EDUCATION IN AND BEYOND THE GREEK GYMNASIUM



Thursday & Friday, June 13-14 2024 British School at Athens & Academy of Athens









INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON

EDUCATION IN AND BEYOND THE GREEK GYMNASIUM

PROGRAMME

DAY 1	Thursday 13 June
	Venue: British School at Athens, Souedias 52, Athens 106 76, Greece
09.00 - 09.30	Welcome & Introduction
09.30 – 10.30	Keynote speaker: Peter Scholz (University of Stuttgart) Oratory, teaching and learning not only in the gymnasium. Some reflections on performance, teaching, and discussion of intellectuals in Greek gymnasia and other public buildings
10.30 - 10.45	Coffee Break
	Cult and Ritual
	Chair: Rebecca Sweetman (Director of the British School at Athens)
10.45 – 11.15	Kostas Kalogeropoulos (Academy of Athens) Early ritualized forms of agonistic behavior between young males: a diachronic analysis in context
11.15 – 11.45	Cédric Pernet (University of Lausanne) Cults performance and setting in Hellenistic gymnasia
11.45 – 12.15	Julie Bernini (University of Lille) Zeus Alseios, Athena Alseia and the young Koans in their gymnasia (2nd c. BCE - 1st c. CE)
12.15 - 13.00	Lunch Break
	Civic Education Chair: Elena Kontouri (Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens)
13.00 – 13.30	Onno van Nijf (University of Groningen), Britton Tom (University of Groningen) Citizen education and royal representation in Ptolemaic and Attalid gymnasia 3

13.30 – 14.00 14.00 – 14.30	Heather Reid (Fonte Arethusa and Exedra Mediterranean Center), Georgios Mouratidis (British School at Athens) Philosophy in the gymnasion and the gymnasion in philosophy Georgios Zachos (Academy of Athens) The influence of ancient literature on the course of Physical Education in Greece at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: From Plato to Ioannis Chrysaphis
14.30 - 14.50	Coffee Break
	Materiality of the Gymnasium (I)
	Chair: Georgios Mouratidis (British School of Athens)
14.50 – 15.20	Dimitris Sourlas (Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens) New and old epigraphical and sculptural finds from the area of the so-called Diogeneion Gymnasion in Athens
15.20 – 15.50	Zahra Newby (University of Warwick) Visualising gymnasiarchs in the Eastern Roman Empire
15.50 – 16.20	Matt Evans (British School at Athens) Gymnasia in mainland and insular Greece: epigraphic habits, literary references, and multiscalar histories
16.20 – 17.15	Résumé Andrzej Chankowski (Université de Poitiers) & Final Discussion
17.15 – 18.00	Tour of the BSA Collection and Archive (optional)
19.00	Dinner for speakers

DAY 2	Friday 14 June
	Venue: Academy of Athens, Panepistimiou 28, Athens 106 79, Greece
09.00 - 09.30	Keynote speaker: Michalis Tiverios (Vice President of the Academy of Athens) Depictions of two philosophical schools of ancient Athens
	Materiality of the Gymnasium (II)
	Chair: Miltiades Hatzopoulos (Member of the Academy of Athens)
09.30 – 10.00	Manolis I. Korres (Member of the Academy of Athens) The Propylon of Ptolemy's gymnasium in Athens
10.00 – 10.30	Guy Ackermann (University of Geneva) Looking back at the first palestras of the classical period. A new assessment of the gymnasia of Athens, Delos, Delphiand Eretria
10.30 – 11.00	Natalia Kazakidi (Academy of Athens), Ioanna Vassiliadou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) Archaeological evidence of educational practices in the gymnasium of ancient Amphipolis
11.00 - 11.10	Coffee Break
	Materiality of the Gymnasium (III)
	Chair: Kostas Buraselis (Member of the Academy of Athens)
11.10 – 11.40	Aleksandra Nikoloska (Research Centre for Cultural Heritage, "Cvetan Grozdanov") The Sculptural program from the Styberra Gymnasium
11.40 – 12.10	Monica Trümper (Freie Universität Berlin), Thomas Lappi (Freie Universität Berlin), Antonello Fino (Politecnico di Bari) The gymnasium of Agrigento: changes in design, training activities, and cultic practices (between the 2nd century BCE and the Early Imperial Period)
12.10 – 13.00	Résumé & Final Discussion
13.00 - 14.00	Lunch
14.00 – 14.30	Tour of the Academy of Athens (optional)

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ABSTRACTS

Ackermann Guy (University of Geneva)

Looking back at the first palestras of the classical period. A new assessment of the gymnasia of Athens, Delos, Delphi and Eretria

The rise of sports competitions and athletic culture in the Greek cities of the Late Archaic and Classical periods led to the development of buildings dedicated to education and athletic training. The palestra was originally a simple exercise field, where the ground was loosened with a pick to prevent athletes from injuring themselves. From its rudimentary layout, the *palaestra* became a building during the Classical era, with an inner courtyard and porticoes serving various rooms, including a dressing room (the *apodyterion*) and a cold-water bath (the *loutrôn*). The *palaestra* of the Delphi gymnasium has long been considered the oldest example of this type of monument, but its dating to around 330 BCE is now subject to question. Recent excavations in Eretria have also revealed the existence of a palestra dating back to the end of the 5th century, echoing two dialogues by Plato that mention the Athenian palestra at the Lyceum in the same period. Based on archaeological, iconographic and textual sources of the Classical period, this paper aims to trace the origins of this type of building, which is emblematic of public facilities in Greek cities.

Bernini Julie (University of Lille)

Zeus Alseios, Athena Alseia and the young Koans in their gymnasia (2nd c. BCE - 1st c. CE)

As the main institution for civic education, the gymnasiums were also the site of numerous cults linked to the development of future citizens and the protection of the activities they engaged in during their training. The study of the cults held in the gymnasiums of Kos gives historians an unparalleled opportunity to analyse the religious dynamics at work in a Greek educational centre between the 2nd c. BCE. and the 1st c. CE. The fieldwork carried out on the island of Kos has provided exceptional documentation, both epigraphic and archaeological, for understanding these phenomena. The inventory work done as part of the Franco-German GymnAsia project has brought to light two divine figures, Zeus Alseios and Athena Alseia, and enabled us to re-examine the meaning given to their cult by the citizens of Kos.

Stéphanie Paul identifies those deities as one of the many variations of the Zeus-Athena dyad promoted by the city following the *synæcism* of 366 BCE and regularly invoked using various epithets to protect different aspects of civic life. The functional

implications of the epithet "alseios", a topic epithet that refers to an alsos, a sacred grove, have never been studied, unlike its memorial dimension: the epithet probably preserved the memory of an ancient sacred grove frequented by young Koans before the monumental gymnasiums were built. However, not only are topic epithets used to emphasise a divinity's link with a place, but they can also be used to mobilise skills induced by the representations attached to that place. Far from being a place of wild and untamed nature, the alsos was seen by the Greeks as a place where nature was mastered and domesticated, a beautiful nature, shaped so that humans could find themselves in harmony with the divine. So, it's easy to understand why paides who won the euexia ("mastery of the body") contest dedicated their victory to the gods "from the alsos", or why paidonomoi placed the young boys they looked after under their protection. Like the vegetation of the alsos, young Koans had to master their wild nature and grow up in harmony with their environment to become citizens fit for community life. The creation of a specific version of the community's two protective deities to meet the needs of the *paides* may be explained by the special place the city gave to young boys in its strategies to strengthen the community's spirit.

The area used in the 2nd and 1st c. BCE for the display of monuments dedicated by the *paides* and *paidonomoi* can be identified south of the agora. It included at least one *palaistra*, a grove, and several shrines. A change occurred at the end of the 1st c. BCE as most of the inscriptions mentioning these deities were displayed in the area to the north of the stadium. In the 1st c. CE, a new training area was built there for the *neoi* and ephebes, under the patronage of these deities. At the same time, the *palaistra*, and shrines to the south of the agora disappeared to be replaced by large Roman baths, and the *paides* became less visible in Kos' epigraphy, while the ephebes were given greater prominence. The fact that the place of worship and the group placed under the protection of the *alseioi* deities changed was undoubtedly the result of a shift in the Koans' political agenda, showing how the life of the gymnasium was directly linked to the broader concerns of the community.

