

CULTURAL DEFINITION OF ILLNESS ETIOLOGY AND HERBAL THERAPY AMONG TRIBAL INDIA

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To the tribals health, disease and its treatment, death etc. everything has different meanings but it is interestingly noticed that each and every tribal community has belief on supernatural power both benevolent and malevolent who are responsible to cause all these. The fate of a community and its members depend on their relationship with unseen forces which guide and intervene in all of their matters beginning from day to day life to their sickness, disease and death. It is thought that if a man offends any of them, the mystical power punishes him by ill health, disease, and misfortune and even by death. Then at first to detect the actual cause of sickness, disease or death they go through magical performances, which tell them the name of the particular mystical power responsible for the misfortune and reason for its anger. Then to appease the power they pray for its forgiveness, seek kindness, and those are done through several prayers, offerings, sacrifice, magical performances. Along with these the sick person is treated with their own traditional or indigenous medicines, it may be any kind of inorganic or organic substance available in their particular niche. To perform all those they have specialised persons of their community and in their failure they do not hesitate to go to the medicine man even of other community and also neighbouring village.

The cultural cognition of illness etiology and at the same time application of herbal therapy among the tribals of Indian continent can be understood through three major components like environment, social system and cultural values. To understand the health behaviour none of these structural loci can be ignored.

Environment

The influence of environment that includes altitude, temperature, topography, flora, and fauna that strongly bears upon not only the livelihood or economic activities but also on health system. The environment also determines the types and shape of *Shelter*, use of raw material, dress, transport, *food* and *drinking habit*, *economic pursuits* as well as *occupational opportunity* and *collection of minor forest produce for sustenance* etc. which also exert substantial influence on the social system as well as on human biology. Here, not only that the notions, perception and cognition of the people but also the empirical studies that provide for understanding of casual relations between the natural elements and diseases/ailments in specific ethnic group becomes an area of investigation. Such as, lesser incidences of heart diseases among the hill people, perhaps, have much to do with the natural habitat and biology of the people (Rao, 2007).

Social System

Various social factors such as *family type and size* and *rate of literacy*, gender inequality, gender relation, economic in terms of importance attached to *earning*

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and non-earning members, sickness, pressure from family members, political and social freedom practices etc. also do determine the *conceptions of ill health*, responsibilities of care takers and application of treatment through their cultural practices followed by herbal therapy with the help of traditional medicinal specialist like *bhagat* (among the Dhodia of Gujarat), *sirha* (among the Bison-Horn Maria of Bastar, Chhattisgarh), *jhankri or pau* (among the Toto of Jalpaiguri, west Bengal), *ojha* or *jan-guru* (among the Mal Paharia of Santal Pargana, Jharkhand) etc. . So, interaction of different institutions intersecting political, economic and religious systems can also be noticed operating at a micro level.

Cultural Values

The *perception of good and ill health* and maintenance of good health are rooted in one's own cultural values loaded prescription. These are developed and nurtured on the basis of people's conception and *relationship with the celestial world, human being and natural physical environment*, under this context, Man in terrestrial world is looked upon with God and Spirits in celestial world and their relationship with nature, *the total world views provides a cultural repertoire that guides the individual and direct the family to adopt a particular strategy for dealing with ill health* or implications of curative measures according to one's own cultural prescription.

Illness Ideology

Every culture has its own beliefs & practices regarding health care practices and its ailment, it often does not work in a logical fashion. Every system of culture tries to treat diseases in its own prescribed manner and here lies the cognitive way of understanding of health behaviour practices of the studied group. Interpretations of the cause of a given diseases depends much on the native's perceptions of the pathogenic agent or force responsible for the cause, the cultural situation (i.e, socio-economic backdrop, local environment, age old belief practices etc) or context in which the condition of ill-health has occurred and the degree of disruption of a patients relationship with the pathogenic agents.

Concept of cause of Disease

The causes of different ailments among various tribal situation of the country are as follows :

1. Possession of evil spirit
2. Evil eye
3. Witchcraft & Sorcery
4. Disruption of human relationship with ancestral spirits
5. Violation of any social taboo
6. Sexual intercourse with menstruating women

7. Failure in performing any divine duty
8. Breach of social pollution
9. Maintenance of cultural space in construction of house and its space
10. Irregular combination of diet
11. Maintenance of purity-pollution in view of performing rituals, sacred groove etc.

