CHAPTER V

The process of treatment

Overlap of etiology, diagnosis, treatment is a feature of the Kumbri Marathi medical system. Such overlap is not often the case in biomedical systems. The focus of the present discussion is on the treatment of diseases on the basis of symptoms, the process of treatment and the treatment seeking behavior. As it was seen in the previous chapters, etiology and diagnosis play a crucial role in deciding the treatment resorts. Kumbri Marathi’s understanding of diseases and methods of curing are based on their notions of etiology. Therefore, when a condition is believed to be caused due to natural conditions, the treatment seeking behavior is different from what was seen, in case of supernaturally caused conditions. Supernatural diagnosis has crucial significance for the Kumbri Marathi. Once the role of supernatural is ruled out, the focus is shifted to natural treatments, either indigenous or modern. Or in case, if the natural measures do not provide relief, again supernatural is sought to.

The supernatural diagnosis and treatment are not entirely different processes but at times overlap. Further, even when the supernatural healing is being resorted to, people also take natural treatment whether it is due to seriousness of the condition or to restore health as quickly as possible by using simultaneously the available options of health care. However, once the diagnosis of the condition has been confirmed, the direction in which the treatment is to proceed is decided upon. Young notes that, “therapies are not only a means for curing sickness but equally important they are means by which specific named kinds of sickness are defined and given culturally recognizable forms” (1976:8).

The emphasis of this discourse is to understand, the pharmacopoeia used for treating various diseases. The etiology of these conditions has been discussed earlier in the discussion on Health to Ill-health. The symptoms of different conditions and their entailing treatment seeking pattern have also been discussed here. Symptoms of diseases have been explained here along with the treatment because, it is primarily on the basis of symptoms that the treatment is taken or
provided. Both naturally and supernaturally caused conditions have physiological manifestations. Though the hierarchy of resorts is different, in case of naturally and supernaturally caused conditions, the physiological symptoms are treated similarly.

Along with symptoms, preparation of home remedy ghar vakāt, indigenous medical specialists vakṭalī and medicines given by them have been dealt with. The ways different types of herbs and animals extracts are used as medicine for treating disease and methods used for administering medicines are also explained.

In the hierarchy of resorts various therapeutic procedures and methods are involved. "Such procedures in tribal medicine are classified into three categories by Lieban namely:

i) Herbal or chemo therapy- healing procedures and methods, which involve administration of medicinal herbs and medicinal extracts from various body parts of certain animals having medicinal qualities.

ii) Mechanical therapy- includes the procedures such as massaging, bone setting, branding, blood letting and so on in order to heal a patient. Use of medicated oil, medicinal herbs and animal extracts are done.

iii) Magico-religious therapy- includes all ritualized procedures coordinated by a shaman, priest, diviner or a person possessed with divine power in order to diagnose and treat illness ritually" (1973:1044).

The therapeutic procedures and methods given above are broad categories of ethnomedical therapies prevalent in tribal health cultures. Among Kumbri Marathi also, similar therapeutic procedures and methods are found. There are indigenous medical specialists vakṭalī, midwife sovin/sohen, diviner diviner, and priest bhattach for treating ill-health conditions.

5. 1 Storage of indigenous medicine

Indigenous medicines are generally stored in the house. Commonly stored medicines are fat mande of veranus, fat of musk cat jovadya, nāsani (b.n. Eleusine Coracana), root of a bush called chakarāni, porcupine sāla, tender coconut water which is boiled and stored naralache gud.
The *manda* of *veranus gär* is collected in the months of August to December because during these months people hunt *gär*. It is used for treating skin diseases. When wild goat is hunted they keep the horn, which is used for treating cough.

Porcupine *sāla* is believed to be of medicinal value and its intestine is removed and stored. It is used for treating asthma.

Fat of musk cat *jovadya* is used for treating cataract.

*Nāsani* is also stored in the house. It is a cold producing food and it is consumed during summer season to counteract the increased *garmi* in the body.

*Chakrani* which is a bush is collected from the forest and stored. The root of the bush *chakrani* are given to the delivered woman to help her recover from weakness.

When they break the coconut, they collect the coconut water *naralache gud* and boil the water. This is kept stored in a bottle, it is used for the cuts, since it is believed to stop the bleeding quickly and thus help the cut to heal quickly.

Generally when the condition is diagnosed as naturally caused, indigenous herbal treatment is resorted to. The indigenous medical treatment is provided at the level of home remedies and by medicine men. Even when supernaturally caused in certain cases, indigenous herbal treatment is also given along with supernatural treatment. For instance, in case of the affliction of *murchi* (a strong malevolent spirit), the healer along with the supernatural healing also provides, indigenous medicines as a part of the treatment.

Usually home remedy is the first resort, sought on the basis of symptoms of *bejar*. If a person does not feel well and the symptoms are not so severe, then they opt home remedy. These home remedies involve indigenous remedies as well as some modern medicines like pain relievers, tablets for fever, and cold, stored at home or remaining from the previous visit to the doctor. They are consumed if the symptoms are not considered as serious. When a person feels a sudden change in
the body temperature or experiences severe pain, or when the disease is considered as severe then directly modern treatment is sought.

The elderly members of the family like grandmother or grandfather, parents, (the parents in case of children in nuclear families), or the neighbors observe the symptoms. And based on their observations of symptoms, their own experiences with similar symptoms, advice the course of treatment or suggest who has to be sought. Indigenous medical specialist or the diviner gādiga also play a role in diagnosing the disease. They observe the symptoms of the disease and suggest the person to undergo herbal or modern treatment. That is, on the basis of their perception as to which treatment the disease will respond, they will advice the person.

In the course of treatment, there is a shift in the treatment from home remedy to herbal, supernatural, or modern medicine. This shift depends on the response of the condition to the treatment. If the home remedy is not successful in treating, then medicine man or gādiga is sought. If they are also not able to provide cure, then modern doctor is sought. Then again one may come back to gādiga or go to bhatia in case there is no cure. The purpose of the shift is to cure the disease. Further, the treatment seeking behavior indicates that, whether it is indigenous or modern treatment, the treatment is discontinued when the symptoms disappear. That is, the medicines are taken when the symptoms are unbearable and stopped when they are no longer bothering.

Kleinman has suggested that, in looking at any society, one can identify three overlapping sectors of health care;

- the popular sector,
- the folk sector and
- professional sector.

Each sector has its own ways of explaining and treating ill-health, defining who is the healer and who is the patient, and specifying how healer and patient should interact in their therapeutic encounter. Kleinman’s classification is also applicable to Kumbri Marāthi.
The popular sector is the lay, non-professional, non-specialist domain of society, where ill-health is first recognized and defined, and health care activities are initiated. It includes all the therapeutic options that people utilize without any payment and without consulting either folk healers or medical practitioners. Among these options are; self-treatment or self-medication; advice or treatment given by a relative, friend, neighbor, or consultation with another lay person who has special experience of a particular disorder, or of treatment of a physical state. In this sector, the main arena of health care is the family; here most ill-health is recognized and then treated. It is the place of primary health care in any society. Most health care in this sector takes place between people already linked to one another by ties of kinship. Among Kumbri Marathi, also this sector has a crucial role to play. It is generally family, kin, and neighbors, that diagnose and suggest treatment. They are involved in the whole process from ill-health to restoration of health. Family takes a vow for the healing of the sick person and kin and neighbors gather for the performance of nota, for the sick person is performed. There are exchanges of ideas about the course of action to be taken and also moral support to the person suffering.

In the folk sector, which is especially large in non-Western societies, certain individuals specialize in forms of healing which are either sacred or secular, or a mixture of the two. These healers are not part of the 'official' medical system, and occupy an intermediate position between the popular and professional sectors. There is a wide variation in the types of folk healer found in any society, from purely secular and technical experts like bone setters, midwives, tooth extractors or herbalists, to spiritual healers, clairvoyants and shamans.

Most folk healers share the basic cultural values, and worldview, of the communities in which they live, including beliefs about the origin, significance and treatment of ill-health. In societies where cause of ill-health is blamed on designs of human beings with certain social standing (witchcraft, sorcery or evil eye) or on supernatural entities (gods, spirits, or ancestral spirits), sacred folk healers are particularly common. Their approach is usually a holistic one, dealing with all aspects of the patient’s life, including relationships with other people, with
the natural environment, and with supernatural forces, as well as any physical or emotional symptoms.

For Kumbri Marathi, the folk sector consists of Diviner, bhatta, vaktalli, and sovin. Diviner and bhatta provide supernatural treatment and various kinds of indigenous medicine men vaktalli offer treatments for a range of diseases. Midwife sovin performs deliveries and also treats nany in parturient woman.

Since the focus of the study is the folk sector, and ‘emic’ aspects of diagnosis and treatment it is pertinent to discuss about not only indigenous treatment but also indigenous treatment providers.

Indigenous medical specialists indigenous medicine man play an important role in treating diseases. Some diseases like chavi, lothi, dolat phol padta are in fact believed to be cured only by the medicine man. Kumbri Marathi seek indigenous medicines from not only Kumbri Marathi medicine men but also from those provided by other jāti medicine men like Nayak and bhatta. Among Kumbri Marathi, there are specialists who provide medicines for particular conditions as well as generalists who provide medicines for most diseases.

