LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM IN THE JAVANESE SALVATION OF WOMEN PREGNANCY '*MITONI*' (AN ETHOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE)

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Abstract: Mitoni 'a lifecycle salvation ceremony of the seventh month Javanese women pregnancy' culturally well preserved and passed from generation to generations as an ethnolinguistic phenomenon. It is a descriptive and qualitative exploratory approach of the ethnoscience perspective. The data collection is done through techniques of in-depth interviewing and participant observation in ethnographic method. The data were analyzed using the ethnoscience model steps of analysis; the taxonomic, componential, and domain based on the cultural theme to reconstruct the phenomenon of language and traditions encompassing the local knowledge of the ritual ceremony. The results were divided into; (a) verbal expressions (pangucap 'words'') which strengthen the implementation of both the ritual offerings and ceremony of mitoni; (b) nonverbal expressions (patrap 'behavior') which include attitudes toward the ritual procession applying some required offerings such as jarik clothes along with the types, janur or yellow coconut leaves, water in a Jar (kendi), rice and chicken eggs in the sasserole. The life cycle ceremony mitoni aims to gain the ease and success for a mother in facing the birth process. Mitoni as a ritual ceremony includes the ritual function, social function, and the function of the preservation of traditions. It is found that the implementation life cycle ceremony mitoni turns the hearts' of the practitioners tranquil as well as family providers can be trusted to provide life nobility.

Keywords: ethnolinguistic, local wisdom, lifecycle, ceremony, offerings, salvation

INTRODUCTION

The ritual ceremony of *mitoni* in the life of Javanese community especially in Surakarta is actuality an activity that has been taken place for long and empirically identifiable. The practitioners are among people who still strongly hold the old Javanese cultural norms seeking to maintain their Javanese ancestral traditions. While the *Mitoni* innovative-actuality is a well preserved ritual ceremony, however, has undergone a transformation of implementation and messages in terms of the practical side, because the spiritual substance is in combined with other spiritual processes. Consequently, the expression of *Mitoni* in the social life becomes differently defined, although both intention and the goal share the same perspective, which is to seek the blessings of salvation from the Almighty Allah 'God' for infants in the mothers' womb.

The flexibility of the Islamic religion is visible from the way it interacts to honor the existing local culture like the Javanese culture. Apart from its strategic mission to be able to adapt and collaborate with the local people's culture. The process of acculturation between the Javanese and the Islamic cultures has literally given a birth syncretic culture. Cultural syncretism (derived from the Greek words *syn* meaning 'with'

or 'equal'), the mixing or union of two or more cultural resources to produce a third culture which is relatively deemed as better than the former one (Eller, 2009, p. 371). Cultural syncretism develops and motivated by a variety of thinking which assumes that culture is constantly changing because humans are always thinking of a future (Eller, 2009, p. 378). According to local concept, this idea is attributed to *Jaman Kelakone* 'time of the ongoing tradition', if today's time is a time of the modern Javanese. The Javanese modern era is often encased in a variety of practical demands, ranging from the economical to religious demands which gradually affected the implementation on the seventh month salvation of woman pregnancy (*mitoni*).

In the Javanese life perspective, all the ritual practices is based on the local philosophy of knowledge embodiment in which the idea of knowledge manifests in the good deeds, this principle described in the saying "*Ngelmu iku kalakone kanthi laku*

ⁱ (Nugroho, 2001, p.42). Thus, for Javanese people, knowledge is only be obtained by doing something so called *laku*. In this sense, *laku* as described in the practical doings reflected the non-verbal expression such as using *Jarik* in the Javanese tradition as a type of symbolic culture embeds in the ritual laku of *mitoni*. The Javanese belief or Javanism (*Kejawenⁱⁱ*) has its levels, the level of belief and the ritual which confirm the idea of knowledge in the Javanese perspective. The ritual actualization reciting *barzanji*, Qur'an on specific chapters, and other companying rituals including the recitation of Javanese mantras were done to inculcate traditional and religious values strengthening the community's soul.

Empirically speaking, *mitoni* has been largely abandoned by the Javanese society in Karanganyar, although efforts on implementing and preserving the ritual ceremony are many still found among a few family members. The ritual of *mitoni* in each community has evolved on the implementation, some people may realize it in a complete religious forms such as accompanying the process with recitation of *Albarzanji*ⁱⁱⁱ, and on the chapters in the Holy Qur'an ranging from the chapter of *Yusuf*, *Maryam*, or *Yasin* (a routine activity commonly called *Yasinan*), all depending on the needs of the practitioners. Therefore, the ritual ceremony of *Mitoni*, according to the Javanese tradition or their ancestral ways need to be assessed scientifically in relation to the actuality of the offerings, the symbolic meaning of the ritual offerings *mitoni* resides a local knowledge that can be traced from its ethnolinguistic viewpoint.

Local wisdom of the seventh month salvation of Javanese women pregnancy in Surakarta as reflected in the ritual ceremony called *mitoni* is an issue bringing about perspectives of the Javanese ancestral teachings which can be studied from the entholinguistic perspective. It is subsequently important to say that the various existing noble values of the Javanese cultural events reside in the *mitoni*, which as the researcher might concern that it needs to be scientifically explored. This study is an attempt to discus about (1) the rituals procession *mitoni*, (2) the ritual offering devices of *mitoni*, and (3) the symbolic meanings embedded in the ritual ceremony viewed from the local wisdom of *Mitoni*. Within the life perspective of the Javanese women reflect a cultural relationship described by the Javanese language (ethnolinguistic) expressing the ritual ceremony.

The salvation ritual of the seventh month Javanese women's pregnancy 'Mitoni' in the local culture particularly in Karanganyar regency is an actualization of the inherited ancestral teachings pass through generations. Prospectively, the conceptual definition of local knowledge as a "device" knowledge and practices that can be used to resolve the encountered problems in a goodly and rightly ways (Ahimsa, 2007) .Furthermore Natasuwan (2000a, 2000b; also Na Talang, 2001 in Komonthip), states "local wisdom as knowledge based on the experiences of people handed down over the generations, sometimes by those who my be seen as village philosophers. This knowledge is used as a guideline for people's daily activities in relations with their families, their neighbors, and other people in the village and with surroundings". In other words, local knowledge is a knowledge based society experience passed down from generation to generations which can also be deemed as rural philosophy. This knowledge is used to guide people's daily activities in touched with family, neighbors, and other people of surroundings'. The entholinguistic or Linguistics Culture (Anthropological Linguistics) is a branch of linguistics which concerns primarily with the position of language in wider social and cultural contexts to promote and maintain the cultural practices and social structures (Foley, 1997, p.3). Therefore, scientifically from an ethnolinguistic perspective, the implementation of ritual Mitoni described in the Javanese knowledge system (cognitive system) which reflect the people's life views (way of life) and mindset.

There have been many studies discussing the influence of Islamic values and impacts toward the local cultures, especially of the Javanese culture. Both Islamic and Javanese cultures share similarities. Rosyada (1995, pp.12) concluded four elements of Islamic values which fitted together with the local Javanese community's culture, they are; (1) the values of believing the spiritual unseen as a source of hope and help from which the human beings are dependent on, (2) the belief in the well-balance of life both in the life world and the hereafter which are all dependent on maintaining good attitudes to the spiritual unseen, (3) emotionally responsive, and (4) the belief in the sacred things. This fact and phenomenon can be seen on the rural people of Java, as populations who still maintain the life principles of living harmoniously, peace and well-balance according to social deliberation. The international researchers who interested in the Javanese culture have done a number of studies, among them are van der Kroef (1958-59) made a commentary on the Javanese worldview toward life as a static model of search, always obsessively concern on the well balance perspective, which maintain a belief that the universe bestows prosperity if only individuals are taking part in the maintaining the well-balance both outwardly and inwardly. Geertz (1976) have done a close attention to the Javanese culture *selametan* or Javanese thanks giving ceremony which relate the offerings to the spirit beings as a core ritual of the rural people. In his study, Greetz (1960, p.38) embodied statements that the social class of divisions occur in the Javanese communities as he has successfully classified into three elements of society are, the community of santri (devoted Muslim), abangan (very much reliance on the animism belief) and *privai* (the community who embrace the truth of Hindu and Buddhism.