Ritual Healing

To an anthropologist the ritual healing aspect have a number of connotation which is purely a cognitive grammar. These are as follows:

- (a) rituals encourage cohesion, strength, a kind of psychology to overcome all problems
- (b) enhance individual and group autonomy
- (c) help to achieve actors goals
- (d) help to resolve conflict
- (e) rituals also define conceptual categories
- (f) ritual function as symbolic modes of communication.
- (g) Ritual actions express and communicate shared socio-cultural meaning which are symbolically transacted through the medium of ritual action (Munn, 1973).

It is reported that of the total population of our country (India) there are 8% tribal groups (as per 2001 Census). Among the total 461 tribal groups (Singh, 1994), majority of them are in hilly terrain and dense forest (402 in number). Their cultures have developed in a particular ecological setting and for sustenance they fully utilized their natural resources even for their ailment.

Mal Paharia is one of the tribes who live in a geographically difficult area where they always have a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty or less predictability. In fact Mal Paharia is a separate group of the tribe Paharia. Paharia is a blanket term for three separate tribes namely Sauria Paharia, Kumbharbhag Paharia and Mal Paharia. All of the three are endogamous groups and confined their habitat in Damin-i-koh (a Persian word means skirt of the hills) area of erstwhile Santhal Pargana district, which is now divided into Dumka, Pakur, Deoghar, Sahebgunj, Godda, and Jamtara districts.

In the Damin-i-koh area all the three groups of Paharia are distributed in the Rajmahal hills, which covers the entire Damin area. It consists of the upland, undulating, long ridges and depressions along with some fertile lands, which is intensively cultivated. There are three lofty peaks among which Massanjore is situated in Dumka subdivision.

The present study was carried out among the Mal Paharia of Gopikandar and Dumka block of Dumka district of Jharkhand. Mal Paharia hamlets are situated in the denser portion of the forest at the higher altitude of the village. As they live in such a geographical atmosphere where they have an uncanny feeling of unseen spirits that is in an adverse situation, to get strength in mind, to combat with the mysterious events, they get hold of the supernatural power, which are sole responsible to shape their culture and give protections from all evils. Hence their life is very much oriented by the belief of supernatural power and propitiation of spirits holds an important position in their religious life.

Socio-Cultural Environment

To begin with the religious life of the Mal Paharia, it is necessary to mention that the Mal Paharias have their own priest or religious practitioner who is known as **Deohar** or **Pujar / Pujahar**. The post is hereditary. He has his assistant called **Fuljharia**. Along with them there is a messenger called as **Gorait** who informs and invites all Mal Paharias to attend and participate in the rituals and festivals. He also collects contributions from the villagers in case of any ritual and festival organized by the community or by the total village.

Beside them they have an **Ojha / Ojha guru** -sorcerer of their own community who is consulted in the crisis such as disease and death etc. To be an **Ojha** it is thought that one should have knowledge to detect and tackle the malevolent spirits and to neutralize their acts with suggesting the remedies. In addition to these in most cases the **Ojhas** also act as medicine man. If one **Ojha** fails to cure a person then they consult Jan guru – the sorcerer of the Santhal community who is believed as more powerful than their own **Ojha**.

Among the Mal Paharias there are several places selected as sacred place meant for the performance of rituals. These places are called as **Than** by the Mal Paharias. There are several **Thans** for the performance of different types of rituals. Among those some of the important **Thans** in the studied village- Madhuvan of Gopi Kandar block are **Goriya Than, Jahar Than, Singh Bahani Than, Kali Than / or Chordanu Than, Chitipila Than, Kumhar Deo Than** and **Ormu Than**. In those **Thans** the worship of **Pahar thakur, Dharti, Bhui deo** etc. are done. Again the Mal Paharias have their own **Thans** attached with their homestead where family deities are established.

Except all these **Thans**, each and every family has **Mara Morpa or Marha Morpa** – the place of their deceased ancestors. They establish those after the performance of *sradh* ceremony. In fact in Madhuvan village they establish **Mara Morpa** in most of the cases beside the hearth. The *chulha* or hearth is regarded very pure and auspicious to them. So they prefer to establish it there. In some cases it is established at a corner of the courtyard but the place should be very clean. Three vertical lines are drawn there with vermilion, which signify the place as

symbol of **Mara Morpa**. They believe that their deceased ancestors are their guardian deities who are worshipped every day and in every occasions, rituals and festivals. They offer new crops to those ancestors prior to their own consumption. In case of any unnatural death, they do not establish the soul of that ancestor in the place. Such souls are regarded as malevolent spirit and they are driven out across the boundary of the village. Again within the boundary of the household, sometimes they establish their household deities also in the courtyard.

Apart from number of benevolent spirits among the Mal Paharia, the present discourse is confined to Malevolent sprits in which their their health related behaviour is associated.

