

THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN CYPRUS
ca.1197-1250

A Master's Thesis

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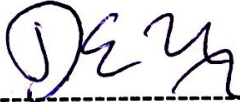
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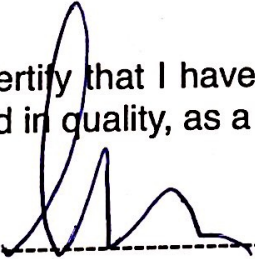
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ABSTRACT

THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN CYPRUS: ca.1197-1250

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This thesis focuses on the early development of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus during the period between c.1197, when the Order first appeared in Cyprus, and death of Holy Roman Emperor *Frederick II* in 1250. Contrary to the prevalent judgement, this study demonstrates the Teutonic Order was not subordinate to the emperor and developed in a similar way to the Templars and the Hospitallers. This study investigates the factors behind the development and focuses on a particularly important factor: the political situation of the island. Besides, after describing the Teutonic Order's early development in Cyprus, it discusses the reasons that prevented further development on the island which has been simply explained by historians via the Teutonic Order's relations with Frederick II, especially during the conflict in

Cyprus between 1229 and 1233. However, this study concludes that the Teutonic Order neither supported the emperor nor contributed to any conflict in Cyprus. Instead, thanks to its legendary Grandmaster *Hermann von Salza*, it remained neutral and managed to keep a certain level of development in the Holy Land whilst no longer keeping its early level of development in Cyprus. At this point, this study focuses on the influential family of Ibelin in Cyprus and concludes that the Ibelins prevented the Teutonic Order's further development on the island.

Keywords: Kingdom of Cyprus, Medieval Cyprus, Military Orders in Cyprus, The Teutonic Order.

ÖZET

KIBRIS'TA TÖTON TARİKATI: ca.1197-1250

Hakalmaz, Turaç

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yardımcı Doçent Dr. Paul Latimer

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Bu tez 1197 dolaylarında Töton Tarikatı'nın Kıbrıs'ta ilk ortaya çıkışından 1250'de Kutsal Roma Germen İmparatoru *II. Frederick*'in ölümüne kadar olan süreçte gelişimine odaklanmaktadır. Yaygın kanının aksine, bu çalışma Töton Tarikatı'nın imparatorun emrinde olmadığını ve bazı faktörler ışığında Tapınak Şövalyeleri ve St. John şövalyeleri kadar geliştiğini göstermektedir. Bu çalışma bu faktörleri araştırıp, özellikle önemli bir unsura odaklanmaktadır: Ada'nın siyasi durumu. Ayrıca Töton Tarikatı'nın Kıbrıs'ta erken dönem gelişimini açıkladıktan sonra, tarihçilerin 1229 ve 1233 arası Kıbrıs'taki savaş süresince Töton Tarikatı'nın *II. Frederick* ile olan ilişkisiyle basitçe açıklayabildiği adada daha fazla gelişmesine engel olan sebepleri

tartışmaktadır. Ancak bu tez, tarihçilerden farklı olarak Töton Tarikatı'nın ne imparatoru desteklediği ne de herhangi bir çatışmaya dahil olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır. Bunun yerine efsanevi tarikat başkanları *Hermann von Salza* sayesinde tarafsız kalıp Kutsal Topraklar'da belirli bir gelişme seviyesini korurken Kıbrıs'ta erken dönem gelişme seviyesini koruyamamıştır. Bu noktada bu çalışma Kıbrıs'ta etkin olan İbelin ailesine odaklanıp Töton Tarikatı'nın Kıbrıs'ta gelişmesini engelleyen en önemli sebebin İbelin'ler olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Krallığı, Kıbrıs'ta Askeri Tarikatlar, Orta Çağ'da Kıbrıs, Töton Tarikatı.

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I should also thank my mother who has always supported me even in the most desperate situation. Considerable thanks ought to go to my cheerful brother, Tunç, and my beloved friend Uğur because they always made me smile. I would also like to thank Bilkent University, the Department of History, my professors and friends from the department, especially Deniz, Murat, Tarık and Ahmet. I have received substantial support from them

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Codex</i>	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum.</i> Mainz, 1845.
<i>Narratio</i>	“De Primordiis Ordinis Theutonici Narratio.” In <i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Des Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit</i> , vol. 1, edited by Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernestus Strahlke, 220-225. Leipzig: 1861.
<i>Peregrinatores</i>	“Peregrinatio.” In <i>Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor</i> edited by Johann C. Laurent Leipzig, 161-190. 1864.
<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani: 1097-1291</i> , 2 Vols. Innsbruck, 1904.
<i>Tabulae</i>	<i>Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum</i> , edited by E. Strahlke. Berlin: 1869.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To provide support for those who were sick and wounded during the Siege of Acre, a German Hospital was established in 1190. Following the siege of Acre, this Hospital evolved to a military religious order namely the Teutonic Order and its presence prevailed: in a few decades they became one of the most important international military orders dedicated to Christendom. The Teutonic Order's development, for sure, was not limited to the Holy Land but also included neighbouring regions of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. One of these regions, the newly established kingdom of Cyprus was an area in which the Teutonic Order managed to establish itself.

Formerly ruled by the Byzantine Empire, Cyprus was captured by Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade, and, in 1192, Guy of Lusignan purchased the island from Richard. Following the purchase, apart from the Templars who were already there, the military orders established themselves and used Cyprus as an outpost in the Mediterranean. As a new military order, the Teutonic Order was one of these military orders and they established themselves in the latter half of 1190's in Cyprus. It is worth paying attention to

the fact that the presence of the Teutonic Order on the island was begun only a few years after their birth at Acre. The Order's establishment was certainly related to the role of Cyprus in crusades as a base for supplies transferred from Europe to the Holy Land in addition to its role as an intermediate destination for armies.

Under these circumstances the Teutonic Order had been a part of the island as much as the Hospitallers and the Templars until 1229, when the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II's interference put the local powers into a conflict. So this situation, as it is claimed in this study, creates a rise and fall of the Teutonic development in Cyprus which can be discussed as two different Teutonic Orders.

The next chapter of this study covers the origins of the Teutonic Order and beginning of its presence in Cyprus which is discussed by several historians and remains unclear. The establishment of the German Hospital and its transformation to a military order is specifically mentioned to take the picture of new born military order that developed with the help of Christendom. Here, it is worth mentioning that the origins of the Teutonic Order is discussed for specifically two reasons: Firstly, to show that the Teutonic Order was a young military order that was not backed up solely by the Holy Roman Empire, and, secondly to show the motivation of the Order around the time it was established.

The third chapter analyses the early development of the Teutonic

Order in Cyprus, and suggests that the Order was supported by the rulers of the island similarly to the way support was given to the Templars and the Hospitallers. After describing what the Teutonic Order obtained in Cyprus, the feudal structure of the new kingdom is described in detail, which, as this study claims, precipitated the development of the Teutonic Order and other military orders.

The fourth chapter focuses on a milestone: the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II's intervention in the East, which drastically changed the course of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus. This chapter follows a narrative approach to draw a general picture of the events that took place at the end of 1220s. As far as I am concerned drawing such a general picture is essential to understanding the Teutonic Order's role during this intervention, and the future of its presence in Cyprus. Contrary to the general view, this study argues that the Order was neither a constant supporter of the emperor nor a partisan that backed Frederick. In fact, in the nature of military orders, the Teutonic Order was obliged to follow its primary duty: defending the Holy Land. But if the Teutonic Order had not supported the emperor, what prevented its further development in Cyprus? At this point, the fourth chapter focuses on the increasingly effective family of Ibelin in Cyprus, who were the main party opposed to the emperor's Mediterranean policies.

It also worth mentioning that this thesis covers the period between c.1197, and 1250, when the Emperor Frederick II died and all dynamics in the East changed once and for all, for all actors. That is the reason why the Teutonic Order after that date is only mentioned briefly. Another point that needs to be highlighted is that due to the fact that the supporting evidence on

some topics is scarce. As it is discussed below, some conclusions drawn in this study are still hypotheses, which I believe deserve to receive attention since what is discussed is highly probable.

Another aspect needs to be emphasized, that one major purpose of the study is to provide up to date references for studies of Cyprus on the basis of the Teutonic Order. As is discussed in this study, despite the fact that new approaches are available (but only a few), some studies are exiguous and highly based on studies which are fairly old. So what is aimed at here is based on a mixture of new and old studies, puts forward new arguments, and provides detailed bibliographical work.

Last but not least, I can hardly claim that every facet of my topic has been dealt with. But what is attempted in this study is to provide the most up to date references, and provide a new point of view on the subjects for which we may provide supportive primary evidence. Some points, since the evidence is rather nebulous, are not mentioned in the body of the study. One of the best examples is to what extent the brethren in Cyprus contributed to military expeditions in terms of military power in the Mediterranean? Unfortunately lack of supporting sources for the subject is an obstacle. For instance, the Teutonic chaplain, Nicholas von Jeroschin, in his chronicle written in the fourteenth century, mentions that the then grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza (who served between 1210 and 1239) was in charge of 2000 brothers solely in the Mediterranean.¹ We know that the grandmaster had been to Cyprus in 1217 with a force composed of knights assembled to take

¹ Mary Fischer, trans., *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: a History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190-1331* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 36.

part in the Fifth Crusade. But we are lacking sources to determine if Cyprus played any role in recruitment for the expedition.² Such examples are quite common when it comes to Cyprus, and scholars suffer much in their studies.

1.1 Studying the History of Cyprus and the Teutonic Order

The history of Cyprus has long been studied by some scholars, though it had largely been a forgotten subject until the nineteenth century. However, regarding the early medieval history of Cyprus, studies by Turkish scholars have been limited to the island's relations with the Turkic states in the medieval era. Otherwise, studies on Cyprus are largely based on Christopher Schabel's and the Cyprus Research Center's work, which together represent some of the most up to date studies.³

Studies on the medieval history of the island could hardly attract historians until the British rule on the island in the nineteenth century. For decades scholars continued their works on Frankish Cyprus even though materials regarding the period were so scarce that some interesting topics such as the Teutonic Order in Cyprus are usually ignored.

One of aforementioned studies made under British rule in the nineteenth century, for instance, is the commissioner of Larnaca, Claude Delaval Cobham's *an Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus*, which was a compilation of previous studies and medieval sources published in 1900.⁴

² For a discussion see Alan Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (UK: Variorum, 1994), 139-171.

³ Angel N. Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture 1191-1374* (Boston: Brill, 2005) For official website of Cyprus Research Centre see <http://www.moec.gov.cy/kee/en/>

⁴ Claude D. Cobham, *An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1900)

Eight years later he published *Excerpta Cypria, Materials for a History of Cyprus*.⁵ However, it was not until 1940 that one of the best and most detailed study was published. That study was Sir George Hill's *A History of Cyprus, 1192-1571* that enlightened scholars in the following decades. However, it would have been impossible to have thrown much light on Medieval Cyprus without Professors Jonathan Riley Smith and Peter Edbury's work, which has revolutionised studies of medieval Cyprus and the military orders, especially under Frankish rule.⁶ "*The Knights of St. John from Jerusalem to Cyprus 1050-1310*" and "*Feudal Nobility and The Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*" shed light upon conflict in Cyprus began in 1229.⁷ Edbury's works, especially on one of the most effective families in the East, the Ibelins, played a particular role in the fourth chapter of this study in which the Ibelin family is considered as a reason why the Teutonic Order could not develop further in Cyprus.⁸

Despite the fact that recent studies on Cyprus have shed light on pre-Ottoman Cyprus, our sources especially regarding the thirteenth century, are rather scarce, and, there is a richer environment on sources regarding the

⁵ Claude D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria, Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1908)

⁶ Peter Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Ashgate Variorum: 1999)

⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1966); Jonathan R. Smith, *Feudal Nobility and The Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1974); Jonathan R. Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008)

⁸ Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Peter Edbury, *John of Ibelin and The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997); Peter Edbury, "Franks" in *Cyprus, Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds., Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel, (Boston: Brill, 2005); Peter Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999)

following centuries⁹ Edbury, on the scarcity of documents regarding the Templars, states that despite the fact that the Templars had a significant number of estates in Cyprus, “no charters recording donations survive, and so we do not know when their lands were acquired, nor from whom, nor under what circumstances” and says that, because of this scarcity “no one bothers to ask”.¹⁰

A similar, even worse condition prevailed around the history of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus. For instance, Helen Nicholson states that European writers are not interested in the Teutonic Order’s activities in the Mediterranean.¹¹ One reason for it is that the surviving sources are predominantly limited to papal recognitions of lands and privileges to the Teutonic Order given by the king. We lack specific charters, accounts (either financial or administrative) regarding Teutonic activities on the island. It is known that the Teutonic Order allocated their estates to localities.¹² However, none of such evidence (i.e local records) survived regarding the early years of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, and so the sources dated after 1291 are relatively fuller.

⁹ For a useful compilation of studies mostly regarding the following centuries, see, Susan B. Edgington and Helen Nicholson eds., *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014)

¹⁰ Peter Edbury, “The Military Orders in Cyprus in the Light of Recent Scholarship” in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds., Zsolt Hunyadi and Jozsef Laszlavsky (Budapest: Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001), 101-107.

¹¹ Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 107.

¹² Hubert Houben, “Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500 Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, eds., Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 142; Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Littlehampton Book Services Ltd., 1972), 275.

At this point the scarcity of the documents might be the result of some factors. The Order in Cyprus was administered within Armenia and bailiwick of Cyprus and Armenia was important: for instance, every year on September 14th the bailiwick had to join the feast organised in the name of Elevation of Holy Cross in Acre where the audit of the Teutonic accounts of the East was held.¹³ If any copies of the accounts were kept in Armenia, it is possible that they may have been lost forever when the Mamluks defeated the kingdom of Armenia in 1266, when the Teutonic Order lost its Armenian lands.

