MINA: THE CITY OF TENTS
ORIGINATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Ayman Imam90
Mohammad Alamoudi91

Key words: Tent city, Islamic pilgrimage, Hajj sites, Mina development.

Abstract
The city of Mina in Saudi Arabia, or “tent city” as it is known, is one of the most important annual assembly areas for Muslims from all over the world to perform the fifth pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage (Hajj). During early times, only few thousand pilgrims used to come to perform the Hajj.

Recently, because of the improvements in the social, economic and security-related spheres on the local regional and international planes, the number of pilgrims gradually began to increase. However, during the last few Hajj seasons, the number of pilgrims has reached nearly two millions. This vast number of pilgrims in a limited geographic area always creates a variety of problems that open different issues and topics to investigate. In response of this increase, the local authorities of Makkah has developed and urbanized Mina during the years before, the most of those developments were in last two decades.

The objective of this paper is to document the history of the urban development of Mina during the past until now especially last two decades. The paper will be divided into three parts: the first explains the origination and goals of the Hajj and what are the devotional works the pilgrims perform during the week of Hajj. The second shows the urban development that occurred in Mina and what were the main factors and reasons those have influenced on these developments. And the third will be a general discussion about the current situation of Mina and its unique urban form.

90 AYMN AMIN IMAM: King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, PhD. Candidate at Centre de Política de Sòl i Valoracions (CPSV), Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya - BarcelonaTech Av. Diagonal, 649, 08028 Barcelona. Contact email: aeimam@kau.edu.sa

91 MOHAMMAD AHMED ALAMOUDI: King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia PhD. Candidate at Universität für angewandte Kunst, Wien, österreich. Contact email: Mo7amad206@hotmail.com
1. Introduction

The tent ranks among the oldest of man's dwellings. Nomadic Life forms, short-term events, emergencies arising from natural catastrophes and wars have, for thousands of years, given rise to many different forms of tent towns. Tent towns are also meaningful today as temporary protection and places for meeting and living. The largest and certainly also the most interesting tent town in history and modern times annually comes into being for the Hajj (the Muslims' pilgrimage to Makkah). Up to two million pilgrims today take part in this event, for which gigantic tent cities are erected outside the gates of Makkah, for just one day in the plain of Arafat and for three days in the valley of Mina.

The performance of the Hajj to Makkah is the fifth pillar of Islam after the profession of monotheistic faith, acceptance of the daily ritual of five prayers, giving of alms and fasting of Ramadan. Able Muslims who fulfill certain conditions are obligated to perform Hajj once during their lives. It falls during the Islamic lunar month of Dhul-hijjah each year (in 2013, it fell Oct. 13 to Oct. 18). It is a set of acts of worship involves several rituals and praying designed to be performed in Makkah and its surrounding sacred sites located about 5 miles from Makkah and known as (Mina, Arafat and Muzdalifah), with the goal to bring the faithful closer to God. It begins in Makkah, before moving to the desert of Mina, then to Arafat, for a daylong vigil, then to the rocky plain of Muzdalifah, a few miles away, where pilgrims collect pebbles to ritually stone the Devil, and then returns to Mina for three days. Back in Makkah, pilgrims bid farewell to the Ka’aba, the cube-shaped granite building that is the holiest site in Islam.

Each year, over 2.5 million Muslims perform the Hajj, is the world's largest gathering of Muslims the biggest annual gathering of humanity (CNN, 2011), as well as a logistical challenge for the government of Saudi Arabia. According to the Saudi Press Agency, as recently as 1950 the number of pilgrims during Hajj was less than 100,000. That number doubled by 1955, and in 1972 it had reached 645,000. In 1983, the number of pilgrims coming from abroad exceeded one million for the first time. In recent years, Saudi Arabia has hosted over 1.5 million pilgrims from abroad as well as another million from within the Kingdom. This vast number of pilgrims in a limited geographic area and specific time has created an important challenges facing the Saudi government; especially in how to providing services and facilities that guarantees the comfort, security, hospitality and health of the pilgrims, past year alone, the Saudi government spent more than 1.1 billion riyals ($293.3 million) on development projects in the sacred sites of Mina, Arafat and Muzdalifah (Daily News Egypt, 2012).

