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Vorwort

Ein Kongress ist ein wissenschaftliches und ein soziales Ereignis. Während das Letztere wichtig ist für das innere Leben einer Disziplin, aber mit dem Abschlussstag des Kongresses auch bereits wieder sein Ende findet, sollte das wissenschaftliche Ereignis fortleben. Die hier vorgelegten Akten sollen dies leisten.

Die Herausgeber dieses Bandes mussten entscheiden, ob alle Vorträge, die in Berlin vorgetragen wurden, veröffentlicht werden sollten. Wir haben uns dazu entschlossen, dies zu tun, freilich in unterschiedlicher Form. Die längeren Abhandlungen der Plenarsitzungen werden hier vollständig vorgelegt, die Beiträge der Nachmittagssektionen dagegen nur als Kurzversionen. Der Verzicht darauf, auch diese Beiträge in voller Länge abzudrucken, erschien uns angemessen, doch sollte zumindest ein Überblick über die Themen und Probleme gegeben werden, die in den Nachmittagssektionen behandelt wurden. Wir danken allen Autoren für die Zusendung ihrer Manuskripte und für die schnelle Korrektur der Druckvorlagen.

Es war unser Bestreben, die Akten zügig vorzulegen, damit die Autoren nicht zu lange nach Abschluss ihrer Manuskripte auf die Veröffentlichung warten mussten; und zugleich wollten wir den nicht selten berechtigten Klagen begegnen, dass die Ergebnisse wissenschaftlicher Veranstaltungen allzu oft erst nach vielen Jahren publiziert würden. Darüber hinaus schien uns ein solches Vorgehen angebracht, um keinen zu großen Abstand zwischen der hier erfolgenden Publikation der Abstracts und der vollständigen Veröffentlichung der Beiträge der Nachmittagssektionen entstehen zu lassen und um ein Erscheinen der Akten in einer hinlänglich langen Zeit vor dem nächsten Epigraphikkongress in Wien im Jahr 2017 sicherzustellen.

Wir wollen hier auch all denen nochmals danken, die den XIV. Internationalen Kongress für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik ermöglicht haben. An erster Stelle ist die Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie und ihr Präsident, Prof. Dr. Günter Stock zu nennen, sodann der amtierende und der frühere Präsident der Humboldt-Universität, Prof. Dr. Jan-Hendrik Olbertz und Prof. Dr. Christoph Markschies, die dem Kongress ihre volle Unterstützung gewährt haben; des Weiteren gilt unser Dank der Präsidentin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Prof. Dr. Friederike Fless, für die logistische Unterstützung, und dem Präsidenten der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Prof. Dr. Hermann Parzinger, sowie dem Direktor der Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Prof. Dr. Andreas Scholl, für die Bereitstellung des Pergamon-Museums, das ei-

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nen wundervollen Rahmen für die Abendveranstaltung bot. Die Finanzierung des Kongresses, stets eines der zentralen Probleme eines solchen Ereignisses, ist neben der BBAW und der AIEGL wesentlich durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft getragen worden; dafür danken wir allen, besonders aber der DFG. Schließlich gilt unser Dank allen Autoren und allen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern am Kongress und nicht zuletzt Matthäus Heil, der die Druckvorlage dieses Bandes mit größter Sorgfalt erstellt hat. Der Erfolg des Kongresses läßt uns auch auf eine günstige Aufnahme der Akten durch die wissenschaftliche Community hoffen.

Berlin, März 2014

Für alle Herausgeber: Werner Eck

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Athanasios D. Rizakis

Writing, public space and publicity in Greek and Roman cities

The principal aim of this session *Stadtbild im Wandel* is to investigate the relationship between writing and the *polis*, that is, between epigraphy and public space, a relationship which illustrates a city's identity and image as it evolves over time and space. Before my eminent colleagues John Camp, Christian Witschel and Charlotte Roueché present some particular cases that show how individual cities employ their public space, I will simply remind you of some general concepts regarding the relationship between writing, public space and publicity. This link changes enormously over the life of the city, from its birth in the early Archaic period till its death in Late Antiquity.

In terms of urban planning, public space has historically been described as »open space«, as opposed to the private domain of housing and work.¹ It is not clear exactly when this distinction was established. Aristotle² credits Hippodamos of Miletus with the idea of dividing a city into public, private and sacred spaces.³ However, this division is of course earlier and is indeed already evident in the first Greek colonies of Sicily, as is shown by the city plan of Mégara-Hyblaea, founded in 750 BC.⁴ Of course, specific terms for real property of any kind, as for example the term *démosios*, first appear in the time of Solon. Its use is, according to David Lewis,⁵ parallel to that of *demos* which is certainly earli-

1 The opposition between 'private' and 'public' is attested since the earlier Greek texts but is clearly expressed for the first time in *Odyssey*; see Casevitz 1998; Ceccarelli, Létoublon & Steinrueck 1998, 47–58. On the semantic meaning of the term *démosios* (public), in the archaic and classical literature and inscriptions, in connection with the term *démos*, see Fouchard 1998. On the lack of clear distinction between public and private space in Geometric Greece, see Polignac 1998. According to Descat 1998 and Bresson 1998 the modern concepts of public and private in the domain of economy don't correspond with the notions of *koinon* and *idion*.

2 Aristotle, *Politics* II. v, 1–2 = 1268a.

3 See Fantasia 1975; Asheri 1975; Burns 1976; Nenci 1979; Martin 1983, 9–41; Greco 2000 and 2008; Shipley 2005. On the sacred character of funerary and votive context, see D'Onofrio 1998.

4 See Harris 1989, 389; Morris 1991, 40 and especially Gras, Trézini & Broise 2005, 432–445.

5 Lewis 1990, 245–246. It includes public buildings (*démosia oikodomémata*), estates (*gé démosia*) and public slaves (*démosios doulos*).

er. Although the Greeks, or rather, the Athenians, made a distinction between *demosia* and *hiera chora*, between public and sacred property, the latter was in the hands of, and administered by, the city.⁶ The balance among public, sacred and private space varied from city to city, but was adapted to the needs of the individual *polis* in question.⁷ Although private property was protected, expropriation was fairly common in cities, in particular when there was need of public space. Of course, cities took pains over regulating the use of public spaces, as shown by a well-known inscription from Thasos (Vth c. BC), published by H erv e Duch ene.⁸ A similar concern is shown in the organization of sacred space.

As for the relationship between writing and the *polis*, especially between epigraphy and public space, the practice of inscribing texts on various materials, seems to be bound up with the rise of the city-state.⁹ On the present evidence we might infer that the date of birth was somewhere about the middle of the eighth century.¹⁰ The Greeks initially used various materials¹¹ but very soon realised that the medium of stone could not be ignored. In earlier times various standing stones had carried inscriptions.¹² Of course, the earliest inscriptions (ca. 750–650 BC) are brief texts private in character.¹³ It is only later (650 BC) that the writing assumes a new status, when legal texts,¹⁴ inscribed on various materials,

6 Lewis 1990, 259–260; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 322 set out the complex ways in which the Greek *polis* articulated, and was articulated by religion; see also Polignac 1995, 61–81; Etienne, M uller & Prost 2000, 125–139. Although sanctuaries and cult administration fall usually in the domain of public, a number of private sanctuaries can be also found; see Jost 1998; cf. also Parker 1996; Connor 1988. For the modern scholarly response on the relationship between public and sacred land, see Papazarkadas 2011, 1–15.

7 On the relationship between public and private space in Greece, see Trisch 1929; Martin 1983, 9–41. On the spatial organisation in the Roman city, see Raggiu 1995, 9–118. The overlapping between public and private facilitates the move between the two. Similarly the shift to the ‘sacred’ is a two-way affair, with objects reverting to a status of either public or private; see Jacquemin 1998.

8 See Duch ene 1992.

9 Hedrick 1994; Hedrick 1999, 395 n. 26.

10 The first intelligible text is that of the *kotyl e* from Pithecusae, which dates to the last quarter of the 8th c. BC; cf. Ridgway 1992, 55–57. The five letters text from Osteria dell’Ossa is earlier (first half of 8th c. BC), but is unintelligible: cf. Bietti Sestieri 1992, 184.

