

The Staufen Dynasty and the Teutonic Knights in the Eastern Mediterranean

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Following the division of the Roman Empire (in 395 A.D.) into an eastern part with Constantinople as its capital and a western part with Rome as its capital, the eastern Mediterranean was under the domination of the Byzantine emperors; however, after the expansion of Islam (starting in the 7th century) most of it was conquered by the Muslims. With the crusades, which began at the end of the 11th century after a request for military assistance by the Byzantine emperor, part of the area was won back for Christianity, but relations between the crusaders from central-western Europe and Byzantium were difficult from the very beginning.¹

With the crowning of the Frankish king Charlemagne as emperor, in the year 800 the political fulcrum of the Western Empire moved north of the Alps, although Rome remained the seat of imperial coronations and was still the official capital of the empire. The emperors of the West considered themselves also the protectors of the sacred sites in the Holy Land, but in practice they were unable to deal with places so far from the centres of their power. The situation changed during the 12th century, when under Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa of the Staufen dynasty, the Western Empire acquired new prestige while Byzantium passed through a difficult period following the resounding defeats by the Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert (Malazgirt) (1071) and Myriokephalon (1176).²

In the autumn of 1184 an Armenian delegation arrived in Verona,³ where a meeting was being held between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Lucius III. The Armenians who had settled in Cilicia, in the south of present-day Turkey, had managed to set up two dominions, one under the Hethoumid dynasty west of the Cilician gate around the castle of Lampron (Namrunkale), and the other under the Rubenids, further east around Anavarza and Sis. The latter became increasingly strong, conquering Tarsus and the Cilician coast and, under Lewon II (1198-1219), setting up a principality where many Greeks, Turks, Syrians and Franks lived. Threatened from the north by the Seljuks and from the southeast by the Sultanate of Damascus, and being in conflict with the Byzantine Empire for reli-

¹ Lilie, Ralph-Johannes 2004, *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge*, (Urban Tb 595), Stuttgart.

² Magdalino, Paul 1993, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge.

³ Hiestand, Rudolf 1992, “‘precipua tocius christianismi columpna’. Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug”, in: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, Alfred Haverkamp, ed., Sigmaringen, 51-108, at 94; Halfter, Peter 1995, “Die Stauer und Armenien”, in: *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem. Facetten staufischer Geschichte*, Sönke Lorenz and Ulrich Schmidt, eds., Sigmaringen, 187-208, at 190ff.; Hauser, Sigrid 1998, *Staufische Lebenspolitik am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, 1180-1197*, Frankfurt a.M., 215 note 861.

gious reasons, the Armenians sought the support of the western world. Their institutions followed the western model they had learned from the crusaders, with whom they had close contact. Lewon II established Frankish knights in some of his castles, married two Frankish princesses, Isabella of Antioch and Sybil de Lusignan, and granted commercial privileges to the Italian maritime republics.⁴

This was the context that the Armenian delegation entered in 1184, first approaching the pope, but also making what was perhaps the first contact between the Armenians and Frederick Barbarossa.⁵ When in 1190 the emperor started his crusade to win back Jerusalem, which had been conquered by Saladin in 1187, he was welcomed with open arms by the Armenians. Lewon II, fighting the prince of Antioch, whose vassal he had become, was interested in becoming vassal to the emperor, who was willing to grant him the royal crown. It was only the sudden death of Barbarossa, who drowned on 10 June 1190 in the Saleph River, that thwarted this plan, which was later achieved in 1198. For the Armenian state the connection with the Staufien Empire guaranteed its independence from Byzantium, but required the union, at least in name, of the Armenian and Roman churches. This union and the consequent growing influence of Latin culture was to meet strong resistance from the Armenian population, who were very attached to their traditions.⁶

In the 1180s, other states seeking to gain independence from Byzantium, like Serbia and Bulgaria, also approached the Staufien emperor; but in these cases Frederick Barbarossa did not react, so as not to create friction with Byzantium, whose territory he had to cross to reach the Holy Land.⁷ After the battle of Konya (18 May 1190), in which Barbarossa defeated the Seljuks, the Seljuk sultan declared his willingness to become the emperor's vassal, but he probably did not mean it, and in this case, too, Frederick did not react.⁸