METHODS

This study explained descriptive-qualitatively through the ethnographic method under the paradigm of the ethnoscience model or the new ethnographic/cognitive anthropology (Spradley, 1997: 19). In detail, the new ethnographic method (ethnoscience) according to Spradley (1997: 57) involved 12 measurements of advanced research stages (developmental research process)^{iv}. Data includes the verbal data (*pangucap* 'term') and the nonverbal (*patrap* 'perilaku', *ubarampe* 'device offerings') analyzed through the ethnographic model of ethnoscience method (taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, and domain analysis) which are relevant to the cultural themes of analysis. While for certain data employ the linguistic research methods (Subroto, 1992; Sudaryanto, 1993).

The data includes (1) verbal data in the form of introductory language in regard of practicing ritual ceremony of *Mitoni* (associated with the term, phrase, lingual other units) as well as written data in the form of verbal expression associated rituals of *Mitoni*; and (2) the nonverbal data related to verbal and practical expressions are in the form of device offerings and ritual procession of *Mitoni*. Sources of data include (1) folklore / fairytale related to *Mitoni*, and the like, (2) sources (research persons)^v, (3) cultural events (ritual associated with *Mitoni*), (4) written sources, including; (a) important note about *Mitoni*, (b) the article, (c) books, (d) magazines, (e) newspapers, (f) research report, (g) documents, and (h) other important records pertaining to *mitoni*.

Data collection techniques (1) literature studies (library research), (2) observation of participation, (3) in-depth interviewing technique to the selected informants and taking ethnographic notes, descriptive question, structural questions and contrast questions (Spradley, 1997: 87, 99, 157, 201). The descriptive, structural, and contrast questions accompanied by a number of techniques such as the technique of scrutiny, conversation, taking notes, and recording (Subroto, 1992; Sudaryanto, 1993), these are completed with the data source identities of who, when, what, where they were fully and clearly archived to the data analysis following the ethnoscience models of analysis which are relevant to the analysis based on the themes of culture. The analysis were technique for cultural products in the form of various types of lingual units; scrutinizing techniques to obtain data in the form of verbal and nonverbal behaviors, rituals; and technique of conversation to ask in case there is anything which has not yet been clear about the research data concerning all the existing cultural significance.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The term Mitoni

Salvation ceremony in the seventh month of pregnant woman is culturally still practiced in Madiun, Ngawi, Ponorogo, Kediri, Blitar Nganjuk (East Java); as well known in the areas of Karanganyar, Sragen, Wonogiri, Klaten, Sukoharjo (Central Java) with the term *tingkeban* or other may call it as *Mitoni*. Even in the area of East Java, for example, the seventh month of pregnancy ceremony in Madura is called differently,

namely *palet kandhungan*. Moreover in the rural areas in the western part of East Java more familiar with the term *tingkeban* rather than *Mitoni*. While, a similar tradition recognized in the West of Java called *nujuh-bulan* (the seventh month). The term *Mitoni* by many people is understood and equated with the term *tingkeban* 'salvation in the seventh month of pregnancy'. Whereas both terms have certain differences, which is ritual processions that are likely to have in common, but the literally and contemporarily meaning and those who understand that they are different. Meaningfully and temporarily differences in questions that *tingkeban* is used primarily for women who are pregnant at her first child, while *Mitoni* is used for the next pregnancies. Spiritually, the Javanese people in Karanganyar identified that infants in their mothers, as well as the number seven is a number of *jangkep* literally perceived as 'complete or perfect' on both intrinsically and extrinsically complete *jabang bayi* 'infants in the womb' (personal communication, Suparmin, 59 years old); (compare Djoemena, 2000; in Hidayat, 2012).

The history of Mitoni

Historically, ritual *Mitoni* of the seventh month pregnant women in the Javanese tradition can be traced through the following folklore. According to oral sources (personal communication, Pramono, 64 years old) or written (Hidayat, 2012) that the ritual *Mitoni* pregnant woman in seventh month stems from story of the pasts from a spouse named *Kaki Sadiya* with *Nyi Tingkep*. During their family life experience for '*saprapat abad*'a quarter century had not yet bestowed with a child, although she had born babies as many as nine times, but none of them could survive. This situation brought them to the more and more anxiety since they were both getting older, but the desire to have an offspring had yet come into reality. Spiritually they had asked to *Hyang Whidi Wase* to be blessed with a survived child, but their prayers had not yet been answered. In their anxiety they had started to think about *maujud* 'entities' 'everything was personified' as it was, and expressed explicitly that the king was the intermediary of God in their life, then they intended to ask for a blessing in a way overlooking the King with a hope of getting *titah dalem* 'solution' to cope with the problems.

