CHAPTER 4 - CURES FOR DISEASES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29) Don't muton yeta (Nausea): This is also treated with a hot cup of light bitter tea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d) A bee-bite is treated with tamarind.

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

- Māṅgol (Russel's Viper) - acrid poison
- Parro (Cobra) - sweet poison
- Furshem (Banded Krait) - bitter poison

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TAMDE TREE (Bark)

MULI TREE (Bark)

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

DONKUTI PLANT ROOT PASTE AGAINST TETANUS

KATE KUOR (Aloe vera)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3) Diş kaşop is the most elaborate and exhaustive way to remove evil eye. There are several ways of removing evil eye.
   i) The dişlıkarn is called in the house of the person affected. She takes the person in isolation in a secluded corner of a room. This space is now sacred space. Only the dişlıkarn and the patient can be present there. No other persons can or should witness the removal of evil eye.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Variače can be cured by the ghādi. Just like nadreče, variače too have preventive practices and curative practices.

Variače zaina zavpak — These include practices to avoid variače. Some are in the form of wearing charms and others are rituals which are performed collectively.

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

b) Saalāče bhalē — These are the quills of the porcupine. They are pierced outside the front door. They can stop variače from entering the house. With this quill the entire kutumā gets protection. The bhalo however cannot be taken inside the house. If it is taken, the variače enters the house, and any member of the kutumā can fall ill.

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

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

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

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

Variaāē Kaḍpak (Removal of evil spirit). When variaāē has affected a person, it is only the ghadi who can cure him. The patient has to be taken to the ghadi, in order to remove the influence of the bhut that has possessed him. The ghadi uses several methods in order to identify the nature of the spirit possessing the patient, and at the same time removing the evil
PLANTS THAT REDUCE FEVERS

**DAYE PALO** (Herb)

**PARPATO** (*Oldenlandia corymbosa*) AGAINST JAUNDICE & Colds ALSO

**TULSI** (*Ocimum sanctum*)

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

When any of the above cases are brought to the ghadi, the procedure begins with him asking a few preliminary questions. The first and most important one, if there had been an Alwantin or Khetri in the kuṭump. The rest of the questions follow as: 1) Place of the patient. 2) Where did he go prior to illness? 3) If there was a serious fight between patient and any other kuṭump. 4) Who is the kuldeo or vangḍaco deo? 5) Whether the patient had eaten food from any particular house? 6) Whether he had been to a funeral, or had seen a person dying?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Patients' relatives try to recollect which of these relatives would have a reason for causing harm to him. Accordingly the term that comes most frequently to the ghadi's mouth is taken to be the cause of varia. Once the spirit has been identified the ghadi has to make contact with his own mediator Alwantin or Khetri asking them to remove the influence of the spirit troubling his client. This is done for the promise of blood. The ghadi may provide the fowl for blood but the patient has to pay at least a small sum as a symbolic buying of the animal.
Rice picking method - Here the ghadi has a small pile of rice on a paat (stool) before him. He addresses a number of questions to spirits or the deities. Questions about the patient and his recovery. Everytime he asks a question he dips his forehead in the rice. Then he counts the number of grains sticking to it, on a taat. If the number is even the answer to his question is NO. If the grains are odd in number the answer to his question is YES. In this manner he can find out if the bhut has gone, or if the patient is recovering.

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

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

References:


