

Cross relationships between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Teutonic Military Order Tradition

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Abstract: The history of the Teutonic Order on the island of Cyprus has received considerable attention from scholars such as Hubatsch, Forstreuter and Riley-Smith. Their studies covered mainly the Teutonic Order's activity on Cyprus in the thirteenth century, up to the fall of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291. The network of relationships that developed between members of the Order, the Church, kings and nobility in Cyprus and the Teutonic Order's headquarters in the Kingdom of Jerusalem has not been given much attention. These connections between neighboring regions in the eastern Mediterranean developed mostly because of security needs, and were related to the political and economic ties between these districts.

Keywords: Crusades, Cyprus, Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Teutonic Military Order, Acre, Montfort.

Resumo: A história da Ordem Teutônica na ilha de Chipre tem sido objeto de considerável atenção por parte de estudiosos como Hubatsch, Forstreuter e Riley-Smith. Seus estudos abrangem principalmente as atividades da Ordem em Chipre no século XIII, até a queda do Reino Cruzado de Jerusalém em 1291. Não tem sido dada, porém, muita atenção à rede de relações desenvolvidas entre membros da Ordem, a Igreja, reis e nobreza de Chipre e o quartel general da Ordem Teutônica no reino de Jerusalém. Essas conexões entre regiões vizinhas no Mediterrâneo oriental se desenvolveram principalmente por necessidade de segurança e se relacionaram aos laços políticos e econômicos entre esses distritos.

Palavras Chave: Cruzadas, Chipre, Reino latino de Jerusalém, Ordem Teutônica, Acre, Montfort.

The Teutonic Order at first had only a few outposts on Cyprus and these had little impact on what occurred there. The Teutonic knights based at their headquarters in the Latin kingdom therefore needed to expand contacts and relationships. Such relationships contributed to the status of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land and strengthened their territorial, economic and political influence.

This article will shed new light on the relationships and connections that developed between members of the Teutonic Order based in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and various elements of the population on the island of Cyprus. It will emphasize, with reference to various events, the contribution of Cyprus to the growing importance of the Teutonic Order within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This will reinforce the main conclusions emerging from my own research on the history of the Teutonic

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Order in the thirteenth century, which attempts to reassess the strength of the Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom and neighboring regions, and to establish its contribution to developments in the eastern part of the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century.

The popular view in Crusader historical research about the presence of the Teutonic Military Order in Cyprus has long been that its activity was limited to small outposts in several settlements, in Nicosia and in a village name Lefkara near Limassol. Researchers suggest that the reason for this was the centrality of the well established Military Orders of the Hospitallers and Templars. Also, the Crusader nobility, who were the rulers of the island, had been hostile to Emperor Frederick II, who was the main supporter of the Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in southern Italy and in northern Europe¹.

In the thirteenth century the Teutonic Order had was not familiar in Cyprus, thus, it could not expand territorially and increase the number of its assets on the island . This is particularly true when compared with the Order's assets in the Latin East - the Armenian Kingdom and the northern part of the Latin Kingdom in the Upper Galilee and in Mount Lebanon². Yet Cyprus was still a Teutonic outpost, between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem where its headquarters was located and its strongholds in southern Italy, the gate to its provinces in northern Europe³.

While this may have been true for the time when the strength of the Emperor Frederick II and his commanders in the eastern Mediterranean was considerable; with the decline of his status in the region, a new phase had begun in the attitude towards the Teutonic Knights and their leadership role in Cyprus through the island rulers, the monarchy, the clergy and the military. Here I present a different view as to the role of the Teutonic Order in that region. I argue that the events in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had contributed significantly to the recovery of the relationship with the Cypriot leadership in the second half of the thirteenth century.

¹ P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* (Cambridge 1991), pp. 59, 78-79; idem, '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*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest 2001), p. 104; N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot 1997), pp. 126, 158-159.