A similar situation holds true for the Hospitallers in Cyprus. Most of the information regarding their presence in Cyprus comes from documents found in Malta. Otherwise, a considerable number of documents, including Templar documents that were acquired after the trial of the Templars and kept in the Hospitaller archive in Cyprus, were lost in the sixteenth century when the Ottomans conquered the island.¹⁴ (Before the Ottomans, it is also known that Cyprus experienced some raids by its enemies.)¹⁵

Thus, sources, when it comes to studies on the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, are even more exiguous. Our guiding main source is the *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*¹⁶, first edited by Ernestus Strehlke and published in 1869 and then in 1975 by Hans Eberhard Mayer. The *Tabulae* is a compilation of charters that contains papal

¹³ Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus." 151.

¹⁴ Edbury, *The Military Orders in Cyprus*, 105; Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 151. See also. Emmanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips, eds., *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-1798* (New York: Routledge, 2013)

¹⁵ Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Ashgate Variorum: 1999), 15.

¹⁶ Ernestus Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum* (Berlin: 1869)

privileges and property acquisitions in the Eastern Mediterranean. The *Tabulae*, in this study, has been our significant ally, since it covers most of the primary sources that might enlighten us. Otherwise, another collection of cartularies can be found in Perlbach's, 'Die Reste des Deutschordensarchives in Venedig', *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 19 (1882).

The Teutonic Order in Cyprus is also mentioned in some narratives such as Wilbrand of Oldenburg's *Peregrinatores Medieavi Quatuor* or the previously mentioned chronicle of Nicholaus von Jeroschin.¹⁷ But most of the already exiguous documents are scattered among several works used in this study such as *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum*¹⁸, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi, Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani: 1097-1291*¹⁹ and *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*.²⁰ Even though we have some documents specifically about the Teutonic Order, in many cases, we can only find Teutonic activities via leftovers from Templar and Hospitaller records. One good example is the *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100–1310*.²¹

¹⁷ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, "Peregrinatio," in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor* ed., Johann C. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864). In another chronicle Peter von Dusburg mentions the Order in Cyprus but his work is mostly covers the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Peter Von Dusburg, "Chronicon Terrae Prussie," in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Des Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit*, ed., Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernestus Strehlke, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1861)

¹⁸ Johann-Heinrich Hennes, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum*, (Mainz, 1845)

¹⁹ Reinhold Röchricht ed. *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi, Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani: 1097-1291*. 2 Vols., (Innsbruck, 1904)

²⁰ "L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer" in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 Vols., (Paris, 1844–95).

²¹ Joseph Delaville LeRoulx, ed., *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100–1310*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1905). One point should be explained is that although the Teutonic Order was predominantly German in its early years, correspondences

When it comes to secondary works, the most classical and detailed academic study on the Teutonic Order in Cyprus is Walther Hubatsch's 'Der Deutsche Orden und die reichlehnenschaft über Cypern'²² in which the activities of the Teutonic Order are discussed in detail. In another work, *Der Deutsche orden am Mittelmeer* by Kurt Forstreuter the Order's activities in Mediterranean are discussed together with the Holy Land, Armenia and Cyprus.²³

A newer study is Nicholas Coureas's *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195-1312* in which Coureas did not only discuss the Teutonic Order but all the military orders in Cyprus in a comparative way.²⁴ His study, together with the even newer works of Nicholas Morton and Hubert Houben's *Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia and Cyprus* became my starting point in this study which, due to the scarcity of primary evidences, was difficult to develop.²⁵ One of the most up to date studies on the topic is also Lotan Shlomo's *Cross Relationships between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Teutonic Military Order Tradition*, in which

took place not just in German but also in Latin and French (Latin was common among the military orders, but the masters of the order was also had an Arab scriptor.) See, Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 141-142; Kurt Forstreuter, "Latein und Deutsch im Deutschen Orden," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Preussenlandes. Festschrift für Erich Keyser zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* ed., Ernst Bahr, (Marburg, 1963), 373-391.

²² Walther Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden und die reichlehnenschaft über Zypern." *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologische-Historische Klasse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955), 245-306.

²³ Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967)

²⁴ Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)

²⁵ Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Order in The Holy Land, 1190-1291*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009); Nicholas Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict." In *The Military Orders, On Land and by Sea Vol. 4*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 140-143; Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 139-159.

Dr. Shlomo discusses the relationship between Cyprus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem on the basis of the Teutonic Order's tradition.²⁶

1.2 Military Orders in Cyprus

When the case is the history of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, putting the other military orders in Cyprus into the general picture is necessary. Thus, especially the third chapter of this study takes a comparative approach to the development of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus. Considering the scarcity of primary and secondary sources regarding the Order in Cyprus, it was a must to dig deeper into the works of military orders in the East. Because the focus of this study is the Teutonic Order, primary sources about the other military orders are only mentioned in the footnotes. However, as far as I am concerned, due to the complexity of the subject, it is essential to briefly explain the other military orders that are frequently mentioned in this study.

Contrary to popular belief, there were four military orders active on the island in the thirteenth century. One of those military orders was the second owners of the island, the Templars. During the Third Crusade, Richard the Lionheart captured Cyprus, which was in a turmoil as the governor, Isaac Comnenos, revolted against the Byzantine emperor. Isaac was able to establish his rule on Cyprus, but acting in a reckless way eventually led him to a fall. After he lost his possessions and power to Richard, political instability on the island seemed to come to an end. Nevertheless, Richard sold Cyprus to the Templars who proved both unable to secure their position on the island

²⁶ Lotan Shlomo, "Cross relationships between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in The Teutonic Military Order Tradition." *Notandum*, 32 (2013): 151-168.

and could not pay the promised 60.000 bezants to the king, and finally gave it up²⁷. In 1192, Guy of Lusignan managed to pay the fee to Richard and purchased Cyprus, but the Templars remained on the Island and developed further until the fourteenth century.²⁸

The second order on Cyprus, the Hospitallers, established themselves on the island a few years after the Templars, and, as it is discussed in the following chapter, most probably later than the Teutonic Order in 1197.²⁹ In the early years the Hospitallers were given several lands and privileges especially in the southern part of the island. But after the trial of the Templars it might be said that they became unrivalled on the island.

The final military order in Cyprus was the Order of St. Thomas of Acre. This order, despite the fact that it was transformed to a military order by a rule

²⁷ Richard sold the island for 100.000 bezants in total, after being paid 40.000, to secure remaining 60.000, as it is mentioned by William of Tyre in *La Continuation* pp. 136-137; Purchasing Cyprus seems to be a dead investment for Templars and, because of the rebellious population, it is apparent that it was impossible for the Templars to control it. Besides, it is not clear that the Templars receive back the money paid to King Richard. It is disputable whether or how much Templars paid or received back. It is also disputable by whom the money was repaid to the Templars or if it ever was repaid. It is not certain if Richard returned money to the Templars, but there is also another possibility that Guy was obliged to pay the 40.000 bezants to them. In any case, Richard seem to have received his money. If Guy was responsible for repaying the money previously paid to Richard by the Templars, and if he was unable to repay it, it may explain why Guy made an alliance with the Templars on acquiring Cyprus. For discussion, see, Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 121-122; For a detailed study, see, Peter Edbury "The Templars in Cyprus" In *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed., Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 189-195.

²⁸ Since the focus of the study is thirteenth century, trial of Templars in Cyprus, the event in which the Templars accused of several crimes and ripped of their properties is not mentioned. For further reading, see, Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Jochen Burgdorf, Paul F. Crawford and Helen Nicholson eds., *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars 1307–1314* (Farnham: Routledge, 2010); Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Were the Templars Guilty?" in *The Medieval Crusade* ed., Susan Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 107-124.

²⁹ See, Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 155-173; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); For primary sources see, Christopher Schabel trans., *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373*, (Nicosia: S. Livadiotis Ltd., 2001); Othmar Hageneder and Anton Haidacher, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1 (1964) 661-662.

similar to that of the Teutonic Order in 1220, is mentioned only in some documents regarding the latter half of the thirteenth century.³⁰ The Order of St. Thomas of Acre was first mentioned around 1272 in a letter sent to Hugh III of Cyprus by King Edward I of England asking Hugh to help the Order to gain income, and, the Order is mentioned once more in 1279.³¹ Unlike the other three great military orders established on the island, it seems that the importance of Cyprus for this order was limited to acquiring income rather than as a base or to develop their position on the island. The Order of St. Thomas of Acre, because it was established much later than the other major military orders in Cyprus, has not been included in the comparative picture.

A comparative approach is essential to understand the development of the Teutonic Order, since this study argues that the Order, contrary to the general view, developed in Cyprus not as partisans of the Holy Roman Emperor, but was encouraged by factors that can also be applied to the Templars and the Hospitallers.

³⁰ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 178-180; For further reading of the Order, see, Alan Forey, "The Military Order of St. Thomas of Acre" *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977): 481–503; Ludolph of Sudheim who visited Cyprus mentioned about the Order see. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 19.

³¹ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 179.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The Order of the Teutonic House of Saint Mary of Jerusalem,³² commonly known as the Teutonic Order, was founded as a hospital during the Siege of Acre in 1190,³³ and in 1198, it turned to a military religious order

³² The full name of the order is given differently in various sources. In some documents from the beginning of the thirteenth century for instance, *Ordo* and *Hierosolymitanorum* are not used: Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 34, 36. In some documents dated to the end of the thirteenth century the name is given as *Hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Ierosolymitanorum*: Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 127. Around 1244, a chronicle written by a brother of the order uses *Mariae Sanctae Domus Hospitalis Theutonicorum in Jerusalem*, see, "De Primordiis Ordinis Theutonicus Narratio" in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Des Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit*, eds., Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernestus Strehlke, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1861) 221; Priest John of Würzburg in 1260's or 1270's called the Order *Domus Alemannorum*, Indrikis Sterns, "The Teutonic Knight in the Crusader States" in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East, Vol. 5* eds., Setton Kenneth, Zacour Norman and Harry Hazard (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.) 319. Houben translates the name of the order as *Ordo fratrum hospitalis S. Mariae Teutonicorum in Jerusalem*: the Order of the brothers of the hospital of Saint Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem, Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 149. Indrikis Sterns, on the other hand, uses *the Order of the German Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem*. See, Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 316. However, the translation of *Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanorum* literally is 'of the Germans in Jerusalem' which I believe probably refers to early twelfth century hospital at Jerusalem.

³³ Historians tend to discuss the foundation of the military orders, and some of them even offer exact dates for their foundation. We know that the Templars and Hospitallers are founded after the First Crusade. However, determining a specific date is often difficult. For further reading on foundation and evolution of a Religious Order, Berman Constance, *The Cistercian Evolution*:

around the time they established themselves on Cyprus. Its establishment was a result of increasing motivation and widespread support to the Order. Thus the Order's development on the island, closely related to its early development in the Holy Land which helps to discuss misleading interpretation on the Teutonic Order's development.

The Teutonic Order is believed to be based on a German Hospital founded in Jerusalem, but documents do not address a specific date regarding the foundation of an order. James of Vitry who had been the bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1228 points out in his account that after the conquest of Jerusalem Germans went to the Holy Land as pilgrims, but most of these people did not know Latin or Arabic. So a German couple living in Jerusalem founded a hospital and a chapel devoted to St. Mary. This couple sought to solve problems of poor and sick pilgrims who are alien to both the region and the languages spoken there.³⁴

John of Ypres, abbot of St Bertin, writing in the fourteenth century, provided a detailed account of the German Hospital's early history. He stated that, as pilgrim numbers increased the number of brothers in the hospital increased too. When, like the Hospitallers, they were forced to take up arms,

The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

³⁴ James of Vitry, "Historia orientalis seu Iherosolimitana", in *Gesta Dei per Francos* vol. 1 ed., Jacques Bongars (Hannau, 1611), 1047-1145; see also, Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 317-318; For the discussion on James' account and if the hospital was dedicated to the German women see, Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson, eds., *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 73-74. It should be posit that the Teutonic hospital was predominantly German it had always been easier to promote those who were of German origin. Correspondences and accounts of the order, especially in Europe were mainly in German and Latin so that it might be claimed that, different from the other military orders, the Teutonic Order was, in the beginning, more of a national order in addition to its religious identity. Even if there are Teutonic documents in languages like French and Italian in the Holy Lands, it was essential to maintain order's relationship with several actors in the holy lands.

they added black crosses to their white mantles and banners in 1127 and John clearly suggests that the order could be dated to that time.³⁵ Unfortunately, there is nothing to corroborate John's very late account and it should be treated with suspicion. John of Würzburg, in the 1260s, just as James of Vitry had done, described the German Hospital and its chapel briefly, but added only a little on its foundation.³⁶ But we know that Sophia Countess of Holland died on pilgrimage and was buried in the German hospital in 1174.³⁷ Although these accounts provide some evidence about the founding and development of the German Hospital in Jerusalem in the aftermath of the First Crusade, they do not, with the exception of the dubious details in John of Ypres, tell us anything about an order, or its militarisation. We should also note that writers from religious orders, including military religious orders, are usually keen to stretch their orders' histories back as far as they can, and even further, and to exaggerate the early size of their orders.

During the Third Crusade, some crusaders from Lübeck and Bremen founded a small hospital under a cog's sail near the gate of St. Nicholas³⁸ to provide medical care for the soldiers of the crusading army besieging Acre in

³⁵ John of Ypres, "Chronica sive Historia Monasterii Sancti Bertini," in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ed., Edmundus Martene and Ursinus Durand. vol. 3 (Paris: Florentinus Delaulne et alii, 1717), 625-626.

³⁶ John of Würzburg, "Descriptio Terrae Sanctae", in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*, ed., Titus Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), 1053-1090.

³⁷ Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, 319.

³⁸ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 10; Jürgen Sarnowsky, "The Military Orders and Their Navies" in *The Military Orders, On Land and by Sea*, Vol. 4 ed., Judi Upton-Ward (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 43; Teutonic statutes and some documents mention about Teutonic Kogges in Latin East. See "Narratio," 220, 159. See also: Udo Arnold, 'Entstehung und frühzeit des Deutschen ordens' in *Die Gistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellman, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), 83.

