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CHAPTER VII THE TRADITIONAL NURSING INSTITUTIONS

7.1 The Sundanese Indigenous Knowledge System

7.1.1 Cosmology and Beliefs of the Sundanese People

Embarking on the relationship between the Sundanese belief system and the peoples' view on life affecting their health behaviour, this Chapter presents a description of the belief system of the Sundanese people through the documentation of the cosmology of Sundanese people and their way of life. Furthermore, the Sundanese culture of health and healing is described followed by the documentation of the Sundanese people's view on health and illness in line with the traditional nursing of the Sundanese people regarding CVD prevention and health promotion, including the use of *ubar kampung* by the Sundanese people in the Sumedang Regency.

Slikkerveer (1999b: 171) underscores the significance of the concept of cosmovision by arguing that: '*Cosmovision refers specifically to the way in which members of certain cultures view their world, cosmos or universe.*' In this way, the cosmovision guides the relationships which the local people maintain with the three worlds, *i.e.* the human, the natural and the spiritual worlds. According to Haverkort (1995: 456): '*the concept of cosmovision thus refers to the way a certain population perceives the world cosmos; it includes the assumed interrelationship between spirituality, nature and mankind; it describes the roles of supernatural powers and the way natural processes take place, as well as the relation of man and nature, and it makes explicit the philosophical and scientific premises on the basis of which prevention in nature (as is the case in agriculture and nursing) take place*'. According to Carl Sagan (in Sumardjo 2013), the cosmos is all that is, and all that is always there.

Cosmology is all human knowledge about the existence of the universe. The concept underscores that every religious individual believes that what exists is not only what is seen or captured by the senses, but also everything which is not visible – spiritual – so it is a concept about the human existence. The Sundanese cosmovision requires special attention for the world order with special reference to mystical, spiritual and theological characteristics (*cf.* Sumardjo 2013; Erwina 2019). As Saefullah (2019) indicates, cosmology is concerned with the study of the human understanding of the universe and its components, enabling humans to achieve their happiness through their words and actions, based on their views of themselves, their society, environment, ancestors and spiritual beings.

From time to time, the Sundanese cosmovision has undergone cultural development and change. The development took place under the subsequent influence of other cosmovisions, such as during the era of the Hindu influence until 1500, the era of Islamic influence from 1500 to 1800, the era of Dutch colonial rule (from 1800 to 1942), the era of the Japanese colonial rule from 1942 to 1945, and the era of independence from 1945 until now. A similar process is reflected in the historical developments in the Sundanese region, which has been influenced by various historical eras.

The Sundanese way of life can also be observed among the community members, whether they are from the aristocratic group or from the group of ordinary people, as they all are members of the same community of worship. Similarly, the Sundanese way of life can also be assessed on the basis of data resources, either in the form of literature or written materials or through interviews with informants, often supplemented by observations at the location of the data resources (*cf.* Warnaen *et al.* 1987; Ekadjati 2005; Sumardjo 2013; Salahudin 2017).

The Sundanese cosmology is divided into three parts: *sangkala* ('the natural world'), *niskala* ('the unseen world'), and *jatiniskala* ('the supernatural world'). The understanding of the Sundanese people becomes possible along the lines of the Sundanese concepts of *Ti Tangtu* and *Tilu Inditan*, which supports their daily life. This is also represented in the Sundanese philosophy: if you want to live safely, then you have to follow the principles of *tri tangtu*, *hirup nu hurip dina kahirupan* (living in prosperity), so you have to *miang* ('go'), *bajuang* ('fight') and *mulang* ('go back') with all the *tekad* ('desire'), *ucap* ('words'), and *lampah* ('behaviour') which has to be beneficial to the lives of

others, the social environment, the nation and the state. All human behaviour in life has to be an example for the next generation; *hirup kudu nyontoan jeung picontoeun* means that someone has to have a vision and be responsible for oneself, others, and the environment, *hirup kudu neundeun jeung ninggalkeun*, with the hope that if humans eventually have to return to *Purbatiti Purbajati, mulih ka jati mulang ka asal, congo nyurup dina puhu, sirnaning pati-rawayan jati*, they return to the origin of facing God in a state of *khusnul khotimah* i.e. fulfilment. The concept of *tri tangtu* as an indicator to measure the individual balance, namely on maturity of age, intellect and emotion, aims to train humans to be more grateful, so that optimal quality of life can be achieved (cf. Suryalaga 2010; Sumardjo 2013; Erwina 2019; Saefullah 2019). The Sundanese also believe that when the three indicators are out of balance, there will be no harmony in life.

In carrying out daily life in various fields, the concept of *tri tangtu* is used in the government system by applying *rama, resi, prabu*, for example in determining government policies and economic strategies. The government has the role of *rama*, which is responsible for observing and evaluating food security and the government system which is operating; *resi* plays the role of the law maker and regulation, for example the Minister of Health, and *prabu* is the executor of the government system, namely government officials and stakeholders. Likewise, the governance structure and layout of government buildings in the Pasundan Regency still represent the *tri tangtu* concept. The architectural layout of government buildings and Sundanese traditional houses illustrate the concept of *tri tangtu* from the top to the bottom level of the building. There is *ambu luhur* or the upperside of the house ('roof-top'); *ambu tengah/pangkeng* or the middle side of the house where the rooms are built; and *ambu handap* under, or the lower/groundside of the house. In the same way, Sundanese cosmovision can be described from various perspectives of daily life, including agricultural traditions, the use of heirlooms (weapons), and oral and written literary works, such as traditional poetry (*mantra, ajian, jampe, jangjawokan, guguritan*) which are full of symbols and myths believed by the Sundanese people. The old Sundanese people respected the power of God, both vertically and horizontally, and have led to a new belief system accompanied by traditional and social values (cf. Erwina 2019; Saefullah 2019).