Evans Matt (University of Warwick / British School at Athens)

Gymnasia in Mainland and Insular Greece: Epigraphic Habits, Literary References, and Multiscalar Histories

Previous research on gymnasia in mainland and insular Greece has tended to focus on archaeological evidence, owing to the number of impressive examples at sites such as Olympia, Delphi, Eretria and Amphipolis. On the other hand, the textual evidence remains comparatively understudied despite the rich nature of this resource. Key inscriptions (e.g. the Beroia gymnasiarchal law) and literary texts (e.g. Lucian's Anacharsis) have received close study to reveal the social dynamics, organisation and functions of gymnasia. However, we still know little about the broad epigraphic and literary habits surrounding gymnasia in Greece. This paper brings together for the first time the textual evidence (inscriptions and literature) relating to gymnasia within mainland and insular Greece. The dataset (ca. 1,000 entries) will be analysed using two different methods.

Firstly, a broad survey of geospatial and chronological patterns will help to elucidate the history of gymnasia across regions and poleis. This will provide a basis from which to set (and compare) the histories of gymnasia at regional and local scales. Secondly, an analysis of the language used in the texts across the dataset will reveal processes of change and continuity in the epigraphic habit and literary culture surrounding gymnasia throughout antiquity. In turn, this paper hopes to work towards a more contextualised understanding of the history of gymnasia, complimenting the picture already garnered from the archaeological record and the isolated treatment of key texts.

Kalogeropoulos Kostas (Academy of Athens)

Early Ritualized Forms of Agonistic Behavior between Young Males: A Diachronic Analysis in Context

An idea has become well established in the scholarly literature of the last three decades concerning Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age ritualized forms of agonistic behavior. Such, it is argued, – probably belonging within a framework of the maturation of young males and the development of adult male prowess – could lie behind the ritual origin of the organized competitive male athletics of the Archaic and Classical periods. Evidence for this line of thought is sought in exceptional finds such as the Theran wall paintings of the boxing boys, the Boxer Rhyton from Agia Triada on Crete, and the Late Minoan and Mycenaean pictorial record of bull-related sports. The Late Geometric era provides representations of chariot racing, sometimes connected with funeral games. Yet more examples could be listed.

This paper does not set out to challenge these notions, but rather to put the relevant representations, discussed within their archaeological contexts, into a chronological sequence. It is argued that this contextual approach offers the ideal framework for a proper diachronic understanding of the sociopolitical associations of the agonistic ideal of behavior and how it became an important institution of education within the Greek *polis*.

Kazakidi Natalia (Academy of Athens), Vassiliadou Ioanna (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Archaeological evidence of educational practices in the gymnasium of ancient Amphipolis

The gymnasium of ancient Amphipolis is one of the most thoroughly excavated and most enriched in findings Hellenistic building of the kind. Its systematic excavation research was carried out under the direction of the late Dimitris Lazaridis (between 1982 and 1984) and Kalliopi Lazaridis (from 1985 to 1989).

This paper will focus on educational practices and the daily life in the gymnasium of Amphipolis through the examination of its archaeological movable equipment, the sculptures (votive offerings to the patron gods of the gymnasium, honorary statues, and victory offerings), the small finds (figurines, sports apparatus, lamps etc.), the portable furniture objects (marble basins, *perirranteria* etc.) that emanated from its excavation.

Education at the gymnasium is inextricably associated with the political activities of the city. Therefore, the study of the sculptures and mobile equipment can illuminate interesting, more or less known aspects of its role as a centre of athletic and military training as well as a carrier of regional cultural identity.

Korres Manolis (Member of the Academy of Athens, National Technical University of Athens)

The propylon of Ptolemy's gymnasium in Athens

Gymnasia, necessary for physical and mental education, were a main component of the ancient Greek cities' existence. Before long time they mainly served intensive military training, a condition indispensable for the survival of cities and states. With the institutional formation of the Greek city, the function of the gymnasia was enriched and evolved, so that they served other very important purposes (Gymnastics and music competitions, admission ceremonies to the classes of ephebes and then men, systematic physical and mental training), always in connection with a local cult, usually of a hero and more generally with the institutions of the city, which, in the final analysis, were a condition for the existence of individual and collective identity.

