

## CHENCHU FOLK MEDICINE

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### ABSTRACT

The paper outlines the medical practices of the Chenchus, a tribal community of Andhra Pradesh. Drawing on earlier published material, and on the author's own research studies in the Achampet and Mannanur forests, it discusses the various folk remedies employed by the Chenchus in the treatment of a variety of ailments. Some twenty four conditions and their herbal remedies are discussed. The paper concludes with a discussion of hot and cold symbolism of the Chenchus, their spirit healing and the relation of the Chenchus to biomedicine.

The Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh are a group of Telugu-speaking people who inhabit the forested hills of the Nallamalai range, on both sides of the Krishna river, now a designated tiger sanctuary. Numbering about 18 thousand individuals, they indicate a diverse range of settlement patterns and economic activities. Many Chenchus in the Achampet and Amrabad districts work as agricultural labourers within multi-caste villages, while in the interior forest areas the majority of Chenchus still engage in hunting, subsistence food

gathering and the collection of minor forest produce, such as soapnuts, gum, honey and various medicinal plants. Until the opening-up of the Krishna Valley during the last four decades, the Chenchus had very little contact with the outside world, although they were by no means isolated. As with tribal cultures elsewhere the health-care system of the Chenchus combines empirical and magico-religious aspects, and as many live in remote settlements, they are still largely dependent on their own skills for the diagnosis and treatment

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of diseases. No detailed studies have yet been made on Chenchu ethno-medicine, apart from the preliminary surveys made by Haimendorf (1943)<sup>1</sup> in his pioneering ethnographic study, and by Hemalatha and Reddy (1982)<sup>2</sup> and Rao (1982)<sup>3</sup> in the Nallamalai foothills. The present paper is based on an extended tour of ten settlements in the Achampet and Mannanur forests, and incorporates data on folk remedies collected mainly in the Chenchu settlements at Chenchugudam, Banala, Farahabad and Macharam. For completeness the paper incorporates the curative methods denoted by the earlier observers.

## FOLK REMEDIES

### Fever

The roots of *taiat* (*Borassus flabellifer*), dried ginger, *sonti* (*Zingiber officinale*), black pepper, *miryalu* (*Piper nigrum*) and Bishops Weed, *vama* (*Trachyspermum ammi*) are grounded together, and the powder taken internally. A decoction of *margosa* bark (*Melia azadirachta*), the leaves of *nelavemu* (*Andrographis paniculata*) and *vishaboddi* (*Sida acuta*) is also used. A powder prepared from the burnt horn of a deer, *sundi bhasmam* is mixed with hot water and taken internally. Both Haimendorf and Ramana Rao recorded that abstention from food is often undertaken, and a decoction of dried ginger, black pepper, garlic,

jaggery and *sarsaparilla* (*Hemidesmus indicus*) is given to the patient. *Hemidesmus*, along with *Trachyspermum* and *Andrographis* are commonly used in Ayurveda to treat fevers, and it is of interest that the Chenchus use the term *jaram* to refer to fevers—a term of Sanskrit derivation. Hemalatha and Reddy note that if the fever does not respond to treatment, then it is believed to be due to fright or to sorcery of evil spirits. Incantations then have to be undertaken.

For malarial fever (*salijaram*) a remedy is prepared from garlic, *velluli* (*Allium sativum*), black pepper, and the leaves of *chinna mulaga* (*Solanum sp.\**).

### Colds and Cough (daggu)

A common remedy for coughs is prepared from the leaves and nuts of *penjittu* (*Marsdenia tenacissima*) and the fruits of *ogal* (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) and *tandra* (*Terminalia bellerica*). A powder is prepared and taken with honey. Rao records also the chewing of '*Racemosus*'-*phillitaga* (*Asparagus racemosus*). Hemalatha and Reddy noted the taking of turmeric water, and for severe colds, an infusion made from the charred powder of a peacock's leg. The juice of the burnt leaves of *jilledu* (*Calotropis gigantea*) is poured into the noses of young children with a cold

\* Probably Pinna—Mulaka (*Solanum Xanthocarpum*).

but often they do not bother about a running nose.

