CHAPTER-IV

DISEASES AND HEALTH CARE AMONG THE 
 "KAREVAKALU"

This chapter explains about the diseases and health seeking behavior among the ‘Karevakkalu’. Study of disease and health care systems provides the core idea of the theme of current research viz. Ethnopsychiatry among the ‘Karevakkalu’. The current chapter provides the pattern of health seeking behavior of the ‘Karevakkalu’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ receive treatment from both traditional and modern health care systems, although they are much familiar with traditional health care systems. They go on changing the systems between the traditional and modern health care when the current system fails to cure the illness. The ‘Karevakkalu’ are confident about the positive effects of traditional health care whereas the modern doctors, social workers doubt the healing capacity of traditional healing system (especially shamanism) of the ‘Karevakkalu’. This makes a communication-gap between modern doctor and their ‘Karevakkalu’ clients which in turn cause failure and lapse in modern treatment. The modern health care providers are unaware of the health care perspectives of their clients This gap contributes to significant lapse and failure in the part of modern doctors in treating most of the behavioral disorders and mental illnesses of the ‘Karevakkalu’. The significance of traditional healing system of the ‘Karevakkalu’ lies in it’s acceptability of modern health care at some point of the healing in which the modern medicine seems to be effective.
Nichter and Quintero discuss that, 'A variety of health care options coexist in most cultures, even in those in which one medical system enjoys dominance as a result of political patronage and state regulation' (1996, 943). They also add that, anthropological research on pluralistic health care focuses on several crucial aspects of human behavior and culture such as how and when people utilize alternative therapeutic systems as a means of better understanding health behavior and the healing process. They have also studied the treatment of sickness as a means of understanding cultural values, social change, and issues of ethnic and self-identity. To appreciate how the study of therapeutic systems and their use provides insights into these subjects, it is necessary to examine pluralistic health ideologies as well as practices, explanatory models of sickness as well as performative aspects of healthcare provision, and expectations of therapy as well as evaluations of therapeutic efficacy (1996).

The ‘Karevakkalu’ are also following pluralistic medicine system viz.

- a) Home remedies ‘mane madhdhu’ (‘mane’ means home; ‘madhdhu’ means medicine).


- c) Shamanic healing or Faith healing ‘nota’ or ‘helike’ and ‘saastra’ (‘nota’ and ‘helike’ refers to shamanic healing of the ‘Karevakkalu’ and
of other few communities; ‘saastra’ refers to healing of ‘vaidhik’ tradition).

d) Allopathic medicine or biomedicine ‘Aaspatre Aushadhi’ or ‘Daactar-Aushadhi’ (‘Aaspatre’ means hospital; ‘Daactar’ means doctor’s)

The ‘Karevakkalu’ say that first three domains of medicine are considered as the medicine evolved in the same community i.e. traditional medicine. The native terms for traditional medicine are ‘nam-padhdhathi’ or ‘hale-padhdhathi’.

The ‘daactar aushadhi’ (bio-medicine) is introduced to ‘Karevakkalu’ community in recent decades viz. around last four decades. The period is estimated by taking the data from life-experiences as narrated by the elderly-‘Karevakkalu’ (who are above fifty years). ‘Daactar aushadhi’ is becoming popular only from last 20 to 30 years, comparatively in exterior settlements which are about 10 kilometers distance to Taluka headquarters and other small towns. Because, the biomedical doctors and hospitals are found in these places. And therefore, the ‘Karevakkalu’ of those settlements are more exposed to ‘Aaspatre aushadhi’ or bio medicine. Another favorable factor to the exterior settlements is found to be the frequent transport facility (both governmental and private transport) than interior settlements. Thus, the ‘Karevakkalu’ living in the interior settlements are dependent more on the traditional medical systems rather than the biomedicine. The frequent use of traditional medicine compared to bio medicine is mainly due to its cost effectiveness. Because, unlike any biomedical doctor (‘daactaru’), the herbal medical practitioner
('halli aushadhi kodavru') or shaman ('notagara' or 'gaadiga') or faith healer 'bhatru') don't expect any fee for their service. They get payments given by their clients which is called as 'kushindha kottidhdhu' ('kushindha' means happily 'kottidhdhu' means given). When the people stress the term 'kushindha kottidhdhu' (depending on one's affordability), it indicates several meanings. When a person is giving some objects or money happily, that won't become an economic burden to him. Basically, the 'notagara' or 'halli aushadhi kodavru' expecting any reward to the healing is considered to be a bad expectation according to the 'Karevakkalu' concept of morality. A sacred status attached to traditional- medicine persons' healing skill, prevents the herbal medicine practitioner ('halli aushadhi kodavru') and shaman ('notagara') from expecting reward to their healing service. Generally, the remuneration is given by the clients in the form of coconut. There are also examples of clients giving money in case they find it convenient; men giving liquor (to those shamans who are addicted to liquor) in order to please the healers. It is also found that, many times the 'Karevakkalu' women don't give anything as remuneration, to the shaman especially when the shaman is from the same settlement (in case of often found minor/short term sickness sickness such as 'fear' among children, fever ('jwara') due to 'fear' (hedharadhu') of supernatural beings). Because when the healer is from the same settlement, he prefers to help the people of his settlement by giving free treatment.

Thus, it is believed by the 'Karevakkalu' that shamanim ('nota') could treat several diseases, in a much suitable way to the people's understandings
and affordability. Most of them don't think that a biomedical doctor is necessary to cure a behavioral disorder or mental illness until the 'notagara' advise the client to consult the modern doctor.

Understanding the state of health and illness is a process that is culturally formed and expressed in culturally accepted way. The study of disease etiology is the starting point towards exploring a medical system. Other components viz diagnosis, therapy and meteria and medica are mainly directed by etiology of illness only. Helman (1994) gives a multi-layered cluster of etiology, in which the four kinds of causalities are discussed. He explains the following etiological sites: a. the patient, b. the natural world, c. the social world and d. the supernatural world. He adds that, lay theories of illness place the etiology of ill-health in one of these sites. Young (Cited in Helman 1994) also classified the belief systems about illness in dual category; he labelled them as externalizing and internalizing. Externalising belief systems are about the etiology of illness that is considered to be arise out of the patient's body especially the social world. By contrast, internalizing belief systems trace on the physiological and pathological events take place within the patient's body. Foster and Anderson (1978: 53) suggested that a dual division is sufficient to distinguish major categories while discussing the medical systems, disease etiologies of nonwestern world viz. personalistic and naturalistic. Although these terms refer specially to causality, they can also conveniently be used to speak of entire medical systems (i.e., not only causality, but all of the associated behavior that stems from these views).
The indigenous medical system of the ‘Karevakkalu’ is also mainly structured by both naturalistic and personalistic categories of disease etiologies. Therefore, the same division is chosen here in order to explain the indigenous medicine system of the ‘Karevakkalu’.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ understand the diseases in two broad categories depending on their cause:

a) Naturalistic diseases ‘Sheeku –Sankta’ (‘Sheeku’ means ‘disease’; ‘Sankta’ means pain), that are caused by natural factors and

b) Personalistic disease ‘adda tondre’ (‘adda’ means side, in this context it means supernatural; ‘tondre’ means trouble) which are caused by supernatural factors.

According to the ‘Karevakkalu’ etiology, some of the factors that would lead to the naturalistic diseases are as follows: a) change in whether such as rain (‘male’), dirty-water (‘ganaku neeru’) winter (‘sheetha’), b) food poisoning due to septic-ingredients (‘nanju’), dirty water, indigestion (‘ajeema’) and physical weakness (‘jeeragadhu’). The examples of naturalistic diseases are cold (‘thandi’ or ‘sheetha’), cough (‘kemmu’), fever (‘jwara’), ear-pain (‘kivi shalatha’), and tooth ache (‘hall shalatha’). Unlike naturalistic diseases, the personalistic diseases are believed to be caused by intervention of super-natural beings such as a person crossing the invisible path (‘suli’) of spirits; wrath of deities or spirits; when people misconduct (‘nema thappidre’); performing the festivals such as performing worships and offerings in polluted-state (being negligent or unknowingly), trouble by evil souls, souls (‘adda
thondre’), effect of witchcraft (‘maati’). The personalistic diseases are: Fear
(‘hedharoodhu’), Sudden fever with behavioral change (‘jwara’), over crying
in case of children (‘barintha athre’; ‘barintha’ means without reason and
‘athre’ means crying ) and expressing irritation always (‘kiri-kiri’), children
loosing consciousness (‘smrithi thappoodhu’) and person talking irrelevant
(‘halubadhu’) or behaving in a strange (‘mallu hariyadhu’) way that does not
make sense to others.

It is a significant fact that the naturalistic diseases that are not
responding to the treatment within a commonly curable period are also
suspected as personalistic diseases; whereas a personalistic disease is also
treated by biomedicine, when the disease isn’t cured by faith healing for a long
time and when the patient develops the symptoms of physical pain along with
behavioral change. In these situations, either the healer advice the patient’s
people to take the patient for the biomedical treatment or the family members
of the patient take the patient for biomedical treatment. In this condition, it is
difficult to absolutely apply the duel category of disease-etiology
(viz.naturalistic and personalistic) given by Foster and Anderson (1978).

According to the causality of a disease, the treatment differs from
naturalistic diseases to personalistic diseases. To start the treatment from home
remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) followed by herbal medicine (‘halli ousadhi’),
and doctors’ medicine is the mode of treatment in case of naturalistic diseases.
Whereas, it is home remedies, fallowed by a settlement level shaman’s
treatment or treatment by a shaman from close kins-men, then healing
measures followed by regional level or Taluka level shaman, and or Brahmin priest, other communities shamanic consultation followed by stronger shaman’s healing practices who are from the same or other community are involved in the pattern of healing in case of personalistic illness found among the ‘Karevakkalu’.

It is usually the members of the patient’s family and one’s neighbours, friends or kinsmen who figure out the causative factors of the disease when they come into contact with the patient. But the therapeutic decisions are taken by the elders of the patient’s family. The ‘Karevakkalu’ adapt a cautious and longdrawn approach in case of personalistic diseases, compared to that of naturalistic diseases. This is because people think that it takes more time to ward off the problems caused by supernatural factors compared to that of natural factors. Because, the process of finding out the causes by supernatural beings is said to be not easy and it needs to be done by trial and error methods. Therefore, the clients wait until the shaman gets a proper response by the supernatural beings. But the task of a herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) or a doctor is said to be different in which the health care providers understand the causes and cure of disease as they are visible and easily understandable.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ follow both preventive and curative practices for all ill-health conditions. They have an elaborate system of preventive measures for both naturalistic and personalistic diseases. (Diagram B gives a
A significant point is that, both natural and supernatural causes could be exhibited in a single disease-label, at different phase or times, to different people or also to the same person. For instance, fever ‘Jwara’ is diagnosed as a naturalistic sickness when it is associated with cold (‘thandi’), cough (‘kemmu’) and or body pain (‘mai-kai odtha’). They say that this kind of ‘fever’ normally takes two days to be called as fever. But, when a person gets fever suddenly with some change in behavior such as sudden gloominess (‘thund hoddha’) and or along with the symptoms of burning sensation in stomach (‘hotte uri’), head-ache (‘thale shalatha’ or ‘thale navvu’), it is diagnosed as a disease caused due to fear. The ‘fear’ is believed to be caused by either evil-spirits (‘keelu’) or an evil-soul (‘heena kole’).
Diagram A contains the list of naturalistic and personalistic diseases.

**Diagram A. List of naturalistic and personalistic diseases.**

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<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Naturalistic diseases</th>
<th>Personalistic diseases</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Fever ‘Jwara’</td>
<td>1. Fever ‘Jwara’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Cold and Cough ‘Thandi’ and Kemmu’</td>
<td>2. Fear–‘Hedharadhu’</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ear-pain ‘Kivi-Shalatha’</td>
<td>5. Attack by ‘raavu’ spirit ‘raavu hidiyadhu or raavu hodiyadhul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pile ‘Moola vyadhi’</td>
<td>7. Trouble by evil-soul ‘heena kole thondre’</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Swelling of tonsils –‘Gantalu – bene’ or ‘gantalu navvu’</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jaundice ‘Kambale’</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Stomach-ache ‘Hotte navvu’</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Omitting –Loose motion ‘vaanthi-bailkade’</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Keppattu ‘Cheeks swelling’</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Body pain or muscle catch ‘Kasu’</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Infertility ‘Makkalaagoodhilla’</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Abortion ‘Chavi’</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Vaginal white-discharge in women ‘bile muttu’</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Genital white-discharge in men ‘Dhaathu’</td>
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The ‘Karevakkalu’ follow both preventive and curative practices for all kinds of illnesses. They have an elaborative system of preventive measures for both naturalistic and personalisitic diseases. Diagram B.1 and B.2 shows the list of beliefs and preventive measures in this regard.
Diagram B. Indigenous medical practices of the ‘Karevakkalu’

**B.1 In case of Naturalistic Diseases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preventive practices</th>
<th>Curative practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Avoidance of specific food items, cold water | • Usage of the home remedies (‘mane madhdu’)
| • Eating of favorable food | • Usage of the herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’)
| • Avoidance of direct effect of weather viz. rain, winter, hot sunlight | • Receiving the allopatic/modern biomedicine (‘aaspatre oushadhi’ or dactar oushadhi’).
| | • Consulting the shaman (‘notagara’) or priest and astrologer (‘bhatru’), in case the disease seems to be not responding to any medicine explained above; in order to confirm whether the disease is naturalistic or personalistic.

**B.2 In case of Personalistic Diseases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preventive Measures</th>
<th>Curative practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Performance of daily worships, special worships with offerings, songs and dance in annual worships. The purpose is to receive blessings of spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deity (‘dhevru’) that could lead to the health of all members of ‘Karevakkalu’ family. | • ‘Nota’ sessions are conducted to confirm the supernatural intervention. And also to understand the intensity of the illness.
| • Specific worships are conducted during life cycle rituals in order to pray for the health and well-being of the individuals. | • Patient’s family members conduct the curative rituals as instructed by the ‘Karevakkalu’ shaman (notagara’).
| | • Performance of curative worships as per the instructions of ‘brahmanru’ priest and
• Maintainance of cleanlyness and purity at the ‘Gaama spirits’ residence, at sacred places of other spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deites (‘dhevru’) to avoid polluted-conditions.

• Avoidence of house-construction on the invisible root (‘nede’) of spirits in order to avoid the wrath of respective ‘spirits( ‘dhaiva’)

• Performance of death ceremony efficiently in order to avoid the soul (‘kole’) becoming an evil-soul (‘heena-kole’).

• Avoidence of walking lonely in hot sunlight ‘uribislu’. And also on new moon days and full moon days. Because to keep away the effect of storm and dangerous spirits.

• Fallowing the ‘nema’ in routine life.

It is observed among the ‘Karevakkalu’ settlements that, the preventive measures taken by the ‘Karevakkalu’ throw light on several key-aspects of the ‘Karevakkalu’ society at the structural and functional levels. The preventive measures taken in case of naturalistic diseases reveal the basic concepts of the ethno medical system of the ‘Karevakkalu’. Whereas, the preventive measures of personalistic diseases are the key factors that enables us to understand the ‘Karevakkalu’ concept of world, the particulars of total well being, alongwith the behavioral disorders and mental illnesses among them.

Food is believed to be the main source of getting illness. And hence, preventive measures are revolved mainly around the food habits. And these measures are seen more significantly during the pregnancy and childbirth.
Several precautions and food restrictions are imposed on the pregnant women (‘basiri’) and to the delivered women ‘baalanthi’, till 3 months after child birth. Food restriction is also imposed on the new born baby with the intention to maintain their health and also to lessen the possibilities of falling sick. The preventive measures are as follows.

a) The pregnant women who had the history of abortion at previous pregnancy have to avoid eating such vegetables as cucumber (‘sauthekayi’) and nut phyllanthus embika (‘nellikaayi’). Because it is considered to cause ‘chavi’ (illness leading to continuous abortions). They also avoid food items which are considered as causing heat in the body viz. chicken (‘koli’), jack fruit and nut ‘halsin hannu,halsin kayi), and spondias (‘amate kayi’).

b) The pregnant woman is supposed to avoid salt (‘uppu’) in case the pregnant women’s legs are found to be swollen.

c) The body of a delivered woman is considered to be a wet body ‘hashi mai’ Therefore, she should be given the prescribed food that helps to keep her body dry, especially uterus ‘hotte onagalikke’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ think that a woman lose heat and energy of her body as a result of her delivery and hence her body becomes wet ‘hashimai’ and weak (‘jeer’). In this state the delivered women is susceptible to get any illness due to her vulnerable condition. They also say that, when the mother is sick, her baby also becomes sick as the mother feeds the baby with her breastmilk. Therefore, restriction on food is observed to help her body to dry and regain the lost temperature. And this will avoid any possible illness such as cold,
severe fever with unconsciousness and symptoms of madness (‘mallu’) called ‘sanni’. The food given to delivered women (till 3 to 6 months) is as follows:

d) Roasted pan cake made by using wheat powder (‘rotti’ or ‘chapathi’) or bread and coffee are given as breakfast.

e) A handful of boiled rice (‘anna’) mixed with half spoons of ghee (‘thuppa’) and pepper powder (‘bolakaal hittu’) is given as lunch to the delivered women, till twelve days after child birth.

f) Till one month after delivery medical tea ‘Kashaaya’ of different variety is given as dinner till one month after delivery. The ‘Kashaaya’ is prepared by taking water as the basic ingredient. Water is boiled with the powder or paste of pepper, ginger and cumin seeds. Finally, salt and lemon juice or sugar and milk are added. Along with ‘Kashaya’, other herbal medicines ‘gaavti aushadhi’ or halli aushadhi’ are also given as tonic.

g) Several preventive measures are taken to maintain health of infants. They are as follows:

i. Till nine moths, the baby is given only liquid food i.e. mother’s milk. If the mother’s milk is insufficient, milk of cow or buffalo is given to the baby. Such milk is boiled with little quantity of water added in order to keep the milk in healthy condition avoid it from becoming curd. If it is buffalo milk, it is added with water in equal quantity in order to make the milk light and digestible to the baby.
ii. On the cradle ceremony (‘hesaridadhu’/thottila saastra’), a preventive-ritual is performed to the new-born baby. The grandmother or elder ‘Karevakkalu’ woman of the family takes a coconut around the cradle of the baby. The purpose of this ritual is to prevent the possible effect of evil spirits by creating a holy-protective circle around the cradle. The ‘Karevakkalu’ believe that if this ritual isn’t performed, the baby may get illness such as ‘Smrithi thappadhu’ (unconsciousness) ‘Jwara’ (fever), ‘baalagraha’ or ‘headradhu’ (fear), ‘drasti’ (evil-eye).

iii. The ‘Karevakkalu’ put black spots ‘Kappu’ on the baby’s (‘shishuvu’) face; on forehead, cheek and chin) and also tie black thread called ‘drasti-dhaara’ or neck lace of black beads called ‘drasti mani’ in order to prevent the effect of evil-eye ‘drasti’. Because all these objects are believed to protect the baby from the ill effects of ‘drasti’.

iv. The vegetables, fruits and grains that are considered to cause septic ‘nanju’ are avoided in case of people who had the history of long term naturalistic illness. And also to the patients having skin allergy (‘isabu’ ‘sarpasuththu’ ‘kajji’), body pain (‘kasu’), wounds (‘kadadha gaya’) and also in case of delivered women ‘baalanthi’ (till 3-4 months after delivery). The vegetables that are considered as causing ‘nunju’ are brinzal (‘badhne’), cucumber (‘sauthe’), green chilly (‘hashi menau’) and pumpkin (‘kumbla’).
v. The specific worships and offerings performed on the annual festivals such as ‘Samaaradhane’ and on ‘dhodd habba’ are aimed at a general prayer to all spirits (‘dhaiva’) of the settlement to protect the whole family from all troubles. These troubles are illness, economic crises, trouble by evil-spirits and natural calamities. According to the ‘Karevakkalu’ it is a primary preventive ritual towards maintaining each ‘Karevakkalu’s health from all types of diseases.

It is revealed in case of both naturalistic and personalistic diseases that, the people take medicine from different domain depending on the severity of illnesses. As regards the treatment seeking behavior, the ‘Karevakkalu’ show comparatively more patience by waiting for the treatment to take effect in the case of personalistic illnesses as compared to the naturalistic illnesses. Because, uncertainty is found to be more in case of personalistic diseases especially while judging the effect of their healing practices. The ‘Karevakkalu’ practice several home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) to cure the naturalistic diseases, some of which are same as herbal medicines (‘halli’ or gaavti oushadhi’) given by the local herbal medicine practitioners (halli oushdhi kodavru’). Thus, the common people are as aware and confident of judging the cause of naturalistic diseases and also the effect of naturalistic medicine as the herbal medicine practitioners among them. Whereas, in case of personalistic illnesses, the people’s knowledge is mostly dependent upon guesswork. The exact cause of the illness and effect of current healing measure can not be accurately
understood by the common individuals. In this case, the analytical task is much technical and professional in nature. Therefore, the task of finding the treatment measures largely rests with ‘Karevakkalu’ shaman (‘notagara’) or healers from neighbouring communities (‘gadiga’) priests, astrologers (‘bhatru’) or shamans.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ receive treatment from different medicinal domains viz. home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’), herbal medicine (‘halli or gaavti oushadhi’), faith healing (‘nota’ or ‘helike’ and ‘saastra’) and doctors’ or hospital’s medicine (‘dactar or aaspatare oushdhi’). They categorise the diseases depending on the kind of treatment that are found to be suitable for each disease.

Diagram C: Diagram C shows four lists of diseases under four domains of medicine which are also the stages of treatment viz. A, B, C and D. The diseases are listed under these four stages of treatment as these medical-domains are found to be effective in curing the particular disease most of the time. Here, A refers to home remedies, B refers to herbal medicine, C refers to Shamanic healing and D refers to Bio medicine. Diagram C also shows the direction of movement from one medical system to the other to get cured when the disease isn’t responding to the existing treatment.
Diagram C Stages of treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home remedies</td>
<td>Herbal medicine</td>
<td>Shamanic Healing</td>
<td>Bio Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('mane madhdhu')</td>
<td>('halli oushadhi')</td>
<td>('nota')</td>
<td>('daictar oushadhi')</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cold ('thandi')</td>
<td>Jaundice ('kaambil')</td>
<td>Loss of consciousness ( 'smriti thappadhru')</td>
<td>Malaria fever or typhoid fever ( malaria 'jwara' or tiper jwara )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cough ('kemmu')</td>
<td>skin ulce's ('kaajil', 'sarpasutu', 'ruththi')</td>
<td>Trouble by 'dhaiva' (spirits) or 'pishaathi' (ghost), ('Adda-thondre')</td>
<td>Breaking of hand or leg ( 'kai kaalu muniyadhru')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fever ('jwara')</td>
<td>Food poisor ( madhdhu beladhu')</td>
<td>Trouble by evil soul, ('heena kole thondre')</td>
<td>Severe stomach ache and appendix ( 'appendixu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigestion ('ajeeerna')</td>
<td>Infertility ('makkalaagachilla')</td>
<td>Ghost possession ('keelu or pishaathi hidiyadhru')</td>
<td>Kidney problems ( 'mootra pindadhallii thondre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach ache ('hotte nawu')</td>
<td>Wounds ('kadidha qaaya')</td>
<td>Fear ('hedharadhu')</td>
<td>Cancer ('cansaru')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth ache ('hal shlaathu')</td>
<td>Miscarriage ('chawi')</td>
<td>Effect of witchcraft ('maati')</td>
<td>Pain in heart ( 'heartinta thondre')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body pain ('mai kai odtha')</td>
<td>Genital white discharge in men ('dhaathu')</td>
<td>Mental retard ness ( 'mandha budddhi')</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ear-pain('kivi shalahtha')</td>
<td>Vaginal white discharge in women('belemuttu')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Throat pain (gantalu bene')</td>
<td>Muscle catch with pain('kasu')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effect of evil-eye ( 'drasti')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fear ('hedhroodhu')</td>
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Home remedies ('mane madhdhu') of the “Karevakkalu”

The people start treatment seeking through home remedies. The knowledge of home remedies ('mane madhdhu') is mainly rests with the memory of elder members of the ‘Karevakkalu’ community. The elders constantly insist the younger members of their family, settlement and kinsmen regarding several home remedies ('mane madhdhu') especially at the time of any ill health
conditions. It is also revealed by the interactions with the youngsters of the ‘Karevakkalu’ community i.e. Primary-school students and secondary school students (between the age group of 10 to 15 years) that, they are also familiar with several home remedial measures for sickness such as cold (‘thandi’), cough (‘kemmu’), ear pain (‘kivi shalatha’), tooth ache (‘hal shalatha’), stomach ache (‘hotte navvu’), effect of evil-eye (‘drasil’) and fear of supernatural beings (‘hedharadhu’). Therefore the home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) could be considered as a set of knowledge, learnt by the elders, spread through sharing the information and experience; it is followed as a preliminary effort towards restoring one’s health. The ‘Karevakkalu’ shows comparatively much flexibility and interest in learning about home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) from the other co-habitant castes people also.

‘Karevakkalu’ woman standing in front of her household
Both herbal medicines (‘halli oushadhi’) and the home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) include the usage of several kinds of medicinal syrups ‘Kashaaya’, paste ‘gandha’, powder ‘pudi’ and tying of cloth-belts called ‘patti’ or ‘katna’ is also found. The ‘Karevakkalu’ take home remedial measures especially when the symptoms of sickness is at preliminary level in which the person somehow could manage one’s day to day functions. When the sickness symptoms seem to be getting intense, or combined with physical pain and if they are caused by naturalistic factors, the family members of sick-person decide to treat the person with either herbal medicine (‘halli or ‘gaavti oushadhi’) or bio medicine (‘dactara oushadhi’), depending upon the availability and efficiency of local health care providers. Most of the times, a half cup of ‘Kashaaya’, 1 to 2 tea spoons of medical powder or paste is given to the patient. The quantity of home remedial medicine given to the children (of 6 to 15) years is about half of the medicine given to the grown up people (above 15 years). Keeping the delicate and younger physical structures of children in mind, the medicine’s quantity is lessening in case of treating a child through home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) and herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’).

Diagram D gives the list of name, symptoms and home remedial measures of those sicknesses that largely depends on home remedial measures.
### Diagram D: The list of Sickness, symptoms and their home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) found among the ‘Karevakkalu’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Sickness</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1       | Cold (‘thandi’ and cough (‘kemmum’) | • Feeling cold  
• Coughing  
• Headache  
• Difficulty in breathing | 1. Paste of Lemon (‘limbe’) and sugar (‘sakre’) - to chew and  
2. Pepper (‘bolkalu’) – ‘Kashaaya’ to drink  
3. Buttermilk mixed with a spoonful of Jaggery - to drink  
4. Chewing ginger (‘sunti’) pieces and  
5. Turmeric powder mixed with milk - to drink |
| 2       | Fever (‘jwara’)        | • Body temperature increases  
• Person shivers with cold  
• Physical Weakness  
• No sense of food- taste/loss of interest in eating | 1. To put a wet cloth-belt (‘vadhithe batte’) on the patient’s forehead and  
2. ‘Kashaaya’ (to drink) made with pepper (‘bolkalu’), onion (‘neerulli’), ginger (‘sunti’), glycyrrhiza glabra L. (‘jeshta madhu’) and jaggery (‘bella’) or  
3. Coriander (‘kuththumbri’) ‘Kashaaya’ - to drink |
| 3       | Skin-ulcers(‘kajji’, ‘sarpasuttu’, ‘ruththi’) | • Irritation felt on skin  
• Ulcers found on body  
• Pain and burning sensation found on affected area. | 1. Bitter cumin or centraltherum anthelminticum (L.) O. Kurz. (‘kahi jeerige’) boiled with coconut oil (‘thenginenne’) - to be applied on affected part or  
2. Turmeric powder (‘arishina’) and bitter cumin (‘kahi jeerige’) paste made by using coconut oil (‘thenginenne’) or water (‘neeru’) - to be applied on affected part or  
3. To apply coconut oil (‘thenginenne’) boiled with dried red chilly (‘onamenasu’) on affected part. |
| 4       | Ear-pain (‘kivi shalatha’) | Pain felt inside of ears | To drop ocimum sanctum leaves’ juice (‘thulasi’) into the ears. |
| 5       | Tooth ache (‘hallu shalatha’) | • Ache felt in tooth  
• Holes may found in tooth  
• Difficulty in biting any food | 1. Pieces of tobacco (‘thambaku’) and scented chips called ‘kapooras’ (used for arathi rituals of any worshiping) are put inside the affected teeth. |
| 6       | Eye-swelling ‘kannu bene’ | • Swelling of eyes  
• Pain felt, difficulty in opening eyes | 1. To apply few drops of cow-milk (‘aakala haalu’) into eyes or  
2. To apply drops of water (‘neeu’) in which few gram grains (‘kalde bele’) has to be soaked for 1to 2 hours before use and  
3. Few drops of coriander-oil (kuththumb'- enne is also applied) |
| 7       | Piles (‘moolavyadhi’) | Bleeding found while passing motion. | 1. Touch me not or mimosa pudica (‘naachike mullu’) plant’s leaves-juice extracted; it is mixed with water - to drink. |
| 8       | Tonsil-swelling (‘gaantalu nawu’) | Swelling and pain found in tonsil and throat. | Jaggery (‘bella’) and lime (‘sunna’) are taken in equal quantity to make a thick paste; applied on outer part of the throat. |
| 9       | Jaundice (‘kaambali’ / ‘kaambale’) | • Eye-colour turns to yellow  
• Weakness found  
• Loss of weight | 1. The leaves of a creep heart leaved moon seed (or tinaspora condifolia) ‘amrath sappu’ are used and |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10</th>
<th>Body pain or muscle catch ('kasu')</th>
<th>To avoid oily, spicy, and salty food</th>
</tr>
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</table>
|    | • Sudden catch of muscle of any part of body.  
  • Body pain felt.  
  • Difficulty felt in bending leg, hand and body. | 1. Eating cumin seeds and  
  2. Usage of 'kashaaya' of creep i.e. sida cordata ( N. Burman) Bornsum ( 'kasuvina balli') |
| 11 | Cheek-swelling ('Keppattu') |    |
|    | • Pain felt while opening mouth.  
  • Swelling of cheeks, lower side of ears. | 1. To apply the paste of leaves heart leaved moon-seed (amratha balli ) on the affected part and  
  2. To apply the paste of Tamarind leaves ('hnase sappu') and  
  3. To apply the leaves- paste of plant datura stramonium L. ('ummaththala sappu') |
| 12 | Stomach ache ('hotte navvu') |    |
|    | Pain felt in stomach. | 1. To drink Kashaaya of cumin seeds ('jeerige') or  
  2. To drink 'Kashaaya' made by pepper ('bolkalu') and caraway ('caraum copticum') (omkulu) seeds. |
| 13 | Omitting ('vaanthi') |    |
|    | • Omitting.  
  • Irritation and pain felt in stomach. | 1. To drink - a syrup 'paanaka' made by water ('neeru') cardamoms ('yaalakkij' powder and sugar ('sakre'). |
| 14 | Vaginal White discharge in women ('belimuttu') |    |
|    | • Lower abdominal pain.  
  • Weakness.  
  • Excess of white discharge found than normal days, in the patient's vagina. | 1. To drink a cup of milk ('haalu') in which a spoon of medical paste mixed. The paste is made by the lump of the flower-plant hedychium coronarium Koen ('bili sooli hoovina gidadha gedde'). |
| 15 | Miss carriage ('chavi') |    |
|    | • Often miscarriage found.  
  • Weakness.  
  • New born babies die within a month if the mother is suffering 'chavi'. | 1. Some food items are avoided viz, nut phyllanthus embika (nelli kayi') and cucumber (sauthekayi') and  
  2. Root of the plant celastrus paniculatus Wild ('chavi beru') is taken in the farm of paste. |
| 16 | Evil-eye ('drasti') |    |
|    | • Children over cry with out any reason. | 1. A mixture of 3 to4 dried red chillies ('menasu'), about a half spoon of salt ('uppu') rice ('akkii') mustard seeds ('saasine'), soil ('mannu') and raw powder of areca leaves ('mane kari') are taken around clockwise 3 times around the patient and then thrown into the fire or  
  2. To take around clockwise a coconut ('thenginkayi') over the body of patient and offer the coconut to local spirits or  
  3. To take around clockwise a sacred liquid called 'haana' twice around the patient. 'Haana' contains a cup of water ('neeru'), About half spoon of turmeric powder ('arishina') and lime ('sunna'). And throw that water out side. |
| 17 | 'Fear' found in children 'hedhradhu' |    |
|    | • Children become frighten while sleeping  
  • Inactiveness | To take around (clockwise 3 times) a sacred liquid called 'haana', which contains water ('neeru'), turmeric powder ('arishina') and lime ('sunna'). And throw that water out side. |

Foot note: Kashaaya: Medical plants, grains other objects that have medical value are to be boiled in water till half of the water remains after boiling. The drink is called ‘Kashaaya’.
The herbal medicine ('halli oushadhi') practiced among the ‘Karevakkalu’.

The herbal medicine is practiced at the second phase of treatment. People go to a local ‘halli-oushadhi kodavru’ (herbal medicine practitioner), when the patient is not cured by home remedies.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ call indigenous medicine as ‘halli aushadhi’ or ‘gaavti aushadhi’ (‘halli’ and ‘gaavti’ means village and ‘aushadhi’ means medicine). There are many herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) found among the ‘Karevakkalu’ settlements. About 2 -3 herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) found in a big cluster of ‘Karevakkalu’ settlement that covers about hundred ‘Karevakkalu’ people. Both men and women are found to be the herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’). They are specialized in the treatment of several naturalistic diseases. Therefore treatment of naturalistic diseases found to be free from gender based restrictions as compared to the treatment of personalistic diseases. There is reciprocal interaction between the indigenous medical system of the ‘Karevakkalu’ and herbal medical system of other communities living in the same region. Other people receive treatment from the ‘Karevakkalu’ herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’), as well as their shamans (‘notagara’). So also the ‘Karevakkalu’ visit other communities’ herbal medicine practitioners for the treatment of various diseases. There is a ‘Karevakkalu’ herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) called Puttu Gowda, in Yallapur Taluk, who received the knowledge of herbal
medicine ‘upadesha’ by a herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) of the ‘Kunabi’ community. The ‘Kunubi’ are neighbors to the ‘Karevakkalu’, in Yallapur Taluk. Thus the herbal medicinal (‘halli oushadhi’) system is found to be more flexible as far as regarding knowledge-sharing with other people is compared. Because the herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’) has broader applicability as it includes mainly plants and roots available and visible to all people living in a locality. Whereas, the ‘Karevakkalu-nota’ (shamanic healing of the ‘Karevakkalu’) is based on faith and beliefs rather than the visible objects, symptoms and treatments and hence it is not shareable.

A herbal medicine practitioner sitting in front of his house

The ‘halli or gaavti aushadhi’ includes a wide range of herbal medicines. The ‘halli oushadhi’ is prepared by using specific medicinal leaves (‘sappu’), root (‘beru’), fruit (‘hannu’), nut (‘kaayi’), bark (‘chakke’) and seeds (‘kaalu’
Generally, the medical plants are called by the name of disease for which the plant is a medicine. The people use a medical root called ‘chavi-beru’. Where in, ‘Chavi’ means an illness that causes miscarriage and ‘beru’ means root. ‘Chavi-beru’ is root of a medical plant that is used in the form of paste, to avoid miscarriages. One more feature of the domain of herbal-medicine (‘halli oushadhi’) of the ‘Karevakkalu’ is that, the people would like to take medicine from the hands of herbal medicine practitioners on sacred days. Because, the ‘Karevakkalu’ believe that, the traditional herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’), are blessed with special healing powers in their hands which is called as ‘Kaiguna’. Special significance is attached to some days in a week such as Thursday and Sunday because these days are believed to be the sacred days for taking herbal medicines (‘halli oushadhi’); because medicine taken on these days will lead to the effective treatment. It is said that, even though he gives a weed grown around the home, turn into a medicine from the moment the herbalist touches the plant. +When the researcher tried to know the alternative names of medical plants and asked them to show some medical plants, both herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) and common people had not reveal the identity of the plant to others lest they misuse for their selfish benifits. And, in that case, there is a risk of vanishing of the medicinal plants by overusage. However, the success of herbal- medicine lies both with blessed- status of herabalist and on medical plants. They also adds that, adds that when a herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) becomes greedy of making money out of his
treatment – services, gradually he turns to an inefficient practitioner who can’t cure the fellow beings’ disease properly. Later, lose the dignified status of ‘halii oshadhi kodavru’ and they turn to a common person.

The role of herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) or shaman (‘notagara’) is perceived as a blessed opportunity to serve the whole community. It is also observed that, the herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oshadhi kodavru’) or shamans (‘notagarru’) don’t claim for money or any other rewards as a fee of their treatment. They receive whatever given by their clients as a gesture of their gratitude, that is called as ‘kushindha kottidhdhu’ (‘kushindha’ means happily; ‘kottidhdhu’ means given). It is the belief among the ‘Karevakkalu’ herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) and shamans (‘notagara’) demanding fees for treatment is unfair and that corrupts the whole medical system of the ‘Karevakkalu’. But, they can receive whatever given by the client/client’s people according to their will and wish. Generally, a coconut is given as reward to the indigenous medicineperson. A recent tendency of pleasing the herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oshadhi kodavru’) or shaman (‘notagara’) is to offer liquor in case he is addicted to liquor. But this is practiced by male members because, the liquor addiction is found among the ‘Karevakkalu’ male folk only.
There is one book, written in Kannada, on herbal medicines in which a Karevakkalu- herbal medicine practitioner ('halli oushadhi kodavru') is a co-author, who is from Yallapur Taluk. But the book isn't available to the researcher, as the herbal medicine practitioner ('halli oushadhi kodavru') don't have a copy with him and that book is under reprint-process in a printing press at 'Mangalooru' (a town at neighbor district called Dhakshina Kannada).

The 'halli oushadhi' of the 'Karevakkalu' includes usage of medical paste ('gandha') made out of bark of medicinal plant ('chakke'), root ('beru'); and also the usage of boiled medical liquid 'Kashaaya' of various medical roots ('beru'), seeds ('kaalu'or 'beeja'), bark ('chakke') and leaves ('sappu'), 'pudi', oil 'enne' are also largely found. The supplementary ingredients which are used to prepare these 'gandha', 'kashaya', 'pudi' and...
'enne' are freely revealed to the outsider but the main ingredient i.e. name of the specific medical plants are kept confidential. It is known through the individual interviews that, basic ingredient to make any medical ‘kashaaya’ is water, jaggery and cow milk or lemon juice and jaggery. Water or cow milk or honey or jaggery are commonly used to make any medical paste also. Water considered as a basic nutral ingredient used for the preparation of herbal medicine. Cow milk is considerd to a strong-healthy supplement that adds to the strength of main medicine. But milk can not be used alongwith lime and other things that are sour; reason is to avoid the milk getting spoiled and thereby the whole medicine. Honey and Jaggery are believed to be helping to avoid cold and cough, which is often found sickness among the people. Lemon juice is also considered as a very effective medice for many diseases viz. headache, indigestion and many other stomach related diseases. Lemon juice is found to be basic ingredient used for medical liquid given to the patients of jaundice (‘kaamble/ kaambali’). The disease for which the ‘Karevakkalu’ immediately visit herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’)are Jaundice ‘Kaambali’, herpes, (‘sarpasutthu’), weakness in children (‘muttudhosha’) genital white discharge among men (‘dhaathu’), and infertility among women (‘makkaagaladhilla’). The long term illnesses such as muscle catch with body pain (‘kasu’) and headache (‘thale shalatha’) are also treated by ‘halli oushadhi kodavru’ even after taking bio-medicine, when the bio medicine seems to be ineffective.
It is a common phenomenon found in treatment of all disease that, the herbal medicine practitioners (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) suggest specific diet to the patients. The purpose is to make the treatment completely success. For instance, patients of jaundice and herpes should avoid salt and oil in their food; women with history of miscarriage (‘chavi’) are instructed to avoid cucumber (‘sauthekaayi’), nut phyllanthus embika (nelli kaayi’) till delivery; patients of muscle catch and body pain (‘kasu’) should avoid tamarind (‘hulsehannu’) while taking the ‘halli/gaavti oushdhi’. It is because, as these food items includes some amount of septic-ingredients ‘nanju’, which spoils the quality of herbal medicine. And thereby the symptom of the particular disease increases despite of herbal medicine.

There are several herbal medicine practitioners in the ‘keri’s (settlements) of the ‘Kaevakkalu’ who are specialized in treatment of children’s ill health such as skin ulcers (‘kajji’, ruththi’), severe breathing disturbance due to over cold (‘kove’), women’s diseases such as miscarriages (‘chavi’), and also to the diseases such as septic (‘nanju’) due to insect-bite, skin ulcers, breakage of leg/hand (‘kai-kaalu muridre’) or wound (‘kadidha gaaya’)and also in treatmenting the cattle’s’ ill health.

Here is a list that reveals those diseases for which the ‘Karevakkalu’ are largely depend on herbal medicine ‘halli aushadhi’. ‘Halli oushadhi’ is found to be the most effective medical system for treating the below listed diseases.
a) ‘Muttudosha’ (weakness found in children)

The ‘Karevakkalu’ children are found to be suffered by a disease called ‘muttudosha’. The symptoms of ‘muttudhosha’ are as follows.

a.1) the child’s legs are put in crossed manner while child is sleeping. This is called as ‘katrigaalu’. 2) the child’s chest bones become prominently visible, as the child becomes so weak. The symptom is called ‘edhe goodaagadhu’ (‘edhe’ means chest; ‘goodaagadhu’ means looking like a nest or pit)

The treatment for ‘muttudhosha’ as given by the herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) is as follows: To take a medical paste regularly once in every 3 days i.e. (Thursday – Sunday – Thursday). The medical paste (1/2 – 1 spoon) made by using a medical bark and cow milk is given to the child.

b) ‘Dhaathu’ (genital white discharge among the men)

‘Dhaathu’ is a disease found among the men. People say that, if the ‘dhaathu’ disease is not properly treated, that will lead to infertility and extreme physical weakness of that man. ‘Dhaathu’ symptoms are as follows.

b.1) White discharge is found while passing urine and

b.2) Physical weakness felt.

A medical root’s paste is given to the patient daily up to 21-45 days.

c) ‘Kaambali (Jaundice); The symptoms of jaundice are,
c.1) White part of the eyes turns to yellow and

c.2) Indigestion and

c.3) Loss of weight, general weakness found in patient.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ says that eating only areca nut (without betel leaves and lime) also causes ‘kaambali’.

A medical liquid made by using lemon juice as main ingredient is given about two spoons twice a day. It takes a couple of months to cure and therefore medicine is given in 2-3 courses. One course is of 21 days. There is a famous ‘Karevakkalu’ herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) in a settlement of Yallapur Taluk who could cure six types of ‘kaambali’.

d) ‘Sarpasutthu’, ruththi and ‘kajji’ (skin ulcers). Even though there is difference among three types of skin ulcers there are some general symptoms such as:

   a. Small ulcers filled with water or puss found on body.

   b. Itching and burning sensation are felt on the affected area.

   People believe that, among these ulcers, ‘sarpasuththu’ is most dangerous and it can be cured only by herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’) and not by bio medicine (‘dactara oushadhi’). They say that, if the ulcers of ‘Sarpasuththu’ complete a circle on the patient’s body, the patient will die.

   Medical oil (in case of ‘sarpasuththu’), juice of medical leaves (in case of ‘rutti’, ‘kajji’) are given for a period of 1-2 weeks.
e) Infertility ('makkalaagadhilla')

When couple and the family elders observe that the female partner is not conceiving even after 2-3 years after marriage, they visit herbal medicine practitioner ('halli oushadhi kodavru') for treatment. Medical roots and barks are given to the woman to take in the form of paste, about 45 days or more.

f) 'Maddhu beeladhu' (effect of slow poison). It is a disease arises due to either rivalry's secret act or due to abnormal person's habit. A well known herbal medicine practitioner ('halli oushadhi kodavru') who is specialized in treating the patients suffering from poisonous food effect explained about 'Maddhu beeladhu' in this way: The slow poison 'maddhu' added in one's meals in a very little quantity, (to avoid immediate effect) so that the person who eats that meal, couldn't be able to know when and who has mixed 'madhdhu'in his meal. There are two possibilities by which 'maddhu beeladhu' could affect a person. One is the rivalries of a person /family could feed 'maddhu' secretly. Another possibility is that, there are few people in the community having an unusual behavior i.e. habit of feeding 'maddhu' (with out any rivalry or revenge) at least to one person in a year.

The symptoms of 'maddhu beeladhu' disease are:

1. Burning sensation ('hotte uri'; 'hotte' means stomach, 'uri' means oily foods and meat.

2. Rejection to eat any anything ('oota seradhilla'; 'oota' means meals, 'seradhilla' means rejection)
If the disease isn’t treated, a tumor grows in the patient’s stomach. Then skin grows on that tumor. The final stage is growth of hair on the tumor and the patient dies when hair grows on the tumor.

To confirm the disease, the herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) uses a technique viz. a juice of medical leaves’ poured in the palms of the patient; if the problem is due to ‘maddhu’, the juice becomes thick. If the disease is confirmed, a medicine is given to the patient on the spot it self. The patient omits the ‘madhdhu’ after few minutes of drinking the medicine. Afterwards the patient recovers.

f) ‘Gaali’ (Paralysis). ‘Gaali’ is one of the major illnesses suffered by the people in the region. There are two efficient and well known medicine persons ( one female and two male) found in the ‘keris’ of Yallapur Taluk who fallows two different kinds of treatment to Paralysis: 1) The herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) put the medicine in the mouth of the patient and blows. 2) The ‘halli oushadhi kodavru’ gives incantated, small piece of paper ‘gaali cheeti’ (‘gaali’ means air ; here it refers to refers to paralysis, ‘cheeti’ means small piece of paper or cloth) tied to a thread that has to be tied to the patient’s neck or hand. The ‘gaali cheeti’ is given to the patient three times in a week except Monday. Monday is weekly off taken to make the treatment success. Because, the indigenous medicine people among the ‘Karevakkalu’ fallow certain specific norms in order to make a successful treatment. Generally, these norms are of two kinds:
1). To give treatment only on few days in a week that are believed to be blessed days by the family deities ('mane dhevru') spirits ('dhaiva') or favorite deity or spirit ('ishtadhaiva') of the indigenous medicine man ('halli ousadhi kodavru').

2). To take a weekly off; the reason is to promote the growth of plant. Because, the removing of medicinal plant or its particles throughout the week will harm to the growth of the plants; Therefore the medicine person leaves at least a day in a week in the name of a spirit or deity he believes the most, and also prays for the success of his/her special power to treat. The people believe that these practices will lead to the successful treatment.

c. Shamanic healing ('nota nadsadhu'):

Shamanic healing 'nota' is the third domain of treatment. The people go for 'nota' treatment, when they think the illness is caused due to supernaturalistic beings/objects. The behavioral disorders and mental illnesses fall in the category of personalistic illness. There are, seven commonly found personalistic diseases among the 'Karevakkalu' for which the people practice 'nota nadsadhu' (shamanic healing) measures viz.

a) 'Jwara' (fever with behavioral change)
b) 'Hedharadhu' (fear)
c) 'Smrithi thappadhu' (loss of consciousness for a moment)
d) 'Drasti' (effect of evil eye)
e) 'Baalagraha' (children's illness)
f) 'Mallu hidiyadhu' (madness)
g) ‘Raavu hidiyadhu’ or ‘Raavu hodiyadhu’ (Attack by a malevolent spirit called ‘raavu’)

h) ‘Adda thondre’ (trouble by evil spirits)

i) ‘Heenakole thondre’ (trouble by evil soul)

The first illness ‘jwara’ is also mentioned among the naturalistic illnesses. Change in whether, drinking of dirty water are the causes to this kind of fever. And cold, cough and body pain are the symptoms. Here, ‘jwara’ is spelt by the people in the same way due to the similarity of a main symptoms viz. raise in body temperature. But there is difference in other symptoms viz. behavioral change, which leads to different way of treatment seeking. The ‘jwara’ with cold and cough is considered as a naturalistic illness caused due to change in whether and changes in physical conditions of the patient. And therefore treated through home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) fallowed by herbal medicine and then bio medicine (‘daactara ousadhhi’). Whereas, the ‘Jwara with behavioral changes is considered as a personalistic disease caused by ‘fear’ of supernatural beings. And therefore people visit ‘notagara’ for healing first. And later they go to the doctor. When the biomedicine-treatment seems to be ineffective, the people consult ‘notagara’ (shaman) or ‘bhatru’ (priest) from other communities. In this way, the process of treatment to the behavioral disorders mainly rests with faith-healing measures. The first five personalistic illnesses are illnesses viz. ‘Jwara’, ‘Hedharadhu’, ‘Drasti’, ‘Baalagraha’ and ‘Smrithi thappadhu’ are considered by the people as simple diseases. Because, they are curable with in short term (i.e. with in three to seven days). And
therefore these sicknesses are described as ‘bega gunaagthadhe’. These illnesses are found to be curable by simple curative practices such as ‘drasti thegiyadhu’, ‘haana suliyadhu’, applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ on forehead, neck and arms. Whereas the other four illnesses viz. Mallu hidiyadhu’, ‘Raavu hidiyadhu’, ‘Adda thondre’ and ‘Heenakole thondre’ are found to be illnesses that are more severe (‘bharee traasu’) as they involve long term suffering, multiple symptoms (that makes the task of diagnosis comparatively difficult). And therefore the curative period is also much longer. It is about take three months to one year.