² H. Houben, 'Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia and Cyprus', in *Medieval Diplomats in the Eastern Mediterranean: Aspects of Intercultural Communication*. International Conference, University of Cyprus (Nicosia) 7-9 April 2006, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 20, ed. A. Beihammer, M. Parani and C. Schabel (Leiden 2008), pp. 149-151; N. E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190-1291* (Woodbridge 2009), pp. 13-14.

³ K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, QuStDO 2 (Bonn 1967), pp. 54-55.

During this period, the Teutonic headquarters located in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem needed Cyprus' support in order to assist the Latin Kingdom in the second half of the thirteenth century. One aspect of this was the provision of Cypriot political and diplomatic support for the Teutonic Order located in the Latin Kingdom.

The Teutonic Order was established in the city of Acre in 1198⁴. It was at the end of the German Crusade, which expanded the territory of the Latin Kingdom to the north of Acre through Beirut⁵. The Teutonic Knights had united the ranks of the German troops that remained in the Holy Land and members of the German nursing institute established during the siege of Acre in the Third Crusade, in 1190⁶.

The Teutonic Order had been granted agricultural lands and urban properties in the major cities of the Latin Kingdom in Acre, Tyre, Jaffa and Caesarea. They had also received some buildings and agricultural plots in Cyprus. These assets are mentioned in Teutonic documents in 1198, 1209 and 1216⁷. At that time, king Aimery of Lusignan had sought the protection of Emperor Henry VI and support for his coronation in the Latin kingdom and in Cyprus. The king was crowned in 1197 in the cathedral in Nicosia in the presence of Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, the Emperor's representative. It seems that the rulers in the Latin East tried to elevate their status by granting land and properties to the Military Orders, including the Teutonic Order, in order to secure their leadership⁸. In 1229,

⁴ *SDO*, pp. 159-160, M-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart 1974), pp. 64-66.

⁵ *Eraclès*, RHC Occ. vol. 2, pp. 227-228; E. N. Johnson, 'The Crusades of Frederick Barbarosa and Henry VI', in *HC* vol. 2, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Philadelphia 1962), pp. 120-121; D. Zimmerling, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden* (Düsseldorf 1988), p. 121; J. Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (Harlow 2002), pp. 151-152.

⁶ *SRP*, ed. W. Hubatsch and U. Arnold (Frankfurt am Main 1968), pp. 22-29; U. Arnold, 'Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (Sigmaringen 1980), pp. 83-84.

⁷ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke, Berlin 1869 (Toronto-Jerusalem 1975), no. 34 (1198) p. 28, no. 298 (1209) p. 267, no. 303 (1216) p. 272; W. Hubatsch, *Der Deutsche Orden und die Reichslehnschaft über Cypern*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, vol. 1 (Göttingen 1955), pp. 245-251, 292-294.

⁸ S. Hauser, *Staufische Lehnspolitik am Ende des 12 Jahrhunderts, 1180-1197* (Frankfurt am Main 1998), p. 214; H. Houben, 'I cavalieri teutonici nel Mediterraneo Orientale (sec. XII-XV)', in *Cavalieri teutonici tra Sicilia e Mediterraneo*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio Agrigento, 24-25 marzo 2006, ed. A. Giuffrida, H. Houben and K. Toomaspoeg (Galatina 2007), pp. 49-50, 54-55.

they were granted lands in the village of Klavdhia near Larnaca, as well as a building in Nicosia⁹.

These grants were part of political strategy, aimed at the enhancement of the Teutonic Order position in the Mediterranean region¹⁰. These policies were supported by the Teutonic Knights and their Magister (Grand Master), Hermann of Salza (1210-1239)¹¹. They suited well the Order's interests in the areas of the Latin Kingdom, Armenia and Cyprus, where Hermann of Salza visited in 1212 and 1217¹². It seemed that these policies did not make a real benefit for the Teutonic Order position in Cyprus because of the balance of power in the island leadership, which was not in favor of Emperor authority¹³. It might be of interest to mention as an example the involvement of a spy who was installed, in 1231, in a Teutonic ship which had landed in Acre. This spy warned the Crusader Barons and their leader, John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, of the expected attack on the imperial galleys sailing from the port of Brindisi in southern Italy¹⁴. This episode points at the hostility between the rival parties in the island, one of which had been the Teutonic Order.

