Much has been written about the reception of Miguel de Cervantes in the age of Goethe, but aside from the pre-war figure of Thomas Mann\(^1\) there has been little comment on his influence on the literature written in German-speaking countries in the twentieth century, especially after World War II. In 1969, Lienhard Bergel, in his thorough study “Cervantes in Germany,” stated: “with Heine and Immermann ends the period in which Cervantes was an active ingredient in German life” (343); afterwards, Cervantes became “exclusively the object of philological specialists” (344). This statement is no longer valid. In this article, I will present an overview of Cervantes’ reception in the literature written in the post-war period.

After World War II, there have been five important adaptations of Cervantes’ texts, which use and transform his protago-

\(^1\) See Pendleton and Williams.
ists within very different historical contexts and with very different purposes. In West Germany, there are Paul Schallück’s novel *Don Quixote in Cologne* (*Don Quichotte in Köln*, 1967) and Margarete Hannsmann’s collage *Don Quixote’s Driver* (*Chauffeur bei Don Quijote*, 1977), published under the pseudonym Sancho Panza. In Austria, Zsuzsanna Gahse published the book-length story *Berganza* (1984). In Switzerland, Maja Beutler published *The Picture of Doña Quixote* (*Das Bildnis der Doña Quichotte*, 1989), and in East Germany Fritz Rudolf Fries published *The Dogs from Mexico City* (*Die Hunde von Mexico Stadt*, 1997). Another East German text that is very important for our study is Volker Braun’s *The Opportunist* (*Der Wendehals*, 1995). It is not an adaptation of one of Cervantes’ texts, but it plays with references to his work. All intertextual strategies in the texts mentioned above are directed either to *Don Quijote de la Mancha* or “El coloquio de los perros”—the same works that German Romantics favored.²

Paul Schallück’s novel *Don Quixote in Cologne* is a satire directed at the city of Cologne in the 1960s, the time of the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle). A tall and skinny director of the city’s TV station, a starry-eyed idealist, and his shorter, overweight, and more down-to-earth audio engineer ride bicycles through the city, defending the poor and powerless. In addition, speaking through a megaphone, this Quixote from Cologne desperately fights against lies of society, which are referred to in the text as “windmill sails.” Some of the more serious of the lies are that there is no more anti-Semitism in Germany, and that nuclear arms are necessary and beneficial for post-war West German society. At the same time, the hero chases his dream of a Dulcinea, called Claudia, whom he thinks he has discovered in a young photographer. In reality, she is a superficial girl who goes to bed with almost all of her colleagues. The author’s interesting narrative twist consists in identifying Don Quixote and Sancho Panza with *Tünnes* and *Schäl*, two very popular comical figures in this area along the Rhine river. This identification results in ironic

² One exception is a reference to “La gitanilla” in Schallück’s text (344), but since it is peripheral and has no important function we need not deal with it.
wordplay, for instance: “above thick packs of newspaper, the sun of fame rose for him, although through a filter of ironic compassion with a Don Tünnes from Cologne.” At other instances, the narrator refers to the main character as the “Kölner Don” or as the “Tünnes Quichotte” (308).

Eleven years later, Margarete Hannsmann published a very different kind of satire of West German society: a collage of poems, journal entries, quotations from Cervantes’ Don Quixote, folk sayings, and woodcuts from Grieshaber. What connects these disparate elements is a plot in which the female author, playing the role of Sancho Panza, serves as chauffeur for her boyfriend, the famous artist H. A. P. Grieshaber. The car, of course, is called Rocinante—with a sticker under “its tail” (“ihrem Schwanz”) that tells everybody their cause: “COMBATTANT POUR LA VIE” (130). The first-person female narrator sees her boyfriend as Don Quixote because it is the 450th anniversary of the Bauernkrieg (peasant’s revolt), and he tries in vain to force the West German cultural bureaucracy to appreciate it. The Bauernkrieg was the only revolution that ever has been taken place on German ground; Grieshaber is convinced that “this unsuccessful story of that time is still effective in our experiences.”

