CHAPTER 3
THE CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASE

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

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

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

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

a) Head and Body

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

| Social organization | Habitation | Body |

b) Causes of Duvânse (disease/illness)

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

Each illness has a meaning:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

35. **Poţ fulon yeta** - gas in the stomach, is caused when there is a feeling of heaviness in the stomach. The stomach feels tight and painful. Eating too much of any particular food can cause poţ fulon yeta. Too much tengi vegetable, too much dal, too much dudiafol (pumkir, vegetable) can cause the condition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C) Causes of Nadre

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d) Causes of Variață (disease caused by spirits)

Variață is the category of illness caused by bhuta, purvoz, Alwantin, Khetro, and the deities such as Hapăși, Bărățkarn, Odu Paik. Varem refers to air or wind. Varem here is likened to spirits because they do not have a definite shape like human beings. They do have a solid body, they cannot be seen or touched like other objects. Only the effect of their presence can be felt. They can travel great distances in a short time, and be in several places at the same time. Just like the varem spirits are formless and shapeless. Hence analogy between varem and spirits. A spirit such as the Alwantin and Khetro, has a strong desire to come back to earth. They do not have a body now, so they have to possess one from the Bărățkars. They have urges which have been unfulfilled at the time of death (see Chp. 2). Such spirits try to take possession of the body of a person. A purvoz, Hapăși, and the deities, affect the body not to take possession of it, but to punish the person concerned. The purvoz protect their kuțumă living in Bărăți, but if they are disrespected or not appeased in the right manner they can cause variață. The Hapăși and the other deities can cause variață to individual body of the Bărățkár or the social body. When the individual has broken the rules, the Hapăși affects the individual body. When the community as a whole has not performed the necessary rituals in the required manner, or if the budvont have not conducted the Meș proceeding accordingly, the social body is affected. In this case any Bărățkár can be struck by variață. It is only when several people
fall ill one after another that, the cause is attributed to variace to the entire community.

Variačė can occur in two ways.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

References:


