

# War Letters (Italy)

By [Carlo Stacciini](#)

Despite the high rates of illiteracy in Italy on the eve of the war, the conflict brought about an unusual and massive recourse to writing, and not only by soldiers at the front. The correspondence served mainly to maintain contacts between the country, the war zone and the prisoner-of-war camps and allowed the soldiers, even those with scant writing skills, to recount from a distance the suffering and horrors of the war. The soldiers' letters, as well as representing one of the largest and most widespread experiences for writers of the lower classes of the contemporary age, have allowed scholars to undertake work of great heuristic interest for the history of the First World War.

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## Introduction: The Discovery of Writing During the War

The First World War brought about a need and a production of writing in Italy difficult to find in other conflicts of the modern age. This was because of the number of people called upon to contend with writing in relation to the mobilized soldiers, and on account of the amount of letters and postcards exchanged between the front and the home front during the forty-one months of war. In this period the [exchange of letters](#) had a very high frequency, and despite the difficult material conditions imposed by the war, writing letters was perhaps the soldiers' main task during their leisure time.<sup>[1]</sup> The ranks of professional writers, hired by the major daily newspapers to recount daily from the front the phases of the conflict, were flanked by a veritable army of millions of men, of every social and cultural level, armed with pens and pencils to put their war experiences on paper. If one excludes an unknown

number of diaries and memoirs written during or at the end of the conflict, there was in fact a total of almost 4 billion items of correspondence handled during the war: 1,535,933,600 letters sent from the home front to the front; 2,213,015,490 letters addressed by the soldiers to the population and 244,987,000 letters exchanged within the war zone. The total average daily movement of the correspondence was about 3 million. The peaks of incoming letters from the front were recorded in June 1917 with a daily average of 2.78 million; the greatest number of letters exchanged between soldiers at the front was in the weeks following the defeat of Caporetto, with an average daily circulation of 550,000; while the average daily maximum of letters sent to the front came in June 1918 with 1,770,000 letters.<sup>[2]</sup>

Apparently these were modest numbers when compared with those of other European countries: in France it is estimated that during the conflict the items of correspondence amounted to about 10 billion, and as much as 30 billion in Germany, while in Great Britain it is estimated that at least 20 million letters were sent each week from the Western Front to the home front.<sup>[3]</sup> Not so meagre, in fact surprisingly high when compared with the number of soldiers mobilized and especially with the literacy rates registered in Italy on the eve of the war. On average, certainly with some significant differences between young people and the elderly population, and between the more literate northern areas and the southern ones, nearly 40 percent of the population could neither read nor write. In France, in the same period, more than 95 percent of conscripts were literate. Applying these data, perhaps a little superficially, to the mobilized military, without going into issues related to the processes of literacy and schooling, it can be said that almost 2 million soldiers left for the war without knowing how to write a letter home, well aware, in any case, that no one else in the house would have been able to read it. Several studies, also supported by the statistical data, have shown in what ways many soldiers learned to write during the war. In some cases with the help of fellow comrades in arms, in others due to the presence of military chaplains in the armed forces, and not just because driven, in obvious circumstances of constant danger, by the desire not to interrupt contacts with relatives or acquaintances back home but also because many saw in the daily exercise of writing a possible refuge from the anguish, the suffering and the precariousness of war, the opportunity of making sense of that experience.<sup>[4]</sup> Some, even among the least competent and with little experience in writing, were able to record real diaries about their experience of war, succeeding in an attempt to leave a record of an event which immediately seemed, to all the protagonists, boundless, radically new, therefore memorable.<sup>[5]</sup>

The management of this mass of paper was entrusted to the Military Post, a structure set up specifically for the war. Correspondence arriving and departing for the front, from the beginning of the conflict, was in fact taken from civilian offices and sent to the military ones. In accordance with regulations issued in March 1915 by a special commission established by the Ministry of Post, which was charged with reviewing the entire preceding legislation and transmitting to the offices provisions for  censorship , to which the mail would be submitted during the conflict. The main point of collection and sorting of mail was in Bologna, considered a strategic city because it was not far from the front, while there were four subsidiary offices in different parts of the country in the cities of Bari, Naples,

Taranto and Treviso. This venue, due to its proximity to the war zone, in November 1917 was dismantled and reunited with that of Bologna. These main offices, along with other minor centres scattered throughout the country, initially organized to manage the correspondence of 500,000 soldiers, had, immediately, to triple their efforts and subsequently serve more than 5 million mobilized soldiers. This caused many problems in the timely delivery of mail, especially at the beginning of the war and then during periods of high traffic, when there were more than 4 million letters a day.