Even though most Sundanese people adhere to the religion of Islam, in daily life there still appear elements of non-Islamic forms of belief. Religious life is often also influenced by belief in spirits and magical powers. Various rituals are performed in each phase of the life cycle, from marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth, to puberty, adulthood and death. In addition, it is related to building a house, occupying a new house, planting rice etc, containing non-Islamic elements. Thus, it is difficult to separate religion from local belief systems, because both are still practiced by some Sundanese people (cf. Garna 2008). This is especially the case in rural communities, where the boundary between elements of religion and non-religion are rather diffuse. The elements of Islam and the elements of the traditional beliefs and local customs are generally integrated into one belief system. The Sundanese people assume that all human life cannot be separated from the cosmos, which is a greater unity (macrocosm) and interconnected. Such beliefs are called *cosmic classifiers* (cf. Ekdjati 1984; Sumardjo 2013). There are many words like *pamali, sumpah, cadu*, and so on, in which the prohibitions are passed down from generation to generation. If violated, it will bring consequences or disasters to the violators, even to the entire community where they live. In addition to the prohibition, there are also suggestions which would be felt illogical when viewed in the series of cosmic unity as mentioned earlier: for example, to make someone have courage, he or she has to eat the heart of a tiger, so as not to be disturbed by evil spirits. Among these spirits, there are also those who like to occupy certain places and disturb humans, commonly known as *dedemites, jurig, ririwa, kuntianak, kelong, budak hideung*, and so on (cf. Abdulah 2006). Trust in the spirits of the ancestors is still evident with the holding of offerings aimed at the spirits of *karuhun* ('ancestors'), to ask for blessings before carrying out important work.

With the ceremony, offerings, '*nadran/nyekar*' and reciting prayers and *kaul* are believed to provide safety and avoid interference from these evil spirits. These ceremonies are called '*tulak bala*'. Some *tulak bala* ceremonies are done alone at their own homes, while some are carried out jointly led by *Ajengan* or *kuncen* or *dukun* ('shaman'); for example, the '*seren taun*' ceremony and the *turun*

jimat ceremony at *Bulan Mulud* in Sumedang (cf. Ekadjati 2003). Plants are also considered to contain magical power that can be used to increase the magical power of humans, for example: coconut leaves, *jaringao*, *jawer kotok*, *hanjuang*, banana trees, ivory coconut, sugar cane, areca nut, etc.

Likewise in daily life, a *shaman* is considered to have magical powers compared to people in general and can use that power to heal the sick or make people sick. The Sundanese people still believe in the existence of sorcerers, traders who can cause people to become sick or die. There are also shamans who can make people fall in love or hate someone, commonly referred to as a *pellet* or *asih*an ('shaman'). Similarly, if someone wants to look youthful and beautiful, the shaman will provide implants made of gold pieces which are inserted under the skin. Implants can also be used to make someone immune. Water, fire, and soil are also considered to have great magical powers, so that shamans often treat sick people using only water which is given a spell. The water is then drunk and used for bathing by the sick person (cf. Ekadjati 1984).

7.1.2 The Sundanese Peoples' Notion of Indigenous Knowledge

In the traditional Sundanese culture, people hold a comprehensive concept of local knowledge, known as *elmu*, which includes moral teachings, ethics, service, mysticism, religion and belief in the existence of *uga* ('destiny or nature'), *kila-kila* ('signs in natural events in life'), and *wawales* ('reciprocity'). The interpretation method is called *elmu kirata* or *ki-rata*, *kirata basasa*, being an acronym of *kira-kira nyata*, which is the ability to interpret certain words with the correct meaning (cf. Ekadjati 1984; Warnaen *et al.* 1987; Garna 2010). According to Iskandar in Abdulah (2006), the Sundanese people's knowledge system is divided into five classes, namely:

- knowledge about nature;
knowledge about flora;
- knowledge about fauna;
- knowledge about human behaviour; and
- knowledge about the human body.

All the classes of the indigenous knowledge system on the universe are always related to each other, and everything has its place. Human's place in relation to the universe determines his position in the social, economic, and religious world. By consequence, certain people in society possess special magical powers, because they believe that the five classes in the knowledge system are related to the four directions of the wind and one of its center, called *madhab papat kalima pancer* (cf. Figure 7.1).

Each direction has a certain colour and a particular characteristic (cf. Ekadjati 1987). In the Sundanese rural communities there exists also special knowledge about the emergence of *bintang wuluku*, a group of stars which are forming a *wuluku* line. In addition, through their knowledge of space and time, the Sundanese people are looking for safety, fortune, and livelihood, which is called *kolenjer* or *tunduk* or *palintangan*, and includes the calculation of the value of days, markets, months, and years. It is used to predict good days or bad days in relation to all daily events, for example building a house, harvesting rice, traveling to look for food, determining the right *repok jodoh* ('match partner'), determining the wedding day, giving a name to the child, etc. If someone is going to travel, then the position of *kala* has to be taken into account, so that it does not happen during *mapag kala* which can cause misfortune or disaster. According to Ekadjati (1984) and Abdulah (2006), in the local Sundanese belief, *kala* follows every day a certain direction of the wind. In the Sundanese calendar, there are calculations according to *kala* which determine the numerical value of every day and month. While the method of calculation is different in each region, the Sundanese people are still practicing the calculation of the knowledge systems in daily life, including in Sumedang. Thus, the belief system and the knowledge system have such a close relationship that they cannot be separated from each other. The entire life of the Sundanese people is influenced by their outlook on life and way of thinking, which is based on their belief that basically all life is aimed at maintaining the balance of the three worlds in the universe. The harmonious balance among the three worlds has to

be maintained by the performance of various kinds of ceremonies and magical practices. The balance with the human world is largely maintained by the principle of reciprocity. There is the expression *silih asah*, *silih asih*, *silih asuh*: *silih asah* refers to sharing experience and knowledge among each other, and one's mistakes are corrected by the fellow community members; *silih asih* means loving each other; and *silih asuh* means having to guide each other. With such a view of the Sundanese people, all actions and behaviours which can disrupt the harmonious balance will be considered as 'bad', while actions and behaviours which can restore the balance will be considered as 'good'.

7.1.3 The Way of Life of the Sundanese People

Every member of a community who wants to stand firm and knows clearly the direction of the goal they want to achieve requires a view of life. The view of life is a concept which a person or group in a society holds to respond to and explain all the problems of life in the natural world (cf. Warnaen *et al.* 1987). As Garna (2008: 187) mentions, a way of life refers to: '*a series of beliefs in the form of thoughts and characteristics about the world. The beliefs held about something that has to and should be believed are related to normative, moral matters that have a certain usefulness. View of life is a philosophy of life or concepts about life [...].*' This view of life will determine the direction and behaviour about how to solve the problems of life.

