TRADITIONAL MEDICINAL PLANT USE IN MODERN QUEPOAN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

"Con pasion miremos las plantas / con amor acaricie su flor / con pena arranquemos sus hojas / con fe tomemos su preparacion."

--*Las Plantas,* by Osvaldo E. Perez R., Ecuador (San Jose, Costa Rica).

Costa Rica is a relatively small country (almost 51,000 square kilometers), but in spite of its size, Costa Rica encompasses twelve ecological zones and contains five percent of all known species (flora and fauna) on earth. The flora of Costa Rica is particularly rich, with over 9,000 species of "higher plants." (Baker, Christopher. **Costa Rica Handbook**, 1996:XXII; 14) Walking through the country's preserved forest lands and national parks bears witness to these facts; the stunning variety of plants growing and intertwining seems almost excessive, yet wonderous in the vegetative diversity. When spending time in the high mountain cloud forests, such as the Monteverde area, one is immersed in the green wetness of the earth's vitality and a sense of evolution from early life beginnings. It is easy to loose onesself in the forest's timelessness, pondering the ancient knowledge of people who once lived their lives within the forest, and creating future visions of rediscovery and renewed understanding of this natural abundance.

From the mountaintop forest preserves of Monteverde, the landscape of the road down to the central pacific coast is greatly altered by human activity—farming and cattle grazing. After many terraced hillsides of crops and cattle, one reaches the coast that is lined with urban activity, from the port city of Puntarenas to the tourist center of Quepos. The city of Quepos is next door to the *playas* and wildlife of Parque Nacional Manuel Antonio, which is a very small area of protected forest and beaches. The land around Manuel Antonio, however, is practically devoid of forest—it is an area of palm plantations and agriculture, and Quepos itself is lacking in greenery. Being aware of the general plantation-turned-tourism history of Quepos, and the absence of obvious wild plant abundance and diversity, I wanted to find out how people utilized the natural environment of the area in their use of plants. Although the area was only greatly developed and settled in the twentieth century, I was interested to explore the local people's knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the use of plants for preventative and healing medicine. What, I questioned, is the interaction between people and useful plants in Costa Rica, site of some of the earth's most diverse and vital vegetation? How are medicinal plants approached in Quepos in particular, and have changes occurred in people's relationships to plants (knowledge, use, cultivation, etc.) due to contextual factors of the Quepos region?

The plant that is growing by the sidewalk near my house

Why medicinal plants? I went into this research with the realization that within a time frame of 4-5 weeks, it would not be wise to attempt an apprenticeship-style approach to plant use—something that develops over years and constant living within the environment. Also, a tricky combination of language barriers and the realms of spirits and metaphysics made it difficult

for me to approach certain areas of natural healing. Yet, in a society, the knowledge, perceptions, and use of plants by the general public—*el pueblo*—is an important part of folk culture, and necessary to understand when examining the dynamics of traditional plant use and lifestyle changes within the area. The use of plants as medicine, I discovered through conversations, follows a pattern that reflects the patterns of people's lives. It forms a direct link between the environmental context and the way people live within their space. It is a link between physical and cultural areas, relying on what grows in the dirt as much as on the growth of knowledge across and through generations.

When I first told my host mother here in Quepos that I was interested in studying medicinal plants, she thought for a moment and then said, "there's a plant right outside, come see," and we went outside to a place where some plants are growing by the sidewalk. One of the bushes had dark green, three-pointed leaves, and green berries that grew from fuzzy stems. "This plant is good for the stomach," she told me. You make tea from a few leaves and only one berry, she explained, for the stomach, kidneys, and ulcers. "*Frailecillo*," she called it. I thought it was interesting that this bush was right out on the sidewalk, not in somebody's garden or being particularly cared for. Later the plant's name came up in conversations with other people; also, it is one of the plants listed in a box of packaged tea for "gastritis and ulcers" sold at a local grocery store. Although my host mother doesn't grow medicinal plants herself, she is aware enough of her local environment that she was able to show me a few bushes and trees growing in the neighborhood—the barrio of Boca Vieja—that can be used for medicinal purposes. Her knowledge is typical of that of many of the people I spoke with about medicinal plant use, who carried as part of their knowledge of the area the names and uses of certain locally common plants. These people are not herbal doctors or known as experts in the community, rather, they are parents and grandmothers, salespeople, and teachers. The knowledge and ideas about plant and herb use was often presented to me as something passed through the mothers in families, and the traditional folk knowledge reflects cultural communication. For example, many people say that "oregano con leche" is good for children's chest colds. Milk actually increases mucus production and is not good for colds, but the direct translation "oregano and milk" does not transmit the subtlety that milk is mentioned less as part of the medicine but more as an emphasis on using it for children, and for its calming effects when warm. These types of cultural contexts of verbal communication and localized environmental awareness within the community were part of my discoveries when communicating with people about medicinal plants.