These numbers were also reached as a result of the military authorities measures that were intended to facilitate and promote the exchange of letters between the front and the rear, for example through the free distribution of so-called duty-free postcards, that is free from payment of the stamp. The High Command issued many of these postcards to the soldiers. In some periods of the war every soldier was allowed to write and mail postcards - up to seven per week - free of charge, in effect one a day. Some of these postcards, because of their structure, apparently had the aim of making it easier for the less literate soldiers to fill them in, guiding them in writing the address of the recipient and the text through preprinted simplified very binding forms. In fact they were intended to minimize the space for writing, and therefore the amount of information that the soldiers could give to the country. This system would also have facilitated the work of the officials in charge of censorship and improved the circulation of the mail. Also because, as has been demonstrated, the censorship was entrusted with more wide-ranging tasks than had been planned on the eve of the war, and asked not only to prevent confidential information or, more generally, of a military nature from reaching the country and therefore running the risk of being intercepted by the enemy, but also of informing the authorities about the soldiers' morale and their opinions about the war, that the letters would have more or less clearly leaked. This service, also present in other European countries, resulted, in Italy, in a progressive tightening of controls and consequently of sanctions, without nevertheless ever being able to control all the mail, especially after the defeat of Caporetto when the army and the country were called upon to regroup in order to continue the war. The possibility of their mail being intercepted led many soldiers to adopt attitudes of self-censorship which, added to the inadequacies of written communication, in many cases inhibited freedom of expression.<sup>[6]</sup> Nevertheless, several studies have amply demonstrated how these obstacles did not prevent millions of soldiers from giving, through their letters – only apparently trivial and repetitive, generally incorrect and uncertain - relevant answers to questions about the war.

## **I Write these few Words...**

The call to arms, and the consequent departure from home, caused a radical change in the soldiers' habits. In this sense, writing and reading, always marginal activities for the popular classes, became a real daily necessity. Writing and receiving mail became, for many combatants, a primary need, almost an obsession, because it permitted them to maintain contact with the family environment, with their work activities and their birthplace, as can be seen in the anxious demands for information in the letters from the front. The illiterate soldiers understood how important it was to learn a few rudimentary rules for communicating in writing at least their state of health when they were forced to

ask for help from fellow soldiers, their superiors or military chaplains, before becoming, not without difficulty, independent. They were aware that through writing and reading they could gain moments of intimacy which military life, especially at the front, had almost completely eliminated. For those who stayed at home the same difficulties were sometimes overcome thanks to the work of trusted intermediaries, such as parish priests or mayors. In several villages in fact parishes and municipal buildings became, during the war, real news offices concerned with the production and sorting of mail. A very similar task was carried out by the heads of the Houses of the Soldier, recreation centres (many at the beginning had a Catholic background) set up in villages near the front. In these centres the soldiers received material and moral assistance.

Faced with a very vast and unexplored field of writings produced by semiliterate soldiers, many scholars, in the 1980s and even in the early 1990s, thought and wrote a little hastily that those letters were basically all the same, regardless of who had produced them and who was the recipient. In fact, the counting and systematic analysis of very large documentary heritages, today fortunately preserved in public and private archives, it was possible to see the account of the experience of war in its most authentic and traumatic aspects. However, they are certainly burdened by the insuperable limit of being condemned to remain always a small amount compared to the enormous total produced. Nonetheless they showed that beneath the veneer of apparent uniformity and repeatability, a poor and inappropriate lexicon, even a more or less eloquent silence. Quite a few “letters of the illiterate”<sup>[7]</sup> – thus were these writings effectively defined - not only defy any model but give us interesting views about the conflict: repulsion, when not a hidden protest against the war and its mechanisms, accompanied by resigned waiting to return home. In numerous letters coming from the war zone there also emerge without too much censorship disappointment, discouragement, anxiety and uncertainty about the outcome of the conflict, the hope of peace. When a close relationship with the interlocutor permitted it, there were even confessions about the horrors of war, even if sometimes tempered by a sense of modesty and by the appropriateness of not mentioning the most common taboos. These included recounting the violence inflicted, the promiscuity with death, the deplorable hygienic conditions of fellow soldiers forced to live for weeks in the mud in contact with unburied corpses, waste and sewage.<sup>[8]</sup> However, there were satisfied accounts of attacks, shootings and killings, without the slightest embarrassment in having felt pleasure at shooting and killing the enemy.<sup>[9]</sup>