Throughout the course of their history from the past until today, the Sundanese people have lived and survived in the Tatar Sunda Region, being their *lemah cai* ('homeland'). The Sundanese society has been able to survive because of its members' own view of life, enabling them to live independently amidst other cultures. Although in the course of history, their view of life has maintained its basic structure, it has undergone certain changes. As stated by Sumardjo (2011: 4), '*Change is a necessity, there is no culture that does not change*'. In this context, there are, as Ekadjati (1984) argues, two kinds of changes, namely occidental changes and orientalist changes. While occidental changes depart from the delay itself, which has existed since the ancestors of the Sundanese people in this region, their dealing with foreign cultures was determined by their desire to change in their own direction. The Sundanese people value the Western culture in their own way because it can be beneficial for development. Changes occur when the Sundanese people utilise modern art as a means to change Sundanese art. Although these changes are determined as occidental, the rural Sundanese people still continue to maintain the cultural roots of their ancestors. While they generally resist extreme changes, their outlook on life is characterised by both stable and dynamic experiences, rendering their position as indigenous people in the Sundanese region in West-Java. In this process, the Sundanese peoples' view of life is able to select such changes to participate in the national culture of the Indonesian society, while at the same time maintaining their own cultural values, norms and customs rooted in their local institutions: *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* ('Unity in Diversity'). According to Ekadjati (1984), Warnaen *et al.* (1987), Garna (2008), and Suryalaga (2010), the Sundanese view of life seeks to achieve glory, happiness, peace, and enjoyment of life, free from heavy burdens, living in harmony, submissive and prosperous, and is based on the following types of the philosophies of life:

- *life philosophy of humans as a person;*
- *life philosophy of humans with society;*
- *philosophy of human life with nature;*
- *philosophy of human life with God;*
- *philosophy of human life in pursuing outward and inner satisfaction.*

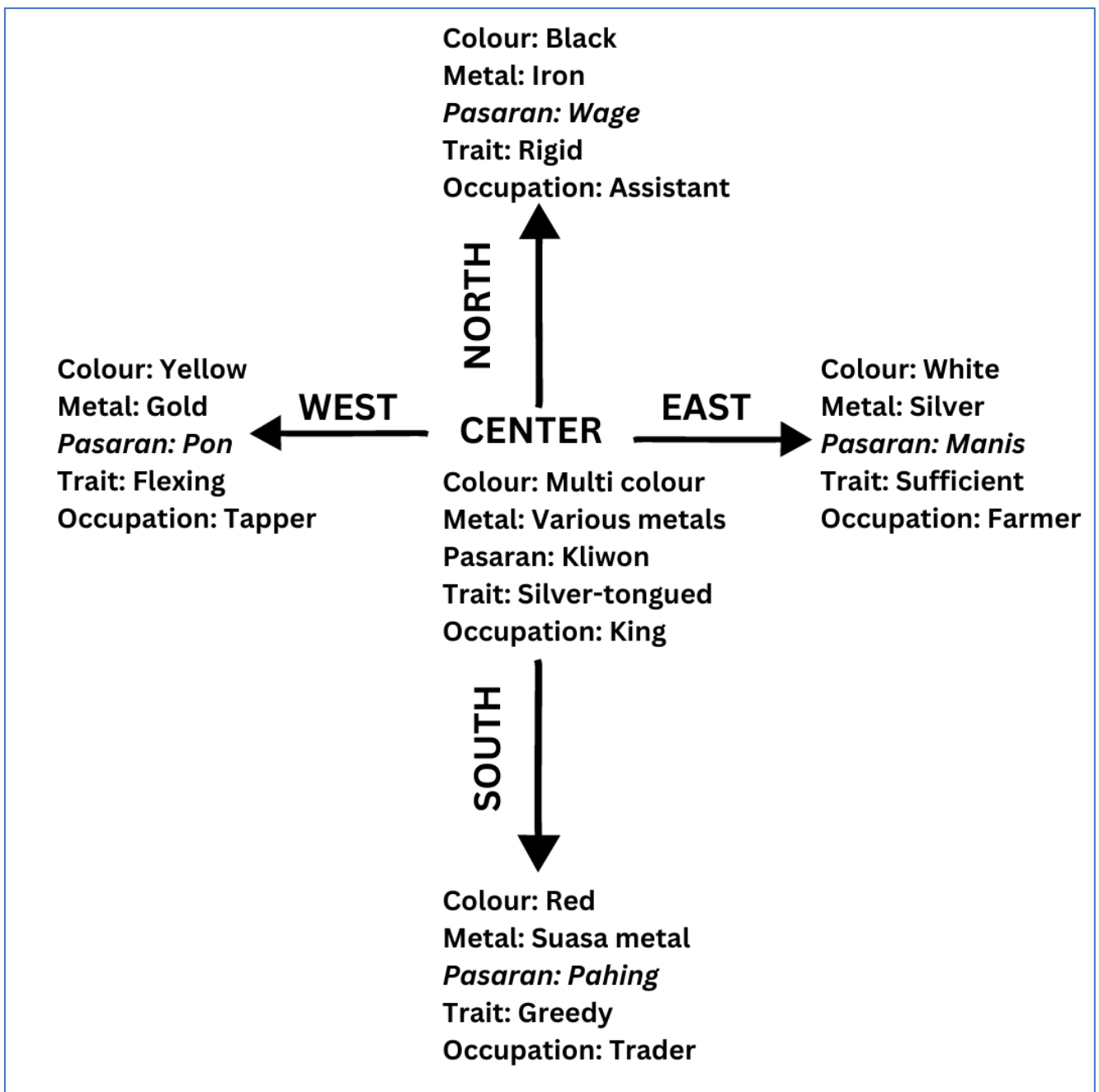


Figure 7.1 *Madhab papat kalima pancer (Kolenjer or Palintangan)* are the four cardinal points (east, west, north, south), and their centers each have their own properties, colours, market days and metals, the meaning of which affect human life and self.
 Source: Adapted from Ekadjati (1987).

The Sundanese people realise that they are the guardians of an important role in the process of their individual and social life, while maintaining a harmonious balance. In essence, the Sundanese people are not individualistic people, because they always pay attention to other people. With a positive mindset, the Sundanese people realise that humans are full of mistakes and that God is the *Lautan hampura* ('the sea of forgiveness'). The Sundanese people belong to an ethno-cultural group which easily forgives the mistakes of others, known as *jembar manah*, with the words *hampura* and *paralun* as an expression of *karuhun* ('gratitude') to God. The Sundanese oral expressions are used as social control in such situations in order to achieve the balance of life. The Sumedang community continues to adhere to the above-mentioned philosophies of life.