According to Islamic literature the pilgrims spent the majority of the 5 days of Hajj in Mina (the tent city) located about 5 miles east of Makkah (Figure 1). It is a valley surrounded by mountains, and the plane of the valley measures about 650 Ha (Rasch, 1980). Meanwhile, most
of the services, urban facilities and infrastructure are provided in this area due the several rituals performed there.

This paper focusing first on the brief explanation of the Hajj origination and its rituals, secondly, manifests the urban development during the years and the facilities and infrastructure provided in Mina nowadays and finally the paper concludes some issues and idea could be useful to the current discussions taking place in a 9th Congress “Virtual City and Territory” - CITY MEMORY PEOPLE - Rome, 2-4 October 2013.

2. The General View of The Islamic Pilgrimage (Al-Hajj)

2.1 The Goal and The Origination

In Islam, pilgrimage is an essential practice. For Muslims, the origins of the Hajj and the holy places of Makkah lie deep in the primeval past. According to the Qur’an, Abraham and his son Ishmael laid the foundations of the Ka’ba in Makkah, offering the structure to Allah: “when Abraham was raising the plinth of the House with Ishmael, (he prayed): ‘Accept this from us, O Lord’” (Qur’an, 2:127).

Later Islamic tradition claimed that Adam had already hallowed the site. But the cult dedicated to the worship of Allah degenerated, and the Makkahns exchanged the religion of Abraham and Ishmael for another.  

As the host city of the Ka’ba, Makkah had been a pagan pilgrimage site since antiquity, and was likely in use as such for millennia before Muhammad. There is little doubt that pre-Islamic Arabs had a cult of stones at the site of the Ka’ba. The Qur’an takes note of this, even mentioning that the months for pilgrimage were matters of common knowledge (Qur’an, 2:197). 

The pre-Islamic pilgrimage was composed of a series of rituals. Muhammad took those traditions and reoriented them away from the worship of idols toward the worship of Allah. In effect, “the later Muslim tradition ‘harmonized’ the Islamic version of the complex by identifying each of its elements with some incident in the Abraham legend, which was itself enriched by association with otherwise inexplicable practices in the Hajj ritual.”

2.2 The Duty of the Hajj

The Hajj is commanded in the Qur’an as a duty for the faithful to perform. In Sura 22, “The Pilgrimage,” the Qur’an sets forth the commandment:

27. Announce the Pilgrimage to the people. They will come to you on foot and riding along distant roads on lean and slender beasts,
28. In order to reach the place of advantage for them, and to pronounce the name of God on appointed days over cattle He has given them for food; then eat of the

95 Peters, Hajj, 21.
96 Ibid., 31.
meat and feed the needy and the poor.

29. Let them then attend to their persons and complete the rites of pilgrimage, fulfill their vows and circuit round the ancient House.

30. Apart from this, whoever respects the sacred ordinances of God, will find a better reward for him with his Lord. (Qur'an, 22:27–30)

The Qur'an the Hajj is made a duty only for those Muslims who can afford the journey financially and whose state of health is strong enough for the exertion (Qur'an, 3:97).  

2.3 The Geographical Location of The Places of Pilgrimage

Makkah is situated on the Arabic peninsula, which is the connecting link between the three cultural areas of Europe, Asia and Africa. Makkah's Holy Places lie about in the middle of the landmass of the whole Earth. Makkah lies in an infertile valley in the ancient land of the Hejjaz, which today is known as the Western Province of Saudi Arabia. This area was originally neither agriculturally nor in any other way productive, and its only raison d'être was to be the goal of the Pilgrimage. Connected with this there was international trading. The pilgrims come to Makkah, mainly from four directions: Medina in the North, Jeddah in the West, Jizan in the South and Taif in the East.

The further stopping places of the Hajj are in three valleys in the vicinity of Makkah. The nearest to the town is the narrow valley of Mina; which has an area of about 380 Hectares. It lies about 7 km northeast of the Great Mosque and can be reached via a gorge. It is surrounded by high and steep rocks and its Eastern canonical border is a dry riverbed (Wadi). 6 km further to the East one finds the plane of Muzdalifat, a wide valley with a little hill, which is enclosed by some rocky mountains, forming a narrow pass. Through this the path of the pilgrims leads a further 76 to the 23 East to the valley of Arafat — in all about 20km from the Ka'ba. This wide valley is enclosed in the West by a Wadi and in the East by a comparatively low mountain range (Figure 1).