The Chenchus distinguish between dry (*puli*) and wet (*temada*) coughs, but remedies seem to apply to both. The commonest remedy is the simple chewing of salt and/or pepper. The fruit of *kara*, the myrobalan (*Terminalia chebula*) is also chewed, though it may be ground into powder and taken internally. A preparation made from the nutmeg, *jaji* (*Myristica fragrans*), *vamā* (*Trachyspermum ammi*), *chinna mulaga* (*Solanum sp.*) and cardamom, *yalukuru* (*Elattaria cardamomum*) is taken as a hot infusion. An infusion of the bark of *kolamukhi* (*Wrightia tomentosa*) is also used for coughs. Hemalatha and Reddy recorded that the juice of *tulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) is mixed with turmeric, *pasupu* (*Curcuma longa*) and after heating, is given. Both plants are widely employed in Ayurvedic medicine.

### Whooping Cough

This ailment does not seem to be distinguished by the Chenchus from other coughs (both referred to as *daggu*) but Hemalatha and Reddy recorded that a remedy is prepared by grinding musk, ox-gall, the leaves of *sadapaku* (*Ruta graveolens*), *juttapaku* (*Asclepius ethinata*) and cactus-probably *nagajemudu* (*Opuntia dilenii*) and given after heating. Incantations accompany this remedy, and the nut and fibre of *kanuga*

(*Pongamia glabra*) is tied around the patients' neck as protective medicine.

### Headache (thala noppi)

Remedies for headaches usually take the form of warm poultices placed on the head. The leaves of *nagaru* (*Premna tomentosa*); the pounded leaves of *vavili* (*Vitex negundo*) and the paste of dried ginger, *soni* (*Zingiber officinale*) are noteworthy. Rao records a warm poultice made from the leaf of *alantaku* (unidentified), while Hemalatha and Reddy recorded a paste prepared from the leaves of *nelavemu* (*Andrographis paniculata*), mustard seeds, pepper, and a wild variety of garlic *ontithellapaya* (possibly *Urginea sp.*); these are applied to the patients' forehead. The leaves of *sunkasaramu* (*Delonix elata*) is used similarly. For a mild headache incantations may be performed.

But severe headaches may be treated by burning of the painful area. The burning is done either with a charred cloth (milk or oil being placed on the site of the pain) or by the application of a burnt twig. The stem of the creeper *palatiga* (*Cryptolepis buchanani*), which is applied like sealing wax, is often used for the purpose. As Haimendorf long ago recorded, this form of treatment is widespread in Telugu region, and is not only used for headaches but for many other forms of internal pains and aches - twisted ankle, chest

pains during fever, rheumatic pains. As he writes 'the Chenchus have great faith in this remedy' (1943 : 151).

### Abdominal Pains (*kadupu noppi*)

A preparation made from *vama* (*Trachyspermum ammi*), and dried ginger, *soni* (*Zingiber officinale*) is taken internally. Similar remedies are made from the ground root of *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*) and black pepper, *miriyalu* (*Piper nigrum*), and the roots of *podapatri* (*Gymnema sylvestre*) and *Chiruboddi* (*Cissampelos pareira*) respectively. All are taken as an infusion from the mixed, pounded ingredients. Flatulence is relieved by drinking an infusion of black pepper, ginger root and the ground bark of *juturuga* (unidentified). Rao notes that abdominal pains are treated by taking *vama* with salt, or chilli seeds, *mirapa* (*Capsicum annum*) mixed with hot water. Perhaps, he suggests, this induces a motion, and thus relieves the pain. Flatulence he suggests is relieved by the drinking of 'Takkelam juice', *takkolamu* (*Clerodendrum phlomidis*).

The treatment of vomiting (*vanthi*) seems to be widely administered by the taking of the burnt ashes of peacock feathers and the leaves of *mari* (*Ficus bengalensis*), mixed with honey.

Diarrhoea and loose motions (*balupetuta*) are treated by an infusion of the pounded bark of

*naramamidi* (*Polyalthia congifolia*), while Hemalatha & Reddy noted also that children are given an infusion of the wild grass *parpatakamu* (unidentified). Dysentery (*chimubitika*) is treated with a paste prepared from grinding the leaves of *bankathuttara* (*Triumfetta rhomboidea*) and *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*). Both plants have astringent properties. By contrast constipation is treated with any of the following remedies: *vama* with salt; a mixture of cow urine and castor oil (*Ricinus communis*); the juice of the Soapnut, *kunkudu* (*Sapindus trifoliatus*); the leaf of senna, (*Cassia angustifolia*) which has purgative properties.

### Menstrual Pains

A decoction of the leaves of *nelagodimi* (*Sicstemma littoralis*), pepper, and the bulb of a wild garlic is taken with jaggery.