Unlike Schallück’s novel, which focuses almost completely on Don Quixote, Hannsmann’s devotes special attention to the figure of Sancho Panza. Most events are told from his point of view; that means from the point of view of the servant, not the master. However, since Sancho here is a female, the relationship between servant and master becomes genderized. To express the female narrator’s protest against her submissive and time-consuming role—after all, as a poet she has as many obligations as Grieshaber has—Hannsmann either quotes from Sancho’s sayings in Cervantes’ text (taken for instance from the dialogue between servant and master in the manuscript of Don Quixote), or she reformulates them in her own words:

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3 “Über dicken Packen von Zeitungspapier ging die Sonne des Ruhmes für ihn auf, obschon durch den Filter ironischen Mitleids mit einem Don Tünnes von Köln” (278).

4 “Die mißglückte Geschichte von damals ist in unseren Erfahrungen immer noch wirksam” (110–11).
tween Don Quixote and Sancho about the latter’s manteamiento) or she says it more directly, as in: “of course, Sancho Panza moans when he has to plod down into the valley to the post office with all that.” (The last words refer to New Year’s greetings in form of woodcuts, which Grieshaber made for his friends.) That the narrator uses Sancho to express her critique moderates it in a funny way, and shows that she has no real intention of ending this master-servant relationship. The reason is her admiration for “Quixote”’s commitment to political art. Concretely, he tries to establish a prize in the name of Joerg Ratgeb, a woodcutter who had sided with farmers and was brutally slaughtered by the rulers in 1526. In addition, the narrator worries about her age: “if I were younger I would kill him instead of sitting here and patching his armor while he utters ancient sayings about the pistol with which you could shoot buttons into the clothes.” After this journal entry, the narrator quotes Cervantes, where Quixote says to Sancho: “Briefly, what I want to tell you is this: If you don’t want to come with me gracefully and share my fate in everything, so be God with you; I wouldn’t lack for squires who are more obedient, more zealous, and less slow on the uptake than you.” Like Sancho, the female narrator reacts with sadness because she thought her master didn’t want to go anywhere without her. And obviously fearing that a younger woman would replace her, she hurries back to her job as a driver when Don Quijote says: “Clean Rocinante…. And plait her braids. And then let’s go.”

Schallück’s and Hannsmann’s adaptions of Cervantes’ work have in common that they both reflect—as Cervantes himself

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5 “Selbstverständlich mault Sancho Pansa, wenn er damit ins Tal zur Post stapfen muß” (124).
7 “Kurz, was ich sagen will, ist dies: Wenn Ihr nicht auf Gnade mit mir ziehen und mein Schicksal in allem teilen wollt, so Gott mit Euch; denn mir wird es nicht an Schildknappen fehlen, die gehorsamer, beflissener, nicht so schwer von Begriff und nicht so geschwätzig sind wie ihr” (206).
did—on their narrative strategies. This happens, for instance, when Schallück’s narrator refers to and criticizes reports in the media on “Don Tünnes” adventures, as well as an alleged biography of him: “At Anton’s biographer the scene ends here. But in reality, the following happened…” And as in Cervantes, these instances of meta-art do not serve as an ends in themselves, but are used for satirical purposes. When Schallück criticizes a newspaper report signed by CM he combines this critique with a blow on sensationalist journalistic practices: “Be glad that Mister Anton Schmitz didn’t have you near him when he read your report. He would have grabbed you by the lapel and hammered into you rhetorically in his characteristic way that it should not be allowed to change reality according to the measure of a piece of news: he has a right not to be the one, that you have pictured.”

What upsets the narrator most is that the reports about Don Tünnes in the media ignore his motivation. As Hans-Joachim Bernhard puts it: “The escapades of Don Quixote…appeared to be so amusing that they can be used for a kind of entertainment, which takes your mind off things.” This contradicts completely Don Tünnes’ cause of awakening people from their indifference and consumerism, in order to tackle the problems of their society.

In a different type of self-reflexivity, Hannsmann’s narrator ponders the impossibility of including a Dulcinea figure in the text: “And take into consideration that the peasant’s revolt was not the appropriate event to attract ladies.” In addition, Hannsmann’s narrator humorously mixes her own thoughts with quotations of Sancho in order to justify her use of the technique of assembling disparate elements: “I cannot say: search, search,

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9 “Bei Antons Biographen endet die Szene hier. In Wirklichkeit aber folgte:” (71).
10 “Seien Sie froh, daß Herr Anton Schmitz Sie nicht vor sich hatte, als er Ihre Reportage las. Er hätte Sie beim Revers gepackt und Ihnen rhetorisch eingehämmt, in der ihm eigentümlichen Art, daß es nicht erlaubt sein darf, die Wirklichkeit nach dem Maße einer Nachricht umzuformen, daß er ein Recht darauf beansprucht, nicht der zu sein, den Sie skizziert haben (104).
11 “Die Eskapaden des Don Quichotte…erschienen so amüsant, daß sie als Möglichkeit zu ablenkender Unterhaltung einzusetzen sind” (128).
12 “Und bedenken Sie, der Bauernkrieg ist nicht die geeignete Veranstaltung, Damenzuneigung zu pflegen” (38).
there are good works among them. I'll propose a clearance sale; the only thing I can ask you to consider is under what conditions I wrote that: sometimes on the donkey, sometimes under his tail, sometimes in the bivouac. After all, there is a peasant’s revolt.\footnote{Ich kann nicht sagen, sucht nur sucht, es sind gute Stücke darunter, ich schmeiß euch einen Ausverkauf hin, ich kann euch nur zu bedenken geben, unter welchen Bedingungen ich das schrieb, mal auf dem Esel, mal unter Schwanz, mal im Biwak. Schließlich ist Bauernkrieg” \cite{102}.}

Maja Beutler’s short novel \textit{Das Bildnis der Doña Quichotte} \cite{1989} is a feminist response to Cervantes’ \textit{Don Quixote}. The female protagonist is not an obsessive reader who tries to imitate the heroes of her books (in this, she is also different from the English female \textit{Don Quixote} by Charlotte Lennox), but a Swiss housewife who desperately follows her dream of becoming a painter. This causes conflicts in her marriage because her husband has no understanding of the artistic passion of his wife—especially since she it is conflict with her obligations as a wife and mother. He creates an ugly scene. In resignation she paints herself as Doña Quixote, whose “armor was hanging from the body like a silver rag” \cite{84}. That means she portrays herself as a crazy, ridiculous, and useless figure. She identifies with this picture, which according to her experience expresses the opinion of Swiss society about artistic ambitions of women, and she finally stops painting.

If we define Don Quixote as somebody who fundamentally

\footnote{Giving it a feminist twist, the author combines this remark with a reflection on the German Democratic Republic (East German) writer Irmtraud Morgner’s invention of the “feminist montage novel.” Quoting Morgner, she writes: “[Der Montageroman] sei die Romanform der Zukunft, für eine Autorin und berufstätige Hausfrau. Er entspreche ihrem ‘gesellschaftlich, nicht biologisch bedingten Lebensrhythmus,’ der nicht zulasse, jahrelang an einer Konzeption festzuhalten. Um ihre täglichen Erfahrungen und ihre Bewusstseinsentwicklung mitteilen zu können, müsse sie kurze Prosa schreiben und dann aus Fertigteilen ein Ganzes montieren.” (“The surgical montage novel is the form of the novel of the future for a woman writer and working housewife. It corresponds to her ‘rhythm of life that is conditioned socially, not biologically,’ and that doesn’t allow to hold on to one conception for years. In order to be able to communicate her daily experiences and developments in outlook, she has to write short prose and then assemble a whole out of the prefabricated parts,” \cite{102}.)}
misinterprets reality, Ana is not quixotic. After all, she stops following her dream of becoming a painter because she knows the reality of the patriarchic Swiss middle-class too well and does not dare to rebel against its norms. However, if we—as Anthony Cascardi has done in his study *The Bounds of Reason*—redefine Don Quixote from a postmodern perspective as somebody who questions the traditional duality between mind and body, then Ana is indeed a Doña Quixote.

