar temple (Bhutnath) at Chandranath hill in Quepem. Depending upon the place from where the sick person comes, he has to offer the blood to the respective demon.

Throughout the trance of the ghāḍi, he indulges in various dramatic acts. He swings his arms, slaps his legs, swirls his head while uttering the chants. One of the method he uses to ask questions either to the spirits or the deities, is the rice sticking method. The ghadi talk to the spirits, in a trance as if talking to a fellow villages. For instance he says - Kohli adkod asa ti dakoi poia ? Anh ? Khetri asa ? Anh ? dakoi poia ? The questioning continues in this fashion with the ghadi picking up rice grains every time he poses a question. This is one way of establishing the existence of varyācē. Sometimes the ghadi may find 'no' to all his queries. In this case he claims that there
is no varyacë, but the patient may not be possessed by the spirit only 'bekdaila' meaning that there had been an attempt by the spirit to attack, this attempt itself affects the body of the patient.

When an attempt has been made once, same spirit may attempt to the patient once again. The ghadi asks to offer a fowl to the personal spirit, so that it can in turn keep the other spirit away from the sick person. When the patient is found to have varyace, the ghadi may also try to trap the spirit in a bottle. Through the blood sacrifice and a series of chants he lures the spirit to a bottle. Then he corks the bottle and leaves it at a spot far away from the village. After having done this the ghadi asks the patient to avoid travelling distant places alone. It is done for some time till he regains his health. When the body is just free from a spirit, it has to regain its original healthy state. The patient is still kept on herbal medicine for a few days. Because the biological body also has to recuperate.

The ghadi as a person cannot be affected by varyacë. Because he has his own personal khetri, who knows that he has to protect him in return for blood. The ghadi is not directly responsible for cause or cure. He becomes the mediator between the human and superhuman forces. Though the ghadi stands out from other people in the community, his body though, made up of the same two aspects social/biological, his social body differs from the rest. He can use his body to exercise supernatural powers to make contact with the dead.
A CASE OF SPIRIT AFFLICTION
(AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR)

REMOVING EVIL EYE

BUDVINTS LAYING A HEALING HAND ON
THE SICK
PUNARNYO (Boerhavia diffusa) Root Juice Against Worms.

KAMIN LASOP (Skin burnt to cure Jaundice)
There are several cases when a sick person healed of waryaçê may get another attack from the same spirit, or some other. The ghahi may warn of this. Or else the sick person may never be free from the spirit. He may even die, inspite of the ghadiapôn and herbal medicine. In this case it is just accepted that the spirit was too powerful to overcome. Nobody ever questions the ghadi, or declares him as less powerful than other. It is just accepted that the spirit is too powerful and he killed the patient. Yet the ghadis position as healer and causative agent of illness does not deter.

The Shamans therapy becomes effective within a specific context. He shares same cultural beliefs as the patients. He provides the right setting for the expected cure of the patient.[3]

d) THE BUDVONT : He is the head of each vangod (clan). The budvont is the spiritual and political leader of each clan. The budvont (one with wisdom) as the term suggests is a person of intelligence, far sightedness, fair judgment, and great courage. Yet not all men with such qualities can be called as budvont. Because he is also endowed with the special power of being the representative of his clan can communicate with the ancestors and their deities. A budvont is not chosen on the basis of age alone. Though a budvont is necessarily a man of at least 50 years of age. This is because the new budvonts are always appointed when the older one is too old to carry out the necessary rituals. But as long as he is alive the new budvont always performs the
rituals on his behalf. Only after the older budvonts death does he become the actual budvont.

The budvont is selected by a unanimous decision at the maan in order to discuss the preparations. This is the time when they decide if a new budvont should be appointed. The budvont as we shall see occupies a central place in the life of the kunbi. Every male member of the clan has the potential to be a budvont. If there are four modkeo in a clan and if the budvont of the vangod belongs to a particular modki, the next budvont also comes from the same modki then a member from another modki takes his place. The everyday life of a budvont is the same as any other man in the community. When a new person is appointed a budvont, sacred characteristics come to be bestowed upon him. A person knows that by virtue of his being appointed the budvont, he now has several other responsibilities towards his clan. Though his entire personality changes, his life does not change at all. He still continues to do all other activities as before. He may even seek employment as a wage labourer in the nearby fishing industry in Betul or with some Charddes families in adjoining Velim.

The budvont gains extreme importance only at certain places and at certain times. His functions are: (1) To lead all rituals, connected to all aspects of social life of the kunbi. (2) To make all political decisions for the clan. (3) To mediate on behalf of the vangod. (4) To decide for the whole community together with the other two budvonts. (5) To mediate between ancestors and the people. (6) To heal the sick. It is his role as the healer and mediator between ancestors and people that will be
given attention here.

When a man becomes a budvont there is a simultaneous change in this body. The biological body remains the same. But now his social body acquires a new dimension, it gets the sacrency required for all the functions of the budvont. He now becomes the head of his clan. The entire vangod becomes embodied in his person.

In some communities the shaman is responsible for new-house ceremonies, agricultural rituals, and averting epidemics.[4] The budvont shares these responsibilities among the Bārāḍkars. His performance during the Mell helps avert illness in the community. Widespread illness in a community (such as an epidimic) can be averted only through the rituals of the budvont.

During the Mell the budvonts most important function is to perform the rituals to the ancestors on behalf of the clan, and to heal the sick. He does the rituals because the people cannot do them on their own. The offerings have to come from the hands of the budvont. During the three days of the Mell the budvont gets the role of a healer. His position is accepted both within and outside the community. People with ailments queue to the budvonts for his healing touch. The budvont prays over them and rubs the head the legs and arms with a little oil from the lamp, from the maanḍ.

The budvont is healer only for four days in a year. For this he has to remain a vegetarian during the Mell. He drinks cowdung
water inorder to cleanse himself. He offers prayers and 
invocations to the deities. All these are preparations for the 
new personality that the budvont acquires for four days.

On the fifth day i.e after the Mell the budvont is once 
again the political leader. Although he gets the special powers 
of healing for four days in a year, the time period does not 
matter. Even if it means a short time. Because within this short 
while the budvont can exercise his healing power over the entire 
community. Even during the Mell it is not at all times that the 
budvont is a healer. He gets the power to heal only at certain 
times at certain places. The Maand which is otherwise just a 
small area outside the Voğlêm Ghor, becomes a sacred place for 
healing after the lamp has been lit at it. The men of the 
community chant the invocations which have to be lead by the 
budvonts. (See Mell). It is only after the budvonts have lead the 
Mell around the maand that it becomes sacred. The men move out 
and the space is now open for patients to be healed by the 
budvont. The patients that come to the budvont are with ailments 
such as bodyaches, fevers, even cases of dist with prolonged 
illness.

The budvont symbolically represents the head of the body 
social. He is the medium through which medicines can reach the 
body. He is the unified body. The community together form the 
unified body. The unified body is accentuated only during the 
Mell. The behaviour of the budvont affects the health of the 
community. He has to perform all the devosponn with great care. 
If the head is not healthy the body cannot remain healthy too.
For healing the social body, the sick persons come to head of their social body. Even though they may continue to take medicines from the medicine woman.

Apart from the four days when the budvont is a healer for excellence, he is the person who has to be notified if there is a suspicion of illness due to spirit possession. Being the head of the clan he has to accompany sick people to the ghadi.

e) The Super-Human Agents of Healing:

The Hapshi - The people of Bārādi believe there is a being who guards the people and its village boundaries. He is not defined as a God or as a spirit. Deo, is a God. Otmo is the spirit of a human being who has died. The Hapshi is neither a God nor is he a spirit. He is referred to as the deuvchar. He was thought to have been residing in the village before anyone else. Nobody can say if he was a human being once upon a time.

The Hapshi is described as exceptionally tall, well built, and moves about with a walking stick. He can appear in many forms: A cow, a buffalo, a dog, a pig, an old man but never as a woman. The Hapshi stalks the roads, mountains and forests only at night. He has an abode in the hills. The Hapshi has two opposite characteristics. He protects his people jealously, and punishes offenders very severely. His revenge can even be fatal to the Bārādkars. He has no real name. He is known only by metaphors such as Vate Šimežo Dhoni, Rakhno, Deuvchar, Hapshi, Vataro, Ratcho Bhonvtato, or Zagyacho, or just 'Tho'. Since he has no real name, for convenience I shall choose to call him Hapshi. The
name cannot be uttered by any man or woman in vain. Because the Hapshi takes offense to this that's why the people do not even know his real name. When talking about him the various names are uttered as whispers. This is a symbolic manner in which the Hapshi is talked about. Even if talking in a loud voice, the name has to be said in a low voice.

The Hapshi has many places, where he appears. They are usually lonely spots in or around the village. There is an area just at the border, where runs a beautiful spring. The water comes from a low natural cave. Inside this cave is a raised flat portion which is the house of the Hapshi. There are vivid descriptions about him. One day a man chanced to enter the caves, because he had spotted a number of tortoises inside. He was about to take them when he spotted a man, tall, almost a giant, sitting on the raised rock. He was about to eat, in his vatli he had served rice and curry, and bhaji. He asked the man to take only one tortoise and leave the rest. He also requested him to share the meal with him. The man thanked him and left hurriedly.

Another woman was making rice flour on the dantem late in the night. Her family members had gone to relatives houses. She was alone at home. It was time for the Hapshi to do his rounds. As the women explained later, obviously the noise of the dantem disturbed the Hapshi. The woman was not supposed to be grinding at that hour. The Hapshi came up to the house and threw an iron hook (goro) from over the wall. This hit the woman. He ordered her to stop grinding and to put out the lamp. The woman did so immediately. She was so terrified that she put out the lamp and
remained sitting until day break.

There are cases where the Hapshi helps people to reach home safely. Men returning home from work late, would often claim to be followed by a tall man. He would even show them the path with a lantern, and then mysteriously disappear as they reached their houses. If anyone unknowingly cursed or abused him, the Hapshi would punish them by making them ill or even by killing them.

There are several cases of death caused due to punishment by the Hapshi. Persons have got attacks of paralysis, they have been plagued with strange recurring fevers. The Hapshi is extremely harsh on women. The punishment method out to erring women can be very severe compared to the men. The Hapshi can cause women to become childless, he can make them miscarry. Women have to be very careful about him. The Hapshi has to be appeased by the Bārādkars very regularly. He is offered liquor, poli (crude bread), dry fish. Even so, once the person abuses the Hapshi, very little can be done to effect an immediate cure. The victim has to make offerings and also offer prayers, ask for forgiveness. Patients have to say 'Saiba bugos' (Forgive me) to him. Thus the Hapshi is not a curative agent, but a causative agent of illness. He is feared the most because, there are seldom cures, when the Hapshi causes diseases in people, he can only be prevented from causing harm. He is not a spirit and thus the ghadi too cannot help in cure. Since the Hapshi is neither a spirit nor a deity the Ghadi cannot influence the spirits. They cannot make contact with the Hapshi. Though blood sacrifices are
offered to the Hapšhi, they cannot be used as a means to make him undo what he has done. The people can only hope to seek protection from him through the rituals during the Mell. The shimo bandop ceremony done on the last night of the Mell is most serious. It ensures protection from the Hapšhi for the following year.

The Hapšhi can be appeased through such collective ceremonies. Offerings to this deuychar can be made only by the men, particularly the budvont. Since the Hapšhi is not a spirit or a God there is no possession (of the body) by him. However there is a continuity between his body and that of the Bārāḍkars, that's why he can cause them to be ill. It is not a continued influence on the body. The Hapšhi just affects the body, and the sick person either has to endure the disease, or if it is a severe attack, he may even die. When the Hapšhi attacks, or gives a disease, it should be treated with herbal medicine. The disease follows its normal course before a cure. When the hapshei attacks the head there is very little that can be done. The patients family can just wait and hope that the Hapšhi will not cast his wrath when the patient gets well. The patients cannot appease the Hapšhi to cure the illness. He can cause disease and he can be prevented from cause harm to people.