September, 1190.³⁹ These German crusaders coming from Lübeck and Bremen arrived near Acre in a fleet composed of fifty-five ships⁴⁰ included 12,000 men with some civilians among them.⁴¹ The new hospital was founded and, once the siege was completed, it was transferred into the city. This hospital did not have any material connection with the German Hospital in Jerusalem, but they were both dedicated to St. Mary. Indrikis Sterns, referring to *Narratio*,⁴² suggests that if the crusading army had managed to retake Jerusalem they would have revived the old German Hospital.⁴³ But it this seems hardly possible since the Hospitallers had claim upon the German Hospital. The basis of this claim was a document written on December 9, 1143 by Pope Celestine II and sent to Raymond Le Puy who was the master of the Hospitallers.⁴⁴ This document shows that there were complaints about some disputes and scandals the Teutonic Hospital was involved in.⁴⁵ Consequently the pope placed it under the Hospitallers.⁴⁶

³⁹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 10; Jürgen Sarnowsky, "The Military Orders and Their Navies," 43; "Narratio," 220. After the proclamation of this crusade, a small fleet mostly composed of cogs, departed from Germany. For more information about their journey See. "Narratio Itineris Navalis ad Terram Sanctam" in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series*, Vol. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), 79-96; Max Perlach, ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890), xliii.

⁴⁰ "Narratio," 220

⁴¹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 10; Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 319- 320.

⁴² 'Principalis nomine hospitale sancta Marie Theutonicorum in Jerusalem nuncuparunt ea spe et fiducia, ut terra christiano cultui restituta in civitate Jerusalem domus fieret eiusdem ordinis principalis, mater caput pariter et magistra' "Narratio," 220-221; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 10.

⁴³ Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 320.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁴⁵ Scandals and disputes are unknown, but I presume that they may have been arose from the religious rituals of German Hospital. Especially Teutonic ceremonies dedicated to deceased person were criticised by religious authorities. Even in the thirteenth century we may see that popes warn the masters of the Teutonic Order about their rituals.

⁴⁶ This placement, however, seems like giving an autonomy since the pope did not ask the Hospital to change dynamics of the Teutonic Hospital (administrative and hierarchical system etc.)

In the aforementioned *Narratio*, believed to be written in 1211,⁴⁷ we see that two noblemen named Conrad and Burchard, who accompanied Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's younger son Frederick V of Swabia, dedicated themselves to the German hospital at Acre, took it from the previously mentioned crusaders from Lübeck and Bremen and were considered as the first masters of the hospital.⁴⁸ However, Jürgen Sarnowsky believes that these men were inserted into the story to underline the close relationship between the emperors and the Teutonic Order.⁴⁹ So, the founder of the order, as most of the historians agreed on, was most probably Sibrand, who was a priest came to Acre with the party from Bremen and Lübeck.⁵⁰

We are, on the other hand, better informed about the transformation of the Teutonic Hospital to a Military Order in Acre. After his father's death in 1190, Frederick V of Swabia came to Acre and joined the crusaders. But four months later he died of an illness which was probably endemic at the time.⁵¹ Before his death he was so impressed by the hospital's service that he gave responsibility for his burial to the German Hospital even though the Hospitallers objected to this.⁵² Besides, Frederick sent a letter to his brother, the Emperor Henry VI, and asked him to confirm the hospital's establishment

⁴⁷ Perlbach suggests that it is written around 1211. Perlbach, *Statuten*, xliii.

⁴⁸ "*Narratio*," 220-221; Jürgen Sarnowsky, "Teutonic Order" in *The Crusades an Encyclopedia* ed., Alan V. Murray, Vol. 4 (California: ABC-Clio, 2006), 1158.

⁴⁹ Sarnowsky, "*Teutonic Order*," 1158-1166; Although the *Narratio*, is one of the best known sources regarding the origins of the Teutonic Order, yet the general problem about the sources regarding crusaders and military orders is to distinguish invented accounts from genuine testimony.

⁵⁰ Sarnowsky, "*Teutonic Order*," 1158; Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, 320.

⁵¹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

and gain papal recognition.⁵³

By 1191 a brotherhood had already been formed at the German hospital, and Pope Clement III took it under his protection by recognising it. Five years later he confirmed this and freed the hospital from paying tithes. The pope and Frederick of Swabia were not the only ones who supported the hospital. Before the city of Acre fell to the crusade, Guy of Lusignan, still then claiming to be king of Jerusalem, promised the hospital that he would give them properties in the city to enable them to continue their activities. After the conquest of the city he kept his promise and assigned buildings and lands to the hospital.⁵⁴

Emperor Henry VI began his expedition to the Holy Land and German troops landed at Acre in 1197. However, shortly after the arrival of his troops, in September 1197, the emperor died and his army fell apart. Six months later, in March 1198, before remnants of Henry VI's army leaving the Levant, some German princes and magnates decided to donate the rule of the Templars to the German Hospital.⁵⁵ According to *Narratio* the first master Hermann were given Templar rule by their master.⁵⁶ So the Teutonic Order was based on Templar rules about clerics and soldiers but also adopted the rule of

⁵³ Sterns, "*The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*," 320; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 15.

⁵⁴ Sterns, relying on *Narratio*, states that the hospital bought a garden and established their buildings there. But Guy's donations are clearly expressed in *Tabulae* no. 25 (*Donamus eciam et concedimus prescripto hospitali iiii carrucas terre in territorio Accon.*) Perhaps the hospital chose to buy the garden as an additional property to use. See, Sterns, "*The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*," 321; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 15; "*Narratio*," 222; Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 25.

⁵⁵ "*Narratio*," 223; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 12. Sterns puts forward that a reason of turning the hospital to a military order might be of the need to keep Germans in Palestine. See Sterns, "*The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*," 321-322.

⁵⁶ *Narratio*, 222.

Hospitallers on caring the sick and wounded as well as supporting the poor.⁵⁷ In 1199, Pope Innocent confirmed this act⁵⁸ and thus the German Hospital turned to a military order.

Whether it had connections with the old hospital in Jerusalem or not, this newly established Teutonic Order was highly motivated and considered themselves as the new generation of defenders of the faith.⁵⁹ Their hybrid rule, just like the other military orders, was compared its holy cause with that of the biblical Maccabees.⁶⁰ The most important use of Maccabees related to the military orders comes with the chronicle of previously mentioned Nicolaus von Jeroschin written in the early fourteenth century. Ideological relationship with the Maccabees, especially Judas Maccabeus⁶¹, had a significant role in the Teutonic Order probably due to the similarities with the German heroic literature. There are references pointing out Maccabee models in German literature especially in the writings during crusades period⁶². Indeed,

⁵⁷ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 144; Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 149; Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 321; Indrikis Sterns, "The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry" (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 48. In *Tabulae* no. 297 it can be seen that Pope Innocent III confirms the Teutonic Orders's hybrid rule of Templars and the Hospitallers, see Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 297.

⁵⁸ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 297.

⁵⁹ The idea of forming such orders is another issue, but we should mention that similar orders were also available in the Islamic world. It has been discussed whether the idea of forming a military religious order had anything to do with *riba* in Islam. However, the initial foundation of the Templars, the first Christian military religious order, dedicated to the protection of pilgrims and of the Holy Land, seems rather different, *riba* referring to a fortified place on the frontier manned by volunteers devoting themselves to fighting the enemies of Islam across the border. For more information on the argument, see, Helen Nicholson, "Military Orders" in *The Crusades an Encyclopedia* ed., Alan V. Murray, Vol. 3 (California: ABC-Clio, 2006), 825-829.

⁶⁰ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 144; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 11.

⁶¹ Henrike Lahnemann, "The Maccabees as Role Models in the German Order" in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-testament Faith-Warriors in Historical Perspective* ed., Gabriela Signori (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 177.

⁶² Mary Fischer, "Maccabees" in *The Crusades* ed., A. Murray, Vol. 3 (California: ABC-Clio, 2006), 772.

Maccabees were so important in the Teutonic Order that, in 1212, the king of Armenia called them 'successors of the Maccabees'.⁶³

Origins of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus

With the passion of serving the Christendom, and supported by the pope, lords, princes and the military orders, the Teutonic Order, in its early years, contrary to popular belief, showed no sign of being a satellite institution of the Holy Roman Empire. Motivated by holy goal, the Order established themselves on Cyprus in the end of the twelfth century. Unfortunately we are lack of documents indicating details of their arrival to Cyprus, but from the evidences and from the factors discussed below, it is possible to put an estimated date into picture.

In September 1197, around the time when the German Hospital turned to a military order, in Cyprus, the Kingdom was being established in Nicosia as the representative of Emperor Henry VI Conrad of Querfurt crowning Aimery of Lusignan king of Cyprus. One year later in September 1198, the first document in which the King Aimery confirms what is given to the Teutonic Order (right to collect alms and exception from taxes) in Cyprus comes to existence.⁶⁴ This document addressing the origins of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, however, has one problem which is that it points out the King Amalric of Jerusalem who had never been the King of Cyprus. Amalric's name

⁶³ "...et pro salute anime mee et progenitorum meorum omnium venerabilibus et religiosis fratribus sancta domus hospitalis Teutonicorum vicem Machabeorum pro defensione domus Israel gerentibus.." Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 46, p. 37. Also see, Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, footnote 19, 11; Lotan Shlomo, "Between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Burzenland" in *Medieval Hungary: The Teutonic Military Order status and rule in the poles of Christianity*, *Mirabilia* 10, (2010), 188.

⁶⁴ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no.34.

mentioned in the document causes confusion among the scholars on the origins of the Order in Cyprus.

Strehlke, under the related document, notes that the document may have been forged.⁶⁵ However, Hubatsch suggests that the document is not forged and the Teutonic Order was given houses in Nicosia even before the order was granted privileges in Cyprus, because it would have been odd to be given the right to collect alms before having a proper place to settle down.⁶⁶ Coureas opposes the idea stating that there is not any evidence to support such existence at the time, before 1197.⁶⁷ But he also puts forward that the privileges might be confirmed by Aimery on Cyprus “either by him or by Guy, which were similar in their nature to those King Amalric of Jerusalem had once granted to the knights in his kingdom.”⁶⁸ Morton and Shlomo, on the other hand, believe that Aimery was a supportive factor in Teutonic Order’s early years, and accepts 1198 grants as his support to the Order.⁶⁹

Amalric’s name in the document may have been used since Aimery married Amalric’s daughter Isabella in 1197. Despite the fact that the document seems dated to September 8, 1198, it is issued by the witnesses in the end of the document addressing 1197.⁷⁰ Besides that, what is given to the

⁶⁵ Spurium videtur diploma. Non fuit ipsum Amalricum autorem diplomatis huius Cypri rex Latinus; frater Guido tantum dominus Cypri vocatus est velut ipse Amalricus usque ad annum 1196. Rex coronatus est 1197 septembri per Conradum Hildeshemenssem episcopum, imperii cancellarium; sed iam inde a maio 1196 videtur Cypri regio titulo usus esse. Heinrichi palatini comitis Trecensis 1197 septembri mortui viduam Isabellam ipso etiam 1197 anno Amalricus uxorem duxit. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, 28.

⁶⁶ Hubatsch, “*Der Deutsche Orden*,” 255.

⁶⁷ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 173.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 173-174, citation 243.

⁶⁹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 17, 27; Shlomo, “*Cross Relationships*” 153.

⁷⁰ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 34.

Teutonic Order is issued in other documents dated to 1201⁷¹, 1215⁷², 1216⁷³ and in 1229 by King Henry I, giving additional grants mentioning what his uncle Aimery gave to the Teutonic Order.⁷⁴ There are also documents that Aimery, even before his marriage to Isabella had sought to let the pope establish the Latin Church on Cyprus which is probably due to obtain recognition of Cyprus as a kingdom, and, as a result his chaplains chose the first bishop of the island.⁷⁵ In 1195, Aimery gave to the abbot of *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem, Peter, and canons of the abbey a chapel dedicated to St. Mary, its courtyard, and a locality of King Guy of Jerusalem with ten carrucate of land.⁷⁶ Furthermore, according to correspondences between Aimery and the pope, we see that Aimery, as the lord of Cyprus at the time, was praised by Celestine III in 1196.⁷⁷ Again, in January 2, 1197, the Pope expresses his thanks to Aimery of his expression of Latin church's foundation on the island.⁷⁸ To gain this praise, what we see from the documents is that Aimery granted lands. In 1197, Aimery grants casale of Livadi in Cyprus to

⁷¹ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier ed., *Le Cartulaire du Saint Sépulcre de Jerusalem*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1984), 331-332.

⁷² Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 298.

⁷³ Ibid., nos. 302, 303.

⁷⁴ Ibid., no. 71.

⁷⁵ Kalfa Elena, *The Greek Church of Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople During the Frankish Era (1196-1303): A New Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 135.

⁷⁶ Nicholas Coureas, Christopher Schabel eds., *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1997), no. 45.

⁷⁷ "We have plainly understood from the tenor of the letter of our beloved son the noble man Aimery, lord of Cyprus, that possesses knowledge of God, at least by His inspiration in the singularity of the faith, and he recognises the Roman Church as the head and mistress of all churches...Therefore we give copious thanks to almighty God, and we commend in the Lord the great fervor of his devotion. We have sure confidence in his worth, since among the other arguments we take as most profound the fact that his brother of honourable memory, the former king of Jerusalem, placed himself as a wall of defense for the Church and showed the constancy of his worth in many ways" Christopher Schabel (trans.), *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus 1196-1373*, (Nicosia: S. Livadiotis Ltd., 2001), 277-278.

⁷⁸ Coureas and Schabel, *The Cartulary*, no. 4.

archbishop of Tyre.⁷⁹ Lotan suggests that due to improve their status, the rulers may have sought to grant privileges and properties to the Military Orders.⁸⁰ It is highly possible that the Teutonic Order acquired its first gainings around 1197/1198, the date which is considered the Teutonic Order's first appearance in Cyprus in this study.