According to the tradition of logocentrism, our knowledge depends on logical arguments, experiments, and scientific discoveries. But Don Quixote—instead of thinking about the world in order to gain certainties of mind—learns by throwing himself into it physically. That happens when he imitates models and plays roles. For instance, he doesn’t find out what windmills are by observing them and reflecting on them; he learns it through pain. If we accept this postmodern definition of Don Quixote, then, according to Cascardi, not only Don Quixote himself but also Madame Bovary is a quixotic figure. She too acquires knowledge through her (erotic) adventures, rather than reflection. Beutler’s Anna, like Don Quixote and Madame Bovary, is also uninterested in thought. Her form of knowledge is artistic visions, which mainly come to her when cooking: “Anna the cook saw the wooden ladle forming a diagonal in the tomato sauce. The ground beef nearby, the mashed potatoes, everything burst into flickering particles of color. They formed patterns, when Anna blinked they flew up and turned to new forms.”

These “new forms” that Anna sees arising in pots and pans are parts of a form of knowledge which does not fit in the Western tradition of thinking, which is based on dichotomies like those between essence and appearance or between body and mind. They are connected with smells, colors, tastes; they appear half in the senses, half in the mind; to one part they are a mixture of perceptions and feelings, to another part they appear in rea-

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14 “Die kochende Anna sah, wie die Holzkelle eine Diagonale bildete in der Tomatensoße. Das Hackfleisch daneben, der Kartoffelbrei, alles barst in flimmern- de Farbpartikelchen, sie fügten sich zu Mustern; wenn Anna blinzelte, stäubten sie auf und fanden zu neuen Ordnungen” (45).
soning. This kind of knowledge, by bringing in the body, undermines rationalism. This, if we follow Cascardi’s reasoning, is the real quixotic facet of Anna. If she had been aware of this utopian potential instead of identifying herself with Don Quixote seen as only a fool, it might have strengthened her will to paint and enabled her to realize on the canvas her artistic visions.

Zsuzsanne Gahse’s Berganza is an eccentric piece of prose that refers to both Cervantes’ “Coloquio de los perros” and E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Romantic adaptation of this text in News of the Latest Destinies of the Dog Berganza (Nachricht von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza, 1814). What makes Gahse’s adaptation unique is that Berganza performs in it as a philosopher. While he tells the story of his life to the female narrator who has found the talking dog at a gas station in a town in Southern Germany, he takes the time to reflect on relations between perception, thought, and speech. Differently from humans, Berganza learned to speak as an adult. This enabled him to observe keenly the process of language acquisition and to become aware of its shortcomings. The result of this epistemological enterprise is a new contribution to the literary tradition of linguistic skepticism:

With every sentence in which I see myself I fall into a pose and misjudge myself. With every sentence in which I think to record myself I fall into a role and distance myself from me. With every description, especially in regard to the exact descriptions, I make a slip of the pen. Just as well, I could put on a mask and laugh.\(^\text{15}\)

Besides exploring the limits of language, Berganza reflects about the connection between language and feelings of guilt and comes to conclusions similar to those of Lacan. Progressing from

\(^\text{15}\) “Mit jedem Satz, mit dem ich mich erkenne, falle ich in eine Pose und verkenne mich. Mit jedem Satz, mit dem ich mich zu fixieren wänne, falle ich in eine Rolle und entferne mich von mir. Mit jeder Beschreibung, besonders, was die exakten Beschreibungen anbelangt, verschreibe ich mich. Ich könnte genausogut eine Maske aufsetzen und lachen” (92).
listening to understanding and finally to speaking, he feels threatened:

Everywhere I made a mess, supposedly all the time. For everything that came apart at the seams I was guilty, of course that was my fault, I thought. A glass of beer fell from the table and shattered in front of my feet, I put my ears back. I jumped over the fence, tore my hind legs open, and bleeding I disappeared in a corner, full of remorse. For every clinking, when noises arose, when people were fighting, I felt guilty.  

Like Cervantes’ protagonist, Gahse’s Berganza serves different masters. Telling the story of his life, he speaks mostly about the time when he had lived with the family of a woman called Anna, her husband Rupp, and their three children. Anna is in love with another man called Justin, who in turn is married to another woman. The difficult relationship between Anna and Justin is observed through the eyes of the dog, who accompanies Anna constantly and is able to read her thoughts. Here again, Berganza draws skeptical conclusions about the correspondence between feelings, thoughts and words. Exploring the difficulties of epistemological as well as gender relations from the point of view of Berganza who on one hand is in a dog’s position and on the other hand is able to philosophize is Gahse’s important contribution to the literary theme of the talking dog, which Cervantes had created in “El coloquio de los perros.”