Diagram E gives the details of name, etiology, symptoms and preventive measures of the personalistic diseases: Preventive and curative practices are given in single column as they are closely linked to each other and therefore could give a better sense when they are put together. Only few illnesses are having preventive measures and occurrence of other illnesses is believed to be accidental. And causes are unavoidable. Because, the people think that most of the super naturalistic world is invisible, beyond the human knowledge and control. Therefore only curative practices are followed in most of the personalistic illnesses. Even though these curative practices are highly flexible depending on the patient’s condition and decision of ‘notagara’ or ‘gaadiga’, the pattern of treatment moves from simple to complex. For instance, applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ are found to be the primary and simple curative practices that are found in most of the cases of illness. Where as tying the ‘anthra’ or ‘cheetu’ and ‘dhara’ or ‘thaaytha’ are found to be the medium level curative
practices. Whereas, conducting specific rituals such as ‘bali’, ‘ede’, ‘homa’, ‘japa’, ‘saanthi’ are considered to be the most powerful curative practices advised by ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’, when all other measures are found to be ineffective. The range and process of curative practices are given in detail in diagram F. But diagram E gives a note of those meteria medica through which the respective illness is generally cured.

Diagram E: Personalistic illness, aetiology, symptoms, preventive and healing measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Illness</th>
<th>Aetiology</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Preventive and curative practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1       | ‘Jwara’ (fever with behavioral change) | Fear caused by evil spirits (‘raavu’, ‘keelu’) or ghosts (‘bhootha’, ‘pretha’, ‘pishaathi’) | 1. Raise in body temperature (‘mai bisi yagadhu’) and 2. Burning sensation felt in eyes (‘kannuri’) and 3. Sudden gloomy ness (‘thand hodiyadhu’) or 4. Fear expressed(‘hedharadhu’) | Curative practices:  
- To ask ‘nota’ with ‘notagara’ (‘Karevakkalu’ shaman)  
  a. Applying incantated ‘bandara’ (processed turmeric powder in red color, given by ‘notagara’) on forehead, twice a day  
  b. Applying incantated ‘bhasma’ (sacred ash made by burnt cow-dung) on forehead, neck, chest twice a day |
|         |         | 1. By looking at evil-soul (‘heenakole’) or evil spirits ‘pishaathi’, ‘keelu’, ‘bhootha’ ‘pretha’ (ghosts), and ‘raavu’, or 2. By looking at unexpected, supernatural scene when the person is alone; walking in forest. | 1. Patient expresses fear (‘hedharadhu’), anxiety (‘bechchi beeladhu’) and 2. The patient become silent suddenly (‘thand hodyadhu’) and 3. Less interaction/not talking to anybody (‘maathu-kathe ilia’) and 4. Fever (‘jwara’) and 5. Talking irrelevant (‘halubu vadhu’) and 6. Fear felt on new moon day (‘Amaavasyeli hedharadhu’) or full moon day (‘hunnimeli hedharadhu’) or 7. Fear felt in loneliness. (‘vabneidhdhaaga hedradhu’) | Curative practices:  
- To perform ‘hana’ ritual at home. If not cured,  
  a. Applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ on forehead or  
  b. To consult ‘bhatru’ (‘brahmanru’ caste priest  
  a. Applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ on forehead or  
  c. To perform ‘dhana’ ritual. |
| 2       | ‘Hedharadhu’ (fear) | | | |
| 3       | ‘Smrithi thappadhu’ (loss of consciousness for a moment) | 1. Shock felt by looking at unknown scene, some color such as red or 2. Trouble by spirits (‘thaiva’) or 3. Accidents such as falling down from tree, | 1. Loosing consciousness/ for few minutes (‘Echcahara/smriithi thappadhu’) and 2. Children suffer this illness often. | Curative practices:  
- To consult ‘notagara’  
  a. Applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ on forehead or  
  b. To consult ‘Bhatru’  
  a. Applying ‘bandara’ or  

238
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>'drasti' (effect of evil eye)</th>
<th>When a person becomes jealous of another person's nature, quality, appearance, healthy physique or he looks at the person with surprise who is graceful, 'drasti' effects harmfully on the healthy person.</th>
<th>Ulcers appear on body ('Drasti bakke') or rejection to eat/lose of interest in eating ('ota seradhilla') or over crying in case of children ('Barintha koogadhu') and Children are found to be often affected by 'drasti'.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curative practices:</strong></td>
<td>Home remedies</td>
<td>To consult doctor a. To take biomedicine. b. To take rest.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>'baalagraha' (Children's illness)</td>
<td>'Adda thondre' or trouble by spirits ('dhaiva'), deities ('dhevru') or evil soul ('heenakole')</td>
<td>1. Baby's body found to be shivering ('Kai kaalu nadagadhu') and. 2. Baby's eyes roll and they stick upwards for few seconds without any movement ('Kannu bele mele sikkadhu') and 3. Children becomes fear and shocked while sleeping, ('nidreyalli bechchi beeladhu').</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curative practices:</strong></td>
<td>Home remedies</td>
<td>To remove 'drasti at home; performed by elder woman in two ways i.e. 1. To perform 'drasti thegiyadhu' ritual 2. To perform 'Hana suliyadhu' ritual. If not cured, To ask 'nota' a. to tie incantated thread 'dhara'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>'Malli hidiyadhu' (madness)</td>
<td>The brain will get spoiled by over thinking about kin ship obligations, family problems. And The worries such as economic crises, often quarrels in family leads to stress on mind and thereby to mental illness. And When one's family members often degrade one's character and abilities, the person's mind becomes weak and leads to madness and When confusion, memories of humiliation and failure are often recalled by a person, one's worries grow and leads to madness and Family problems leads to liquor addition and there by to madness. And Family deities' wrath ('kuladheveath thendre')</td>
<td>Loss of memory power (Nenapiroodhilla') and Talking irrelevant ('Halubuvadhu') and Negligence in daily activities, in fulfilling the personal requirements. ('Enthadhuu thilyadhilla') and Gloominess, inactive ness ('Thannastakke iroodhu') and Poor communicational ability ('Maathadidhu goththagadhilla') or Often quarrelling with family members, fellow beings. ('Ellaratra jagala madoodhu'). or Lower intelligence compared to earlier days ('Mandha budhdhi') or Doing destructive activities to once own family such as stealing in the own household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preventive practices</strong></td>
<td>Home remedies</td>
<td>Not to worry much about day to day problems and One has to have a faithful, positive interaction with one's fellow beings and One should share one's happiness and sorrow with his friends. That will keep one's mental status healthy, by releasing tensions and One should not recall pain full memories; that will make the person mentally weak.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curative practices:</strong></td>
<td>Home remedies</td>
<td>Cured by doctor's medicine ('dactara oushdhi'), if madness is caused by family problems or individual's mind or nerves disturbances and Cured by shaman 'notagara' and or 'bhatru' case of madness due to supernatural intervention. To ask 'nota': a. Performing rituals 'ede' or, b. 'bali' and or To consult 'bhatru'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;Raavu hodiyadhu&quot; (attack by raavu spirit)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leads to mental retardeness and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghost possession ('pishathi maimele bandre') also causes the person's behavioral-change, viz. a person becoming violent and fearful.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trouble by evil-soul, ('heenakole') ghosts ('pishathil) leads to madness and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Problem in nerves ('naradhosha') also leads to madness.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Performing rituals 'homa' or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 'saanthi' or</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 'japa' or</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 'sani kathe' And</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vows, worship, Coconut offerings made to deities by the elder members of the family.</td>
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</table>

| 1. The person may lose consciousness for few minutes to half an hour. ('Echchara thappadhu') And  |
| 2. Mark of human finger or mark of scorpion or a blur reddish mark of human palm is found on the patient's body especially on back ('Mai mele beralachchu', cholina achchu beeladhu'). And  |
| 3. Fever ('Jwara') is also found. And  |
| 4. Blood-omitting ('raktha kaaradhu') and  |
| 5. Color of eyes turn to red. ('Kannu kempaagadhu') and  |
| 6. If the person isn't treated in time, he will die immediately or within three, seven, fifteen or nine days, according to the target -day ('gadu') fixed by 'raavu'. 'Gadu' could be identified by either 'notagara' or 'bhatru' only.  |

| Preventive practices |
| One should not wander, lonely in the afternoon's heavy sunshine hours and  |
| One should not roam lonely on full noon days, on which 'raavu' becomes strong and dangerous.  |

| Curative practices |
| To take treatment by 'notagara' or to consult 'bhatru' and follow his advises. Incantated red powder 'bandara' is applied on the forehead, and 'cheetu' is tied to the neck of the patient. If the patient develops fever, a wet cloth-belt is put on his forehead and  |
| One should develop courageous mindset. 'Raavu' can't hit those who are not fearful, weak, shocked and mild and  |
| The act of *'ranj hodiyadhu' is performed to cure the 'raavu' attack on both human beings and cattle.  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>'Adda thondre' or 'pishathi kaata' (trouble by 'dhaiva' (spirits) or 'pishaathi' (ghost).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is a kind of trouble by an evil-spirit called 'raavu'.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When people or animal cross the invisible path 'suli' of 'raavu', it gets angry due to disturbance and hits the person or animals. And</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When people walk lonely, especially at the heavy sun shine hours (12-30 in the after noon 'raavu' hits) or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Raavu' hits just before a day or two and or on the full moon day. Because it becomes stronger on these days and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Raavu' hits only at some particular places such is grave yard raavina - suli (path of raavu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Raavu' of one's own settlement is harmless; 'raavu' of other places is dangerous.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1. Many problems arise in family, along with often illness such as 'hedhradhu' (fear), 'jwara' (fever) and  |
| 2. Naturalistic diseases found to be not responding to either herbal ('halli oushadhi') or biomedical (aaspatre oushadhi') treatment and  |
| 3. Incidents of witchcraft ('maati'), ghost possession, ('pishaathi, keelu maimele  |

| To ask 'nota'.  |
| a. Performing rituals 'ede' and or  |
| b. 'bali' and or  |
| To consult 'bhatru'.  |
| a. Performing rituals 'homa' and or  |
| b. 'saanthi' and or  |
| c. 'japa' and or  |
| d. 'sani kathe' and  |
| Vows, worship, Coconut offerings made to deities by  |

| 240 |
If any kind of pollution (muttu, mailige) or ritual misconduct (‘nema thappidre’) happens while conducting the worships the kula dhaiva (family deity) becomes angry and will cause ‘adda thondre’ or ‘Adda thondre’ takes place by troubling ghosts called ‘bhoothapretha or pishaathi’.

■ 4. Personalistic diseases are also prolonged and not cured by an average ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’ and
5. Problems along with diseases found among cattle and
6. People maintain a distance with the person affected by ‘adda thondre’ with a fear of spreading of the trouble and
7. Children often fall sick such as ‘balagraha’ and
8. Good occasions such as marriage event suddenly cancelled are coined as ‘adda thondre’.

241

■ 9 ‘Heenakole thondre’ (trouble by evil soul). After one’s death the soul (‘kole’) remains as ‘prethamtha’. If it meets a ‘bad death’ (due to suicide, accident, much painful and contagious illnesses) or it’s desires remains unsatisfied, the ‘kole’ becomes evil soul ‘heena kole’; ‘heena kole’ troubles the people, the condition is called ‘heena kole thondre’ and
When a person commits a major sin in his life time, he can’t attain peaceful status after his death called ‘bidugade’; so he becomes ‘heena kole’ means ‘low grade-soul or evil-soul’ and becomes a troublesome supernatural being to living beings or
When a person dies and his death ceremony is not conducted properly, his soul becomes ‘heena-kole’; (in case a person dies in a new place, accidentally or when there is no kinsmen to died person in that place in which the elder members of the family.

■ 1. ‘Heenakole’ causes sever and often fear (‘joru jwara’), failure in new ventures (‘yaavdhoo kaige haththadhilla’) increases in a family and
2. Several kinds of physical and mental disturbance, pain and torture (‘Nana nammi thraasu’) are experienced by the affected person both physically and mentally and
3. Unwanted dreams (‘k etta kanasu’) occur to the badly affect to the person’s state of mind and shock felt with body shivering. ‘Mai bechchi beeladhru’
5. Mental disturbance such as talking irrelevant, confusion, exhibited. (‘Mallu hariyadhru’) or
6. Newly delivered women are possessed and killed by ‘heena kole’.

■ To ask ‘nota’.
   a. Performing rituals ‘ede’ and or,
   b. ‘balt’ and or
   To consult ‘bhatru’.
   a. Performing rituals ‘homa’
   b. ‘saanthi’
   c. ‘jape’
   d. ‘sani kathe’
   Vows, worships, Coconut offerings made simulatiously to ‘dhevru’ and ‘dhaiva’ by the elder members of the family.

241
person died. The soul turns to evil soul 'heena kole').

Foot note: * 'ranj hodiyadhu' is a curative practice conducted by 'notagara' when cattle are affected by 'raavu attack'. A cloth wet by oil is wrapped around a stick and burnt in front of the cattle. Then, some water is sprinkled to the fire 4 to 5 times, to make the flame stronger. People believe that, the 'raavu' (which is in the person's or cattle's body) fears of fire and it will leave the cattle's body.

*Ethno psychiatric measures among the Karevakkalu:

It is found by observing the Diagram E that there is close inter-linkage among the seven personalistic illnesses (that are also psychic illnesses) and their symptoms towards the treatment of personalistic illness. It is a normal factor that one illness is being the symptom of another and also an illness is becoming cause of the others. For instance, 'hedharadhu', 'raavu hidiyadhu' are illnesses and also symptoms in case of 'adda thondre' and 'heena kole thondre'. The illness 'mallu hidiyadhu' is also found to be one of the symptoms of 'adda thondre' as well as 'heena kole thondre'. The illness 'hedharadhu' is a symptom of 'heena kole thondre' and also 'baalagraha'. It is marked by understsnding the inter-linkage among personalistic illnesses and their symptoms that, the fear of supernatural beings ('hedharadhu') is found to be the dominant feature (at the 'Karevakkalu' community level) at both normal and illhealth conditions. Therefore, the term 'hedharadhu' is used popuarily by the 'Karevakkalu' to indicate the personalitic diseases. Another significant and decisive factor is that any naturalistic disease which isn't responding to the 'halli oushadhi' (herbal medicine) and 'aaspatre oushadhi' (bio medicine) is
considered as ‘adda thondre’. And ‘adda thondre’ is referred to Ethnopsychiatric measures only. Because, the ‘Karevakkalu’ think that ‘adda thondre’ can’t be cured by either ‘aaspatre aushadhi’ (bio medicine) or ‘halli aushasdhi’ (traditional herbal medicine) and it has solution only in ethno psychiatric measures. The inter-relation between the naturalistic and personalistic diseases and among the illness symptoms of each category of diseases exhibits the holistic structure of the ‘Karevakkalu’ health care system, in which ethno psychiatry has a key position. Therefore, in its broader sense, Karevakkalu- ethno psychiatric system exhibits the whole system of health seeking behavior and also the philosophy of well being as perceived by the ‘Karevakkalu’.

There are several cases which reveal and justify the pattern of health seeking behavior and features of ethno psychiatry among the ‘Karevakkalu’. The diagram F is about the treatment seeking behavior of the people especially in case of behavioral disorders and mental illness. Before moving towards the case studies in this regard, it is necessary to understand the meaning, purpose and status of each curative practices of ‘nota nodadhu’ or ‘helike’(shamanic healing) system. The curing process starts from home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) such as ‘drasti-thegiyadhu’, ‘haana suliyadhu’ that aims at removing evil-eye. Taking home remedies (‘mane madhdhu’) is the first stage of treatment. If the illness is not cured by the home remedies, the patient is taken to the local ‘Karevakkalu’ shaman called ‘notagara’ or ‘gaadiga’ with in 1-2 days. In case of ‘jwara’, the purpose of first visit to ‘gaadiga’ is to confirm
the supernatural intervention because most of the times both symptoms of physical pain (cold and cough) and behavioral change (fear, gloominess) are mixed. If the ‘gaadiga’ is decided the farm of any illness as naturalistic, he instruct the patient and or accompanied person to visit the doctor. He gives around a spoonful of ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’ in order to apply on forehead of the patient 1-2 times a day (morning and evening), till next three days. If the ‘gaadiga’ is also in confusion regarding the supernatural intervention, he put ‘vaayidhe’ (a fixed time bound) of three days, and advise the patient’s people that, if the illness isn’t cured, after three days they can take the patient to doctor (bio-medical doctor is available with in average 10 kilometers to the ‘Karevakkalu’ settlements). At the first visit to ‘gaadiga’, the patient is given a much general treatment which is given in case of any disease i.e. ‘kumkuma’ or ‘bandara’ (incantated red colored turmeric powder) or called ‘bhasma’ (incantated sacred ash). ‘Bandara’ is considered as the sacred object blessed by female deities (‘amnoru’, ‘chaudi’). Whereas ‘bhasma’ is believed to be blessed by male deities (‘Ishwara’, ‘beerlu’ ‘boothappa’); As it is a common usage, the ‘Karevakkalu’ take initial 3 days healing measures and visit the doctor nearby if the symptoms are not responding positively to the gaadiga’s treatment. They don’t wait for the shaman (‘notagara’)’s advise to visit doctor especially at the first phase of shamanic healing as it is understood to be an experimental and initial phase. If the illness symptoms are lessening, by the gaadiga’s primary healing measures such as ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’, people give second and more visits to the same ‘gaadiga’, till the stage of complete cure.+
A ‘gaadiga’ ‘notagara’ gives two ‘vayidhe’ first with simple curative measures such as ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’, followed by ‘anthra/chetu’, ‘dhara or thayatha’. And if the illness is continued even after two ‘vaayidhe’, the ‘gaadiga’ instructs the client to perform strong curative rituals such as ‘bali’, ‘ede’.