Malevolent Spirits

It is worthy to mention that beside these benevolent deities, the Mal Paharia have a large number of malevolent spirits called as **Jonkh** who have the mischievous power to do harm. Those roam in their vicinity always with a tendency to do harm for these people. They always have suspicious mind and are scared of those. In case all types of disease and death, they blame evil spirits. Even if wind blows heavily or if there is non-stop rain for a long, they blame the evil spirits. They lead their life with several restrictions, taken as protection from the evil act of those malevolent spirits. Some of the *jonkhs* are Rangadhari, Bisachandi, Kolkaowar, Kal Chaora, Kal Singh, Banashakti, Jalhari, Fulhari, Am Deo, Cham Deo, Gorla Kali, Khunti Deo, Pat Bihar, Jonkh, Jokh Danu, Bhui Deo, Chordanu, Maha Danu, Singh Bahani, Patal Kali, Kiching, Smasan Kali, Maha Kali, Aghoriya Kali, Baghwas, Jora Jonkh, Karodanu, Mahul Baniya, Mal Jonkh, Kichling, Bel Kupia, Saonar, Bhowar, Pahar Thakur, Ichra Kudra Jonkh, Banashakti, Dalhar Jonkh, Swarga puriyatri Jonkh, Kalkumari Jonkh etc.

These **Jonkhs** always have a tendency to do harm to the Mal Paharias. But when those are established at the Thans at their own individual house these become the protecting deities for the family and lineage. These are worshipped time-to-time in each and every occasions and ritual performed by the family and lineage. Each and every family has one or two or even more Jonkhs of them. It is told that the villagers also worship the Jonkhs collectively in the ritual performances to appease those for their protection. Among the offerings sacrifice of animal, bird, egg and **ganja** are compulsory.

They believe that when a person dies in unnatural death, he becomes a *bhut*. The **Jonkhs** are more dangerous than the *bhuts*. All the malevolent spirits together are referred as *masan*. Along with the worship of their deities known as **Gosain**, they also worship these evils with a hope that those will not do harm to them.

The women who become *bhut* are known as *dakin*, *kichling* etc. Dakin roams through the cultivable land, by the side of river, hills etc. Those prefer to stay near water. Those always have a target to attack men. Those do not attack women;

rather those are afraid of women. **Kichling** is more dangerous than *dakin*. Generally it does not go inside a person, but from outside it irritates a person who even sometimes becomes mad. As for example, *kichling* attacked once Buddha a Mal Paharia male of Gando village. He became mad. He saw a buffalo and began to tell that it is his *devar* (husband's younger brother). **Kichling** also prefers to stay at waterside such as in pond etc. places. It wears white dress and plays musical instruments. They do not worship this evil spirit. To drive out **Kichling** in most of the cases, their *ojha* fails. So, they consult *janguru* or *maulvi* (sorcerer or shaman) of their locality.

Here a list of some of their Jonkhs with their activities is given below:

<i>Name of the Jonkh</i>	<i>Activities</i>
Pahar Thakur (a form of Lord Mahadeo)	According to the villagers Pahar Thakur is originally Lord Mahadeo . They worship him to get safeguard from ferocious animals and poisonous creatures during their hunting expedition. In each and every village, there is a Than of Pahar Thakur , represented by a stone placed under a <i>sal</i> tree. There is a <i>trisul</i> (trident) at right side of the deity. He is also worshipped in each and every occasion by family and at village level. At the rituals associated with cultivation, especially at the hills he is worshipped for bumper crop. During Ashari and Maghi Parab , they worship Pahar Thakur at village level. In this puja he is offered sundried rice, milk, sugar, liquor preferably of <i>mahua</i> , <i>batasa</i> and ganja. Ganja is one of the very important items among the offering. Not only in Pahar Puja , in most of their pujas, especially of the evil spirits, they offer ganja and in its absence tobacco leaves as one of the compulsory items of offerings.
Banashakti	– Among their Jonkhs , Banashakti -the wife of PaharThakur is worshipped prior to visit to jungle for hunting. Each and every hill has its own Banashakti . She is worshipped along with Pahar Thakur , whenever a person visits the jungle for hunting. She also protects the crops in the field. She is also worshipped during seed sowing both in hills and in their <i>bari</i> land. They dare to neglect her. If she becomes displeased, they will face various types troubles in cultivation and when they pass through jungle, it is sure that ferocious animals in the jungle will attack them.
Chordanu	Chordanu's primary duty is to protect the crops in the field, in the granary and other properties from stealing. Chordanu is worshipped both at family level and collectively by the Mal Paharias of the village. If any star falls from sky they are sure that there will be a theft very soon in the village at the direction where the star fell. Then Chordanu is immediately worshipped with a prayer asking for his protection from the theft. Chordanu is worshipped during any work attached with cultivation and in festivals of Ashari and Maghi Parab . Chordanu's puja is never performed inside the house but outside at the courtyard, in the Chordanu Than at the