The Kumbri Marathi indigenous medical specialists give medicine for diseases like dolat phol padta, lothi and kasu in Angane settlement of Kumta taluk. In Kogadde settlement of Siddapur taluk, vaktalli gives medicine for all the diseases. In Devahalli settlement of Sirsi taluk, indigenous medical specialist gives medicine for weakness. In Avali settlement of Ankola taluk, there are indigenous medical specialists who give medicines for kidney stones as well medicine for the all kinds of minor diseases. In Matha settlement of Honnavar taluk, medicine man gives medicine for all diseases.

The indigenous medicine man believes that the knowledge of medicine comes to them from both kuldev and Tulasi. It is believed that whichever plant they touch, it becomes a medicine, because of the blessing of curative power in their hands hatache gun by kuldev. The indigenous medicine man of Kogadde settlement says, even if they are confused in finding the medicinal plant in the forest, Tulasi helps them to find the accurate medicine. Also he says he is able to provide medicines for most of the diseases because of the blessing of his kuldev.
and Tulasi. When an affected person tells him of his health problems, he asks them to come the next day. He says kuldev appears in his dream and tells him about the kind of medicine to be given.

While giving the medicine to the patient, the medicine man puts the medicine in front of the Tulasi and he prays to Tulasi and kuldev to cure the affected person quickly. Both people and medicine men believe that as a result of this process, the medicine becomes effective since, it is blessed by the kuldev and Tulasi. The affected person has to give coconut to the medicine man as a form of payment in return for the treatment. It is believed that if medicine is given on the day, which is considered to be of Amma, the medicine will be more effective.

The indigenous medicine men do not reveal the names of the medicinal plants to anybody. It is said that if they reveal the name of the medicine, the medicine will not be effective in curing the disease. Medicinemen do not take anybody with them while going to collect the medicinal plants from the forest. Indigenous medicine man of Kogadde says that medicines which are common and found around the house are told to the people. That is for instance, they say take tulasi mixed in water for fever as treatment. But specialized medicines are not revealed.

The knowledge of medicine is passed on in the patriline. It is believed that unless the kuldev of the lineage blesses, the disease will not be cured. The medicine men reveal the names of the medicinal plants, the process of preparation of medicines, the time when they are to be collected, only to their sons but not to others. The daughters are not told about the medicinal plants or the treatments because, they go away after marriage and become the members of respective husband's lineage. And, when daughter is married, she can no longer seek the blessings of the kuldev of her natal lineage.

Indigenous medicine man while giving medicine to the patient also advises the diet to be followed for the period one is taking the medicine. Also, how to take the medicine, when to take, the quantity of medicine to be taken, the way medicine is to be mixed are told to the patient. Thus what to do and what not do are explained while giving medicine.
The professional sector comprises the organized, legally sanctioned healing professions, such as modern Western scientific medicine, or allopathy. In most countries the practitioners of scientific medicine form the only group of healers whose position are upheld by law. Helman notes that “the distribution of the different sectors is not uniform; in many non-industrialized societies, they tend to cluster in cities where facilities are better and practice more lucrative, leaving many in the countryside to rely on the popular and folk sectors of care” (1994:64). Modern doctors also exist in the Kumbri Marathi hierarchy of resorts and they seek them severity of the illness. There are private doctors and government doctors available for Kumbri Marathi at distances varying between 5 to 30 kilometers from different settlements.

In the light of extensive use of indigenous medications by Kumbri Marathi it is significant to note what Calridge has pointed out about ‘total drug effect’. He says, the effect of any medication on an individual (its ‘total drug effect’) depends on a number of elements in addition to its pharmacological properties. They are as follows:

- The attribute of the drug itself (such as taste, shape, colour, name).
- The attribute of the person receiving the drug (such as experience, education, personality, sociocultural background).
- The attributes of the person prescribing or dispensing the drug (such as personality, professional status or sense of authority).
- The setting in which the drug is administered- the ‘drug situation’ (such as a healer, or social occasion) (cited in Helman 1994).

Because, the ‘total drug effect’ is dependent on the interplay of various influences, in a particular case, there can be a wide variation as to how different people respond to the same medication. The total drug effect operates whether the medicine is provided as part of the home remedy or medicine man or the doctor. The taste of the medicine like in case of kahimaddu, and medications prepared using veranus, hemblaga, jovadya tastes play a role in the medications preferred. Further, the effects associated with the medicine also are important in guiding the choice of treatment. The ‘authority’ asserted through experience also has an
impact on accepting the remedies. It is generally believed that the elderly in the family through experience over years are able to provide proper remedies for the ailments. The vows, the asking for blessings of deities, the ritual observances performed while giving medicines by the vakta\textit{li} are a crucial part of the ‘drug situation’.

The treatment for different diseases includes not only indigenous medicines but also modern medicines. Some of the modern medicines have become common knowledge like those of the indigenous medicines owing to the contact with modern doctors as well as pharmacists. There are several remedies available for the same ailment and people utilize those which they find more effective. Marriot (1955) observes that standardized medical treatments scarcely exist in indigenous systems. Individuals of the same village-even of the same family-often hold highly varied medical beliefs and follow widely divergent practices. To the same sort of cut or boil, one man will apply a hot mango leaf; his neighbor will apply a paste of wheat flour; his father will apply a poultice of cow dung, while his wife continues to believe in the efficacy of plain butter.

When there is a range of remedies available, the previous experiences of effectiveness of the remedy, the effectiveness of the remedies for the individuals, influence their choice even when all the ingredients of the remedy are available. Further, the modern medications have become such an integral part of the medical system of the people that various medicines for treating aches and pains, common cold, fever have become the part of home remedies.

Browner says that the belief widely held is that a healthy body is characterized by warmth evenly distributed throughout. Extremes of all types are avoided because they disturb the body’s natural balance. The most common sources of imbalance are shocks of coldness, heat or moisture, too strong or sudden to allow the body to re-equilibrate on its own; systemic strain caused by over work, excessive exertion or exhaustion; displaced or “wandering” organs, especially the fontanel, the womb, nerves, or the souls; and the failure of either diseased or natural body fluids to drain because an organ is not functioning properly or an orifice has become clogged. Illness symptoms signal disequilibrium
and suggest the therapeutic sequences required to restore balance. The steps taken depend upon the kind of imbalance diagnosed, but they generally involve the use of herbs, foods or other substances to restore the balance or purgatives to unclog blocked body part (1998).

Pharmacopoeia involved in the process of treatment among Kumbri Marathi are also based on similar principles as analyzed by Browner. The treatment for any condition begins with home remedy. Remedial measures constitute of indigenous medicines, which are basically either cold or hot, in nature. Like Browner points out that “the qualities attributed to illnesses and medicinal agents do not refer to their actual temperatures but rather to intrinsic properties associated with the illness state or the remedy itself” (1998:3).

Among the medicine men there are two categories one is specialists and another one is generalists. In settlements of Angane and Alave, there exists diviner and indigenous medical specialists, providing medicines for only particular diseases like dolat phol padta, lothi, kajo, bavu, kasu, dam, and not for all diseases. Where as in Kogadde, there is generalist indigenous medicine man who provides medicines for most diseases. However, there is no diviner in the settlement. Therefore, the treatment-seeking pattern differs slightly when compared to Angane and Alave (Tables No. 6, 7, and 8). The number of people going for supernatural treatment to diviner is more in Angane and Alave compared to Kogadde. Whereas, number of people seeking indigenous medical specialists is more in Kogadde compared to Angane and Alave. Seeking modern doctor is comparatively more in Kogadde than Angane and Alave. This can be owed to accessibility to modern health facilities. Kogadde has better transportation facilities and is less expensive for them to travel to seek modern health facility. This is so because health facilities are nearer to them. As a result, the time spent for seeking doctor is also less. For people of Angane and Alave, it is more expensive in terms of both money and time. They have to spend on boat for crossing the stream and also for taking a vehicle to the nearest doctor especially in rainy season (which lasts as long as 4-5 months). The table also reveals the kinds
of treatment opted on the basis of etiology. Further one also comes to understand
the shifts occurring in the process of treatment.

5.2. Pharmacopoeia

Pharmacopoeia and also the treatments opted by Kumbri Marathi are
explained here.

Katarley

Katarley means a cut. While working in the field, or in the forest, if one
gets cut katarley by a sickle, first they try to stop the bleeding whether it is a small
or deep cut. If there is heavy blood loss, it is believed to lead to weakness ashakta.
The treatment for small and deep cuts is the same.

For stopping the bleeding, Kumbri Marathi use the leaves of
kangress/landan (Eupatorium). The leaves are crushed by hand and the juice is
extracted. Both the juice and leaves are applied on the affected part. Generally the
landon leaves are used, because it is easily available around the house and in the
field. For scrapes and wounds also landon leaves are applied.

If the cut is caused while one is in the house, boiled tender coconut water
nārlache gud is applied. After bleeding stops, oil of cashew nut kaju seed is
applied on the cut. Cashew nuts are available throughout the year. A cashew nut
is taken and heated on the fire and then broken and it leaves oil, which is applied
on the wound. Since cashew nut produces heat, it is believed to cure the cut
quickly.

It is believed that if dust enters into the wound it creates nanj. To prevent it,
the cut is tied with a cloth. If these medicines are not available then they wrap a
cloth on the cut. Katarley is generally treated with home remedies and only if it
does not heal quickly or if it becomes filled with pus, then they go to the Primary
Health Centre for treatment and dressing up of the wound. Wounds are not left
carelessly, because, if they are not treated, they may not heal quickly and may lead
to nanj (condition wherein wounds do not heal quickly).
Kasu

*Kasu* refers to a condition wherein there is pain in the different parts of the body/joints. As a result of blood clot, there is pain in the affected part and this pain spreads all over the body.