The East German Fritz Rudolf Fries deals very differently with the same theme. In The Dogs from Mexico City (Die Hunde von Mexico Stadt, 1997), two writers, the East German narrator and his famous West German colleague Günter Grass, are standing on the balcony of a hotel in Mexico City listening of the talk of two

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dogs. They are Berganza and Cipión, and function as reincarnations of Cervantes’ famous canines. Four other figures appear: a poet, an alchemist, a mathematician, and “eine Projektemacherin,” a project maker, who corresponds to Cervantes’ arbitrista, although in Fries’ text she is female. Like Cervantes’ dog, Fries’ Berganza has some picaresque characteristics: he is always hungry, he changes masters frequently, and consequently he comes in touch with very different social spheres. The main subject of the dogs’ conversation in Fries’ text is the disappearance of the former GDR (German Democratic Republic, East Germany) and the process of German reunification. The form of the dog’s conversation and the references to Cervantes’ text render funny and interesting what otherwise nobody would want to read; in other words the intertextuality in Fries permits treatment of a taboo subject.

Fries’ Berganza is a tall white dog, who speaks with a deep voice and uses obscene vocabulary: “your crack, or don’t you have one, doesn’t smell.” Cipión—in Fries’ text a female dog—justifies her lack of sex appeal: “It’s not age, it’s the mutations, experiments, done by humans.” Instead of appealing to protectors of animals, which after this surprising beginning seems to be Fries’ intention, Berganza changes the subject and reflects about the miracle of their ability to speak: “Are we here to complain or is it not better to wonder about the miracle of speech that has been given to us?” Similarly, Berganza had been wondering in Cervantes’ text: “Cipión hermano, oyote hablar, y sé que te hablo, y no puedo creerlo, por parecerme que el hablar nosotros pasa de los términos de naturaleza.”

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17 In Fries’ novel The Nun of Bratislava (Die Nonnen von Bratislava), published in 1994, there was a dog with the name Berganza. The protagonist Matthäus Teutsch had picked up a dog in the streets and named him after Cervantes’ dog. However, since that dog could not speak, we do not need to deal with him in this study.

18 “Deine Spalte, oder hast du keine, ist ohne Duft”

19 “Die Jahre sind es nicht, die Mutationen, Berganza! Experimente von Menschenhand” (7).

20 “Sind wir zu klagen hier oder doch eigentlich uns zu wundern, dass uns das Wunder der Sprache gegeben ward?” (78).

21 Quotes from Cervantes’ text are taken from the edition of Florencio Sevilla.
two dogs can speak is different in both texts. In Cervantes, the miracle is “explained” through the story of the witches. In Fries' text there are no witches; Cipión just says the dogs have been given the ability to speak in order “to say what people don’t dare say any longer”; in other words, he and Berganza must have received the gift of language from a divine act. These important things that they have to say deal with the process of German reunification, which in Berganza’s words is “a plague.” In the story, the poet, alchemist, mathematician, and arbitrista will all die of this plague.

In a hospital, Cervantes’ poet had complained bitterly of not being able to find an intelligent, liberal, and generous prince to whom he could dedicate his poem. The alchemist complained that lack of materials prevented him from finding the philosopher’s stone, and the mathematician about his failure to square the circle. The authorities did not approve of the plan the arbitrista had made to improve the finances of the state. He had proposed that all subjects between fourteen and sixty should fast once a month and give the money they saved—one real per person—to the king, by means of which the king could have paid off his debts.

J. H. Elliot describes thus the role of the arbitrista in seventeenth-century Spain: “The arbitrista was the product of a society, which took it for granted that the vassal had a duty to advise when he had something to communicate of benefit to king and commonwealth, the assumption being that he would also benefit himself. Sometimes a crook and more frequently a crank, he might recommend anything from a secret alchemical formula infallibly guaranteed to refill the king’s depleted coffers, to the most grandiose political and military projects” (243). Cervantes’ opinion about the proposal of his arbitrista is seen in the fact that the other figures laugh about so much nonsense, “y él también [the arbitrista] se riñó de sus disparates.”