More generally, the letters have permitted the emergence of the gap between the mass of peasant soldiers sent to fight for ideals almost unknown to most of them, and the minority of young volunteers or officers, of bourgeois extraction and education, more motivated and more likely to exhibit their being in favour of the conflict, though no less careful to keep alive, through writing, the sentimental and emotional relationships with family members back home. There are in this regard interesting love letters produced by soldiers or officers protagonists of very intense exchanges of correspondence with girlfriends or wives at home, characterized by very formal writing, within which, with calm and sober tones they recounted the war-time events, emphasizing the most edifying aspects of the conflict, and often not mentioning the horrors.<sup>[10]</sup> The writings produced by the more literate,

bourgeois soldiers, in some instances underwent processes of monumentalization even during the war, because they were published, in accordance with [propaganda](#) aims, through newspapers or books, or used as the spiritual testaments of the soldiers who had died at the front. The war zone was not the only place of intense correspondence: internment and [imprisonment](#) also forced soldiers to come to terms with writing. For many it was an opportunity, without the activity of the front line, for reflection, or for thinking about their war-time experience. Confinement in prison camps, made even more unbearable by the preliminary charge of desertion and the resulting lack of supplies by the [Italian Government](#), made the soldiers resort to writing, mostly through the duty-free postcards distributed by the Red Cross, to ask family members, almost always obsessively, to sending parcels containing goods of prime necessity such as food and clothes.<sup>[11]</sup>

Far from the prison camps or from the front women, wives, mothers and sisters resorted to writing in order to communicate not only their moods or feelings about a war experienced at a distance, but also the latest news about the tasks and the responsibilities to which they had been called as a result of the conflict. These included the management of family affairs in situations of obvious economic and food difficulties, working in the fields or in factories, educating and supporting their children. In the writings of women belonging to the upper classes there are also stories of their socially useful and publicly recognized work experience: this was the case of the ladies, patrons, soldiers' pen friends or [Red Cross](#) nurses who worked within the complex world of war welfare.<sup>[12]</sup>

Quite often the war letters were accompanied by pictures. In rare cases it was the soldiers themselves who drew sketches, more or less successful in ornamental terms or more often to enrich and support a limited and stunted lexicon and repertoire of information. The more creative, challenging the censorship, were able to reproduce the curious objects handled at the front, hutments or make-shift housing, outlines of mountains or views of landscapes. More often the correspondence was accompanied by illustrations commissioned from professionals or well-known sketch artists, including illustrated postcards. The diffusion of the latter was accompanied by intense propaganda whose real potential was not unknown, given that all the belligerent countries adopted every means in this direction. On the Italian front the most recurrent themes were those related to the campaigns for war loans, which aimed at convincing Italians to invest economically, before the intervention, then in the mobilization and resistance to the bitter end, and finally in the reconstruction of the country, thanks to an incalculable series of images which in turn proposed in their various facets the heroism and courage of the Italian soldier, the demonization of the enemy, the solidarity of the combatants. Also very widespread among the soldiers were the postcards with a religious background which, through a clever mix of mottos, slogans and icons borrowed from religious doctrine and patriotic propaganda, explicitly supported the reasons for the war and only rarely expressed pacifist views. Very many of these images contained drawings that were based on standardized iconographic models, used for the same purpose also by institutions in other countries at war. In this sense, the illustrated postcards were one of the most obvious and early examples of the linguistic standardization of mass communication, suffice it to mention the common matrix of many images used in those years by commercial advertising and then taken up and adapted to the language of

political propaganda in the various European countries.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Monuments of Memory or Sources for Historical Research?

The war was immediately subjected to a process of monumentalization which naturally included the written testimony of the soldiers, particularly those killed at the front, subjected to real processes of collection, classification and distribution throughout the country. Some collections of letters made available by the families of fallen soldiers were subjected to careful selection and published as early as the summer of 1915.<sup>[14]</sup> In the same period, the Ministry of Education became a promoter of campaigns collecting artifacts and memorabilia related to the war, including the written testimonies of the protagonists, useful in implementing didactic-exhibitory projects in the museums of the major Italian cities. Of these collection projects, also recovered and amplified by Fascism in the 1920s, today there remain few traces in some public archives, libraries and museums.<sup>[15]</sup> The exposure to the public and the diffusion through the press of letters coming from the front line satisfied the partisan desire to “give a voice” to those protagonists who could best convey persuasive messages of mobilization and support for the war, by highlighting its most edifying aspects.