11 E. g. stone, wood, metal, papyrus, leather waxed tablets and linden-bark and palm; see Jeffery & Johnston 1990, 50–58.

12 The earliest extant examples are the inscribed four-sided pillars. In addition to pillars and *stelai*, marble column-shafts or single drums were occasionally used for legal texts (6c – 5c BC). The practice of erecting monuments recording names of the dead probably goes back to a very early period, that is, the mid 7c. BC, see Jeffery & Johnston 1990, 52–55.

13 See below note 15.

14 Gagarin 1986, 81–97; P ebarthe 2006, 55–56. Bertrand 1999, 60 and 96–103 talks of the ‘n ecessit e de l’ criture’, because the law exists only in the written form. It must be noted that

were for the first time displayed in public spaces, these being the most visible and frequented of areas in the *polis*. Greeks thus began using writing for political purposes, as the Romans did later.¹⁵

Inscriptions of VII–IV century inscribed on perishable material do not survive. On the other hand, documents inscribed on durable materials do. This is the case with inscriptions on monumental offerings, especially statues, but also on more humble objects (*e. g.* vases) dedicated to the divinity.¹⁶ Another particular case are the laws of Crete (in the seventh and early sixth centuries), which survived because they were written on the walls of temples.¹⁷ Thus writing acquired an independent life unaffected by the passing time.¹⁸ The practice of inscribing in the form of lists the names of those who held certain secular or religious offices, or the names of those who won prizes at the local festivals, was current at least as early as the sixth century. Other classes of public inscriptions survive in clearer detail. The earliest legal texts appear to be those from the temple Dreros in Crete, which are of the middle of the VIIth c. BC.¹⁹ The relics of sixth-century codes from many other parts of Crete, notably Gortyn, amply confirm the early reputation of the Cretans as law-givers.²⁰

Scholars hold conflicting views on the aim of these documents, debate centring around the question of whether they were published in order to be read or simply to be seen. It is, however, generally accepted that such inscriptions had an effect on social relations and, in fact, transformed public life and became, according to Marcel Detienne's²¹ formula, »des opérateurs de publicité et des con-

both in Greece and Rome there were more forms and means of communication; see Longo 1981.

15 On this theme, see Gagarin 1986, 118–119. 125–126. 141; Detienne 1988a, 14; Ruzé 1988. Writing in connection with elites, power and glory was very widespread in Rome as well. On the status of writing and its use in Rome, see Beard *et alii* 1991 and the various contributions by Corbier 1987; 1991; 1995; 1997, 2005 and 2006.

16 See the list of these offerings at Delos in Etienne 2001. On the use of writing on early Greek painted pottery, see Snodgrass 2000; Osborne & Pappas 2005.

17 On temples as a privileged place for the publication of inscriptions, see Hölkeskamp 1994. Sanctuaries secured the conservation of the written documents, which were thus associated with god's atemporality (Bresson 2005, 165). A long life, however, was not secured for similar laws of the same period from Athens, which were probably written on wood; see Stroud 1989.

18 Writing is in some way connected with the atemporality of the divinity, as is shown by the fact that all civic acts begin with the invocation to the gods; see Bresson 2005, 164–165.

19 Van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994–1995, I, 306–308.

20 Willets 1967; Gagarin 1986, 10; Van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994–1995; Meiggs & Lewis 1988, no 2; Jeffery & Johnston 1990, 61 and 310–314; Harris 1996, 63 n. 31.

21 See Detienne 1988a, 14. Through some laws credited to Lycurgus and Solon, one can assume that the *politikon* is constructed through the relation between the public and private domains in Archaic Greece; see Schmitt-Pantel 1998.

stituantes du champs politique». Writing was never regarded as an esoteric craft in early Greece. In the Greek and Roman world the elites used writing to glorify themselves as well as their families. Ordinary people could and did learn to write, for many of the earliest inscriptions that we possess are graffiti. Kleisthenes' ostracism law in 508/7 presupposes that the average person could write, but it is not known at what date reading and writing became a normal part of the education of children.²² The ruling class found a way to make political decisions public, without, however, considering the impact of this innovation would have on the future development of the political landscape.²³

