CHAPTER VI

Disease and Treatment

In the preceding chapter an analysis was made about the illness causation beliefs of Kunabi. This chapter focuses on the symptoms, process of treatment, treatment providers, pharmacopoeia, and the hierarchy of resorts. Pharmacopoeia involves medications used such as in the form of concoctions, medicines applied, used in the processes like bath, and massaging. The chemical composition of the various herbal medicines used by Kunabi has also been listed.

Helman (1994) points out that people who become ‘ill’ typically follow a ‘hierarchy of resorts’, ranging from self-medication to consultation with others. Self-treatment is based on lay beliefs about the structure and the function of the body, and the origin and nature of ill-health. This observation holds well in case of adults. It applies to a lesser extent in case of children because it is the caregivers, who play an important role, in not only, treatment seeking but also in health maintenance. The caregiver’s of the child are categorized into lay, folk and professional sectors (based on Klienman’s classification) as seen in the discussion on caregivers.

The treatment provided to the child can be on natural or supernatural level depending on the believed cause of the condition. Therefore, treatment can be classified as natural and supernatural treatments. Curing the symptoms always involves natural treatment with medications, followed by the supernatural treatment when it is required. The indigenous herbal medicines gavathi hokkat, that are the primary source of treatment include leaves, roots, barks, stem, flowers, fruits and seeds of plants. Apart from herbs, animal extracts are also used as hokkat.

In the case of supernaturally caused illnesses, a spirit or a deity or evil eye is involved, either as a pathogen, as a curative power, as a causative factor. These illnesses are often referred to as ‘supernatural illnesses’ in anthropological literature, expressing the involvement of a supernatural being (Tiereny 1981). These supernatural illnesses involve supernatural treatment. The supernatural
treatment includes warding-off spirit *khuddo*, wearing of amulet *cheeti*, and also worshipping *pooje* of deities and ancestral spirits, taking vows. Both naturally and supernaturally caused illnesses have the generic term *najje/sik*. However, in case of involvement of spirits, the cause of the condition is referred to as *māru nagale* 'spirit has affected'. The causation on natural and supernatural level categorization is based on people's notions and the way causation theory is perceived by them. This categorization of the people is based on the observation of symptoms and the response of the condition to the treatment.

Even for the naturally caused conditions, in course of treatment, at times supernatural treatment is also given to aid the effective curing of the condition. At times, there is a shift from natural to supernatural level and vice versa if the suspected cause is confirmed. For instance, for a cold only *hokkat* is given. But in case of fever, along with *hokkat*, supernatural treatment is also given because it is a condition, which can also be supernaturally caused. Whereas, cold has only natural causation. In case of scabies, natural treatment is given and if it is not responding to the treatment, then supernatural treatment is sought. Also in case of recurring ill-health condition, both natural and supernatural recourse is taken. There is a shift in the resort in the course of treatment, when the cause of the condition is suspected to be different. It can happen, when the condition is not responding to the treatment. Under such circumstances, there is a rethinking about the cause of the condition, which influences the shift in treatment.

Therefore, the treatment-seeking behavior, apart from the causation beliefs is also influenced by the response of the condition to the treatment, severity of the condition and also duration of the treatment sought. That is, even after seeking a particular treatment for some duration of time if, there is no symptomatic relief, the treatment is shifted.

Usually caregivers observe that the infant or child is not its normal self or a child itself experiences some sort of bodily discomfort and reports it. The caregivers observe symptoms, associate them with a definite illness. They also decide whether it is a minor *najje*, which will be cured by home remedies or a
serious illness, which requires the shaman and or the medicine man or the modern doctor.

There are medicines, which are common knowledge, used for a whole range of ailments like cold, cough, worms, diarrhea, vomiting and stomach ailments. These are the home remedies *gār hokkat*. They are generally found in and around the house and those found in the wild. The family members themselves generally administer these treatments. The other treatment providers are the medicine man, the modern health providers, on the natural level and the *gādi* and the *bammun* on the supernatural level.

At the level of home remedies, it is the family members, who are the treatment providers. The mother or other family members diagnose either by touching to see if the body has become hot or observing that the child is experiencing vomiting or diarrhea. Internal ailments are said to be difficult to diagnose. For instance, people are anxious and more concerned about stomach ailments, since it is not possible to know what is happening inside the body. The young child is not able to express what is happening to it. Mothers say that they are usually able to tell what is wrong with the child, since they know whether the child has eaten, whether it has passed motion. On the basis of the day-to-day behavior, they are able to make out what is the ailment that the child could be suffering from. Nichter says “mothers 'sense' that a child is seriously ill on the basis of subtle cues in their own, as well as their child’s body. These cues include touch, smell, the child’s eating behavior, and activity level” (1993:56).

Apart from the family members who provide primary treatment, there are four kinds of curers that a child can be taken to for treatment seeking. They are: Medicine man, modern doctor, shaman, Havik Brahmin priest. Here, medicine man and doctor are the specialists who provide medication and shaman and Havik Brahmin priest are supernatural curers.

6.1. Medicine man

Most of the settlements have a medicine man *hokkat deevuncho*, but there are three medicine men who are said to be very effective in curing wide range of ailments, because of their experience and immense knowledge about various
medications. All three of them are old and have been practicing since they were in their twenties. They use both herbs and animal extracts. Their knowledge regarding the medicines is passed on in the family in the patriline, from father to son. There is an exception in the settlement of Rabe, wherein, there is a woman who provides herbal medicines for various ailments like jaundice and boils. Women being an indigenous doctor is a rare phenomenon among Kunabi because, they get married and go to a different lineage and also that unlike men they will not be able to go deep into the forests day or night whenever there is need for medicines to be brought. Generally, the son is initiated into learning the medicinal knowledge after the performance of monde jowla. Because, the child before this stage cannot understand that the knowledge of herbs has to be guarded secretly and the names of the plants should not be revealed to anyone.

The knowledge of the herbal medicines is guarded strongly. It is believed that if the name of the herb is revealed or the herb is pointed to, it loses its power and will no longer be effective sauli padone. Particular herbs are to be plucked at particular time in order to be effective. All the three medicine men have dev in their kutumb, (like tulsi dev, naag dev) which they worship before giving the medicine apart from the kuldev. They pray dev for the medicine to take effect and cure the person besh kaare. They believe that the deity makes the medicine effective, and that is why only a medicine man’s medicine can cure a condition and not just anybody. All families have deities however, the medicine man has a special relationship with deities. There is a shrine at his place, wherein he prays before providing the medicines. Apart from the kuldev (that all families have), the medicine man has another deity dev that helps him in the process of curing. The relationship between a Kunabi medicine man, the deity and the power of healing are intricately linked.

Carstairs says that in rural Rajasthan where he was working, he once mentioned to a local indigenous medical practitioner saying, “you and I do the same work, helping the sick get well” he replied at once, “it is not I sahib; God alone can do that”. Carstairs says that he was reminded, that the individual skill is only one part of the complex business of healing (1955:116).
For ailments like skin disease, jaundice, the child who is affected has to be brought to the medicine man, so that he can identify the kind of ailment the child has. It is on the basis of the appearance of the ailment that he identifies the disease and the medication to be given. For ailments like vomiting, diarrhea, based on the symptoms the medicine is given and, it is not necessary that the child be brought to the medicine man. If the medicine given is not able to cure, alternative medicine is tried. The medicine man has to be paid in terms of coconuts.