The Bārāḍkarn Saibin: This is a Saibin the Bārāḍkars fear and respect the most. The name of this Saibin is shenvtem. She lived in Bārāḍi much before the people came to live there. The land belonged to her. The Bārāḍkars are living on her land. The home of the Bārāḍkarn was a 'Roẹń' (termite mound). This roẹń was
situated at a place called the Muxer. Which was an arched bridge linking Bārāḍī to the adjoining khazan lands. Bārāḍkarm was a tall well-built woman, with ankle-length hair, so much so that it swept the roads. She often sat on a huge rock that stood next to her roen. That was her favourite place. She bathed at the spring, which lies near the Muxer, at the foot of the Baradi Hill. Bārāḍkarm was a powerful deity. She protected her village very jealously. Even when the people came to live there she protected them like her own children. When she walked down the road her hair swept away all evil that could possibly affect the people. She took away all illness along with her. Bārāḍkarm had absolute control over nature. She could keep floods at bay, by just kicking the water. Her presence kept the soil fertile and the people healthy.

Some people began 'boshtepon' (pollution) they would carelessly, pass her abode after consuming alcohol, menstruating women would pass her roen. Some people decided to rear pigs. Since she could not stand the pollution of her area, she decided to stay at Canacona. Though she left Baradi, she still loved all her people. Now she comes every year during the Meḥl, and during the 'Alma fest', or ‘Fête’. The people of Bārāḍī too, maintain her spring and her abode as her original home. Today her roen no longer exits. In its place people have made a small cemented enclosure. This place is forbidden to the Baradkars to avoid Boshtepon. Only the budvonts can go there to place offerings during the Meḥl. On the rock stands a cross erected in her honour. Though the symbol of the cross dominates, the people
still address it as the Saibiň, or Bärădkaničho Huris. The Saibiň plays a significant role in the health beliefs of the people. She is the protector of their health. Women in particular have deep faith in the healing power of Bärădkarn. Newly weds give special offerings, to ensure the birth of a child. If due respect is not paid to her, she may even make women barren. There are several examples cited by the people to show how she can punish erring people.

Once some women were returning home from collecting firewood. One of the women noticed another woman following them. She used abusive language asking her why she was trying to hide behind them. The woman was actually the Saibiň. She never forgave the woman abusing her. The victim was immediately paralyzed and died a few years later. Another girl of marriageable age, saw a woman sitting on a tree. Taking her to be a naughty girl, she abusively told her to come down at once. The Bärădkarn, cursed her, by making her childless after marriage. The woman died childless.

Bärădkarn can cure people whom she curses too, provided they appease her regularly and have truly atoned for their misdeeds. Even when there are patients who are sick due to other reasons like roge, Nadreće, or Varyaće, she helps to cure. Though there are specific remedies for specific types of diseases, the Saibiň ensures over all protection for her people. With her power she keeps away many spirits who could have caused harm.

Now inspite of being in Canacona she still protects the
people. The Bārāḍkars still maintain their strong links with her. Every year after the Mell the budvont or representative take offerings to her (See Mell). The group that goes there to Canacona, go on behalf of every Baradkar. On their way back from Canacona they take the same path through the forests. The women sprinkle the road with sweet lad dus and grams. These are the prasad from the Saibin. The food strewn along the path is for the 'rosto tong korpak'. (To cool the paths). The terms signify pacification of the paths. The lonely roads are often ridden by malevolent spirits. when Baradkarn was living in the village, the roads all around Baradi were safe for the people, the women frequented these roads, more than the men, because the collected fire wood and medicines from the forests. Now through the offerings given to her, she still exercises her protection power over her people. The entire worship of Bārāḍkarn is divided between Canacona and Bārāḍi. Though she has shifted her abode the Saibin still has just the same significance as she did when she was at Bārāḍi.

The Pirvaoni, Odupaik, and Funțirkarn: The Pir or the Babbar Pir, as he is known is considered a Muslim Saint (See Mell). The people of Bārāḍi called him Pirovoṇi. He was brought up from the waters by the Bārāḍkars, and therefore he is believed to protect the people. The saint has been incorporated into the religion of the Bārāḍkars. The Bağıhi invokes the Piravoni as one of the deities. He does not directly cause harm, but as one of the Saints he can assist in the Varyačā. Odu Paik is a deity who has his abode at one border of the village at this place, Odu Paik.
vomited jewels. But if he sensed people approaching them, he would swallow them back. The Funțirkarn Saibin is another deity at another border. She too is invoked during the Mël. The Piravoni, the Odu Paik and Funțirkarn along with the Bărățkarn and Hapshi are invoked, for the collective well being of the community. These deities have to be called upon in the presence of the three budvonts, and the men of the village. Individual invocation to the same deities have no therapeutic or religious significance, hence it is only during the Mël and in the presence of the three budvonts that the invocations bring importance. The Ghaçi can also ask for their assistance to heal patients from Varyață.

If people do the boshtepon, the deities however punish severely, sometimes even with death. Among all the human agents of healing, there are those who are the causative as well as the curative agents of healing, others can only heal but they cannot cause disease. The Vokakarn and the budvont are nearer who can cure illnesses but cannot cause them. A budvont being symbolically linked to the body social, ie. the community cannot harm his own people. It becomes an act of self destruction. The budvont is like the self of the body social. He is responsible to some extent, for maintaining a healthy body (social) of the community. A budvont however can cause harm to another community member just as any other man can if he finds him harming the Bărățkars.

The Vokakarn cannot cause disease. She cannot even cause
dišt. It's because as a Voktakarn she has the special haat gunn for healing. Therefore she cannot possess the power to cause disease. She cannot possess the two opposite qualities. If she can cause dišt then she does not possess the haat gunn. The presence of haat gunn in a woman automatically eliminates the other quality, namely that of possessing the ability to cause disease. Whereas the Ghaḍi and the dištikarn are different from the former two. Both can act as causative and curative agents of disease. The two qualities exist as one in both of them. The distikarn and the Ghaḍi are both responsible for healing the social body, and consequently the biological body too. Hence they become the cause and the cure for the disease.