This claim is supported further when the first decades of the Order is put in to picture. In the period between 1197 and 1216, Cyprus was not the only region where the Teutonic Order was granted privileges and properties (both agricultural and rural) that led the order to an increase in its influence and power. The most important region for the case of Cyprus is with no doubt Cilician Armenia, which was going to be the bailiwick of Cilician Armenia acquiring what the Order had in Cyprus.⁸¹ The relationship between Cilician Armenia and Cyprus, first of all, was based on the bonds of these two kingdoms with the Holy Roman Empire. They were both clients of the Holy Roman Empire, and, the first kings of Cyprus and Cilician Armenia were crowned with the help and encouragement of the emperor. King Aimery was crowned as the King of Cyprus in 1197, and, in the same year, Leo II had sent emissaries to the emperor Henry VI to be crowned as the king of Armenia.⁸²

We may also suggest that the Teutonic Order established themselves in Cyprus before they settled in Germany and Hungary. This, of course, due to the lack of documents regarding the early years of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, is not a definitive judgement but is important to show that the Order, in

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Shlomo, "Cross Relationships," 153.

⁸¹ Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 151.

⁸² Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 13.

its early years, even before expanding into Europe, became a part of the military orders in Cyprus. Excluding the Holy Land, It was only Italy that the Teutonic Order managed to obtain grants in Europe before the end of the thirteenth century. Henry VI granted properties to the Order in Apulia and privileges in Sicily after 1194.⁸³ In Germany, on the other hand, the Order received gifts from Philip of Swabia, and in 1206, thanks to aforementioned Philip, the order was put under protection of the empire. In 1210, Otto IV granted a church in Nuremberg and provided trade privileges.⁸⁴ On the other hand, it was in 1214 and 1216 that the Order was obtained considerable grants from Frederick of Sicily in Nuremberg and Nenewitz.⁸⁵ When it comes to Hungary, we may talk about Teutonic presence only after 1211 when the province of Burzenland was granted by King Andras II.⁸⁶

⁸³ Morton states that, since the emperor obtained his Apulian and Sicilian territories in 1194, the Teutonic Order may have held a foothold in Brindisi before Henry VI's invasion. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 15 and footnote 40.

⁸⁴ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 252; Johann-Heinrich Hennes ed. *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum*, (Mainz, 1845), nos. 12, 13.

⁸⁵ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 29.

⁸⁶ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 158. This date holds particular significance for the Order, since it was the first time the brethren was asked to be a part of an organised military activity. For further discussion about the Teutonic Order in Hungary see, Shlomo, "Between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Burzenland," 184-195.

CHAPTER III

THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN CYPRUS

Among the four military orders⁸⁷ that established themselves on Cyprus, the Teutonic Order is considered as of lesser importance in comparison to the Templars and the Hospitallers. This seems partly correct when Cyprus in the thirteenth century is examined as a whole. However, when the early years of the Order are examined specifically, we may see that the Teutonic Order developed in Cyprus conspicuously. The reasons for this early development, deserve studying in detail.

The Teutonic Order was supported by the nobility and the kings. Guy of Lusignan was one of the first of those who granted lands and privileges to them. His brother Aimery, in Cyprus, continued to support the Order and

⁸⁷ For the fourth military order 'The Order of St. Thomas of Acre' in Cyprus see, Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 178-180.

granted lands as he freed the Order from alms and customs taxes.⁸⁸ In addition to these privileges, according to bulls of Pope Innocent III of 1209, 1215 and 1216 the Teutonic Order was also granted houses in Nicosia and 10 carrucates of farmyard at St. George at Kato Drys near Lefkara.⁸⁹ In 1217, King Hugh I confirmed the aforementioned grants and, in addition, he gave the Order 200 measures of corn, 200 measures of wine and 400 measures of barley to collect from the casale of Lefkara annually, declaring that the charter would bind his successors.⁹⁰

During the Fifth Crusade, we see that the Teutonic Order managed to create something of an impression among the crusaders and on the Pope. Although the Order was unable to make an impact on the battlefield, Grandmaster Hermann von Salza pursued an active strategy and, in the 1220s, the Teutonic Order was granted additional privileges by the papacy. These privileges provided the Order with the opportunity to expand in Europe and the Holy Land. In Cyprus this expansion continued until 1229, when the Order obtained properties additional to those already acquired by 1217. A few weeks after the Emperor Frederick II left the island, the Order was granted Klavdhia village and a house in Nicosia.⁹¹

3.1 Characteristics of the Teutonic Order's Properties in Cyprus

Exiguous information regarding the activities of the Teutonic Order shows that the order's houses were located in Nicosia, while agricultural lands

⁸⁸ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 34: Et dono insupra ista: elemosinam et veterem francisiam per totum regnum Cipri, quomodo rex Almaricus dedit in privilegio vestro.

⁸⁹ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 298, 302, 303; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, 331-332.

⁹⁰ Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden," 292-293.

⁹¹ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 71.

and a fountain were located in the South, mainly between Limassol and Larnaca. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence regarding the Teutonic houses in Nicosia. Historians know of the existence of the houses mostly from the papal bulls. In the light of existing documents we are unable to define for which purpose these houses were used. Due to Hubatsch's aforementioned suggestion the Teutonic Order was given houses in Nicosia even before the order was granted privileges in Cyprus.⁹² However, even if this is the case, which sounds logical, we are unable to find supporting documents. Besides, it is not certain that whether these houses were simply head offices, economic centres or religious establishments. But, since Nicosia was the traditional capital of the kingdom, and the Order was given privileges to collect alms and rents in kind, one may suggest that the treasury of the order in Cyprus may have located in this city. If the order had a regional treasury on the Island, it would have probably been situated in a regional centre. Although there is no evidence for Cyprus or Nicosia, one would expect that the Teutonic Order may have had local treasury since organisation of treasury of the Teutonic Order was similar to that of the Hospitallers.⁹³

Another question regarding the properties of the order in Nicosia is by whom these houses were run. Since the nobility of Cyprus was usually situated in Nicosia, one may suggest that a high-ranked brother (or brothers) may have lived there. But Ludolph of Sudheim's statement is the only evidence supporting that brothers lived in Nicosia.⁹⁴

⁹² Hubatsch, "*Der Deutsche Orden*," 255.

⁹³ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 171-172.

⁹⁴ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 81. In Nicosia, textile production was a growing industry and the city was a common destination for merchants. Additionally in Nicosia,

Otherwise, when the subject is the Teutonic Order, the first thing that springs to mind is the brethren's hospitals. The first hospital of the Order was dedicated to sick and wounded crusaders, and, after its transformation into a young military order, it continued to include hospitals in its role in the first half of the thirteenth century. The order grew quite quickly so that, by around 1230, the brethren had more than 26 hospitals in total.⁹⁵ Therefore, it is certainly worth looking at the question of its hospital(s) in Cyprus.

As Hubatsch states, by the early fourteenth century, there was a hospital in Famagusta that belonged to the Teutonic Order.⁹⁶ The only documentary evidence of this, is a Genoese document in which it is specified that a considerable sum of money was going to be paid, by the confirmation of Henry of Trabant, to the Order.⁹⁷ Considering that Famagusta became an important stopover for those travelling to the Holy Land in the thirteenth century, one may come to conclusion that it is possible that the Teutonic Order had a hospital in Famagusta. Boas interpret this Genoese document as the Order had a hospital in Famagusta.⁹⁸ However, from the document, it is hardly possible to come to a conclusion that the Order held a hospital in the region.

there was a major slave market showing that the service sector was also growing. Those slaves who worked in agriculture were employed in production of crops such as sugar: see, *Ibid.*, 104. Unfortunately, there is no evidence regarding whether the Teutonic Order was involved in economic affairs in Nicosia (including the slave trade). We cannot therefore propose that the houses of the Order somehow played an economic role, apart perhaps from the possibility of a treasury.

⁹⁵ Klaus Militzer, "The Role of Hospitals in the Teutonic Order" in, *The Military Orders Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed., Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 54.

⁹⁶ Hubatsch, "*Der Deutsche Orden*," 282.

⁹⁷ Lomberto di Sambuceto, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: atti Rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto: 3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301*, ed., Valeria Polonio, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 31 (Genoa, 1982), 156-157; Houben, "*The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus*," 156; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 203.

⁹⁸ Adrian Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East c.1120-1291* (London: Routledge, 2006), 63.

Houben, giving a reference to Kurt Forstreuter, states that the word hospital mentioned in the document is simply referring to the Hospital of Saint Mary, rather than a hospital in Famagusta.⁹⁹ On the other hand, Peter Edbury states that this document, rather than a proof of a Teutonic hospital, may be evidence of the order's participation in the expedition of the Templars to Tortosa.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, these claims are consistent as it is likely that the Genoese document does not refer to a hospital, and there is some evidence that the Order may have been involved, or intended to be involved in an expedition near the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Additionally, in any of the documents and chronicles, there are not clear signs of a hospital. Regarding the first decades of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, the only chronicle written by a witness who visited the island is aforementioned Wilbrand's *Peregrinatores*. Wilbrand, with the Grandmaster Hermann von Salza, travelled to Kyrenia, Nicosia, Famagusta and Limassol in 1212, and described fortifications of the towns.¹⁰¹ As Wilbrand indicates, he was accompanied by the envoys of duke of Austria and Hermann von Salza to Cyprus and Armenia.¹⁰² We may therefore presume that if there was a Teutonic hospital, the grandmaster of the Order would probably have visited it or its existence would be mentioned in the account. Additionally,

⁹⁹ Houben, *The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus*, 156; Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 56.

¹⁰⁰ For the expedition see, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 105-106; for his claim see *Ibid.*, 21; for a detailed discussion see, Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 177-178.

¹⁰¹ Wilbrand, *"Peregrinatio"*, 180-182.

¹⁰² *'...quas in transmarinis partibus et in terra promissionis cum uiris prouidis et honestis ducis Austrie, nec non cum uenerabili magistro domus Alemannorum, fratre Hermannno de Salza, diligenter perlustraui, et de incidentibus earum historiis, quas eciam predictorum uirorum auxilio curiose disquisiui, et de statu et munitiombus ipsarum, prout nunc sunt scribere propono, eum in dicendo ordinem et successionem, quam in uidendo, obseruans.'* Wilbrand, *"Peregrinatio"*, 162.

none of the late charters of the thirteenth century addresses a hospital which supports the idea that the hospital in Famagusta was not acquired by the Order.

A small possibility would be that if there was a hospital, related documents may have been lost due to the practice of recording in the Teutonic hospitals. The responsible officer of the hospitals was called a Spittler, that is to say a hospitaller. Spittlers, according to the statutes of the order, had an exceptional right in running a hospital. While other officers of the Order had to keep an account of their offices, the Spittler's office was financially independent, and he was not expected to present an account.¹⁰³ Based on the practices in the early thirteenth century, this practice was written into the statutes in the 1250s and became a standard for all hospitals.¹⁰⁴ This practice, which does not impose the spittler to have a record, might explain the lack of accounts that would prove the existence of a Teutonic hospital in the region.

3.2 Agricultural Lands and Trade

The agricultural lands of the Teutonic Order were situated in the South between Limassol and Larnaca. This area was significant because, especially under Lusignan rule, economic activities on the island increased considerably, so that, in the first half of the thirteenth century, Limassol, the southern district of Cyprus, became an important economic centre.

Cyprus was capable of producing considerable quantities of sugar,

¹⁰³ Militzer, "*The Role of Hospitals in the Teutonic Order*," 53.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

wine, cereals, oil, carobs and salt at the time,¹⁰⁵ and the Teutonic Order considered Cyprus as a good base of supplies to send to the knights acting in Palestine.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the kingdom of Cyprus was involved in trade with Cilician Armenia and Italy¹⁰⁷ where the Teutonic Order had been recently active. In this sense, it would not be wrong to suggest that the Teutonic Order, like the Hospitallers and the Templars, was granted agricultural lands in southern Cyprus¹⁰⁸ and thus it may have been involved in the growing trade in the region. Coureas suggests that, Frederick II, with his grants of 1229, may have tried to establish a regional base for the Order. It is true that given casale was nearby the Order's incomes and lands, but Frederick's intention seems doubtful since there is not any evidence the Order sought to have a regional base.

Hubatsch, in his work *Deutsche Orden*, suggests that the Teutonic Order's lands in southern Cyprus may have been cultivated to produce sugar.¹⁰⁹ Even though there is no documentary evidence to support his claim, it is still logical. Recent excavations have shown that at Kouklia, Kolossi and Episkopi there were three important sugar mills. Besides these mills, cultivation of sugar cane as well as processing the sugar were prevalent in the

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of The Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 126-7.

¹⁰⁶ Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 153.

¹⁰⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *History of The Crusades*, 127. Sugar and carobs were an important product being exported from Limassol especially to Italy. See Nicholas Coureas, "The Structure and Content of the Notarial Deeds of Lamberto Di Sambuceto and Giovanni Da Rocha, 1296-1310" in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500 Aspects of Cross Cultural Communication*, eds., Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 229.

¹⁰⁸ Especially in Kolossi. Kolossi was significant, since it was in the middle of important agricultural lands and sugar plants.

¹⁰⁹ Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden," 256.

area.¹¹⁰ Especially production at Kolossi began as early as 1210, when King Hugh I had granted estates to the Teutonic Order in Lefkara and to the Hospitallers in both Lefkara and Kolossi where their properties bordered on each other.¹¹¹ Production at Kolossi was to the east of Kolossi Castle and not far from the Teutonic properties. Yermasoia and Khirokitia, too, were nearby (at Khirokitia and Yermasoia were situated around rich sugar and cotton producing district.)¹¹² Otherwise, Teutonic properties in Kato Drys were about 60 km away from Kolossi, 13 km away from Khirokitia and 40 km from Yermasoia while village of Klavdia was respectively about 70, 20 and 50 kilometres away from aforementioned places. Furthermore, these estates were also close to the ports of Limassol and Larnaca. For instance, Klavdia village was about 12 km away from Larnaca. Despite the sparse documentary evidence, the properties given to the order in southern Cyprus deserve extensive study. These properties situated near sugar-growing, vineyards, salt lakes, ports and pilgrimage sites are situated so well that it is almost impossible to call it a coincidence.

Apart from sugar, there were salt lakes and wine production near Larnaca and Limassol.¹¹³ This diversity of different commercial crops and products being processed in Cyprus reinforces the idea that the order may have settled down deliberately in an economically active region and was

¹¹⁰ Marina Solomidou, "The Crusaders, Sugar Mills and Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus" in *Archaeology and the Crusades* eds., Peter Edbury and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti (Athens: Pierides Foundation Publication, 2007); Kristian Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles* London: Hambledon and London: 2001), 130-134.

¹¹¹ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 174; Solomidou, *Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus*, 78.

¹¹² Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles*, 165.

¹¹³ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 107.

involved in economic life more than historians have estimated. A sepulchral epitaph found in Paphos generated a discussion. This epitaph is about Bernard, son of George who was 'l'escrivain des Alemans'.¹¹⁴ Hubatsch states that it is possible that George was one of the secretaries of Frederick II's Bailies.¹¹⁵ In addition, Hill states that the epitaph is a proof of the existence of German traders in the region.¹¹⁶ Despite the fact that the date when George lived seems the second half of the thirteenth century, if we consider that the additional grants the Teutonic Order received in the second half of the thirteenth century were limited (there were no agricultural lands granted there to the Order then) one may suggest that the commercial relations of the Teutonic Order may have begun earlier. However, according to Houben, George could have been a Teutonic Order scribe in Paphos, similar to those in Acre¹¹⁷ who were taken part in communication and administration of the lords but not a part of trade. Since the epitaph is unable to say more, the true identity of the aforementioned George will be unenlightened. But one could argue that if the agricultural lands of the Teutonic Order were devoted to cash crops, than it most probably meant that the Order involved in trade in a certain extent. In this sense, if the brethren were more active in Cyprus than historians have thought, it would imply maritime activities, or connections with commercial communities on the island.

¹¹⁴ Camille Enlart, "Deus inscriptions françaises trouvees a Chypre" *Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archeologie* 8 (1927): 236.

¹¹⁵ Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden," 279.

¹¹⁶ George Hill, *History of Cyprus, vol. 2: The Frankish Period, 1192-1432* (Cambridge: University Press 1949), 207. For other trade communities active on the Island see *Ibid.*, 205-209.

¹¹⁷ Houben, "The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," 155.

3.3 Maritime Elements

In Cyprus, the military orders in general were in close relationship with shipowners. The major shipowners, as prevalently known, were the Italians. Italians had usually been supportive for both commercial and religious interests. Venetians and the Genoese made several contracts with crusader kings, lords and military orders. This support of Italians, such as shipment of various goods (including luxury goods), brothers of the military orders, pilgrims and equipment was not peculiar to time of war but continued in peacetime.

Similar to other military orders on the island, the Teutonic Order more often hired ships than used their own. It is known that the Germans on the Third Crusade took advantage of ships brought from Prussia and Lithuania. Despite the fact that the Teutonic Order used its own sea transport in the Baltic, it seems that they were mostly dependent on Italians for transportation in the Levant.¹¹⁸ Other military orders were usually the same. For instance, Hospitallers made contracts with shipowners from Spain and Italy, in addition to the Italians in the Mediterranean and Aegean.¹¹⁹

In Prussia, The Teutonic Order established new offices for dealing with naval practices and commercial ships, but in the Holy Land and Cyprus such an organisation was not needed. Thanks to privileges granted by Frederick II to the order in Southern Italy, the order could easily support the brothers in the East. As the Teutonic Order held privileges of purchasing and transporting products in and from Italy, products such as grain were easily

¹¹⁸ Sometimes the military orders tended to hire and use pirates for their purposes, but there are not documents addressing any such Teutonic policy in Cyprus. See, Sarnowsky, *"The Military Orders and Their Navies,"* 45-48.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 48.

transported to the Holy Land (or perhaps Cyprus). It was the same in the early years of the Order. For instance, we have a document is about permission to transport, buy and sell goods, granted by the Prince of Antioch in 1219¹²⁰. There is no specifically naval element mentioned in the document, but it shows that the Teutonic Order was active in trade in its early years.

At this point it is important to point out that ships travelling to the Holy Land avoided sailing directly to the ports in the East. Whether carrying crusaders, pilgrims or goods, ships preferred to sail along the coast to reduce risk and to allow the renewal of their supplies. Frederick II's fleet, for instance, before reaching the Holy Land, stopped at Corfu, Kefalonia, Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus, and, the first place the emperor landed in Cyprus was Limassol. Therefore, there is no doubt that the military orders had stations at stopover points.¹²¹ Paphos (for trade) Limassol and Famagusta (for trade and pilgrimage) were among these points in Cyprus. Although the Teutonic Order's southern properties were landlocked, as has been previously mentioned, they had easy access to the ports. So, Hill's statement on German traders in Paphos might be notable.

3.4 Pilgrimage

One of the most significant role of Cyprus was on pilgrimage. It is obvious that, compared to other military orders, documents regarding ships hired by the Teutonic Order in the East are limited. Existing accounts and

¹²⁰ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 52.

¹²¹ Hubert Houben, "Between Sicily and Jerusalem: The Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)" in *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c. 1798*, eds., Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 155.

registers indicate that Templars and Hospitallers were allowed to send ships to Europe.¹²² In addition to extra ships for goods and supplies, major ships sent to Europe were allowed to transport merchants and pilgrims.¹²³ Although little can be said about the German pilgrims on Cyprus, it is possible that they may have travelled likewise.

Apart from pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Cyprus had its local pilgrimage sites that were visited by the Christian population on the island, as well as those who stopped there on their way to the Holy Land. One of the most popular of these sites was Stavrovouni Monastery at the top of Stavrovouni Hill between Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaca.¹²⁴ The location of this monastery is not far away from the coast and from Kato Drys. In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg visited the monastery.¹²⁵ He did not mention the Teutonic Order, but another pilgrim, Ludolf of Sudheim reported that the brothers of the Teutonic Order lived at Pravimunt in Limassol in the same diocese where vines grew.¹²⁶

3.5 Reasons of the Development of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus

By the historians, the Teutonic Order is pictured as lesser important on

¹²² To provide safe passage for the pilgrims, for instance, ships of Templars and Hospitallers were sent to Europe two times a year. See, Sarnowsky, "*The Military Orders and Their Navies*," 41.

¹²³ Sarnowsky, "*The Military Orders and Their Navies*," 42-3. Number of pilgrims allowed on each ship were 1500 and no additional pilgrims were allowed on aforementioned extra ships. For additional information about Templar and Hospitaller ships See, Ibid., 41-57; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of The Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 229-79; Henry Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1994), 85-98; Robert Douber, *The Navy of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta* (Brescia: Grafo, 1992)

¹²⁴ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 212-213.

¹²⁵ Wilbrand, "*Peregrinatio*," 165.

¹²⁶ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 19. He also described a monastery in which there were monks of St. Benedict.

the island and considered as an order tended to follow the Holy Roman Empire's policies.¹²⁷ Coureas believed that the empire's policies "decisively determined the Teutonic Order's importance or lack thereof."¹²⁸ Other hand, Alan Forey puts forward that the Order was supported by the empire to spread influence in the East,¹²⁹ and Aleksander Pluskowski argues that around 1220's the emperor's aim was to create a vassal state founded by the Teutonic Knights.¹³⁰ But Morton, accepting the influence of the Holy Roman Empire, denies that the development of the Order was directly related to the Hohenstaufen policy.¹³¹

As Morton argued, the influence of the empire is deniable. It is true that the Teutonic Order and the empire developed a relationship when the German Hospital was founded near Acre, and it is a fact that Henry VI, even though he failed to reach the Levant, played a crucial role in the region, supporting Aimery de Lusignan's coronation in Cyprus, and negotiating with the future Leo I of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (subsequently crowned with the support of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV). It would, however, would be mistaken to believe that the Teutonic Order was simply an arm of the Holy Roman Emperors, despite the tendency of some historians to describe the

¹²⁷ Shlomo, "Cross Relationships," 153-154; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press 2005), 235; Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 173-180; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 48; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, 5; David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 181; Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, 365; Udo Arnold, "Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst im 13. Jahrhundert" in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, ed., Zenon Novak, *Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 5, (1990): 59.

¹²⁸ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 173.

¹²⁹ Alan Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (UK: Variorum, 1994), 21-22.

¹³⁰ Aleksander Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy War and Colonisation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 12.

¹³¹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 15-16.

Teutonic Order as an extension of Hohenstaufen policy in the Levant.¹³² Yet it remains true that the initial and primary motivation was the recovery and protection of the Holy Land not the political interests of emperors, though of course sometimes those might coincide. Besides, the emperors styling themselves protectors of Christendom, too, were highly motivated of the protection of the Holy Land.¹³³

The fall of Jerusalem which caused a huge reaction in the West precipitated this motivation (It seemed so catastrophic that it is said that Pope Urban III died of the shock.) Anything that might help recover Jerusalem or help restore and protect the kingdom was welcomed, including the formation of a new military religious order. After death of Henry VI, the need to protect the kingdom reached its peak and all actors supported the militarisation of the German Hospital's order. Both Germans (including pilgrims and lords), local magnates the pope and all other actors played a crucial role on the growth of the Teutonic Order. Germans sought not to impose their ideological or political interests but to support the holy goal of the Order.¹³⁴

The Teutonic Order earned popularity not because of heavy imperial support but thanks to those who visited the Hospital at Acre. These visits and donations contributed to the growth of the Order, since hospitality was utterly

¹³² For information and different views concerning this discussion, see, Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 15-16; Arnold, *Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst*, 59; Alan Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, 21.

¹³³ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 14.

¹³⁴ Teutons had already been providing aid to the pilgrims when it turned to a military order. Hospitals were important among the order and thanks to the order's medical and burial services, it was received various donations from the pilgrims. Those who sought to be buried by the Teutons donated properties, and, those who had witnessed the hospitality of the Teutonic Order made gifts of lands to the Order. For detailed information see, Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 13-25.

important in the Teutonic tradition such as the Hospitallers. The Teutonic Order buried deaths built cemeteries and valued rituals and eventually acquired considerable donations from the pilgrims.¹³⁵ For example, a pilgrim Gerald Magnus Alemannus provided donations in return of being buried the same as a knight.¹³⁶ Fifth Crusade pilgrims Barzella Merxadrus and Swederus of Dingede made gifts and donations in terms of money and lands addressing their satisfaction of the Order's medical role.¹³⁷ At this point Morton states that Teutonic benefactors were those travelled to the Latin East, those who interacted with the orders' works and the ones who did not visit the Holy Land but heard of what the Teutonic Order does there. Sometimes these benefactors attached themselves to the Order for years and even for generations. Additionally, papacy supported donations to the Teutonic Order and the Order's activities.¹³⁸ One good example is Pope Honorius III's charter of 1221 praising the Order's works on caring people, states the papacy's readiness for further support.¹³⁹ Honorius also encouraged Christendom to support the Order in terms of alms, donations or at least protected the Order from those who sought to interfere in Order's affairs. So, the imperial factor is undeniable, but the pilgrimage traffic to the East, and support from local lords or princes who were autonomous to some extent¹⁴⁰ became determining factor in the development of the Teutonic Order in its early years.

¹³⁵ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 16. The Teutonic Order attached particular importance to hospice. In a few decades the Order was able to have 26 hospitals in Christendom. See, Militzer, "The Role of Hospitals in the Teutonic Order," 54.

¹³⁶ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 92; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 18.

¹³⁷ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹³⁹ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 362.

¹⁴⁰ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 22.

3.6 The Lusignan Factor

The general political situation of Cyprus is significant since it directly affected the development of the Teutonic Order on the island, because it seems that the Teutonic Order was as promising as the other military orders (except The Order of St. Thomas of Acre) in terms of development in Cyprus. The major factor was the Lusignan rule worked in favour of the military orders for a few decades, the Teutonic Order being able to share in this.

To better explain this factor, it is essential to look at the early years of Cyprus under Lusignan rulers. When the Crusaders captured the island it was a well-populated place where the population was overwhelmingly Greek-speaking and, in religion, Orthodox. It was also wealthy enough to allow the collection of heavy taxes and was self-sufficient in terms of agricultural production. That it was such a rich place is noted by several writers. For example, there was Gislebert of Mons, who gave an account of the Third Crusade: 'Cyprum...terram omnibus opulentam' which means 'Cyprus ... a land rich in everything', and, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, writing in 1212: 'insula summe fertilis, optima habens vina', which means 'an island intensely fertile, having the best wines'.¹⁴¹ Cyprus was also relatively tolerant to the foreigners on the island, and thanks to its potential, the island became more like a multinational place in which different cultures and people from different origins were usually welcomed.¹⁴² Other than the Franks and Italians, Armenians, Jews, Maronites and Syrians formed

¹⁴¹ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, "*Peregrinatores*" 20.

¹⁴² Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 14.

minorities in Cyprus. Before the end of the thirteenth-century, because the crusaders lost their lands in the Levant one by one, these minority groups had varied and population had increased due to migration. However, the Cypriot population was rebellious and for the Lusignans, the rebellious population and the administrative system of Cyprus were key issues to be dealt with. In this sense change was a must and urgent for their future.

This rebellious population resided to the island's capture by the crusaders. When Richard captured the island, generating trouble for the king, Greeks revolted, and rebellious acts remained when the Templars purchased the island. Eventually Templars gave up to have it and leave it to enthusiastic Guy of Lusignan who relies on himself on controlling the island, and concentrated on the territorial losses after 1187, which was so high that a policy of granting properties and rights in Cyprus in compensation is adopted to be able to gain followers among the Latin nobility came to Cyprus.¹⁴³ To establish their authority, the Lusignans needed to support Latins and create their own nobility with the help of military orders. Additionally, hitherto being Orthodox in belief Cyprus had to be put under authority of Christian church. Some of the Greeks were converted to Catholic Christianity and the Greek church, despite the fact that they were strong, could not oppose to the rule of western nobility. A reason why the Greek clergy could not use their power is that Crusaders acted intelligently by controlling Greek clergy and establishing Latin church accordingly. For instance, every Latin bishop had a Greek coadjutor who were responsible of Greek-rite priests and churches, and,

¹⁴³ Smith, *History of The Crusades*, 126.