METHODOLOGY

Beginning work on collecting information about plant use, I had a few concerns with the way in which I felt it would be correct to approach people in my research. As in much of Central and South America, Costa Rica has a tradition in the realms of herbal healing and "wise people" which gives depth and breadth to modern forms of medicine and faith in a predominantly Catholic society. I did not know, however, the extent to which the traditional medicine is involved in people's lives, and how open people would be to discussing the use of plants in such healing. I did not know if I would have access to anyone who acted as a natural healer in the area.

I began my research from the most comfortable place I found: the home and neighborhood I was living in. Boca Vieja is a small neighborhood about a ten-minute walk from

the center of Quepos. I was first introduced to the mother of a family friend, who lives across the street from my house. She was very knowledgeable about local plants and uses in home remedies, from teas to poultices to curing earaches. In her garden she showed me over a dozen different plants, which she used and which neighbors would come to her for on occasion. Through her, I was able to familiarize myself with the local names of different herbs and plants that would reappear as I talked to more people in the area. I created a list of plants that I found would sometimes stimulate people's memories and they would add more plants that they knew of to the list. After a few weeks of research, I had compiled a list of over fifty medicinal plants (Appendix 1) that people had told me of—many of which were repeated multiple times.

The research methods that I employed were non-probability techniques of judgmental, convenience, and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling is a random approach that potentially opens the sampling to many different types of people. Combined with a judgmental technique, I was able to meet people who acted as instigators of a sampling "snowball," that is, a chain of informants. The mother in my household was such a person. I was able to talk with about twenty people, sometimes on multiple occasions, who came from different perspectives and walks of life. I spoke to a few grandmothers in the neighborhood, younger people who worked in stores, a woman who teaches biology in the local high school, street venders, an old wise-man in the community, and an herbalist.

I conducted interviews that sometimes became one or two-hour conversations, and others that were quick and spontaneous, in which I kept "head notes." Often people understood what I meant by "plantes medicinales," but they didn't respond with any information from their personal lives. When I asked them further about plants they used for teas or home remedies for colds, cough, or headaches, they generally began to tell me plants that they would use, or knew about, or their mothers used to use. When people understood that I was interested in local and common plants, not necessarily plants that are studied by biologists in the forest, I was told of many plants that are indigenous and part of local folk healing.

The reason I found it interesting to talk to different sorts of people in the general public was that I was able to gather information on knowledge that is common to many people in the area. Overall, the people who did not claim to hold any special knowledge in the field of medicinal plant use told me of more plants and natural remedies that they sometimes used or their family used than did the people who were specialists in the field. For example, the herbalist with whom I spoke on two occasions was reluctant to speak with me about plants, even those she was selling in her shop. But over the course of my research, friends of the family I lived with who knew I was interested in traditional medicinal plant use would come over with a book or pamphlet they owned, and a remedy or two that they knew of. Also, in listening to conversations among people, I was able to pick up on information about teas and remedies that were passed verbally, especially between mothers.

Traditional Remedies and Modern Medicine

In conducting my research, I found a common opinion among people that they knew about certain plants for teas and healing, but the hospital, pharmacy, and medical services of the Seguridad Social were a first choice when needing health care. A man that I spoke with, who lives in Boca Vieja and has young children, explained to me that "regular" doctors are not necessarily better, but the cure is usually faster and is fewer hassles than finding an herbal specialist or using a homeopathic doctor. He mentioned the prescriptions of a doctor and the

speedy cure, like an injection, for children as a sort of security that the medicine will help. His comment was interesting because he was also ready to impart the names of certain medicinal plants that are commonly used in the area. When I asked him how he knew of these plants, he responded that it is common knowledge; that everyone who lives in these tropics knows about these plants. The *campesinos*, he said, know more because in the rural areas it is harder to get to a hospital. But here (in Quepos), he explained, it is easier to go to the doctor.