The medicine men feel that, the present generation of children does not respond well to indigenous medicine because, they have become habituated to modern medicine _ashpatt hokkat_. Their body can respond only to ‘strong medicine’ like that given by the doctor _daktru_. Indigenous medicines are powerful in a different way. They have to be taken for a longer period of time and they ‘remove the problem from the root’. Modern medicines _ashpatt hokkat_ are said to cure for the time being only, and ‘do not remove the problem from the root’. Once modern medicine is begun to be administered, it is said that each time ‘stronger medicine’ is required and the body does not respond to ‘weaker doses’.

Ramani, an indigenous medicine man uses an analogy to make his point and says body is like the earth. When dung manure is put, it is naturally fertilized and produces sufficient amount of grains. But, when we become greedy we want more produce, so we start using chemical fertilizers _sarkari gobar_. As a result, for a couple of years there will be good produce. But, one has to keep on increasing the amount of fertilizer. One also has to use more water, otherwise the crops will get burnt. And once chemical fertilizers are used, one cannot revert back to using natural manure. The land has lost its power to produce with the help of less strong manure. The natural manure is likened to indigenous medicine and chemical fertilizers to modern medicine. In the same way, when a child is always treated with indigenous medicine, the body responds well to the indigenous medicines. The child becomes strong and has fewer diseases like the children of his generation.

Ramani also says he had not seen a hospital until the day his son took him along with his grandson for ‘some kind of fever’. But since infancy, if modern
medicines which are ‘very strong’ are given, and then for some reason, if one wants to treat the child with indigenous medicine hokkat, the child’s body will not respond and the child will not be cured. And children of present generation therefore say the gavati hokkat is not effective. But it is not the hokkat, which has become ineffective, but the body.

It does not mean that the people do not seek indigenous medicines at all, it is that there is a general belief that prolonged use of modern medicine makes the body immune to the effect of herbal medicines. For certain diseases like, kamale, kove, kuppali, chevi, only herbal medicines are used. People do opt both herbal and modern medicines in their hierarchy of resorts. In fact, the treatment begins with herbal medicines. What Ramani’s belief implies is that earlier when modern medicines were not available, everything was treated with herbal medicines. Now that modern medicines are available, people use them comparatively more than they did earlier because of the belief that they cure quickly.

Narayana another medicine man explains that the food, which children consume these days, has no ‘strength’ takat. The paddy pound in the mill will have lost all the strength when it is polished. Comparing to his generation, he says, in his generation they would suffer from fewer diseases najje because their body was strong due to eating home pound paddy, which had all its strength intact. He says, because they consumed home pound paddy in their childhood, their bodies are still strong. The use of vegetables bought from the market is also believed to cause najje, because they are grown using sarakarigobar. The gobar enters into the body and causes najje. Rice grown using sarakarigobar is also believed to be less strength-giving than the kind grown using natural manure. It implies that what is consumed in childhood is crucial and has an effect later on in the life. Lack of nutritious food in childhood could lead to weakness and susceptibility to diseases, as one grows older.

Medicine men feel that their knowledge will die with them since, their children are not interested in learning about the medicines. They are not interested because they feel that the gavathi hokkat is no longer effective. They do not want to wander in the forests at midnight or at dawn to collect medicinal plants. To be
effective certain herbs have to be picked at certain times of the day as a result, one has to go wandering in the forest irrespective of day or night. And they feel that it is not economically productive because one cannot charge for the *hokkat*, since it is given in the name of *dev*.

6.2. Modern doctors

People seek the modern doctor *daktru* at the Primary Health Unit (at Alavi) and private doctors at Yellapur. There are both allopathic and auyrvedic doctors at Yellapur. People generally seek the modern doctors who are sought and advised by their *bhattur* landlords. One of the most popular doctors is the one, who visited the Kunabi settlements as early as three decades back, when there was hardly any transportation facility available. He is the one sought more for maternity and child care also.

There are drawbacks when it comes to going to the Primary Health Unit (PHU). The doctor at the PHU is not available at all times of the day. He comes to the center at 10.30a.m and leaves at 3.30p.m. If he has to attend meetings, or training programs at the taluk or district level, then he does not come to the PHU. Also his arrival depends on the arrival of the bus. Therefore, people say that presence of the doctor is not assured. As a result, they would rather go to the private doctor at Yellapur. Going to the PHU means expenditure in terms of both time and money. They will have to spend on the bus fare, they will be wasting a day’s worth of labor, and if the doctor is not present on the particular day, then the whole trip is wasted. Further, if the doctor prescribes medicines to be brought from the pharmacist, then they will again have to go to Yellapur, which means further expenditure. PHU does not have a supply of all kinds of medications.

People go to the PHU for minor health problems, and they go to a private doctor, if they perceive a health condition as major. It is so because, the PHU suffers from various drawbacks. They can afford to absorb the drawbacks if the health problem is minor, because the child will not be seriously affected. But with major health problems, people do not want to take risk with children, lest the problem turns fatal. So they prefer going to the private doctor wherein they are
ensured of the doctor's presence and also can buy medicines prescribed, even though going to the private doctor is expensive.

6.3. Shaman

Shaman gādi is sought for diagnosis of an ailment as well as for cure. There are quite a few shamans among Kunabi. As seen in earlier discussion, the power of healing in a shaman is transmitted in the family in the patriline like that of a medicine man. The power of a shaman comes to one of his sons supernaturally after the death of the shaman. The power of healing cannot be learnt like knowledge of medicine is learnt; it has to be obtained in the dream, supernaturally with the blessings of the Goddess.

Vallu is a shaman. He is 65 years old. He has two brothers, but when his father who was a shaman died, he got the power from the deviamma. He says that deviamma knows who will help people without any expectations of returns for the services and it is only such people who are blessed with the power. That is why he has been blessed. He has been a shaman for the last thirty years. He goes wherever he is called be it a day or night, for performing khuddo and he says he does not mind the rain, cold or the condition of his health. He says deviamma will become angry if the request of the people is not attended and if her blessing is not properly used.

Shaman plays an important role in the diagnosis and treatment. It is he who diagnoses a condition as being supernaturally or naturally caused. If he decides that the condition is supernaturally caused, then people do not take the child to any other specialist. Since, it is believed that if one seeks any other treatment, the cure will be temporary. And the condition will keep recurring. If the shaman feels that the condition is not supernaturally caused, then suggests them to go to the medicine man or to the doctor. And at times, if he finds that the supernatural treatment is beyond his power that is, the māru is not yielding to his powers then, he may suggest seeking bammun also.

6.4. Havik Brahmin priest

Bammun is a Havik Brahmin who may or may not be serving as a temple priest. Those who practice astrology and provide solutions, those that officiate at
rituals and perform weddings are also referred to as *bammun*. There are six *bammun*, who are sought a great deal because of their knowledge, their healing powers and because of the people's faith in the particular *bammun*.

Raman Bhatt is a 35-year-old *bammun* who is the priest of *Ramalinga ashwara* temple at Alavi. He performs priestly duties at the temple, officiates at weddings and rituals and also is a shaman. He gives solutions to all kinds of problems of the people including health or other kinds, through astrological calculations. He does this, with the help of cowry shells and rice grains. He makes calculations with cowry shells and rice grains. He is considered to be an expert in curing *balagraha* (adverse effects of movement of planets on the health of the child). He acts as a medium and through his calculations he comes to know about the effect planets are having on a person and then provides redressal mechanisms.

Illnesses may not be cured by natural treatment alone if there is a supernatural affliction. The condition may become more severe, or the symptoms may recur. Under such circumstances, along with natural treatment, supernatural treatment is also given. Certain symptoms like, mumbling in sleep, waking up crying in the night, having nightmares, persistently crying without reason, aversion to food are believed to be supernaturally caused. These conditions are referred to as *māru nagale*. The supernaturally caused conditions do not respond to natural treatment. Where as, imbalance in the hot and cold equilibrium is the main causative factor in the naturally caused illnesses. It may be an imbalance caused due to changes in the climate or in the food or may be the result of physiological constitution *prakriti* of the child. *Prakriti* of the child can be hot or cold, depending on which it is susceptible to illnesses.