There also seems to be a clear division between Male and Female healers according to the type of disease. The 'roge' cures and the 'dist' are in the hands of female. The Varyačê, and collective healing is in the hands of the male.

Among the super-human agents of healing, again the Hapsî is male and his worship is entirely in the hands of the male. Bārādkarn is female but of late it is being taken over by the male. The rest of the deities are all through the hands of the male. It appears that the cures of the biological body, lie within the domain of the female, and the social body cures lie within the domain of the male. The Hapsî does not really heal a disease although he can cause it. He can only restrain from causing illness to people.

References:
References:


CHAPTER 7
CONCLUDING REMARKS

a) Emerging trends of medicine among the Kūnhbi:
The social life of the Bārgākars has undergone considerable changes in recent years. Modernization has touched them though rather late, compared to the Render (Toddy Tapers) in Betul, and the Chardde in Velim. This are felt in their system of health care. Changes in culture have led changes in perceptions of illness. The interaction between the traditional ideas and the ideas thrown up by the new culture have given rise to a distinct synthesis in the field of medical practices. To illustrate this let me take the case of an illness described by two women, one aged sixty, and the other aged twenty four. The difference in age will indicate how the perception of illness has changed. First, the explanation of the sixty year old woman.

Explanation 1: Our neighbour's son was a very healthy young man. Some man from Caxeta expired in Bombay. He had to bring home the dead body. After the burial he developed a low blood pressure (rogot na) and fell unconscious. His head and neck became stiff. We could not believe it was happening to him. He looked as if he was dead. We tried to revive him with jets of water and onion odour, but nothing seemed to work. We had to take him to the Vhoḍlē Osipitol (big hospital). Like vhoḍlē ghor, it does not refer to size, but to importance, compared to other small health centres).

At the same time our budvont and family elders went to the
The ghaddi told us that he was possessed by the spirit of the dead man whom the young man accompanied from Bombay. He wanted this man's life. Being with him throughout the journey, the spirit of dead the man got a chance to possess the body of this healthy young man.

From the hospital we got the news that he was very ill and had to be to Bombay for treatment. The doctors found that his tokleci sir (vein going to the head) was blocked (gullo zalo). God forgive him. The spirit wanted to take his head first. Once he had possession of the head, he could have the life of the patient in no time. God gave him the courage to endure all this in silence. The doctors removed the block. Now he is alright. His purwoz (ancestors) actually saved him from dying. They were the ones who stopped the spirit from taking possession of the head. Otherwise, how could the vein of a young man be blocked. They blocked it to stop the spirit from entering. The doctors only helped in removing the block. The purwoz gave us the signal (warning) just in time. We all offered prayers and tributes to Bārāḵkarn, and the Holy Cross for gratitudes.

Explanation 2: The young man fell sick after coming from Bombay. He faints (gunv yeyli). He became stiff. He was rushed to the hospital in Margao. Some people said it was because he came home with a dead body. They even went to the ghaddi to confirm it. But in the hospital they found that his vein in the head had been blocked. Doctor said the blood could not go to the head. He was taken to Bombay where they operated, on him and removed the
block. It was very strange how he got such an illness. May be he was really affected by the spirit. The doctors were telling his wife that such sickness happens when the vein gets blocked. Flesh grows inside the head (mas vadd̒ta). This is something new that is happening to people. Doctors call it tumor. They have to operate and remove it.

The two above explanations show the way in which the same illness is perceived by two women representative of two generations. When there is a very serious illness, as in this case, the sickperson is taken to the doctor. However, the family members still visit the ghaddi to find out if the person has been affected by spirits.

In the explanation given by the older woman note how she focuses on the sickperson and the role of the ancestors in protecting him. The doctors explanation of the illness is of secondary importance. What is most important is that the sickperson was saved by the power of the ancestors. The doctors explanation is interpreted by her, according to her own understanding of illness. The block in the vein was caused by the ancestors in order to stop the spirit from taking possession of his head.

It was the spirit who made him sick. The block was a warning just in time. The old woman also focuses on god, who gave the sickman the courage that he needed to endure his illness. She narrates elaborately how they had to offer tributes to the deities after he was healed. Blood was offered through the ghaddi, in order to cure the spirit away from him. The doctors
explanation is kept brief, and details are avoided, because they do not fit into her view of the illness. The doctor only intervenes in order to remove the block.

In the explanation of the younger woman, she focused on the doctor and his explanations, keeping the role of the ancestors in the background. The ghaddi and the probable possession by the dead man is kept brief. Her emphasis on the doctor's explanation shows her inclination to accept what he says over her own traditionally acquired understanding of the illness. Her statement "may be he was really affected by the spirit" indicates her conflict between the traditional explanation and the new explanation of the illness.

The case of this illness, represents the general trend in medicine among the Bārāḍkars. In present day Bārāḍ there are two private allopathic doctors, available at the place called Muxer. The people identify these doctors as men from another caste. They were Chardda. They were not the same as themselves. They were outsiders. The clinic was however available to them if they chose. The only healers they knew otherwise were the medicine woman, dištikarn, ghaddi, budvont. These persons besides having the healing gift, are members of their community. They belonged to their vangoḍ or family (expect the ghaddi who belonged to the same caste only). Each held the same beliefs, share the same cultural sentiments and world view. There was a complete communion between the people and their healers.

The Bārāḍkars go to the respective healers for cures. When
there was a case of dist it was the dištikarn only who could cure the illness. Spirit possession could not be cured unless it was treated by the ghaddi. How could a doctor cure evileye or illness due to possession? He did not possess the respective haat gun (healing gift). It came through the family or vangod. One had to be a member of the community to acknowledge the fact of the healing gift.

All healers among the Kunbi were so by virtue of their growth in the community. They could develop their skill and unfold their space. A doctor did not grow into a common social space. He only has knowledge of medicines and illness. There is no way which he can get the healing gift like the Kunbi.