Instead the first pioneering studies of war-time epistolography date back to 1921, when the Austrian censor and philologist Leo Spitzer (1887-1960) published a study of the letters of the Italian prisoners of war. He had used these letters to consider different aspects of the experience of war, not least working-class soldiers’ substantial extraneousness to the ideals and the outcome of the conflict.<sup>[16]</sup> The Austrian linguist and literary critic’s research was a real discovery but it did not make much of an impact at least in Italy. Even if after more than a decade Adolfo Omodeo (1889-1946), in publishing a selection of texts produced during the conflict, viewed the writings of fallen soldiers in hierarchical terms, giving space and consideration to those produced by the officers and relegating to an appendix those of ordinary soldiers, because he regarded them as being “insignificant”.<sup>[17]</sup> The following period of publications, perhaps influenced by the concurrent events of colonial war, certainly more useful for political propaganda, only produced the occasional collection of texts chosen for ceremonies or commemorations but without any historiographic objective. It was only in the 1970s that some studies began to be interested in the analysis of the writing practices of ordinary people with the aim of finding the possible links with the processes of the emergence of the mass society, and it is no coincidence that it was precisely in those years that the first Italian translation of Spitzer’s above-mentioned work appeared.<sup>[18]</sup>

In the 1980s, also in Italy, there was a renewed historiographical interest in issues related to the history of popular culture in the First World War. There were significant works analyzing the experience of war through the use of sources which were unusual and unrelated to the traditional lines of study. Research aimed at the recovery of the eye-witness accounts of the protagonists of the conflict, which served to initiate studies of social history about the combatants’ mentality and behavioural problems, led in subsequent years to an overall change in perspective and, so to speak, in the historiographic climate. Those were the years of the first fruitful seminars in Rovereto (Trento),



about the subject of the war-time writings, that led to the creation of the National Federation of the archives of popular writing, and that witnessed the active participation of historical, literary, linguistic, palaeographic and anthropological scholars.<sup>[19]</sup> Since then, research has produced a great deal of literature about the topics of the common people's writings, methodological issues, the treatment and preservation of an increasingly copious documentary heritage. The results of some research have crossed national borders and contributed to the creation of new research centres that have produced interesting new lines of study and valuable publications.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Conclusion

The war unleashed a veritable epidemic of writing that affected not only the combatants, of every belligerent country and on every front, but also those who stayed at home. The conflict came to represent, in its tragedy, an unexpected opportunity of forced acculturation for hundreds of thousands of soldiers who went to war illiterate. Thanks to writing, the soldiers were able to communicate at a distance not only their own health status, but also to continue to maintain affective relationships, to manage family affairs, the trend of agricultural matters, and all the issues relating to the economic aspects of their kin. The fear that the correspondence, with requests for help or information on the progress of the war, would not reach home was widespread among the soldiers and, in many cases, this fear resulted in the presence in the correspondence of monotonous and repetitive formulas which were not informative. Despite the censorship and self-censorship, the soldiers were able, even those with an extremely poor vocabulary, to put down on paper their war experiences. They addressed issues which were not at all obvious, even communicating the horror and senselessness of war, the sacrifices that were called for every day, and bringing out elements of their intolerance of the war and military discipline. In some cases, the results were even more original than the communications of some of their commanders, because they were more spontaneous and without the officers' rhetoric. Perhaps they were enlivened by unusual communicative stratagems such as the use of dialect in the more intimate and personal passages, or by expressions usually used in oral communication. Undoubtedly the letters, taken together, reveal the existence of people far removed from the reasons for the war, invoking peace more than victory, without however expressing positions which today would justify a completely unpatriotic interpretation of their attitude towards the conflict. In very many cases the use of writing helped the protagonists to make sense of an event having an immense impact. It is no coincidence that some soldiers attributed a tangible value to writing itself, even an apotropaic function: it was a habit to keep, jealously guarded in the pockets of their uniforms, letters or postcards received at the front. The soldiers entrusted them with tutelary if not providential tasks.

