

THE ORGANIZATION OF PANDEMONIUM

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HELL may be a region of disorder in comparison with heaven, but it is evident that some sort of order must prevail in the lower regions. It is certainly doubtful whether the Devil will permit any disorder or discord in his domain. This solidarity and amity among the exiled angels is explained by their common lot of suffering under adversity. Milton has himself said: "Devil with devil damn'd Firm concord holds" (*Par. Lost* ii. 496-7). Indeed, the Puritan poet, following the lead of Tasso, ascribed to the demons of hell a spirit of harmony, of loyalty, and of enthusiasm which is not often found among the inhabitants of this planet. He also granted them the power of governing and combining themselves on their own basic principles and endowed them with the faculty of deliberation and concerted action.

The demons of darkness form a regular social and political organization.¹ The infernal government was patterned after the celestial government. The Kingdom of Satan, mentioned in the New Testament (*Matt. xii. 26*), was established to rival the Kingdom of God. The diabolarchy was formed in imitation of the hierarchy of heaven. The Church fathers Hieronymus, Chrysostom, Cassianus and others speak of a hierarchy of devils. Previously, biblical authority had pointed to the fact that there are divisions in rank among the hosts of hell (*Matt. xii. 26, 45, xxv. 41; Luk. xi. 15, 18; Rev. xii. 7, 9; cf. also Book of Enoch liii. 3*). In Hesiod, too, the demons are divided into different orders, although the Greek poet, it must be admitted, has in mind good dæmons, who dwell above the ground and are donors of wealth to mortals.

¹ Historically considered, we might say that the demonologists collected Lucifer's routed forces after their expulsion from heaven and reorganized them according to a well laid-out plan.

At the head of the hierarchy of hell stands Satan, who, in Christian theology, is the ruler of the "accursed counter-kingdom of evil" (Book of Enoch). Satan is considered as *summum imperium infernalis*. He rules his kingdom by the law of the mailed fist. The arch-devil's Draconian disciple has become proverbial. No insubordination is tolerated in his realm. In all fairness to the Fiend, however, it should be added that he probably is no greater oppressor of his subjects than most monarchs, who rule on our own planet. This Cæsar-Satan is just like any other emporor, neither better nor worse.²

Satan, however, is not universally recognized as the present ruler of the "infernal kingdom" (*Titus Andronicus* v. 2. 30). It is believed by many demonologists that Satan now is a dethroned monarch and belongs in a class with William II of Germany, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and other rulers who forfeited their crowns in the Great War. Johannes Wierus, in his treatise *Pseudomonarchia demonum* (16th cent.),³ maintains that Satan was forced long ago to resign in favor of Beelzebub, who headed a revolution against the ancient leader of the rebel angels and wrested the crown and scepter from him. We offer the suggestion that the relation between Satan and Beelzebub in hell might correspond to that between Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini on earth. Satan is the nominal ruler of Gehenna, whereas Beelzebub holds in his hands the reins of the government. Satan may still wear the crown, but it is Beelzebub who is dictator of the devils.

In Milton's poem about the fall of the angels, however, Satan remains the chief of the infernal spirits, while Beelzebub is "Satan's nearest mate" (*Par. Lost* i. 192, 238). The Faust-book of 1587 reveals Beelzebub as one of the seven principal spirits introduced to Faustus by their chief (ch. xxiii.) According to Asmodeus, the hero of LeSage's novel *le Diable boiteux* (1707), Beelzebub is among the least important Helots of hell. He calls Beelzebub a "boob" and maintains that he is the demon of domestics.

² In Frederik van Eeden's novel *De kleine Johannes* (1887), Satan denies the fact that he is a despotic ruler and says boastfully: "I am a king of a constitutional democracy."

³ Victor Hugo, in his novel, *les Travailleurs de la mer* (1866), calls Wier, Weier or Weyer (Latin Wierus or Piscinarius) "a savant, a good strylogogue, and a man of much learning in demonology." For a biography of this physician of Rhenish Prussia, that man of enlightenment, who was the first to combat the persecution of witches, the reader is referred to C. Binz: *Doktor Johann Weyer, ein rheinischer Arzt, der erste Bekämpfer des Hexenweesens*. Bonn, 1885.

In popular belief, however, Lucifer is the Potentate of the Pit. The *Black Book* by Thomas Middleton (1604) dignifies the lord of all the powers of darkness with the following titles: "The high and mightie Prince of darkness, Donsell del Lucifer, King of Acheron, Stix and Phlegeton, Duke of Tartary, Marquese of Cocytus, and Lord High Regent of Lymbo."⁴ The litanies of the Witches' Sabbaths always began with a laudation of Lucifer. Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (c. 1589) represents Lucifer as the "Arch-regent and commander of all spirits" (iii. 64) and Beelzebub as his "companion prince in hell" (*ibid.*, vi. 92).

In the medieval mystery-plays, Lucifer is lord of hell and Satan is his chief minister and bosom friend.⁵ A sharp line of demarcation is drawn in the medieval German drama between the characters of these two devils. Satan's proud self-confidence stands in pleasing contrast to Lucifer's rueful self-abasement. Lucifer is a weakling, a cowardly despot, while Satan is his strong arm, his "clever rooster," as his lord calls him. The prime minister of hell never hesitates to speak his mind in the presence of Lucifer. He makes fun of his master even to his very face and upbraids him for his old womanish manners. The arch-regent of hell is nervous and timorous, sentimental and brutal, vacillating and temporizing, always whimpering and whining with regard to his past glory. Satan, on the other hand, is bold and proud, ever optimistic, never regretful. After the fall from heaven, Satan musters all his powers of oratory to cheer and comfort his crest-fallen and despairing lord and master.

The rôles of these two devils are, however, often reversed by modern writers. Immerman's *Merlin* (1832), for instance, makes Satan the sovereign, while Lucifer is the vice-regent in the government of Gehenna.

The Italian writers, loyal to the classical tradition, consider Pluto the god of the underworld. This divinity will be found as chief of hell, among other writers, in Boccaccio, Machiavelli and Tasso. In Mérimée's *Fédérico* (1829), based on a Neapolitan legend, Pluto is

⁴ In the Renaissance period, the Christian lower world was identified with the heathen lower world. Elysium, as well as Hades and Tartarus, was confounded with hell.

⁵ This relation between the two chief demons of hell will also be found in Gil Vicente's Portuguese play, *Historia de Deos*, of the sixteenth century. The *Praxis cabulæ nigrae Doctoris Johannis Fausti* of 1612, one of the many books of magic ascribed to Faust, mentions Belial as viceroy. But in many books of magic of the sixteenth century, Mephistopheles is called the vice-regent of Lucifer over all other infernal spirits.

likewise named as ruler of hell. Dante, in his *Inferno*, places Dis, the Western equivalent of Pluto, at the head of hell. Pluto appears as the monarch of the nether world also in the puppet-plays of Faust.

According to Jewish tradition, Samael is the chief of the infernal spirits, always having held undisputed sway and having never been replaced by Satan, Beelzebub, Lucifer or any of the lesser lights of hell.

In Arabian mythology, Eblis, the former Azazel, is the leader of the hosts of hell, while in rabbinic mythology, Azazel is not the king of the demons, but their viceroy.

Many systems of the infernal government constructed by the cabalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries placed the supremacy of hell in the hands of Belial.

If we put faith in the words of Asmodeus, the hero of LeSage's novel already mentioned, hell is ruled by a triumvirate composed of Ashtaroth, Belphegor and Leviathan.

The belief in the four infernal chiefs, held by many demonologists, is based on the description in the Revelations of St. John of the four angels who hold the four winds, and to whom is given the power to afflict the earth (vii. 1). In connection with this passage, St. Augustine taught that the word "angel" is equally applicable to good and to bad spirits. Four devils were *sine qua non* in the medieval mystery-plays. This scenic incident explains the French expression *faire le diable à quatre* (to play the Devil as a group of four).⁶ According to the teachings of demonology, four angels were set over the quarters of the world prior to the Fall, and it was the "Prince of the East" who rebelled, and to whom the other half of the universe was henceforth closed, so that he became the "prince of this (*i.e.* Eastern) world" (John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11). In the Faust-book (ch. xiii), Lucifer likewise rules in the Orient. Marlowe, therefore, calls him "Prince of the East" (v. 104), although the same term in its Latin form ("Orientis princeps") is also applied in *Dr. Faustus* to Beelzebub (iii. 17). In other magical works, Amoyon is mentioned as king of the East, and Goap is designated as "Prince of the West." Beelzebub rules "in Septentrione," according to the Faust-book (ch. xiii). *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* by Robert Greene (c. 1589) gives to Asmenoth the titles of "guider" and "ruler of the North" (ix. 144 and xi. 109).