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97 There are exceptions, such as for age and infirmity. See Abu Muneer Ismail Davids, Getting the Best Out of the Al-Hajj (Pilgrimage) (Riyadh: Maktaba Darussalam, 2006), 265. It is also possible for someone to act as a proxy for another and perform the Hajj on her behalf, an act known as Hajj-e-badal. See Michael Wolfe, The Hadj (New York: Grove Press, 1993), 214.

98 Al-Hijaz is a region in the west of present-day Saudi Arabia. It is bordered on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by Jordan, on the east by Najd and on the south by Asir. Its main city is Jeddah, but it is probably better known for the Islamic holy cities of Makkah and Medina. As the site of Islam's holy places, the Hejaz has significance in the Arab and Islamic historical and political landscape. The region is so called as it separates the land of Najd in the east from the land of Tihamah in the west.
2.4 The Typical Procedure of a Modern Hajj

In the following we will generally explain the method of the Hajj and try to focus more or less on the temporal and spatial aspects of hajj especially in Mina (our case study).

(A) The pilgrims begin arriving by air, sea, and land during the weeks prior to the pilgrimage period. They usually arrive into Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the major port city nearest to Makkah (45 miles distance). From there they travel with their Hajj group99 to Makkah to pray and worship in the holy mosque.

(B) On the first official day of the pilgrimage, pilgrims travel from Makkah to Mina for the first ritual called the Day of Al-Tarwiya100, they spend the day and night in the tents, praying, reading the Qur’an and resting for the next day.

(C) On the second day of Hajj the pilgrims leave Mina to travel to the Plain of Arafat for the culminating experience of the Hajj. On what is known as the “Day of Arafat,” the pilgrims spend the entire day standing (or sitting) near the Mount of Mercy, asking God for forgiveness and making supplications.

(D) After sunset on the Day of Arafat, the pilgrims leave Arafat to a nearby open plain called Muzdalifah, roughly halfway between Arafat and Mina. There they spend the night praying, and collecting small stone pebbles to be used the following day.

(E) On the third day, the pilgrims move before sunrise, this time back to Mina. Here they throw their stone pebbles at pillars that represent the temptations of Satan (Figure 2). According to Islamic literature when pilgrims throwing the stones, the pilgrims recall the story of Satan’s attempt to dissuade Prophet Abraham from following God’s command to sacrifice his son. The three stones represent Abraham’s rejection of Satan and the firmness of his faith. In this day only one pillar be stoned and this results in a tremendous congestion, which almost completely obstructs the Eastern entry to the bridge of pillars called Jamrat Bridge101 (Rasch, 1984).

99 Every pilgrim pretend to a special group which and every group represent a region of countries.

100 A word used in the days for stocking enough water for the journey to Mount Arafat and the Valley of Muzdalifah.

101 Jamrat Bridge; is the Arabic name of the bridge of three pillars those represented the Satan.
After the first stoning ritual one part of the pilgrims goes to the camps to rest, a second part goes to the place of sacrifice to kill the sacrificial animals, and a third part departs to Makkah to perform the Tawaf and also walk seven times between two small hills near the Ka’aba. Throughout the world, Muslims celebrate Eid al-Adha, the Festival of Sacrifice, on this day. This is considered as second of the two major holidays in Islam each year after Ramadan Festival.

The fourth day of the Hajj, is a rest day. The traffic in the morning is comparatively light. In the afternoon however there is again a great rush when about 80% of the pilgrims begin the stoning again, now of all three devil pillars. The place of sacrifice also gets filled up with pilgrims and the vast multitude that goes to Makkah and come back, causes again a traffic-chaos as on the day before.