The Kunbi had maintained a highly cohesive social structure through inter-vangod marriages, and the network of economic exchanges. Modernization, has expanded their field of contact. Through Christianity came elements of westernization, almost intruding into their social space. The synthesis of socio-religious elements has created a distinct type of Catholicism among the Kunbi. The same type of synthesis is seen in the field of medicine too. The Kunbi have made a synthesis of the new medicine, or baie vokod (literally means, medicine from outside) or allopathy, to incorporate it into their indigenous system of medicine. The basic structure of causes and classification has remained, with the inclusion of the doctor as one more person who can give medicines and cure.

The idea of the human body has not undergone any structural
change. When a person's biological body has been known to be possessed by a spirit, he still has to be taken to the ghaddi. The medication for the biological body can be herbal (from the medicine woman) or allopathic (from the doctor). It does not matter what kind of medicine is taken for the biological body. The number of medicine women having dwindled over the last decade, leads the Baradkars to buy allopathic medicine. Nevertheless the younger people often go for allopathic medicines directly. What is however important is identifying the cause of illness. Even before they have taken the sick person to the doctor the diagnostic methods are already used to determine the cause of the illness. Once the cause has been identified. The respective healer has to be consulted.

Bārādkars emphasise the importance of ṭmage vokod (our own medicine) over the bailē vokod (medicine from outside). There are several reasons for this. The herbal medicines given by the medicine woman do not cost money. They are fresh according to the Bārādkars. Allopathic medicines are stored in the pharmacy for several weeks or months. Whereas the medicine woman collects fresh medicines whenever she can. She collects them through the proper procedure. She keeps to the right days of collection, saying prayers and incantations while doing so. Allopathic medicine is not collected in the same manner. The Baradkars do not know how they are prepared. Allopathic medicines are bought when herbals are not available at hand. Later despite using allopathic medicines herbal remedies are used when they are later available.
The circulation of money itself has increased among the Bārādkars. Items were traditionally linked to social relationships. An item like cocum was not just a condiment. It brought together two families who would exchange it for firewood (or the respective reciprocal item). It bound the individuals into a network of mutual reciprocal responsibilities. As Mauss has pointed out, exchange in traditional society had a deep sacred significance.\(^1\) This significance becomes considerably weakened when monetary exchanges begin to take over. Many items which were otherwise exchanged are now brought in the open market.

The same is the case with medicines. Taking medicines from the medicine woman, was a social relationship, linking the people with a common belief system about health. Money enters, and the belief system undergoes a change. The medicine women still do not sell any medicines. People have adjusted to the changes keeping the basic structure of their social organization. Changes are incorporated into the overall health care program that already exists.

The indigenous health practices of the Kunbi involved a number of symbols used by an analogy from events, or understanding from everyday life (see pg.). Such symbolism was effective in a specific cultural context. Symbols have been known to be powerful and effective in bringing about certain types of behaviour and bodily functions.\(^2\) The changing cultural context certainly has changed the significance of symbols used by the
The people themselves state that their own medicine was effective, before allopathic medicines were available to them. Once allopahy (bailë vokokod) entered into their community, the effectiveness of many medicines went down. The medicine women attribute this to people changing faith. It is said that people today do not have the same faith in herbal medicine. Neither so they have full faith in allopathy. Faith if we recall (see pg.) is one of the essential for a cure. When a person begins to loose faith, the symbolisms used may have little or no effect on his behaviour. This could be one of the reasons why the medicine women feel that some medicines are no no longer effective.

There are several factors which are in some way responsible for the peoples cure towards allopathic medicine. The role of the media contact with urban areas, and a subtle upper caste scorn for such practices. The Charddes look down upon many of the practices of the Kunbi as superstitious and unscientific. Though rudiments of the same are to be found among them too. The role of the Church has been equally influential. Kunbi culture is said to have a number of elements of Konkonpon (Hindu religion). Health practices of the Kunbi are termed as "Pagan". For the Kunbi themselves allopathic medicines thus become a status symbol too. Constantly scorned at by the Church and the upper castes, the Kunbi see inclusion of allopathy as a means of enchancing their status.

Thus the present system of medicines cannot be clearly
termed as a plural system. The Kunbi are still a fairly homogenous group, sharing a common belief system. Despite the pressures from outside, and the stigma attached to medical practices, their social organization has remained with its essential characteristics. Allopathy is used in complement with herbal medicine. It is indicative of the fact that as long as the community remains homogenous, there will be a single system of medicine. It will form the basic structure on which a synthesis can take place. In Bārādi allopathy and herbal medicine are not two parallel systems of medicine. Health practices are distinctly "Kunbi practices," because mechanisms of Kunbi culture have given rise to such a system. It is under the conditions of Kunbi social space that the present system of medicine has emerged.

b) Future of Indigenous Systems of Medicine:
Indigenous systems of medicine have attracted the attention of both anthropologists and health care officials for the last couple of decades. This enthusiasm has been sparked off by certain factors. In the first place, there is a mounting pressure for health care services in all developing countries. The respective Governments faced with economic crisis, are tempted to look for low-cost, solutions.[3] In the second place, it has been established that most countries are finding the Western model too expensive to expand existing services.[4] In the third place, the public is increasingly becoming aware that modern medicine can bring about serious damage to the health of the individual. Questions are now being thrown up about the effectiveness and iatrogenicity of modern medicine.[5]
Added to these factors is the fact that most people in developing countries have been using indigenous medicine. As much as 80% of these populations have no access to modern health care services.[6] This means that vast majority of the population in developing countries have been able to sustain themselves through their own system of medicine. It was not until the 1970's that this fact came to be accepted. Rather than scorning at the indigenous systems of medicine, international bodies like the WHO have now recognized the utility of indigenous medicine. In 1977 the Thirtieth World Health Assembly of the WHO, passed a resolution for promotion and research in traditional systems of medicine.[7] Later in 1978, the International Conference on Primary Health Care held in Alma-Ata (WHO and UNICEF) endorsed the utilization of indigenous practitioners in Government health care systems.[8]

These declarations imply that for the future health of mankind, modern medicine itself will not suffice. Alternative medical systems will have to be probed for their utilization.[9] Subsequently there have been several studies attempting to explore the possibilities of bringing indigenous systems of medicine into modern health care.