### Childbirth

G. P. Reddy (1961)<sup>4</sup> noted that shortly after birth, the mother is given a decoction (kashayam), prepared from boiling the leaves of certain trees such as *vepachakka*, the neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*) and *nelavemu* (*Andrographis paniculata*) along with garlic and pepper. Women of a settlement near Farahabad indicated that, on the third day after birth, the mother is given an infusion consisting of the pounded barks of the following trees, *kunghu*

(*Euonymus atropurpureus*), *kunkudu* (*Sapindus trifoliatus*), *kanuga* (*Pongamia glabra*) and *neelamari* (probably *Ficus bengalensis*), together with the roots of an unidentified plant, *burajemadi*. Pregnant women were said to avoid the meat of the wild boar.

To effect an abortion the Chenchus use *papai* fruit (*Carica papaya*) and *asafoetida* (*Ferula foetida*), the latter a widely used aromatic herb.

### Aphrodisiacs

The Chenchus have strong beliefs about the efficacy of certain roots and leaves as aphrodisiacs. There are certain Chenchu herbalists who have a wide reputation for treating impotency in men. It is of interest that six out of the eleven herbs described to G P Reddy (1961)<sup>4</sup> were aphrodisiacs. The commonest remedy used for this purpose is the tuber of an unidentified herb, *motasiri*, which is boiled in milk, then dried and powdered and eaten daily to increase potency. Interestingly onions, *ulli* (*Allium cepa*) are believed to increase potency, while garlic *velluli* (*Allium sativum*) is thought to reduce potency - though both herbs belong to the same genus. The following plants are used as aphrodisiacs; the bark of *ratnapushyar* (possibly *Poinciana pulcherrima*), the nutmeg *jaji* (*Myristica fragrans*), cardamom *yalukuru* (*Elettaria cardamomum*), leaves of mace, *japathri*

(*Cinnamomum iners*), and a coconut. All are ground to powder and taken with sugar. Of the six plants noted by Reddy, only one can be tentatively identified, *nemali* (*Holoptelia integrifolia*). Rao records that the tuberous root of *phillitaga* (*Asparagus racemosus*) is believed to make a man impotent. Barrenness in women is treated with the leaves of *pulichinta* (*Oxalis corniculata*) and *gogu* (*Salvadora persica*).

Both Rao and Reddy stressed that knowledge of aphrodisiacs is largely confined to older people, and that remedies are often obtained from itinerant medicants. To guarantee affection on the part of one's spouse 'secret medicines' (Marugu mandulu) may be employed.

### Venereal Diseases (sukharogam)

It has been suggested that the incidence of venereal disease among the Chenchus has increased in recent years, particularly since the opening of a road from Mannanur to Srisailam in 1958. This led to illicit sexual relations between labourers from the plains and Chenchu women. Rao suggested that the Chenchus did not have any effective remedy for these ailments, and what herbal remedies they did have were ineffective. He noted however that syphilis was treated with the juice of the creeper *donda* (*Coccinia indica* or *Momordica monodelphia*), the affected lymph gland being burned with *Amaranthus spi-*

*nosus* roasted with oil. For gonorrhoea a powder was prepared from the bark of *tellatusi* (tulasi) (*Ocimum sanctum*), and *garugu* (*Garuga pinnata*), nutmeg and cardamom, and this taken internally by the patient with sugar. As a treatment for general urinary infections, especially haematuria, Rao notes that the Chenchus use the sediment derived from the boiled leaves of *Menispermum hirsutum*.

### Skin Infections

Scabies referred to as either *pundu* (ulcer) or *gaji* (itch) is very common among the Chenchus, particularly children. There are two main remedies. One involved mixing the leaves of *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*) with sulphur powder bought locally; the other the grinding and mixing together of the bark of *gumpena* (*Lannea coromandelica*) and the leaves of *biludu* (*Chloroxylon swietenia*) and *naling* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*). Both remedies were applied externally. Reddy writes of *nellavai* being powdered and mixed with oil and used as an application for skin diseases. Rao suggested that as scabies seemed to be so widespread—especially among children—that they had no effective remedy, but records that the roots of *chitramulam* (*Plumbago zeylanica*) are cooked with jawar (Sorghum) seeds, and the decoction drunk. Hemalatha and Reddy noted that the inner part of *chedupuccha* fruit (*Citrullus cococyn-*

*this*) is used as an external application for itch and other skin infections. Ringworm (*chelidi*) is treated with the juice of *berme* or *verripucha*.