Usually the remedy for *kasu* consists of drinking alcohol or taking medicine purchased from the pharmacist. When the pain is severe and is not bearable, then they purchase the pain reliever tablets from the pharmacy saying that the person has severe ‘body pain’ (*kasu*). The tablets are referred to as ‘*kasu mātre*’ (like Brufen). These tablets are pain relievers. Pharmacist is also asked as to how many tablets for how many days should be consumed.

The tablets are not consumed for the duration for which, the pharmacist advises them to do. As soon as they get relief from the body pain they stop taking the tablets. The underlying belief is that there is no necessity of continuing to take the tablets once the symptoms have disappeared. Further, another belief with regard to modern medicines is that, once a person becomes used to obtaining relief from modern medicines, then every time a person gets body pain, he will have to take modern medicines for getting relief. This is said to be a side effect of modern medicine.

When the body pain is not cured by the modern medicine, the next resort is to seek indigenous treatment for body pain. The indigenous treatment is given by the medicine man in the village. Body pain is believed to be caused because of the formation of clot in the blood. This clot is believed to lodge itself in the joints and cause pain. The medicine man identifies the points where the blood clot is present, such as in the regions of elbow *povuta*, knee *nalo*, and center of the backbone *kuno*. He presses these parts to locate the presence of a knot *gant* formed due to the blood clot. Then *vaktalli* pierces a needle in the part where the blood clot is situated and sucks the blood out from the affected area with the help horn *singha* of wild goat *ranbokud*.

When the clot is removed from the joint, the person is relieved of the pain. It is also believed that, the clot cannot be completely removed and hence this is not
a permanent solution, because even if a small clot of blood remains, again it gets lodged in the joint, and may again cause kasu.

This treatment is taken rarely, because modern medicines are believed to be more effective and do not involve blood loss. They are also easily available in the medical stores and general stores. First home remedies are tried, and then they seek modern treatment by going to the doctor and in case of no cure they go to indigenous medicine man and also seek nota.

Medicine man says most of the people suffer from this problem, because of hard physical labor that they perform. It is said to be a common, day-to-day problem, which everybody suffers from more or less regularly.

**Gyas**

The word *gyas* is a corrupt form of the word ‘gas’. Due to *gyas* there is a sensation of the need for frequent urination. There are also grumbling sounds in the abdomen. Due to *gyas*, back and stomach become stiff and uncomfortable *gach*. *Gach* means nerves *shiro* becoming stiff and this stiffness leads to *kasu*. If *kasu* is due to *gyas* the symptoms are body pain *kasu* along with *gyas*.

For treating *gyas*, the tip of tilt roots of banyan tree are mixed with cow’s milk. The mixture is believed to create cold in the body, and heal the symptoms, which are caused due to heat. This mixture has to be consumed two times in a day for three to five days.

Another medicine given consists of a concoction of *vanvo* (Carum Coptic), garlic *lasun*, black pepper *mirya* and salt *mit*. This concoction has to be consumed two times in a day, till the symptoms disappear which is generally within the two or three days of treatment.

Another treatment for *gyas* is adding salt and chili *mirchi* in water and boiling them and this concoction has to be consumed. Once in a day this concoction is consumed.

*Gyas* is generally said to cure within three to four days. It is first treated with concoctions at home and if there is no relief, then they remove evil eye *rench kadhunche*. Modern doctor is also sought. foods like sweet potato and potato are to
be avoided when one is suffering from gyas since they increase the severity of the condition.

*Dolāt phol padata*

*Dolāt phol padata* can be literally translated as formation of ‘flower in the eye’. In the beginning of *dolāt phol padata* there is a pricking sensation and, eyes become reddish. According to the medicine man, this may continue for a long duration. Gradually, a thin layer develops on the eyeball and the person slowly looses eyesight.

Kumbri Marathi believe that the indigenous medicine is effective in curing *dolat phol padata*. The medicine man in Angane settlement gives the indigenous medicine.

The treatment for this is, tying around the neck a bark sāl of a tree called *rāme* (Lasiosiphon Eriocephalus. Done Thymeliaceae) for fifteen days. The juice from the bark is believed to enter in the body through the skin. After fifteen days, the bark becomes dried up and there is no juice left. When the bark is tied around the neck one should not apply coconut oil *nāralche tel* because it hampers the efficacy of the medicine in curing *dolāt pol padata*. Since coconut oil remains on top of the skin like a layer, and the juice of the bark will not seep into the skin as a result, it will not be effective. If it is not cured within fifteen days again a new bark is tied for another fifteen days. If it is not cured, again a new bark is tied for fifteen days.

The medicine man in Angane who belongs to *dori* lineage gives the medicine for this condition. Person affected by *dolāt phol padata* should give one coconut to the *dori* family as payment for the treatment. Before giving the medicine, the coconut and medicine is put in front of Tulasi Goddess. The medicine is put in front of Tulasi because it is believed that Tulasi Goddess helps in curing the roga. The medicine man prays Tulasi Goddess to cure the affected person. It is believed that the *dori* lineage kuldev also blesses the affected person and helps in curing the condition effectively. Further, it is said that if anybody other than *dori* lineage give the medicine, it might work but the person who gives the vakāt may loose his eyesight.
The medicine is given on all days of the week except on Wednesdays. Members of dori lineage do not perform any religious activities on Wednesday. A folk tale katha regarding their non-performance of religious activities on Wednesday is that, their ancestor had once challenged a Brahmin priest to remove the buried body med of a pregnant woman and put it back in the ground, by means of his power of chants mantra. The Brahmin priest was successful in removing the med but could not put it back. The dori were able to perform this task.

Because of the failure of the Brahmin priest, the dori refused thereafter to take water from the Brahmins as they felt that Brahmins were no longer superior to them. The earlier superiority of Brahmin owing to their powers was shattered because of this failure. Further, the success of the dori ancestors proved him to be superior to the Brahmin priest. And since then, on Wednesday, they do not perform any religious activity signifying their victory on the day. Giving the medicine entails a worshipping of the Tulasi Goddess, which is a religious performance, therefore medicine is not given on Wednesday. This disease is one of the very few diseases for which people directly seek indigenous medical specialist. The medicine is sought first for fifteen days, if not cured then again the fifteen days medicine is sought. If person is not cured then supernatural treatment nota is sought for to recover from dolat phol padata. Even after couple of repeated tying of the bark, if the person does not recover then the treatment is shifted to nota for supernatural cure believing that the cause might be wrath of deity or spirit.

Mulavadi

When a person is affected by mulavadi (piles) he cannot walk freely, he is not able to sit for a longer time, experiences itching sensation in the anus, and bleeding and itching during the defecation.

Following are the treatment options for piles:

Fat mànè of a fish called hembalgā is taken and flour of nāsani is applied on fish for five to ten minutes. Then the, flour is removed and taken in a cloth. Pancakes are prepared from this flour and it is consumed when it is still hot.
Because if the pancakes become cold it smells like decayed fish, and people do not like to consume it, if it smells. The flour of násani is usually stored in the house.

The dry fat mānde of varanus gār is also used for piles as medicine. It is to be consumed for three days. In order to be effective, the medicine has to be consumed early in the morning on an empty stomach so that it does not get mixed with food. So that it easily gets mixed with blood and the medicine is said to cure quickly. This medicine is used during the August to November months, because during these months the gār has greater fat, as it is the mating season of gār.

Heat creating food like spicy food, crabs, meat are to be avoided for the duration of the consumption of medicines. These foods are said to accentuate heat as a result of which the medicines are not believed to take effect. Kumbri Marāthi generally treat mulavadi first with home remedies and then go to modern treatment and finally, if the disease is not cured they seek supernatural treatment.

**Jar**

Jar (fever) is treated by both indigenous and modern medicine kampanyvakāt. Generally kampanyvakāt is taken for fever because it is believed to be more effective and provides quick relief when compared to indigenous medicines. The modern medicine taken for fever are paracetemol containing tablets bought in the pharmacy or the medicine given in the Primary Health Center (PHC) during an earlier visit and remaining in the house.

If there is no modern medicine in the house, then, they ask neighbors if there is any. When there is no kampanyvakāt available, they use herbal medicine. The herbal medicine consists of leaves of ramentulasi (b.n. Ocimceus Baciliceae) and cumin seeds jirē. They are prepared into a concoction and it has to be consumed twice a day for two days. Ramentulasi and jirē are both regarded to be cooling in nature and hence cure the fever.

Taki, a 17-year-old girl was suffering from fever. Other symptoms she was experiencing were dizziness, body becoming very hot, and feeling sleepy all the time. Looking at the symptoms accompanying fever, her father thought that it must be effect of māru. Because, such symptoms are exhibited generally when
māru afflicts. He therefore, went to the diviner to know the cause for the symptoms. When diviner performed nota, he found that was no effect of māru.

Since there was no effect of māru, her father took the tablets for fever from the researcher and gave them to her. She took this modern medicine and rest for two days and was cured. In case there is no recovery at this stage, the next step would be to go the modern doctor since the role of supernatural is ruled out and home remedy (even modern medicines which are a common knowledge are a part of home remedies) has also been tried. Sour and spicy foods are avoided and cooked ukade tandul is consumed, since it is considered to be easy for digestion.