⁶ Cf. A. Fabre: *Etudes sur la Basoche*, p. 248. A French revolutionary paper, which was founded in 1869, bore the title *le Diable à quatre*.

Reginald Scot, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), however, calls Zizimar "the lordly monarch of the North."⁷

The system of the infernal hierarchy constructed by the writers on magic in the seventeenth century considers hell as ruled by six chiefs, to whom must answer seven "electors" or grand dukes. The pseudo-Faust conjuration-book previously mentioned contains a full roster of the government officials of hell, listing Lucifer as king, Belial as viceroy, Satan, Belzebug, Astaroth and Pluto as "gubernatores" of Gehenna, and Aniguel, Anizel, Ariel, Aziel, Barfael, Marbuel and Mephistopheles as the seven "electors." The seven archdemons, whom we also find in Leconte de Lisle's pseudo-medieval fantasy *Smarh* (1839), match the seven archangels in the enemy's camp, first mentioned in the Book of Enoch. Thus seven is a mystic number, even where infernal matters are concerned.⁸

The "kingdom of perpetual night" (*Richard III* I. iv. 47) contains many other throned, crowned and sceptered spirits. The directory of the devils reads, in fact, like the pages of the *Almanac de Gotha*. We find in it kings, princes, dukes, marquises, earls, counts, viscounts, barons, knights, presidents, and other civil and military officials. Among the diabolical dignitaries the following may be pointed out; Bel and Pluto, princes of fire; Moloch, prince of the country of tears; Eurygone, prince of death; Pan, prince of the *incubi* (Jean Bodin: *la Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580); Agares, first duke under the power of the East; Leraie and Sabnac, marquises; Morax, a great earl and president; Marbas, a great president; Jupiter, Neptune, and Antichrist, barons (Huon de Méry's *Tournoiement d'Antechrist* (1235)).

The only order of knighthood which appears to exist among the demons of hell is the Order of the Fly founded by Beelzebug. The decoration of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Fly is bestowed for signal services to Satan. Among the demons who have received this much coveted distinction are Adramelech, Baal, Eurygone, Leviathan and Moloch.

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The court of the infernal monarch is in its splendor second to none held by the rulers of this earth. The king of hell, clad in a

⁷ This book, from which much of the information summarized in this paper has been taken, contains a regular muster-roll or army list of the infernal government in the sixteenth century. Collin de Planey, in his *Dictionnaire infernal* (1818), offers later data on this subject.

⁸ Cf. Friedrich von Adrian: *Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker*. Wien, 1901.

flowing red robe, is seated on a throne of diamonds and holds the scepter of hell in his right hand. His daughters, as princesses of hell, sit on lower thrones on both sides of their father, wear sparkling crowns on their heads and hold scepters of gold in their hands (Chateaubriand's *les Martyrs*, 1809). Royalty is highly respected at the court of the infernal monarch. The crowned heads of this earth are received in hell with great ceremonies.

Johannes Wierus has presented us with a partial list of the demons attached to the royal court of Gehenna. Chemos holds the post of grand chamberlain in hell, and Verdelet is grand master of ceremonies. The banker at the *baccarat* table in the infernal casino is Asmodeus, and the manager of the court theater of hell is Kobal. The great juggler and romancer is Antichrist, and the court-fool is Nybbas, whom the German demonologist calls "the great parodist." Rimmon is chief physician to his Infernal Lowness. Behemoth fulfils the function of grand cup-bearer, while the principal *valet de chambre* to his Satanic Majesty is Mullin. The grand almoner and master of the pantry is Dagon; the chief cook in the hellish kitchen is Misroch. The captain of the eunuchs, in the harem of the infernal sultan, is Succor-Benoth.