Greek bishops had to be acting as subordinated to a Catholic counterpart. The military orders, too, took part of the process by monitoring the Orthodox church on the island. For example, in 1222 properties were granted to the Teutonic Order and the Hospitallers around Lefkara when the Orthodox See of the region was established, to supervise the See.¹⁴⁴

To strengthen Latin rule, the Lusignans also altered the Greek land system.¹⁴⁵ They created a hybrid system, combining new elements with the old. By doing this, new rulers provided a social environment that Greeks were familiar with, so that it became possible to obtain a level of economic and social development. The population living on the island before the conquest was mostly still there, living in antique ways.¹⁴⁶ However, we cannot say the same for old Greek nobility. The new rulers confiscated some properties and money, putting the old nobility in a worse case than they faced before 1192, when Isaac Ducas Comnenos revolted against the emperor, seized the Island and destroyed Greek local notables by persecuting the upper class, confiscating their property and abolishing their privileges.¹⁴⁷ Some of the nobles emigrated to Anatolia and Constantinople and the rest were alienated by Isaac. Some of these alienated nobles joined King Richard's side, but the revolts against Richard and the Templars contributed the end of remaining Greek nobility. The crusaders confiscated their properties, and allowed to survive only those who

¹⁴⁴ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 175.

¹⁴⁵ *Archontes*. *Archon* was a Greek word referring "lord" or "ruler", and *archontes* is also used to describe foreign lords and provincial governors.

¹⁴⁶ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 14.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

cooperated with the crusaders. For instance, in 1210, King Hugh I of Cyprus granted properties to the Hospitallers in Limassol and these properties were composed of houses and streets confiscated from Greek families. (Neophytos the Recluse in his writings defines the Greek nobility as powerful and rich people in chains.)¹⁴⁸ Although those who stayed on the Island suffered imprisonment and loss of their belongings, they did not completely disappear; They lost most of their privileges and properties, but they chose to live by being helpful to the new rulers. In long term, this attitude provided them further privileges and liberty. Besides, the Lusignans had to keep some old Greek nobility to be able to rule the island. Some lands were granted to these Greeks if not as feudal possessions, as small free tenures.

Military obligations were not imposed on them. But, even though they were allowed to survive to a certain extent, Lusignans avoided the old Greek nobility survive as a class. It makes sense since, for instance, Venetian Crete and Frankish Morea had some problems because they allowed local people to survive as a class. To be a part of a class people had to be proselytised -but yet it was rare. The only examples of Greeks and Syrians became knights were dated to fifteenth-century, and received fiefs in the fourteenth-century, no earlier.¹⁴⁹

So the new rulers and their policies played an important role in strengthening military orders's presence on the island, and it was necessary to support them to maintain the new rule. It is indisputable that the Teutonic

¹⁴⁸ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 157; Smith, *History of The Crusades*, 127, 317.

¹⁴⁹ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 80.

Order, contrary to popular belief, shared similar chance in the sense of development with the other military orders. Perhaps, the reason why they are underestimated by the historians is the inevitable lack of supportive documents. But present evidence, at least, allow us to compare the Teutonic Order with the other military orders.

The Teutonic Order, as it is previously discussed, arrived the island around 1197 or 1198, more or less around the same date when Hospitallers arrived (and constructed a casale called Saranda Kolones near Paphos), and a few years later than the Templars.¹⁵⁰ By receiving privileges to collect alms, being freed from taxes and obtaining houses in Nicosia, the Teutonic Order became a part of the island. Until 1210, the Templars and the Hospitallers were also granted a few houses in Nicosia.¹⁵¹ In 1210, the Templars received a fortress in Gastria¹⁵² and the Hospitallers obtained lands and properties¹⁵³ that some of them in Limassol may have confiscated from the Greeks.¹⁵⁴ In early 1210s, the Teutonic Order was not given additional grants, but in 1217, the Order received additional grants, which were rural. 1220's, all three military orders received additional properties; in 1220, the Templars acquired a casale and vineyards in Paphos, and in 1222 both the Teutonic Order and the Hospitallers obtained properties around Lefkara and became neighbours.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ A record of Innocent III dated 1198 asks the military orders to defend Cyprus in case of an external attack, and asks Hospitallers to arrive. See, Hageneder and Haidacher, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 661-2.

¹⁵¹ Strehlike, *Tabulae*, nos. 34, 71; King Hugh I granted lands to Hospitallers in Nicosia, but Coureas mentions that the Hospitallers received houses before 1210. See, Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 157.

¹⁵² "Eracles," 315-316.

¹⁵³ Röchricht, *Historia Diplomatica*, 844.

¹⁵⁴ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 157.

¹⁵⁵ Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, 331-332.

Prior to 1220's, due to present documents, it seems that the Teutonic Order was supported no different from the Templars and the Hospitallers. It is certain that, as a new military order, the Teutonic Order was lack of military resources the Templars and the Hospitallers had, but the Teutonic Order was supported on the island in a similar way, which seems to happened as a result of political exigence.

Coureas states that it was vital to strengthen armed Latins on the island and Guy of Lusignan needed armed men from Europe to subjugate Greek population. Besides, Byzantine Empire and the Muslims were seen as threat for the Latin rule in Cyprus. He suggests that Aimery and Hugh I, after Guy of Lusignan, adopted the same policy by supporting all military orders.¹⁵⁶ Coureas' argument seems logical especially when the early years of the Kingdom of Cyprus is studied. Moreover, this claim surpasses the arguments the Teutonic Order simply developed thanks to the Holy Roman Empire when it is put into picture that the Teutonic Order was supported everywhere in christendom, and by almost everyone.

It was, however, after the emperor Frederick II's claims on Cyprus that the Templars and the Hospitaller strengthened their positions while the Teutonic Order made only a little progress in 1229, by having freed of all imposts, gaining a house in Nicosia and a casale in Klavdhia probably by the effect of Frederick II in the eve of conflict. After this date, throughout the rest of the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Order received no donations.

Such a decline, however, was not peculiar to the Teutonic Order, and

¹⁵⁶ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 123.

local political changes directly affected military orders. For instance, the Templars lost their dominant position to the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century due to flexible political periphery.

3.7 Summary

Arrived in Cyprus first time around 1197, the Teutonic Order had maintained a level of development on the island prior to 1229. This development was not peculiar to Cyprus but prevalent in the Holy Land either. Development of the Order was, first of all, a result of popularity earned from pilgrims visited Teutonic hospital in Acre, where the Order was famous of hospice. The Teutonic Order's hospice caused an increase of donations, and the pilgrims became the major benefactors of the Order.

On the other hand, in Cyprus, too, the reasons that led to the Order's development were different from simple explanations which come to conclusion that the Teutonic Order was fanatic supporter of the empire.

In the end of the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries, Christians in the Levant were aware of the benefits of being good with the emperor. Leo and Aimery sent envoys for crowns in the 1190s, but this simply cannot be a proof that the Teutonic Order was supported by the rulers to have imperial support. Gaining sympathy might be a factor, but the aforementioned rulers also worked in favour of the Latin church, to gain papal support, such as Aimery.

Probably the most significant factor was the political situation of Cyprus, led to development of the Teutonic Order, not only a little, but for a while, as much as the Templars and the Hospitallers until Frederick II's

intervention.

CHAPTER 4

THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN CYPRUS AFTER 1229

To be able to understand the early progress and then, if not decline, an era of standby of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus, explaining the change of political situation in the East is a must and therefore the following chapter is specifically focused on what prevented the Teutonic Order's further development in Cyprus.

As this study claimed, the early years of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus were as promising as those of the other military orders, and, it was not until interference of the emperor that this situation had changed. This interference of the emperor, and its effects on the Order are prevalently accepted by the historians, and, discussions on the Order's relationship with the emperor is certainly important as his interests caused a war in Cyprus and Syria between 1229-1233. But general view is unable to explain the fate of the Order in Cyprus. Even if the Order was directly supporting the emperor or not (which

seems they did not), we can see that the Teutonic Order's relationship with the locality in the Holy Land had not collapsed when the papacy finally got rid of the Hohenstaufen dominance. Moreover, the Order managed to keep a level of development in the region. However, it is interesting and worth to pay attention that Teutonic Order's development in Cyprus, which is discussed in the previous chapter, seems to come to an end after 1229. What created this dissimilarity is discussed in this chapter. But it is necessary to briefly narrate the events that caused the cease of Teutonic development in Cyprus first.

In 1218, leaving an infant son, 8 month-old Henry, King Hugh I of Cyprus died. By his death his widow Alice of Champagne took the regency of Henry and appointed Philip of Ibelin as the lieutenant. However, around 1224, because of unclear reasons she tried to get rid of him. First, watching for opportunity to install as the governor of Cyprus, she married to Bohemond, son of Prince Bohemond IV in Tripoli in 1225. But it seems that Bohemond was unacceptable¹⁵⁷ so that the Queen chose Aimery Barlais, a Cypriot knight who was to become known as Frederick II's baillis and Ibelin rival. His power at office, however, did not last long since, according to Philip of Novara, he was not supported by the vassals.¹⁵⁸ Accounts on the appointments of Alice is contradictory and it is not clear if Philip of Ibelin sought to keep the power he held, and moreover, they are not decisive on explaining the basis of his power.¹⁵⁹ But encouraging the military orders and the Cypriots, as well as

¹⁵⁷ Accounts on regency of Alice are sometimes contradictory. See, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 51-59; Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 192-3.

¹⁵⁸ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 51.

¹⁵⁹ Riley Smith depicts that this appointment may have been a result of King Hugh's will. Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 192; He also explains the bailliage and despite the fact that Alice was free to appoint whoever she wants as her lieutenant by right, there were local groups of lords

placing the young king under protection of papacy, from the papal letters of 1226, we understand that Philip was also supported by the pope.¹⁶⁰

This situation was also the basis of political struggle between Aimery and the Ibelin party. But, the problem was exacerbated as soon as Philip died in 1228. Philip was one way or other legal appointee of the queen. But when his brother John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, assumed the power in Cyprus, opposition to the Ibelin party deepened and caused war in a few years. We do not know what encouraged him to replace his brother. But it is possible that, the basis of local support to the Ibelin family and John's claim might have encouraged by the House of Ibelin's close kinship with the rulers of Cyprus. Queen Isabella I, King Aimery's wife, was the daughter of King Amalric I and Maria Comnena who was the daughter of former military commander of Cyprus, Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenos' grandson John Dukas Comnenos. After death of Amalric, Maria Comnena was married with Balian of Ibelin and gave birth to Queen Isabella's half-brothers John and Philip of Ibelin. Otherwise, before getting married to Isabella, King Aimery had married to Balian of Ibelin's sister and Baldwin's daughter, Eschiva.¹⁶¹ So, there can be little doubt that Ibelin family was well-established in Cyprus in 1220's.

Frederick II, on the other hand, had his own problems. In 1228, he arrived in Cyprus on the way to fulfil his delayed vow to launch a crusade. He was the suzerain of Cyprus but what he found on the island was a chaotic political struggle. His suzerainty was coming from his father Henry

as a factor in the East in the thirteenth century who may have influenced the High Court in the case of Aimery. See, Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 193-199; For discussion on if the Queen sought to appoint Philip or not see, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49-51.

¹⁶⁰ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 52.

¹⁶¹ Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 9-12; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 40.

VI, but he was so busy to make claims on Cyprus before that time because of the problems Frederick had faced in Italy and Germany. When he came to Cyprus, now he had opportunity to make a claim on his minority. However, his claim posed additional problems, since what the emperor believed was that the king and the vassals owed him homage. Such a practice was normal in some parts of Europe, but in the East the common practice was different as holding the wardship of minority was the next kin's right.¹⁶²

In addition to the emperor's claim it seems that he had personal animosity towards the Ibelin family which may have been precipitated owing to the fact that Frederick was ignored by the Ibelins in 1225 when they crowned the young king.¹⁶³ So, when the emperor came to the Island in 1228 he already had trust issues with the Ibelin party.

He landed at Limassol and met Aimery Barlais. Complaining about the Ibelins, Aimery offered aid to the emperor in the Holy Land in return for action against the rival party. Otherwise, even though John was in Nicosia when the emperor arrived in Cyprus, he had not come to meet him.¹⁶⁴ Soon after, the emperor called on John of Ibelin, and asked to bring his sons, friends and young King Henry, to a feast in the same city.

¹⁶² Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 56.

¹⁶³ The political situation was perhaps not the only reason; Frederick was a man who believed his rights were God-given and he sought to leave an intact empire to his successors. His general view of the rights of the House of Hohenstaufen is also important in explaining his dispute with the House of Ibelin in the East. It might explain how the emperor may have wished to be treated when Henry was crowned. For Frederick's thoughts about his rights, see, Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 163.

¹⁶⁴ The emperor was obviously in need of such an aid, and receiving profits from Cyprus would also have provided fiscal support during his crusade. For instance he borrowed 30,000 Saracen besants from the Lord of Gibelet when arrived in Limassol. See J. R. Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 161, 163.

John of Ibelin was for sure hesitant. He was able to deal with Aimery Barlais but now that a new authority, the emperor, had landed in Cyprus.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, John was not considered as a lawful authority either by Aimery and his followers or the emperor himself. John of Ibelin was reluctant to bring the young King Henry to the emperor for fear of losing his strongest card, the custody of Henry and the regency.

Openly opposing a crusading emperor placed John of Ibelin, as one dedicated to the defence of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in a difficult position. Future generations might think that the emperor sailed across to sea to reconquer Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but the Ibelin family preferred to side against him, and by implication, with the Saracens.¹⁶⁶ Besides, the Holy Land needed the emperor's troops which were large enough to arouse respect in the East. Reluctantly therefore, John relented and brought the young king to the emperor to attend this feast organised in honour of Henry. The feast was carefully arranged and the Cypriot lords, as Philip of Novara described, tried to convince the emperor that they were loyal to him. John, on the other hand, offered help with the emperor's cause in the Holy Land, but this was hardly enough. Frederick made his claims and demanded John to leave his lordship of Beirut and return all profits from Cypriot regency since the death of King Hugh I. John tried to resist the emperor's demands even though he was threatened by Frederick with arrest. What John put forward was that Beirut had nothing to do with Cyprus, that his privileges were granted by the king, not the emperor himself, and, concerning the

¹⁶⁵ Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 175.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 176; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 57.

money from Ibelin regency on Cypriot throne, he replied that it was taken by the queen who had the right to spend it. But claiming rights by his suzerainty on Cyprus and his marriage to the deceased Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem, Frederick accused the Ibelin party, in a fury, of abuse of power and took sides with Aimery. In the end, Frederick forced John to give his sons as hostages for his good behavior, recognize Frederick's claim to be the overlord of Cyprus, Frederick's supporters maintained their properties on the Island, and, twenty vassals was pledged themselves as the emperor's security.¹⁶⁷

After the feast, John, accompanied by his party and the rest of his family, shut himself at the castle of St. Hilarion in Kyrenia. He played it safe and avoided to be involved in any situation that might confront him with the emperor. Despite the occupation of Nicosia by his own party, the emperor, too, avoided to go further. Instead, he made an agreement with John before sailing to Tyre. This agreement provided John almost nothing while the emperor had whatever he wanted and ended Ibelin rule for a while. John managed to have his sons released but was obliged to accept that King Henry's actions were to be under strict control of the emperor's supporters on the island.