If we move now to the field of writing and publicity, we may note that public urban space is unique in that it offers an area for social interaction. In fact, the more people gather, the more they will attract others who wish to join in whatever is going on. Thus public space stimulates interaction through the presence of such things as music, art, food, popular meetings, discussion and festive day celebrations. The inscribing and publication of public acts or decisions are explicitly laid down in most public documents.²⁴ The fact that the inscribed object recording, for example, laws, temple inventories, hymns or sacred laws, chronicles or acts of manumission, is placed at the heart of the city implies that it was intended to enjoy the maximum amount of publicity. Consequently public space becomes ideal for conveying information, for advertizing and communicating and for promoting propaganda.²⁵ The use of the city's public space for the display of monuments to this end is one of the most remarkable features of the Greco-Roman civilization, although there are notable exceptions to this.²⁶ Unlike most other ancient forms of writing, inscriptions were permanent fixtures in the public space and so they were manifestly consumed (which is not to say read)²⁷

22 Marrou 1948, 76–77; Robb 1994; for the Roman world, see Beard et alii 1991; Bonner 1997.

23 See Ruzé 1988. The political and socioeconomic implications of this innovation are well described by many scholars, for example, by Hölkeskamp 1992; Detienne 1988b; Harris 1996.

24 In public documents one finds formulas such as »anyone wishing examine the text«, »anyone interested can take knowledge«, etc. (Rhodes 2001; Pébarthe 2005, 179–182). For similar formulas in Roman documents, see Corbier 2005, 189–190.

25 See Detienne 1988b, 33 and 49. Public space is also ideal for forms of illegal countercommunication, such as graffiti, that also use the basis on which the official monument rests. For the Roman period, see Corbier 1987, 53–54; Corbier 2005, 189.

26 Hedrick 1994; Hedrick 1999, 395. As has been observed by Bertrand 1999, 94–95; Bertrand 1997, there are always many forms of diffusion of writing, but there are also cities (*e. g.* city of the Magnetes) in which laws and official acts are not displayed to the public. For the use of monumental writing in the public spaces of Roman cities and the cemeteries that surrounded them, see Corbier 1987; Woolf 1996.

27 Hedrick 1994; Hedrick 1999, 389 n. 9. Certain texts included curses directed towards those who might damage the written monument. The latter are sometimes required to pay a fine, see Detienne 1988b, 50–54.

by all of those who occupied this space – rich and poor, slave and free, male and female, literate and illiterate.

Public space includes both monumental inscriptions and texts that employ smaller letters. The former attract the passer's attention independently of their content, their imposing presence sends a »message of power and glory«,²⁸ whilst in the second case small lettering does not attract the attention and so one must be interested enough to devote time to reading the text.²⁹ In any case the care with which some inscriptions are engraved show that writing, in addition to its intrinsic meaning, also had an aesthetic value.³⁰ As John Bodel³¹ has observed »inscriptions conveyed their meaning visually, in a variety of ways« and the two media of the monument, text and image work together in complementary fashion »both to expand and to circumscribe the representation in question«. Sometimes inscribed writing bridged the gap between figural and verbal representation, although writing contributed to the monument through its capacity to communicate things that could not be portrayed in a single pictorial image.³² Symbols, images and inscriptions on monuments displayed in public spaces or along public roads were directed at the eyes, rather than at the ear of the observer. They made an impression on passengers who might reflect or remember and, as Greg Woolf has observed, »they were important not only because they preserve memory but because they publicize it«. ³³ They consequently provide a different kind of evidence for an assessment of the general political significance of writing from that provided by texts which were kept away from public space, such as, for instance, literary texts, bureaucratic reports or labels on pots.³⁴ On the other side, the relationship between ruling elite and publicity becomes obvious at the beginning of the sixth century, when the setting down

28 Formula probably borrowed by Corbier 2005, 184 from a review of A. Petrucci, *Jeux de lettres. Formes et usages de l'inscription en Italie, XI^e-XX^e siècles*, Paris 1993 (= *La scrittura. Ideologia e rappresentazione*, Turin 1986), which appeared in *le Monde des livres* (November, 1993).

