VIENNESE FEUILLETON DURING THE EARLY 1920s:
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF BERTHA PAULI'S 
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AS CONTRIBUTIONS 
TO A LITERARY GENRE 

by 

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ABSTRACT

VIENNESE FEUILLETON DURING THE EARLY 1920S:
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF BERTHA PAULI’S
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TO A LITERARY GENRE

Bertha Pauli belongs to a class of writers (women) who are often overlooked, writing in a style (feuilleton) that is under-recognized for its literary value. Her writings have never been systematically analyzed before despite their volume and prominence in the Vienna of the 1920s. The first half of this thesis deals with the form of feuilleton, establishing a context in which to study Pauli’s works. The second half describes the political content of Pauli’s biographical feuilletons and demonstrates her skill as a persuasive writer.

Feuilletons were a popular form of journalistic writing from the eighteenth century up until the Second World War. Scholars of Germanistik have traditionally neglected the study of feuilletons. This thesis argues that feuilletons can be quality literature, and that they give insight into the time in which they were written. Although most studies about Viennese feuilletons concentrate on the Fin de Siècle, feuilletons from the 1920s are important from a socio-political viewpoint. The 1920s was the only extended time period when writers could express their personal political views free of censorship. Most existing research also concentrates on male Feuilletonists who went on to become famous. However, if scholars do not study women writers in addition to men, they create a lopsided view of culture,
indicating that only men were thinking. My thesis on Pauli expands the scholarship on feuilletons to include a woman’s perspective on the culture of the 1920s.

Berta Pauli biographical feuilletons are significant both as reflections of women’s issues in Viennese culture during the 1920s and also as a contribution to the genre of feuilleton. Her feuilletons have both a feminist and a political subtext. Pauli’s feuilletons advance feminism in a time when the women’s movement had gone into dormancy. By expanding the traditional view of the historical women she wrote about, Pauli encouraged readers to reevaluate the role and worth of women in society. In addition, Pauli also implicitly argues for social democracy in Vienna by showing problems with the system of monarchy.

Many women wrote feuilletons during the 1920s. Pauli’s are especially important to include in the canon of feuilletons because she was an excellent writer. This thesis shows that her writing meets the characteristics of good writing outlined by Jacqueline Berke in her book Twenty Questions for the Writer. In particular, Pauli used her skill as a persuasive writer to subtly influence her audience’s thinking about women at a time of widespread distrust of feminists.
1. Introduction

I always left the Austrian National Library feeling nauseated with my head pounding and a crick in my back. I spent my days during the summer of 2002 scrolling through microfilm, working on a project to catalogue everything written by women between 1921 and 1926 in the *Neue Freie Presse*, one of the most influential newspapers in Vienna during that time. On the front page of the morning edition, a line divided a column titled “Feuilleton” from the rest of the newspaper headlines. Various writers wrote feuilletons, and one of the names that regularly appeared was “Bertha Pauli.” She wrote very well and her sketches of women were especially intriguing in that the subject matter was different from most other feuilletons. However, when I began looking for more information about her, I could not find much. Why was I unable to find any discussion of Bertha Pauli’s writings, and why is so little written about the genre of feuilleton in general?

Bertha Pauli belongs to a class of writers (women) who are often overlooked, writing in a style (feuilleton) that is under-recognized for its literary value. By examining Pauli’s writings in the greater context of feuilletons and their history, I will be better able to evaluate her contributions to this field. Thus my thesis focuses on answering two important questions. First, “What is a feuilleton and why is this art form important?” The answers to this first question will help in evaluating the second, “What was Bertha Pauli attempting to express in her biographical feuilletons about women and why do these feuilletons matter?” I will show that Pauli’s biographical sketches are important to the form of feuilleton as an example of a woman using the basic structure for feuilletons to express her feminist and
political views. In addition, I will demonstrate that Pauli was a talented, persuasive writer, carefully including her beliefs in these biographical feuilletons.

The organization of the paper is as follows: Part 2 considers what a feuilleton is. Section 2.1 defines a feuilleton, describing the contradictions in delineating its characteristics. Section 2.2 discusses feuilletons' associations with various other genres of writing. Section 2.3 explains the history of the feuilleton form. Section 2.4 describes literary scholars' lack of attention to feuilletons. Section 2.5 clarifies the importance of women writing feuilletons.