On multiple occasions, informants whom I spoke with echoed the opinion that people around Quepos generally prefer to use the state-provided health care system than rely on plants for medicine. Two women told me that people in Quepos will go to the hospital for anything, even a headache. For many people, I was told, it's like an outing, a way to take a trip out of town, and they like to go and get a checkup or an injection. At the same time, often when I spoke with people about medicinal plants, they would name a few herbal remedies for common illnesses such as stomach problems, colds, and anemia, and either tell me about or show me a little book or pamphlet that they had about herbal medicine. Many people used relaxing herbs for teas, combining European plants such as mint and chamomile with leaves of trees such as the *naranjo agrio*. Others would refer to their mother or family who lived out in the country, or in the mountains, and had more knowledge. However, the general feeling that I received was that with the presence of the hospital and medicine from the social services, less interest and emphasis was placed on using plants as primary medicine.

Although the emphasis in Quepos appears to be on pharmaceuticals and "western" medicine, there is a wide variety of packaged medicinal teas in the supermarket, and people have certain general knowledge and are able to identify plants for specific uses. When I spoke to a grandmother in the community, she told me that in her mother's time, plants were used much more in everyday life. The process and tradition of actual plant use has not passed down strongly to the younger generations, even though people have a general awareness of the plants. For example, a woman I spoke to who is in her thirties told me that her mother, who lives in the mountains of San Vito, is the one who uses plants, and used them with her when she was a child. This woman lives in Quepos and cannot be bothered to find or grow the plants herself, but if her mother would make her a tea, she said she would certainly drink it. This sense of ambivalence towards plant use in younger people makes sense in the locality of Quepos. There is a botanical store in town which sells a basic variety of mild medicinal plants, and the woman who works there said that people go to the hospital first, but when those medicines don't work, they always come back to her in the end. That is, people use modern medicine, but the process of natural medicine is still an underlying tradition and healing method. The fact that plant knowledge is not being passed on as strongly in Quepos as in more rural areas seems to mirror the modernization and influx of conveniences in the city, and its distance from forest wilderness.

Dynamics of Knowledge

The folk tradition of plant knowledge is evident in Quepos not so much as a primary care system, but as I said previously, as an underlying and sometimes supplementary area of care and healing. I often asked the question when speaking to people of whether plant knowledge was widespread among the people. The answer I mostly received was that today, in Quepos, it is not very strong, but more so in the mountains and countryside. One person, however, told me that people do know things, and she said that she hears people talking about plant medicine everywhere—at the bus stop, in the hospital waiting room, on the street. But, she added, this

does not mean that they actually use the information. I have witnessed this in the home that I am living in. One day the baby was taken to the doctor because he was not eating, and was diagnosed with mild anemia. The mother came home with a bottle of iron supplement, but that evening she and a neighbor were discussing the plant *Cocolmeca* as being good for curing anemia, and how to make a tea of it for children. However, she is still using the iron supplement from the doctor.

Information on plant use is not readily available to the general public in Quepos by any other means than sharing information between people. I was told that there are no classes or workshops for people on native plant use. There is one small bookstore in town that sells two or three books on medicinal plants, and healthy cooking. Yet, almost every person I spoke with told me that they have a little book that they often showed me or let me borrow. I found out that they usually get these in San Jose, where poor people sell them on the street or on buses. These booklets have titles such as "Medicina Natural," "Preparacion Casera de Remedios," and "El Medico de Su Casa." They are written by *doctores naturistas* and *naturopatas*. These pamphlets are passed between homes and neighbors and it is very common for people to have one or two, just as many people own a pamphlet or two from Jehovah Witnesses or Hare Krishnas. But they are read, and sometimes used, and people's common knowledge is reflected in the books. Sometimes the books have different sections and include folk remedies that may be medicinally questionable (such as poultices of carrot for breast tumors) but also sections about plants and teas with documented medicinal qualities. Along with these books, there are magazines and people's almanacs that have sections on medicinal plants, home remedies, and general home health.