7.2 The Sundanese Concept of Health and Disease

7.2.1 The Sundanese People's View of Health and Illness

The concept of health in Sundanese refers to both physical and spiritual health, and is reflected in oral traditions and ancient literary texts, *sanghyang suksa kandang karesian* and *carita pantun lutung kasarung*. It appears that the Sundanese people are holding the view that these two principles are equally important and closely interrelated. Physical phenomena are always expressed in connection with spiritual phenomena, and *vice versa*, as mentioned in the phrase '*ngeunah angen, ngeunah angeun*', which refers to the connection between physical and spiritual satisfaction. Health problems are not only related to health and illness, but also to the human approach in their interaction with various environments, including the social, the cultural, and the natural system. Lubis (2000) states that thoughts about health behaviour in certain areas, including in the Tatar Sunda Region, are largely governed by customs, beliefs, religious teachings, norms and legal systems.

Thus, health problems are embedded in the cultural values and life orientations, even though in reality the cultural values and worldviews are constantly changing. According to Van Peursen in Lubis (2000), the development and nature of human thought progress through the following stages: mythic, ontological, and functional. 'Mythic' refers to the attitude of humans who feel that they are surrounded by supernatural forces. 'Ontological' refers to the attitude of humans who do not live in a cohesion of supernatural powers, but who freely want to know about their environment. 'Functional' refers to the nature of mind which appears in modern humans who no longer believe in the mythic mind. In line with Comte (1798-1857) in Lubis (2000), the level of human intellectual development is divided into three stages, *i.e.* theological, metaphysical, and positivistic.

The theological stage is characterised by belief in the forces of nature, supernatural powers, and the gods. At the metaphysical stage, symptoms are explained in a speculative or philosophical abstract framework. At the positivistic stage, symptoms are explained in an empirical framework of observations, experiments, and comparisons with a view to achieve a scientific explanation. In order to understand the cultural context, the Sundanese view of health and illness was initially assessed by research not only on the oral resources, such as proverbs, expressions, and fairy tales, but also on traditional historiographic literary works, such as the *carita, pantun (raja), babad, and wawacan*. The nature of these resources has often been influenced by the authors in comparison with reality, known as *mentifact data* ('mental facts'). By consequence, the researchers prioritise what is implied, not what really is written.

These data resources can also be used to understand how the culture interpreted health in the community in the past (*cf.* Lubis 2000). At the mythic stage there is the concept of myth, which is a symbolic form in interpreting the world of experience and reality, characterised by the close dependence of humans on supernatural forces which can be observed from animals, planets, trees, and mountains. This mythic view assumes that the supernatural powers can cause, prosperity, fertility, health; *vice versa* it can lead to destruction, bad luck, disaster, disease, or infertility. It depends on whether humans can harmonise the lives of microcosms and macrocosms in the universe. If there is a disturbance between the two forms of cosmos, myth has to be used to restore the harmony. Thus, the myth serves to maintain harmony in life from all possible disturbances or threats from outside forces and show the existence of supernatural powers, so myth has to be known, and passed on to future generations (*cf.* Kartodirjo 1984).

The concepts of health and illness in the traditional culture of the Sundanese society involve three main areas, namely:

- illness problems, disease prevention and health maintenance;
- functionaries who apply a cure for a disease, called a *dukun* ('traditional healer') or shaman;
- material matter of medicines.

For some modern people these three areas are often considered to be related to problems beyond the reach of human reason. Health problems are important for the Sundanese people. The significance is expressed in the following phrase: *saur sepuh, anu utama badan walagri sarta cageur, leuwih tibatan kakayaan* meaning that a healthy body is healthier and better than wealth. The ideal of every Sundanese individual is encapsulated in the words: '*cageur, bageur, bener, pinter*, in which '*cageur*' refers to the importance of physical and mental health. The Sundanese people consider health as an important inseparable part of the human life cycle, from birth to death.

As Erwina (2019) documents, the Sundanese people apply health behaviour patterns in the form of health promotion, disease prevention, healing and recovery in all respects, especially in determining not only the location of building houses and maintaining water sources, but also in choosing functional and symbolic plants and trees, especially in agriculture and animal husbandry. Thus, these aspects receive considerable attention, especially with regard to the body, the family, property, the position, and the environment. The body has to be maintained because a healthy body is one of the conditions to achieve the hope of *heubel hirup* ('longevity') to live a long healthy life. A healthy body will show the beauty of the body which is associated with inner beauty depicted as *sorot* or *semu* (cf. Warnaen *et al.* 1987). Similarly, the body needs *kadaharan* ('food') to create energy and health. Much effort is made to satisfy the needs of food, as implied in the expression: *mun teu ngopek moal nyapek, mun teu ngakal moal ngakeul, mun teu ngarah moal ngarih*, meaning that people have to find their sustenance in any possible way. Efforts to acquire food in agriculture, animal husbandry, and hunting are undertaken in order to meet the needs of food and nutrition.

The Sundanese people obtain their food from resources in the surrounding nature, where *kejo* ('rice') and *bongborosan* or *beubeutian* include not only different varieties of tubers such as cassava, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and *pupucukan* ('leaf buds') or *lalaban* ('raw vegetables') and *bungbuahan* ('fruits'), but also *lalaukan* ('freshwater fish'). They do not consume too much meat, since that is limited to certain occasions, and then even only chicken. The food is usually processed in various ways by *diseupan* ('steamed'), such as *seupan cau* ('steamed banana'), *seupan taleus* ('steamed taro'), *seupan hui* ('steamed sweet potato'), *seupan sampeu* ('steamed cassava'), and so on; and *dibeuleum* or *dibubuy* ('baked/roasted') for example *beuleum hui* ('roasted sweet potato), *beuleum jagong* ('roasted corn'), and so on (cf. Erwina 2019).

The advancement of technology nowadays causes changes in the way of life of the Sundanese people in their eating behaviour or food processing, thereby changing eating behaviour; for example, the Sundanese people used to cook rice in the traditional way by steaming it using *aseupan* and then the rice was stored in *boboko*, a bamboo woven container, then *diakeul* ('cooled') in a certain way using a *hihid* fan. At present, the community prefers a practical means to cook rice using an electric cooker, so that the rice is always warm. But research shows that rice cooked in the traditional way and in a cold state shows a lower glycemic index so as to minimise the increase in blood sugar levels and the risk of obesity (pers. comm. Setiawan 2018).

According to the Sundanese nature of thought, illnesses arise often at the location of the house, along the direction of the wind, and on the day of birth of the hostess, grouped as follows:

- *cahya geni* ('fever, due to incompatibility with the element of fire');
- *cahya* ('body ache, associated with the light of the earth');
- *cahya banyu* ('coldness, associated with incompatibility with the element of water');
- *cahya angin* ('shortness of breath, associated with the element of wind').