Part 3 examines Pauli biographical feuilletons. Section 3.1 provides background on Pauli herself. Section 3.2 gives an overview of the political situation in Vienna during the 1920s. My analysis of Pauli and her writings begins in section 3.3, which explains Pauli's significance as a Féuilletonistin. Section 3.4 deals with Pauli's political allusions in her texts: 3.4.1 describes the subjects of Pauli's feuilletons as prominent women, 3.4.2 reveals the significance of their connections to France and Austria, 3.4.3 discusses the stereotypes associated with the women, 3.4.4 deals with negative descriptions of the women, 3.4.5 explains the women's behavior, and 3.4.6 discusses physical descriptions of the women. Section 3.5 assesses Pauli's biographical feuilletons as a contribution to the overall form of feuilleton: 3.5.1 discusses intuition evaluating her writings, 3.5.2 analyzes her stylistic economy, 3.5.3 evaluates her feuilletons for simplicity, 3.5.4 considers her use of rhetorical stance, and 3.5.5 examines evidence of "courtship devices" in her writing.

Part 4 concludes by relating the importance of Pauli's feuilletons to the genre of feuilleton as a whole and argues that she merits inclusion in the canon of exemplary Féuilletonists.
2. The Literary Genre of Feuilleton

2.1. Definition of a Feuilleton

Daniel Spitzer, a celebrated Feuilletonist from the Jahrhundertwende in Vienna, described a feuilleton with its unique journalistic and literary position, saying, “Ein Artikel der nicht in die Zeitung gehört, aber doch dort steht, ist ein Feuilleton” (qtd. in Maierbrugger 152). Feuilletons were traditionally non-political treatises in the newspaper. The genre included scholarly essays in addition to the more descriptive literary feuilletons known as “kleine Form” (Maierbrugger 151). Feuilletons were often critiques and reflections about theater, music, and literature or could also be discussions of discoveries in science. They could also be descriptive, talking about travel, specific places, or people (155). The authors of feuilletons express their personal opinions, thus, necessitating the separation of the feuilleton from the rest of the newspaper (Wenny 59).

Feuilletons were a European phenomenon popular from the eighteenth century up until the Second World War. Notwithstanding this popularity, scholars have had difficulty delineating the scope of what constitutes a feuilleton given the inherent broadness of the form. Andrea Wenny, who wrote a dissertation about feuilletons written around 1900, even claims that “Das Feuilleton präzise und umfassend zu definieren, ist nicht möglich und auch nicht sinnvoll, da Definitionen Einschränkungen bedingen, die der Vielseitigkeit und den vielfältigen Ausprägungsformen des Feuilletons widersprechen würden” (57). In spite of this, Wilmont Haacke attempts a definition in his seminal work Handbuch des Feuilletons, to which I will refer throughout this thesis, saying,

Ein Feuilleton ist ein Stück sauberer, gehobener und ansprechender Prosa, in welchem ein dichterisches Erlebnis mit literarischen Mitteln bei Innehaltung journalistischer Kürzerbauung oder Auslegung auf moralischer Perspektive,
gehalten in einer betont persönliche Schilderung, welche jedoch die
Nachempfindbarkeit für die Allgemeinheit nicht schwach sondern hebt, so
dergestellt wird, daß sich Alltägliches mit Ewigem darin harmonisch und
erfreuend verbinden. (Haacke 2: 305)

Though Haacke describes feuilletons as "sauberer, gehobener und ansprechender
Prosa," many critics have denounced the art form for being written in a chatty, unstructured
style. Hermann Hesse distainfully claims that Feuilletonists "... berichteten oder vielmehr
«plauderten» über täusenderlei Gegenstände des Wissens ..." (17). On the other hand,
Alfred Zöhner, editor of a collection of Viennese Meisterfeuilletons, defines feuilletons as
"kleine, anmutige, ziellose, aber dabei nicht ungewichtige oder gar absichtlose Plauderei, die
... veröffentlicht zu werden pflegt und die dennoch eine oder besser ihre kulturhistorische
Sendung aufzuweisen hat” (5-6). This definition explains that, in spite of the casual style of
feuilletons, the genre is important because it reflects the culture of the time. Thus, Bertha
Pauli’s feuilletons can be examined for insights into the role of women in Vienna during the
1920s.