Mahadanu	<p>village and also in the hills. Women are also allowed to take the consecrated food except the pigeon offered to the spirit, which is cooked and consumed by the male there where the ritual is performed. If they do not perform the puja, then there will be less cereal produced in the field and the spirit will do harm and as a result cereals and crops will be stolen.</p>
Jonkh Dev	<p>Another malevolent spirit or a form of Lord Mahadeo. His worship is done along with Chordanu to get bumper crop. His Than is present in the Goriya Than. A round stone represents it where they pour milk. The family can install it at the courtyard or <i>bari</i> land under a tree. During seed sowing and cutting he is worshipped. It also protects their cattle. If at night a jackal howls or an owl cries then they are sure that Mahadanu is displeased with them giving them warning of any type of mishap, accident and even death in the village. Then they immediately arrange for its worship with the sacrifices to keep him quite by satisfying him.</p>
Mal Jonkh Mal Jonkh –	<p>Another spirit, important for its evil acts. It stays at the hills, in the jungle, river, trees etc. During her menstrual cycle a woman is not allowed to go to jungle and riverside and also to climb a tree. This spirit has a tendency to marry a Mal Paharia girl during her cycle and to lead a conjugal life. As a result the particular girl suffers from acute pain and obstruction in her monthly cycle and various types of health hazards. To get safety from his attack, they perform certain rituals. He is also worshipped in the hills at the time of plucking of <i>barbatti</i> in the month of <i>Aghan</i> (November-December).</p> <p>on Life and Culture</p> <p>This <i>jonkh</i> stays at the <i>ghat</i> of Kurho Pahari hills. This spirit tempts the villagers who pass through the pathway of the hills, by keeping bell metal utensils, garland, silver coin etc. valuable items in the path. If by chance any villagers feel greedy and take the items at home, the Mal Jonkh follows him and enters his home and begins to stay there. As an impact of his entry in the home, family starts to face several types of disturbances and sickness within two or three days. Then they go to <i>ojha</i> to detect the cause and for remedies. They go to the <i>ojha</i> with a <i>sakhoa</i> leaf on which they keep mustard oil. The <i>ojha</i> rubs the oil on the leaf and tells the cause of the disturbances. He also tells how the spirit entered the house. The family then confesses what wrong they have done. Then the <i>ojha</i> worships the spirit with oil, vermilion, sundried rice, and a pot full with water, at the courtyard. He sprinkles water on the family head and other members of the family from the pot as significance that he is purifying the family. Then he worships Mal Jonkh at a corner of the room and establishes the spirit there. From then it is compulsory to worship the spirit once in a year as one of the deity of the family. The spirit is offered a white he-goat, rice, vermilion, puffed rice. The puja is officiated by the male head of the family. The family will consume the sacrificed meat. The family is liable to worship the spirit throughout the life.</p> <p>This spirit is also known as Dhani Mal Jonkh. He originally stays under a <i>simul</i> tree or a stream beside his original abode at the hills. He is also worshipped during harvesting time.</p>