The Staufien Empire was more intensely involved in Mediterranean affairs, when – after the death of William II, king of Sicily (1166-1189), under Frederick Barbarossa's son Henry VI, who in 1186 had married Costance d'Hauteville, heiress to the kingdom of Sicily – this Mediterranean kingdom (with Palermo as its capital) joined the Western Empire. Henry VI had prepared a crusade to free Jerusalem from Muslim domination, but he died suddenly in September 1197, when the first military contingents had already left. The year before (1196), the emperor had accepted the request made by Aimeric of Lusignan, Lord of Cyprus, to become his

⁴ Ibid. 256ff.

⁵ Halfter 1995, 190ff.

⁶ Ryan, James D. 2001, "Toleration Denied. Armenia between East and West in the Era of the Crusades", in: *Tolerance and Intolerance. Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, Michael Gervers and James M. Powell, eds., Syracuse (New York), 55-64.

⁷ Hiestand 1992, 92ff.

⁸ Cf. ibid. 98f. Hiestand's argument that the Principality of Antioch became vassal to the Empire in 1190 was unconvincing: cf. Hauser 1998, 252.

vassal and to be crowned king; he did the same with a similar request from Lewon II of Armenia. The coronation ceremonies were carried out in September 1197 at Nicosia by the imperial chancellor Conrad of Querfurt, Bishop of Hildesheim,⁹ and on 6 January 1198 at Tarsus by the head of the Armenian Church, the katholikòs Gregor VI Abirad, in the presence of Archbishop Conrad of Mainz.¹⁰

The two new kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia, tied to the Staufen Empire by a bond of vassallage, soon saw the establishment of the knights of the “Order of the brothers of the hospital of St. Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem” (*Ordo fratrum hospitalis S. Mariae Theutonicorum in Jerusalem*), called Teutonic Order for short. Unlike the older military orders of the Templars and the Knights of St. John, whose structures and rules inspired it, the new German military order was practically a national order, but it had a wide range of activity which extended from the Mediterranean to the Baltic.¹¹

While in Cyprus, an important port for pilgrims and crusaders travelling to the Holy Land, the Teutonic Order only obtained houses, land and rents in kind and in money for the upkeep of knights and pilgrims passing through,¹² in Cilician Armenia the order also obtained castles and was involved in the military protection of the kingdom’s north-east border. Lewon II, who became *confrater* of the order, that is, he was made a lay member, granted the Teutonic knights some villages, the castle of Amuda and the right to trade freely throughout the kingdom. Lewon II’s son-in-law and successor, Hethoum I (1226-1269) and his wife Zapêl, who as well as many other properties, in 1236 gave the Teutonic knights the important fiefdom of Harouniya near the “Pyles Amaniques” and the castle of Sarwandik’ar, became *confratres* of the Teutonic Order.¹³ The Armenian sovereigns’ decision to join the Teutonic Order was probably dictated not only by the links with the Staufen Empire, but also their strained relations with the Templars, who were already present in Cilician Armenia, and who supported Bohemund IV of Antioch, Lewon II and Hethoum I’s rival in the issue of the succession to the Principality of Antioch.

⁹ Cf. Houben, Hubert 2008a, “Intercultural Communication: the Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus”, in: *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel, eds., Leiden, Boston, 139-157, at 149 with note 38.

¹⁰ Chevalier, Marie-Anna 2004, “Les chevaliers teutoniques en Cilicie: ‘les maccabées’ du Royaume arménien”, *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 6, 137-153, at 138.

¹¹ Cf. Houben, Hubert, ed. 2004b, *L’Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) – Mesagne – Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, (Acta theutonica 1), Galatina.

¹² Cf. Houben 2008a, 151-157.

¹³ Chevalier 2004, 144f. For more detailed information on the exact location of the Teutonic possessions in Cilician Armenia see Kiesewetter, Andreas 2004, “L’Ordine Teutonico in Grecia e in Armenia”, in: *L’Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo*, Hubert Houben, ed., 73-107, at 96-101.