**Thandi**

Thandi means cold. Thandi (common cold) is treated at home with concoction of vonvo, ginger ati, pepper, and honey muvan. This concoction has to be prepared by boiling and has to be consumed two to three times for three days.

Thandi is also treated by both modern medicine kampanyvakāt and indigenous medicine gavantivakāt. People generally take kampanyvakāt bought in the medical shops nearby their settlement. In case this does not provide relief one, goes to modern doctor. When affected by thandi cold producing foods like nāsane, ukade tandul, mango, are avoided.

It is said that usually both jar and thandi accompany each other. People take kampanyvakāt (modern medicine stored in the house) when both have affected together.

**Pāykusale**

Pāykusale is a kind of nanj. Here ‘pāy’ refers to the ‘feet’ and ‘kusale’ refers ‘decay’. (Nanj is a term used to refer to conditions wherein, the wounds do not heal as quickly as they are expected to heal). Pāykusale indicates that this is a condition, which affects the feet. It is believed to intensify during the rainy season pāvasal. Generally most people are affected by pāykusale since they are working in the field.

Due to pāykusale, the skin of feet and skin in middle of the toes develop wounds. Pāykusale has a tendency to spread in the region it has affected. The wounds are said to create a burning sensation in the affected area.
There are a couple of home remedies, which can be used for treating paykusale. The treatment is opted basically on the basis of availability of the ingredients. Further, the choice of treatment is also influenced by season, healing effects and activities being undertaken. Like, whether or not the individual is working in the field, whether the person is coming in contact with water.

- A mixture of coconut oil, turmeric powder is applied on the wounds. Coconut oil is believed to create cooling sensation to the affected part and also prevent the spreading of wounds. It is also believed to soothe the burning sensation. And turmeric is used because it is believed to keep the wound dry and it also cures the wounds quickly. Since there is a tendency for paykusale to spread due to nanj, and it is considered necessary to prevent them from spreading. The wounds have to be kept dry because the chances of spreading are more due to moisture/wetness (Nanj is associated with wetness). It is applied at night because, after applying this medicine one should not come in contact with water. If the person comes in contact with water, the turmeric powder halad will wash away and it will not be effective. During the daytime, people are busy with various economic activities as a result of which, they are bound to come in contact with water. Therefore, even if it is applied it is not possible to keep the feet dry, which is very essential.

- In case of non-availability of turmeric in the house, only coconut oil is applied on the affected area every night. Applying coconut oil is said to be soothing.

- Another treatment, which is less frequently used, is the application of juice extracted from the leaves of a tree called hedda. This treatment is used only in case turmeric and coconut oil are not available. Leaves of hedda are rarely used, also because coconut oil is present in all households and is an integral part of their life. Coconut oil is applied every day on the head by both men and women for a cooling effect.

The leaves of hedda are ground and juice is extracted and it is applied on the affected part. The leaves of hedda tree are believed to be heat creating in nature and burn the microorganism kirami which have caused the wounds. This is
a less commonly used treatment, because, its application causes a burning sensation in the affected area. Further, when this juice is applied, and if the feet come in contact with water the skin of the feet becomes black in color. Normally, this medicine is used after sowing, because, most of the agricultural activities, which require being in contact with water, are complete and one does not have to work in water. As a result, even if it is applied the feet do not become black in color.

- Cashew nut oil *kajutail* is believed to be heat creating in nature. The heat in the oil is believed to burn the microorganism *kirami* and thus help in curing *nanj*. This treatment also, like *hedda* leaves, is believed to create burning sensation.

Therefore, treatment of turmeric and coconut oil is used more frequently since it has a cooling effect and also is available at home.

When affected by *pāykusale* or any kinds of wounds, burns or scrapes, foods considered as *nanj* like potato, brinjal, sweet potato, wild pumpkin, meat of a wild animal called *mero*, are avoided. People are aware that there are modern medicines for curing *nanj*. They have gained awareness about the modern medicines for *pāykusale*, owing to their visits to the pharmacist. The treatment sought for is only indigenous home remedy. They do not use modern medicine, because they are considered to be expensive.

**Kurvai**

*Kurvai* are small wounds with puss found on both sides of the big toe *pāyachenakha*. When affected by *kurvai*, the toenail has to be cut or entirely removed. *Kurvai* like *pāykusale* affects most people since they are engaged in agricultural work during the rainy season.

Medicine for *kurvai* consists of milk *dod* of a bush called *arave*. The stem is cut and the oozing milk is put on the affected part. This bush is believed to kill the microorganisms.

Pesticide *tute* used for areca nut is put on the affected part and two drops of water are put on it. People use pesticides in order to kill the insects, which affect the areca nut trees. The pesticide *tute* kills the *kirami*. Therefore, it is believed that since, *tute* kills the insects affecting areca nut in the same way it kills the *kirami*.
If these above medicines do not cure the *kurvai*, the following treatment is given to cure the *kurvai*. Sickle is heated on the fire, and limewater is poured directly on affected part holding the hot sickle *koyto* on top of the affected area there by killing the *kirami*. It creates a burning sensation when limewater is poured. As a result of this treatment, the toe swells for a day and then returns to its normal size.

The objective of all these treatments is to burn the area and thereby kill the *kirami*. And once the *kirami* is burnt the *kurvai* heals.

**Dās**

When there is *dās* (cough) generally it is said to be accompanied by phlegm *dāarakāl*, and also the person experiences wheezing. When there is phlegm the person is advised to spit it, because if it is swallowed, *dās* does not get cured quickly. For treating *dās* with phlegm the following herbal medicines are used.

The juice of a root called *vāyagam* and the juice of lemon *limbu* are mixed and this has to be consumed twice a day for two days. If the cough does not subside, then they add two other roots called *somanāth* and *ekanāyak* (b.n. Salacia Prinoides – Rhamnaceae) to *vāyagam* and *limbu*. It is believed that these herbs are heat producing in nature, and this heat cures *dās*.

If the cough is severe and also there is chest pain then, the paste prepared of *vāyagam* in lemon juice is applied on the center of the chest because it is believed that the phlegm is present in the central part of the chest. The congestion caused by phlegm is said to cause pain in the chest. By applying *vāyagam* paste, which is heat creating in nature, the phlegm is believed to become decongested and it comes out easily and the chest pain is cured.

Another treatment includes consuming five to six teaspoons of liquor *soro* prepared from cashew nut. Cashew nut is believed to produce heat in the body, this heat thins *darakāl* and affected person is relieved.

Person affected by cough is advised to avoid oily food since it creates more phlegm. Cough is considered to be a common disease. It is thus treated with indigenous medicines at home. If one is not recovered by taking home remedies, then modern doctor is sought and *nota* is also sought.
When a person is suffering from *sukkedās* there is no *darakāl* and only wheezing is present. *Sukke* means dry and *dās* is cough. Therefore, *sukkedās* can be translated as dry cough and *gosē* means the sound (wheezing) produced while coughing.

*Vāyagam* root and ground horn of wild goat *rānbokuḍ* are mixed in lemon juice and consumed twice in a day for three to four days.

If the *sukkedās* is caused due to cold, heat producing medicine is given to the affected person. Molten sugar, which is believed to be heat creating, is put in half a lemon and burnt in fire till it turns black in color. And it is consumed while it is still hot so that it creates a soothing sensation. It has to be consumed, once in a day for three days.

If these medicines are not effective in curing *sukkedās* then, treatment is shifted to cold producing foods and herbs such as gruel of *nasane nāsaniche tambli* or juice of leaves of a tree called *chārni* and stem of *rānbende* (b.n. Hisiscus (sp) Malvacea) mixed in water. These medicines are believed to be effective in curing *sukkedās*.

*Sukkedas* is treated with home remedies and then if not cured, *vaktalli* is sought. Along with *vaktalli*, *noṭa* is also sought. Modern medicine is sought if indigenous medicine is not effective in treating the condition. Along with modern treatment *noṭa* is also sought.

**Teebee**

There is no indigenous medicine for *teebee*. Kumbri Marathi know that Government provides treatment for tuberculosis, which is free of cost. Symptoms of this condition were not considered by the people earlier as tuberculosis. The symptoms were considered to be *sukkedas*. Only with contacts with modern doctor has the condition of tuberculosis been labeled and treatment being taken. The name also suggests that it is not a native word but an acronym of T.B.

Dhaku is a 69 year old person in Angane settlement who is suffering from *tibi*. When he was around fifty-five years old, he was suffering from cough and he underwent herbal and super natural treatment. After super natural diagnosis, diviner said that, he was suffering from cough due to the effect of *māru*. 
Therefore, he underwent the supernatural treatment several times over a period of five years, but he did not recover from cough.

Then he went to seek modern treatment for cough and modern doctor diagnosed it as teebee and prescribed modern medicine. During the period he was undergoing modern treatment, he worked regularly in the forest. As a result, there was irregularity in food consumption. Further, he was also drinking liquor, smoking and chewing kaval. Thinking that cough is due to māru, he did not undergo modern treatment regularly. He believed that cough is due to the effect of māru and that is the reason why he has not recovered from cough even after taking supernatural treatment. Because of the severity of his condition, he again went to doctor and was diagnosed as having tuberculosis after phlegm and urine tests. Realizing that he is suffering from teebee he is regularly taking modern treatment.