According to Wierus, the cabinet of the government of Gehenna is composed as follows: Adramelech is grand chancellor of the lower world. Baal-Berith is master of alliances (corresponding probably to a modern minister of foreign affairs) and secretary and keeper of the archives of hell. Astaroth is grand treasurer, while Melshom is assistant treasurer and disburser of the public moneys. Moloch is general-in-chief of the Satanic army, and Baal is second in command of the fighting forces of the dread domain of darkness. Leviathan is admiral of the infernal navy.⁹ Lucifer is grand judiciary and minister of justice. Nergal is chief of police in the Principality of the Pit. Pluto is the superintendent of the infernal punishments, and Alaster holds the distinguished office of executioner. Marbuel is chief engineer and superintendent of all public buildings in the underworld. The supervision of the fortifications in the infernal regions is entrusted to Sabnac. Leonard is grand master of the Witches' Sabbaths and inspector-general of magic and sorcery. Demogorgon is master of the fates. Barfael holds the

⁹ This statement must be erroneous inasmuch as water is an unknown element in the lower regions. In fact, the Kingdom of Nether Darkness has no more navy than Switzerland. Byron calls Leviathan "master of the oceans without shores and of the humid universe" (*Heaven and Earth*, 1822).

secret of the philosopher's stone. Asmodeus is superintendent of the gambling houses, and Nybbas has the management of dreams and visions on earth.

Although the different duties connected with the administration of hell are thus distributed among a number of demons, the holder of one portfolio will often persist in interfering with the department of another minister. The demons, in fact, constantly thrust their claws wherever they are not wanted, to the great detriment of each other's projects. But, naturally enough, this interference accrues to the benefit of man.

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The ruler of hell holds occasional receptions for his demons, to hear their opinions on matters of state and to listen to the reports of their recent achievements on his behalf. The source for the parliament of devils is the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, which forms the second part of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (3rd cent.). In the account of this apocryphal gospel, Christ's descent to hell is followed by a session of Satan's sanhedrin called for the purpose of devising ways and means for the repopulation of hell after the delivery from limbo of our first parents and the other patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. The Harrowing of Hell, with its subsequent infernal council, formed an important part of the medieval mystery plays. The deliberations of the infernal deputies are also recorded by Wynkyn de Worde in his metrical tract entitled *The Parlement of Devils* (1509). A council of infernal peers is likewise found in Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (1381-8) and in Jerome Vida's *Christiad* (1535). Tasso, Milton and Chateaubriand present us also with a "Pandemonium."¹⁰

Democratic freedom of speech and discussion prevails at the infernal council. Its members conduct themselves as gentlemen and reason as accomplished statesmen. A disturbance may sometimes occur during the session of the infernal parliament, but not oftener than in the chamber of deputies of any European government. The accounts of frequent Tartarean tumults are pieces of propaganda directed against the government of Gehenna by its enemies. If the

¹⁰ Professor Olin H. Moore, in his interesting paper "The Infernal Council" (*Modern Philology*, vol. XVI, pp. 169-93), has traced the development of the infernal council from Claudian and the Gospel of Nicodemus through Roert de Boron, Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Vida, and Tasso to Milton. The parliament assembled by Henry VI at Coventry, in 1459, was called the Devil's Parliament because it passed attainders on the Duke of York and his chief supporters.

diabolical deputies cannot always control themselves in council, let us not be too harsh with them, but remember what Byron said: "Even saints sometimes forget themselves in session" (*The Vision of Judgment*, li).

Chateaubriand, in his novel *les Martyrs* already mentioned, pictures a disturbance during a session of the infernal council and calls upon the Lord, who, in the eyes of this royalist and Romanist, permits no disorder in the lower as well as the upper regions, to restore harmony among the spirits of darkness. "A terrible conflict would have resulted," he tells us, "if God, who maintains justice and is the author of all order, even in hell, had not ended the turmoil" (*ibid.*, ch. viii).