In Fries’ text, a high official of the former GDR plays the role...
of the arbitrista. She had helped put into words the utopia of the party, and had coined the expression: “Join us in planning, working, and governing.”24 Contrary to Cervantes, Fries does not have us laugh at this figure, but paints her with complete seriousness and tragic emphasis. Before she dies from the plague—which for Fries, we remember, serves as a metaphor for the process of German reunification—she makes her will. It states that after her death, she is to be frozen until the next millennium. This, without any doubt, expresses the author’s hope that the GDR one day under better conditions would revive. What supports this interpretation is also the fact that Cipión—Berganza’s object of desire—in the end crawls into the freezer where the “Projektemacherin” awaits.

While Fries plays with “El coloquio de los perros” to express his nostalgia for the former GDR and to criticize the process of German reunification, the East German writer Volker Braun refers to Cervantes’ Don Quijote for a similar reason. His book The Opportunist (Der Wendehals) attacks from “a comic perspective” (Fiedler 342) the process of rapid westernization of the East German society, especially the opportunism of former East German officials who over night have become successful capitalists.25 In a pedestrian zone, the first-person narrator runs into his old chairman Schaber, a former GDR official. He hardly recognizes Schaber: “elegantly dressed, coiffed and with a tan, and he struts proudly like a banker.”26 With the help of some old

24 “Plane mit, arbeite mit, regiere mit” (17).
25 Braun’s text has another reference to Don Quixote. In one of the epigraphs to the book, he quotes the following: “Dear wife, if God wanted it, I would be glad not to be as cheerful as you see me” (“Liebe Frau,” erwiderte Sancho, ”wenn Gott es wollte, so wäre ich froh, nicht so heiter zu sein, wie du mich siehst”). As Christine Cosentino has shown, Braun’s figure Schaber actually represents a part of the author’s self, one who “at the same time is [his] adversary and alter ego” (“Widersacher und Alterego zugleich ist,” 180). Taking this observation in consideration, we could interpret the use of Sancho’s remark as an epigraph, as an expression of Braun’s inner doubts about the appropriateness of his own attitude toward the things going on in his country since German Reunification in 1990.
26 “Fein gekleidet, gebürstet und gebräunt, und er geht stolz wie ein Banker
connections, Schaber has found an important position in a financial academy. He is busy, the narrator laments, but he has no goals any more. Referring to the figure of Don Quixote, he contemptuously states: “he still is sitting on the horse of activity (a used car which his firm gave him, a well-preserved Opel), but he doesn’t ride any more towards any ideal, he is just galloping. What a poor knight, a lost soul—of business. A salesman of clearance sale (in his own store).”

“I am down from the high horse, and I thank my God for it”: Schaber justifies his sudden change from communist official to capitalist. “What does it matter if you are sitting on top? Who appreciates it? Once you had...attention, respect, honor. Now you stand in front of yourself.”

What Braun does not realize is the fact that somebody who “climbs down from the high horse” so fast, and manages so well to cope with his new existence, which excludes following ideals, cannot have been a true Don Quixote. He must have been an imposter. Otherwise, if Schaber really had believed in the ideals that he had claimed to believe in, he would have died as Don Quixote did after waking up from them, or at least he would have had some serious trouble coping with the new situation. That Braun glorifies Schaber’s former role under communism, and regrets that he is no longer a communist official, shows the author’s unconscious nostalgia for the GDR and his own uneasiness with the political situation in the former East Germany.

As we have seen, since the mid-nineteen-sixties, Cervantes again has become an active ingredient in the literary life of German-speaking countries. Important authors adapted his texts or referred to them in the context of protesting West Germany’s

einher” (9).


28 “Ich bin vom hohen Ross, und danke meinem Gott” (17).

29 “Was zählt das schon, ob du oben sitzt, wer sieht dich darauf an? Das war einmal... Achtung, Ansehn, Ehre. Jetzt stehst du vor dir selbst da” (17).
inability to deal with the German past, in a feminist context, from the point of view of linguistic skepticism, as well as in the context of the downfall of the German Democratic Republic.

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