In 1229, by the end of the Sixth Crusade – led by Emperor Frederick II, a new stage had begun in the development of the Teutonic Order. The Military Order became involved in the occupation of Prussia, in

⁹ Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 71 (1229) p. 56: "Heinricus Cypri rex domui s. Mariae hospitalis Alamannorum donat casale de Clavodie et domum quandam Nicosiae sitam", no. 71 (1229) p. 56: "Heinricus Cypri rex domui s. Mariae hospitalis Alamannorum donat casale de Clavodie et domum quandam Nicosiae sitam".

¹⁰ P. Halfter, 'Die Staufer und Armenien', in *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem*, ed. S. Lorenz and U. Schmidt (Sigmaringen 1995), pp. 202, 207-208.

¹¹ H. Kluger, Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II, QuStDO 37 (Marburg 1987), p. 48-54.

¹² Wilbrand of Oldenburg, *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*, trans. C. D. Cobham (Cambridge 1908), pp. 13-14; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940), p. 589; P. Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im Frühen und Hoher Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Mainz 1996), pp. 214-220.

¹³ Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. J. L. La Monte (New York 1936), pp. 40-49; P. W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge 1997), pp. 43-44; R. Hiestand, 'Friedrich II. Und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich II.: Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 85), ed. E. Arnold and N. Kamp (Tübingen 1996), p. 140; B. Hechelhammer, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsräume von Krreuzzugspolitik (1215 -1230)*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 13 (Ostfildern 2004), p. 268-272.

¹⁴ *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud and L. de Mas Latrie, RHC Arm. vol. 2 (Paris 1906), p. 700-701; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London 1973), p. 175.

the Baltic region in Northeastern Europe¹⁵. The Order's remaining knights in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and its leadership tried to preserve their power and status in spite of the fierce opposition to the policy of Emperor Frederick II in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem¹⁶.

The Teutonic support in the Emperor policy in the Latin East had dwindled in 1244, as revealed during a gathering of the Teutonic leadership in the Order's headquarters in Montfort Castle, attended by the representatives of the Order's commands in both the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. The Grand Master, Gerhard of Malberg, rescinded his position to become a member of the Templar Order¹⁷. One of the reasons for this act was that he no longer supported Emperor Frederick II and his policy¹⁸. Opposition to these policies continued and even intensified after the death of Frederick II in 1250 and during the rule of his heir, Conrad IV, who had not been able to command the same support which Emperor Frederick II had enjoyed¹⁹. Although Conrad IV attempted to consolidate his power in the Holy Land and in Armenia, as can be seen by his placing the Armenian Crown in the custody of the Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom, he failed in his attempt to consolidate the imperial power even within the Teutonic Order's institutions²⁰. Furthermore, the Teutonic

¹⁵ G. Labuda, 'Die Urkunden, Über die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Kulmerland und in Preußen in den Jahren 1226-1243', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, pp. 299-316; H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (München 1981), p. 70-93.

¹⁶ N. Morton, 'The Teutonic Knights during the Ibelin-Lombard Conflict', *MO*, vol. 4, p. 139-143.

¹⁷ Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicici*, no. 486 (1245) p. 362-363: 'Exposuistis humiliter coram nobis, quod frater Gerardus, quondam magister vester, postquam vobis in castro vestro Monteforti sum magisterium resignavit, autentico et perpetuo sigillo magistri, quod habuerat, iuxta morem super altari dimisso, ad domum militie Templi de vestra domo confugiens', no. 488 (1245) p. 363; M. L. Bulst, 'Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bei La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 22 (1966), 216-218; A. J. Forey, 'Desertions and Transfers from Military Orders (Twelfth and Early Fourteenth Centuries)', *Traditio*, 60 (2005), 160, 176.