Due to their original military character and the need of large expanses of land, the gymnasia were located on the rural outskirts of the city and had to be supplied with water (fountains, wells, water conduits, reservoirs). The existence of gymnasia within the dense urban fabric of ancient Athens, such as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, has only one explanation: these gymnasia belong to very ancient times, when the city occupied a much smaller area, leaving these gymnasia outside. The same is true for other urban areas, which had to exist for other reasons, long before their current name was given, such as the Agora of Caesar and Augustus, or some peripheral zones with public use, such as the street of the tripods, with the luxurious choragic monuments on it. Various sites have been proposed for the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, of which the one to the east of the Horologium of Andronikos is well documented thanks to the existence of a 200m long stoa. To the so far positive findings in favor of this site a propylon of the same age with the stoa is added, the adequate remains of which are preserved in front of the Horologium.

Newby Zahra (University of Warwick)

Visualising gymnasiarchs in the Eastern Roman Empire

This paper will study the visual representation of gymnasiarchs and other gymnasia officials in the material culture of the Roman empire. The *kosmetai* portraits from Athens are well known, set up by the ephebes of a particular year to commemorate their leading officials, but other aspects of the topic have been less studied. In this paper I will look at the emblems associated with gymnasiarchs on coins and reliefs from Asia Minor, to

examine the attributes with which gymnasiarchs are associated and consider how these visual attributes compare with the qualities and gifts for which they are commemorated in inscriptions.

van Nijf Onno (University of Groningen), Britton Tom (University of Groningen)

Citizen education and royal representation in Ptolemaic and Attalid gymnasia

The gymnasion of a Hellenistic city was integral to civic identity, being the place where young (elite) men acquired civic skills and learned to interact as a political community. In the context of hegemonic rule by the royal dynasties of the period, the gymnasion also became a venue for expressions of royal presence and authority through images, cult, processions and festivals. These expressions partly overlapped but also differed from those found in other public institutions. This paper asks how royal authority was represented and how strategies for negotiating it could be learned within the gymnasion, and how this aspect of gymnasial training was communicated to the rest of the city.

We take a comparative approach, examining gymnasia as they related to the Ptolemaic and Attalid kingdoms. Socio-political conditions in Egypt and Anatolia were quite different, encouraging the adoption of diverging methods for integrating a royal presence into education. At the same time, the spheres of influence of these two dynasties overlapped – the gymnasion of Kos, where by the second century BCE both Attalids and Ptolemies were honoured simultaneously, provides a key case study. We suggest that local agency was a key common thread – the gymnasion was a place where allegiance to a dynasty could be taught, but that education was shaped and interpreted by gymnasial members in their own interest.

Nikoloska Aleksandra (Research Centre for Cultural Heritage, "Cvetan Grozdanov") The sculptural program from the Styberra Gymnasium

A significant part of the urban life in Styberra during the Antonine and Severan periods revolved around the Gymnasium and the Institution of epheboi. This complex of buildings with its fluctuating character served many purposes within the life of the city. It was an assembly space with different spheres of interaction, a meeting point for the community, leaving a notable impact on the city's culture and economy.

The sculptural program of the complex consists mostly of finds of Himatiophoroi, Large and Small Herculaneum women, as well as herms and imperial portraits. The array of honorific statuary was mainly placed in the hall of the Gymnasium, along the walls, where most statues were found to have crashed to the ground, beside their postaments. Among the inscriptions we find mentions of a gymnasiarch, an ephebarch, a treasurer, and an agonothetes, which allows us to better grasp the structural organisation underlying this Institution. They were the most honoured individuals, with sculptures commemorating their benefactor deeds, and the ones who commissioned the majority of the sculptures.

Although the temple of Tyche is the only religious structure known so far in Styberra, the Gymnasium complex has offered us the most knowledge of the city's religious life, since the Heroon also housed mythological statuary. On the basis of inscriptions we know that the Heroon housed sculptures of Asclepius, Hermes, and Heracles, divine protectors of health, youth and competitions. A votive inscription to Poseidon, Erygon and the nymphs speaks to the cult of the water gods and a local case of a deification of a river. Nonetheless, the great number of statues from Styberra connected to the Gymnasium complex further support the theory that there was a statuary workshop in the city, judging by their style as well as method of execution.