Briefly told, they were well accepted by the King and subsequently given an opportunity to express what they wanted in their comings to face the king in his kingdom. They said that a purpose which brought them to the King was in order to be guided in order that they could be bestowed a child. Furthermore, prior to providing solutions to them, the King in advance did a meditation *'semedi'* contemplating, asking to the God 'what advice should be given to *Kaki Sadiya* and *Nyi Ken Tingkep*, both are his people who got a problem of having an offspring. *Wangsit* or 'clues' from the God had finally been accepted by the King, that *Kaki Sadiya* and *Nyi Ken Tingkep* were suggested^{vi} to hold a salvation in the seventh month of pregnancy, taking a ritual bathing with water of a magical power^{vii}. After the ritual procession of cultural events presented by the King of Kediri such as a solution to the problem of having an offspring suffered by *Kaki Sadiya* and *Nyi Ken Tingkeb* to the present regarded to be a hereditary

tradition and a milestone to which the ritual *tingkeb* or *Mitoni* were begun. If there are literally different terms of linguistic use and implementations on the procession of each varying ethnic may be understandable, because according to the undergoing time in relation to the implementation of the ritual *tingkeb* or *Mitoni* the hereditary practitioners have experienced a lot of developments on the aspect of demography. In such a way and the distribution has geographically been expanded to various parts of the Java that none of those may not be able to organize, except the municipals that were assigned to the King to go to the local authority and had determined for their tasks.

The Javanese Knowledge Embodiment reflected in *mitoni*

The ritual ceremony of *mitoni* conservatively viewed from the Javanese cultural preservations prior to the local wisdom of the indigenous Javanese woman's life needs to be revealed. It relates the philosophical process of a human child's life (life cycle)^{viii} in the Javanese tradition. Thus, any cultural study is carried out to unveil what implies on the ritual ceremony of *Mitoni* which has been deemed as a prominent practical life, spiritual and religious degree to the practitioners. While current perspective of implementing the *Mitoni* ritual ceremony can be identified in order to be retentively able to reflect back to reconstruct the residing various noble values without ignoring actuality of the tradition in vain. An argument knowledgeable in society is that the ancestors of Java conveyed their messages to their children and grandchildren through encoded messages 'something hidden' *tengara* 'through signs', *pralampita* 'through symbolic meaning', *samudana* 'in a disguised manner', *pamali* 'banning' in order that the children or the grandchildren provisioned with experiences and lessons for *nggoleki wosing gati* 'seeking important things in any life event' through usins/her life.

The community believes that their ancestors had actually tried to open an "academy" in the broad nature with unlimited subjects; the offspring of Java are expected to freely reach the practical degree of intelligence and spiritual in their communal lives. In addition, the children and grand children have been advised by their ancestors not to ignore things related to the spiritual life, either with among each member or their surrounding nature. In the ceremony of *mitoni* there were the use of certain symbols as a means to achieve the hopes and the noble ideals of their ancestors on infants within the mothers' womb, which this verbally and nonverbally expressed in *Jarik* 'Kebaya clothing', etcetera. Javanese ancestors conveyed their messages through media of *Jarik* as a symbolic means of *Mitoni*, while the main goal is to achieve the salvation and blessing of the God. When this concept associates with certain religion, then the substantial value of this *Mitoni* ritual is interconnected each other, although the offerings or the means would likely seem to does not make any sense. But the very reason to understand this type of *laku* lays on the idea that because the Javanese ancestors had their own models to convey messages that tend to

'Leaping' through a more spiritual touching way around the area of truth, even to $makrifat^{ix}$ without taking a lot of considerations to the existing laws.