List of ill-health conditions is categorized on the basis of natural and supernatural causes. Crucial factor here is that, ill-health conditions that appear or are suspected to be naturally caused, in course of treatment turn out to be supernaturally caused. Therefore supernaturally caused illnesses can in fact be many more than naturally caused ill-health conditions.
Naturally caused illnesses are *jar, kove, kuppali, kamale, ghai dallo, jant, feets, uggar padte, rai/padiyo, kapate, kokkli, thandi, pottan kadche/dubate, benagela, kan dubate, kun, tekkal padte, damm*. Supernaturally caused illnesses are *jar, chape, balagraha, bedrun*. In case of evil eye though it is seen as a socially caused condition, the process of treatment is supernatural. Further like supernaturally caused conditions the symptoms caused due to evil eye do not respond to just medications. The symptoms appearing to be naturally caused may also be due to the affliction of supernatural powers.

**Treatment seeking behavior in case of naturally caused illnesses**

If the symptomatic relief is not obtained from the home remedies, within the expected duration of time, then the next resort is to seek the modern doctor. But in cases of diseases like *chevi, kuppali, kove, kamale*, medicine man is sought because of the belief that these conditions do not have any cure in the modern medical system. Lewis makes similar observation with regard to people of Tepoztlan. He says that “Tepoztecs are reluctant in case of the illnesses supposedly caused by humors or spirits of the air, to visit a doctor because of their conviction that doctors do not understand either the cause or cure of such diseases”(1955:429)
Treatment seeking in case of supernaturally caused illnesses

The home remedy in case of supernaturally caused conditions may involve warding-off evil eye, or the performance of *haan* or taking a vow. Shaman can diagnose the condition if there is affliction of spirits, whereas *bammun* diagnoses astrological problems, and wrath of deity.

The difference between pure natural and supernatural conditions is that a natural condition has only what can be referred to as ‘natural treatment’. Whereas, a supernatural condition has both supernatural as well as natural treatment. The differentiation becomes clear when, one looks at the stages of treatment sought for a pure natural cause from a suspected supernatural cause.

The treatment for both natural and supernatural categories of conditions emanates from the same origin that is home remedies. Home remedy is the common factor as well as the starting point of treatment be it naturally or supernaturally caused condition.
All ill-health conditions are treated by home remedies to begin with. At this level, they are considered as minor ailments. In case of a severe condition, one shifts from home remedy to private doctor directly. In case of supernaturally caused conditions also similar behavior is found that is, one goes from home remedy to a supernatural specialist (shaman) directly. Further, if the whole treatment seeking behavior is looked at as a continuum, at one end is the home remedy, at the other end is the sangni (making a vow) in case of supernaturally caused conditions, and going to private doctors (specialists) in case of naturally caused conditions. However, the ultimate resort is sangni even after seeking specialist private doctor. Because, everything is left in the hands of God. Therefore, sangni is at a higher position than the modern doctor also.

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\text{Home remedy} \rightarrow \text{Sangni} \rightarrow \text{Private modern doctor}
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The failure of cure at the indigenous level is not seen as failure nor the supernatural healer is held responsible for the lack of relief. The powers beyond his curative capabilities are held responsible. Further, when it is a question of supernatural, people generally feel that it can be controlled only to some extent but largely its workings are beyond human comprehension.

Young while analyzing the implications of medical beliefs and practices says, “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”(1976:5).

The perceived degree of severity, influences the hierarchy of treatment whether it is natural or supernatural condition. At times, the world of supernatural powers functions parallel to the natural treatment. Furthermore, the hierarchy of
religious functionaries and indigenous practitioners indicates that their own native system comes first. This reveals that, the resort to bammun, the Brahminical deities, and the modern medical system are the extension of their indigenous medical system. In course of time with increased contacts bammun, modern health care have become a part of their health care system to such an extent that they are a part and parcel of their hierarchy of resorts.

6.5. Illnesses

Illnesses, which infant balshe up to one year of age, and children pogrya above one year of age suffer from, are similar. Some of the ailments, which only infants suffer from, are chevi, like kaleli chevi, thambeli chevi (explained in Chapter V), kuppali and kove. The ill-health onditions, which are believed to be common among children, are cold, fever, and cough, worms, diarrhea, scabies, stomach ailments, kapate, balagraha and chape. Less common are earache, conjunctivitis, headache, jaundice, epilepsy, and respiratory infections.

The primary function of indigenous medicines is to counteract the hot and cold imbalance in the body. Therefore, the indigenous medicines are invariably categorized as heat or cold producing medicines. Apart from giving medicines, food is also a part of the treatment. Depending on the perceived nature of the illness, the food restrictions are imposed. It is believed that if the pathya is not followed, then the illness will not be cured quickly. Further, when a child is undergoing herbal treatment, one should be careful as to what it consumes. If the child consumes food that are not conducive to the medicines it is being administered, the remedies will not be effective in curing. For instance if the child has boils, wounds, or scabies, and if it consumes nanj enhancing food, the conditions are not cured. If it has fever or indigestion and if it consumes meat or spicy food then it may lead to other ailments like vomiting or diarrhea. Therefore, care is taken with regard to ‘sickness diet’ of the child.

The causes, symptoms of illnesses and the treatments have been explained below.
**Kuppali**

*Kuppali* is said to be a condition wherein, an infant does not gain weight though it is consuming what is regarded as normal amount of food. The whole body remains lean and appears as if, the infant is not fed at all.

For this condition, the treatment is given by a medicine man of *gouda* community. He gives herbal medicines to the mother of the infant which is affected. Through the breast milk, the medicine is believed to reach the infant and cure it. He is said to be a specialist in curing *kuppali* and his family is practicing this since generations. The names of the herbs used are not revealed to any outsiders and even within the family not everybody knows the names.

**Kove**

*Kove* is a condition wherein, *pottan* of infant becomes swollen and there is persistent crying and the infant has dry cough that is, without phlegm *bembru*. This is believed to be caused if the mother’s milk is not good. The mother is given *kove maddu* by the medicine man of Gouda community. When the infant has cough in the initial stages, it is treated with home remedies. But when it does not respond to the treatment and the *pottan* becomes swollen after fifteen days or so, then it is suspected as *kove* and *kove maddu* is sought. It is believed that only *kove maddu* can cure this condition and there is no treatment in the modern medicine.

Both *kuppalli* and *kove* are treated by medicine men alone. The medicines given by them are not revealed. They are guarded secretly. Because the medicine men believe that the names should not be revealed to anyone. Revealing the names is believed to destroy the healing powers of the herbs.

**Thandi**

*Thandi* (common cold) is said to be the most common ailment among children. It is believed to be caused due to changes in climatic condition *aar*. That is, sudden changes in temperature, seasonal changes, and change of drinking water can also cause *thandi*. If a child is accustomed to drinking stream water and if it drinks water from a well, then child will be affected by cold. The child will experience cold at the beginning of each season, when season changes from winter to summer and from summer to rains because of the change in the temperature.
Thandi is also said to be caused due to increase in heat. During summer, thandi is caused due to increased garmi in the body. It is also believed that children eat lots of jackfruit, raw mango (which are available in plenty during summer) and it causes thandi. And during rainy season and winter due to increased thandi common cold is caused. The two kinds of thandi that is one caused due to cold and the other caused due to heat are generally distinguished by the symptoms. In thandi caused due to garmi there is no sneezing.