The PHC doctor says that Dhaku’s teebee is in second stage and if he takes the medicines regularly, he will be cured. However during the rainy season, it is difficult to visit the PHC every week crossing the stream. Therefore, the doctor sends the medication if someone from the settlement visits the PHC.

Omi, a 38 year old woman is suffering from the teebee from past 5 to 6 years. When Omi gave birth to her last child during that period, she was suffering from sukkedas, fever, and cold. In the same period health worker asked her to undergo family planning operation apreshan. Her husband told the health worker that she was not feeling well and she can undergo operation next time. But health worker convinced him that it is only sukkedas and will not harm her if she undergoes apreshan. She underwent apreshan however she did not recover from sukkedas for a long time. During this period, she sought private doctor for treatment. At the same time she underwent nota, and diviner found out that, her mother-in-law’s attēe spirit has affected her. Diviner suggested sacrificing a fowl and coconut to the spirit and then only she will recover from sukkedas. They sacrificed the fowl but she did not recover from sukkedas.

Again she visited the private hospital and the doctor diagnosed that she was suffering from the asthma dam and gave her the medicine. But she did not recover from the sukkedas; it continued for more than three months. Her neighbors
suggested that she should go to Community Health center (CHC) in Siddapur. She went to the CHC and the doctor checked her blood, urine, phlegm and x-ray ekshele and he found that she is suffering from teebee. Doctor told that she should take treatment without fail in government health center which is provided free of cost. But they did not believe what doctor told her and when she came home she underwent the indigenous treatment for cough in the settlement for two months. But she did not recover from sukkedas. She again went to the doctor at Santegulle PHC and underwent blood, urine phlegm and x-ray checkups, and doctor said that she is suffering from teebee. Presently she is undergoing treatment at the PHC for tuberculosis. PHC doctor says that she is not taking medicine continuously and for this reason she has not recovered from teebee.

The cases explained above reveal the treatment seeking behavior when a person is affected by teebee and how in the indigenous diagnosis, teebee is initially not accepted and gradually as the severity increases, they visit the modern doctor and even after his diagnosis, there is a suspicion that it could also be due to māru. However, doctor’s diagnosis is the crucial point of shift to the modern medicine, since they believe modern medicine is the only cure for teebee. There is still a hovering doubt as to whether it is a supernaturally caused condition because of the nature of the disease. That is, the period of treatment is prolonged and there is no immediate remission from symptoms as expected in case of modern treatment. Further, prolonged ill-health condition is an indication that the cause could be supernatural in nature.

The diviner is not held responsible for the failure of treatment. The spirits are blamed for the lack of relief and cure. The explanation in case of failure is that the power of spirit was more than that of the diviner as a result he could not bring it under control. And, when the disease becomes severe, modern treatment is sought because of the belief that modern medicines can provide relief quickly or for the time being.

*Kapate*

When a person is affected by kapate there is swelling around the cheek region kadki. When affected, the person finds it difficult to chew. Kapate is treated
by administering a wild bush which is called *kapate*. The leaf of *kapate* bush is heated. In order to heat the leaves, dried cow dung is burnt. Then the cow dung is removed and in the place which has become hot, *kapate* leaves are placed in order to heat them. Cow dung ash and *kapate* leaves are also rubbed together and applied on the affected cheek region. This process is performed for three days because it generally takes three days for the *kapate* to rupture and for the puss to come out from the *kapate*. Once the puss comes out, it is said that the affected person feels relieved from pain that is caused due to *kapate*.

*Kapate* is believed to heal on its own if treatment is not taken. But it heals very slowly and the person has to endure a longer duration of discomfort. Further, it is said that if this disease is not cured, it may also lead to toothache. It is said that the affected person recovers in one week, if indigenous medicine is given.

Kumbri Marathi do not go to the modern doctor, because it is believed that there is no medicine in modern medical system for *kapate* except operation. The doctor cuts open the area to let out the puss and blood. People are afraid of operation because modern doctor cuts the area and as a result, the person will suffer blood loss, which causes weakness *ashkat*. Inspite of indigenous treatment, if the condition has not cured, then diviner is sought to perform *nota*.

**Pottan dukta**

*Pottan* refers to stomach and *dukta* refers to pain therefore *pottan dukta* refers to abdominal pain. In case of infants (up to four months), suffering from stomach pain *pottan dukta*, a kind of bush called *kahimaddu* (b.n. Androgrphis Paniculata – Verbenaceae) that is said to be bitter in taste is given to the mother. Since the infant is breast-feeding, it is believed that through breast milk, the infant gets *kahimaddu*. The *kahimaddu* is believed to cure the stomach pain.

When adults suffer from *pottan dukta* they are given the root bark of a tree called *kevan*. It is smashed and it is wrung by placing it in a cloth and, the juice is given to the affected person to be consumed thrice in a day for two days. Because it produces heat *garmi* in the body the stomach pain is cured.

If the home remedies are not effective in curing the condition then they seek *nota* and also modern doctor for treatment.
When affected by kurli, there is swelling of the hand and over the hand powta there develops a boil and it becomes filled with puss and hand appears like crab kurli. The affected person experiences pain, piercing and, itching sensations in the affected area. To recover from kurli, indigenous medicine is sought. It is believed that kurli bursts within a week if treatment is provided, and when a mixture of puss and blood oozes out from the swelling, kurli affected person experiences relief from the pain. Modern treatment is not taken because doctor cuts the affected part to remove the puss. And also the person has to go to the hospital everyday for dressing. It is difficult to go to the hospital everyday since, it is far away from the settlement.

Kurli is treated with the soil, which is dug out by the crab. It is believed that by applying this soil, affected person gets cooling sensation and also relief from the itching and piercing sensation. The paste of soap nut leaves shimbale is applied on the kurli, as a result, the puss and blood ooze out. It takes three to four days for the puss and blood to ooze out, then affected person recovers from kurli. Another medicine is vermilion kunku and ghee tup is applied on the kurli for same reasons as application of soil.

Leaves of touch me not shegale (Memosa Pudica) are ground with water, and the paste is applied on the affected area for relief from pain and itching sensation. The leaves are said to create a soothing sensation and nanj enhancing foods are avoided so that the burst wound heals quickly. Indigenous medicine man also provides medicine for kurli.

Bavu

Bavu means a big boil. Bavu is found generally among children. The under arm swells and creates a piercing and painful sensation. When affected, children do not take any food because of the pain, which is said to lead to weakness ashakt. It is believed that it ruptures between five to seven days of treatment. If medicine is not sought, then it takes fifteen days or more to rupture. The person feels relieved when it ruptures and puss oozes out from the bavu. Indigenous medicine for bavu is given by the Angane settlement gouda though he is not a medicine
man, still it is believed that his family deity helps in curing the bavu. Modern
treatment is not sought because doctor cuts the under arm region and removes the
puss. Indigenous medicine, which does not require any operation, is therefore
preferred.

The medicine man treats the condition with the leaves of plant called
lingad. He keeps the leaves in front of Tulasi goddess and then rubs the leaf three
times on the bavu for three days. As a result of this rubbing, bavu is believed to
rapture. And once it ruptures, it is said to heal quickly.

Jar, takliputata and angdukta

When there is only fever, generally it is treated with kampanyvakät. At
times, fever (jar) is said to be accompanied by headache (takliputata) and body
pain (angdukta) the same time. The following medicines are used as treatment.

The first resort is to take kampanyvakät like tablets containing paracetemol
or the medicines given in the Primary Health Center in an earlier visit. For
takliputata, rice and cardamom are made into a paste and applied on the forehead.

If no kampanyvakat is available in the house, then, herbal medicine is used.
A concoction of coriander kutabri, cumin seeds and root of a bush called tuppi
(Sida Rhomifolia – Maluaceae) is prepared by boiling them all in water. It is
boiled till it is reduced to half of the original quantity. The concoction is said to be
cooling in nature and this cooling effect is said to cure the fever, headache, and
body ache. It is consumed thrice in a day for two to three days.

Dhatu

Dhatu is associated with strength in mend women. Dhatu affected person
becomes physically weak, feels unable to walk, and is said to have no charm on
his/her face. The affected person is also said to develop an aversion for food,
experiences vomiting and loose motion, burning sensation during urination, and
wounds do not heal quickly. The person is not able to beget children. Foods that
create heat in the body are avoided since they are believed to accentuate the
condition. Home remedy is the first resort and then the treatment is shifted to
indigenous medicine by the medicine man. Along with indigenous medicine, nota
is also sought. In cases of increase in weakness due to dhatu modern doctor is also sought.

The medicine is a bark of plant called asongi, it is ground and is mixed with a glass of water and has to be consumed early in the morning for ten days. Another medicine consists of tili root of pipal tree mixed with cow’s milk and has to be consumed twice in day for fifteen days.

**Hagwan and Vanti**

Hagwan and vanti are said to generally accompany each other. Hagwan (Diarrhea) is said to be cured by drinking 2-3 tender coconuts for two to three days. Apart from this, another remedy consists of burning cumin seeds jeere and then adding it to water and consuming three to four times a day. Jeere are said to have a cooling effect on the body and help in curing hagwan. In case of diarrhea caused due to heat, a shrub called dhatri is smashed and mixed in water and made into a paste by adding water. This has to be consumed two to three times a day.

Vanti (Vomiting) is said to cause a bitter sensation in the mouth; person suffering does not feel like eating and feels weakness. Medicine for vomiting consists of water remaining after the ukade tandul has been boiled. This has to be consumed twice in a day.