Tumba Jonkh	It roams in Nandi Pahar with a violin. He plays the violin at night roaming on the hills. He does no harm if he is worshipped during the cultivation of <i>barbatti</i> .
Dalhar Jonkh	This Jonkh stays in water sources such as in river, rivulet or stream, In the <i>khet</i> (cultivable land) prior to the harvesting, along with other deities and spirits he is worshiped during the month of <i>Aghan</i> (November-December). They worship it at a corner of the field. It is performed by the family head and women are tabooed participate in the ritual.
Swargapur Yatri Jonkh –	It comes on the males to kill him. The person attacked by this Jonkh gets seriously ill. Then the Ojha detects the cause of disease through his <i>tel patta</i> (mustard oil on <i>sakhoa</i> leaves) magic. The Jonkh is then worshipped with an offering of pigeon, red chicken and a he-goat. They worship the spirit to keep it quite. Sometimes a stick is taken and beaten in the open air as if they are cutting the spirit into pieces. Sometimes the stick is touched on the body of the patient.
Baghowas	It resides in hills. Prior to the harvesting of <i>barbatti</i> , they worship the spirit with sacrifices of pigeon, chicken or he-goat. They believe that if they do not worship him, then he will bring tigers from jungle to their village.
Bhaman Jonkh	It lives in Karaleta hills and also roams in Konda and Tanter Pani hills. It scares people by taking different shapes and sizes in the shadow.
Yam Raja	It stays in Murga Pahari hills and is worshipped by them for safety in the hills when they work there. If it is displeased, death comes in the village
Karodanu Jonkh –	This spirit is established beside Kali Mata . They worship him to keep him quite otherwise there would be illness in the village.
Rangadhari Baba	It is a very dangerous type of Jonkh. Generally they avoid it and keep safe distance but when it enters a house, they are forced to establish it as a family deity and perform its puja. Then it becomes a deity of family welfare. He is established inside or at the backside of the house, worshipped at family level with the offerings of a red chicken. He is worshipped specially for the welfare of their children and family.
Ichra Kudra Jonkh	This spirit is also worshipped at family level for the welfare of family during the month <i>Aghan</i> (November-December) at the side of a river or rivulet or under <i>peepal</i> or a banyan tree.
Bel Kupia	– He is another Jonkh worshipped at family level for the welfare of the family. He is worshipped after 14th January, that is, after the performance of Makar Sankranti . The consecrated food is taken by males and unmarried girls.
Saonr Bhonwar	This Jonkh takes shape of a Bhonwar (wasp) and flies here and there. If they worship it, their property will be increased. Otherwise it will bite.
Bandro	When there is whirlwind, they think that Bandro is passing through the place. If anybody especially the children fall in that whirlwind, he or she becomes ill. The Ojha is called to drive out the <i>bhut</i> or the spirit.

They have belief in **Dayen** (witch). In case of any mishap or sickness they suspect that either any malevolent spirit or a **Dayen** is responsible for that. They cannot touch the spirit but can catch hold a woman suspected as **Dayen** and torture her brutally even sometimes kill her only basing on their suspicion.

The traditional knowledge (i.e.oral tradition) in regard to health care practices, which the tribal have acquired over generation, is the key source of inspiration of maintaining their livelihood in such forest environment (Dasgupta and Sarkar, 2005). Due to close association with forest the tribals are well aware of facing ailment through various local herbs, plants, roots and tubers and their various uses and parts of uses. The knowledge to use various local herbs and plants, fruits, roots and barks as medicinal value is very much restricted among a few members of the community which they have acquired from their ancestors and at present they are the living custodian of great intangible cultural heritage. Thus, this knowledge is very much local and it is very unique for a particular community for their sustainable living in such forest environment. This knowledge bank of rural India is gradually dwindling and shrinking due to rapid penetration of the various tenants of globalization.

From our empirical study it is revealed that Mal Paharia also possesses a good knowledge of their vegetation wealth of their vicinity and also use of various herbs and plants for their daily diet chart, which possess a good calorie and vitamin value. They are highly aware of their forest wealth, which they use, in their traditional rituals and ceremonies and in ailment in a sustainable manner and on the basis of their great traditional wisdom they also conserve the bio-diversity of their niche. Interestingly, their economy, cultural behaviour, religious beliefs and practices, norms and morals are all the product of traditional and intimate knowledge about the nature, natural product and natural phenomena (Dasgupta and Sarkar, 2005).

The knowledge among Mal Paharia to get rid of ailment through local herbs, plants, tubers, roots and barks etc. clearly suggests their belief and practices relating to health care and diseases, which are products of completely indigenous cultural developments. The present treatise is confined upon the Mal Paharia of Dumka district, Jharkhand, who exploit their immediate natural resources for their ailment. It is also observed that before application of medicine the *ojha* or *janguru* (sorcerer cum medicine man) try to understand the problem of patient through pulse beat by touching the pulse of the patient and which is followed by some magico- religious performances since Mal Paharia have a strong belief and cultural sentiment about various malevolent spirit of their vicinity usually believed to be responsible for various health problems. However, regarding application of herbal medicine they only depend on their *biro piyao* (baid) who is aged about 99 years at Madhuvan village.