Thandi usually lasts for a week or ten days if untreated. The symptoms are running nose and sneezing naak beto. Children are given hokkat for thandi in order to cure the condition quickly because, it makes them tired and if left untreated it leads to cough kokli also.

Treatment for thandi consists of cumin seeds jeero and coriander seeds sambeejo if the condition is caused due to heat. Jeero and sambeejo, which are believed to have cooling effect on the body, are ground, boiled in water and fed a glass twice a day for three to four days.

Black pepper kalanjeero is made into a paste by grinding and mixed with milk dud and fed one or two spoons depending on the age of the child. Up to three to four years, they are fed one spoonful kanso (one teaspoon) twice a day, and older children two spoonfuls twice a day for three to four days. Kalanjeero hokkat is given if thandi is believed to be caused due to cold. Kalanjeero is heat creating in nature.

The juice of leaves of an aromatic plant called sambar soppu is also fed as a remedy for cold. And in case of infants, the paste is applied on the capitus.

Since thandi is regarded to be a minor disease, only home remedy is believed to be sufficient to cure it. The child is asked not to eat cold producing food like raw mangoes and is told to drink only hot water. It is also asked to refrain from drinking buttermilk.

With regard to multiple cures for a disease, Marriot (1955) observes that standardized medical treatments scarcely exist in indigenous systems. Individuals of the same village and 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. The option of medicine among Kunabi, often depends on the perceived nature of the condition. Further, the availability of the ingredients required for the medicine is also a crucial factor in deciding the medication. Also there is the belief that certain medicines are efficacious as a result of their frequent use and say that others may use something else because it is efficacious to them.

**Kokli**

*Kokli* (cough) like *thandi* is believed to be caused due to seasonal changes. *Kokli* is said to be more during winter and rainy season than in summer. It is usually caused due to cold *thand*. Apart from cold, it can also be caused due to eating food prepared in oil. *Kokli* is also believed to be caused if *thandi* is left untreated. *Kokli* can be with or without phlegm *bembru*. When there is *kokli* it is believed that the child experiences pain in the throat and also that the chest hurts due to constant coughing. The child is refrained from eating oily food when it has *kokli*. It is warned not to eat fruits like guava, jack fruit, pineapple since they are believed to increase *kokli*.

For cough, the juice of lemon *limbu* and jaggery *gud* is mixed and fed on empty stomach. The lemon is burnt on the burning coal and then squeezed to extract the juice. This juice is mixed with jaggery and fed.

Also the juice of raw lemon mixed in hot water is used as a remedy for cough. A tuber called *tikkalo kando* is ground and mixed with honey and fed a teaspoon. The raw lemon juice and *tikkalo kando* are believed to help in decongesting phlegm. Honey is said to soothe the throat that hurts due to coughing.

Warm ash *saar* is also another remedy for cough. The warm ash is applied all over the chest and throat. The heat of the ash is believed to not only decongest phlegm, but also soothe throat and chest, which hurt due to persistent cough.

*Sambar sopp* leaves are crushed and applied on the capitus and feet since it generates heat in the body.
The indigenous medicines are given for over a week. In case of an infant, if the cough does not subside and it is having difficulty in breathing due to bembru, is not feeding well, is restless and does not sleep well because of the cough, then it is taken to the doctor. Similarly in case of children, if the bembru does not decongest and the cough is persistent in spite of all the indigenous remedies then also, the child is taken to the doctor.

**Damm**

*Damm* (respiratory infection) is a condition wherein the child suffers from severe cough, there is wheezing and finds it difficult to breathe. *Damm* persists for a longer duration than normal cough *kokli*. Further, it is believed that when there is *damm* it does not respond to the home remedies. There are chances that *thandi* can develop into *kokli* and *kokli* if remains untreated, can lead to *damm*.

Medicine man is sought for *damm*. The medicine for *damm* consists of the bones of porcupine *sayil*, which is powdered and mixed with other herbs. The child is refrained from eating fried foodstuffs like *happla* (papad) since, fried food is believed to increase cough and wheezing. Along with the treatment of the medicine man, doctor is also sought because modern medicine is believed to cure *damm* quickly. *Hokkat* given by the medicine man is continued because, this treatment is believed to ‘remove the problem completely from the body’.

**Jaro**

*Jaro* (fever) is believed to be caused due to changes in climatic conditions *aar*. In the beginning of all seasons, usually there is occurrence of fever especially, during winter and rainy seasons. It is believed that the body has to adjust to changes in the climate, as a result, there is fever. Fever is caused due to heat *garmi* and also due to cold *thandi*. When a child suffers from *jaro* it experiences body ache *hath pai bettun padta*. When the child is suffering from fever it is fed gruel of rice and pickle of lemon. It is said that the child’s tongue will have become bitter in taste due to fever therefore, pickle is fed to remove the bitterness.

As a remedy for fever, leaves of a plant called *boodgedda* are crushed and applied all over the body. A couple of leaves are placed on the head and a cloth is tied over it. The *boodgedda* plant is believed to have a cooling effect and is
believed to bring down the body heat. This plant is used irrespective of seasons, since it is available in all seasons and it is effective in curing fever whether it is caused due to heat or cold.

Concoction of cumin seeds jeero, jayke and bitter pepper kalanjeero with jaggery gud is made and fed, as a remedy for fever. This concoction has to be fed thrice or four times a day. It is believed that boodgedda and the concoction can cure fever effectively, whether it is caused due to garmi or thandi.

If there is fever cold and cough together then concoction kainey of cumin seeds, asaphoetodia hing, black pepper kali miriya, nut meg jaike and garlic lassan is made and fed for two days.

The indigenous treatment is given for three to four days and if there is no remission in symptoms, modern medicine, which is kept in the house from earlier visits to doctor are given in small doses. That is, in case of an infant one fourth of croci (Paracetemol) tablet is given once in a day. And in case of children, half a tablet is given twice a day for two days.

If indigenous remedies are not being effective in curing fever, even after four to five days then, the child is taken to the doctor. In the meanwhile, if the ANM visits the settlement, the infant or child is shown to her and she administers medicine. Wherever there is an anganawādi, medicines for fever are stored and the anganawādi worker is also sought for taking medicines.

During the rainy season, the children are told to warm themselves in front of the fire immediately after they come from outside, especially, if they are drenched. It is believed that, if the cold remains in the body it can cause fever. Similarly during winter also they are asked to warm themselves and let all the cold drain away from the body.

Generally fever is said to accompany thandi or whenever there is thandi the child may also get fever. Cold and cough are also said to accompany each other, since they are all generally caused due to a common cause that is thandi.

A pattern of behavior found with regard to modern medicines is that people store all the unused medications. Since they have spent money for buying the medicine, they do not want to part with them. Expiry dates mean little, since the
doctor or ANM do not warn them about it. People have collection of medicines five years old. Since the indigenous medicines do not go bad if stored, the same rationale is applied to the modern medicines also. This hoarding can have serious implications since using medicines after the expiry date can be extremely harmful to health. The medicines get accumulated since, once the symptoms disappear, the medication is no longer taken. Further, even after the doctor has prescribed the medication, the elders feel, that the dosage is too strong for the child and do not give the full duration treatment to the child.

**Jant**

*Jant* (worms) are believed to be present in everybody. *Balshe* around the age of three months begins to roll on its *pottan* and lick the floor, put its fingers into its mouth and as a result, *jant* enter into its stomach. Presence of worms is said to result in- pain in *pottan*, and it becomes swollen, and the worms eat the food consumed and *balshe* cries *kuyinte* persistently. The child is also believed to experience irritation during defecation. Eating sweets, drinking water, which is not flowing, is also believed to cause *jant*.