2.2. Literary Classification of Feuilletons

Given the difficulties in defining what constitutes a feuilleton, it follows that scholars
would disagree in classifying the genre. Haacke describes feuilletons as poetry. They use
metaphors to reflect the abstract elements in everyday life but, in so doing, allow the reader
to better recognize the excitement of daily living and, thus, make life more concrete (Haacke
1:272). Monika Kollmann, author of the article “Essayistinnen und Feuilletonistinnen der
Wiener Jahrhundertwende. Eine Forschungslücke,” classifies the feuilleton as being related
to the essay. In fact, she claims that the two forms are so similar that feuilletons should simply be classified as essays:

Essayistische und feuilletonistische Texte sind nah verwandt, ja gehen in vielen Fällen so ineinander über, daß es nicht möglich ist, theoretisch Gattungsgrenzen zu ziehen und daß durch die essayistische Schreibweise die Gattungsbezeichnung 'Feuilleton' obsolet wird. (Kollmann 159)

However, other scholars disagree with this claim. Wenny writes that, based on theme, style, and the intention of the author, various feuilletons can be categorized under countless literary genres (61). Haacke categorizes the many literary genres, which feuilletons can reflect or encompass:

Pauli wrote two types of feuilletons for the Neue Freie Presse: literary and biographical. The literary reviews of books and plays that Pauli, and many other Feuilletonisten, wrote can be categorized as Ansatze, Essays, or Kommentar. Her biographical writings, which this paper examines, are examples of Biographie Brief.

2.3. Development in Viennese Feuilletons

Haacke argues that although “feuilleton” is originally a French word, the art form became uniquely German (Haacke 2: 309). The name “feuilleton” is derived from the word feuille, which, as the Feuilletonist and scholar Heinz Knobloch explains, has many meanings.

Das Wort Feuilleton stammt aus der französischen Wortfamilie feuille (Blatt, Bogen), feuillage (Laub), feuillet (einzelnes Blatt) und feuilleter (durchblättern). Es ist am besten mit ‘Blättchen, Beiblatt’ zu übersetzen. …

Das Feuilleton, das Blättchen, war ursprünglich ein dem Hauptblatt einer Zeitung beigelegtes, in Umfang oder Format kleineres Blatt, aus dem sich … ein Zeitungsteil entwickelte. (11)

The development of feuilletons, which Knobloch refers to, began during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the earliest predecessors of feuilletons appeared. In 1799, the Paris based Journal des Débats included a separate page of advertisements, calling it a “feuilleton” (Wenny 64-65). It was similar to the 1633 established Anzeigenblatt, Feuille d'avis du bureau d'adresser; however, a worker for the Journal, Abbé Julien Louis de Geoffroy, soon began including critiques of theater and personal remarks to make the feuilleton more of a conversation piece (Knobloch 19-20).

Other French newspapers took this idea of an entertainment section during the beginning of the nineteenth century and began calling this part of the newspaper the
feuilleton. Now feuilletons, instead of being a separate insert included with the rest of the paper, appeared in the main section of the newspaper, divided by a line from the news in the rest of the paper (Mauthe 10).

Maierbrugger states that the term “feuilleton” started as a “Sammelbegriff” for the cultural section of the newspaper (155). It was not always separated from the rest of the newspaper, “unter dem Strich” as was common with later feuilletons. The purpose of these early feuilletons was to communicate cultural happenings (155). However, from the beginning, many “purists” regarded feuilletons as less important than the news (Spiel 95).

With the Vormärz revolution of 1848 and the relaxation of the strict censorship of the press, feuilletons came to Germany and Austria. In Vienna, the first printed feuilleton appeared in the Österreichisch-kaiserlich-privilegirte Wiener Zeitung on January 1, 1848. With the lifting of the censorship of the press, many new papers were established in Vienna, and with this growth in newspapers came the introduction of the first Viennese feuilletons. After the 1848 Revolution failed, censors were reinstated and most of the papers disappeared. Many of those that continued now contained the feuilleton section (Wenny 67). At this time, the Neue Freie Presse became known as one of the “vornehmlichsten und vornehmsten Rendezvousorten der Feuilletonisten” (Zöhner 8, see Appendix).

On December 21, 1867, the Austrian constitution was amended to include freedom of the press (Wenny 32). The greater independence granted to the Press also affected feuilletons accordingly. In fact, the Jahrhundertwende between the nineteenth and the twentieth century, after the censorship of the press had been revoked, is often held to be the “Glanzzeit des Feuilletons” in Vienna (72). Nevertheless, even then people criticized the genre. Alfred Polgar, himself a noted Viennese Feuilletonist said, “Dann das ist das
Wesentliche des Wiener Feuilletons: die Leere; die wässerige Visage, von gekräuselten Stil-Löckchen hold umscherzt” (qtd. in Wenny 71).