Application of Local Herbs through Traditional Knowledge for Ailment

<i>Name of the Disease (Local Name/ English Name)</i>	<i>Use of Local Herbs</i>	<i>Application</i>
1. Penjon or Anatarba (Irregularity / or delay or pain in Menstruation)	(a) Kalihari jaghdai (<i>Gloriosa superba</i>) or,	It's tuber is grounded and apply in the forehead for at least seven days.
	(b) Kala datura/umman (<i>Datura fastuosa</i>)	Flower of it is grounded and mix with molasses or honey and taken twice in a day
	(C) Malkangni, kajuri/ chiron (<i>Celastrus paniculata</i>)	It's tender leafs cut into pieces and are fried in mustard oil. One teaspoon of such is taken twice in a day for 15-20 days.
2. ShetPradar (White discharge)	(a) Baer fruit/ilantha (<i>Zizyphus jujuba</i>)	It's fruit is grounded and mix with molasses and taken twice in a day
	(b) Bark of neem tree (<i>Azadirachta indica</i>)	Bark is grounded into paste and mix with honey and taken one tea spoon twice in a day for a period of 10-12 days
	(c) Seed bark of imli (<i>Tamarindus indica</i>)	The outer coat of <i>imli</i> seed is grounded and mixes with sugar candy and taken ¼ tea spoon twice daily for 7 days.
3. Sthan-Rog (Lactation Problem)	(a) Tuber of satawar (<i>Asparagus racemosus</i>)	Tuber of satawar is gounded and mixes with cow milk and then it is boiled for some time and taken twice in a day
	(b) Root of erand (<i>Ricinus communis</i>) and tuber of satawar (<i>Asparagus racemosus</i>)	Both the items with equal proportion is grounded and prepares a small pea size two tablet and mixes with sugar candy and taken twice in a day
4. Khasi (Cough)	Leaf of ishwarmul (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>)	Its leaf are grounded with honey and taken.
5. Rangbandh (High temperature with red rashes in the body)	(i) Root if bindhi/ lal bherenda (<i>Jatropha gossypifolia</i>)	Root of bindhi is grounded and apply in the affected region of the body.
	(ii) Root of anantamul/ dudhilata (<i>Ichnocarpus frutescens</i>), root of bhui champa (<i>Kaempferia rotunda</i>), root of gharundi sag (<i>Alternanthera sessilis</i>) and root if kantha bhaji/ acch adro (<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>)	All are mixed with ghee of cow and boiled for a long time. Paste is applied as well as taken for 3 to 4 times in a day

	(iii) Flower of goalichi/gulanch (<i>Plumeria acutifolia</i>), root of chirchiti/ chirchira (<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>) and leaf of gritakumari (<i>Aloe vera</i>)	All the three are mixed and grounded and paste is applied and also taken.
6. Ghav in new born's crown of the head (wound in newborn's crown of the head which is delightfully soft)	Dried Bones of tortoise and dried bark of <i>barka nimbu</i> (Pomelo)	Both are mixed and grounded into paste and apply on the surface of head of new born.
7. Udri (Dropsy)	Root of erandi/ castor oil plant (<i>Ricinus communis</i>), <i>bansim</i> (wild variety of bean) and lime of the oyster	These are mixed and grounded and consumed.
8. Nak sinjra (Cold)	Juice of velva/ bhilawa seed (<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i>)	Apply inside the nose the extracted juice of <i>velva</i> seed (unmatured)
9. Pilhoi (Malaria)	Root of <i>tjubala</i> , tuber of <i>tiput</i> , root of <i>ishwar muli</i> (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>)	These are mix with <i>gondh</i> and grounded and prepare tablet; and taken twice a day.
10. Lahu ghav (wound)	Root of chibal and palash (<i>Butea frondosa</i>)	(a) Root of both are grounded and paste is applied. (b) When the said paste is heated and applies on the wound, immediately the bleeding is stopped.
11. Pet dukhai (stomach-ache)	Root of champa (<i>Michelia champaca</i>), ban kursa and rakti.	Root of the three plants are grounded with <i>Ishwar muli gadh</i> and prepare tablets (<i>goli</i>) which are dried in Sun ray and taken two <i>goli</i> at a time for a period of one month.
12. Sarpa bish (Snake bite) or Bichhu katna (Scorpion bite)	(a) Root of nagbael/ sarpa gandha (<i>Rauwolfia serpentina</i>) or Ishwar mul (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>) (b) Bark of palash (<i>Butea frondosa</i>) (c) Bark of charai gorba simkata/ nagpheni (<i>Vitex peduncularis</i>) (d) Seed of kursi (<i>Mucuna nivea</i>)	Root of this plant is grounded and consumed and paste of such is apply on the wound. Bark of palash and pieces of ginger are grounded and consumed. Bark of this plant is grounded into paste and consume as well as apply on the body About 6-8 pieces of seed is grounded with water and taken.

Moreover, in order to protect their (Mal Paharia) houses from snakes, which are situated either in hill slopes or in the forest, they usually planted *airi* (*Pedilanthus tithymaloides*) and *kebamba sangha/ kewa kanda* (*Costus speciosus*) in their *vitto* land.