One of the strategies for linkage suggested that instituting a government licensing program, to license indigenous practitioners after a period of training. Founding of schools to produce herbalists. Upgrade their skills as per norms of biomedicine. Employ them in Ministry of Health. Recruit a local licensed
traditional practitioners as part of the team in every rural health outpost. Organize workshops for government health personnel on cross-cultural training. Finance research into pharmacopoeia of traditional medicine include elements of traditional medicine with a view towards personalizing the practice of modern medicine. These eight suggestions have been put forward as a package by Neumann and Lauro.[10] There are also suggestions to include traditional practitioners at all levels of health planning.[11]

Collaboration between traditional and modern medical systems could also be a two way process between doctors and traditional healers, by giving both kinds of practitioners alternative training.[12] The content of training is to be carefully chosen, giving equal emphasis to herbal expertise and the situation in which it is used along with symbolic rituals.[13]

Almost all countries today are trying to address the problem of integrating modern medicine and other alternate sources of medicine. WHO indicates four approaches: in some countries like France and Belgium where only modern medicine is allowed as lawful. Countries like UK and Germany recognize modern medicine but tolerate other forms of medicine too. Countries like India, Sri Lanka allow more than one systems of medicine, provided they are certain standards, as legal. Lastly, countries like China, Nepal, Democratic Korea, allows and officially encourages two systems of medicine, indigenous and modern.[14] Despite serious efforts at integration, medical personnel have met with little success and much complexity. Perhaps the best account of
utilizing traditional practitioners has been in the use of Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA). Traditional midwives have been widely used in a number of countries, to assist modern health care services, [15] TBA's deliver two thirds of the babies in the world, and many countries are now understanding special upgrading and training programs for TBA's.[16]

There are a number of shortcomings in the attempts to integrate indigenous systems of medicine into modern health services. Health administrators all over the world (including those in WHO) are trained in modern medicine. There is an unconscious bias against all non western systems of medicine. This is obvious from the policy decisions of most proponents of integration of indigenous systems with modern medicine.

I will begin with the WHO documents. The Alma Ata conference [Ref.8] itself was necessitated by the fact that most developing countries were faced with a terrible burden of extending health care services to their increasing population. States began to realize that investment in economic development is intricately linked to the health of the country. Yet Governments are finding it almost impossible to provide modern health services.[17] This is one of the reasons why officials are turning towards low cost sources of medicine. Indigenous systems are primarily seen as cheap sources of medicine. The financial burden has made WHO/UNICEF look towards alternative approaches to meet basic health needs in developing countries.[18]

Soon after the Alma Ata conference international funding
agencies like the World Bank, the (USAID) US. Agency for International Development, and the United Nations agencies adopted a policy to grant loans for the utilization of traditional practitioners in health care services.[19] Indicating here is the fact that the USAID clearly brought out one of the main reasons for looking towards alternative sources of medicine: "Traditional medicines also deserve further study as a readily available and inexperience resources for combating certain prevalent health problem."[20]

Further at the Thirty First World Health Assembly the General Chairman also made the financial implications clear when he stated: "To sum up on traditional medicine, I feel that it is the very shortage of modern medicaments in developing countries that provides one of the most cogent argument for looking more closely at the resources offered by the traditional medicine of each country.[20]

The above statements make one thing clear, that indigenous medicine is sought because it provides a cheap alternative. There is talk of the "integrated approach" only for developing countries. By implication, the WHO policies subtly advocate modern sophisticated medical technology for developed countries, and "integrated medicine" for developing countries.

The integration of indigenous medicine and modern medicine, has tended to become a co-optation of traditional practitioners and medicinal plants into modern medicine. Despite the change in attitude towards indigenous medical systems. Since 1977, the
frame work for integration of traditional and modern medicine has remained as that of modern medicine.[22]

The bias towards modern medicine is obvious also from the Alma Ata declarations, where the traditional healers were encouraged for utilization only after suitable training. Integration is to take place strictly through the application of modern scientific knowledge and techniques.[23] As a result of this bias towards modern medicine the study of indigenous medicine has been reduced to the study of traditional herbal plants removed from their socio-cultural context. They are studied like other allopathic drugs.[24] Jingfeng notes that efficacy of certain traditional medicines cannot be verified by modern scientific methods because, the therapy is essentially holistic and factors such as age, climate, and the individual. Therapy may even vary for the same patient, in a different climate, at a different age.[25]

Thus a purely pharmacological study of active plant alkaloids will not yield the correct results. There is also the possibility therefore, that certain forms of therapy which are culture specific, may be deemed superstitious and unscientific.

Finally, the integration of Indigenous medicine, has meant the use on the indigenous practitioners. The Alma Ata Declaration, and the various documents endorsing the use of ‘traditional medicine’ have actually focused on how traditional healers, and TBA’s can be used in the health care programmes after ‘training them accordingly.[26]’ The case of India is worth considering
separately. India unlike other countries except China has had a longer history of attempts at integration. The ancient Indian system of medicine is known to be at least 3000 years old.[27] There is also the Unani system of medicine which came with the Arabs, dating to about 700 years ago.