During the Fin de Siècle, feuilletons rarely addressed politics. In fact, Maierbrugger claims that, “Das Charakteristikum des bürgerlichen Feuilletons nicht ‚unpolitisch’, sondern ‚antipolitisch’ zu sein, erklärt die verbrämte Ästhetisierung etwa des Wiener Feuilletons um die Jahrhundertwende” (Maierbrugger 152). This situation changed when Article 13 of the constitution, providing for freedom of the press, was revoked on July 25, 1914 (Wenny 32-3). Feuilletonists could no longer freely choose their topics to write about, and the government used feuilletons, along with the rest of the newspapers, to further patriotism and support the war effort. (Maierbrugger 154-5)

After World War I, Feuilletonists were again no longer required to advocate the government’s policies. Hence, many Feuilletonists began advocating their personal political beliefs¹ (Maierbrugger 154-5). Feuilletons became an “aggressiven Forum ideologischer Auseinandersetzung einzelner politisch-intellektueller Kräftefelder” (154). During the early 1930s when the National Socialists came to power, they saw the potential for propaganda in the literary form, and they once more forced Feuilletonists to promote an agenda (150).

Because the Fin de Siècle in Vienna is seen as the instance of highest literary achievement for this genre, most studies about Viennese feuilletons also concentrate on this time period.² However, feuilletons from the 1920s are also important from a socio-political

¹ This politicization of Feuilleton was also occurring in Germany under the Weimar Republic. In Germany the trend towards National Socialism was reflected in the Feuilleton. During the First World War, as in Austria, censors had been reapplied to the newspapers and they were required to support the war effort through journalism. In 1921, after the end of the war, German journalists began to concentrate on feuilletons again. However, after having discussed serious war issues for years, the traditional human-interest feuilletons seemed too insubstantial. Scholars argued that frivolous feuilletons reflected badly on their national image (Haacke 1:223). Erich Schlaikjer wrote, “Wenn ihr ernsthafte Leute sein wollt, so wendet den gleichen Flicß an das Feuilleton eurer Zeitung wie an den politischen Teil” (qtd. in Haacke 1:226).

² Haacke, in his Handbuch des Feuilletons, only discusses Viennese feuilletons during the Jahrhundertwende. Wenny’s dissertation, “… wir blickten nur auf Bücher und Bilder”: Das Feuilleton der ‚Neuen Freien Presse‘ am 1900, also
viewpoint. This was the only extended time period when writers could express their personal political views instead of merely writing about culture or being coerced into espousing the
government's actions. In particular, Pauli's biographical feuilletons reflect her opinions about feminism and social democracy.

2.4. *Germanistik* and Feuilletons

Many scholars do not consider the feuilleton form to be high literature because it was written for the newspapers and, hence, for the masses. Arthur Schopenhauer, the famed German philosopher, said that journalism was the lowest form of literary activity (536-581). The time constraints under which journalists operate may be one reason for this prejudice against journalism. Writers for newspapers do not have time to perfect their prose because they are focused on meeting deadlines. The newspapers are also for everyday people, so journalists usually use everyday speech, colloquialisms, and clichés. However, Haacke claims that feuilletons are proof that journalism can be quality literature (2:306). Arno Maierbrugger, author of "Das ,Historische' Zeitungs-Feuilleton: Forschungsprobleme aus der Sicht der Kommunikationsgeschichte," writes that it is important to remember that feuilletons are literary and journalistic (150). Unfortunately, feuilletons are still often overlooked by the literary world.

Haacke details the relationship between feuilletons and literary criticism, noting the minimal progress in developing recognition for this genre. Most authors do not even include feuilletons in their discussion of German Literature. For example, though the creation of feuilletons preceded his work, G. G. Gervinus apparently did not mention feuilletons in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*. Haacke does concede that feuilletons did not actually gain concentrates on this time period. Monika Kollmann's "Essayistinnen und Feuilletonistinnen der Wiener Jahrhundertwende: Eine Forschungslücke" is about women writing during Fin de Siècle Vienna.
their immense popularity until after Gervinus wrote this work (2:19-20). However, Haacke says that this tendency to completely ignore feuilletons continued for about 100 years (20).