The prestige of the Teutonic Order increased following its first military participation in a crusade, which took place between 1218 and 1221, when the crusaders tried to conquer Damiette in Egypt. In 1220-21 the Teutonic knights obtained papal privileges which made them equal to the Templars and the Knights of St. John, and in 1220 they acquired, owing to a donation by Duke Leopold VI of Austria, the so-called *Seigneurie de Joscelin*, one of the biggest fiefs in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, situated north of Acre.¹⁴ The marriage of Frederick II and Isabelle of Brienne, heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, celebrated in 1225, involved the Staufens even further in the Holy Land, although already in 1215 Frederick had promised a crusade to restore Jerusalem to Christianity.¹⁵

The expansion of the Teutonic Order in the eastern Mediterranean was due in particular to Hermann von Salza, the fourth grand master of the order (1209-1239) and the person really responsible for its success thanks to his close relations with Frederick II, on whose behalf he acted above all as mediator with the papacy. Before coming into contact with the emperor in 1216, Hermann had already visited, in 1211-12, the possessions obtained by the order in Palestine, Syria, Armenia and Cyprus¹⁶. During his crusade, undertaken in 1228-29, Frederick II asserted the imperial rights over the eastern Mediterranean area, particularly Cyprus, where he stopped for six full weeks in July 1228.¹⁷ There he met the prince of Antioch, Bohemund IV, from whom he demanded the same oath of loyalty made in 1190 by the predecessor Bohemund III to Duke Frederick V of Swabia as the representative of the empire. The recent finding of a document showing that Frederick II supposedly deposited in the Teutonic house of Acre the crown of the Armenian kingdom, probably consigned to him by Bohemund IV, suggests that the emperor may have envisaged a visit to the kingdom of Armenia after his stay in Jerusalem, a visit which did not come about due to the precipitating political situation in Italy. In 1253, Frederick II's son and heir, Conrad IV, ordered the archbishop-elect of Palermo to consign the crown to Hethoum I, who had asked for it in order to give his position greater legitimacy.¹⁸

¹⁴ Mayer, Hans Eberhard 1980, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden", in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann, eds., Sigmaringen, 171-216; Favreau-Lilie, Marie-Luise 2004, "L'Ordine Teutonico in Terrasanta (1198-1291)", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo*, Hubert Houben, ed., 53-72, at 65-72.

¹⁵ Hechelhammer, Bodo 2004, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsspielräume von Kreuzzugspolitik (1215 – 1230)*, Ostfildern.

¹⁶ Kluger, Helmuth 1987, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Marburg, 7f.; Halfter, Peter 2000, "Die Beschreibung des armenischen Königreiches Kilikien durch den Hildesheimer Domherren Wilbrand von Oldenburg", in: *Armenia and Christian Orient*, Yerevan, 402-421, at 404.

¹⁷ Stürner, Wolfgang 2000, *Friedrich II.*, Teil 2: *Der Kaiser 1220-1250*, Darmstadt, 147f.; Hechelhammer 2004, 270ff.

¹⁸ Halfter, Peter 2007, "Corona regni Armeniae. Aus der Spätzeit der staufisch-armenischen Beziehungen", *Le Muséon* 120, 1-2, 131-161; Houben 2008a, 150.

The Teutonic Order set up an Armenian bailiwick which included the possessions in Cyprus. Due to the lack of documents we know little about this bailiwick. According to the statutes of the order, drawn up around 1250¹⁹ and updated around 1260, the commander of the bailiwick of Armenia had highly prestigious duties. His presence at the election of the grand master, in the main house of the order in Acre, was considered indispensable in the statutes going back to about 1260. In 1266 however, when the Mamluks defeated the Armenians, the Teutonic Order lost its most important settlements in Cilician Armenia, suffering a 'lethal blow' from which it was never to recover.²⁰

In the statutes of the Teutonic Order it was prescribed that in the master's household (*familia magistri*) there should be a *scriptor sarracenicus* and three Turcopoles. Turcopoles were initially mercenaries of Turkish origin in the Byzantine imperial army, who were then incorporated as mercenaries into the military orders in the East; in all likelihood, they were mostly sons of Arab women and Western men, sometimes converted to Christianity.²¹