For example, if the lady of the house is born on a Sunday, then the house she is building has to face southward, and the door of the house has to be located to the West, while the bedroom has to be located to the East. If this rule is ignored, the household head will become sick. Such a belief is similar to the Chinese belief of Feng Shui. In order to deal with the sick occupant of the house, the sick person has to undergo a bath ceremony by a traditional healer. Likewise, if humans carelessly cut down large trees, or destroy large rocks and close springs, these actions will cause disaster. In such cases, the individual concerned has to apologise to the victims (cf. Lubis 2000). In the traditional

Sundanese belief, there were five *byapara* ('veils'), referring to the elements of earth, water, light, wind, and sky in the universe which have to be utilised as efficiently as possible for the purposes of life. All these elements are paired with the human body, so the soil is paired with the skin, water with blood or saliva, light with the eye, angina with bone, and the sky with the head. These paired conceptions prove the view of Sundanese people that everything in the universe has its equivalent in the human body. In order to maintain a healthy body, one has to be able to harmonise all daily activities with life in the universe (cf. Warnaen *et al.* 1987). In addition, there is a prohibition for the Sundanese people to plant trees carelessly, for example not to plant thorny trees because thorns are identical with problems. People who plant such thorny trees are expected to suffer from heart disease.

In line with Foster's (1983) medical-anthropological ethno-classification of traditional illnesses into *naturalistic* and *personalistic* illnesses, the Sundanese people distinguish between three types of supernatural, *i.e.* personalistic diseases:

- *pamali matak kabadi ulah lalaku dina waktu kumapalang*, which is to not be allowed to do something at a time which is not permitted by the rules so as not to cause disease or disaster;
- *lalampahan teu hade matak paeh*, which is a disease due to bad behaviour which can cause dangerous magic, sickness, and even death. The intended death can exist in the form of death of mind, death of heart, and feeling of death which causes the offender to live a useless life;
- *cadu matak tumpur*, which is to do something which is taboo, and must not be violated; if violated, it causes the life of the offender to be destroyed; and
- *katarumpangan*, which is a disease caused by temptation or stupid behaviour of supernatural beings (cf. Abdulah 2006; Erwina 2019).

7.2.2 Influence of Animism and Hinduism on Illness Perception

Animism and Hinduism have been very influential on the Sundanese society before the arrival of Islam. Magical events combined with daily life brought good fortune or bad luck to individuals who became associated with invisible forces, such as in *kabuyutan* ('sacred tombs'), mountains, springs, rivers, front- and backyards of houses, *hawu* ('fireplaces'), and in barns or rice storage areas. Such beliefs were implied by the mantras which are passed down from generation to generation of the Sundanese people, especially in rural areas. The people can feel if there will be an epidemic on the basis of certain natural phenomena, such as the sounds of the mountains, the birds, or *sirit uncuing* ('sound of the rice fields').

The community used to believe that the sounds of birds are a sign of death or disaster, causing parents to chant special spells at home to chase the spirits away: *Baid, baid, deukeut-deukeut ka dieu, ka peuntas, karang Palembang*. Also, to ward off the plague, people hang pineapples on the outside wall of the room.

The conception of a healthy culture in Sundanese society is also expressed in a collection of texts on traditional medicine, documented in the nineteenth century from the Paririmbon Script by orientalist such as Holle, Brandes and Snouck Hurgronje, containing *i.a. mantra, mantra pamunah rajah; Doa-do'a dan Sihir Pengobatan; Mistik dan Obat-obatan; Obat-obatan dan Mantra; Palakiah; Ubar-ubar jeung Lalampahan Urang Kampung sarta Kaanehan Sato-sato; Ubara-ubaran Urang Kampung; Catatan tentang Mantra, Sihir; Jampe, Kitaab Jajampean; dan Paririmbon djeung Jangjawokan* (cf. Ekadjati 1988). According to Darsa (2011) in Erwina (2019) there are 15 manuscripts which discuss disease and treatment, as follows: *Kapalsastra* ('Science and Medicine'); Literature *Sarwa Wyadi* ('Science of Various Diseases'); *Yaksami Literature* ('Lung Medicine'); *Sarwosadawédy* ('The Science of Various Medicines'); *Usadilata Literature* ('Science of Medicinal Plants'); *Usadawédy* ('Medical Science'); Literature *Sarpa Wisosada* ('Poisoning Medicine'); *Sarwa Wydayanang Janapada* ('Various Society Diseases'); *Animal Fibers Sarwa Wydaya* ('Notes on Various Animal Diseases'); *Kajamasosada Literature* ('Hair Care Science'); Literature *Sarwa Pārnosada* ('Science of Various Drugs of Severe Disease'); *Wydadikang Nirosada Library* ('Book of Disease without Healing'); *Gamyosadi Literature* (Science Panacea Science'); *Ayurveda Literature*

(‘Medical Science’); and Sarwa Kusalasala Literature (‘Various Medical Sciences’). Many Sundanese people, however, do not know of the existence of these manuscripts, because those who can read the texts are usually *priyayi* (‘learned people’), community leaders, and *kokolot* (‘traditional leaders’). They are people who are highly respected, and their knowledge is usually handed down orally. On the other hand, the principle of *makin berisi, makin merunduk* is well-known among Sundanese people as it means that if someone is more knowledgeable, that person will be more humble and will not show off his knowledge. As a result, it is not uncommon that much knowledge is unknown among the next generation after the death of the previous elders, due to the limited written information (cf. pers comm Setiawan 2017).

Meanwhile, the influence of animism and Hinduism in medicine slowly diminished with the influence of Islam. The process can be observed from the contents of the recitations of the mantra which replaces the title *Hyang* for the Deity with the title of a Prophet, the guardian or Allah, as written in the *Wawacan Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani*, which is recited when a baby is expected, to receive the baby with a healthy soul and the good qualities of the Saints. Likewise, the circumcision on boys is practiced if they have followed the *Khatam Al Qur'an*. Such a practice is an example of the influence of Islam on health awareness in the community (cf. Moestapa 1913 in Lubis 2000).