The pharmacy in town does not carry natural medicine, nor do people go there in search of it. The pharmacist was only able to recommend the local botanical shop to me, which sells more organic spices and food products than medicinal herbs. Although the pharmacy carries high quality pharmaceuticals, there is no place in Quepos where people can purchase medicines such as natural antibiotics. Most people recommend going to the central market in San Jose for shops of only herbs and roots for medicine, and San Jose also for naturopathic doctors. An informant who has experienced intensive curing through herbal medicine in different areas of the country and South America told me that people in Quepos, especially the younger generation, simply do not focus their energy on learning about natural medicine as a part of daily life. She learned through her mother and grandmother, and that is how the information is usually passed down. Because the information is transmitted mostly verbally, sometimes one hears slight variations on a plant's name. For example, there is an indigenous plant that people know of as good for skin irritations and insect bites, and can also be taken internally. It is called *Saragundi,* but I was also told about it as *Sarangodil,* just a bit different. In terms of home remedies and use of local plants, mothers are the people with most knowledge because they are constantly caring for the common illnesses of children, which is when information is exchanged.

Within the neighborhood, common plants are traded between people's homes; for example, a friend would bring over some *hierba buena* (spearmint) or take home some *tilo* for a bedtime drink. Sometimes in the vegetable stores in town bunches of fresh chamomile, thyme, and rosemary are for sale. Otherwise, people often mentioned the botanical shop in town. Local people spoke about it with some ambivalence, as it is very expensive by local standards, and much of what they sell, such as mint and lemongrass, is commonly grown by people in their yards. However, the shop sells some wild-harvested roots and seeds that are from the forest and thus are

more readily available for people to use. The only other source of herbal medicine available to the general public in Quepos is packaged teas, which are produced domestically, and are sold in blends for colds, digestion, high blood pressure, kidneys, colitis, constipation, etc. (Appendix 2). Ingredients in the tea blends are often a combination of indigenous plants such as those I had been told about by local people, and introduced plants such as mint, oregano, and elder flower.

Brujas* and *Curanderos

A fellow student of mine in Quepos was in the *barrio* of Playa Cocal one day, doing research, and found himself sitting in the house of a family having a conversation. He told me that suddenly someone pointed to a small sack that was hanging from a rafter of the ceiling, and said "that's medicine." They brought the sack down and took out a small piece of wood. He thought they were showing him some sort of strange shamanic tool. Then they stripped a piece of the bark and chewed on it, and offered him some. He denied, not wanting to get involved. "*Hombre grande*," they said. "Good for the stomach."

Hombre grande is a local tree that has multiple uses. A tincture of the bark makes a good insect repellant. The bark is very bitter, and a home remedy to stop babies from breast-feeding is to put a bit of the extract on the nipples. Finally, it is ingested to kill amoebas and parasites, something that people in the tropics must do on a regular basis. Thus, *Hombre grande* is a common plant used by people in the area. What was different about the experience of the family in Cocal was the way in which they handled the medicine. Why was it hanging from the rafter, for instance? Was there some sort of spiritual protection involved or was that just a traditional way of storing the tree bark? The areas of herbal medicine overlap in certain ways with forms of spirit work and metaphysical healing. As I spoke with various people, sometimes it was suggested to me that I find a *brujo* or *bruja* (witch doctor)—at times said in jest, and at times in complete seriousness.

A woman that I spoke with explained to me that people who cure with plants are often referred to as *brujos*, but it is a mistake to call them that. People who are herbal doctors are really known as *curanderos*, and they are the people who will prepare medicine, give you plants, and teas. *Brujos*, as one person said to me, "work with candles." I was told that many *brujos* are found in San Jose and that area of the country. *Curanderos* are more known to be in the southern mountainous area, like San Vito and Talamanca, where there are indigenous Indian reserves.

When I went to speak with the wise-man in the community, who was suggested to me by a local woman, he did not speak much about his knowledge of medicinal plants or healing, although he is known in the community for his skills. Although he has lived in Quepos for many years, he is a native of Nicaragua and told me that he studied with the indigenous Misquitos people there. Although he knows medicine, he said that he doesn't help people anymore because they never paid him back. Amidst speaking a lot about the changes in people's attitudes and lack of respect in general, he made the statement, "*yo no soy un brujo*" ("I am not a witch"). He was a *curandero*, and made it clear that he did not want any confusion about it.

Another person whom I had the opportunity to speak with told me of a *bruja* living in Quepos, whom I decided not to visit for various reasons. When my informant realized that I was focusing my study on medicinal plant use, she told me of a *curandero* whom she is planning to visit in the mountains of Talamanca. He is an indigenous man who is known as being very good, but it is very hard to get to him in the mountains. There are no other *curanderos* in this area, largely because there are very few people living in Quepos who have very old roots here (the

Spanish all but obliterated the Quepoa Indians, and the banana plantation all but razed the land). *Curanderos*, I was told, are good, and cure people, but they generally will not talk about what they do or use.