### Smallpox

As with other communities in South India the Chenchus associate smallpox with various female deities, and the disease is often referred to as *ammathalli* or *Peddama* (big mother). There are several other village deities, *Lingamma*, *Balamma* and *Yellamma* and other writers have mentioned *Poleramma* and *Maisamma* as being causative agents of this disease. No medicines are usually given, although Hemalatha and Reddy noted that when the blisters appear a paste prepared by grinding *neem* leaves, turmeric and salt is applied to the body, and a head-bath given to the patient. Sacrificial offerings to these deities are made in the March festivities.

### Rheumatic Pains

General aches and pains are referred to by the Chenchus as *noppulu* or *noppi* and then tend to be localised, e.g. *kila noppulu* (joint pains), *thala noppi* (headache). For general body pains the leaves of *wuruga* (*Heliotropium indica*) and *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*) are heated on stones and applied as a compact to the aching parts. Aching joints are treated in the same fashion, as well as with an oil extracted from the seeds of *jeedi*, the cashew nut (*Anacardium*

*occidentale*). For Rheumatic pains and backache the oil of *valkadola* (*Antiaris toxicaria*) is used. An infusion made from the leaves of *maidaku* (*Lawsonia inermis*), *vama*, and cumin seed, *jelikara* (*Cuminum cyminum*), is also noted as a remedy for rheumatism. Rao notes the juice of *Cucumis colocynthes* leaves, and a paste obtained from the boiled roots of *chitramulam* (*Plumbago zeylanica*) or *erra chitramulam* (*P. rosea*) are applied over the affected joints and also used as a remedy for rheumatic pains. For sprains (*Benuku*) the fibre of the creeper *marapudunara* (*Bauhinia vahlii*) is bound around the sprained area for three or four days as a relief.

### Bone Fractures

Informants suggested that, fractures were invariably treated by transporting the patient to a local hospital, but Hemalatha & Reddy recorded that a paste prepared by grinding the bark of *gumpena* (*Lannea coromandelica*), *menthulu* (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*), and turmeric is applied to the affected part which is tied with bamboo slats.

### Roundworms/Tapeworms

Rao writes that worm infections are rare among the Chenchus. However, if they are infected they eat the leaf or take the juice of the ornamental tree *devadri* (*Cedrus deodara*), which expels the worms. For anaemia, the boiled leaf of *mundla gebbi* (*Barleria prionitis*), which is a good

source of iron, is taken. Hemalatha and Reddy recorded that a powder prepared by pounding the seeds of *moduga* (*Butea monosperma*) is given as a worm remedy.

### Wounds and Burns

All observers have noted the widespread use among the Chenchus of the pounded bark of *gumpena* (*Lannea coromandelica*) as a compact to stop bleeding and infection in wounds (*pundulu*). It is thought to have 'disinfectant' properties. The leaves of *tuma* (*Acacia arabica*) and turmeric paste is also used as a wound dressing, as is the soft portion of bamboo. For burns (*kalindi*) the leaves of *kolamuka* are boiled, and mixed with coconut oil, and applied as a remedy. Haimendorf notes (1943: 152) that serious wounds are treated with a paste of saffron mixed with the crushed leaves of *Cloroxylon swietenia*. It is applied thickly over the wound, and seems to contain healing properties.

### Heart Ailments (gunde noppi)

The fruit of *kara* (*Terminalia chebula*), was ground into powder, and taken internally.

### Snake/Scorpion Bite

Although Rao suggests that there are no effective remedies for snake bite, Hemalatha and Reddy recorded that the juice of the leaves of *thummi* (*Leucas aspera*) is poured into the nose, and that a paste made from the

bark of *nagamusti* (*Strychnos colubrinalis*) is also given. Incantations over the patients are often made. Rao notes that scorpion bites are successfully treated with the oil derived from the Chenchu's favourite food, the monitor lizard. He noted also the herb *chila* (*Strychnos potatorum*) being used. Wounds sustained through a dog bite are treated by applications of charcoal powder and *nalleru* (*Vitis quadrangularis*) or the paste of *panasa* (*Artocarpus integrifolia*).

### Toothache

Rao recorded that the seeds of *nelamulaga* (*Solanum jacquinii*) are heated in a bamboo tube, and the smoke inhaled. It is believed that this will cause the 'worms' to come out of the tooth. The seeds of the allied species, the wild brinjal, *challamulaga* (*Solanum xanthocarpum*) is applied to an affected tooth.