As regards hygienic behaviour, the traditional Sundanese people realise that cleanliness is part of maintaining purity, including the fact that the surface of the land has to be taken care of to keep it clean. Likewise, water has to be purified so that the people will remain free from disease. It is prohibited to defecate carelessly on the side of the road, or next to the house, as it has to take place at least seven steps from the side of the road in a landfill, underscoring the awareness of a healthy body and the practice of hygienic behaviour that have existed over many generations in the Sundanese society (cf. Warnaen *et al.* 1987).

7.2.3 Ubar Kampung: Sundanese Indigenous Herbal Medicines for CVD

According to the Sundanese people, the heart is the center of life. If someone suffers from *kasawat jajantung* or *panyawat jajantung* (‘heart disease’ or ‘CVD’), it is regarded as if that person is resting with one foot in the grave. Such a belief shows how severe the disease is perceived by the Sundanese people (pers. comm. Ibu Eni 2017).



Illustration 7.1 The Local Traditional Healer Bapak Ajat and his Wife Collecting *Antanan Bodas Ageung* (*Centella Asiatica* L. Urban.) for *Ubar Kampung* (‘Sundanese Indigenous Herbal Medicines’) Photograph by R.D. Susanti (2018).

In the teachings of Islam, which have been adopted by most Sundanese people, it is written that humans are subject to *sunatullah* ('law of nature'), but humans are created differently from all other living creatures, and humans are endowed with reason to think and create works. Likewise, the local people regard the heart as a miracle, which God has given to humans. The Messenger of Allah has said: '*actually in the body of the child of Adam there is a lump of flesh, if he is good, all the body is good, he is the heart*'.

Here, the heart refers to *alqolbu*, which represents: a) the flesh which is in the left breast and in the sockets containing 'black blood', being the source of the spirit and its place of residence. The flesh in this form is also found in animals and in the dead; and b) *alqolbu* ('the heart') which is the whisperer of *rabbaniyah ruhaniah*

It is this whisperer who knows God and understands what the essence of human health actually is. If the heart is considered as the centre, surely it has to be cared for to maintain a healthy condition, because if the heart is disturbed, it will affect all other body systems (*cf.* Abdullah 2006).

A traditional way of specific nursing for CVD has been developed in the Sundanese region. Several qualitative interviews with selected informants in the Sumedang research area have provided in-depth information on this subject during the execution of the fieldwork (2017). Bapak Ajat (80 years old), being a *kokolot* ('traditional healer') and also a *shaman* in the research area of *Jayamekar* Sumedang, has outlined several ways of traditional nursing, including traditional nursing care for the elderly with CVD. Traditional nursing includes massage techniques by pressing with the thumb or fingers, known as acupressure, accompanied by mantras and prayers, and the administration of *ubar kampung* which can be collected in the surrounding forest (*cf.* Febriyanti 2021). Specifically, this massage technique is practiced by massaging the middle of the cranium, between the two nipples, five fingers above the inner wrist, two fingers on the side of the fourth spine, two fingers on the side of the spinal cord of the kidney, four fingers above the navel, three fingers below the navel, slightly to the side, and four fingers above the inner ankle



Illustration 7.2 Bapak Ajat, a Traditional Healer Consumes *Ubar Kampung* ('Sundanese Indigenous Herbal Medicines') to Maintain His Health. Photography by R.D. Susanti (2018).

The massage technique should be executed routinely, since repeated treatment will be more beneficial, as shown in the research team as an illustration, while reciting prayers of healing.

Meanwhile, Ibu Titin (67 years old), a *paraji* ('traditional birth attendant') and *dukun papaes* ('bridal make-up specialist') from *Jatimulya* informed the interpreter that the treatment of heart problems included *dileules* ('body massage') of special techniques from the toe, the whole body, to the head, using traditional spice oil. In addition, Ibu Titin also uses *ubar kampung* found in the surrounding forest.

As regards Ibu Eni (63 years old), one of the community leaders and health cadres in Situ, she explained that in order to overcome heart disease, she usually advises clients to consume *ubar kampung* which can easily be collected around the village (*cf.* Illustration 7.1).



Illustration 7.3 A Village Woman Collecting *Annona Muricata* Linn to Prepare *Ubar Kampung* ('Sundanese Indigenous Herbal Medicines')
Photography by R.D. Susanti (2017).

Meanwhile, Ibu Eni explained that the herbal medicine dosage required for each person is different depending on the patients' birthday. In order to calculate the dose of the *ubar kampung* the day of birth and the value of the figure can be seen from the Sundanese calendar. For instance, if the patient was born on Saturday, then the number of leaves of medicinal plants is nine, and so on, adjusted to the calculation of the Sundanese calendar which has been described previously.

The *ubar kampung* are consumed in several ways, namely: boiled with water until the water volume is half (decocted), and then drunk, or eaten raw such as *lalaban* ('salad'), cleaned with hot water ('macerated'), grated and squeezed, or flattened. The way to use *ubar kampung* consisting of both internal use (drunk or eaten) and external use on the outside of the body such as ointment. *Ubar kampung* can be given on-site during visits to the traditional healer or mixed and consumed at home.

Ibu Eni also explained that the dosage required of *ubar kampung* for each patient is different depending on the patients' birthday. The calculation of the dose of the *ubar kampung* can be made from the Sundanese calendar, the day of birth and the value of the number. If, for instance, the patient was born on Saturday, then the number of leaves of medicinal plants is nine, and so. The *ubar kampung* are consumed in several ways, namely: boiled with water until the water volume is half (decocted), then drunk, eaten raw such as *lalaban* ('salad'), doused with hot water (macerated), grated and squeezed, or flattened.

According to Erwina (2019), the term *ubar kampung* is used by the Sundanese people to describe the traditional system of indigenous medicine based on parts of MAC Plants. The term *ubar kampung* consists of two words, *ubar* and *kampung*. In Sundanese, *ubar* means medicine and *kampung* means

traditional village. The subtle language of *ubar* is *landong*, so some Sundanese people use the word *landong* instead of the word *ubar*. Based on this definition, *ubar kampung* can also be interpreted as a drug used by Sundanese people in their traditional residential areas. Components of *ubar kampung* usually refer to spiritual and vegetable medicine, easily available and inexpensive. Usually the services provided by traditional healers are holistic and do not request a service charge.