The Teutonic knights were almost all German, but they were not cut off from the Mediterranean society in which they had settled. Studies on the Teutonic presence in Apulia and in Sicily have shown that they were surrounded by a network of indigenous lay people, who were often affiliated with the order as *confratres*, namely lay brothers.²² Given that the number of Teutonic knights was small, they could only run their considerable estates by allocating them to local people. The case of Sicily is particularly interesting. Here the Teutonic knights had close ties with other ethnic minorities, namely Italian immigrants from the north of the peninsula, Catalans and Jews, who in Sicily spoke Arabic. The Teutonic house of Palermo had at its service notaries, who came from this city, knew Arabic and Greek and could translate from both these languages.²³ It also seems that after the foun-

¹⁹ Houben, Hubert 2005, "Regole, statuti e consuetudini dell'Ordine Teutonico: status quaestionis", in: *Regulae – Consuetudines – Statuta. Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo*, Cristina Andenna and Gert Melville, eds., Münster, 375-385.

²⁰ Kiesewetter 2004, 104f.

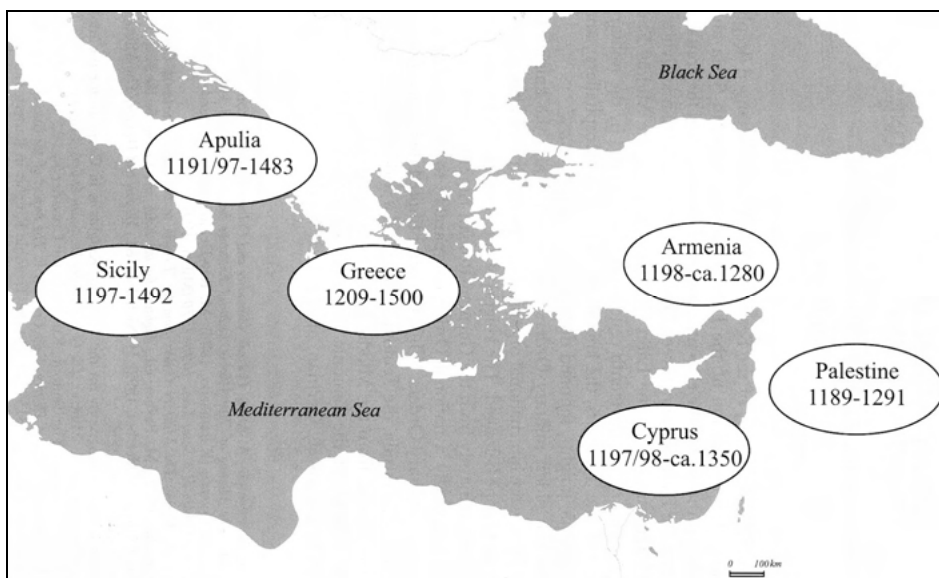
²¹ Houben 2008a, 141f.

²² Intini, Mariella 2006a, "I Teutonici e la società pugliese. I laici della commenda teutonica di Barletta (1228-1308)", in: *Mobilità e immobilità nel Medioevo europeo. Atti del 2° Seminario di studio dei dottorati di ricerca di ambito medievistico delle Università di Lecce e di Erlangen*, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 1-2 aprile 2004, Hubert Houben and Benedetto Vetere, eds., Galatina, 171-194; Intini, Mariella 2006b, "'Offero me et mea': oblazioni e associazioni di laici alla casa teutonica di San Leonardo di Siponto", in: *San Leonardo di Siponto. Cella monastica, canonica, domus Theutonicorum. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Marfredonia, 18-19 marzo 2005)*, Hubert Houben, ed., Galatina, 111-132; Intini, Mariella 2008, "I familiares dell'Ordine Teutonico in Terra di Bari: problemi e prospettive", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico*, Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, eds., 95-124.