Healing by ‘bhatru’ is also moves from simple measures viz. ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’, followed by ‘anthra/chetu’ to complex measure such as ‘bali’, ‘ede’, ‘japa’, ‘homa’, ‘saanthi’. It is the third phase of ethnopsychiatric or shamanic healing that includes curative rituals, worships and vows. Diagram B gives the basic structure of indigenous medical system which also broadly gives the pattern of ethnopsychiatric medical system. The shamanic healing includes the following curative practices:

a. Applying ‘bandara’ or ‘bhasma’

b. wearing ‘anthra’ or ‘cheetu’ (holy locket), ‘thaayatha’ or ‘dhaara’ (holy thread)

c. Performing ‘bali-ritual’ (ritual meant for offerings to malevolent sprits)

d. Performing ‘ede’ ritual (ritual meant for offerings to benevolent sprits)

e. Performing ‘harake’ (vows) and ‘pooje’ (worships) to specific spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deites (‘dhevru’).

f. Performing ‘japa’ (to worship a specific deity)

g. Performing ‘Sanikathe’ (a worship includes holy story of a deity called ‘Sani’)

h. Performing ‘Saanthi’ (a worship to make any deity calm, which was angry towards the disciples).
Generally, in case of physical illness, the third phase of shamanic healing starts only after the patient visits to the doctor (of bio medicine) at least twice and takes two courses of medicine. When the doctor's medicine seems to be not responding towards curing the illness, the family members of the patients decide to have second visit to the shaman ('notagara'). Diagram F shows the details of ethnopsychiatric healings through the pattern and particulars of curative practices.

**Meteria Medica of ‘Nota nadsadhu’**

The term ‘nota nadsadhu’ means shamanic healing of the ‘Karevakkalu’.

Here is a list of meaning and description of curative materials and rituals that are used mainly for healing the personalistic illnesses.

a. There are three rituals for removing ‘drasti’ (effect of evil eye) sickness: The elder women of the family or neighboring households or relatives perform ‘drasti’ removing rituals. People believe that, both experience and good sign ('kaiguna') leads to successful removal of ‘drasti’. The rituals are conducted by the ‘Karevakkalu’ elder women in the settlement, especially who is known for her skill on performing ‘drasti’ removing ritual.

1. ‘Hana suliyadhu’ ('hana' means a red liquid containing water, lime, turmeric powder; ‘suliyadhu’ means to take around): ‘Hana’ is believed to be having the power of removing the effect of evil-eye and also healing the sickness ‘hedhroodhu’ (fear) especially in the early stage(within a day) of the
sickness. While performing the ‘hana’ ritual, the sick person made to sit inside the house; ‘hana’ is filled in a plate and taken around clockwise in front of the patient three times, by an elderly woman. Then ‘hana’ is thrown outside the house with a belief that effect of evil-eye or any evil spirit is absorbed by ‘hana’ and thrown out of the patient.

2. ‘Drasti thegiyadhu’ ritual 1: A mixture which is believed to be a powerful object in removing effect of evil eye is prepared and taken around clockwise in front of the patient. The patient made to sit inside the house, nearer to oven (‘vale’). The mixture contains these ingredients: 3 to 4 pieces of dried red chilly, about 2 to 3 pinches of salt (‘uppu’), rice grains (akki kaalu’), mustered seeds (‘saasime’), soil (‘mannu’) and broken areca leaves called ‘Kari’ (means black). (‘Kari’ is available around the house as areca leaves are used to cover the outside portion of the house; to protect the house from rain). This mixture is taken around clockwise three times to in front of the face of the patient in order to absorb the effect of evil eye into the mixture and then that mixture is thrown into the fire with a belief that the bad effects of ‘drasti’ are burnt with the mixture. If the mixture makes more murmuring sound while burning, it is believed that the effect of evil eye was very intense on the individual and it is successfully removed.

3. ‘Drasti thegiyadhu’ ritual 2: Betel leaves (‘veelyadhele’) are considered to be effective for removing the effect of evil eye. A pair of betel leaves is taken around clockwise in front of the patient three times and afterwards thrown into the fire.
In all three rituals of ‘drasti’ removing, healing objects are taken around clockwise in front of the patient three times. Because, the odd numbers (such as 3, 5, 7) are believed to be powerful to make these healing rituals effective.

b. ‘Bandara’: The ‘bandara’ refers to red colored powder. It is processed turmeric powder and is also called ‘kumkuma’. People call ‘kumkuma’ normally and they spell it as ‘bandara’, when it is incantated in the name of a spirit (‘dhaiva’) or deity (‘dhevru’). ‘Kumkuma’ is one of the basic ingredient used to worshiping of any spirit (‘dhaiva’) or deity (dhevru’) in general. Because ‘Kumkuma’ is believed as a wholly object that makes any worship fruitful. The ‘Karevakkalu’ women (except widows) apply ‘Kumkuma’ on their forehead. It indicates their wellbeing. Widows don’t apply ‘kumkum’ which indicates their secondary status in the society, due to widowhood. The people collect ‘bandara’ whenever they visit temple, store it near deities’ room (‘dhevra ola’) in their house. It is applied on forehead, neck daily for common well being. And also used as a home remedy in early stage of any personalistic illness. Along with the general significance, ‘Kumkuma’ is specially associated with female spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deites (‘dhevru’). ‘Kumkuma’ is favorite, sacred material to female spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deites (‘dhevru’). Because, people believe when the married women pray the female spirits and deities and receiving ‘kumkum’ as their blessings, that will lead to the long life of their male partners and thereby prosperity in the family. When ‘kumkuma’ is incantated, it acquires certain effects and therefore called as ‘bandara’. It is
used to cure the illness with the blessings of concerned spirits ('dhaiva') and deities (dhevru'). The patient is instructed by 'notagara' or 'bhatru' to use 'bandara' in this manner: a) to apply a pinch of 'bandara' on his/ her forehead twice daily i.e. morning and evening. b) To take (about half cup of) sacred water in which a pinch of 'bandara' has to be mixed and drink it 1 to 2 times daily. Although 'bandara' is used to cure any personalistic illness; it acquires a great significance in curing 'jwara' with behavioral change, 'hedharadhu', and 'smrithi thappadhu'.

C. 'Bhasma' ('Bhasma' refers to sacred ash made out mainly of burnt cow dung and sacred objects like sandal wood and jack fruit-tree leaves). The people collect 'bhasma' whenever they visit temple, store it near deities’ room ('dhevra ola') in their house. It is applied on forehead, neck daily for common well being. And also used as a home remedy in early stage of any personalistic illness. It is incanted by 'notagara' or 'bhatru' in the name of male deities and spirits. Because, the people believe that 'bhasma' is blessed material by the male spirits and deites that could cure any personalistic illnesses when it is specially incantated to cure a particular illness. Usage of 'bhasma' is also same as the usage of 'bandara'. Although 'bhasma' is used to cure any personalistic illness, it acquires a great significance in curing 'jwara' with behavioral change, 'hedharadhu', and 'smrithi thappadhu'.

d. 'Bali': 'Bali' means to sacrifice. The ritual of 'bali' is demanded by the spirits who like animal-offerings. 'Bali' involves the offerings of fowl ('koli') and sheep ('kuri') to the benevolent spirits such as 'beerlu', 'bhootappa',

249
‘jataka’, ‘amnoru’ and malevolent supernatural beings such as ‘Kaada pishaathi’, ‘sodle bhootha’, ‘devva’ and ‘heena kole’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ shaman known as ‘notagara’ or ‘gaadiga’ suggests his clients to perform ‘bali’ after communicating with the concerned spirit (‘dhiva’) or deity (‘dhevru’), at the time of ‘helike’ or ‘nota’. And then ‘notagara’ performs the ‘bali’ ritual on behalf of his clients. It is believed by the people that a particular supernatural being demands specific ‘bali’ according to its liking and there is no alternative to the ‘bali’ ritual; one has to fulfill the specific desire in the form of ‘bali’ in order to satisfy the supernatural beings and thereby solve the trouble or illness caused by the particular supernatural being. Hen-sacrifice ‘koli koyyadhu’ or and sheep sacrifice ‘kuri koyyadhu’ forms the popular ‘bali’ among the ‘Karevakkalu’. ‘Bali’ includes special offerings of fowl or sheep made towards selected spirits such as ‘bhoothappa’, ‘beerlu’ ‘amnoru’, ‘jataga’. Fowl or sheep ‘bali’ is made after the coconut offerings become fruitless. The hen or sheep ‘bali’ is found to be almost final and supreme offering to the spirits who like non-vegetable offerings. When the people take vows on fowl-sheep sacrifices they fulfill them annually on the festival days such as ‘aridra male habba’. When the shaman (‘notagara’) instruct the clients to offer fowl or sheep, as a part of shamanic healing, it is performed on either new moon days or full moon days, at the place of respective spirit or at the residence of client according to the advise of ‘notagara’. New moon days, full moon days, evening and night hours are found to be suitable to perform ‘bali’. Because these days and time are believed to be providing strength to the malevolent supernatural
beings and offers made on these particular days and time will be definitely fruitful and effective. The 'bali' takes place at the respective places such as the residence of 'gaama' ('gaama sthala' or 'gamadha mane') at the settlement in case of benevolent evil spirits and at the spot in which three roots join (that is considered as powerful place), or on the bank of any river in the locality in case of malevolent spirits and also at the residence of client or residence of 'notagara' according to the notagara's advise. 'Bali' is suggested when 'bandara', 'Bhasma', 'chetu' and 'dhara' treatment seems to be infective. Even though 'bali' is performed in any personalistic illness and other family problems like economic crises, 'bali' acquires significance in curing the illness such as 'adda thondre', 'heena kole thondre' and 'mallu hidiyadhu'.

e. 'Ede' ('ede' means sacred dish): 'Ede' refers to meal offerings made to benevolent spirits, such as 'chaudi', 'naagaru', 'bhoomi'. 'Ede' includes a vegetarian meal that contains boiled rice. 'Ede' is offered to Goddess Earth 'bhoomi' as a main ritual in 'bhoomi hunnve' festival and also to the ancestors in death ceremony 'dina kaarya'. 'Ede' is offered to satisfy or make the spirits ('dhaiva') and ancestors ('thalegaledhavaru') happy and also to decrease their wrath. Along with the general implications, 'ede' is offered to concerned spirits ('dhaiva') and deities ('dhevru') according to the advise of 'notagara' or 'bhatru' with an intention to get solution to the illness and other family-problems. 'Ede' acquires significance in curing 'adda thondre', and 'mallu hidiyadhu'.

251
f. Wearing ‘Thaytha’ or ‘dhara’, and ‘Anthra or ‘cheetu’: ‘Thaytha’ or
‘dhara’ means thread. A black or red thread is chosen to make a ‘thaytha’. It
is incantated by ‘Karevakkalu’ shaman ‘notagara’ or ‘brahmanru’ priest/
astrologer ‘bhatru’ in order to remove the bad effect of supernatural beings.

‘Antra’ is a small metal pipe that has a metal paper inside. A specific holy
symbol or text is written on the metal paper as it is believed to be a sacred
object that has the curative power. ‘Antra’ in an incantated locket tied to a
thread given to the patient in order to tie to neck. ‘Antra’ given by ‘bhatru’,
as it is a measure found in ‘vadik’ tradition. ‘Antra’ or ‘dhara’ has to be
worn by the patient on neck in order to get healing effect and solution (to
the other problem such as failure in new venture). The people believe that
the ‘gaadiga’ and ‘bhatru’ could tie the benevolent spirits’ blessings or
respective deities’ positive energy into the ‘thaytha’, ‘antra’ or ‘dhara’.
These sacred threads are tied either to neck or to wrist in order to cure the
patients’ illness. It is believed by the ‘Karevakkalu’ that, an incantated
‘dhara’ or ‘thaytha’ cures the following illnesses very effectively viz.
‘drasti’ (effect of ‘evil-eye’) ‘balagraha’ (trouble by spirits or deities),
‘hedharadhu’ (fear), ‘mallu’ (madness) due to trouble by sprits and
‘heenakole thondre’ (trouble by evil soul).

g. Coconuts-offering ‘kaayi helikyaladhu’: Coconut has a sacred status in
the routine life of the ‘Karevakkalu’. Coconuts are worshipped as the family
deity in several ‘Karevakkalu’ households. And also they are considered as a
symbol of lord Ishwara. Therefore, always a pair of coconut found in ‘devra-
ola' (deities room). It is also given to the 'notagara', 'bhatru', and 'halli oushadhi kodavru' as a reward to their healing and religious service. Along with these significances, the coconuts are considered as a favorite offering to most of the deities ('dhevru') and spirits ('dhaiva') worshiped by the 'Karevakkalu'. Coconuts-offering takes place at the residence of spirits ('dhaiva') and deities ('dhevru'). 'Karevakkalu' says that Monday is suitable to offer coconuts to lord Ishwar; Tuesday and Friday are suitable days to offerings to 'Chaudi' 'Amnoru'. Here coconuts are offered to the respective spirits such as 'naagaru', 'chaudi' and to deities such as 'Ganapathi', 'venkateshwara', 'Manjunatha' as a part of the fulfillment of peoples' vow taken towards the recovery from illness. The vows on coconut-offerings are made to avoid any day to day problem that is beyond the people's limit and efforts, making the people helpless. The problems are such as sudden fever or any severe illness where the 'notagara' or doctor are not available; sign of unseasonal rain found at the 'Karevakkalu keri' when grains are spread on the ground and need to be dried in sunlight; sign of postpone or delay in performing marriage ceremony due to unexpected situations like misunderstanding among the prospective in laws.

i. Performing 'Japa': 'Japa' is a kind of worship performed by 'bhatru'. While performing 'japa', the 'bhatru' spell some specific holy chants 'mantra', which are aimed at praying the concerned deities ('dhevru') towards curing the illness and other problems that are caused due to supernatural intervention. The 'bhatru' performs 'japa' on behalf of the 'Karevakkalu' client who wants to
cure an illness of him/her or of other family member or to solve any other problem, through the rituals of 'vaidhik' tradition. The 'Japa' ritual takes place in the house hold of the 'Karevakkalu' by inviting a 'bhatru' or at the respective deities' temple in the locality. Even though 'japa' is performed to solve many problems such as economic crises, problem in the structure of household ('vaasthu'), it acquires significance in curing long term illnesses such as 'adda thondre', 'heenakole thondre' and 'mallu hidiyadhu'.

j. Performing 'Homa': The 'homa' ritual is done by 'bhatru' on behalf of the 'Karevakkalu' client. The 'homa' ritual is performed in the 'Karevakkalu' household, by inviting one or two 'bhatru' to conduct 'homa'. A fire-pit is made and several sacred objects are offered through the holy fire 'homa' to the specific deity. The main objects that are put in the 'homa' fire are ghee ('thuppa'), betel leaves ('veelya'), coconut('kaayi'), turmeric powder ('arishina') and processed turmeric powder in red color ('kumkuma') and specific trees' twigs, leaves, food grains, nuts and fruits are also used as per the instruction given by 'bhatru', according to the each kind of 'Homa'. The intention of performing 'homa' is to please the powerful deities ('dhevru') and benevolent spirits ('dhaiva') by offerings made through the fire-god called 'agni'. The other intention of 'homa' is to ward off the evil spirits who are living in and around the house and troubling the family members in several ways such as severe illness due to 'adda thondre', 'heenakole thondre', 'mallu hidiyadhu', economic crises, tension among the kinsmen.
k. Performing ‘Dhaana’: ‘Dhaana’ means sacred giving. ‘Dhaana’ is also performed according to the advice of the ‘bhatru’. The people believe that if a person is suffering from a known or unknown sin (‘paapa’) that would lead to several illnesses. The instances of ‘paapa’ are such as crossing the holy place of any spirit or deity in polluted status, mistake done in performing any worship or life cycle rituals and if that sin is causing several personalistic illness such as ‘fear’, ‘adda thondre’ ‘smrithi thappadhu’; or creating troubles such as ‘ketta kanasu beeladhu’ (occurrence of bad dreams) the ‘bhatru’ advise them to perform ‘dhaana’ in order to wash out the effect of that ‘paapa’. The ritual of ‘dhaana’ includes holy giving such as rice (‘akki’), coconut plant (‘thengina gida’), cow (‘govu’) to a ‘Bhatru’. Because the ‘Bhatru’ is considered to be a holy man, who is eligible to take ‘dhaana’, could bless the client towards the solution of suffering and complete wellbeing.

l. Performing ‘Saanthi’: The ‘Saanthi’ is a special worship performed by ‘bhatru’ on behalf of the affected people. ‘Saanthi’ aims at pleasing the deities (‘dhevru’) and especially planets (‘graha’) that are angry towards the person and therefore, badly affecting the individual. The word ‘Saanthi’ means peace which indicates the process of making the deities (‘dhevru’) and planets (‘graha’) cool and to keep them in a peaceful mood. Performing the ‘saanthi’ is found to be effective in curing the long term personalistic illnesses such as ‘adda thondre’, ‘heena kole thondre’ and ‘mallu hidiyadhu’.
m. Performing ‘Sani Kathe’: ‘Sani’ means lord ‘sani’; ‘kathe’ means story. ‘Sani kathe’ is a special worship offered to lord Ishwara and to lord ‘Sani’ by worshiping, telling the story about the power of lord ‘sani’ and offering rituals, in order to pray and please lord ‘Sani’ and lord Ishwara. The people believe that wrath of lord ‘Sani’ leads to several troubles such as failure in new venture, economic crises; illnesses such as ‘adda thondre’; and these issues could be solved by performing ‘Sani kathe’. Several offerings are made in ‘sani kathe’ viz. coconuts (‘kaayi’), milk (‘haalu’), curd (‘mosaru’), sweet dishes (‘payasa’, ‘prasada’) that are considered to be favorite dishes to the deities (‘dhevru’). In most of the instances, ‘sani kathe’ is found to effective to cure ‘adda thondre’, economic crises and continous failure in new venture.