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## Notes

1. ↑ Petrucci, Armando: *Scrivere lettere. Una storia plurimillenaria*, Rome-Bari 2008, pp. 184-187; Bartoli Langeli, Attilio: *La scrittura dell'italiano*, Bologna 2000, pp. 159-164.
2. ↑ Cadioli, Beniamino/Cecchi, Aldo: *La posta militare italiana nella Prima guerra mondiale*, Rome 1978, p. 274.
3. ↑ Caffarena, Fabio: *Armed with Pen and Paper. Soldiers and Writing between Story, Memory and the History of the Great War*, in Piredda, Patrizia (ed.): *The Great War in Italy. Representation and Interpretation*, Leicester 2013, pp. 167-177.
4. ↑ Gibelli, Antonio: *L'officina della guerra. La Grande Guerra e le trasformazioni del mondo mentale*, Turin 1991, pp. 99-103.
5. ↑ Regarding memoirs and war diaries, not dealt with here, see the numerous works by the scholars of the *Archivio della scrittura popolare di Trento* and the *Museo storico italiano della guerra di Rovereto*. Leoni, Diego/Zadra, Camillo: *La Grande Guerra. Esperienza, memoria, immagine*, Bologna 1986.
6. ↑ Bellosi, Giuseppe/Savini, Marcello (eds.): *Verificato per censura. Lettere e cartoline di soldati romagnoli nella prima guerra mondiale*, Cesena 2002, pp. 17-18.
7. ↑ Lussana, Filippo: *Lettere di illetterati. Note di psicologia sociale*, Bologna 1913.
8. ↑ Gibelli, Antonio: *L'officina della guerra. La Grande Guerra e le trasformazioni del mondo mentale*, Turin 1991, pp. 164-193.
9. ↑ Stiaccini, Carlo: *Trincee di carta. Lettere di soldati della prima guerra mondiale al parroco di Fara Novarese*, Novara 2005, pp. 37-39.
10. ↑ Dondeynaz, Rosalba: *Selma e Guerino. Un epistolario amoroso (1914-1920)*, Genova 1992.
11. ↑ Procacci, Giovanna: *Soldati e prigionieri italiani nella Grande Guerra*, Turin 2000, pp. 167-250.
12. ↑ Thebaud, Françoise: *La Grande Guerra: età della donna o trionfo della differenza sessuale?*, in Duby, Georges/Perrot, Michelle (eds.): *Storia delle donne in Occidente. Il Novecento*, Bari 1992, p. 26; Molinari, Augusta: *Donne e ruoli femminili nell'Italia della Grande Guerra*, Milan 2008.
13. ↑ Gibelli, Antonio: *L'uomo col dito puntato. Una fonte iconografica*, in Luzzatto, Sergio (ed.): *Prima lezione di metodo storico*, Rome 2010, pp. 123-141.
14. ↑ Holl, Lavinia (ed.): *Lettere di soldati italiani*, Rome 1915.
15. ↑ Caffarena, Fabio: *Lettere dalla Grande Guerra. Scritture del quotidiano, monumenti della memoria, fonti per la storia. Il caso italiano*, Milan 2005, pp. 111-169.
16. ↑ Spitzer, *Italienische Kriegsgefangenenbriefe. Materialien zu einer Charakteristik del volkstümlichen italienischen Korrespondenz*, Hanstein 1921; Gibelli, Vienna, 17 settembre 1915: *La letteratura degli illetterati*, in Luzzatto/Pedullà (ed.), *Atlante della letteratura italiana* 2012, (v. III) pp. 472-476.
17. ↑ Omodeo, *Momenti della vita di guerra. Dai diari e dalle lettere dei caduti* 1934.
18. ↑ Spitzer, Leo: *Lettere di prigionieri di guerra italiani (1915-1918)*, Turin 1976.
19. ↑ For archives of the writings of ordinary people, see *Materiali di Lavoro* 1-2 1987; Conti, Piero/Gibelli, Antonio/Franchini, Giuliana (eds.): *Storie di gente comune nell'Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare*, Acqui Terme 2002; Antonelli, Quinto: *Scritture di confine. Guida all'archivio della scrittura popolare*, Trento 1999.



20. ↑ Knoch, Peter (ed.): *Kriegsalltag. Die Rekonstruktion des Kriegsalltags als Aufgabe der historischen Forschung und der Friedenserziehung*, Stuttgart 1989; Cazals, Rémy /Rousseau, Frédéric: *14-18: cri d'une génération*, Privat 2001; Sáez, Carlos/Castillo Gómez, Antonio (eds.): *La correspondencia en la Historia. Modelos y prácticas de la escritura epistolar*, Madrid 2002; Lyons, Martyn: *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe (1860-1920)*, Cambridge 2012.

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