²³ Bresc, Henry 1995, "La propriété foncière des Musulmans dans la Sicile du XII^e siècle: trois documents inédits", in: *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia Musulmana. Giornata di studio (Roma, 3 maggio 1993)*, Rome, 69-97, at 72f.; Toomaspoeg, Kristjan 2003, *Les Teutoniques en Sicile (1197-1492)*, Rome, 141.

dation of their hospital at Acre in 1190, the Teutonic knights would have had intense contacts with the Armenians living in the Holy Land.²⁴

In the small communities of the Teutonic Order in the Mediterranean, German was used for internal communication. We also learn that in 1419 the Teutonic knights in Venice did not know Italian (*quod Italicum ignorent*).²⁵ If there were difficulties in communication in Italy, the situation must have been even more difficult in Greek, Armenian or Arab contexts, where the Teutonic knights were also present: in Palestine, in Cyprus, in Cilician Armenia and in the Peloponnese.²⁶



Map 1. The Teutonic Knights in the Eastern Mediterranean

Acre, the real capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after 1187, was the seat of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. However, in 1226 the Teutonic knights enlarged the crusader castle of Montfort (in German, Starkenberg), which was located twenty kilometres north of Acre and had been bought in 1220, possibly with the intention of making it the administrative centre of their dominions in

²⁴ Chevalier 2004, 139.

²⁵ Forstreuter, Kurt 1967, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, Bonn, 143.

²⁶ Houben 2008a; for settlements of the Teutonic knights in Greece see Houben, Hubert 2004a, "Wie und wann kam der Deutsche Orden nach Griechenland?", in: *Nέα 'Ρώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 1 (= 'Αμπελοκήπιον. *Studi di amici e colleghi in onore di Vera von Falkenhausen* 1), 243-253; and Houben, Hubert 2008b, "La quarta crociata e l'Ordine Teutonico in Grecia", in: *The Fourth Crusade Revisited. Atti della Conferenza internazionale nell'Ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004, Andros (Grecia), 27-30 maggio 2004*, Pierantonio Piatti, ed., Vatican City, 202-214.

this region. In 1240 a castellan of Montfort is mentioned and in 1244 a general chapter was held there, when Grand Master Gerhard of Malberg resigned. It is, nonetheless, uncertain whether the treasury and the archive were ever moved from Acre to Montfort Castle,²⁷ which was attacked by the Mamluks in 1266 and conquered and destroyed in 1271.

The Teutonic house of Acre had on its staff in 1280 an Arabic scribe (*scriba in arabico in dicta domo*), a certain George, probably a Syrian Christian of Oriental rite, who appears in 1274 as the scribe of the treasury of the house (*scriba thesauri dicte domus*).²⁸

The statutes of the Teutonic Order do not prescribe that members had to be exclusively German, and, in fact, we do find non-Germans among the Teutonic knights; they were, however, rare. That the order was composed almost exclusively of Germans was probably due to the fact that internal communication took place in German, and it was therefore necessary to have a good knowledge of this language in order to make a career in the order. For instance, in 1422 the project to appoint the Spaniard Pedro de Luna commander of the Teutonic bailiwick of Spain failed because he didn't know German and had no intention of learning such a difficult language.²⁹

The oldest statutes of the order were written in Latin and subsequently translated into German because most of the Teutonic knights did not understand Latin.³⁰ Despite this, Latin was the language in which most of the order's documents were written. In the Levant, naturally, the Teutonic knights also used other languages: in April 1239 the Grand Commander Lutold issued a document in French for the Knights of St. John. In 1228 the Teutonic knights obtained two documents in French from Prince Bohemund of Antioch, while around 1237 and in 1239 two other French documents were issued in Greece by *Roberts de l'Isle*

²⁷ Militzer, Klaus 1999, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1309*, Marburg, 132-135; Boas, Adrian and Rabei Khamissy 2008, "The Teutonic Castle of Monfort/Starkenber (Qal'at Qurein)", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico*, Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, eds., 347-361.

²⁸ The two documents, edited in 1883 by Hans Prutz ("Elf Deutschordens-Urkunden aus Venedig und Malta", in: *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 20, 385-400, at 393-396), are reprinted in Houben, Hubert 2007, "I cavalieri teutonici nel Mediterraneo orientale (secoli XII-XV)", in: *I Cavalieri teutonici tra Sicilia e Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Agrigento, 24-25 marzo 2006*, Antonino Giuffrida, Hubert Houben, and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, eds., Galatina, 47-74, at 71-74.