The medicine for *jant* consists of leaves called *manchikodi*, and drumstick leaves. It is referred to as *khayya hokkat* meaning bitter medicine. The leaves are crushed and the juice is fed as medicine. Also the bark of a tree called *santana (jantale)* is boiled in water and fed for removing worms.

*Khayya hokkat* is fed to infants and children. Four to five drops is fed every fifteen days. The dosage is increased as *balshe* grows older and a year old baby is fed one spoon of *khayya hokkat*. This is a preventive as well as curative measure. It prevents *pottan kadche* by removing the *jant* from the *pottan*. If the child is complaining of itching sensation *pottan kadche* in the *pottan* then, the *khayya hokkat* is fed twice a day for three days. Children after two or three years refuse to drink *khayya hokkat* regularly because of its bitter taste. They are fed only when there is *pottan kadche*, which is regarded as the major symptom of presence of *jant*.

When they visit the doctor at the PHU or private doctor, they ask for deworming medicine *jantmaddu* for the children. Because this medicine is
believed to be very effective and the children do not refuse to take it since it is not bitter like khayya maddu.

Ghai dallo

Ghai dallo (scabies) are boils that appear on various parts of body like legs, head, hands, and between fingers. Ghai refers to ‘wounds’ and dallo means ‘has happened’. These boils are said to itch and burn and fill with watery substance rasige (puss). When they burst open they spread. So the treatment objective is to dry the boils as quickly as possible. Ghai dallo can be caused due to increase of heat in the body and it is generally believed to be the result of the effect of spirits. Therefore, khuddo is also performed along with indigenous medicines. If indigenous medicine is not effective, then modern medicine is sought.

Ghai dallo is treated with bitter gourd juice, which is applied on the affected area. Leaves of manchikodi are crushed and paste is applied on the ghai. Bitterness in manchikodi and bitter gourd is believed to help in drying the wounds and also preventing the spread of wounds.

Garlic lassan is smashed and boiled in coconut oil and then applied on the wounds when the oil is still hot. Garlic is believed to be heat creating and this heat helps in drying of the ghai.

The medications are applied till the wounds get dried and the dried skin peels off. The child is not fed nanjache padarth when he has ghai because nanjache padarth enhance nanj in the body and the ghai do not dry quickly.

Benagela/sheroshe

Benagela (diarrhea) is said to be caused due to garmi and due to eating spicy food. Bena refers to the ‘clearing or the grassland near the stream’ where people generally go for defecating and gela means ‘to go’. When heat increases in the body, it is believed to cause diarrhea. This is said to be occurring more during summer season, because of heat and also because of excess consumption of water.

It is believed that, during summer when there is extreme heat, when one drinks water, it causes diarrhea. Kunabi have a custom of eating a bit of jaggery gud before consuming water. The jaggery is believed to create cooling effect on the body and once the body is cooled if water is consumed, it does not affect
adversely. This custom however acts as a preventive measure during the summer season. Indigestion can also cause diarrhea. Children are told not to play immediately after consuming food and also not to sit idle for long. One has to be active physically for the food to digest.

For treating diarrhea, tender coconut water *siyala* is believed to be very effective. The leaves of a plant called *manchikodi*, or the leaves of bitter gourd, which are bitter in taste, are also used as a remedy for diarrhea. They are boiled in water till a glass of water is reduced to half in quantity and then it is fed. The root of *chakrani* a wild plant is mixed with raw lemon juice and fed for two to three days. Also the leaves of a tree called *nelli* are ground in water and the juice is squeezed out and fed.

Juice of lemon, salt and jaggery are mixed and fed to the child five or six times a day. They are believed to create a cooling effect and helping in curing diarrhea.

If it is not cured in three or four days, then modern medicine is sought. If the child cannot be taken to the doctor because of the severity of the ailment, then the doctor is told about the child’s symptoms and medicine is brought. The child is fed rice and pickles till he is cured and refrained from eating meat, sweets and spicy foods, which are considered to be heavy for digestion.

*Pottan dubate/Pottan kadche*

*Pottan dubate/Pottan kadche* (stomach pain and itching sensation) are believed to be caused due to excess eating. Children are said to complain of itching sensation in the anus. Children are said to eat at irregular intervals on days of feasts and festivals and also they eat more on such occasions. They eat lots of sweets and play without taking any rest, which leads to indigestion. All these things together cause *pottan dubate/pottan kadche*.

For *pottan dubate/pottan kadche* concoction *katne* of cumin seeds mixed with fergeuric seeds *soup* is made and fed twice a day. This concoction is believed to help in digestion.

Bitter pepper and black pepper *kalimiriya* are made into a paste by mixing with water and a spoonful is fed twice a day for three to four days.
Bitter pepper and nutmeg are ground and mixed in breast milk for stomach problems in case of infants.

If *pottan dubate* and *pottan kadche* are not cured by administering herbal medicine for a week then, the child is taken to the doctor. It is believed that the concoction *katney* is effective in curing the condition. And during the period the child is suffering from *pottan dubate* and *pottan kadche*, it is not allowed to eat spicy food and meat because they are regarded to be heavy for digestion.

**Uggar padte**

*Uggar padte* (vomiting) is believed to be usually caused due to heat *garmi*. Also it is believed that, excess eating that is, when one consumes more than one normally does, it causes vomiting sensation and also vomiting. Excess eating is believed to cause indigestion, which can also in turn lead to vomiting. The child is not fed spicy foods when it is suffering from vomiting because it is believed to create burning sensation in the stomach and increased vomiting. Vomiting caused due to *garmi* is believed to be sour in taste.

Remedy for both vomiting sensation and vomiting is raw lemon juice mixed in water. Half a cup has to be fed to the child twice a day for two days.

Cardamom is powdered and mixed in water and fed each time the child vomits. It is believed to create cooling effect and also remove the sour taste from the mouth.

The leaves of a plant called *manchikodi* are crushed and a spoonful of juice is fed and also the leaves of *manchikodi* are tied around the neck. The leaves are very bitter in taste and smell, and inhaling the smell of the bitter leaves of *manchikodi* tied to the neck is believed to stop the vomiting.

A bark of a tree called *manti* is ground in water and the paste is fed. *Manti* is said to be cooling in nature and helps in reducing vomiting. The leaves of coconut tree *maddache paan* are crushed and juice extracted is mixed in water and fed. If the home remedies are not able to cure after two days of treatment, in that case, the child is taken to the doctor.
**Rai/padyo**

*Rai/padyo* means a boil. *Rai* is said to be usually bigger than a rupee coin. It appears on the cheek, capitus or below the chin. If it appears on the capitus it is believed to be life threatening. It is believed to be caused due to impurity of blood *raggat attala*. The boil is red in colour to begin with and gradually swells and becomes filled with puss. It takes as long as fifteen days or more to burst, and another fifteen days to completely heal. The child suffers from fever and cold when *rai/padyo* is filling up with puss.

Both indigenous and modern medicine can heal *rai/padyo*. If the boil is located on the cheek or chin, the infant does not feed properly since it hurts while suckling. Children complain of pain while chewing. Indigenous treatment is provided by medicine man. The medicine man gives an herbal mixture, which has to be applied for three days every six hours or so (a day is divided into four halves). Then, when it has become soft, he pricks the boil with a medicinal leaf by locating a point, which is softest. He lets out all the watery substance to ooze out. Once this is done, it no longer hurts and the boil dries and heals quickly. The herbal medicine is believed to quicken the process of filling up of the boil and once it is completely filled the letting out is believed to remove all the impure blood.