‘Nota nadsadhu’

The term ‘nota nadsadhu’ refers to the process of ‘Karevakkalu’ shamanic healing. The ‘Karevakkalu’ say that it is the ‘notagara’ and ‘bhatru’ who decide the suitability of the ritual and its timing. The ‘notagara’ gets possessed by a specific spirit (‘dhaiva’) or deity (‘dhevru’) and communicates with the relevent spirits (‘dhaiva’) and deities (‘dhevru’) and decide about a suitable curative ritual. Either a layer of rice grains spread on a wooden plank called ‘sodhki mane’ (‘sodhki’ means search; ‘mane’ means wooden plank) or some sea-shells (‘kavade’) are used by ‘notagara’ to conduct the shamanic conversation with the supernatural beings.
Most of times 'bhatru' refer holy books given in 'vaidhik' tradition. And some 'bhatru' also use sea shells. Most of the 'bhatru' possess astrological knowledge, which is used to analyze the condition of the clients.

'Nota nadsadhu' at the residence of shaman 'notagara'

The clients either single or with their family visit 'notagara' for shamanic consultation 'nota nadsadhu' or 'helike agadhu'. The term 'nota' means 'see'; 'nadsadhu' means 'make the 'notagara' to see'. The phrase 'Nota nadsadhu' indicates the process of looking into the world of supernatural beings for solution, by taking the help of 'notagara'. 'Helike' means 'statement' (by supernatural beings); 'agadhu' means 'happening'. The phrase 'helike agadhu' means the process of receiving the statements by the supernatural beings regarding the solution of problems asked by the people. In practice, both terms viz. 'nota nadsadhu' and 'helike agadhu' are used to indicate the whole process of shamanic healing of the ‘Karevakkalu’ community. Apart from the other days, the occasions like ‘Samaaradhne’ (annual community worship of ‘gaama’) are also found to be a suitable occasions to the people in order to go for ‘nota’. Generally, shamanic counseling takes place at the residence (‘mane’) of ‘notagara’. Some times, the ‘notagara’ goes to the client’s house, if the patient’s condition is critical and he/she isn’t in a position to come out of the house.

About 4 to 5 people could be found sitting in front of the ‘notagara’ for ‘nota’ with ‘notagara’, at the time of ‘helike’. When the problem of the clients is very general, such as illness, economic crises, they don’t mind to explain
their problem in the presence of other clients. If the problems needs to be kept confidential (for instance, when the client suspect somebody of witchcraft he/she doesn’t wants to disclose the name as it is uncertain. And there is also possibility of that rivalry taking stronger witchcraft measures, the clients weight and visit the ‘notagara’ separately. The ‘helike’ takes place in the second-front hall ‘jaguli’ or middle hall (the deity’s room called ‘devara ola’). These two halls are comparatively spacious and suitable for conversation. The client and ‘notagara’ sit face to face for ‘nota nomsadhu’. The ‘notagara’ takes few minutes to go into trance. There are two kinds of trance found among the ‘notagarru’ (shamans) viz. a) trance with possession and b) trance without possession. But the trance is always referred in the name of a spirit (‘dhaiva’) or deity (‘dhevru’). In case of trance with possession, the ‘notagara’ takes few minutes into trance and gets possession by his ‘ishta dhaiva’ (favorite deity). The process of possession could be identified when the body of ‘notagara’ starts shaking while his eyes are closed. The other features develop one after one are: the ‘notagara’ blowing his palms; hitting the floor by his hands; his voice starts with murmur and grows towards shouting, screaming in a rhythmic manner up to 2 to 3 minutes. Then he slowly becomes calm and starts to ask the clients about their problems one after one; throughout the shamanic conversation his style of conversation is dramatic, which is totally different from ordinary dialect of the ‘Katevakkalu’. It confirms his clients that, the ‘notagara’ is completely possessed by a spirit (dhaiva’) or deity (dhevru’) and now the ‘notagara’ is ready to conduct ‘nota’. In case of trance without
possession, the 'notagara' sits quite for few minutes in the beginning, either concentrating on the 'sodhki mane' or simply closing the eyes. Then he starts talking; the style of his speaking jumps from low to higher range, usage of words are grand than his normal conversation, which confirms that now he is in complete trance and ready to conduct 'nota'. The conversation between the 'notagara' and client seems as a conversation held between the respective 'dhaiva' (spirit) or 'dhevru' and client by taking the help of 'notagara'.

- After receiving sufficient information and case history of the illness the 'notagara' sits silently for 1 to 2 minutes in order to analyse the problem, find out the reason and curative practices. Then he starts giving suggestions and 'bandara', 'bhasma' or 'dhara' depending on the situation.

In a settlement of Siddhapur taluk, one incident took place where in 'bandara' powder poured out of a shaman's palms. The people become excited to describe this incident and they gives this instance as a symbol of power ('sakthi' of the "nota" (shamanism), 'notagara' (shaman) and also the power of the called 'bandara devathe'. The 'bandara devathe' refers to the deity who creates 'bandara'. ('bandara' means processed turmeric powder in red colour; 'devathe' means female-deity).

After giving curative instructions and materials, the 'notagara' put a bar on curative period called 'vaayidhe'. The 'vaayidhe' is a course of time that indicates that, current curative measure will work till a particular period. Normally the 'vaayidhe' is of 3 days, 5 days, 7 days, 15 days and 21 days
depending on the illness conditions. When the illness seems to be sever, the period of ‘vaayidhe’ increases. The odd numbers are chosen for ‘vaayidhe’ because they are believed by the people as numbers having positive energy (‘chalodhu’) for healing.

• When a ‘vaayidhe’ period is crossed and healing becomes fruitless, it is the elder family members of the patient who decide about the further steps. They either change the ‘notagara’ or may shift to herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’) or bio medicine (‘dactara oushadhi’ or ‘aaspatre oushadhi’), depending on the severity of the patient’s condition and dominant symptoms of the illness. For instance, if a personalistic illness ‘hedharadhu’ is combined with some symptoms of physical illness such as body pain, family members of the patient takes the patient either to local herbal medicine practitioner (‘halli oushadhi kodavru’) or to bio medical doctor (‘dactaru’). When the illness symptoms seem to be purely behavioral, such as ‘hedharadhu’ (‘fear’) ‘ketta kanasu’ (bad dreams) the patient is taken to either stronger shaman (‘notagara’) or to ‘brahmanru’ caste priest and astrologer (‘bhatru’).

• When the behavior of the patient becomes more clumsy and irrelevant to the family members, they take the patient to the same ‘notagara’ again, if that ‘notagara’ is considered as above average in his curative ability. Otherwise the patient is taken towards a ‘bhatru’ living nearby. When the ‘Karevakkalu’ ‘notagara’ is not available in the same settlement or nearby settlements (‘keri’) with in 4 to 5 kilometers, the ‘Karevakkalu’ visit
other communities' healers i.e. 'notagara' of other co habitant castes or tribes or priest /astrologer of 'brahmanru' caste called 'bhatru' who are living nearby. But there are only few settlements ('keri') in which the 'Karevakkalu' 'notagara' isn't available. It is found in most of the 'Karevakkalu keri' (settlements) that, every settlement has traditional healers ('notagara') and herbal medicine practitioners ('halli oushadhi kodavru') who form the second phase of the treatment, that comes after home remedies ('mane madhdhu') among the 'Karevakkalu'.

'Sastra kelsadhu'

The term 'sastra kelsadhu' refers to the process of curative practices conducted at the residence of 'bhatru'

- Both the client and 'bhatru sit face to face at the 'jaguli' (front hall) of the residence ('mane') of 'bhatru'. Because the 'Karevakkalu' are considered as lower caste people and therefore they are not expected to come inside the house of 'bhatru' who is a higher caste person. It is an obligation to the lower caste people in the locality that they shouldn't enter into the house of higher caste people especially to the deity's room ('devara ola') in order to avoid ritual-pollution. Apart from the ritual obligations, the 'Karevakkalu' people receive very kind response by the 'Bhatru'. Because the 'Karevakkalu' are appreciated as very humble and religious people by the upper caste 'brahmanru' people. The conversation between 'bhatru' and client much like a preacher and follower and it takes place in a very
calm setting, in which the client finds enough space to explain his /her problem.

• The ‘bhatru’ aren’t found to be possessed while conducting ‘sastra kelsadhu’ but they analyze the problems and illnesses of their clients on the basis of holy texts of ‘vaidhik’ tradition. ‘Bhatru’ ask the details of the patient’s illness and links them to the concerned deities and planets. The ‘Bhatru’ refer the first letter of the patient or client as a base to analyze the reason of patient’s illness or other problem and to find out the suitable curative practices through horoscopic-analysis. Some ‘bhatru’ analyze the illness or other problems by using sea-shells (‘kavade’) They drops them; takes an account of the position of dropped sea-shells and then decide regarding the curative practices and solution to the problems.

• After finding the supernatural cause of clients’ illness, the ‘bhatru’ gives ‘Kumkuma’, ‘dhara’ at the first phase of the illness or other problems. And he suggest the clients to perform curative worships (at the second or third phase of the illness) such as ‘homa’ or ‘japa’ to the much severe illnesses or problems. They also conduct several special curative worships such as ‘homa’ on behalf of the client and the client gives coconuts or rice or money and fruits as a kind of reward to the curative worships.

The healing measures conducted by ‘bhatru’ include the following fundamental guidelines and curative materials:

a. ‘Antra’ or ‘Dhara’ refers to the incantated objects that have to be tied on the patient’s neck. ‘Antra’ is small metal pipe (hanged to
‘dhara’ like a locket) that has a metal paper inside; ‘dhara’ means holy thread.

b. ‘Yantra’: ‘Yantra’ refers to ‘mandala’ or ‘chinhe’ (means map or symbol) that has specific curative power. ‘Yantra’ is used in ‘anthra’ and also in worships such as ‘homa’, ‘japa’ and ‘saanthi’.

c. ‘Mantra’: ‘Mantra’ means sacred words or chants that are written on a piece of metal, in order to cure the illness.

d. ‘Thantra’: ‘Thantra’ means technique; ‘thantra’ refers to the materials used to prepare a curative material. The materials are such as metal paper (‘thagadu’), thread (‘dhara’ or ‘thaytha’), ‘turmeric’ powder (‘arishina’) and processed turmeric powder in red-color (‘Kumkuma’).

The ‘bhatru’ says that any incantated materials such as ‘antra’, ‘dhara’ shouldn’t be kept on the floor. Because, the curative ability of these holy things are dragged by the power of the earth (‘nela’).

Most of times, the reward given to the ‘notagara’ and ‘bhatru’ at the time of clients’ visits are coconut (‘thengin kaayi’). In few instances it is found that the male clients give liquor (‘henda’) to ‘notagara’ in case he likes liquor. When the people conduct special worships (that aims at curing the severe illness or major problems), such as ‘homa’, ‘japa’, the ‘Karevakkalu’ give some amount of money according to their affordability to ‘bhatru’ sometimes, the things used for offerings to the benevolent spirits (‘dhaiva’) or deities (‘dhevru’) are also given to them, as a gesture of sacred giving.
('dhaana').'Notagara' performs the sacred offerings that includes hen, sheep offerings also. But 'bhatru' perform the rituals which include the rice, coconuts, pumpkin lemon which are vegetarian offerings. Because, the 'bhatru' belongs to 'brahmanru' caste in which people don't eat non-vegetarian food and believe that eating non-vegetarian food pollutes the person.
Diagram F – Pattern and particulars of ethnopsychiatric healing measures of the ‘Karevakkalu’ followed in case of Personalistic/psychic illnesses.

- First phase: Home remedies
  - 1st visit to ‘notagara’
  - If not cured: Sacred curative objects
    - ‘hara’ ritual
    - ‘drasti’ removing rituals

- Second phase: Short term biomedicine
  - 1st visit to ‘daactaru’
  - If symptoms remained: Sacred curative objects
    - ‘bhandara’
    - ‘bhasma’

- Third phase: Curative rituals
  - 2nd visit to same ‘notagara’
  - If illness not cured: Curative rituals
    - ‘atha’
    - ‘ede’
    - ‘thayatha’

- Fourth phase: Consideration of ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’ advice to take the patient to doctor’s
  - 1st visit to ‘bhatru’ and or to take vows
  - Curative rituals and objects
    - Offerings
      - Coconut
      - Hen
      - Goat/Sheep

- Fifth phase: Consideration of possibility of ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’ advise to take the patient to doctor’s
  - 3rd or / repeated visits to another ‘daactaru’
  - If illness not cured: Stronger and long term biomedicine

- Sixth phase: Consideration of possibility of ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’ advise to take the patient to doctor’s
  - 2nd / repeated visits to another ‘daactaru’
  - If illness not cured: Stronger curative measures addressed towards different deities
    - ‘japa’
    - ‘Homa’
    - ‘Dharna’
    - ‘Saarth’
    - ‘Sanikathe’

- Seventh phase: If illness continued
  - 3rd or repeated visits to famous/stronger ‘bhatru’
  - If illness continued: Stronger curative measures addressed towards different deities

Process-circle

Visiting different ‘notagara’ and or ‘bhatru’ followed by several curative rituals

When effect delayed

If not cured

If symptoms remained

If not cured

If not cured

If not cured

If illness continued

If illness continued

If illness continued

If illness continued

If illness continued
The treatment seeking for the personalistic illnesses starts from the home remedies through the curative rituals such as ‘hana’ ritual and ‘drasti’ removing ritual. This is marked as the first phase of treatment to any personalistic illness found among the ‘Karevakkalu’. When any personalistic illness such as ‘hedharadhu’ (fear), is found to be getting intense apart from the ‘hana’ or ‘drasti’ removing rituals, the process of treatment seeking grows towards the next phases of treatment viz. second phase to seventh phase. The healing measure of each phase is believed to be superior to the earlier. The second phase involves the first visit to ‘notagara’ (shaman); the materia medica given by ‘notagara’ are sacred objects viz. ‘basma’, ‘bandara’. In the third phase, the people visit the same ‘notagara’ second time, in order to receive the stronger healing measures; because, most of the instances reveal that, till this stage, the illness exhibits only behavioral changes and disorders. The rituals such as ‘bali’, ‘ede’ are performed by ‘notagara’ on behalf of the patient. And also ‘thayatha’ is given by the ‘notagara’ to the client in order to wear. Meanwhile the patient is taken to the doctor (‘daactaru’) to get treated with biomedicine; it is also to clear a doubt (occurred due to delay in healing by traditional measures) viz. whether the illness is personalistic or naturalistic. Because, the people says that, the illnesses confuse them when they show mixed symptoms such as fear (‘hedharadhu’) and fever (jwara’) simultaneously. The fourth phase is about the first visit to uppercaste ‘bramanru’ priest/astrologer ‘bhatru’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ have special impression on the uppercaste ‘bhatru’ because they found to be superior and more popular among
the other community healers. Therefore, they visit ‘bhatru’ at this phase of the
treatment in which all three modes of healing (home remedies, shamanic
healing and biomedicine) found to be infective. Here, the ‘Karevakkalu’ expect
a superior kind of healing measure. The meteria medica involved in this stage
are, ‘anthra’, ‘basma’, ‘bandara’ that are incantated in the ‘vaidhik’ tradition.
Meanwhile the people take vows also as they think the illness is dragging due
to the wrath of any spirit (‘dkaiva’ or deity ‘dhevru’). The offerings of
coconuts, hen, and sheep are done by the family members of the patient. When
the illness seems to be not curing, the people take further steps which are
shown in fifth phase of treatment. This phase involves third or forth visit to
more efficient ‘notagara’ as the people need a very strong healing measure at
this phase; now, the same curative rituals such as ‘bali’, ‘ede’ are repeated in
order to guess the particular supernatural being. In between the fifth and sixth
phase, there are possibilities that, the ‘notagara’ or ‘bhatru’ advise the client
and his/her family members to consult a biomedical doctor again, and to take
biomedical treatment simultaneously. This adaptability (to the modern trends
such as biomedicine) on the side of traditional healing makes great difference
and thereby the local traditional healing systems sustain their significance at
the ‘Karevakkalu’ settlements. Therefore, prolonged illness enters the sixth
phase in which the wellknown and efficient doctors are consulted. There is a
chance of people consulting a psychiatrist in this phase, and the long term
biomedicine is given by the respective ‘daactaru’. The seventh and last phase is
about third or repeated visits towards ‘bhatru’ for higher level, long term
healing measures. The special worships performed by the patient/family members according to the advise and guidance of ‘bhatru’ in order to cure the illness. The worships are as follows: ‘Japa’, ‘Homa’, ‘Dhaana’, ‘Saanthi’, and ‘Sanikathe’. After the seventh phase, the treatment seeking behavior of the ‘Karevakkalu’ takes a different turn. It rotates among the three systems of healing in which two are traditional healing systems and one is modern medical system. The first one is ‘Nota’ of the ‘Karevakkalu’ and other communities and the second one is ‘vaidhik- saastra’ of uppercaste ‘brahmanru’. The third one is biomedicine of Alopatic system.