29 For the Roman period, see Corbier 1987, 39.

30 Thomas 1992, 78 (statues); Rebillard 1992 (pottery).

31 See the chapter of Bodel 2001, 19–30 entitled 'Symbolic epigraphy'. On this aspect of epigraphy, see Beard 1985, 115. 139–141; 1991, 38.

32 This relationship between text and image attracted the attention of scholars especially last decades; see Newby & Leader-Newby 2007; Squire 2009; and more generally Muth et alii 2012.

33 Woolf 1996, 32. *Monumentum est quod memoriae servandae gratia* according to *Digest* XI.7.2.6 (Ulpian): *existat*; cf. Woolf 1996, 25. 27; Corbier 2006. For the Greek word, see e. g. Rogers 1991; Foxhall 1995.

34 Hedrick 1994; Hedrick 1999, 173: »The creation of an archive (*Metron*) implies a shift in the monumental attitude toward public texts and an increased emphasis on the text as a context, as a thing to be read in the modern sense«.

of laws in writing modifies the exercise of power.³⁵ This function of writing is reinforced in the Classical period, when the publication of political decisions becomes synonymous with democracy.³⁶

In the view of Jürgen Habermas,³⁷ the concept of publishing political decisions is to be placed in the context of deliberative democracy. In the case of direct publicity, a monumental inscription serves to put into effect the assembly's choices or international accords, such as treaties concluded with foreign states. This conception is clear in the case of Athens. The proliferation of public documents in Attica, since the fifth century BC, is to be linked, in the view of Benjamin Meritt,³⁸ to the origins and elaboration of the democratic practices of the Athenian state of the time. While accepting the role played by democracy in the composing and publishing of decisions, many scholars since 1990, however, have emphasized the fact that writing can be used both as a vehicle for information and as a means of exclusion.³⁹ In Hedrick's view, Meritt's theory is not very persuasive, chiefly because the environment in which writing is used is not only political. The causes for the unparalleled abundance of epigraphical script in Athens are certainly complex: empire, economy, society, urbanization, demography and much more all played a role, although democratic ideology doubtless played its part. Hedrick has pointed out that many non-democratic states, such as Rome or in the Near East and Egypt, also erected inscriptions in great numbers whose political connotations were certainly not democratic and so concludes that the reason for the explosion in public texts in Attica are far from obvious, and the »equation of epigraphical habit with democratic *polis* is wrong«.⁴⁰

Two factors are frequently involved, if an inscription is to be effective, namely the legibility of the script and the selection of the place for display of the text. Interestingly, the first laws were published in sanctuaries, not in public spaces, such as the *agora*.⁴¹ While the latter becomes the place *par excellence* for dis-

35 Detienne 1988b, 38.

36 Detienne 1988b, 38–39: »Déposer les lois par écrit dans le Prytanée ou sous le couvert de Foyer commun, c'est mettre en œuvre une pratique politique, intervenir dans les rapport sociaux, transformer la vie publique«.

37 Habermas 1978; Habermas 2004.

38 Meritt 1940, 89–93.

39 Hedrick 1999, 389–402.

40 See Hedrick 1994; Hedrick 1999, 396 n. 35; cf. similar remarks in Bresson 2005 and Pébarthe 2005.

41 Detienne 1988b, 41; Hölkeskamp 1992, 99–102; Hölkeskamp 1994. In the view of the latter, the Archaic laws from Dreros or other places »deliberately kept at a distance« from public space. Stoddart & Whitley 1988, 766 suggest that the purpose of the Archaic Cretan codes was to »mystify« the laws in a largely illiterate society. For publication of inscriptions into the *bou-*

playing public documents, the *epiphanestatos topos*⁴² in most cases is still the sanctuary of the patron deity, where decrees and public documents were exposed.⁴³ Public buildings, including theatres, are also used,⁴⁴ albeit less frequently, for the publication of public documents, such as treaties, decrees and honorific texts. Finally, in the *gymnasion* we find mostly honorary dedications to gymnasiarchs and benefactors.⁴⁵ Each political message must be displayed in the appropriate place. No one place however was exclusively used. In particular circumstances, cities could suggest a special place for the publication of important documents, as is shown by an honorific decree, of ca. 150 BC, erected by Cretan auxiliaries (of Ptolemy VI) in the honour of Aglaos of Cos that states that the document is to be displayed *eis ton kalliston pros ten anathesin topon*.⁴⁶ The selection of the place for display, whether symbolic or functional, depends on the character and status of the message.⁴⁷