¹⁶⁷ "Gestes des Chiprois" in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Armeniens*, Vol 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841-1906), 676-80. 'The first thing is that you hand to me the city of Beirut, because you neither have it nor hold it by right. The second thing is that you hand to me all the income you have received as regent of Cyprus and all that the royal rights have proved to be worth and have provided since the death of King Hugh - that is, the income of ten years - for this is my own right, according to the usage of the empire' See, *Gestes*, 677; promising the emperor's security shows that the emperor was aware of fragile conditions on the island. As Abulafia depicted John rejected a plan to assassinate the emperor offered to him by some knights. He did not want the Ibelins to be blamed for the failure of the crusade. Besides, the Ibelins were powerful both in the Holy Land and in Cyprus, and the emperor would not stay in the East forever. They had the power to resist their political rivals, so it was unnecessary to enter an open conflict with the emperor. See, Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 176.

In the late 1228, Frederick left Cyprus and sailed to the Holy Land where he was welcomed by the military orders. Knowing, that the emperor was generous to the Teutonic Order, they saw the emperor as the last hope in the Holy Land and a possible source of further privileges. It was not only the military orders that welcomed the emperor, as many local authorities considered the emperor as their saviour. But as soon as news of his excommunication reached to the Holy Land, Frederick's faith changed. Sending letters to the military orders, the pope warned them against the emperor.¹⁶⁸ News arrived to the Holy Land certainly effected the emperor's fame in a bad way and then, to top it all, he received news that a papal army attacked his lands in Europe.

Under these circumstances Frederick had to act quickly, so, breaking the agreement he made with John of Ibelin, he sent one of his officers to Cyprus to take control of the castles. In addition, he formed a consortium composed of five baillis to hold the regency of Cyprus. Five baillis were Aimery Barlais, Amaury of Bethsan, Hugh of Jubail, William of Rivet and Gauvain of Cheneche. Aimery Barlais and Amaury Bethsan had ties of kinship such as William of Rivet and Gauvain of Cheneche.¹⁶⁹ On his way back to Europe, Frederick stopped in Limassol once more and left the young king to the five baillis.¹⁷⁰ This political manoeuvre by the emperor, however, precipitated disputes in Cyprus and brought the Ibelin supporters and the five baillis into a war in Cyprus and in Palestine. Frederick's

¹⁶⁸ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 63.

¹⁶⁹ For further information see, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 52.

¹⁷⁰ Five baillis were also reinforced with western mercenaries that baillis were responsible of the payment.

demands from John of Ibelin and his attitude against the Ibelin party had already increased the tension, and after the emperor's departure from Cyprus the political dispute turned into a war.

About one month after, the Ibelin party sailed from Acre to Cyprus and landed at fort of Gastria under Templar control. Despite the emperor tried to break Ibelin influence on Cyprus, they still had supporters who were either lost fiefs or sought to protect interests. Besides, Ibelin family was still powerful in the Holy Land.

In July 1229 Ibelin party defeated five baillis and they escaped to Kyrenia, St. Hilarion and Kantara castles. Ibelins captured Kyrenia fortress but the other fortresses remained under control of the baillis for another ten months. In the spring of 1230 Kantara and St. Hilarion surrendered and five baillis swore not to oppose Ibelins and kept their fiefs in return. Despite the fact that John of Ibelin was aware that the emperor could have sent troops to Cyprus, he could keep his control on the island for another year.

In 1231, the emperor finally sent his marshal Richard Filangieri with a considerable number of armed forces. The emperor demanded that John of Ibelin should be expelled from his possessions from Cyprus and Beirut but these were rejected.¹⁷¹ Imperial troops under Richard's command, probably believing that John's forces in Beirut were weaker, then attacked the city of Beirut. After this attack, John of Ibelin formed an army and sailed to Syria where some of the Cypriot troops were defeated by Richard at Casal Imbert. Following this defeat, Aimery Barlais and his supporters

¹⁷¹ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 61.

seized the opportunity in Cyprus and took control. Only a few Ibelin supporters were on the island and they held St Hilarion and Buffavento castles. The rest of the island was under control of the baillis. Believing that John of Ibelin's troops were broken, Richard left a garrison and sailed to Cyprus. But he was certainly underestimated John's capabilities.

Reinforced by new troops, John of Ibelin set sail to Famagusta. A few days later Ibelin troops defeated Richard's army near St. Hilarion and forced him to retreat Kyrenia with the remains of his troops. One year later, in 1233 Kyrenia eventually fell and the Ibelin family seized control once again. The emperor could never attempt to control Cyprus by force ever again, and, finally in 1247, Frederick's suzerainty was cancelled by the Pope Innocent IV.¹⁷²

4.1 The Teutonic Order: Between the Emperor and the Ibelins

Common understanding among the historians, when talking to the development of the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century and its position during the war is that Hohenstaufen role in the Levant is the major factor that had shaped the Order's policies. Most of the studies concluded that the Teutonic Order was constant supporter of the emperor.¹⁷³ However, on this point, these studies miss out some standpoints when drawing conclusion.

Although it seems like the events were between the emperor, his

¹⁷² Ibid., 66.

¹⁷³ For some of these studies, see, Shlomo, "Cross Relationships," 153-154; Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 235; Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 173-174; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 48; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, 5; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 181; Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," 365.

allies and the Ibelins supported by the pope, the Teutonic Order was directly affected by the political struggle since the conflict was between two different interest groups which had been the Teutonic Order's benefactors. So, we may posit that such a conflict was extremely dangerous for the Order.

Despite the fact that the Order is pictured as supporter of the empire, there is not evidence that the Teutonic Order provided economic or military support for the imperialists during any conflict. Furthermore, despite the fact that the battle of Casal Imbert took place only five miles away from the Teutonic Order's headquarters near Acre, there is not an evidence to precipitate the idea that the Teutonic Order aided the imperialists, or, if they ever sought to provide support. It is also quite interesting that the Teutonic Order managed to keep its former status in the Holy Land while its development in Cyprus is discontinued.

On this point Nicholas Morton remarks that the Teutonic Order's position at the time was shaped due to a series of policies of Grandmaster Hermann von Salza, and, claims that the Order should be studied in two periods, the first of which was the period between 1229 and 1239, when Herman von Salza adopted neutrality in Levantine politics. The second period followed the death of Hermann, when the order was controlled by Conrad of Thuringia until 1241, and then Gerhard von Malberg.¹⁷⁴ The major reason to such a differentiation is that although the Teutonic Order's basic principles were based on those of the Templars and the Hospitallers,

¹⁷⁴ Morton, "*The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict*," 139.

the Order's administrative structure was different from the other military orders in the thirteenth century. Primary difference was that the order's structure and development were depend on the character of each master and the order's hierarchical structure was based on patronage in its formation. Which means that while the other military orders were consensual in style, the Teutonic Order was vulnerable to the Grandmasters's or patrons' machinations¹⁷⁵. So, Morton remarks that while Hermann von Salza shows the order's sympathy to both sides, his successors acted differently¹⁷⁶. Based on the chronicles of Eracles and Sanuto¹⁷⁷, Morton posits that, seeking the advice of Hermann von Salza, the Ibelin party sought to negotiate peace with the emperor in 1235.¹⁷⁸ It shows that the Order tried to remain neutral and the grandmaster tried not to involve in such a conflict that might put the order in some troublesome situation. So, before come to a conclusion that if the Teutonic Order supported Frederick II, it is essential to attach particular importance to the Grandmaster Hermann von Salza who, unequivocally, changed the course of the Teutonic Order.

Hermann von Salza, managed to come into office as the fourth grandmaster of the order in 1210. He was not a partisan in the struggle between papacy and empire, at least he was not so blind as to support one party or the other. Above all Hermann von Salza considered himself as the

¹⁷⁵ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 185-6.

¹⁷⁶ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 139.

¹⁷⁷ "Eracles," 406; Marino Sanuto, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis: Super Terre Sancte Recuperatione et Conservatione*, in *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, ed., Jacques Bongars (Hanau: 1611, repr. Jerusalem: 1972), 214.

¹⁷⁸ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 139.

defender of Christendom, so that he sought to solve problems among the Christians and focus on the holy war¹⁷⁹. Especially among the order he had a special value since he also tried to guarantee wealth and spiritual benefits for the order more than anyone else. During his incumbency he travelled so much that very few of grandmasters could ever have done the same. Between 1210 and 1239, according to various sources, he had been in at least 50 different places stretching from the Holy Land and Egypt to Italy and Northern Europe for the purpose of visiting brothers, attending important meetings or on diplomatic missions assigned either by the pope or the emperor.¹⁸⁰ Hermann von Salza did, for instance, attend a council of crusading leaders in Acre in 1217. It seems that his opinions were trusted and the grandmaster himself was considered an important enough figure to be a part of important events. Before and during the fifth crusade, otherwise, the Grandmaster was responsible of controlling the documents sent by the crusaders to the pope and the emperor.¹⁸¹ Apparently, thanks to his role in this expedition, the Teutonic Order proved itself as a valuable ally, and moreover, despite the fact that the Fifth Crusade failed, the

¹⁷⁹ Nicholaus von Jeroschin, decades after Hermann von Salza's death, in his chronicle, described him as a 'bold warrior blessed by God in many ways; he was eloquent and wise, far sighted, friendly, just and honest in all his dealings' See, Fischer, *The Chronicle of Prussia*, 36.

¹⁸⁰ In 1215, Acre; in 1216, Rome; in 1218, Atlit (Northern Israel) and Egypt; between 1218 and 1220 in Damietta during the siege; in 1220, Montemalo; in 1221, Puille; in 1222, Foggia, Joham, Prechinam; in 1223, Capua, Sorae and Nordhausen; in 1224, Catania, Rome, Frankfurt, Northern Germany and Dannenburg; in 1225, Palermo, St Germain and Halle; in 1226, San Chirico, Peschiera del Garda, Parma, Mantua, Fidenza, Sarezzano and San Miniato; in 1227, Anagni and Otranto; in 1229, Jaffa and Aquinum; in 1230, Ceprano; in 1231, Lombardy; in 1232, Aquilea, Noanis, Melfi and Torun; in 1234, Rieti; in 1235, Nuremburg, Mainz, Hagenau, Augsburg and Tripoli; in 1236, Speyer and Boppard; in 1237, Vienna, Godio and Lodi; in 1238, Salerno. Hermann von Salza, on the other hand, visited most of these places more than once in different times. The data specified here are mostly based on Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 189-192, appendix a.

¹⁸¹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 33.

Teutonic Order came out of this war more powerful compared to before. After the Fifth Crusade Herman von Salza prestige continued, since he played an important role in disputes between popes, Frederick II and the Sicilians prior to Frederick's crusade.

Based on Philip of Novare's chronicle (in which he pictured the Teutonic Order as one of those who dislike Frederick)¹⁸² and charters dated 1230 and 1231¹⁸³ in which the Teutonic Order suggested the Patriarch of Jerusalem as a mediator on an issue regarding properties of the Teutonic Order, Morton states that 'these charters suggest that a degree of trust existed between the patriarch and the Order'¹⁸⁴. Far from supporting the emperor, at a local level, close relationships and a degree of trust may have been established between members of the order and local dignitaries. Lotan describes that 'the leadership had acted as arbitrator in disputes' and thus the Order managed to gain new rural fiefs and settlements even though the Latin Kingdom was in decline.¹⁸⁵

On the other hand, the emperor and his supporters, too, counted on Herman von Salza. The emperor had granted properties during the conflict to the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land, Armenia and Cyprus.¹⁸⁶ Richard Filangieri, for instance, thanks the Teutonic Order for their services.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² "Gestes" 683.

¹⁸³ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 74, 75.

¹⁸⁴ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 141.

¹⁸⁵ Lotan Shlomo, "Empowering and Struggling in an Era of Uncertainty and Crisis: The Teutonic Order in the Latin East, 1250-1291" in *Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica: The Military Orders in Times of Change and Crisis, Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, vol. XVI, eds., Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Torun: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press, 2011), 20-21.

¹⁸⁶ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 141.

¹⁸⁷ Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 78.

On this point, we may posit that the Teutonic Order managed to develop good relationship with every party, and, thanks to Herman von Salza's policies, became, if not a trusted friend of the rivals of the emperor in Cyprus and the Holy Land, an important political figure until the grandmaster's death..¹⁸⁸ It is true that the emperor granted privileges to the order to strengthen its position in the Levant, but, to survive in the East, the Teutonic Order needed more than only imperial support. Local problems in Cyprus and in the Holy Land could mean the rapid loss of properties. So, in conclusion, thanks to Hermann von Salza's policies, in the East, the Teutonic Order managed to protect its properties and privileges, and, it is hardly true that the Teutonic Order was imperial supporter during the conflict.

Hermann von Salza's diplomatic efforts worked in favour of the order until his death. As we can see the order had been granted lands and privileges similar to those of the other military orders in Cyprus and the Holy land until the conflict. But afterwards, while still having properties and privileges in the Holy Land, the Order's development in Cyprus nearly ended.

After Hermann von Salza's death in 1239, despite the fact that the Teutonic Order was stripped of some of its privileges by the pope in 1239¹⁸⁹ and obliged to send representatives to papacy to defend themselves in 1240 and 1241, their presence in the Holy Land continued and developed.