The following cases reveal the health-seeking behavior of the ‘Karevakkalu’ and the decisive role of supernatural beliefs while choosing the traditional and modern (or biomedical) treatment options.

A ‘Karevakkalu’ farmer named ‘A’, lives in a settlement of Siddapur Taluk. ‘A’ is a male of 24 years. ‘A’ completed his primary school education. ‘A’ is married and he is the head of the family. There are three members in his family viz. ‘A’, his mother ‘S’ and wife ‘N’. ‘S’ is 50 years old and her literacy level is also at primary school. ‘N’ is of 20 years and she completed her secondary school.

‘A’ has ¾ acre of areca plantation and he says it is sufficient to earn his family’s livelihood. ‘A’ has a cattle shed (‘kottige’), and also household amenities like radio, telephone (‘phonu’), clock (‘gadiyara’), iron safe (‘kapatu’), electricity (‘karentu’), and electric motor (‘pumpsettu’) to supply
water to the agricultural land. All these possessions indicate the economic wellbeing of ‘A’s family.

‘A’ was facing a severe illness from the last eight months. He is suffering due to severe chest pain (‘edhe navvu’) and also stomach ache (‘hotte navvu’). At the first instance, ‘A’ visited two well-known biomedical doctors one after another at Sirsi-town. As the problems started with physical pain (‘sheeku’), ‘A’ consulted biomedical doctor, as the people think that, biomedicine is effective in treating the physical illnesses.

The first doctor who treated ‘A’ was a general physician and his medicine was not effective. Then ‘A’ visited another general physician who was well-known for his treatment of heart-problems. Scanning of his body was done at the second doctor’s clinic and the reports stated that, the patient’s condition was normal. But illness continued, which made ‘A’ to think that his illness must be ‘addathodree’. ‘A’ consulted a ‘Brahmanru’ priest ‘Bhatru’ called ‘B’ living in his locality, with the his problem might be caused by supernatural beings. Thus, the naturalistic etiology of ‘A’s illness takes a shift towards personalistic etiology. This shows that crucial shift that takes place in the ‘Karevakkalu’ etiology of illness, whenever the illness is not responding to the current treatment.

The ‘bhatru’ instructed ‘A’ to take treatment from a different modern doctor called ‘R’ practicing at Sirsi town. ‘A’ visited the doctor ‘R’ but the doctor after conducting medical examination said that ‘A’ has no (physical) problem. Therefore ‘A’ gave second visit to ‘bhatru’
After analyzing the planetary status ('graham gathi') of 'A' according to 'saastra', the 'Bhatru' 'B' located the health problem of 'A' in 'A's house structure 'Vaasthu'. As a part of solution, 'B' instructed 'A' to conduct a curative worship called 'Mruthyunjaya Japa' at the nearby temple of Lord Ishwara. 'A' performed the worship. Though he started feeling much better after a week. 'B' identified one more factor affecting to the 'A's health viz. somebody (rivals) tied the face of the family deity ('kula dhaiva') of 'A' called 'bhoothappa'. The act of tying the face of deity is called as 'maka kattisuvadhu' ('maka' means face; 'Kattisuvadhu' means to 'tie'). It is a commonly found belief in the region that when a deity's face is tied, it fades the deity's power. The vows taken on that deity become fruitless because the deity's functional capacity to destroy the evil activities become inefficient. 'B' assured 'A' that he would remove the tied face but it takes time and 'A' has to wait till the summer of next year i.e. up to 'Ugadhi-festival'. 'A' describes the manner of 'saastra' healing given by 'B' as a very efficient one. A curer is found to be so efficient when he is successful in two aspects. The first one is curing, or showing progress towards curing through healing practices. The second one is referring the patient to the other communities healers or biomedical doctor when the current healing method is not helping the patient, towards lessening the sufferings of the patient. Modern Psychiatrist treatment also forms a small component of the Karevakkalu Psychiatry because people consult modern modern Psychiatrist when they are referred by a general Physicians. Modern Psychiatrist interpret such cases as anxiety neurosis. It
is important to note that modern Psychiatrists are considered to be same as
genereal physicians who treat non behavioral disorders they are persived as those healers who like ‘Notagara’ or ‘Bhatru’ who treat behavioral or personalistic disorders. Nevertheless the treatment given by modern Psychiatry also form the minor component of treating the psychic illeness. Because in rare cases general physician refer the patients to the Modern Psychiatrist for psychiatric treatment. The Modern Psychiatrist look down upon the Karivakklu’s understanding of their behavioral disorders as they are said to be unable to differentiate between the behavioral and non behavioral illness and hence they rarely approaches directly to the Modern Psychiatrist.

The Modern Psychiatrist say that it is because of this undifferentiated perception regarding behavioral and non behavioral elements the Karevakklu psychiatric – illness probing in time and at times get complicated the stomach pain, chest pain as reported by people according to Psychiatrist are symptoms of anxiety neurosis and obviously fail to resond to the treatment of general physician. It is only ‘bhtru’ who traditionally handles the behavioral disorders. Similarly, the case of ‘N’ is categorized as a case of reactive depression where in the patients suffers from infertility – problem can be treated in the Modern Psychiatratic setting within 3 to 6 months counseling and simple medicies of anti depresent. However the problem of infertility has been persived by the Karevakklu as well as their indogeneous hellers, as ‘Heenakole Kondre’ behavioral disorder. The patient as well the hellers resorted to ‘Nota’ – treatment which was proving ineffective. That is the reason, Modern
Psychiatrists are of the opinion that there is the urgent need to bring about a right kind of awareness about the health problems.

But, the modern psychiatrists trained in biomedical treatment of psychic problems and practicing in the region analyse about the illness of 'A', as a minor mental illness, that could be cured successfully by them. They marked that 'A' is suffering from a mental illness called Anxiety Neurosis, for which treatment with simple medicine and counseling by a general physician is sufficient. The estimated curative period is 3 to 6 months. Mohanty G (2006: 171) gives definitions and characteristics of Anxiety Neuroses while discussing 'abnormal psychology'. Ross defines as a "series of symptoms which arise from faulty adaptation to the stresses and strains of life." (cited in Mohanty G 2006: 171). The author explains that, Anxiety neuroses is one of the most common forms of neuroses consisting approximately about 30 to 40 per cent of all neurotic disorders. An Anxiety is a painful emotional experience produced by excitations in the internal organs of the body. It is characterized by over concern which may turn over to panic or severe fear. In fact, it is a form of fear not based upon present alone, but also upon the actual or imaginative experience of the past and future. While discussing the physical symptoms of anxiety neuroses, Mohanty G. (2006) quoted the opinion of other experts such as Gunn (1962), Coleman (1981) also. The Physical symptoms of anxiety neuroses summarized by referring the views of these authors are as fallows: rapid heart beat, heart palpitation without apparent reason, difficulties in digestion, loss of appetite, some loss of weight, muscular fatigue and tightness.
chronic mild diarrhea, frequent urination and difficulties in concentration and
sleep, tension and dizziness. The first four symptoms (rapid heart beat, heart
palpitation without apparent reason, difficulties in digestion, and loss of
appetite) suits to the illness-symptoms of ‘A’ viz. sever chest pain (‘edhe
navvu’) and also stomach ache (‘hotte navvu’).

Another problem found in the same family which also could be a cause
of the illness of ‘A’ is that of his wife ‘N’. ‘N’ would like to have child from
last 3 years and she isn’t conceiving. It is an issue of worry to her and her
family. From last one and half years, ‘N’ often sees an infant and cradle in her
dreams while sleeping. This dream intense her worry of infertility and ‘N’
becomes totally depressed due to the repeated unwanted dreams. Therefore
these dreams are considered as ‘ketta kanasu’ (‘ketta’ refers to bad ‘kanasu’
refers to dream) occurred due to trouble by supernatural beings. Therefore ‘N’
and her family members consulted a ‘notagara’ in order to find solution to both
of the problems viz. infertility and occurrence of bad dreams to ‘N’. The
‘notagara’ opined that, these problems are caused by a ‘heena kole’ (evil soul).
He identified that the ‘heena kole’ is from the mother’s settlement of ‘N’. He
added that it takes more time to understand the intention of ‘heenakole’ and to
take further curative steps as the ‘heena kole’ is from different place and it’s
nature and demands are unknown to the ‘notagara’. Where as, the analysis of
case by the modern psychiatrist on the mental status of ‘N’ is as follows:

a. ‘N’ is suffering reactive depression which is caused by infertility;

therefore, she is showing the symptoms viz. wish fulfillment through
dreams. When she becomes mother, the disturbing dreams will be stopped. Now she needs counseling up to 3 to 6 months and simple medicine (anti depressant and

The second case study is about a woman called ‘K’ from Siddapur Taluk. ‘K’ is married woman having two children living in a nuclear family with her husband ‘D’ and children ‘E’ and ‘F’. The family is depending on their own agricultural land for their economical subsistence. They possess few household gadgets like clock (‘gadiyara’), radio, iron safe (‘kapatu’) and a cattle shed (‘kottige’). The economic condition of the family is medium. ‘K’ is 46 years old. Both she and her husband are illiterate. First son ‘E’ is 18 years old and he completed higher secondary school; a daughter called ‘F’ is of 12 years studying in primary school.

‘K’ got married at the age of 19 years. She had no children till 9 years after her marriage. Approximately in the 7th year of her marriage, she consulted a well-known gynecologist practicing at Sirsi town. She got operated as a part of treatment by the doctor; there was no positive development. After surgery, menstrual cycle of ‘K’ was normal. But, it got stopped after one year, which made ‘K’ and her whole family became panicky, that she could not gave birth to a child even after 8 years of marriage. It is this situation, which prevents them to approach a well-known ‘notagara’, called ‘M’ from the same region, to find out as to when she would become a mother. The ‘notagara’ after conducting ‘nota’ to them when her menstrual cycle was suddenly stopped for one year. The delay in the positive effect of biomedical surgery and sudden change in the
menstrual cycle made the people to think of change in the etiology of ‘K’s problem of infertility from naturalistic to personalistic. Then she visited a famous ‘Karevakkalu’ ‘notagara’ called ‘M’, living in the same Taluk, in order to solve the sudden problem and also to ask when she will become mother. The shaman told that menstrual cycle of ‘K’ will re-start on the coming 21st day; than she will be conceived after two months. ‘K’ says that the M’s words became true. ‘K’s menstrual cycle was re-started and she was conceived in the same period; got a son first and a daughter after 6 years. ‘K’ explained that the problem of infertility and sudden change in her menstrual cycle was due to ‘Naaga-Dhosha’. When she consulted the ‘notagara’ ‘M’ he coined the reason as ‘naaga dhosha’. ‘Naaga Dhosha’ means, problems created due to wrath of snake-spirit called ‘naagaru’. She guesses the event that made ‘naagaru’ spirit become angry towards her in this way; About 15 year’s back, ‘K’ used to work as agricultural laborer in the fields and plantations of ‘brahmanru’ caste people i.e. to cut the grass, to remove the weeds. ‘K’ thinks she might have crossed the sacred place of ‘naagaru’ spirit unknowingly in those days, when she was in her menstrual period. If they go to doctor they expect that the result should be immediately unlike any other cure. This is the belief they carry about the modern doctors. When the effect of bio-medicine is delayed the people perceive it as failure on the part of the doctor. This is what happens more often. Beliefs and notions of people about modern medical practitioners and diagnosis are not lying with that of bio-medical system. There is a need to build an appropriate communicating channel between the modern doctors and the
Karevakkalu clients on the one hand and creating adequate awareness about modern treatments among the Karevakkalu and the other.

Here is another case study that reveals more or less same pattern of health seeking behavior but there is difference in gender, age and in receiving traditional treatment which was taken from ‘Karevakkalu- gaadiga’.

The case study is collected from a settlement of Sirsi taluk. P is a married woman of 48 years and she is illiterate. Her husband ‘M’ is 60 years old and his literacy level is up to primary school. They have four children; three sons ‘N’, ‘D’ and ‘R’ and one daughter. The first son ‘N’ is 21 years old having primary school education. ‘D’ is of 19 years old and his education is also up to primary school. ‘R’ is a student of 10 years studying at primary school and ‘T’ is also student of 12 years studying in primary school.

‘M’ is the head of the family. It is a nuclear family having 1 ½ acres of paddy field ‘M’, ‘P’, ‘N’ and ‘D’ are working both in their own land and also in the other’s land as agricultural laborers. The family has limited household materials and live stocks like tape recorder, iron safe, clock and a cattle shed that indicate the medium economic condition of the family.

‘P’ narrated about her mental illness (‘Mallu’), she suffered about 2 years back. The symptoms of her illness are as follows: 1. screaming continuously (‘Kettadhagi Koogadhu’), 2. Rejection to take food (‘Oota aasrige serudhilla’), 3. Weakness, giddiness, body-shivering (‘Kannu kattale, Sustu, Kai Kaalu nadugudu’), 4. Loss of sleeping (‘nidre illa’).
The treatment seeking took place in two phases:

1. In the first phase, ‘P’ was taken to a hospital by her husband and son to a well-known gynecologist at Sirsi town. ‘P’ was admitted to the hospital up to 4 days and received bio-medical treatment. Afterwards, ‘P’ gave two visits to the same hospital for follow up. ‘P’ said that she took the medicines referred by the doctor but the illness ‘mallu’ wasn’t cured by hospital’s medicine.

2. As the bio medicine found to be ineffective, husband of ‘P’ called M took her to a famous ‘Karevakkalu notagara’ of neighboring Taluk. They gave about five visits to the ‘Notagara’ on fixed sacred days for ‘nota’ viz Monday, Friday new moon day and full moon day.

For the first two visits to the ‘notagara’ ‘P’ also went to ask ‘nota’ along with her husband. Afterwards she wasn’t able to go on the particular day due to her pollution status by menstrual period. Therefore ‘M’ visited on the particular days 2-3 times in order to follow up the shamanic treatment.

The ‘Notagara’ diagnosed the cause of illness of ‘P’ as wrath of any spirit residing nearby to P’s household. The wrath of spirit is due to pollution ‘mailige’ took place by ‘P’ unknowingly, in the period of her menstrual cycle. The ‘notagara’ wasn’t named the particular spirit’s name. But ‘P’ says that, there are four spirits nearby viz. ‘naagaru’, ‘chaudi’, ‘hulidevru’ ‘beerlu’ and there is possibility of any spirit got angry towards her. The ‘notagara’ gave incantated thread ‘thayatha’ (to tie on her neck). Then ‘P’ got recovered. It took one year to cure.
Psychiatrist's analysis of health status of 'P' is as follows:

'P' was suffering Anxiety/Depression (mild to moderate) caused by post menopausal syndrome. There is no need of medicine in this condition; emotional support and counseling up to 3 to 6 months can cure the illness ('mallu') suffered by 'P'. The traditional healer ('notagara') gave the same counseling service in traditional manner and therefore 'P' got recovered.

The case reveals some significant factors in the mental health seeking behavior of the 'Karevakkalu' viz.

a. Though some of the 'Karevakkalu' population can guess that, the patients of behavioral disorders and mental illness consult the biomedical doctor to get treated, they lack complete information about the manner of treatment seeking for mental illness. Therefore, the patient is taken to a general physician or gynecologist rather than a psychiatrist. People compare the duration of cure of mental illness with that of physical illness and they expect a quick recovery of the psychic patient (i.e. 15-30 days). If they don't get a quick recovery within that period, they move towards traditional healer.