To conclude: the ‘epigraphic habit’ or the ‘epigraphic culture’,⁴⁸ as some scholars prefer to call it, which initially drove the production of private texts only, from the sixth century onwards came also to embrace public documents, such as laws. From the Classical period onwards, plain or decorated epigraphic monuments become an integral part of ‘urban culture’, which includes more and more aspects of both public and private life.⁴⁹ In both Athens and other cities, epigraphic culture was subject to many spatial and temporal fluctuations. These are not always easy to explain, although they are clearly closely connected with the city’s fate. In addition to changes in the content of inscriptions, between the end of the 6c and the beginning of the 5c BC public texts become longer. An example is provided by the text concerning the regulation of the Eleusinian mys-

leuterion and the sanctuary of Hestia, see Giangiulio 1982. For the *agora* as political space of communication, see Ampolo 2012.

42 For Athens, see Whitehead 1997, 163–165; Liddel 2003; cf. also Witschel 1995; Battistoni 2012.

43 Detienne 1988b, 42–46.

44 E. g. the *Capitolium* at Rome or the theatres at Sparta and Aphrodisias.

45 This is still the case for honorary dedications in the Roman period, see Tuchelt 1997, 66–68.

46 See Pouilloux 1960, no 17, ll. 43–44.

47 For the meaning of the formula *celeberrimus locus* used in Roman inscriptions both for honorary statues and for official documents, see Corbier 2005, 188–189.

48 This practice of displaying in public space written documents is labelled the »epigraphic habit« by MacMullen 1982, but many other scholars prefer the term »epigraphic culture«, because it directs our attention »onto an investigation of the social context within which monumental writing flourished« (Woolf 1996, 30).

49 On this question, see MacLean 2002, 1–2 and n. 2. On the relationship between epigraphy and urbanism, see Jongman 1988, 68–69; on demography, army or romanisation, see Woolf 1996, 23 n. 6.

teries (ca. 500 BC), which is some 120 lines long.⁵⁰ The proliferation of stone inscriptions, especially in Attica, from the 5th century onwards, led the Athenians at the end of the fifth century to construct a particular building, later known as the *Métrôon*, to house its archives, which served as the city's memory while inscriptions were a form of publication of official decisions.⁵¹ In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, this tendency becomes more pronounced, as public spaces, such as the *agora*, become more monumental in appearance.⁵² A change now occurs in the type of documents, the majority of which are private texts.⁵³ After a spectacularly large volume of production during the second century AD, epigraphic production declines, in parallel with the city and its values.⁵⁴ During Late Antiquity, although cities remain the focus of intellectual life especially in the East, the close relation between writing and public space, established so many centuries before, changes completely. Although the desire to display wealth and status survived, this was now expressed largely »through other media, among them grand urban and rural residences and elaborate art works of silver plate or ivory«. ⁵⁵

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Abbreviations

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Asheri 1975: D. Asheri, Osservazioni sull'urbanistica ippodamea, in *RSI* 87, 5–16.

50 Harris 1996, 69 n. 50.

51 Boegehold 1972; Sickinger 1999, 64–72. 133–138; Bertrand 1999, 105–106; Bresson 2005, 160. On issues concerning the consultation of official documents, see Bertrand 1999, 121–141.

52 The volume of epigraphic texts, particularly those of a public character, decreases continuously from the 3c BC and has practically disappeared by the mid 3rd c. AD.; see MacMullen 1982, 234 n. 1.

53 On the explosion in new inscriptions, see Woolf 1996, 22 n. 1 (with detailed bibliography).

54 MacMullen 1982; Meyer 1990; Woolf 1996.

55 See Woolf 1996, 39, who adds that »links between this 'privatisation' of display and a change in the public roles of ancient cities seem likely«. For urban change in this period, see Barnish 1980; Liebeschuetz 1992; Saradi 2006.

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