Pernet Céndric (University of Lausanne)

Cults performance and setting in Hellenistic gymnasia

Cultic celebrations were essential to the organisation and running of Hellenistic gymnasia. We know from the epigraphical record that they were the frame of a regular cultic and ceremonial activity punctuating their users' calendar and daily life. However, very little is known about the cults' implementation in the gymnasium's environment or, that is to say, how they were actually carried out in this context.

The ritual gestures performed within the gymnasium's framework can be characterized by analysing the inscriptions' terminology used to describe them. The material and architectural installations needed to carry them out in this context can then be defined and identified. On the other hand, we need to define to what extent the remains identified as «cultual» were actually suitable for the rites' performance according to their epigraphical definition and, if so, how and where they were set up in the gymnasium's environment. While the epigraphical record tends to show a certain homogeneity of practices from one gymnasium to another throughout the Hellenistic era, the archaeological remains reveal features specific to each context, which nevertheless had similar aims from one case to another.

The conception and layout of the cultic facilities and – broadly speaking – ceremonial space within Hellenistic gymnasia reflect the cults' importance and scope for the institution's organization and functioning, but also for the social and cultural definition of its users, the *polis*' future and young citizens.

Reid Heather (Fonte Arethusa and Exedra Mediterranean Center), Mouratidis Georgios (British School at Athens)

Philosophy in the gymnasium and the gymnasium in philosophy

Modern scholars have traditionally construed the ancient Greek *gymnasion* as place for training competitive athletes. Literary, epigraphic, and other archaeological evidence also identify it as an educational center with goals well beyond athletic and military exercise. In fact, the epigraphic record suggests that performance in a *gymnasion* festival, typically called the *Hermaia*, was the main indicator of potential for citizenship, yet not

all of these contests were athletic. Besides a footrace, the most common contests of gymnasia were *euexia*, *eutaxia*, and *philoponia*—qualities that seem more moral than physical. In this essay we interpret such contests in light of what philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon had to say about *gymnastikē* as a form of moral education. Our aim is to reveal the relationship between philosophy and *gymnasion* that helps to explain how its historical practices were understood as education for civic virtue. We argue that the *eutaxia*, *philoponia*, and *euexia* contests in Hellenistic *gymnasia* are a legacy of that relationship—contests of virtue that signaled the potential for civic excellence.

Scholz Peter (University of Stuttgart)

Oratory, teaching and learning ... not only in the gymnasium. Some reflections on performance, teaching, and discussion of intellectuals in Greek gymnasia and other public buildings

For a long time, gymnasia of Hellenistic and Roman Imperial times have been intensively discussed as public institutions and in regard to their use by various kinds of scholars. It has rightly been argued that gymnasia were not primarily institutions of scholarly learning, but rather places where young men were prepared for their duties as citizens, receiving athletic and military training as well as getting familiarised with their role as participants in civic processions and sacrifices. Literary, rhetorical or philosophical activities, taking place at gymnasia, are attested relatively late – in the course of the third century BCE – and ultimately seem to have remained of lesser importance from the perspective of the polis communities. Remarkably, there is no evidence for the Imperial period to prove that rhetors and sophists continued to choose the gymnasia as venues for their performances, even though these had been the primary locations for their sojourn and teaching up to that time. In order to explain this fact, it seems necessary not to consider the gymnasia as urban institutions in isolation, but rather – in terms of the spatial turn - to broaden the perspective to the urban environment and to take a closer look at other public buildings (theatres, bouleuteria, odeia, mouseia) as well as private palaestras and houses when discussing the visits of highly educated men. Especially taking into account the acoustic dimension when considering the historical development of places of teaching and learning in Greek cities, it soon becomes clear why gymnasia lost their privileged status as places of performance for scholars and writers by the Imperial period.