For both hagwan and vanti, diet restrictions consist of avoidance of foods considered as spicy and heavy for digestion.

If not cured by indigenous medicines, modern doctor is sought. In case of severity nota is also performed.

**Chavi**

Chavi is a condition believed to be present in women. Treatment is sought from an indigenous medicine man from Karki village belonging to Nayak caste. It is believed that, modern medicine has no cure for this disease.

It is categorized into two types they are, gandchavi and hennachavi. The woman suffering from chavi is said to experience miscarriage or children born to her die within two to three years of birth. The affect of chavi is identified on the basis of the color of dead fetus. In case of gandchavi, if the pregnant woman has not undergone the chavi treatment, then when a male baby is born to her, it dies
within two years. Similarly in case of hennachavi, it is believed that if female baby is born, it also dies within two years.

When a chavi affected woman miscarries, the color of the fetus will be blackish, especially the palms. In case of death of the newborn baby, the body, especially palms are blackish in color. If the fetus has not turned blackish in color, then it is considered as miscarriage holan, which is caused due to the māru. The effect of chavi is believed to begin from the six month of pregnancy. Therefore, if the miscarriage takes place in third or fourth month chavi cannot be identified. But it cannot be identified till the fetus takes jinva. Because, it is believed that hand and leg formation takes place in the 5th month. In the 6th month, other features and parts of the body are formed.

Once a woman is suspected to be suffering from chavi, treatment for chavi is given to the woman when she is pregnant. Gavantivakāt is given in the 5th month of pregnancy and it is continued up to one and half year after delivery. The medicine is given to the mother with the belief that through breast-feeding the chavivakāt reaches the infant. However, people believe that the skin of a child affected by chavi remains cracked throughout its life.

Chavi medicine consists of oil of seeds of a bush called gangamma. This is given twice a day from three months of pregnancy. It is given by the medicine man. It is believed that, by taking medicine from the medicine man, the woman is blessed by the vaktalli's kuldev, as a result she is cured of chavi.

The woman should follow diet patte during the period of medication. The patte involves that the pregnant woman should not consume any oily food during pregnancy, and also after delivery for as long, as she is consuming the chavivakāt. If pregnant woman does not follow the patte, she may suffer again from chavi because the chavivakāt will not be effective.

Jant

Jant (worms) are said to be found more among children because they consume more sweet food compared to adults. When a child has worms, there are symptoms like, feeling thirsty, stomach pain and indigestion. Modern doctor is
sought for medication for worm infestation. Sweet foods are to be avoided when a person is suffering from worm infestation.

The remedy for worms is believed to be substances, which are bitter in taste. Consumption of bitter substances is believed to remove worms from the stomach.

The treatment consists of giving *kahimaddu* (*Andrographis Paniculata - Verbenaceae*) twice a day. If this medicine is not available or children refuse to take this bitter medicine, then another medicine given consists of the juice of leaves of a tree called *janta*. It has to be consumed two to three teaspoons for two days. In case of adults also *kahimaddu* is consumed for two to three days.

*Kanidosh*

*Kanidosh* (failure of joining of the fontanel sutures) is a disease believed to be found only among infants *bāl*. The period in which an infant is affected by *kanidosh* is from birth to the age of one and half months. Generally, it is believed that the infants are affected within 7 days after the birth. The affected infant cries continuously and will have fever.

In the beginning, when the infant is affected, it cries loudly, and day-by-day, the sound becomes meeker. *Kanidosh* is believed to be a condition wherein the *shiro* on forehead and skull are filled with impure blood, as a result blood circulation is hindered. As a result, the infant experiences severe headache. This disease is identified by the symptoms like, fever, crying and swelling of the *shiro* from forehead to central part of the head. One *shiro* swells vertically from forehead to center part of the head or the *shiro* may swell horizontally across the head *takali* from the middle of the forehead. Headache leads to the *shiro* becoming hot *garam*, and in extreme cases skull breaks into four parts and infant dies.

It is believed that there is no modem medicine for this disease. Indigenous treatment by the medicine man is the only recourse for *kanidosh*. An elderly person in the village who is experienced in treating this condition treats *kani*. He cuts the skin over the swollen *shiro* on the forehead with the help of a piece of glass bangle *kakan*. The blood is squeezed out from the *shiro* and turmeric powder
is filled in the cut part in the center of forehead. Turmeric is believed to help quick healing of the wounds.

Another way of treating kanidosh is as follows. Turmeric is dipped in coconut oil and heated by holding it on a wick panati, which has groundnut oil. The turmeric, which has become hot, is pressed on the shiro. It is believed that using turmeric that is burnt on the panati, will enable the wound caused due to burning to heal quickly. If the child does not undergo treatment within three days, it dies within the week.

_Ammāče kāyale_

In _amмāče kāyale_ (measles) _amma_ refers to female deity and _kayale_ refers to illness. When the child suffering from measles _amмāče kāyale_ has small boils on the body. The child is suffering from _amмāče kāyale_, it does not take food, and cries continuously. The boils are believed to cause itching sensation. The child will be cured when the boils dry and peel off. If the child is experiencing severe fever and itching then they seek supernatural treatment _nọja_. The diviner is said to establish contact with the deity (_amma_) and request her to cure the child quickly from measles. It is believed that if they seek modern medicine, measles will further increase in severity because it angers the deity.

Paste of dry head of veranus _gār_ prepared in lemon juice is applied all over the body of the child for two days for the boils to dry up quickly. This paste is also believed to prevent the itching sensation caused by the boils. The objective of making the boils to dry up quickly is that once they dry up, they will peel off, and the child will be cured.

To facilitate quick recovery from measles, fat _mānde_ of musk cat _jovadya_ is given along with banana _kelē_ or with food. Fat of _jovadya_ is considered to be heat creating in nature as such, it helps in drying up of the boils. It is given with food because children refuse to take this medicine directly, since the medicine has a stinking smell.

_Lothi/rothi_

_Lothi_, a skin disease, is treated with the indigenous medicine given by medicine man. People believe that modern medicine does not cure _lothi_ as quickly
as indigenous medicine. People prefer indigenous medicine, also because treatment seeking is not expensive as in case of modern medicine. *Nōta* is sought in case the natural remedies are not being effective. They will have to pay in terms of coconut to the medicine man. Coconut is given because the medicine man offers it to his family deity, praying to the deity to cure the person affected by *lothi* quickly. Herbal medicine for all kinds of *lothi* is given by *vaktaṭi* of *vanjāre* lineage. The *gāvantivakāṭ* and coconut are put in front of *Tulasi* Goddess, and the medicine man prays to Goddess to cure the *lothi* affected person quickly and then gives the medicine. It is believed that whoever crosses over the urine of a person affected by *lothi* also get affected by *lothi*. People chew *kavāl* early in the morning as a preventive measure for *lothi*. *Kavāl* produces heat *garmi* in the body and due to this *garmi* in the body, and thus *lothi* can be prevented.

*Lothi* is a skin disease, which is categorized into three types

- *godelothi*
- *sarplothi*
- *bāriklothi*

The term *gode* in *godelothi* means horse and *sarp* refers to cobra and *barik* literally means small and the term *lothi* can be translated as skin disease. It is believed that, in the early morning the urine of a *lothi* affected person stinks. As the humidity starts to increase, the urine no longer stinks.

*Godelothi* refers to a condition wherein, there are big boils, which spread all over the body. The boils fill with watery fluid *pāni*.

*Sarplothi* appear around the waist *pekāṭ*. *Sarplothi* starts from the end of backbone from both sides and it ends at the bottom of navel *bombi*. The affected person is believed to die if it reaches the navel *bombi* from both sides. Therefore, the treatment should be taken before it reaches the navel *bombi*.

*Bāriklothi* is found mainly among children *dākate*. It is believed that children play most of time in soil and the *kirami* present in the soil are responsible for *bāriklothi*. The child has small wounds, which spread all over the body when affected by *bāriklothi*. 

The same medicine is given for all kinds of lothi. It consists of barks of two trees called karavanti and bôve. These barks are ground in lemon. One spoon of this mixture has to be consumed once in a day and the same medicine is applied all over the body at night for two to three days and the affected person should take bath early in the morning.

**Dant soranke**

The remedy for dant soranke (tooth ache) consists of chewing kaval along with tobacco dhukut. In case of children and those who do not consume tobacco, and also in case if toothache is not cured by dhukut, then kampanyvakat is given to the affected person. For toothache, people take modern medicine from pharmacy or the medicine kept in house. If the person does not recover by chewing of kaval then, one goes to the modern doctor.

**Galen dukta**

Galen refers to throat and dukta means pain. Therefore galen dukta means pain in throat. When a person is suffering from galen dukta there is pain while swallowing, spiting, and difficulty in breathing. There is also swelling of throat. It is advised to avoid eating kaval and oily food.

Home remedy to cure throat pain consists of consuming a paste of black pepper and ginger. They must be both ground together and consumed twice a day for two to three days. Modern doctor is sought in case of severity since one is experiencing difficulty in swallowing saliva.