When I was in the mountains of Monteverde, I was also told by a local naturalist that the people who use medicinal plants, such as *curanderos*, will not talk about the plants they use. They especially will not talk to foreigners. The reason, he told me, is that many people will come to exploit the knowledge, to learn about the plants without the methods, or to steal the information. The same rationality was used when I was told about the *curandero* in Talamanca: the information is protected, and the government also does not want foreign involvement with the indigenous plants. In the cloud forest of Monteverde, I was shown plants that are being studied for curing cancer and AIDS. Biologists from the United States and Europe come down to study these plants, but they do not have open access to methods of indigenous healing.

CULTURAL RELEVANCE

A woman with whom I spoke teaches ecology and environmental education in the local high school. She showed me a journal called Biocenosis, an ecological magazine for Central and South America. Each journal contains an article written by Louis Pavoda, an expert in medicinal plants from the Universidad Nacional in Heredia. She told me that he is one of Costa Rica's foremost experts on medicinal plants. The articles are published through the Herbario Nacional, at the National Museum in San Jose. It is interesting that there is a cultural space for plants, an herbarium in the national museum.

Because of Costa Rica's rich ecological diversity, it is a site of biological study for scientists around the world. This makes medicinal plant use important on many levels in Costa Rica, from biochemical research to local home remedies, to traditional herbal doctors and healers.

Although Quepos is not an area with many people involved in plant medicine and healing as a way of life, and people from Quepos seeking natural medicine usually travel to other parts of the country for such help, there is a definite common knowledge among people in the area of plants, their uses, and of herbal doctors. In what seems, on the outside, to be an area without a focus on plants and natural medicine, is an area where the people retain a folk knowledge of indigenous plants and uses. After awhile, observing and listening to people, you see that people use basil (*albahaca*) not only for seasoning meat, but for curing an earache. The knowledge is not something that everyone runs around talking about. It is something that is older, and takes a little more time than picking up medicine from the pharmacy. In Quepos, the combination of a good modern health care system, a lack of forest and indigenous people, and a focus on working in a tourism-driven economy results in a lack of necessity and interest in relying on plants for natural healing.

COMING FULL CIRCLE

One day I was sitting on the porch in front of my house in Boca Vieja, and a middle-aged man came by selling bags of limes. The mother in my house bought some limes, and, as we had just been talking about medicinal plants, she asked him if he knew anything about "*plantes medicinales*." He looked at us a bit strangely, but said that yes, he knew some things and what did we want to know? If someone tells him what is wrong, he will help, but he needs a specific question, he said. At that point I began to explain that I was studying here and that I understand that not everyone wants to talk about it, but that I would like to know his opinion on

herbal healing, if he thought that people used medicinal plants, and if he helped people. The man brightened up and started to talk enthusiastically about plants, and the usefulness of them, and he mentioned as an example a certain plant that cleans the kidneys. He spoke very quickly, and I didn't capture everything that he said. However, at the end of our conversation, he told me something in particular that captured what I feel is the essence of plant use among people in Quepos, as traditional home remedies combine with modern medicine in the particular urban-agricultural environment. He said this: "Some people go to the doctor. Some people use plants. And, some people use God." And then I asked him, "and what do you use?" To which he smiled, and answered me, "I? I use all three."