Philosophically the grandchildren of the Java are expected, in a certain degree, and capable of going through the process of spiritual silence (hening) 'steering themselves in tranquility to feel and think truthfully', Honeng 'leading oneself into a concentration to find truth essence, and honung 'setting oneself up to be able to find a life teaching and submission to the Lord of Supreme Court'. All is understood as a bridging medium to the 'spiritual straight path (according to the religious teaching) from the real life (the world) to the unreal (hereafter), in the Javanese ancestral perspective called alam kelanggengan 'immortality', life in the hereafter'. This has been a belief among the community that the Javanese ancestors conveyed their messages to their children and grandchildren through real life media for the ultimate goal of life. It is not real virtue (hereafter, of the unseen) slowly, carefully, camouflaged, through symbols etcetera, in order each of the messages delivered to the offspring without making any of them feeling offended because of embracing different beliefs and life understandings. Such things were set as a bridging effort to reconstruct the noble values inherited by their ancestors through the means of transformational to the present situation, in order to follow the times.

In running any cultural events, Javanese people have always acted on the perspective of *Javanism*. Regardless of the ritual ceremony of *mitoni*, there are offerings which predominantly applied to reflect both symbolic culture and a sacred message of the ancestral teaching. *Mitoni* as type of the Javanese ritual ceremony may be well known to people of other ethnic and cultural backgrounds called *slametan*. In the Javanese lifeview, this tradition is deemed to be a device introducing the local communies to observe patterns of guideline to an ideal Javanese mother's figure. There are specific use of foods and equipments for ritual provisions in the *mitoni* ceremony;

Water in a Jar (kendi)

Jar or traditionally called *kendi* is a water or like a teapot which is made up out of clay. *Kendi* of medium size poured with some water, this wisdom of *laku* ritual lays on the local advice "*Toya wonten ing lebete kendhi menika mboten ketingal. Nggih filosofinipun supados saget njagi rahasianipun keluarga.*" (The water in the *kendi* or jar is invisible. This is done philosophically in order that the born child would be able to hold the family's secret). "*Nggih minangka gambaraning tiyang gesang. Tiyang menika kedah saget mbeta asma keluarga kanthi sae*". In this sense, water in a jar is a reflection of a life figure of a good and obedient person to his or her family, it is hoped that the child could preserve the good image of the family.

Rice and Chicken Eggs in the Sasserole

Small size of sasserole with the rice and chicken eggs on top of it. This principle summarizes in the principle "Beras kuwi minangka kemakmuran. Dene tigan kuwi minangka gambaraning wong lairan. Kuninge tigan minangka rah lan putihe tigan minangka banyu ketuban" [The rice symbolizes as prosperity. Eggs were a picture of the baby. Yolk is a symbol for blood whiles the egg white as amniotic fluid].Essentially,

the birth of a baby is a time of waiting. The birth of a baby believed by the public can bring prosperity. This makes the baby's birth was greeted with joy.

Janur or Yellow coconut leaves

Janur in Javanese thought stands basically as nur. Nur in Arabic word means a light or a symbol for the enlightenment. People will be in difficult to perform activities if it is in the darkness, for it takes the description. People who are always standing in the divine light shall constantly be in a peaceful life and receive the God's contentment. This principle rooted in the saying "Janur kuwi artine jan-jane nur utawa sejatine nur, maknane kuwi yaiku cahya sing sejati kuwi asline asale seka Gusti Allah, zat sing Maha Suci." (CLW 04) [Janur means jan-janenur or true nur (light of God). This means that the true light that is truly from God, a glorifying substance. All commandments are from the Almighty God. As His creatures, when men suffer from having to ask for directions to the Lord. Most people take shortcuts to simplify their lives.

Jarik Jarik

Jarik or traditional handmade clothing used as an offering accompanying the ritual mitoni, there are specifically seven types of jarik clothes. Among the types of jarik clothes include sidaluhur, Sidamukti, truntum, Parangkusuma, udanriris, lasem, and dringin. Jarik contains symbolic meaning based on the motif or design of patterns. Each motif of *jarik* represents its own meaning. Jarik sidaluhur represents an expectation to the child in the mother's womb to be someone who has a noble character. Jarik sidamukti represents a hope that the born baby would become righteous. Jarik truntum represents a meaning that all the goodness of the parents could be inherited to the born babay. Jarik parangkusuma represents a meaning that in order the born baby may inherit good nature of mikul dhuwur mendhem jero which means being able to uphold the good image and dignity of the parents. Jarik udanriris represents a meaning that in order the born baby would be loveable and pleasant to around him or her. Jarik lasem is intended in order that the born baby would inherit a nature of always fearing the Almighty God. Jarik dringin represents a hope in order that the born baby would be able to cooperate and socialize well with other people. In adopting the local teaching through those types of Jarik, it is expected that the good and fortune of life in the *jarik* motives could be inherited to the baby inside the mother's womb.