Haacke credits Wilhelm Scherer, a Viennese scholar during the nineteenth century, for first introducing the idea that journalism and literature are not mutually exclusive. Scherer called minstrels and poets "wandernde Journalisten," defining journalists as their modern-day equivalents (Haacke 2: 21). He evidently argued that, whereas the newspaper was the modern method for communication about important events, news used to be reported in songs. Haacke then makes the connection between this antiquated form of poetic journalism and feuilletons (21).

Haacke mentions Paul Fechter's study "Dichtung und Journalismus" as another breakthrough for feuilletons in relation to literature. Fechter describes the feuilleton as a literary genre and claims that feuilletons from Vienna and Berlin during the time from the Vormärz to Impressionism were especially literary in quality (Haacke 2: 28-29). Werner Rahmelow's study "Zu Anfängen des feuilletonistische Stils," in which he discusses the need for the terms "Feuilleton" and "Feuilletonismus" in the language of literary criticism, was also important according to Haacke (32).

Haacke concludes saying that, in spite of these scholars' recognition of the genre, feuilletons continue to be ignored in anthologies and histories of German literature. Doctoral candidates in Germanistik have also not written much about feuilletons (Haacke 2: 20-21). This longstanding dismissal of the feuilleton as a literary art form has led to a critical vacuum. The same characteristics that caused critics to reject feuilletons as literature offer, however, an opportunity to use feuilletons as a relatively unexplored window through which to view the time in which they were written. My thesis on Pauli contributes to this process of
rediscovery by expanding the scholarship on feuilletons to include a woman's perspective on the culture of the 1920s.

2.5. *Feuilletonistinnen*

The canon of German literature, like English, concentrates on men's writings. In the event that *Feuilletonists* are studied at all, the focus is on men. Recent scholarship has focused on male *Feuilletonists* who later became famous for their other writings. For example, much attention has been given to the feuilletons of writers such as Joseph Roth, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal and Karl Kraus (Wirtz, Haacke 1:348, Wenny 113). However, even in the case of these great writers, their feuilletons are often ignored or seen as negligible in comparison with their other works (Kollmann 158, 160).

Many less famous writers, including most women, remain buried in microfilm copies of back issues of old newspapers. Kollmann argues that, since both feuilletons and women's writings tend to be ignored in literary studies, *Feuilletonistinnen* are at a double disadvantage (160-161). In order to better understand the genre of feuilleton, works from both women and men need to be studied. Though men dominated the newspapers and the feuilleton section, many women were frequent contributors. Kollmann explains the situation mentioning, in particular, the many women writing for the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Zu den für Zeitungen schreibenden Frauen ... gibt es aber noch überhaupt keine auch nur annähernd ausreichenden Forschungen, obwohl jedem, der im Feuilletenteil etwa der "Neuen Freien Presse" aus diesen Jahren blättert, weibliche Verfassernamen auffallen. (165)
Kollmann also discusses the problems that deterred Feuilletonistinnen from being recognized for their work. Feuilletonistinnen are much less likely than women poets or novelists to be included in literary anthologies since even male Feuilletonists are usually excluded from these collections. Also, feuilletons are more difficult to collect because they are scattered in various newspapers and magazines and are often seen as being of less enduring value because of the association with journalism. There were also fewer women writing feuilletons than women writing poetry or novels, which would again deter scholars from studying these Feuilletonistinnen. In the event that any Feuilletonistinnen are analyzed in scholarly works or included in anthologies, only a select few are ever discussed—the same women are being studied again and again (Kollmann 163).

One of the reasons for this lack of attention to women’s journalistic writings is that they are often considered inferior in quality (Kollmann 161). Andrea Wenny briefly mentions several women writing feuilletons for the Neue Freie Presse around the Fin de Siècle but says that they were never as successful as the men in achieving good feuilletonistic style (78-9). In this statement, Wenny makes the mistake of assuming that, because women’s writings are different from men’s, they must be inferior. However, Virginia Woolf argues, “A woman’s
writing is always feminine; it cannot help being feminine; the only difference lies in defining what we mean by feminine" ("Review"). Just because women's writings were different from men's does not make them substandard. The women writing for the Neue Freie Presse and other newspapers were overcoming stereotypes about feminine writing with their feuilletons. The open format of the feuilleton allowed these women to express their views in their own voices. They adapted the genre to express their own experiences, perceptions and interests. In particular, Pauli, a talented writer by any standard, used her feuilletons to express her personal views on politics and the role of women in society. The second half of this thesis deals specifically with a series of Pauli's biographical sketches about women from history.