Another way of treating throat pain requires the expertise of the vaktali. It is believed that when there is throat pain, a knot gani is formed between the forefinger and the thumb of both hands. The veins shiro from throat and the area between thumb and forefinger are believed to be connected. Veins shiro become tightened as a result of pain and swelling of throat. This area is pressed to identify the presence of the knot. The vaktaли presses the knot by applying pressure. A thin cloth is put on the knot and pressed so that the veins become loose, the affected person recovers once the veins become slack. Thin cloth is used so that the knot does not skip/slip from the grip while pressing. This pressure is believed to loosen the knots and cure throat ache.
Haduk sarakale

_Haduk_ refers to bone and _sarkale_ refers to dislocation/breaking/fracture. When there is a fracture _haduk sarakale_, the blood circulation is believed to be hindered, which in turn leads to pain. _Haduk sarakale_ is recognized by, the pain and the swelling of the affected area.

The treatment is given by elderly in the household. It consists of the following procedure. Powder of a kind of white stone called _dhavegundu_, is mixed in the jaggery _gola_ water, and then warmed. _Dhavegundu_ is taken because it remains warm for longer duration, which is essential in order to sustain heat in the affected area. Jaggery mixed water acts as a binding and since it is sticky, helps the powder stick to the skin. This warm mixture is applied on the affected part. The application of the mixture makes the affected part hot. The heat produced, and gradual stiffening of the skin due to stiffening of the mixture leads the _shiro_ to become straightened. As a result, the blood circulation is facilitated. This treatment is given on the day when the person has experienced _haduk sarakale_.

For curing _haduksarakale_, first home remedy is sought and in case it is not treated, indigenous specialist from Nayak _jati_ who treats _haduksarakale_ is sought. _Nota_ is sought in order to know the cause of _haduksarakale_ and also to ward-off any spirit affliction in case of its presence.

Kan dukta

_Kan dukta_ means ear ache. It is also said to be at times accompanied by ear perforation _kan havunche_. It is treated with home remedy and only if it is unbearable one goes to modern doctor.

Home remedy consists of root bark of a tree called _kanjan_. It is smashed and boiled in coconut oil. The oil is warmed and then few drops are poured in the ear twice in a day. In case of _kan havunche_, pip inside bamboo is made into a paste and boiled in coconut oil and put in the ear after it becomes warm.

Jalale

_Jalale_ refers to burns. Home remedy is the treatment for _jalale_. In case of burns, cooked rice is burnt on a pan _hanch_, till it turns black in color and made into powder. Then this powder is mixed with coconut oil and applied on the burns.
It is believed that the coconut oil acts as a layer and protects *jakale* from moisture and helps in healing quickly.

Apart from medicines administered when a person is ill, medicines are also given for the well-being of the mother and child. They serve as preventive measures and ensure the well-being of the mother and the new born. They are as follows:

**Medicines for parturient woman *bālanth***

It is believed that delivered woman *bālanth* is susceptible to disease after delivery. Because, she has become weak *asakat* after delivery, and her body has become cold *walle*. After the expulsion of placenta *wāra*, the body is believed to become cold. As a result of which, she is also susceptible to *nanj*. People believe that after the cutting of the umbilical cord *bombe*, *bālanth* is likely to become affected by *nanj* because expulsion of placenta will have caused wounds in the *bālanth*.

In order to prevent *nanj*, on the first day after delivery, *bālanth* has to consume root *pāl* of *antā* (Tabernontana Divaribunada, Lam Combretacea) and *pohi* and lemon. These two roots are believed to increase the heat in the body. If lemon is not available then, these two roots are mixed with water remaining from cooking unpolished rice *ukade tāndul*. This is given to the parturient woman immediately after delivery.

After feeding this concoction, the parturient woman is given the juice of root of *chakarāni, tekke, antā* and *pohi*. This concoction is given thrice a day for 15 days to help her to recover from the weakness and for producing heat in her body.

*Vanvu* are roasted with garlic and jaggery and given to *bālanth* twice a day for 5 to 6 days. Since this is also believed to help in recovering from the weakness. *Vanvu* is purchased from the shop and those who are not able to afford to give it for a longer duration give for one or two days. When less *vanvu* is given, more *chakarāni* and *tikke* are given to *bālanth* to help her recover from weakness. It is believed that *vanvu* helps in recovering quickly from the weakness and also helpful in prevention of cold.
Diet of the bālanth consists of unpolished rice, which is cooked and a little bit of pickle (ambāt). As a preventive measure against nanj, nanj creating foods are prohibited till the drying of the umbilical cord of infant bāl. And for the same reason consumption of kavāl is prohibited for five days because cutting of umbilical cord may lead to nanj. With the drying up of umbilical cord, it is believed that the parturient woman and bal are no longer susceptible to nanj.

In order for the parturient woman to recover from walle agānche that is body which is wet and hence cold, bath is given to the bālanth by adding herbs which create heat. The herbs added in the hot water are leaves of nirvel, khājure and toranā (Zizyphlis Rugosa. Lam. Rhamnacea). These herbs are also kept under the bed of bālanth for five days. It is believed that these leaves create heat and prevent the parturient woman’s body from becoming cold.

If nanj reaches the head of the parturient woman, the midwife sovin or an experienced woman scratches the center part of the head to let out the blood affected by nanj with the help of a broken bangle, it is believed that since bangle is made of glass it does not accentuate nanj.

**Medicine for infant bal**

After the childbirth, a plate vāte is banged with a stick to create noise. If the child hears the sound of vāte and cries then it is considered to be healthy child. After the delivery of the infant, the umbilical cord is cut with the help of a piece of a kind of bamboo ghādechedobe. Then the umbilical cord is tied a thread dore at three points. The umbilical cord is tied at three places, because, even if one knot is undone, while bathing the infant, there will not be any bleeding. If the knot has become loose, the thread is again tied after the bath. During bath, hot water is poured on the umbilical cord for it to heal quickly. Turmeric halad and coconut oil are applied at the tip of the umbilical cord to protect the bal from nanj. Since, the umbilical cord has been cut, if it does not dry quickly it can lead to nanj. Turmeric powder helps in healing of the cut and coconut oil prevents turmeric from being washed away.

On the day of birth, the infant is first bathed with hot water. Then, an elderly woman puts her finger in the mouth of infant to check whether the baby is
able to suckle. If the infant does not suckle at the finger then, a soft cloth is dipped in water boiled adding cumin seeds *jire* and put in the infant’s mouth. The taste of cumin seeds is believed to make the infant to start suckling. Once the infant begins to suckle, the infant is handed over to the mother for breast-feeding.

Thus indigenous medical treatment is a major part of the treatment seeking behavior. The indigenous medicines are not only believed to be effective in treating the diseases but also they are less expensive when compared to modern medical treatment. Further, with regard to indigenous medicines, people believe that there are treatment options available. If one treatment is not effective then another can be tried out at home itself. Medicines stored in the house are also given if someone else asks for it. For instance, if musk cat has been hunted by a family, and a person from another family is affected by *dolat phol padta* and wants the fat of musk cat, they borrow it from the family in which it is present.

Thus indigenous medical system consists of various kinds of medications used by the people. They use the available options on the basis of their rationale as to what would be more appropriate in treating what condition at what stage. As a result, one sees in their pattern of treatment seeking, the supernatural methods of healing, indigenous remedies, and also modern doctors. Even if one remedy fails, another is tried since varied options are available. The herbs and supernatural healers are not only easily available, but also inexpensive way of treating sickness, and are in coherence with the causation beliefs.

As Urpeti (1990) says, in all small-scale societies, the system of medicine is based on magic, religion and plants. They are used for curing the sick either separately or in combination with each other. People have knowledge of the plants available in their surroundings, and they ascribe socio-cultural beliefs to these plants. In the Kumbri Marathi medical system also, herbal medicines and even animal extracts are crucial in the treatment seeking process apart from spirits, and religion.
List of diseases and treatment seeking pattern Kogadde settlement

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<td>Kan dukta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (66.66)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takli potata</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>1 (50.00)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (50.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haduk sarakale</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (50.00)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (50.00)</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teebee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>1 (50.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurli</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolat phol padta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhatu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Browner (1988), Gonzalez (1989) *et al.* opine that though it is crucial to understand the entire package of healing and treatment in indigenous populations, it is also essential to make an effort to know about the chemical composition of the herbal medicines used. In the light of fast disappearing natural resources, and indigenous practices, this knowledge is of immense significance and value.