The infernal council, with its variety of horns, forms a very respectable and cosmopolitan company. We find among its members Adonis, Astarte, Beelzebub, Belial, Chemos, Dagon, Mammon, Moloch, Rimmon and Thammuz of the Semitic races; Bali and Brahma of the Hindus; Mithra of the Persians; Anubis, Osiris, Isis and Orus of the Egyptians; Apollo and Iris of the Greeks; Vulcan and Neptune of the Romans; Erminsul and Odin of the Scandinavians; and Dis and Teutates of the Gauls. Many of the pagan gods are thus seen to be gathered in this deliberative assembly.

The Kingdom of hell has representatives in all parts of the earth. Wierus presents us with a list of the infernal embassies and the countries to which each is assigned. Belphegor is the accredited ambassador from the infernal regions in France, Hutgin in Italy, Belial in Turkey, Thamuz (or Tharung) in Spain, Martinet in Switzerland, Mammon in England and Rimmon in Russia. Wierus, as physician to the Duke William of Cleves in Westphalia, did not care to admit that any of the German states would entertain diplomatic relations with the court of hell.

Berbiguier de Terre-Neuve du Thym, author of a very curious and voluminous work *les Farfadets, ou Tous les demons ne sont pas de l'autre monde* (1795), maintains that each great devil of hell has also a human representative on earth. The mandatories of the infernal spirits among men are too numerous to mention. Among them will be found Nicolas, a physician of Avignon, who represents Moloch; Bouge, who represents Pluto; Pinel, a physician of the Salpêtrière, who represents Satan; and Moreau, magician and sorcerer of Paris, who represents Beelzebub on earth.

But to return to hell.

Each craft and class among men has a special representative among the infernal spirits. If we are to believe Asmodeus, LeSage's limping imp of hell, Lucifer is the patron of mountebanks and other kinds of scoundrels. Beelzebub, according to the testimony of this arch-bohemian, is the demon "of governesses and gentlemen-ushers or waiting-men." Uriel, Asmodeus also maintains, is the patron of "traders, tailors, butchers, and other third-rate thieves." Marbuel, in the opinion of certain demonologists, is the patron of artisans. It is this devil who assists poor architects and mechanics to carry out their contracts and often to accomplish work that is beyond ordinary human skill. Atoti, according to *Maler Müller*, is the demon of literary men, and Babillo is the patron of painters. The Devil's friendship for artists, particularly painters, is too well known to require further comment.

Martinet is the master of the magicians. Hermes is the patron of alchemists, who practise the "hermetic" arts. Kobal is the companion of the comedians. Leviathan is the demon of the diplomats. Zamiel is the patron of archers and hunters in general.

Flagel, according to LeSage's Asmodeus, is the patron of men of law. He is "the soul of the law and the life of the bar. . . . It is he who makes out the attorneys' and bailiffs' writs; he inspires the pleaders, possesses the jury and attends the judges." Griffael, this demon affrms, is the companion of the court-clerks. It is wholly in the spirit of popular belief that the lawyers should select for their patron the Devil, who is known as the father of lies. Indeed, many legends go to show that the lawyer is more unscrupulous in robbing his neighbors than the Devil himself.¹¹ The tavern of the lawyers at No. 2 Fleet Street, London, was called "The Devil." When the lawyers in the neighborhood left for dinner, they hung a notice on their doors: "Gone to the Devil" so that those who wanted them might know where to find them.¹²

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An atmosphere of unadulterated industry prevails in hell. Industry is, in fact, the great virtue of the demons. Diligence, it has

¹¹ Cf. Archer Taylor: "The Devil and the Advocate" in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXXVI (1921), pp. 35-59. Dr. O. A. Wall, in his book *Sex and Sex Worship* (1919), also has several items on the popular belief in the alliance between the Devil and the lawyer.

¹² A pleasant account of the Devil's Tavern in London will be found in John Timbs's *Clubs and Club Life in London* (1873).

been said, is the crowning quality with which man has invested the devil of his dreams. "If we were all as diligent and conscientious as the Devil," observed an old Scotch woman to her minister, "it wad be muckle better for us." Anatole France assures us that "the Devil never tires," and in a medieval Italian play entitled *Brighellas* myself." The only object of the unceasing activity among the infernal spirits is to lead men to evil.