13. Bichhu kata (Scorpion bite)	(a) Latex of Papita (Papaya) (<i>Carica papaya</i>) (b) Juice of aonla (Phyllanthus emblica) (c) Leaf of sakarkanda (<i>Ipomoca batatas</i>) (d) Seed of karanj (<i>Pongamia glabra</i>) (e) Tuber of kali musli (<i>Curculigo orchioides</i>)	Latex of <i>papita</i> is applied on the wound. Juice of aonla is applied on the wound. Juice of leaf is applied and consumed. Seed is crushed into paste and consumed Tuber is ground with slight water and applies on the wound as well as consumed.
14. Paychese (Dysentery)	(a) Young leaf of phutkal (<i>Ficus infectoria</i>) (b) Bark of sal tree (<i>Shorea robusta</i>) (c) Leaf and fruit of kukurbicha or seta bili / kucho bati (<i>Grewia hirsuta</i>)	Young leaf of <i>phutkal</i> is boiled and it's water is consumed and also boiled leaf are taken three to four times in a day Bark of <i>sal</i> is ground and about one teaspoon of such powder is making paste on the hearth/oven and taken three times in a day. It also acts during blood dysentery. Both leaf and fruit are crushed and boiled and a thick substance prepared, which is consumed three-four times in a day.
15. Kukur Khasi (Whooping cough)	(a) Leaf of ishwarmul (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>)	At the initial stage its young leaf as well as dried leaf are ground with honey and taken four times in a day.
16. Kashra (Missals)	Thorns of semal (<i>Bombax ceiba</i>)	Thorn of <i>semal</i> is ground with water and consumed.
17. Bukhar (Fever)	(a) Fruit and root of barhanta/ Indian night shade (<i>Solanum indicum</i>) (b) Leaf of harsinghar/ night jasmine (<i>Nyctanthes arbor-tristis</i>)	Both root and fruit of <i>barhanta</i> are ground and boiled with water, and a thick substance is prepared (<i>karha</i>) and taken about two tea spoon at a time for two times in a day for five to seven days. Young leafs are boiled into <i>karha</i> and taken about two tea spoon at a time for twice in a day
18. Haiza (Cholera)	Bark of jamun (<i>Enginia jambolana</i>), liquor of mahua* (<i>Bassia latifolia</i>) (*Phulli liquor is required which is of high alcohol concentration;	Both are mixed and ground and taken one teaspoon at every hour till recovery.

	during distillation of mahua flower for liquor, the first 20 minutes distillation is known as <i>phulli</i>).	
19. Sar dard (Headache)	(a) Bark of chilbil / churla (<i>Holoptelic integrifolia</i>) (b) Dried up twigs of akhwan/ akanda/barangobali (<i>Calotropis gigantea</i>).	The fresh bark of <i>chilbil/ churla</i> is tied on the forehead. Dried twigs are fired in inhaled like bidi smoking through nostrils.
20. Moch (Sprain)	(a) Latex of akhwan/ barangobali (<i>Calotropis gigantea</i>) (b) Bark of pojo/baglal (<i>Litsaea polyantha</i>) and oil of kujuri (<i>Celastrus paniculata</i>).	Latex of <i>akhwan</i> is mixed with salt and applies. Both are mixed and grounded into paste and applies.
21. Dama (Asthma)	(a) Leaf of ishwar mul (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>) (b) Root of lajwanti/ chui mui (<i>Mimosa pudica</i>) and fruit of loto/mainphal (<i>Randia dumetorum</i>)	Firstly, young tender leafs are half dried in the sun ray and taken after food by chewing one leaf like betel leaf for a period of 12-15 days. Both are mixed and crushed into powder and mix with honey and taken about one teaspoon twice in a day.
22. High blood Pressure	(a) Fresh kunduri fruit (<i>Cephalandra indica</i>) and garlic (b) Yellow leaves of sahijan or drumstick (<i>Moringa oleifera</i>)	Fresh <i>kunduri</i> fruit is cut from middle put there a piece of garlic and chew the same in empty stomach at early morning. Yellow leaves of drumstick are cooked with molasses and taken in empty stomach at early morning.
23. Low blood pressure	(a) Leaves of charaigorba (b) Noni Sak (<i>Portulaca quadrifida</i>)	Young leaves are boiled and consumed as like tea. Leaves of it are prepared like a soup and taken twice in a day.
24. Masuro ka dard (Gum problem)	(i) Bark of kumbhi (<i>Carea arborea</i>) or Bark of amarbel (<i>Cuscuta reflexa</i>) (ii) Root of bhui champa (<i>Kaempferia rotunda</i>), kamraj (<i>Butteneria herbacea</i>) and bhengraj (<i>Eclipta alba</i>).	Bark is mixed with water and prepares a <i>karha</i> by boiling and the pour into mouth for rinse. All the three roots are mixed and ground and then as a paste applies.
25. Danth dard (Toothache)	(a) Root and Bark of koreya (<i>Holarrhena antidysenterica</i>)	After grinding of both with water it is applied to the affected tooth.