APPENDIX 1

MEDICINAL PLANTS COMMONLY KNOWN IN THE QUEPOS AREA

Tilo (Te): for calming nerves
Hojas de Guanabano (Guanabano leaves): for the stomach and diarrhea
Hojas de Naranjo agrio: with milk, for nerves, sleeping. Also bad vibrations.
Mosote: cleansing the stomach and intestines
Mastuerso: with water for the skin
Sarangundi: for skin irritations, bug bites, and internal blood cleanser
Ruda: for muscle rubs, internally for irregular menstrual cycles, abortificant
Hierba buena (spearmint): colds, teas
Hojas de aguacate (avacado leaves): skin rashes
Hoja de algodon (leaves of cotton plant): tea for nursing mothers
Hoja de papaya: for the stomach
Diente de ajo: diabetes
Ajo (garlic): high blood pressure, circulation, heart, colds, infections
Zacate de limon (lemon grass): throats and coughs
Jinjibre (ginger): bronchitis, arthritis
Limon, cascara y jugo (lemon rind and juice)
Corteza de Hombre grande (bark of Hombre grande): amoebas, parasites, insect repellant
Carao: anemia
Culantro (cilantro): anemia
Romero (rosemary): hair, baths, antiseptic
Albahaca (basil): warm in the ear for earaches
Pelo de maiz (corn silk): kidneys
Cana agria: kidneys
Escalera de mono ("monkeys' ladder"): kidneys
Salvia virgen: liver
Hojas de mango: for stomach
Hojas de guyaba (guava): for cough and stomach
Targua: skin rashes, sore gums and teeth
Tuna: a type of cactus, for cough, liver, and hair wash
Cascara de mango (mango skin): for skin rashes
Reine de noche: tied around the neck for mumps
Guapinol: for kidneys
Eucalipto: bronchitis, congestion
Menta: nerves, stomach
Cuculmeca (raiz): anemia
Milenrama (raiz): female problems
Borrage: fever, cough, colds
Peine de Mico("monkey's comb"): hair rinse to promote growth
Dormilona: sleep
Frailecillo: stomach, kidneys, ulcers
Vertiver (raiz de violeta): insect repellent
Mexican oregano: coughs
Madero negro: tree bark for insect repellent
Patchouli
Ylang Ylang
Canela (cinnamon)
Hoja Jamaica (allspice)
Vanilla
Ojo de Buey (Mucuna orens): Parkinson's disease

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Sulfatillo: boil root for fevers
Trema micrantha: boil bark for antiseptic
Cola de caballo (horsetail): kidneys
Juanilama: arthritis
Aloe
Manzanilla (chamomile)
Cedro Amargo: tree bark for asthma
Berro (water cress): with milk for lungs
Raiz de perejil: abortificant
Cedro Maria
Vaco Lechoso

APPENDIX 2

PACKAGED TEAS (PRODUCED IN COSTA RICA) FOUND AT THE LOCAL SUPERMARKET IN QUEPOS

Pure Teas:

Canela—Cinnamon
Cocolmeca (Smilax SPP.)
Flor de Tilo—Linden flower
Jamica (Hojas de)—Allspice
Manzanilla—Chamomile
Hombre Grande—Cuassia
Boldo ("Tonico Bilibar")
Hoja Sen—Senna leaf
Zacate de Limon—Lemongrass
Zarzaparilla—Sarsaparilla

Tea Blends:

"Rinosan"(for kidneys): Pelo de Maiz (corn silk), Sauco Flor (elder flower), Cola de Caballo (horsetail), Guapinol, Calzoncillo, Mirto (myrtle), Malva (mallow).
"Digestivo":
"*Kabata*" brand: Ajenjo (tallas y hojas) (wormwood), Diente de Lion (hojas y raiz), Menta (hojas), Quina (corteza) (cinchona/Peruvian bark), Zarzaparilla (raiz).
"*Mondaisa*" brand: Manzanilla, Anis, Peppermint.
"Tranquilizante": Menta, Hierbabuena, Tilo, Zacate de Limon, Albahaca, Sorrel.
"**Gastris y Ulcera**": Frailecillo, Jinocuave (corteza), Malva (hojas), Oregano, Llanten (tallos y raiz).
"**Colesterol y Urico**": Quina (corteza), Zarzaparilla, Diente de Lion, Cuculmeca, Albahaca.
"**Estreniemento**"(constipation): Sen (hojas), Saragundi (hojas), Linaza (semilla), Ruibarbo (corteza), y Juanilama (hojas).
"**Colitis":** no ingredients listed.
"**Adelgazante" (**slimming): Raiz Cocolmeca, Hojas Nogal (walnut), Cola de Caballo, Diente de Lion, Zacate de Limon, Hojas Papaya, Hojas Jamaica.
"**Presion H.P.":** Zapote Blanco (zapote), Muerdago (motherwort), Flor Passion, Semilla de alpiste (canary seed), Cipres (cipres leaves), Azahar de naranjo (orange blossom), Hojas de nispero (locuat leaves), Chiquiza.
"**D.B. Tea**": Hojas de nogal (walnut), Hojas de eucalipto, Hojas de aguacante (avacado), Diente de Lion.
"Resfriado y Gripe"(cold and flu): Zacate de Limon, Menta, Borraja (borrage), Milenrama

(yarrow).
"**Expectorante**": Elder flower, Oregano, Thyme, Eucalyptus, Borrage.

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