The case makes another remark that, even though the 'Karevakkalu' people consult a biomedical doctor at first phase, they place the 'Karevakkalu' shamanic healing as highest referral center that could solve any severe problem in general and illness in particular.
Gender Aspects in ‘Karevakkalu’ Shamanism:

The role of ‘notagara’ or ‘gaadiga’ is found to be a sacred, prestigious and powerful one in the ‘Karevakkalu’ society. But it is maintained by only male folk of the ‘Karevakkalu’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ women think themselves to be inferior to become ‘notagara’ because they face menstrual cycle, which makes them polluted and therefore they aren’t eligible to be possessed by any spirit (‘dhaiva’) or deity (‘dhevru’). But there are several patients from womenfolk who found to be suffer from trouble by spirits (‘dhaiva’), evil-souls (‘heenakole’) and ‘fear’ of ghosts (‘pishaathi’). The situation indicates the higher status of ‘Karevakkalu’ male folk and secondary or lower status of the ‘Karevakkalu’ women. Compared to shamanic healing (‘nota’), the herbal medicine system (‘halli oushadhi’) of the ‘Karevakkalu’ seems to be more open and flexible as there are several women herbal medicine practitioners found among the ‘Karevakkalu’ community. These women herbal medicine practitioners learnt about the herbal medicine (‘halli oushadhi’) through their parents where as male herbal medicine practitioners say that, the more medicine they learnt from self experiment and blessings of spirits rather than learning from elders. This tendency also shows the male herbalists claim superiority over other practitioner (women herbal medicine practitioners) and common people.

The shamanic healing (‘nota’) is the basic system of the ‘Karevakkalu ethno-psychiatry’. The ‘Karevakkalu’ rush to shamanic healing whenever a sudden behavioral change (with or without physical sickness) occur in any
member of family. The ‘nota’ forms the main source to understand the treatment pattern of the personalistic illness which constitutes a significant part of the system of Ethnopsychiatry among the ‘Karevakkalu’.

D. Doctors’ or Hospitals’ medicine (‘daactar oushadhi’)

The ‘Karevakkalu’ call modern bio-medicine as ‘Dactar-aushadhi’ or ‘aaspathre-aushadhi’ (‘aushadhi’ refers medicine; ‘aaspatre’ refers hospital). The modern medicine is gaining popularity and dominance through the private doctors whose treatment provides immediate effect mainly in case of treatment of those diseases that exhibit symptoms of physical illness.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ receive treatment from the modern doctors (‘Dactar-aushadhi’) according to their economic conditions and convenience. The health-seeking pattern varies from one settlement to the other because the bio-medicine (‘Dactar-aushadhi’) is more available to the settlement having better road, connectivity, more interaction with other communities and to those people who are in economically and better condition. ‘Dactar-aushadhi’ is finding its place and popularity over last two-three decades. The main reasons for this change in recent years are:

a. Increased transport facilities from rural areas to towns.

b. Increased awareness spread through public health care programs implemented by the personnel of primary health centers.

c. Improved economic conditions of ‘Karevakkalu’ due to shift in cultivation from food-grains cultivation (paddy, sugar cane) to commercial crops (areca nut, coconut).
d. Increased knowledge of the role of community health care especially among the youngsters and adults due to formal education.

Psychiatric treatment, which is a special field of biomedicine also forms a component of ‘Karevakkalu’ psychiatry. However, it is found that, only a few patients referred by the general physician had consulted to the psychiatrists, and successfully treated by the psychiatrists. The psychiatrists view the psychic problems basically in two categories. a) The neurosis – the minor psychic disease, that are occurred due to mental stress and strains of routine life are fall under this category. The neurosis is said to be cured mainly by counselling and simple medicines upto 3 to 6 months that is considered as short term treatment. b) The second category is psychosis that is considered as involving major psychic illnesses, occurred due to bio-chemical changes in brain. Treatment of psychosis involves specific set of medicine, combined with counselling for long term i.e. more than 6 months. The practicing psychiatrists opines that, the healers can successfully cure, the cases of minor mental illnesses viz. Neurosis, as they are effective. But they can’t cure psychosis as they needs specific medicine.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ knowledge, attitudes regarding bio medicine (‘Dactar-aushadhi’):

The ‘Karevakkalu’ opine that, the bio medicine (‘Dactar-aushadhi’) is efficient medicine for the treatment of major physical illnesses like heart-attack (‘heartina tondare’), cancer (‘kyancer’), TB (‘kemmu-dammu’), kidney (‘kidney tondare’) problems and sugar diseases (‘sakkare kakyale’). In their
day-to-day life, the ‘Karevakkalu’ visit hospital for fever, loose-motions, toothache and other physical illnesses especially when they are not responding to the inhome remedies. About half of the women delivered in hospitals and also half of the married women received female family planning facilities provided by the government hospitals.

But the general impression on the quality of healthcare in government hospitals’ is found to be poor as compared to the private healthcare. The ‘Karevakkalu’ women say that they go for private doctors’ treatment when they have money and they take government hospitals’ treatment when they don’t have money. The ‘Karevakkalu’ are aware of the better quality of treatment available at private hospitals and clinics. But they cannot afford the private doctors’ healthcare always and therefore they often go to public healthcare. Following are two case studies that reveal the modern health-seeking behavior of the ‘Karevakkalu’ for the modern medicine (‘Dactar-aushadhi’).

The case-study is taken from Yallapur Taluk. ‘M’ is a married man of 50 years. He is having 3 children, living in a nuclear family. ‘M’ completed primary school education i.e. 7th class. His wife ‘S’ is of 45 years and she has completed 2nd class at primary school. The two sons have completed 10th standard and daughter is studying at 7th standard.

‘M’ is a farmer. He is the head of the family. His sons and wife work in their own ¾ acre of land and they also work as agriculture laborers in the ‘Brahmanru’ land as their own land is insufficient to meet their livelihood.
They have a few household gadgets such as clock (‘gadiyara’), cattle shed (‘kottige’).

‘M’ was suffering from fear (‘hedhradhu’), suicide attempt (‘kerg haaralikkantha odadhu’; ‘kere’ means tank, ‘haaralikkantha’ means to jump ‘odadhu’ means run) symptoms before 18 years. The treatment given to ‘M’ includes all phases described in diagram ‘F’.

The case history takes place in this way:

‘M’ used to exhibit the symptoms of fear, running towards the tank to jump into tank at night. He was taken to the Shamanic healing of the ‘Karevakkalu gaadiga’ and then to the shaman of ‘siddhi’ tribe ‘siddi gaadiga’, living in the same locality.

The ‘gaadiga’ of ‘Karevakkalu’ described his problems as ghost attack and he offered ‘bali’ of 2 hens in order to solve the problem. The ‘Siddhi-gaadiga’ also performed a healing ritual. He took a hen and made rounds around M (called ‘Suliyadhu’) and than incantated a few rice grains and took them around M. He gave those grains to the hen. He left the hen and asked the people to observe the hen for three rounds life. If the hen died with in three months, the same ritual has to be repeated by taking another hen. This ritual has to be continued till a hen survives after three months. When the hen survives, it indicates that, there is no danger to the patient and he will become a healthy person. But this measure also became fruitless.

When his illness wasn’t cured due to ‘gaadiga’s healing. ‘M’ visited ‘bhatru’ (‘Brahmanru’ caste priest and or astrologer). The ‘Bhatru’ labeled the problem.
as ‘graachara’ which mean he is affected due to planets’ position in the sky.

‘Bhatru’ suggested a worship called ‘Saanthi’ and ‘M’ performed ‘Saanthi’.

But his illness continued. The family member of ‘M’ narrated that, traditional healing efforts (‘nota’ and ‘saastra’) took about 6 months but it was fruitless.

Meanwhile, illness of ‘M’ was getting intense day by day.

After about 1½ months of illness severe illness, ‘M’ felt acute body pain which made them visit a bio-medical doctor who was practicing in the same locality. The doctor (‘dactaru’) treated for a month but the condition of ‘M’ wasn’t responding to treatment. Then the doctor diagnosed the problem as psychic illness. The illness of ‘M’ responded positively to the psychiatrist’s treatment. The last seventeen and half years, his condition is under control with medication. Family members of ‘M’ say that, he behaves where he is like a normal person under medication.

Psychiatrist’s analysis of the condition of ‘M’ is as follows:

‘M’ is suffering Major Depressive Disorder (MDD). It needs long term treatment and it takes at least 3 to 6 months to cure.

Case of ‘M’ reveals the limited scope of a ‘Karevakkalu’ person in availing the bio medical treatment towards mental illness. It also shows the people’s way of understanding a psychiatric illness and necessity of a psychiatrist’s treatment towards severe mental illnesses.

The case study is taken from a ‘Karevakkalu’ family residing at Yallapur Taluk. There are two mentally ill people in this family. One is the head of the family ‘V’ and another is his son ‘G’.
‘V’ is of 50 years and he is illiterate. His wife ‘R’ is of 43 years old and she completed 4th class of primary school education. ‘V’ has four children viz. two daughters and two sons. First daughter ‘L’ is married and she is of 23 years. She is literate, completed 4th class. Second daughter ‘S’ is of 18 years and also completed 4th standard. The first son ‘G’ could learn up to 3rd class and he is of 16 years old. The second son ‘R’ is studying at 7th standard.

The family is depended on the income from both agriculture and agricultural labour. Though they have a piece of land it is insufficient to earn their livelihood completely. There is no electricity, electric motor or iron safe in the family. Generally, scarcity of these materials indicates the sufficient economic condition of the family.

‘V’ is under treatment by a psychiatrist from last 15 (since 1990) year’s. His problem is summarized by his family members as ‘maanasika’ (Mind-related).

The symptoms of illness of ‘V’ are as follows: uneasiness felt in chest and severe pain felt in head. As the illness symptoms were found to be physical, ‘V’ visited a bio-medical doctor practicing in Sirsi town who is famous for treatment of heart-problems. The doctor after the examination diagnosed that illness of ‘V’ as psychic and referred him to the psychiatrist practicing in the same town. From them ‘V’ is regularly receiving the psychiatrist’s treatment from last 15 years and he is almost normal in his day-to-day activities. But he needs to take tablets every day in order to keep himself in a stable condition.
Psychiatrist’s analysed illness after taking the details of case history; ‘V’ was suffering anxiety state somatization. The term somatization is derived from the word ‘soma’ which means body. The condition could be understood as Anxiety exhibited through body. It takes about 3 to 6 months to be cured and simple medicine with counseling even by a family doctor or psychiatrist is sufficient.

Another problem in the same family ‘G’ is that son of ‘V’ is found to be mentally retarded (‘budhdi maandya’). This factor was coined when he exhibited poor memory regarding day to day happenings. As the head of the family ‘D’ as found the psychiatrist’s treatment fruitful, he took his son to the same psychiatrist. G is taking treatment from the last 6 years (1990). Now his condition is under control.

The two instances reveal two significant factors viz. a) when the symptoms of illness are seems to be totally non-behavioural, people don’t go for traditional healers at first stage b) when a psychiatrist’s treatment is efficient, the ‘Karevakklu’ consult a psychiatrist despite their insufficient economic condition.

The general views of the doctors and public health care personnel among the status of ‘Karevakkalu’ and their health seeking behavior.

There was very little scope to know about the doctors’ and other staff views about the ‘Karevakkalu’ peoples’ health seeking behavior. Because, it is found that modern health care providers are least bothered about the cultural background of the ‘Karevakkalu’. Among the nine doctors and six health care
personnel, only less than the half were having very limited knowledge, with the cultural background of the ‘Karevakklu’. The reason is that, the health care professionals’ don’t think it is essential to know one’s cultural background in order to give a successful treatment to each patient. The private doctors who are from the same region only have made some specific remarks on the health status of the ‘Karevakkalu’ as they have some familiarity with the ‘Karevakkalu’ life style. Views of the local doctors on the health status of the ‘Karevakkalu’ is as follows:

The ‘Karevakkalu’ as compared to the people of other community are healthy and physically strong. Because they work hard, eat sufficiently; their food habit includes non-vegetarian food. Smoking, chewing tobacco is normally found among the ‘Karevakkalu’ male folk and the ‘Karevakkalu’ male are heavily addicted liquor. Most of the ‘Karevakkalu’ male folk are addicted to liquor.

It is found that, private doctors working in the interior settlements of the ‘Karevakkalu’ normally don’t maintain any systematic records of patients.

The doctors observed the following diseases commonly found diseases among the ‘Karevakkalu’:

a. Cold and fever
b. Indigestion
c. Anemia
d. Genital infections among women.
e. Skin allergy/ulcers
The doctors also add that lack of personal hygiene, no discipline in eating, change of climate, viral or bacterial infection due to drinking of unclean water often leads to these diseases. Lack of separate well to each house hold and usage of common -tank water is coined as the reason for about 90% of the cases of cold, fever, stomach upset. The tendency of fallow up is also very less among the ‘Karevakkalu’ patients. The doctors gave few remarks on reproductive health status of the ‘Karevakkalu’ women viz. most of times, the ‘Karevakkalu’ women under go normal delivery because they work (in the fields, plantations and households) up to the date of their delivery. If the first delivery is normal, all of the ‘Karevakkalu’ women will go for home delivery for the next deliveries.

It is significant factor that, the doctors who can give a note on the physical health seeking behavior and commonly found physical illness of the ‘Karevakkalu’ community don’t have any specific data or general opinion of the mental health status of the ‘Karevakkalu’. The reason, they gives is that, they haven’t received any mentally ill patient during last 5 years. They analyzed the reasons for this situation in this way; the ‘Karevakkalu’ visit either an ‘Notagara’ or a ‘bhatru’ most of the times in case of a mental illness. They take the treatment measures according to the advice of ‘notagara’. In rare cases (when physical pain is a dominant symptom), the mental patient is taken to psychiatrist for treatment after the advise of general bio medical doctor. Visiting a bio-medical doctor for behavioral disorders is a rare phenomenon among the ‘Karevakkalu’.
Doctors also add that, earlier i.e. before a decade, most of the cases of physical illness were used to consult the ‘notagara’ for faith healing. Now it is lessening towards about half of the diseases. It is due to lessening illusionary faith towards ‘nota’ healing.

One more analysis given by an allopathic doctor about a super naturalistic illness called ‘raavu-attack’, which is found among the ‘Karevakkalu’ and also among other co habitant people. The symptoms of Raavu-attack according to the people includes blood omitting or blood coming out of nose. The person will fall down, loose consciousness, and there will be a sign of a ‘hand’ on the back or legs of the patient. The bio-medical doctor’s analysis of ‘raavu attack’ is as follows.

a. Mental stress due to work pressure leads to loss of consciousness and
b. Gastric irritation and
c. high blood-pressure leads to
d. blood-omitting and bleeding through nose.

But people have very less knowledge of high blood pressure and mental stress and therefore they consider the problem as attack by ‘raavu’.

There are two different observations by an Ayurvedic doctor and a ‘Karevakkalu’ man from siddapur taluk, regarding ‘raavu-attack’. Both opines that ‘raavu-attack’ incidents are lessening.

The ‘Karevakkalu’ elder man (50 years) opines that the ‘raavu’-attack is lessening due to construction of roads, movement of vehicles on the ‘nede’ ‘suli’ (path) of ‘raavu’. The ‘raavu’ attacks only those who fear of ‘raavu’ and
those who wander lonely on the ‘nede’ of raavu. Due to movement of vehicles, the people need not to walk lonely in recent years (i.e. from last 2 decades). Also he adds that ‘raavu’ is afraid of four wheelers vehicles such as bus. whereas the doctor from same region opines that, raavu-attack cases are lessening due to decreasing illusion of the ‘Karevakkalu’ on ‘nota’.

These two different opinions indicate a communicational and cultural gap between the doctor and common man who belongs to the same locality.

There is a perceptual gap in understanding the ‘Karevakkalu’ health seeking behavior between the doctors who belongs to the same region and the doctors from outside who are working as public health care providers in primary health centers near to the ‘Karevakkalu’ settlements. The government doctors’ knowledge about the ‘Karevakkalu’ peoples’ health seeking behavior and culture is least. Compared to the government doctors, junior and senior health assistants, health educators and pre-primary school (‘unganawadi’) teachers who also work for public health care programmes have a close contact and interaction with the ‘Karevakkalu’ people. Because, these employees takes part in implementation of several community health programmes at grass root level. It is the primary health centers’ staff who visit the household of the ‘Karevakkalu’, gives health information and convince the people mainly regarding safe motherhood child immunization and family planning methods. Therefore, they have regular interaction with the ‘Karevakkalu’.

But, at the community level, there has been no specific programme actually operating on mental health care till 2007. In 2007, a training
programme has been taken place to orient the primary health centers’ doctors towards mental health care, under District Mental Health Programme. The programme was at the initial phase, while the researcher’s field study was almost completed. And therefore the researcher had very little scope to collect more information.