If the indigenous remedy is not effective, then modern medicine is sought. *Khuddo* is also performed to see if it has been caused due to *māru*. Even if it is caused by *māru*, herbal treatment is also sought along with *khuddo*. The belief is that if *khuddo* is performed, the effect of the spirit is warded-off and boil heals by responding to the treatment. Since, there is presence of wound here also like *ghai dallo*, the child is refrained from eating *nanjache padarth* till the boil dries up and heals.

**Kapate**

*Kapate* is a condition wherein, the lower region of one cheek or both swell and leading to pain. This is believed to be caused due to increase in *thandi*. Also if one consumes oily food when *thandi* has increased, it results in *kapate*. Food prepared in oil is not fed to the child till *kapate* is cured.
The treatment for kapate consists of applying the leaves of a plant called, ummatti. The leaves are ground and the juice is applied and, on top of it the paste is applied. If the indigenous treatment is not effective even after four or five days, the child is taken to the doctor.

**Chape**

Chape (measles) is believed to be caused due to wrath of deity. The wrath may be aroused due to not having fulfilled a vow, (that is, which was made but later forgotten to fulfill it). Also kuldev might have been polluted or some mistake committed but unknown and hence, the mistake committed was not corrected. Kinship and community interconnectedness come into play here and their importance is manifested through the disease chape. If one commits mistake all are likely to bear its consequence. Further, children are the link, the continuity into the future. Therefore, it implies that the past mistakes can affect the future. The past, the present and all the families in the settlement are so intricately bound that everybody is responsible for each other's behavior.

Chape is of two types sannala chape and chape. It is believed that if one child gets affected, all the children in the household and even in the settlement get affected. It also affects adults if they have not had it as children. The affected child is isolated in the house for a period of eleven days.

Chape is believed to begin with fever, body ache and headache. And after two or three days small boils appear all over the body in case of sannala chape and bigger boils appear in case of chape. Chape affected child should follow pathya. It is refrained from consuming all nanj enhancing foods. If the child consumes nanj foods, then boils do not heal quickly. It is not fed oily and spicy food since they are also believed to prevent quick healing of wounds. It is fed only boiled rice korsejung, which is over cooked and then mashed like gruel poas. The child has to drink only hot water in order to prevent nanj. People from other houses do not visit the house in which a child is suffering from chape. In the house in which a child is suffering from chape, poli (like pan cakes) is not prepared because it is believed that if poli is prepared the boils do not spurt out. Like poli is flattened the boils also remain flattened.
Child suffering from *chape* is said to have *shaka* (shadow) of *kuldev* on it. Therefore, menstruating women are not supposed to touch the child. This would lead to pollution and further anger of *kuldev* which would lead to a great deal of itching sensation to the child suffering from *chape*. If the taboos are not observed, *chape* recurs again. If *chape* recurs the child is believed to die.

For ten days child is not bathed. On the eleventh day child is given a bath. Five to six types of herbs like bark of a tree called *appatti chakke*, a kind of mushroom *adabe*, (leaves of *kanchi kai* tree) *kadu kanchi patre*, grass called *nerte soppu*, leaves of Tulsi plant *tulsi panya*, leaves of lemon tree *nimbde sop*, bitter pepper *noklimiri* are boiled in the water for bath. Herbs are wrapped in a cloth and soaked in the water for bathing the night before. These herbs are removed from the cloth after the bath and applied all over the body of the child. Then the child is made to sunbathe so that the herbal application dries up. The herbs are believed to help in drying of boils quickly so that, they peel off and they are said to produce a soothing effect. The herbs are also believed to prevent scarring. The herbal bath is given for three days.

On eleventh day, a coconut is broken in the name of *kuldev* with a prayer *devak sangun unche* that, they are offering the coconut and seeking forgiveness for whatever mistake they might have committed without their knowledge. They request *kuldev* to remove his *shaka* and cure the child.

**Kaan dubate**

*Kaan* refers to ear and *dubate* refers to pain. *Kaan dubate* (earache) is caused due to *thandi* cold. It is also, believed to be caused if *karti* an insect, which is present on cattle, enters into the ear or if there are wounds present in the ear. Wounds may be caused due to boils in the ear or due to the biting of *karti*. It is said that earache can lead to fever and head ache if left uncured.

Treatment for earache consists of garlic and coconut oil. Garlic is smashed and boiled in coconut oil and when it becomes warm, oil is poured in the ear. The warm oil is supposed to bring relief from pain and garlic heals if there are any wounds inside the ear.
After two to three days of treatment if the earache persists then the child is taken to the doctor.

**Kun**

*Kun* (conjunctivitis) is a condition wherein, one eye or both eyes become reddish or swollen or there is presence of burning sensation or they become watery and filled with discharge. *Kun* occurs more during summer. It is believed that *kun* is caused due to increased *garmi*. During the first three days, if one looks at a person affected from *kun* other person also gets affected. Children are not sent to school and are told not to go out and play. This is done not only to prevent other children from getting affected but also, playing in the open air is believed to increase burning sensation.

A couple of drops of breast milk *mummo* are put in the eyes four or five times a day for three or four days.

Other treatment for *kun* consists of applying and massaging coconut oil to the head and feet.

Butter, which is believed to be *thand*, is applied on the head and also on the eyelids. And application of kohl *kadige*, which is also believed to be cooling in nature is believed to help cure *kun*.

If the symptoms do not subside after a week, then the child is taken to the modern doctor.

**Tekkal dubate**

*Tekkal dubate* (head ache or pulsating sensation in the head) is believed to be caused due to heat and also due to cold. During summer, if children play during the midday when it is extremely hot, it is believed to cause *tekkal dubate*. During rainy season, when children drench in the rain and do not dry their hair, moisture remains and creates cold which in turn causes *tekkal dubate*.

Modern medicinal balms like ‘*zandubalm*, ‘*amrutanjan*’ are kept in the house and applied when there is *tekkal dubate*.

Leaves of a plant called *ursundge* is crushed and applied to the forehead and temples. The juice of these crushed leaves creates itching sensation, which is believed to cure the *tekkal dubate*. This is believed to be a very effective treatment.
but children are said to refuse the application because of the itching sensation it causes.

_Gāy_

Children while playing may fall down, bruised, cut, and get hurt _gāy_. For _gāy_ (cuts and scrapes) leaves of a plant called _abbale_ and bitter pepper are ground and applied.

Also a plant called _kangress_, is applied. It is crushed with the hand and both the juice and leaves are applied. Coconut oil is also a remedy for _gāy_. Older children when cut or wounded, apply the _kangress_ leaves by themselves. They crush the leaves and apply the juice and on top of it put the leaf, which is crushed.

_Kamale_

_Kamale_ (jaundice) is believed to be caused due to drinking water, which is not clean that is, water, which is stagnant. Flowing water is said to be clean and stagnant water is said to have green algae _pachi_, which contain _krimi_ microorganisms. When a child drinks such water it is believed to cause jaundice. Jaundice is believed to affect the _pottan_. The body of the child suffering from jaundice become swollen _beeg_ and turns yellowish _arishna_ in color. Jaundice is treated by medicine man. The medicine has to be taken from the medicine man on particular days, which are considered as auspicious. The medicine man offers prayers to _dev_ and then gives the medicine to the child.

The child has to follow _pathya_ where in, it is not supposed to eat food prepared using oil and food which is spicy. It has to drink only hot water. The medicine man prescribes the duration for which medicine has to be consumed and _pathya_ has to be followed. The names of the medicinal plants/herbs are not revealed by the medicine man.

_Feets_

_Feets_ (epilepsy) is believed to be hereditary in nature and is believed to run in certain families. The child may experience _feets_ as early as at the age of one year. Treatment given when a child has an attack of _feets_ consists of heating onion and massaging the legs and body by rubbing the onion. Also juice of leaves of drumstick are used for massaging.
Treatment for *feets* is given by medicine man. The medicine has to be administered to the child by an elderly woman who has attained menopause or by a man. It loses its effectiveness if it is polluted by the touch of a menstruating woman.