The Role and Function of Mitoni

Each religious activity such as ritual ceremony and salvation contain a philosophical value which is realized through the ritual forms and the symbols applied to traditional ceremony. The use of symbols in the traditional ceremony representatively acts as a medium to show the indirect intents and purposes of such traditions to those of the supporting communities. In essence, from inherited symbols there are clues left by the ancestors intended to be guidance for the posterity descendants. In these symbols also contained noble values to maintain the culture through the preservation.

The functions of Mitoni Ceremony

The communities living in the rural areas hold the customary life habits, one of which is reflected in the *mitoni*. The people preserve the tradition of hereditary passed from generation to generations. Each ceremony certainly has a specific function for the supporting community. The *mitoni* as a life cycle ceremony covers the following functions; a) ritual function, b) social function, and c) preservation of the local traditions function. They are detailed as follows:

Ritual Function

Ritual function is a function associated with the rites or religious rituals. The ritual ceremony of pregnancy has religious function because the ceremony is traditionally deemed as sacred. The sacredness of the ceremony lays at the moment of the ceremony pregnancy was held, the shaman who led the practice bless the offerings. The offerings occupy a function to show for an expectation for the life safety, and to pray for the souls of their ancestors. *Mitoni* as a lifecycle ceremony of pregnancy is believed to provide a life security, healthy and success during the process of giving a birth and in order to avoid disruption of the evil spirits that are around the neighborhood. It can be seen that the ritual ceremony pregnancy is basically for the safety of their children and their mothers, as well as avoid the danger or catastrophe caused by evil spirits.

The social function

The social function reflected in *mitoni* ceremony is a function associated with the means for setting interaction and communication between citizens of the community. As social media, the solemnization of *mitoni* ceremony serves as a means to enhance the social relations among citizens. Based on the statements mentioned above, it can be seen that the social function of the life cycle ceremonies mitoni is as a means of social control, social contact and interaction between the Javanese peoples. Indeed, this ceremony creates a sense of togetherness, unity, and solidarity between citizens.

Function to preserve the local traditions

This function associated with preserving the hereditary customs in which the community still maintain and uphold up to now. The *mitoni* ceremony is a well-preserved belief which must be undergone to a mother who expecting her first child and the seven months of gestational age. Based on the meaning of certain symbols and ritual offerings *mitoni*, in which its main purpose of conducting the ceremony for the hope of safety to women in pregnancy, and also for the hope that the carried baby shall be born safely. Similarly, in a ceremonial procession of *mitoni* associated with interpreting on the symbols. In essence, in conducting both the ritual which requires the use of offerings and equipments and the ceremony in the one hand which engage surrounding people of neighborhood or families. The ceremony is established to maintain a mutual relationship and well-balance between the spiritual with the God to whom the human

beings seek refuge and safety and the relationship between men and their fellow humans in social life to maintain harmony and peace.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion, there are some conclusions regarding the obtain data. First, life cycle ceremonies mitoni do when the gestational age in a mother's womb entering the period of seventh months. Results of the study presented in a narrative texts of the local wisdom in the ritual ceremony (a) verbal expressions (pangucap 'words'') which strengthen the implementation of both the ritual and ceremony of *mitoni*; (b) nonverbal expressions (*patrap* 'behavior') which include attitudes toward the ritual procession applying some required offerings such as *jarik* clothes along with the types, Janur or yellow coconut leaves, water in a Jar (kendi), rice and chicken eggs in the sasserole. The purpose of this ceremony is to obtain safety for pregnant mothers and their fetuses. In addition, the life cycle mitoni ceremony aims to gain the ease and success in facing the birth process. Mitoni as a ritual ceremony includes the ritual function, social function, and the function of the preservation of traditions. Ritual function related to the God to implore salvation to God and the ancestors in order to avoid interference from evil spirits that exist around the home environment etc. It is found that the implementation life cycle ceremony mitoni turns the hearts' of the practitioners tranquil as well as family providers can be trusted to provide life nobility. The nobility in life includes protection against dangers such as miscarriage and unhealthy baby.

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