	(b) Root of ishwarmul (<i>Aristolochia indica</i>)	Fresh root is washed and chew in the mouth and juice with saliva is applied on the affected tooth.
26. Khujli (Eczyma)	Chirata/ kalmegh/mahamage plant (<i>Andrographis paniculata</i>).	The whole plant is soaked in water and water is consumed.
27. Khujli,boil and pimple with pain	Fruit of <i>pitrin</i> tree	The fruit is rubbed in a stone slab and the paste applies.
28. Piliya (Jaundice)	Seed of the fruit of <i>pitrin</i> tree	In case of <i>piliya</i> (or jaundice) the seeds of the fruit is used as series for wearing as necklace.
29. Ban bish gethia bath (Joints gout)	Leaves having twelve nodes, fruit of <i>ralli</i> , root of <i>ralli</i> , bark of <i>patnopa</i> , bark of <i>ashariya</i> , bark of <i>rohin</i> , <i>goalki</i> (black pepper-procure from local market), <i>anantamul</i> , bark of <i>chatni</i> and <i>jaiphal</i> (procure from market)	All these are cut into pieces and pounded and consume one teaspoon twice in a day.
30. Raat kana (Night blindness)	Ghogol (dove bird) available in the agricultural field	The sap collects from the anal region of <i>ghogol</i> and applies 6 to 8 drops in the eye for 3 to 4 times in a day.
31. Jhala pardho/ badhak (Irregular menstruation)	Bark of <i>rohini</i> , bark of <i>patnopa</i> , <i>semul</i> flower, <i>akhwan/akanda</i> flower, <i>mach kuda</i> fruit, <i>jaba phool</i> (china rose), root of <i>raipan</i> , <i>ashariya</i> and <i>kedar rahet</i> , seed of <i>kanoyek jang</i> (it is a creeper), <i>himsagar</i> (looks like a yellow leaf), root of <i>kend mahakkal</i> , <i>bansim</i> , <i>ban kapas</i> and <i>majur jhuti</i> root, flower of <i>parat</i> .	All these are mix and cut into pieces and pounded and then grinded to form tablet and consumed daily 2 to 3 times; non-vegetarian food is not allowed during this period and leafy vegetable- <i>purai</i> is also tabooed during this period.
32. Sardi-khasi (Cold and cough)	Leaves of <i>sajina</i> (<i>Moringa oleifera</i>), garlic (<i>Allium sativum</i>) and salt.	Leaves of <i>sajina</i> are boiled for prolong time and then its water is mix with salt and garlic and again boiled; after that the hot drink is consumed and get relief.

Mal Paharia as well as other local inhabitants in their vicinity depends on traditional medicinal plants for several reasons; of which the main ones are poverty, lack of availability of medical services in their rural area, which are secluded with poor communication. They are compelled to use traditional therapy through local medicinal practitioner or baid (*biropiyao*). The basic thrust of our study in this

arena is furthering understanding, awareness and importance of existing traditional healthcare practices among the Mal Paharia.

Conclusion

The health care practices among the Mal Paharia-a forest-hilly terrain dweller is chiefly dependent on local resources for ailment where their belief system plays a key role. The currents of globalization unable to penetrate into their deep rooted value system on beliefs and practices. Therefore, wide spread real education with adult night schools are required. This area of Mal Paharia is the den of malaria and kalazar prone but inmost cases they identify through their specialist as an effect of evil-eye of *jonkh* (malevolent spirit). Study also reveals that traditional medical practitioners among the Mal Paharia are more dependable and valuable resource for primary health care to communities. They stand in between communities and the divine beings. They are more respectable among the communities. Therefore, to implement modern health care practices one should not ignore their existing belief system and the dependable-respectable person of the community who is mediator between celestial and terrestrial world of belief system.

From the aforesaid discussion on empirical findings it can also be said that biological explanation of a disease among this tribal population, who are secluded, live in hilly-forest terrain, light of literacy is poor and burden with beliefs in celestial world, cannot delineate all about illness. There are several causes of illness as per their emic view where sprit, psychology as well as their cultural value systems are responsible which in turn affect body and mind of the people; and to overcome all these they chiefly depend on their immediate natural resources, i.e. application of various herbs, tubers, roots, leaves, fruits and flower of their vicinity. The application of various local herbs for ailment clearly suggests their great heritage of possession of traditional knowledge bank.

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