There is ample documented evidence to show that the colonial rulers in fact encouraged the use of Indigenous medicine. The English East India Company in 1622 is argued to have its employees to use locals medicines as they were better and less experience than imported ones.[28] The Europeans upto 1800 even took help from local physicians partly because they felt they would be better acquainted with the illnesses of the place.[29]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, British policy towards indigenous medicine had changed considerably. There was still a co-operative relationship though, between the British Raj and indigenous medicine. In the Punjab the provincial government employed the indigenous practitioners as health extension workers. The University of Punjab itself offered courses in Ayurveda and Unani.[30]

During the early twentieth century though pressure was mounting against indigenous medicine, many private medical schools taught integrated courses which had indigenous as well as western medical techniques.[31]

After 1947, the government of India tries to follow the policies of the British rulers regarding integration. There was emphasis on absorbing practitioners from Ayurveda and Unani, in the
state health organisation, by giving them further scientific training. Medical training in every field it was said should be based on scientific training.[32]

In the 1970's once again there was a rise of discussions on integrating indigenous medicine. The focus here however was on training indigenous medical practitioners to provide the much needed health services to the entire rural areas.[33]

Since then much of the policy has concentrated on the quick delivery of health services to the growing masses. The governments commitment to promote Indian systems of medicine and homeopathy, stem from the WHO target of "health for all by A.D. 2000." The Health and Family Welfare Ministry's annual report for 1989-90, states that the national health policy assigns an important role to the Indian systems of medicine for primary health care and envisages its eventual integration in the overall health care delivery system.[34] The WHO policies are also driving at the same point to use indigenous medicines as an alternative, cheap source, for quick health delivery programmes. The Government allocated Rs. 129 cores in the Seventh Plan as against a mere Rs. 40 lakh in the First Plan. This amount among other things was meant to be spent on research and development. Unfortunately, once research is complete, many medicinal preparations are marketed for export.

A news item appearing in the observer Jan 15, 1992, announced that 100 medicinal plants with proven medicinal properties had been selected for export to overseas countries. There is an
increasing market for Ayurvedic preparations and herbal cosmetics in the West. India being in need of foreign exchange is trying to tap this demand for that valuable foreign currency.

Thus much of the countries resources used for the development of indigenous medicine may end into a boost for exports. India's policy on integration of indigenous systems with modern health care services has unfortunately run on the same lines as other countries despite the traditions of Ayurvedic and Unani.

Much of the talk of integration then, has been rather rhetoric. Indigenous healers and traditional birth attendants though are being increasingly used in Government health programmes, as we have seen earlier. There are many problems in integrating indigenous medicine with modern medicine. Both are culture specific. But the letter from its inception was linked to the market. Today even indigenous systems are linked to the market, however modern medicine, with all its iatrogenic consequences is still influential. It is backed by the powerful pharmaceutical industry, and the medical bureaucracy. It is the prejudice against indigenous systems of medicine that so far prevent the proper integration of such systems.

Being culture specific, it may never be possible to recover an indigenous system of medicine in its totality. Yet surviving aspects of such systems could be used in conjunction with other non indigenous forms of medical care. For this there will have to be radical politico-economic changes, both in Western as well as
Third World countries. A genuine attempt at integration can be possible only when prevailing the prejudices are overcome.


One of the best products of Science and Technology given to modern civilization is said to be modern medicine. A clear demonstration of the wounding and superior power of Science, Modern medicine emerged as the unquestioned champion of health. This system of medicine is associated with a certain mode of temporality and a specific medicine, type of society. Thus it is also called Western medicine, cosmopolitan medicine, scientific medicine, biomedicine or modern medicine. The clinical name given to the underlying principle of healing is called 'Allopathy'. The term is defined in Greek as 'allos' meaning other and 'patheia' meaning suffering. It is described as the science of treating a disease, or the curing of a diseased action, by inducing effects opposite to those produced by the disease. The term itself was first used by Hanhemann to distinguish it from the system of Homeopathy.[35]

Allopathy was distinguished from all other non-western systems of medicine. It is essential, that to understand this distinction we have to understand, under what specific circumstances allopathy or modern medicine grew as a political medical power.

In allopathy a condition of health is brought about by treating the condition of ill health with drugs that produce an opposite reaction. An inflammation is treated with anti-
inflammatory drugs, and acidity in the stomach is treated with ant-acid drugs, and excess of harmful microbes in the body with antibiotic drugs. On the face of it, this method of cure approach towards the treatment of illness, parallels the ideology penetrating all social relationships in modern society.

Like other preceding systems of medicine what we term as modern medicine today, has come a long way too. From the Middle Ages we have medical and surgical knowledge being pooled together in Europe, from the Arabs, Greeks and Romans, who already had a rich body of medical knowledge.[36]

Knowledge gathered from different cultures was used improved through a constant process of assimilation. Towards the end of the Middle Ages physicians began searching remedies for every human ailment. Herbal and magical remedies were being used along with religious rituals. In Europe during the early sixteenth century, there came Paracelsus, the famed physician. He insisted on deductions drawn from reason and experience. He also criticized magic and witchcraft in medicine. His therapeutics included the use of chemicals and equal emphasis on nature's healing power to cure illness.[37]

From the 18th century onwards there was a spate of discoveries in the Western world. Jenner's discovery of the smallpox vaccine, Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, John Hunter, William Beaumont, Joseph Lister, William Harvey, to name a few, all added to the fast growing body of Western medical knowledge. It cannot be said that the new found medical knowledge was really
'new' in the actual sense of the term. Inoculation against smallpox for instance had been known in India, China and in Turkey even before Jenner was born. Surgery was known to the ancient Indian's as evidenced from the work of Susruta. It is important to note here that medical knowledge had been subject to political manowers. The Romans often accused the Greeks of trying to wipe out their empire through the use of their medicines, and the Arabs carefully resumed and translated the medical manuscripts from the library of Alexandria before burning it down.[38] Despite this medicine did not intrude in the lives of the people.

From the mid nineteenth century the approach towards health changed. Two factors can be attributed to this change. (1) The rise of Colonialism in the West and (2) The rise of Capitalism. Through colonialism emerged in the sixteenth century, it was not until the early nineteenth century that these above conditions flourished in the West.

The ground work of these changes could already be seen from Paracelsus onwards. The narrowing of the domain of causes from Galen in the tenth century to Paracelsus in the sixteenth century was obvious. When Paracelsus attacked magical and witchcraft aspects of old medicine he was denying the cosmic and social influences which members of society were thought to be subject to, in other systems of medicine. While his introduction of chemicals and clinical description of illnesses helped later medicine to develop cures, it also paved the way for chemotherapy and the use of synthetic drugs to treat diseases.
Further if we follow the path of inventions and discoveries in European medicine, we see a clear shift from prophylactic concerns to the treatment of individual illnesses. The concerns had moved from outside the body, to its inside. Invention of the microscope, discovery of penicillin, anesthesia, the germ theory, were all being celebrated as marvels of western science.