### Sore Eyes (kanti kiwachindi)

The seeds of *kanuga* (*Pongamia glabra*) is rubbed on stones and the latex applied to the eyes. Human urine is also used to soften the pus in conjunctivitis. Other remedies include: the powder of the creeper *Roxburgia giorioseides*, which is apt to be painful, the application of the milky juice of a *Ficus* sp, and a fomentation of tamarind leaf, and the juice extracted from the leaves of *donda* (*Coccinia indica*). With respect to children a mixture of castor oil, mother's milk and a small quantity of turmeric paste is applied to the effected eyes.

### Epilepsy and Fits

To restore consciousness caused by epilepsy or fits a number of remedies are applied to the nose—a leaf infusion of *magabeera* (*Amisomelos malabarica*) with pepper, the heated leaves of betel and *kada jemudu* (*Euphorbia tirucalli*), an ointment made from gingelly oil, and a snuff made from the Indian geranium are among those mentioned. As fits (*soma*) are believed to be due to evil spirits, incantations are also performed.

### Jaundice

A paste of leaves from *nelavusiri* (*Phyllanthus niruri*) is given with milk or buttermilk. Hemalatha and Reddy also recorded that a mark (*rakshaleyuta*) is made on the wrist in the form of fine metals (*panchacoha*) and copper sulphate (*mailthutham*).

### Vitiligo (kristaverdi)

The roots of *adavi tulasi* (*Ocimum canum*), *neelamari* (*Ficus bengalensis*, and *manchi dondo* (*Coccinia indica*), and the bark of *vishamusti* (*Strychnos nux-vomica*), *muc-hitanki* (*Drospyros montana*) and *devadaru* (*Cedrus deodara*) are pounded together, and the resultant powder infused and applied to the skin. Leprosy *pedarogum* (big disease) was not mentioned by the informants.

### Boils (Kurupu)

A paste prepared from the ground leaves of *badisa* (*Erythrina varie-*



*gata*), turmeric and salt is applied to the boils. Heated clay may also be used.

#### Earache (chavu noppi)

Human milk mixed with the soft stem of *veduru (Bamboosa bambos)* and warmed on the fire, is applied externally to the ear. Hemalatha and Reddy noted, the juice of unidentified plant *kamma ganjera* is used in a similar manner.

#### DISCUSSION

Although the Chenchus have historically been associated with rather remote forests and until recently had little contact with the outside world, they have nevertheless long been in touch with this world—both through the marketing of minor forest produce and through the Chenchu's association with the Srisailam temple. Their ethnomedicine reflects this long historical contact, even if it was intermittent and tenuous, for much of their folk nomenclature, both in terms of disease categories and in their plant names, reflects a Sanskrit influence. For example the term *nalng*, which refers to *Hibiscus cannabinus*, probably derives from the sanskrit *nali*, while *valkadola (Antiaris toxicaria)* is derived from *valkala*. Similarly many disease concepts indicate the influence of the wider culture. The use of burning as a remedy for headaches and rheumatic pains, also shows similarity with the belief systems of surround-

ing cultures, and a pervasive hot/cold symbolism is evident among the Chenchus—as it is among many other cultures. There is a belief that certain foods are heat producing, and by exhausting the body system, make the person prone to disease. Cold producing foods, on the other hand cool the body, and increase energy, but they are not however suitable for persons suffering from colds or coughs. A resume of this hot/cold dictotomy is given below :

Cold Producing Foods :	Heat Producing Foods :
Ragi	Brinjal
Buttermilk	Chillies
Cucumbers	Cannabis
Gourds	Deer
Tomatoes	Nilgai
Monitor lizard	Elk
Porcupine	
Fish	

It was said by one informant that heat 'will cause many diseases'.

In discussions with Ayurvedic doctors attached to the Tribal Welfare Mobile Medical Unit the main ailments afflicting the Chenchus are as follows: malnutrition, scabies, tuberculosis, malaria, wounds and cuts, fever, coughs and colds, seasonal diarrhoea / dysentery and rheumatic pains. Although malaria was formerly 'rampant' in the Nallamalai forests it is now much less prevalent

though still a serious problem in some villages. Fevers, scabies and rheumatic pains were mentioned by most Chenchus, and during the winter December - January, seasonal food shortages often become acute. In his report on the nutritional status of the Chenchus D R Pratap (1973)<sup>5</sup> stressed the importance of foraging and hunting in shaping the Chenchu diet, the wide seasonal variations in the caloric and protein intake, and the fact that during the rains their caloric intake was 39% deficient. At other times their diet was better than the average Indian diet, though there was a deficiency of Vitamin A, fats and calcium. The nutritional status of children under five, and of pregnant and lactating mothers, he described as serious. Besides the ailment noted above Pratap<sup>5</sup> also noted eye infections, and constipation, and suggested that venereal diseases were very common. Leprosy was rare.