²⁹ Cf. Jaspert, Nikolas 2004, "L'Ordine Teutonico nella penisola iberica: limiti e possibilità di una provincia periferica", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo*, Hubert Houben, ed., 109-132, at 109f.

³⁰ In the first half of the 14th century, however, a French translation of the statutes of the Teutonic Order was drawn up, probably for the benefit of French-speaking members of the order, residing in the French houses: Krämer, Thomas 2004, "Der Deutsche Orden in Frankreich – Ein Beitrag zur Ordensgeschichte im Königreich Frankreich und im Midi", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo*, Hubert Houben, ed., 237-276, at 265.

chevaliers. Finally, in 1271 a document was written in Armenian by Constantine, the son of Baron *Dgiofré* (i.e. Godfrey), lord of Sarvatikar.³¹

The Teutonic knights managed to keep their possessions in the Mediterranean beyond the end of the Staufen dynasty, because they distanced themselves from Frederick II and his successors when their downfall appeared inevitable. It is significant that, in 1258, when the Knights of St. John recognized the Staufen Conradin as king of Jerusalem, the Teutonic knights, like the Templars, swore allegiance to Hugh II, king of Cyprus and regent of Jerusalem (1253-1267).³²

With the end of the Staufen dynasty the Mediterranean ambitions of the Teutonic knights did not end. Their commitment became more intense, however, in the Baltic Sea (Prussia), where they created a dominion (*Ordensstaat*) which, in the modern era, was to become the Prussian State.

We do not have exact figures for the number of Teutonic knights in the Mediterranean. According to a recent estimate, there would have been around 400 in Palestine in about 1250 (but I think that 150 would be a more realistic number), and about 200 all together in the other Mediterranean bailiwicks, in Spain, Italy, Armenia, and Cyprus.³³ The conquest of Acre by the Mamluks in 1291 marked the end of the presence of the military orders in Palestine. Like the Templars and the Knights of St. John, some Teutonic knights moved to nearby Cyprus, from where they hoped one day to be able to reconquer their lost positions in the Holy Land, while their grand master moved to Venice.

After the fall of Acre (1291), the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, and the withdrawal from Cilician Armenia, the Teutonic Order managed in 1293 to reorganize its Mediterranean bailiwicks, entrusting the Teutonic provinces of Apulia, Sicily, Greece and Cyprus under a single commander, the Palestinian (of Calabrian descent) Guy (*Guido*) *de Amigdala/Amendolea*, son of Agnes of Scandalion.³⁴ However the moving of the see of the grand master from Venice to Marienburg (today Malbork in Poland) in 1309 marginalized the Mediterranean provinces. Subsequently the presence of Teutonic knights in the Mediterranean, apart from Italy, became more sporadic. They left Cyprus after 1347 and in Greece only kept the house of Metoni (Modone) until 1500, when they were ousted by the Turks.³⁵ In the 15th and 16th centuries, during discussions on the

³¹ Houben 2008a, 141 with notes 7-10.

³² Edbury, Peter W. 1979, "The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264/6 and 1268", *Camden Miscellany* 27, 1-47; repr. in: Edbury, Peter W. 1999, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 653), Aldershot, V, at 42.

³³ Cf. Militzer 1999, 389ff. Kiesewetter 2004, 102 estimates the number of Teutonic knights in Armenia at around 50.

³⁴ Houben, Hubert 2008c, "Guido von Amigdala/Amendolea. Ein Italo-Palästinenser als Landkomtur des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelmeerraum (1289-1311)", in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 88, 148-160.

³⁵ Forstreuter 1967, 81f.; Kiesewetter 2004, 94.

possibility of transferring the Teutonic Order from Prussia to the Mediterranean, where the knights could fight against the Turks, the name of Cyprus also came up;³⁶ however, it was a fanciful project with no chance of being realized.

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³⁶ Hubatsch, Walther 1955, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Reichslehnschaft über Cypern", in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, vol. 8, 245-306, at 285ff.

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