The intellectual groundwork for a eurocentered worldview was laid down during the enlightenment. Superstition was distinguished from reason, with the latter given transcendence over the former. Positivism emerged as the valid form of obtaining knowledge. These two trends of thought became the ideological foundation of the western civilization.[39] Positivist science became the source of authoritative knowledge.[40]

Newton's mechanistic world view complemented with Descartes dualism, extended it to the human body as well. The body came to be viewed as a natural machine in which mechanical failure meant disease.

While western science and technology gave the intellectual background, colonialism provided the political context within which western medicine emerged as a dominant 'scientific' system of medicine. Modern medicine is nothing but a reflection of the ideology underlying modern western civilization.

During the Colonial period medicines served as a justification for European presence in the colonies. It was used
to demonstrate the superior knowledge of the Westerners. In the post colonial era medicine has been serving the interests of the capitalist empire. For nearly a century and a half, western medicine was upheld as the unquestioned champion of health. Capitalism's grip had numbed the critical faculty of the masses. To question the effectiveness of modern medicine seemed absurd.

Nevertheless gradual voices of dissent came up. The illusion of the myth of modern medicine was probably first questioned by Dubos, calling it a 'medically sponsored' disease. He pointed that medicine could be made effective through social and political action.

Illich targets an over industrialized society as the cause of an unhealthy medical system. High costs of medical care, and massive expenditure on health infrastructure, according to him actually helps big business and pharmaceuticals and not vice versa. Modern society has been shaped by technology, and if it has made society sick, we ought to look at the nature of technology itself as the cause.

Modern medicine concentrate on the body of the individual, and ignores the social context of etiology. It creates the belief that the individuals are responsible for their illness, while hiding the role of Social Institutions within which the patient lives. Medicine is accused of supporting 'unhealthy systems of living.'

Capra points out that the contemporary image of the body is
taken as that of a machine, prone to failure. The narrow conceptual basis of modern medicine has become a dogma. We therefore need a cultural revolution to improve and even maintain our health.[47]

Others locate the crisis of modern medicine in the idea of development. It has served to lay claims to power over the human body. They argue that modern medicine, having become a positivist science, also because philosophical and cultural assumptions of modern medicine are never questioned. Political control in the name of health and development is extended over the human body, subjecting it to the demands of large-scale engineering and intervention.[48]

In a capitalist society the health care system has been turned into a commodity. It can be sold according to the rule of the free market economy. Modern medicine favours technology intensive approach that is profitable for the industrialist but expensive and unhealthy for the patients.[49]

Also a strong characteristic of modern medicine is the violence that it perpetrates on the people. It is inseparable from medical science. This violent approach has moved from the human to animals and the environment.[50] The medical regime with its professional dominance has become expansionist in its designs. Medical dominance has acquired global proportions, equating it to a kind of medical imperialism.[51] Just as economic power is concentrated in the west, so is medical domination. International organisations like the WHO have a world
wide infrastructure for allopathic medicine.[52] Similarly international funding bodies like the IMF and the WB have a worldwide network of funding. The collusion between these two types of organisation have resulted in a world wide manipulation and control over health care.

The world development report 1993 proposed by the World Bank discusses the issue of investing in health care. This report does not attack the source of ill-health in TW countries, which is poverty. WB argues for a cost containment policy. Whereas this may reduce tax burden on governments, WB argues that such a policy will actually help poor income countries. Poverty is not a thing to be cured by medication. The WB therefore helps maintain the global socio-political equations. It actually safeguards big business interest, at the same time creating a facade of global health concern.[53]

Althusser views such phenomena as Ideological State Apparatus, operating in order to maintain and reproduce the exploitative relations of production in capitalist societies. It keeps individuals in a perpetual imaginary relationship with real conditions of existence.[54] The most recent boost to Capitalist big business has been the bioelectronic industry. The electronics industry itself has found a new boost to profits. High Technology is now being used for most diagnosis. PET Scan, NMR Scan, CT Scan, and computers for patient monitoring is the latest of wonders.

Doctors succumb to the medical bureaucracy and the industry
to promote such technology. Doctors themselves feel that the medical profession has to become 'computer literate'. Computers are shown to be the answer to health management problems, because they would leave more time for the doctor to care for the patient.[55]

Further, computerization is shown by some to be of utmost importance to a country like India, which is overburdened with patients.[56] Such campaigns only serve to further the interests of electronics manufacturing firms. If a computer can store the data from the patient, monitor his prescriptions, analyze his history, record his progress, and assist in therapy, it shows how impersonal the doctor-patient relationship is going to be. In fact the doctors personal touch with the patient will diminish progressively.

Thus it can be seen how doctors too, succumb to the market forces in promoting business interests. India spends only 2% of its budget on health. Pushing for computerization is not the solution to our health problems. What we need is and increased outlay on health, more hospitals, and better utilization of funds. How do we change the present state of affairs? Critiques against modern medicine are surfacing from all parts of the world. Particularly from the West itself.

It is obvious from the works of Illich, Foucault, Nandy, and others that what is needed is a massive world wide campaign for socio-political reform. Ownership and distribution of resources has to undergo radical changes. There should be a global movement
aimed towards severing Imperialist designs. The strict militant dogmatic medicalization of society has made modern medicine repressive towards the patient. The first task of the doctor is therefore a political one.[57]

The 'hegemony of biomedicine' as Gramsci calls it, can be undone when we engage in a struggle to challenge the hegemony of the ruling bloc. For the ideology of mature capitalism is deeply entrenched in the minds of its potential enemies too. He suggests that it is culture that has to be infiltrated at all levels, in order to bring about any revolutionary change.[58]

Others like Kothari, Nandy, Schumacher, argue for alternate development strategies that are humane, and appropriate to the poorer nations. The problems brought on by modern medicine are not really restricted to medicine alone. Industrialization and Imperialism has given rise to this characteristic form of medical system. The exploitative medical empire can be dismantled only through global political action.

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