**List of herbal medicines and their chemical composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Local term and popular term</th>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Chemical Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Uppangi</em></td>
<td><em>Garcinia Gummigutta</em></td>
<td>Camboginol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Lason</em></td>
<td><em>Allium Sativum</em></td>
<td>Volatile oil 0.06 – 0.1, Allypropyl Sulphide 6%, Diallyl disulphide 6%, Benzene other Sulphur components</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Tulasi</em></td>
<td><em>Ocimum Sanctum</em></td>
<td>Leaves and Inflorescence – Volatile oil 1.23, Phenol 45 to 76, Aldehyde 15 to 25, Seeds 17.8 Whole bush Alkalies, Glycosides and Tanin (Leaves ascorbic acid and Larotine Diaphoretic, Antiperiodic, stimulating and expectorant properties)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Pan</em> Betel leaves</td>
<td><em>Piper Betle. Linn.</em></td>
<td>Phenolics Essential oils 0.17%, Chlorophyll 2.37%, Carotenoids 0.32%, Protein 6.30%, Sugars 14.50%, And moisture 84.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Vonvu</em></td>
<td><em>Trachyspermum. Ammi</em></td>
<td>Thymol (61.0) P- Cymene (15.6) and Terpinene (11.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Karaleya</em></td>
<td><em>Nigella Sativa</em></td>
<td>Esters of Dehydrostearic Linoleic acids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Shengo</em></td>
<td><em>Moringa Oleifera</em></td>
<td>Hypotensive thiocarbamates Niazinin A, &amp; B and Nizimicin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>Ranbende</em></td>
<td><em>Hibiscus Cannabinus</em></td>
<td>Galacturonic Acid Residues Arabinose, Rhamnose And Galactose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Plant Name</td>
<td>Chemical Constituents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Asongi Saraca</td>
<td>Quercetin and its 3- O-Rhamnoside, Kaempferol-3-O- and Rhamnoside amyrin, Ceryl alcohol and β-Sitosterol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pohi A.catechu.L.</td>
<td>Catechin, Tetramers, Trimers, Dimmer (−) Epicatechin And Procyanidins A1 B1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nasani Finger</td>
<td>Orientin, Isoorientin, Vitexin, Isovitexin, Saponarin, Violanthin, Lucerin-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kaju Cashew nut</td>
<td>A new Biflavonoid Glycoside-Occidentoside Isolated from nut shells New compounds “Occidentoside”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Badejire Foeniculum. Vulgare</td>
<td>Anethole, Fenchone, Trimethylcycloheptanol 95.2% Volatile oil, Penchone, Protein, Iron, Sodium, Potassium and Vitamins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ekanayaka Salacia Prinoides</td>
<td>Quinonemethide Pristimerin, Tin Genone and Hydroxytyingenone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Anta Tabermondana Divaribunada. Lam Combretaceae</td>
<td>Combretaceae Pseudovobparicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Torana Zizyphlis Rugosa. Lam Rhamnaceae</td>
<td>Zizogin Zeatin Franjufoline Spinosis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Rame Lasiosiphon Eriocephalus. Donf Thymeliaceae</td>
<td>Lasioside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Papal Betel-nut Areca Catechu</td>
<td>Linneaus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Halad Turmeric Curcuma Longa</td>
<td>(Curcuma Longa) Volatile oil 5-8% Curcumin yellow dye other than this Vitamin A protein 6.3% Oil content 5.19 Metallic salts 3.5% and Carbohydrate 69.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sandal wood Santalum Album</td>
<td>Teresantalic acid, Nor-tricycloeka santalic acid, Bicycloekasantalic acid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Touch me not Mimosa Pudica</td>
<td>O-Rhamnosyl derivatives of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Scientific Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jire</td>
<td>Cuminum Cyminum</td>
<td>Volatile oil 2-4% Cumaldehyde 20-40% Seeds 10% Non-volatile oil Moisture 11.9 mg Protein 18.7 mg Carbohydrate 36.6 mg Jibres 12 Metallic salts 4.8 Calcium 1.08 Phosphorous 0.46 Ferrous 31 mg For every 100 gm Vitamin A 0.870 and Vitamin C 3 mg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kalabi</td>
<td>Centella Asiatica</td>
<td>Hydrocotyline an Alkali Fresh leaves contain (0.7 to 0.12 gram) Asiaticoside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bavo/bave</td>
<td>Cassia Fistula Caesalpiniaeae</td>
<td>Stem bark - Tannin 10 to 20% Leaves - Glycosides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Naral</td>
<td>Cocos Nucifera</td>
<td>Phenol, p-Cresol, Caproic acid, p-Hydroxybenzoic acid Fibers Crotonaldehyde, Furfural and Acetic acid Leaves (ash) - Potash water 90% Glucose salts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dodache yal</td>
<td>Hemidemus indices Ascepiaceae</td>
<td>Root contains a Volatile oil 0.225% and has 8% of P-Methoxy salicylic aldehyde (aromatic), B-Sisto serol, B-Amyris, Lupeool, Tetracydic Triterpene Alcohols, Resinic acid, Fatty acid tannin, Saponine, Glycoside and Ketone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Lingad</td>
<td>Vitex Nigundo Verbenacea</td>
<td>Aromatic volatile oil &amp; Resins leaves fruit - Resin, Astringent; Carbonic acid, &amp; an Alkali a Dying agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Kangress</td>
<td>Eupatorium. Tripliv</td>
<td>Aromatic oil up to 1-1.14% Ayapanin and Ayapin named crystalline content Kerotine and Vitamin C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ram tulasi</td>
<td>Ocimum. Basilicum</td>
<td>Aromatic oil - 0.5% Basil caphor Seeds have the Neueilagenous material of 9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Tuppi</td>
<td>Sida Rhombifolia Maluaceae</td>
<td>Chemical 0.085 Alkali seeds contain 0.32 Alkali mainly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Plant Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Adhatoda. Vasica</td>
<td>Aromatic volatile oil, Fat, Resin and an Alkali called Vasicine Carbonic acid called Adholodic acid glucose, gum and colouring agent and salt leaves Vasicine 0.2 to 0.4% Alkali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Cardamom</td>
<td>Ceneole, Manton Seeds volatile oil 2-8% Potassium 3% Starch 3% mucilage 2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>Havij</em></td>
<td>Coriandrum Sativum Petroselinic acid (10.7%) from leaves in seeds Palmitic, Pelroselinic, Oleic and Linoleic acids Water content 11.2, fat 16.1 Protein 14.1 Carbohydrate 21.6 Fibres 32.6 Metallic salts 4.4 Aromatic oil gives taste &amp; odour 0.5 Coriandrol 45-70 Non volatile 16-20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Young (1976) points out that people rarely see a failure to cure as challenging their assumption about their medical system or the cosmological ideas to which it is bound. Either they ignore the ostensible conflicts by deferring to make any judgments that are not immediate and pragmatic or they believe that these failures conform with rather than challenge those assumptions. For the laymen who actually participate in the sickness episode, a failed therapy may be thought important because it offers diagnostic information that points to a more efficacious sort of therapy and a more appropriate category of healer.

Finally the question as to when people seek modern doctor and why can be answered by looking into the treatment seeking behavior of the Kumbri Marathi in the light of ‘pathways to the doctor’ by Zola. Several studies have examined the reasons as to why some people consult a doctor, while others with the same complaint do not. In understanding this behavior non-physiological factors that influence seeking the doctor are crucial. They are:

- The availability of medical care
Whether the people can afford it

The failure or success of treatments in the indigenous sectors

How the people perceive the problem

How others around them perceive it (Zola 1968 cited in Helman 1994).

Even when the Kumbri Marathi settlements are accessible to the doctor or the PHC, and even when they are able to afford it, non-availing of modern treatment can be attributed to the beliefs about etiology. The preference given to modern and indigenous systems goes on differing with kind of ailment one is suffering from. It is true as Zola says, that the success or failure of their own system is very crucial in resorting to modern treatment. If the family and kin believe that the condition is caused due to supernatural or natural causes then their perceptions influence also affect the treatment seeking (cited in Helman 1994).

Indigenous medicines are preferred to modern treatment if the treatment procedure involves cutting open the affected area or operation like in case kapate, kurli, bavu. Operation is believed to lead to blood loss. Further, it is believed that blood loss leads to weakness ashakt. In case blood letting in indigenous treatment, it is believed that there is no actual blood loss because only the impure blood is let out. However, in case of certain diseases like fever and kasu modern medicines are preferred because, they are able to cure the health problem more quickly than indigenous medicines. Further disease like tuberculosis is said to have no indigenous treatment and only modern treatment can treat it. Both indigenous and modern medicines are discontinued once the symptoms disappear.

It is also essential in understanding the whole process of treatment seeking to note that ‘placebo effect’ can have a significant role to play. Further for the placebo effect to occur, a certain atmosphere or setting is required. Placebos, whether medications or procedures, are generally culture-bound; that is, they are administered within a specific social and cultural setting which validates both the placebo and the person administering it.

Placebos that work in one cultural group may not, therefore, have any effect in another. According to Adler and Hammet, ‘placebo effect’ is an essential component in all forms of healing, and from a wider perspective it is an important
component of everyday life. All forms of therapy, cross-culturally, are seen as having two characteristics:

- Participation by all those taking part (patient, healer, spectators) in a shared cognitive system.
- Access to relationship with a culturally sanctioned parental figure (the healer).

The shared cognitive system refers to the cultural world-view of the group; how they perceive, interpret and understand reality, especially the occurrence of ill-health and other misfortune (cited in Helman 1994). Whether it is treatment through nota or through medicine man, the religious component plays a crucial role. There is an assurance provided on part of the healers that the condition will be cured. Further, the blessing requested from the dev also provides the person suffering reassurance that he is going to be healed. Even when it is matter of providing remedies at home, there is an assurance that the remedy will take effect as it is vouched by the provider or the person advising the remedy to be sought with their own personal experiences.

Young’s (1976) observation, that is why has immense significance. He says, in order to explain why medical beliefs and practices persist, it is necessary to discover their practical and social meanings. The meanings become accessible if sickness episodes are understood in terms of the expectations of the actors, the narrative-building character of disease etiologies, and the processual nature of cures.

Thus an effort has been made to understand the indigenous medical system of Kumbri Marāthi by looking at the ethnomedical system from their own perspective. This has been an attempt to not only understand health and illness but also the forces that bring about ill-health and the resorts that Kumbri Marāthi opt to restore health. The understanding of ethnomedicine among Kumbri Marāthi in a holistic manner has thus not only enabled to bring out the health and treatment seeking behaviors but also the cultural profile of Kumbri Marāthi.