Sourlas Dimitris (Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens)

New and old epigraphical and sculptural finds from the area of the so-called Diogeneion Gymnasion in Athens

Over the last fourty years many new finds have been found in the area of the so-called Diogeneion Gymnasion. The majority of them are lists with ephebes but not only. Honorary inscriptions for emperor Hadrian and for Herodes Atticus has also been found,

two prominent persons which are strongly connected with the ephebes and the running of the city's Gymnasia. Apart from that, some extremely interesting fragments of statues are to be presented, some of them such as a fragment of over life size acrolithic head, poses some new interesting questions, are they part of Diogeneion decoration or votive offerings of ephebes there or their original place must be to a nearby sanctuary, the Theseion for example? The aim of the presentation is the new and old finds to be examined provide us with new informations about the site.

Tiverios Michalis (Member of the Academy of Athens, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Representations of two philosophical schools of Athens

This announcement deals with the reinterpretation of the representations of two well-known mosaics depicting seven philosopher-thinkers discussing astronomical matters. One of these was found in Torre Annunziata, near and northwest of Pompeii, and is kept in Neapolis, Museo Archeologico Nazionale no. 124545, while the other was found in Sarsina in Umbria and is kept in Rome, at Villa Albani no. 3350. Until now, research unanimously accepts that both of these mosaics depict the same composition with the same protagonists. However, despite the obvious similarities presented by these two mosaics in terms of their general organization and overall scenography, we believe that they must depict two different scenes. Specifically, one must depict Plato in the Academy and the other Aristotle in the Lyceum, along with their most prominent students. The originals of these compositions, likely works from the Hellenistic painting and evidently creations of the same artist, must have been crafted simultaneously to be placed in the same space and to serve the same purpose.

Trümper Monika (Freie Universität Berlin), Lappi Thomas (Freie Universität Berlin), Fino Antonello (Politecnico di Bari)

The gymnasium of Agrigento: changes in design, training activities, and cultic practices (between the 2nd century BCE and the Early Imperial Period)

The gymnasium of Agrigento is currently the only known example in the western Mediterranean that can be compared to the well-known examples in the east, including race-tracks, bathing facilities, and presumably a palaestra. Parts of a race-track section and a pool were excavated between the 1950s and 2005 and published in brief reports in 2009 and 2011, which could not clarify the construction date, either in the 2nd century BCE or in the Augustan period. Remains of a potential palaestra have only been revealed in 2022 and 2023, within the frame of a new project launched in cooperation between the Parco Archeologico e Paesaggistico Valle dei Templi di Agrigento, the Freie Universität Berlin, and the Politecnico di Bari. This projects also reassesses the chronology, urban context, design, typology, and function of the entire gymnasium.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the gymnasium of Agrigento, based on the results of the new project and focusing on three key aspects addressed by the conference: changes in the gymnasium as a consequence of social and political changes; training that could be carried out in the facilities; and cultic practice(s) carried out in the gymnasium. It will be shown that the gymnasium was most likely built in the 2nd c BCE by the Hellenistic polis but significantly remodeled in the Augustan period when Agrigento was a municipium ruled by duoviri. The remodeling had an impact on the spaces for training and bathing and presumably also on the corresponding activities and practices. Among others, two long benches and a monumental altar were built in the middle of the race tracks, but the recipient of the altar remains to be determined. The dedicatory inscription of the benches mentions a Roman magistrate who financed the benches as gymnasiarch, under the emperor Augustus (eponymous ruler), and dedicated them to Hermes and Herakles. Thus, the altar may have served for the Imperial cult and/or to venerate the typical gymnasial deities Hermes and Herakles.

Zachos Georgios (Academy of Athens)

The influence of ancient literature on the course of Physical Education in Greece at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: From Plato to Ioannis Chrysaphis

Physical Education begins to be included in educational programs in Europe in 19th century. In modern Greek State, the gymnastic exercise of the students was already foreseen by the law of 1834. However, only by the end of the century and the beginning of the following one it will acquire a systematic character. The foundation of the Central Gymnasium in Athens in 1878 signifies the political will for a series of measures aiming at the development of sports and the introduction of gymnastics into the public education. Besides, the change from the militarization of the gymnastic exercise to Physical Education will take place during this period, having as an aim the harmonious development of body and mind. The study of ancient literature played a special role in this procedure. Prominent gymnasts, among them, Georgios Pagon, Ioannis Phokianos and Ioannis Chrysaphis, will make use of the ancient sources creating the theoretical background of Greek Physical Education.