The fifth day of the Hajj also, has a calm beginning. The majority of the pilgrims is engaged with packing up their belongings and prepares for their departure from Mina, as on the day before, straight after the midday prayer, the rush to the devil pillars begins again and all roads are completely blocked. It is important to note here that pilgrims have to options; they can departure from Mina and finish their ritual in this day, or stay one day more for more asking God for forgiveness and making more supplications and finish their ritual the next day the sixth day of Hajj. And who prefer to stay one day more must do stoning again before

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102 This is a symbolic act that shows their willingness to part with something that is precious to them, just as the Prophet Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son at God's command.

103 Is one of the Islamic rituals of pilgrimage. Muslims are to circumambulate the Kaaba seven times, in a counterclockwise direction. The circling is believed to demonstrate the unity of the believers in the worship of the One God, as they move in harmony together around the Kaaba, while supplicating to God.

104 This is done in remembrance of the plight of Abraham’s wife Hajar, who desperately searched in the area for water for herself and her son, before a spring welled up in the desert for her.
leaving Mina. The majority of pilgrims prefer leaving Mina in the fifth day, which always caused other tremendous congestion, in some years some pilgrims were killed because of this, high crowded. By finishing this day the Hajj officially over (Figure 3)

Figure 3 - A Simple Diagram Shows the Route of Hajj

Source: Own drawing

In the days and weeks after Hajj, many Muslims take advantage of their travel time by visiting the city of Madinah, 270 miles north of Makkah to visit the Prophet’s Mosque, where Muhammad is buried. After that After Hajj, pilgrims return home with renewed faith and are given honorific titles. When the pilgrims return to their home countries after the journey of Hajj, they return spiritually refreshed, forgiven of their sins, and ready to start life anew, with a clean slate.

After this explanation of the Hajj procedure, we can summarize the ritual that be performed in Mina on;
- The first day of Hajj, the day of for stocking enough water for the journey to Mount Arafat,
- The third day of Hajj, the day of big stoning, animal sacrificing and the Eid Festival.
- The forth, the fifth and the sixth days of Hajj, the days of stoning.

All that procedure need special and enough facilities to handle the pilgrims during their ritual, and in the next paragraph we will describe bravely the most important service and facilities provided to achieve pilgrims comfort and to helping them to complete their ritual correctly and safely.

3. The Urban Development of Mina

3.1 Early age
In the early age of Islam and before the emergence of modern traveling means, a vast number of people used to form and organize themselves in groups to travel to Makkah by two main ways; by land and by sea. They came from everywhere, as far away as Spain in the West and China in the East. Those who travelled by land organized themselves into large caravans to bring them safely through dangerous areas. Those caravans were some time counted by 200,000 camels and thousands of people and take a year and months to get to Makkah.

An important description was produced in 1908 by one of the famous travelers called Rifa’ai Ibrahim Pasha, He said that Mina was located in a narrow valley enclosed by steep mountains slopes and the width of that valley was about 637m, it was as a small village with two rows of buildings made of local stone which were separated by one central road crossing the valley (Figure 4). Most of the buildings were uninhabited except for few days during the hajj season. In different sides of the valley there were number of self-organized camps of pilgrims from all around the world, moreover there were also number of camps which were organized one month in advanced by a responsible person who had to guarantee the accommodation of the pilgrims, as well as their safety for the whole journey.

Figure 4 - Map of Mina in 1906


3.2 The Beginning of The Saudi Era

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105 He was the leader of the Egyptian's groups whom traveled to Makkah in 1901, before the Saudi time and after the collapse of the ottoman empire.
The circumstances of the Hajj began to develop during the time of King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud, the founder of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, who ensured the security and safety of the pilgrims, and put more effort to be organized and improved the pilgrims’ camps locations as well as the relevant attraction places in Mina valley.

The entry of the new transportation means as cars added more changes to the urban form of Mina such as the establishing new three roads by King Abdulaziz instead of the only middle path in the medal of Mina valley. Those roads were to improve the movement of pilgrims in Mina, for pedestrian, for the animals and the military in charge of the protection of pilgrims and a private road dedicated specially for vehicles.