The Sundanese people tend to use traditional nursing care because they feel comfortable within their communities and satisfied. In this case, the traditional nursing institutions in the Sumedang Regency not only apply *ubar kampung*, but also practice massage performed by the traditional healers. The traditional health care institutions are usually providing the following services:

1. Primary prevention of disease, which is meant for people who have not been exposed to disease by early detection, and they practice health promotion. The definition of early detection here is different from the diagnosis of modern medicine, since traditional healers will usually only mention disorders of the body in simple language, which are easy to understand by their clients. If there is interference on the body, the traditional healer will provide treatment through the application of massage techniques together with recited prayers and *jampe* ('mantras'), and a mixture of *ubar kampung*. At this stage, traditional nursing is aimed at protecting the body from disease and improving the client's health status;
2. Secondary prevention of diseases, which applies to patients who have been diagnosed with a disease. Here the action of treatment is intended to achieve healing of the patient. The techniques used are similar, using massage techniques, with recited prayers and *jampe* ('mantras'), and a mixture of *ubar kampung*;
3. Tertiary prevention of disease, which refers to traditional treatment of the patients with a view to improving the healing process and prevent disability. The actions are similar using massage techniques, with recited prayers and *jampe* ('mantras'), and a mixture of *ubar kampung*.

7.2.4 Sundanese MAC Plants Used for Treatment of CVD

In general, the traditional nursing institutions are using the same methods, while there is only a difference in the species of the plants and the dosage for the mixtures of *ubar* ('indigenous herbal medicines'). Traditional treatment rarely practices invasive measures, especially for traditional treatment of CVD. In the case of patients in severe conditions with a need for invasive action or surgery, a traditional healer will refer the patient to the hospital. Based on qualitative interviews with informants and the sample surveys in the Sumedang research area, it has become evident that the majority of clients with CVD prefer to use traditional treatment of *ubar kampung* ('indigenous herbal medicines').

The inventory of reported use of MAC plants (Table 7.2) in the research area shows that there are 46 species of MAC plants which are used as *ubar kampung* for CVD. In general, the MAC plants are growing in the wild around the house, enabling the local population to collect and use them at any time (*cf.* Illustration 7.2)

Table 7.1 List of MAC Plants used as *ubar kampung* for Treatment of CVD in Sumedang

No.	Indonesian Name	Local Name	Scientific Name	Part used	Preparation	Administration way
1.	<i>Sambiloto</i>	<i>Sonteng/Sambiloto</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Andrographis Paniculata</i> (Burm.F.)	Whole	Decocted and drunk	Internal
2.	<i>Sadagori</i>	<i>Sandagori</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Sida Rhombifolia</i> L. (Malvaceae)	Whole	Decocted and drunk	Internal
3.	<i>Jawer kotok</i>	<i>Jawer kotok</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Plectranthus Scutellaroides</i> (L.) R.Br.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
4.	<i>Jarongan</i>	<i>Jarong</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Achyranthes Aspera</i> L. (Amaranthaceae)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
5.	<i>Kesemek</i>	<i>Kesemek</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Diospyros Kaki</i> (Thunb.)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
6.	<i>Daun sendok</i>	<i>Ki urat</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Plantago Major</i> L.	Whole	Decocted and drunk	Internal
7.	<i>Sintrong</i>	<i>Sintrong</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Crassocephalum Crepidioides</i> (Benth.) S. Moore	Leaf	Fresh vegetables	Internal
8.	<i>Alpukat</i>	<i>Alpuket</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Persea Americana</i> (Lauraceae)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
9.	<i>Salam</i>	<i>Salam</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Syzygium Polyanthum</i> (Wight) Walpers	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
10.	<i>Saga</i>	<i>Saga</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Abrus Precatorius</i> L.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
11.	<i>Tapak dara</i>	<i>Tapak dara</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Catharanthus Roseus</i> (L.) G.Don	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
12.	<i>Mentimun</i>	<i>Bonteng</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Cucumis Sativus</i> L.	Fruit	Fresh vegetables	Internal
13.	<i>Kencur</i>	<i>Cikur</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Kaempferia Galanga</i> L.	Root	Decocted and drunk	Internal
14.	<i>Pegagan kecil</i>	<i>Antanan alit</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Hydrocotyle Sibthorpioides</i> (Lam.)	Whole	Fresh vegetable,	Internal
15.	<i>Pegagan Merah Besar</i>	<i>Antanan Bereum ageung</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Centella Coriacea</i> Nannfd.	Whole	Fresh vegetable	Internal
16.	<i>Pegagan Putih Besar</i>	<i>Antanan Bodas ageung</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Centella Asiatica</i> (L.) Urban	Whole	Fresh vegetable	Internal
17.	<i>Jati</i>	<i>Jati</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Tectona Grandis</i> (L.f.)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
18.	<i>Alang-alang</i>	<i>Akar eurih</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Imperata Cylindrica</i> (L.) Beauv	Whole	Fresh vegetable	Internal
19.	<i>Ciplukan</i>	<i>Cecendet</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Physalis Angulata</i> L.	Fruit	Fresh vegetables	Internal
20.	<i>Tempuyung</i>	<i>Tempuyung</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Sonchus Arvensis</i> L	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
21.	<i>Sirsak</i>	<i>Nangka walanda</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Annona Muricata</i> L.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
22.	<i>Kersen/Talok</i>	<i>Kersen</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Muntingia Calabura</i> L.	Fruit	Decocted and drunk	Internal
23.	<i>Kecombrang</i>	<i>Honje</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Etilingera Elatior</i> (Jack) R.M.Smith.	Flower	Decocted and drunk	Internal
24.	<i>Ketumbar</i>	<i>Katuncar</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Coriandrum Sativum</i> L.	Seed	Decocted and drunk	Internal
25.	<i>Sereh</i>	<i>Sereh</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Cymbopogon citratus</i> (Stapf)	Whole	Decocted and drunk	Internal
26.	<i>Jantung Pisang</i>	<i>Jantung Cau</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Musa X Paradisiaca</i> L.	Bloom	Decocted and drunk	Internal
27.	<i>Sukun</i>	<i>Sukun</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Artocarpus Altilis</i> (Fosberg)	Fruit	Decocted and drunk	Internal
28.	<i>Mengkudu, Pace</i>	<i>Cangkudu</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Morinda Citrifolia</i> L.	Fruit	Decocted and drunk	Internal
29.	<i>Rambut jagung</i>	<i>Buuk jagong</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Zea mays ssp. Mays</i> L.	Hair	Dried, decocted and drunk	Internal
30.	<i>Bawang putih</i>	<i>Bawang bodas</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Allium Sativum</i> L.	Clove	Fresh vegetable	Internal
31.	<i>Pepaya muda</i>	<i>Gedang ngora</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Carica Papaya</i> L.	Young fruit	Decocted and drunk	Internal