¹⁸⁸ Hermann von Salza's role between the empire and papacy was considered as climax by Helmuth Kluger. Helmuth Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg: Elwert, 1987), 163.

¹⁸⁹ Morton, "The Teutonic Knights During Ibelin Lombard Conflict," 143.

The Teutonic Order was still important and assisted all military orders during the Seventh Crusade in 1249 and again in 1250¹⁹⁰. It should be stated that having a good relationship with the papacy was extremely important for all the military orders, since they were subject to him and could be dissolved by him. Strictly controlled by the Pope, a military order's primary objectives were to protect the Holy Land, to fight for the faith and to care for the sick. However, all of the aforementioned relationships, policies and changes, when it comes to Cyprus, unable to explain the cease of the Teutonic Order's development. It might be said that the Holy Land was desperate so that the Order's existence was needed. But as an important base, why was the Teutonic Order unable to develop further in Cyprus?

4.2 The Teutonic Order in Cyprus after the Conflict

Prior to 1229, the Teutonic Order had been granted lands and privileges in Cyprus and it was the last property obtained on the island. Most common explanation is that the Teutonic Order supported the emperor, and in the latter half of the thirteenth century changed its focus to Baltic. The Teutonic Order's support, as it has previously discussed is disputable. Further, even if the Teutonic Order had interests and growing fame in Prussia, the idea that the Order changed its focus to the Baltic is also disputable and unable to explain the situation in Cyprus. Above all, the Teutonic Order in the latter half of the thirteenth century, especially in 1256 and 1290, provided notable aid from West to the East where is considered

¹⁹⁰ Shlomo, *The Teutonic Order in the Latin East*, 20.

by the Order as its primary concern.¹⁹¹ For instance, in the Teutonic statutes of 1264, one may clearly see the intention of the Order. In these statutes, despite the fact that Teutonic presence in Europe was growing, European part of the Order is hardly mentioned.¹⁹²

On the other hand it is seen that between 1221 and 1240, the Teutonic Order was given 4 rural properties in the Holy Land. Otherwise we may find that between 1241 and 1271 the Order received additional 14 properties around Montfort and Casal Imbert while in Cyprus and near the areas like Beirut where is under Ibelin dominance the Order received nothing.¹⁹³ Such a situation might well be related to the Ibelin factor. Ibelin family's influence on the island was widespread, and, while the other military orders managed to keep certain positions, the Teutonic Order was unable to develop any further.

To better understand, Ibelin family in Cyprus must be explained in detail. Ibelins were the significant part of the Cypriot nobility in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹⁴ First known member of the family was the castellan of Jaffa in 1115, Barisan.¹⁹⁵ Barisan, thanks to his political capabilities, managed to hold the Castle of Ibelin which was given by the King of Jerusalem, Fulk. Afterwards in the twelfth century, his sons and Barisan himself, as previously mentioned, made favourable marriages

¹⁹¹ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 186.

¹⁹² Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 186-187; for additional information on the Teutonic statutes see, Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights*; Max Perlach, ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890)

¹⁹³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, New York: Times Books, 1991), 102.

¹⁹⁴ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 87.

¹⁹⁵ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 39.

and managed to extend their influence. When Aimery and Guy of Lusignan formed Cypriot Frankish settlement, especially when Aimery married twice widowed Queen Isabella, supported the Ibelins in Beirut and Cyprus. Bailan's sons and daughters at this time, who were also uterine brothers and sisters of Isabella, claimed pre-Hattin properties of their father and managed to improve their effectiveness.¹⁹⁶ In 1220's Ibelins became very influential in Cyprus as Philip of Ibelin was appointed as regent by the Queen Alice. Philip died in 1228 and his son John managed to hold significant positions like his father. John, namely "the Younger" developed good relationships in royal circles.

When died in 1236 John had five sons four of them were married and had children. One of John's sons Balian was constable of Cyprus until succeeded by his brother Guy in 1247, while their brother Baldwin acquired an important position as seneschal of Cyprus. Ibelins managed to obtain the seneschal for more than a hundred years between 1240's and 1360's and, the office of constable between 1230's and 1300's.¹⁹⁷

In addition to these offices, Ibelins had close kinship with other influential families on Cyprus, and these relation worked in favour of the family during the dispute with the emperor. For instance, Ibelins had connections with Cilician Armenia, Comnenos' Burgundy and Champagne families across Europe as well as, in Cyprus, Montfort family, Dumpierres, the Mimars and Briennes were related to the Ibelins (even in the early years

¹⁹⁶ Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 24-5.

¹⁹⁷ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 89.

of settlement of Cyprus).¹⁹⁸

Influence of the Ibelin family was not solely based on kinship ties, but also wealth. Prior to the end of conflict on Cyprus, Ibelin party had received support not only by their sources on the island but also from Syria. After the conflict, King Henry confiscated fiefs of those who fought against him. Five Baillis and their supporters alive were banished from the kingdom (Aimery Barlais headed to Syria while some of the banished went to Apulia and served the emperor.) In this circumstances, Ibelin family, in the second half of the thirteenth century, possessed most of the fiefs left from disinherited families.¹⁹⁹ As Philip of Novara depicts, Law on inheritance regarding those who were dispossessed was changed after the conflict in Cyprus. Now the children of dispossessed were banned to takeover their fathers' possessions.²⁰⁰

Otherwise, the Kingdom was poor and the King Henry owed the men fought alongside him. This situation, thus, forced him to be more generous than he normally would have to. Since he had no cash, Henry offered possessions in return for any support. Cypriot nobility including Ibelins were favoured of the situation. Edbury claims that after 1233, the Ibelin family was unrivalled and dominant enough to affect central authority.²⁰¹ This dominance continued until the latter half of the fourteenth century especially after the loss of Syria to Muslims, when all of Ibelins

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 91.

¹⁹⁹ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*. 66.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 66.

²⁰¹ Apart from Cypriot nobility, for instance, alliance with Genoese during the war costed Henry to provide important privileges to Genoese. This arrangement was made under Ibelin's lead. Ibid., 67-70.

concentrated on Cyprus. Since they were appointed as constables, for instance, in 1247 and 1248, Guy and Baldwin of Ibelin led Cypriot soldiers in defence of Ascalon and Damietta Crusade.²⁰²

There are, on the other hand, some statistical information that might help us to picture the Teutonic Order's position. Present documents regarding the rural properties given to the Teutonic Order showing that the Order kept receiving additional properties in the Holy Land while Frederick was in trouble with the Pope and the Ibelins.²⁰³ Between 1211 and 1220, the Teutonic Order received 34 pieces of lands (one reason is that Teutonic Order played important role during the fifth crusade) and 17 others until 1271 even though the Kingdom of Jerusalem had lost significant lands until that date.²⁰⁴

From the aforementioned position it seems that the Ibelin family became cautious of the Teutonic Order after Hermann von Salza, and the Order was unable to develop further even though managed to keep its properties and privileges. During Hermann's period, it is not possible to call the Order as constant imperial supporters. Many historians picture the grandmaster as one of the most important figures of Teutonic history, and creator of an institution developed upon his achievements for centuries.²⁰⁵ The Teutonic Order, under his leadership, was not put under imperial control but built upon patronage of the papacy, the empire, the local magnates, and to top of all, German nobles and pilgrims' support.

²⁰² Ibid., 70-7.

²⁰³ Strehlike, *Tabulae*, 1-128; Smith, *Atlas of The Crusades*, 103.

²⁰⁴ The statistical information is collected from: Smith, *Atlas of The Crusades*, 103; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 197.

²⁰⁵ Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 185.

Hermann, by situating the Order in the center of Levantine politics, tried to protect the Order from clashes. However, it seems that he was unable to develop administrative structure of the Order so that his successors' policies restricted further development on Cyprus where was under heavy influence of former imperial rivals, the Ibelin family. In result, Cyprus, where the Teutonic Order's development was as promising as the Templars and the Hospitallers in the beginning of the thirteenth century turned to a place where the Order no longer develop.

4.3 The Teutonic Order in Cyprus after 1250

Historians are informed of the Teutonic Order's existence on the island due to some supportive evidence one of which were dated to 1275 in which the Pope Gregory X confirmed property disputes among the masters of the three military orders in 1258²⁰⁶. Later that date, in 1298, Pope Boniface VIII's letter, which was about taxes, mentions the Teutonic Order.²⁰⁷ In 1300, the Order was also mentioned in Genoise document.²⁰⁸ Additional document dated to 1301 which is covering transportation of horses and crew from Famagusta, on the other hand, might be a clue of a military expedition which seems to have cancelled.²⁰⁹ Another document addresses transportation of brothers to the brethren's house in Cyprus.²¹⁰ Ludolf of Sudheim refers to Teutonic brothers on the island during his visit

²⁰⁶ Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 55.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 56.

²⁰⁸ Hubatsch, "*Der Deutsche Orden*," 294.

²⁰⁹ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 177.

²¹⁰ Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 57.

in 1340²¹¹ and in 1263, the last document refers to a payment made by the Order's preceptor in Cyprus to papal tax collectors.²¹²



²¹¹ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 19.

²¹² Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 178.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Primary sources, and researches on the Teutonic Order in Cyprus are quite limited, and what we know today is predominantly based on nineteenth century works and a few scholars' studies. Such a problem, however, is not limited to the Teutonic Order but also covers the studies on medieval Cyprus. Primary evidence is based on major papal charters and limited accounts. One of the major reasons for this is the catastrophic raids, wars and eventually the Ottoman capture of island. Prior to Ottoman capture, there were accounts kept by the Hospitallers. Nevertheless, these sources are lost.

The Teutonic Order was born as a hospital during the Siege of Acre and then in 1198 turned to a military order. Despite the fact that they were dedicated themselves to the old German Hospital at Jerusalem, the bound seems ideological rather than a physical bound. By the time, Cyprus was one of the first regions the Order established itself even probably before Germany and Hungary.

Contrary to popular belief, the Teutonic Order was not born out of an imperial admiration but rather with a high motivation of holy duty which in case of the Teutonic Order based on Maccabees. On the road of development, the Teutonic Order was supported by the Holy Roman Empire. But the empire was not the only support for the brethren. Papacy, the other military orders, local magnates and most importantly the pilgrims supported the Order as well.

The proof of first Teutonic presence on the island is considered dubious by some historians. But supportive evidence which are presented in this study suggest that c.1197 is most probably when the Order established itself in Cyprus. However, despite the fact that Hubatsch suggested that the Order may have established even before 1197, it is hardly possible. Besides, this date is significant because it shows that the Order was not established on the island by the support of the empire but Guy of Lusignan.

Teutonic properties on the island were predominantly laid on the southern part of island where is rich with commercial crops such as sugar. Additionally the town of Limassol which was an important trade and transportation center was nearby these properties. Neighboured with the Hospitaller in the region who were involved in trade, it is possible that the Teutonic Order, too, involved in commercial activities. Unfortunately, supportive evidence is quite limited. An epitaph found nearby is a matter of debate but yet not concluded.

Urban properties, other hand, are situated in Nicosia where is traditional capital of the island. But the evidence supporting Teutonic

activities in this city is limited. We are unable to find any accounts regarding financial or administrative activities of the Teutonic Order in this city. One reason might well be that Cyprus was within bailiwick of Cilicia where the Order lost all its belongings in 1266. Otherwise, the Order in Famagusta is mentioned in a document from the fourteenth century. The document is considered by some historians as a proof of Teutonic Hospital in Famagusta. But we do not have material evidence and none of the archaeological evidence are found. However, one reason of the scarcity of document might be the result of administration of hospitals under Teutonic Order who do not impose the hospitaller to record activities.

General view regarding the period this study covers is the Teutonic Order developed due to the support of Holy Roman Empire. However, what has been discussed in this study is that it is hardly possible until 1239 when the Grandmaster Hermann von Salza died. Almost all actors in the specified period, additionally, the papacy, encouraged the growth of the Teutonic Order. In Cyprus and Cilicia, the rulers that sought to gain papal and imperial support, too, encouraged the Order.

Although the Teutonic Order is seen less important from the Templars and the Hospitallers in Cyprus, this claim misses important standpoints. Within the mentioned period the Teutonic Order in Cyprus was supported similar to other military orders and developed likewise. One of the major reasons of the specified development is exigency of propagate Latin authority across the island. In this sense the Lusignan rulers unsparingly supported all military orders, since the Greek population was rebellious and the island was open to external attacks. Besides, the Latins

sought to compensate territorial losses in the Holy Land, so that they attached particular importance to Cyprus by precipitating the geopolitical importance of the island.

However, the factor that changed the faith of the Teutonic Order in Cyprus was the Emperor Frederick II's interfere in the East. Claiming patronage on Cyprus, developed an attitude towards powerful Ibelin family, and supported rival party later called five bailiwicks. Frederick's intervention led eventually a war in the East resulting with the defeat of Imperial party. Modern historians consider the Order as supporter of the emperor during this conflict. But we do not have material evidence supporting this claim. As the Teutonic Order did not supported any parties during the conflict, it also tried to pay a role as mediator. The most significant factor in the role that the Order had played was Hermann von Salza's policies that based on neutrality.

In this period, despite the fact that the Teutonic Order adopted neutrality, the last gain of the Order was dated to 1229, right before the beginning of conflict. In the rest of the century, the Order's development of the islands seems to come to an end, while one might see that the Order was able to develop in the Holy Land further, except nearby the regions under Ibelin influence. This holds the same in Cyprus where, especially after the conflict, the Ibelin family became unrivalled and extremely influential. Although the Ibelin family had not been openly in any clash with the Teutonic Order, the family walked on eggshells especially after Hermann von Salza's death in 1239. Unlike Hermann, his successors openly supported the emperor that most probably affected the brethren's

position on the island.

All these developments, however, did not result in disappearance of the Order in Cyprus. While remarkable amount of lands had belonged to imperial supporters were confiscated by the king, the Teutonic Order's belongings and privileges, if not diversified, remained the same.



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APPENDIX

Map of Cyprus*



*The map is used by the permission of Prof. Luca Zavagno