3.3 The last 20 years development

During the last twenty years, Mina had numbers of development projects as a reaction of many accidents and disasters have occurred in Mina due to the huge increasing of pilgrims number and the lack of installation and facilities to handle that increase. Some of those mortal disasters were:

- December 1975: A Mecca camp sat up for pilgrims caught on fire caused by a gas canister explosion. Two hundred pilgrims were killed.
- July 1989: A fire at a camp near Mecca claimed the lives of five Pakistani pilgrims and wounded 34.
- July 1990: The worst Hajj related disaster yet took place in Mecca after a stampede over a pedestrian tunnel. Authorities said that the tunnel ventilation system broke down causing the death of 1426 and injuring many others.
- March 1994: A stampede caused by rushing pilgrims in their way to perform the stoning of the devil ritual leaves 270 pilgrims dead.
- May 1995: A fire in a pilgrims’ camp killed three people and injured 99.
- April 1997: A series of fire provoked by strong wind reached an overcrowded tent city in Mina killing more than 340 and injuring 1500.
- April 1998: A stampede during the stoning ritual in Mina caused the death of 180 pilgrims and injury of nearly 200 others.
- March 5, 2001: 35 killed in stampede during stoning of the devil ritual.
- February, 2004: 244 pilgrims killed and a similar number injured in a stampede during the devil-stoning ritual.
- January, 2006: Hundreds of pilgrims are killed and many others are injured in a stampede caused when some pilgrims tripped over dropped luggage amid people rushing to carry out the symbolic ritual of stoning the devil in Mina.

It is clear that the majority of those disasters were fires broke in pilgrim’s tents and stampedes during the stoning ritual. And in response to that the Saudi Government have established a numerous of improvement projects in last twenty years and spent more than US $7 billion (Arabianbusiness.Com, 2008) in developing the desert valley of Mina into a modern city with infrastructure facilities including flyovers, tunnels and water and electricity networks, which have changed the whole image of Mina. Therefore in the next paragraphs we will illustrate the most important development projects:

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3.3.1 Mina improved tents project

In respond to the fire broke in 1997. This project carried out over an area of approximately 2.5 million square meters, the project provides accommodation for 2.6 million pilgrims. The tents were constructed of fiberglass coated with Teflon in order to ensure high resistance to fire. This material, in addition, does not exude poisonous gases. Also, Due to the ever-present danger of fire, the necessary safety precautions were taken to protect the tent camps. A comprehensive fire safety network has been implemented in order to achieve this aim, consisting of major fire hydrants in the streets of Mina and a water supply network, which covers all of Mina (Al-Sayed, 2009) (Figure 5)

Figure 5 - The New Improvmed Tents

Source: Owen Archive

3.3.2 The New Bridge of the Three Pillars of Satan (Jamrat Bridge)

Due to the ever-increasing number of pilgrims, the Ministry prioritized addressing the long-term safety and feasibility of performing the stoning rituals during the Hajj period and In respond to the worst stampede in 2006, the government established the new Jamrat Bridge, has finished in 2010 with 950 meters long and 80 meters wide, and comprises five levels and cost over SR4.5 billion to build. The bridge was constructed in such a way so in future it can be built as high as 12 levels, accommodating five million Hajis at once. The bridge has three tunnels, 11 entry and 12 exit points, a helicopter airfield and a cooling system that sprinkles water droplets, keeping the temperature at a maximum of 29 degrees Celsius. The project also has other facilities including grocers, restaurants, barbershops, toilets, medical services and civil defense among others. The bridge is monitored by a large number of cameras transmitting to the main operations room, enabling security forces to intervene immediately in case of any emergency. The Jamrat area lies in the western part of Mina, occupying about 20 hectares (Figure 6).
3.3.3 Mecca Metro Project

Is one of its kind mega projects targeting to serve pilgrims coming from all over the globe every year to perform Hajj rituals by moving easily in the sacred sites of Arafat, Muzdalifa, and Mina. The project is sponsored by China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC), The Chinese-built railway with capacity of 72,000 people per hour to ease congestions and prevent stampedes in which hundreds have been killed in past years. The dual-track light railway connects the three sacred sites of Mina, Muzdalifah and Arafat -areas that see massive congestion during the five-day pilgrimage and will help transport at least 500,000 pilgrims within six to eight hours. Meanwhile, It will replace 30,000 cars previously used, said project director Fahd Abu-Tarbush (Alarabiya channel, 2011). The project coasted SR6.5 billion ($1.7bn) Studies are now underway on extending the monorail to a station close to the Grand Mosque in Makkah in order to link it with the Haramain Railway that connects the two holy cities of Makkah and Madinah, the paper added (Figure 7).
3.3.4 Mina Buildings Project