32. Table 7.2 (Continued) List of MAC plants used as *ubar kampung* for Treatment of CVD in Sumedang

No.	Indonesian Name	Local Name	Scientific Name	Part used	Preparation	Administration
32.	<i>Labu siam</i>	<i>Waluh siem</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Sechium Edule</i> (Jacq.) Swartz.	Fruit	Boiled	Internal
33.	<i>Teh</i>	<i>Enteh</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Camellia Sinensis</i> (L.) Kuntze	Leaf	Dried, decocted and drunk	Internal
34.	<i>Daun Sembung</i>	<i>Daun sembung</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Blumea Balsamifera</i> (L.) DC.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
35.	<i>Daun pandan</i>	<i>Daun pandan</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Pandanus Amaryllifolius</i> Roxb.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
36.	<i>Daun dewa/ Sambung Nyawa</i>	<i>Daun dewa</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Gynura Divaricata</i> (DC)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
37.	<i>Seledri</i>	<i>Saledri</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Apium Graveolens</i> L.	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
38.	<i>Tekokak/Terung Pipit</i>	<i>Takokak</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Solanum Torvum</i> Sw.	Fruit	Fresh vegetables	Internal
39.	<i>Kunyit</i>	<i>Koneng ageung</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Curcuma Longa</i> L.	Root	Macerated	Internal
40.	<i>Senduduk/Senggani</i>	<i>Harendong</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Melastoma Candidum</i> (Blume)	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
41.	<i>Jahe</i>	<i>Jahe</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Zingiber Officinale</i> Roscoe	Root	Decocted and drunk	Internal
42.	<i>Kayu manis</i>	<i>Kiamis</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Cinnamomum Verum</i> J. Presl.	Skin	Decocted and drunk	Internal
43.	<i>Jeruk nipis</i>	<i>Jeruk mipis</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Citrus Aurantiifolia</i> (Christm.) Swingle	Flower	Decocted and drunk	Internal
44.	<i>Sambung Nyawa</i>	<i>Sambung nyawa</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Gynura Procumbens</i> Lour. Merr	Leaf	Decocted and drunk	Internal
45.	<i>Lempuyang</i>	<i>Lampuyang</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Zingiber Zerumbet</i> (L.) Roscoe ex Sm.	Root	Decocted and drunk	Internal
46.	<i>Belimbing</i>	<i>Balingbing</i> (*) (**)(***)	<i>Averrhoa carambola</i> L.	Fruit	Fresh fruit	Internal

Source:(*) Bapak Ajat, (**) Ibu Eni, (***) Ibu Titin



Sonteng – *Andrographis paniculata* (Burm.F.) Nees
(*)(**)(***)



Sandagori – *Sida rhombifolia* L
(Malvaceae)
(*)(**)(***)



Jawer kotok – *Plectranthus scutellaroides* (L.) R.Br
(*)(**)(***)



Jarong - *Achyranthes Aspera* Linn. (Amaranthaceae)
(*)(**)(***)



Kesemek - *Diospyros Kaki* (Thunb.)
(*)(**)(***)



Ki Urat - *Plantago Major* L
(*)(**)(***)



Sintrong – *Crassocephalum Crepidioides* (Benth.) S. Moore
(*)(**)(***)



Alpuket- *Persea Americana* (Lauraceae)
(*)(**)(***)



Salam- *Syzygium Polyanthum* (Wight) Walpers
(*)(**)(***)



Saga - *Abrus Precatorius L*
(*)(**)(***)



Tapak Dara - *Catharanthus roseus (L.) G.Don*
(*)(**)(***)



Bonteng - *Cucumis Sativus L*
(*)(**)(***)



Cikur - *Kaempferia Galanga L*

Cikur - *Kaempferia Galanga L*
(*)(**)(***)



Antanan alit- *Hydrocotyle (L.) Sibthorpioides (Lam.)*
(*)(**)(***)



Antanan Bereum Ageung
Centella Coriacea Nannfd
(*)(**)(***)



Antanan Bodas Ageung - *Centell Asiatica (L.) Urban a*
(*)(**)(***)



Jati - *Tectona Grandis (L.f.)*
(*)(**)(***)



Akar Eurih - *Imperata Cylindrica (L). Beauv*
(*)(**)(***)



Cecendet - *Physalis Angulata L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Tempuyung- *Sonchus Arvensis L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Nangka Walanda - *Annona Muricata L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Kersen - *Muntingia Calabura L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Honje - *Etlingera Elatior* (Jack)
R.M.Smith
(*)(**)(***)



Katuncar - *Coriandrum Sativum L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Sereh – *Cymbopogon Citratus* (Stapf)
(*)(**)(***)



Jantung Cau - *Musa X Paradisiaca L.*
(*)(**)(***)



Sukun - *Artocarpus Altilis* (Fosberg)
(*)(**)(***)



Cangkudu - *Morinda Citrifolia* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Buuk jagong - *Zea Mays ssp. Mays* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Bawang Bodas - *Allium Sativum* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Gedang Ngora - *Carica Papaya* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Waluh siem - *Sechium Edule* (Jacq.) Swartz.
(*)(**)(***)



Enteh - *Camellia Sinensis* (L.) Kuntze
(*)(**)(***)



Daun Sembung – *Blumea Balsamifera* (L.) DC.
(*)(**)(***)



Daun Pandan – *Pandanus Amaryllifolius* Roxb.
(*)(**)(***)



Daun Dewa - *Gynura Divaricata* (DC)
(*)(**)(***)



Saledri - *Apium Graveoens* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Takokak - *Solanum Torvum* Sw.
(*)(**)(***)



Koneng Ageung - *Curcuma Longa* L.
(*)(**)(***)



Harendong – *Melastoma Candidum* (Blume)
(*)(**)(***)



Jahe - *Zingiber Officinale* Roscoe.
(*)(**)(***)



Kiamis - *Cinnamomum Verum* J. Presl
(*)(**)(***)



Jeruk Mipis - *Citrus Aurantiifolia* (Christm.) Swingle
(*)(**)(***)



Daun Sambung Nyawa.
Procumbens Lour. Merr.
(*)(**)(***)



Lempuyang – *Zingiber zerumbet* (L.) Roscoe ex Sm
(*)(**)(***)

Illustration 7.4 MAC Plants Used as *Landong* or *Ubar Kampong* ('Sundanese Indigenous Herbal Medicines') for the treatment of CVD in Sumedang
Photography by R.D. Susanti (2017).