*Bammun* is also sought. He provides an amulet for the protection of the child from *māru*. The child needs an extra protection if it is suffering from *feets*, because when the child has *feets* epileptic attack it is supposed to become vulnerable to the effect of *māru*. Modern doctor is also sought along with treatment provided by the medicine man. It is regarded that the medicine man’s treatment can cure the condition permanently though the treatment has to be taken for a long duration of time like, for a year or two. Where as modern medicines are only temporary and immediate relief providers.

Ajita is a two year old boy was suffering from *feets*. He has been suffering from the time he was one and a half years old. He was taken to the shaman when he had the first attack. The shaman said there was an effect of *māru* and warded-off the *māru*. Again after a month he had an attack. An amulet was brought from the *bammun* and tied. His grandmother said that she remembered her husband saying his father suffered from *feets* when he was young. Aijita was taken to the private doctor at Yellapur. The doctor gave him medicines and asked the parents to take the child to the specialist at Sirsi, if he continued to have attacks. He was given the medications and also *khuddoche* was performed. After two months again he had two attacks within a week. This time around, he was taken to Sirsi and the specialist hospitalized him for two days for observation and was prescribed medications. Two days after he was brought home, he developed fever and severe respiratory infection. He would not sleep or eat and would cry persistently. He would cough all night and found it difficult to even suckle at the breast. During the night, the shaman was called to perform *khuddoche*. He performed *khuddoche* twice during the night. The child went to sleep in the early morning.

The child’s father said that fever and cough could be side effect of the modern medicine. He also says that, even if the doctor has given the right kind of medication, they may have committed some mistake in giving the proper dosage
since, he cannot read what is written on the foil. Further, he is afraid that if the pharmacist has given a wrong medicine also he will not know. He believes like most Kunabi parents, the modern medicines are very strong and at times even adults cannot bear them and suffer from heat, ulcers, diarrhea, and fever. And the child is so young and how can its young body bear so many medicines.

The child’s maternal grandfather and grandmother came to visit the boy. The maternal grandfather later in the day went to a medicine man in a distant settlement that he knew of who gives medicines for treating feets. He brought herbal medicines and gave them to the child’s grandmother to be fed to the child. The child is undergoing indigenous herbal treatment at present.

**Balagraha**

*Balagraha* is a condition believed to begin after birth and may continue up to an age of fourteen years if the moment of birth is inauspicious. (*Balagraha* literally can be translated as *bala* meaning child *graha* meaning planet). It is believed to be a condition, which is caused due to adverse effect of planets on the child.

Symptoms of *balagraha* are varied like excessive crying, hyperactivity, inactivity, sleeplessness, fear, anger, and tantrums. The child also suffers from stomach ailments, fainting, and loss of sensation in limbs, watery motion, and fever. A major indication of the child having been affected by *balagraha* is recurrence of the symptoms frequently even though, indigenous and modern medicine is sought.

*Bammun* is sought for treating *balagraha*. He gives *balagrahayantra*, which is an amulet to be tied around the neck. The amulet consists of a piece of paper on which *mantra* (sacred chants) are written. Vermilion *kunkuma* is put on this piece of paper and *bammun* writes *mantra* on the vermilion and folds it. The *yantra* is believed to be sacred and should not be allowed to become polluted. The power of *yantra* is reduced if the child wearing it comes in contact with a menstruating woman, who is believed to be in a state of pollution. If the *yantra* loses its power it cannot protect the child. In case of such a contact, a new *yantra* has to be brought again and tied to the child.
Child is believed to experience relief from symptoms with the tying of balagrahayantra. The yantra is believed to prevent the effect of planets, which cause the symptoms of balagraha. When power of the amulet begins to diminish, the child again begins to exhibit symptoms of balagraha. This indicates that power of yantra has diminished and again a new yantra has to be tied. This may have to be done twice a year or even once a month.

Child suffering from balagraha is supposed to be taken greater care than normal children. It should not be scolded or hit. When a child suffering from balagraha is tied with a yantra, deity is believed to protect it. It is said that protecting deity becomes angry if the child is hit or scolded. As a result, the child may start suffering from the symptoms again.

Generally, children suffering from balagraha are said to be very stubborn and disobedient. They are not supposed to be left alone or taken out of the house after it is dark. They become easily scared and as a result may begin to suffer from fever. Some infants and children suffering from balagraha show lack of interest in feeding, which is believed to lead to weakness and sluggishness. Some children suffering from balagraha are said to become hyperactive (restless) and do not sit in a place for long.

The bammun who provides the yantra says that all children have some effect of balagraha but, in some it is manifested more than in others, because of the moment ghalige of birth. If left untreated it can even lead to the death of the infant or child. He explains that the planetary movements affect the child causing certain disturbances, which are both psychological and physiological.

He advises the caregivers not to scold or hit the child suffering from balagraha because the child is already suffering and if it is hit or scolded the symptoms may intensify in their severity. He speaks of the reference of balagraha in the Ayurvedic medical system in ‘Sushruta’ and also regarding vermilion having curative power in treating balagraha.

Pabbu is an eleven year old boy suffering from balagraha. It began with stomach ache and diarrhea. He was given home remedies. He was cured but again after a week or so, the same symptoms recurred. He was again given home
remedies. In the meantime, his grandfather sought a shaman to see if there was any effect of maru on the boy. The shaman said there was no effect of maru. The boy was feeling very ill-at-ease and experiencing severe stomach ache. Pabbu's mother took him to Alavi to the Primary Health Unit. The doctor gave him medicines and the boy was cured in the next couple of days.

When the boy's mother spoke of the boy's symptoms to the bhattur landlord (for whom she works), he suggested it could be balagraha. He told her to take him to the bammun at Alavi. The boy again developed stomach ache and along with it, he lost sensation of his left hand. This time around, he was taken to the bammun and he gave the balagraha yantra. In the next couple of days, the boy became all right again. After two months, again he developed diarrhea and abdominal cramps. This time around he was taken to the doctor at the Primary Health Unit and also to the bammun.

After the visit to the doctor, the mother said, the doctor does not understand, but it is the balagraha or effect of maru, which can cause all kinds of health problems. He should have at least given an injection to the child, so that he was relieved of the pain. He simply gives tablets, which are of no use. Since he was experiencing extreme discomfort, he was taken to the doctor for immediate relief (the mother expected that the boy would be given injection for quick relief and was disappointed when the doctor said medication was sufficient). But the permanent cure is said to be obtained only from supernatural treatment. Only if yantra is tied, the boy will be all right. After that, again after two months the boy started suffering from diarrhea and was treated by the bammun with a new yantra.

1 Pabbu's grandfather's elder brother
2 Pabbu's grandfather
3 Pabbu's father
4 Pabbu's mother
5 Pabbu's father's sister
The bammun says Pabbu has a powerful effect of the planets on his rashi (zodiac sign) that is why, he is suffering from repeated health problems. The boy’s mother also suspects that her husband’s sister is the reason for her son’s problems. Her husband’s sister has left her husband and is living in her brother’s house. So she believes that her husband’s sister’s family’s spirits are troubling her son. Since Pabbu’s, grandfather’s elder brother is a shaman, and it was him that the grandfather sought, and they are both lying about the effect of māru. They do not want Pabbu’s father’s sister to go back her husband’s house since both always end up fighting with each other. So if the ego’s mother is told of the effect māru, she will start forcing her to go back to her husband’s house. Ancestral spirits also want her to stay in the place where she belongs that is in her husband’s house.