Six new towers were constructed near the Jamrat, covering an area of about 25,000 square meters and accommodating over 20,000 pilgrims. Each tower is 12 stories high. More buildings will be constructed as part of the project to eventually accommodate about a million pilgrims. The Council of Senior Religious Scholars approved the construction of the buildings.\footnote{It is important to indicate that in Islamic literature it is prohibited the building of any kind of stone building in sacred sites, and there are a big debate between the authority and the religious men's whom have an important impact in any decision regarding to holy cities.}

3.3.5 Hospitals

There are three major hospitals in Mina:

- Mina Wadi Hospital was totally reconstructed early this year. It has 194 beds, 25 in the intensive care unit, 25 in the sunstrokes section, 24 in the observation ward and two operation rooms.
- Mina Al-Jisr Hospital has 140 beds, 28 in the intensive care unit, as well as four operation rooms and a number of outpatient clinics.
- Mina New Road Hospital has 50 beds and a two-story high staff building.

3.3.6 Roads and Bridges

There are 25 tunnels in Mina leading to Makkah, as well as 41 bridges and flyovers and roads with a total length of over 70 km. There is a designated road for pedestrians that are 4.5 km long.
long and 30 meters wide in Mina, leading to the Jamrat Bridge. It has four tunnels and two flyovers.

With regard to transport, private cars have been barred on some sections of the route to relieve road congestion, and there are plans for a rail link serving principal venues which, in theory, would render 53,000 vehicles redundant (Al Jazeera, 2009).

Those entire projects were supported by an advanced infrastructure, street network, electricity, Sewerage, and public toilets and any urban facility and service could guarantee the pilgrims comfort and security (Figure 8).

Figure 8 - The form of Mina and its Urban Layers Nowadays

Source: Hajj Ministry

5. Conclusion

The original impetus for this academic paper was to bring what is happening in Mina now to the attention of other professionals and academicians who might benefit from its organizational decisions and planning ideas. Due to the fact that Hajj is a unique and immense gathering, its study offers an opportunity to add something new to the current planning thought. Like every modern city, Mina has a history that is chronologically told in its urban layers, its older sectors, its streets and city layout. Yet, interestingly the majority of its urban facilities are new, and this begins to tell another more modern tale of Mina. In contrast, big cities like Berlin,
Germany are full of built layers, buildings, infrastructure and utilities, which in some part denote age and took years to plan and accomplish, as growth was much slower. In this way, form follows function as a city’s individual history unfolds and is reflected in its architecture and public works. They have a definite start and finish but in the case of Mina, the intention for building projects is different. They are not just determined by the everyday necessities of the people, but the needs of millions for a week. The incredibly unique character of this type of city planning makes Mina of special interest to city and urban planning and discussions of high density and living comfort.

Therefore, the hypothesis is to examine whether the benefits of Mina’s urban planning systems could have an impact or a potential role in helping to solve many of the upcoming population density problems facing big urban metropolises nowadays by applying new ideas and thoughts gained from the accomplishments and failures at Mina. The impact of the projects in Mina should be scientifically tested and thoroughly studied by capable authorities and agencies as well as drawing on the individual living experiences of the pilgrims. Since Mina is only a semi-permanent city, testing could be completed in a much shorter period of time rather than the many years it often takes to carry out a normal study. Feasibility and efficiency need to be studied to ascertain whether Mina’s new ideas and solutions can apply in the real world to other urban centers. That entails teams of architects and planners observing and assessing the changes in Mina’s entire urban system and the impacts on day-to-day life in the city. The intended outcomes and possible implications are encouraging at this point.

This paper reflects the combined work of two PhD researchers. The first research project concerns the temporality in urbanism and how the theme of Mina could benefit current urban strategies and planning methods. The second research project focuses on suggestions for the right to use Mina during non-Hajj seasons.

6. References

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