Satan says: "I am so busy that I cannot find time to scratch

A specialization and division of labor seems to exist in hell. The distribution of labor among the demons is carried out with great precision. Each of them is given his allotted or enforced task. The functions of the various hellish agents parallel the rôles of the angels. As the latter specialize in their virtues, so the former particularize in their vices. Each evil deed is assigned to its special representative. The various misdeeds cultivated by the hellish specialists range from prattling in church to arson and murder. Such crimes as Sabbath-breaking, making music, attending the theater, and dancing also are included.

Asmodeus is called "prince of lechery" in *Friar Rush*, a romance of the sixteenth century. Baal, in the French medieval mysteries, is the demon of idleness, and Baal-Berith the demon of disobedience. Beelzebub is termed "prince of envy" in *Friar Rush*. He also has pride among his vices. Behemoth, in the French medieval mysteries, is the demon of despair. Belial is generally considered the demon of revolt and anarchy. Belphegor is the demon of international rivalry and enmity. Chemos is the spirit of flattery. Esau-Samael is, in Jewish mythology, the source of strife. Federwisch is the German demon of vanity. Hoberdidance, Hobbididance and Hop-dance are names given by Harsnett and Shakespeare to the dancing demon. Kränzlein is the German demon of obscenity and immorality. Lästerlein is the German demon of theft and robbery. Lucifer is called "prince of gluttony" in *Friar Rush*. Mammon is the demon of wealth and greed (Matt. vi. 24). Nahema is the demoness of debauchery and abortion. Nisroch is the demon of hatred and fatality. Rosenkranz is a *confrère* of Kränzlein. Ruffo is also a demon of robbery. Schönspiegel shares with Federwisch the vice of vanity. Schorbrandt is the German demon of discord and conflict. Succor-Benoth is the demon of jealousy. Sydragasum is the demon "who makes the girls dance all naked" (Victor Hugo: *Notre-Dame de Paris*, X, iii). Tutevillus is the

demon of church gossip. Urnell, in the German medieval mysteries, is the demon of drunkenness.¹³

Tutevillus is among the most tenacious and ubiquitous demons of hell. It is his duty to attend all church services in order to listen to the gossips and to write down their speeches, with which these women are later entertained in hell. It is related that one fine Sunday morning this demon was sitting in a church on a beam, on which he held himself fast by his feet and his tail, right over two village gossips, who chattered so much during the Blessed Mass that he soon filled every corner of his parchment on both sides. Poor Tutevillus worked so hard that the sweat ran in great drops down his black brow, and he was ready to sink with exhaustion. But the gossips ceased not to sin with their tongues, and he had no fair parchment left whereon to record further their fool words. So having considered for a little while, he grasped one end of the roll with his teeth and seized the other end with his claws and pulled hard in order to stretch the parchment. He tugged and tugged with all his strength, jerking back his head mightily at each tug, and at last giving such a fierce jerk that he suddenly lost his balance and fell head over heels from the beam to the floor of the church.¹⁴

This legend runs counter to the popular belief that the demons avoid holy edifices and have a mortal fear of the sound of the church bells, the ringing of which, according to Sir James Frazer, originally had for its aim to drive away devils and witches. In Edgar Allan Poe's story, "The Devil in the Belfry" (1839), an imp of hell was not afraid of invading the church tower. The Devil, in Alphonse Daudet's story, "les Trois messes basses" (1889), not only enters the church, but even performs the duties of a clerk at the foot of the altar in order to tempt the priest, during the reading of the masses, with thoughts of food and drink. Thus it is seen that man can find no safety even in sacred edifices against Satan's snares.

¹³ For a full list of the vices over which the demons presided in medieval German belief, the reader is referred to the present writer's monograph *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit* (Göttingen, 1915), pp. 98-103.

¹⁴ This legend has been incorporated by Mr. Francis Oscar Mann in his story "The Vision of Saint Simon and Blewberry," which will be found in his work, *The Devil in a Nunnery and Other Medieval Tales* (1914).