Much of the folk remedies described above belong to what Arthur Kleinman (1980)<sup>6</sup> has described as the 'popular' sector of a health care system, the beliefs and therapies shared by members of a community. Thus much therapy among the Chenchus is done by self-medication, or treatment by knowledgeable herbalists within the community. Often such herbalists establish for themselves a reputation within a locality, and are visited also by non-Chenchus seeking therapy, to consult them from afar,

especially high caste people seeking a cure for vitiligo. But the two other sectors of Chenchu health care are also important—the folk and professional—though few research studies have been made on these aspects of Chenchu ethnomedicine.

The practical remedies mentioned above are utilised for curing external injuries and for the treatment of a wide variety of ailments. But if an illness is of a chronic nature or does not respond to these empirical remedies, then its cause may be attributed to the malevolence of a diety or the angered *jiv* (soul) of a deceased relative. During a serious illness therefore, a divinatory rite may be conducted, to ascertain which deity is responsible for the patients condition. Both women and men act as diviners, and as Haimendorf writes, divination is employed for no other purposes than the curing of sickness or speeding the delivery of a child (1943:200). Chenchus believe that the spirits of deceased relatives wish to be remembered by food offerings, and that if this is neglected, then the malevolent ghost (*dayam*) will inflict misfortune on his or her kin. Propitiations to deities or deceased relatives, in the form of curing rites, are therefore an essential aspect of Chenchu medical practices. But if an illness does not respond to folk remedies or supernatural appeal, then evil magic may be suspected although as Haimendorf suggests,

the Chenchus conception of this tends to be somewhat vague. The Chenchu medicine thus implies both a personalistic and a naturalistic disease etiology (Foster and Anderson 1978)<sup>1</sup>. The use of charms, incantations and shamanistic seances (*orika*) i, therefore an important aspect of Chenchu medical practices. Reddy (1961) mentions several medicines that are used to ward-off malevolent spirits, and the use of turmeric as a protection against the 'evil eye'.

But recourse is also made by the Chenchu to folk healers outside the community. They often purchase *peddamandu* (big medicine) for fevers and other ailments, and *balinta* (childbirth) medicines from wandering

*mandulas* or *bhatraj* traders. Other Chenchu may consult *Yerukulas* - a tribal community who are reputed to be fortune tellers.

Towards professional medicine the Chenchus have no marked aversion, although they tend to consult allopathic and Ayurvedic mainly with respect to serious or chronic ailments. Chenchus from the more remote forests not infrequently attend the mobile medical units at Mannanur and Kondanagula, where they receive treatment from Ayurvedic doctors. A typical day's treatment at one such mobile dispensary run by the Tribal Welfare Department (January 1986) was as follows :

Disease (Sanskrit)	English	Number of Patients Treated
<i>abhigat</i>	wounds	2
<i>kasa</i>	coughs	4
<i>vatashula</i>	rheumatic pains	11
<i>netra</i>	eye ailments	6
<i>cherma roga</i>	scabies/skin infection	1
<i>jwar</i>	fever	2
<i>swasa</i>	asthma/open cough	2
<i>karna shula</i>	ear infection	4
		Total 32

The ailments treated correspond to those frequently mentioned by the forest Chenchus themselves - scabies, coughs, fevers, and rheumatic pains.

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## सारांश

## चेञ्चु फोक मेडिसिन

ब्रियन मोरिस

इस लेख में आन्ध्र प्रदेश की एक जनजाती "चेञ्चु" द्वारा प्रयुक्त चिकित्सा कर्मों की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की गई है। पूर्व प्रकाशित सामग्री तथा स्वयं लेखक द्वारा अच्चमपेट एवं मन्नानूर के जंगलों में किये गये अध्ययन के आधार पर विभिन्न रोगों की चिकित्सा में चेञ्चुओं द्वारा अपनाये गये जनश्रुति उपचारों का विस्तृत विवेचन यहां किया गया है। अन्त में इस चेञ्चु जाती के मतानुसार शीत व उष्ण सम्बन्धित सिद्धान्तों, दैवी चिकित्सा तथा आयुर्विज्ञान के साथ चेञ्चुओं के सम्बन्ध का उल्लेख किया गया है।