Since the bammun is very powerful ego’s mother believes he can cure her son. The boy’s father feels that they have not performed the worship of Satyanarayana, in the last three or four years and that is why, their son is suffering from all the illness. The grandfather also believes that the boy is suffering from balagraha. The doctor feels that the boy is malnourished and that is why he is susceptible to intestinal infections. Therefore, according to the doctor, instead of spending on ‘yantra and mantra’ (amulets and chants) the parents should spend on providing nutritional food to the boy.

Balagraha can be the final stage of any ill-health condition that is lingering, recurrent, and not responding effectively to treatment. If accompanied by certain typical symptoms, which can be said to be psychosomatic, the condition is confirmed to be balagraha. This confirmation asks for a particular kind of supernatural treatment. Further, if the condition is concluded as balagraha, then there is reduction in the level of anxiety of the parents toward child’s recurrent ill-health condition. This lessening of anxiety is due to the labeling of the condition as balagraha. Because, balagraha can have a varied kinds of symptoms. And also, there is the reasoning that it will get reduced on its own, as the child grows older.

The difference between natural and supernatural caused conditions is that, supernaturally conditions are not in one’s hands to a great extent. In the sense that it is in the hands of supernatural (either the spirits or deity or planets), which have
caused the condition and have the power cure it. Of course, the observances of preventive measures, the rituals can protect an individual, but people cannot always prevent the affliction. However, there is always the healer present to cope with the crisis in case of supernatural affliction. He not only helps in diagnosing the condition but also provides remedial measures. Since both the healer and the caregivers share the context, the anxiety of the caregivers is reduced when the supernatural measures are taken. But when the doctor is ought, the symptoms are dealt with but not the illness itself.

Within supernaturally caused conditions, conditions like effect of evil eye, effect of māru, can be treated comparatively with lesser difficulty than balagraha. Further, with regard to supernatural world, deities, astrological impacts, bammun is at the periphery of the Kunabi medical belief system. They are not at the core of the system although they are hierarchically superior. The indigenous medical practitioner, shaman and their world of spirits form the core of their indigenous medical system. Further, with regard to modern medicines, medication like, zandu balm, amrutanjan, crocin have become so common that they can be called home remedies.

### Chemical composition of the herbal medicines

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<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>Lassan Garlic</td>
<td>Allium Sativum</td>
<td>Volatile oil 0.06 – 0.1, Allytpropyl Sulphide 6%, Diallyl disulphide 6%, Benzene other Sulphur components</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jaike nutmeg</td>
<td>Myristica Fragrans</td>
<td>Malbaricanol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dalimbe Pomegranate</td>
<td>Punica Granatum</td>
<td>Ellagitannin-granatim A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Betel leaves</td>
<td>Piper Betle Linn</td>
<td>Phenolics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Essential oils 0.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chlorophyll 2.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carotenoids 0.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Protein 6.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sugars 14.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And moisture 84.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Piperine 5-20 Pipettine and Piperdine 5%</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Black pepper</td>
<td>Piper Nigrum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6  **Tulasi**  Ocimum Sanctum

- Phenol: 45 to 76
- **Leaves and inflourosence**
  - Volatile oil: 1.1-2.3
  - Aldehyde: 15 to 25
- Seeds: oil 17.8
- Whole bush: Alkalies, Glycosides and Tamin
- Leaves: Ascorbic acid and Larotine
  (Diaphoretic, antiperiodic, stimulating and expectorant properties)

7  **Kalanjeero**  Piper sylraticum

- Aromatic volatile oil: 0.7%
- Piperine: 4.5% Piplartine
- Alkalies, Sesamin and Pipalasterol

8  **Nellikayi**  Emblica Officinalis

- Indole acetic acid
- Auxins: a1, a3, a4, a5

9  **Jack fruit**  Artocarpus

- Heteroflavanone A, BAND C2 (ratio 2)

10  **Cardamom**  Elettaria Cardamomum

- Ceneole, Manton
- Seeds: volatile oil 2-8%
- Potassium: 3%
- Starch: 3% mucilage: 2%

11  **Kangress**  Eupatorium Triplinerve

- Aromatic oil up to 1-1.14%
- Ayapanin and Ayapin named
- Crystalline content: Kerotine and Vitamin C

12  **Ambe Mango**  Mangifera Indica

- Bark: Tannin 16-20

13  **Ummatti**  Datura Metel

- Chemical Scopolamine, Hysciamine, Afropine, Norhyosciamine, Meteolodine.
- Leaves: Volatile oil 0.045%

14  **Kadu kanchi**  Citrus Medica

- Fruit bark: Citric acid, Citrene 16% Citrol 7.8% Cymene and Citronellal

15  **Narl**  Cocos Nucifera

- Phenol, p-Cresol, Caproic acid, p-Hydroxybenzoic acid
- Fibers: Croctonaldehyde, and Acetic acid
- Leaves (ash): Potash water 90% Glucose salts
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hing</td>
<td>Ferula Narthex</td>
<td>Resin 40-64% Gum 25 Volatile oil 20-27 Ash 1.5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asafetida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jire</td>
<td>Cuminum Cyminum</td>
<td>Volatile oil 2-4% Cumaldehyde 20-40% Seeds 10% Non-volatile oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cumin seeds</td>
<td></td>
<td>Moisture 11.9mg Protein 18.7 mg Carbohydrate 36.6 mg Jibres 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Halad</td>
<td>Curcuma Longa</td>
<td>(βcurcuma longa) Volatile oil 5-8% Curcumin Yellow dye other than this Vitamin A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turmeric</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protein 6.3% Oil content 5.19 Metallic salts 3.5% and Carbohydrate 69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Betel-nut</td>
<td>Areca Catechu</td>
<td>Linneaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Apatti chakke</td>
<td>Anthocephalus Cadamba Miq.</td>
<td>Xylose, Mannose and Glucose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sauf</td>
<td>Foeniculum. Vulgare Mill</td>
<td>Volatile oil, Anethole, Fenchone, Protein, Trimehylbicycloheptanol 95.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fennel seeds</td>
<td></td>
<td>Penchone, Iron, Sodium Potassium and Vitamins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Navane</td>
<td>Eleusine. Coraona</td>
<td>Orientin, Iso-orientin, Vitexin, Isovitexin, Saponarin, Violanthin, Lucenin-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jaike</td>
<td>Myristica Fragrans</td>
<td>Malbaricanol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hagalkaayi</td>
<td>Momordica charantia</td>
<td>“Momordicoside” Octacosane, 1- Triacontanol, 7 – Stigmasten -3β – ol, Stigmastedien, Glucoside and a Phytosphingosine Fruits and leaves Momordicine Alkali Saponine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.7. Hierarchy of resorts

The hierarchy of resorts the Kunabi opt is represented in the diagram below.

Thus treatment seeking is a process aspiring to restore health by every possible means available. However, since people have their notions about etiology the process flows in a certain pattern. This pattern varies at times for the same disease in the same child at different times because of the perceived etiology. In the process of restoring health, all resorts are tried. Ultimately when there is no option left, things are left to the supernatural. This behavior is in line with their worldview since, they believe that man can only act and rest is in the hands of God.

In the subsequent chapter it will be seen as to how when the indigenous and modern systems come face to face, there are several factors that come in the way of acceptance of modern health care. The interaction between the health care providers and people with regard to curative treatment seeking does not pose as severe problem as when compared to modern voluntary mother and child health care services (which are preventive and promotive). When it comes to modern antenatal care and immunization of children, there are serious problems for acceptance since the two systems hold different notions as to what is good for the
mother and child. Since 'good' is a relative term, the very notion is one of the major problems for the success of the mother and child health programs.