¹⁸ U. Arnold, 'Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst im 13. Jahrhundert', in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, Ordines Militares - Colloquia Torunensia Historica [OMCTH] vol. 5, ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń 1990), p. 57-61; K. Militzer, 'From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309', in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky (Aldershot 1999), p. 73.

¹⁹ D. Jacoby, 'The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 40 (1986), 95-101.

²⁰ J. Riedmann, 'Unbekannte Schreiben Kaiser Friedrichs II. und Konrads IV. in einer Handschrift der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck. Forschungsbericht und vorläufige

Knights had refrained from supporting Conradin, along with the Templars, who in 1258 sided with King Hugh of Cyprus²¹. This shift in the support pattern of the Hohenstaufen Emperors points at the political changes which took place within the leadership of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East.

These events show how the Teutonic Order had been involved in the shaping of the political and military power in the Latin Kingdom. With the ongoing skirmishes with Muslim forces, the Teutonic Knights also attempted to preserve their existing power and strength in the Kingdom. The Teutonic Order tried to prevent unnecessary crises which they thought might affect the Kingdom's stability.

The Teutonic knights seem to have supported the Crusader royalty, which in itself was divided between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom. Cyprus served as a focal point, characterized by relative calmness under the leadership of the Crusaders. Kings and Barons spent their time between these different sites, and it seems that they preferred to stay and mobilize their strength in Cyprus. The Latin Kingdom was a place of continuous fighting, which presented a threat to their status. In contrast, in Cyprus they had experienced political and military stability.

There is evidence that shows how the Teutonic Order's involvement in the events in Cyprus and in the Latin Kingdom had intensified. In 1269, the nobility Assemble in Acre had decided that Hugh of Antioch, from the Lusignan family, would inherit the Latin Kingdom's crown²². This decision was communicated to the Crusader leader in Cyprus by a high-level delegation of representatives from the Italian communes, the church and the Military Orders, including representatives of the Teutonic Knights from Acre. Having been crowned in Cyprus, the King had then sailed to Acre where the city nobility, the Italian communes, the urban fraternity and the Military Orders had pledged their loyalty to him²³. It should be noted that in 1265, even before his legal coronation in the Latin Kingdom, Hugh of Lusignan had sent 130 knights as well as

Analyse', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 62 (2006), no. 61, 167; P. Halfter, "Corona regni Armeniae. Aus der Spätzeit der staufische-armenischen Beziehungen", *Le Muséon*, 120 (2007), 135.

²¹ Rothelin, RHC Occ. vol. 2, p. 634; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus, The Frankish Period 1192-1432*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1972), pp. 149-150.

²² J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (New York 1932), pp. 75-77.

²³ Eracles, RHC Occ. vol. 2, pp. 457-458; J. Riley-Smith, 'A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), 304; P. W. Edbury, 'The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1264/6 and 1268', *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (1979), 3, 11, 15-17.

mounted sergeants to secure the military situation in Acre and in the Latin Kingdom²⁴. With this political act, the Cypriot king tried to reinforce his power and status in the territory of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem as well.

The Teutonic Order had contributed to the strengthening of the ties between the Latin Kingdom and the Cypriot royalty. In 1276, Henry, father of the Cyprus King Hugh III of Lusignan, had been a guest on a Teutonic ship. It sailed along the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean near Tyre where it hit a rock. The nobleman was taken off the ship and led to Tyre to his daughter, wife of the noble John of Montfort, master of Tyre and Toron. He eventually died in Tyre and was buried in the house of the Hospitallers²⁵.

The Teutonic Order tried to stabilize the Latin kingdom and strengthen the position of its royalty. In 1276, following a dispute that broke out in Acre between King Hugh of Lusignan and the Templar Order about the ownership of a rural farm named La Fauconnerie, located south of Acre on the Na'aman river, the King left Acre angrily and demanded to sail to Cyprus. Representatives of Teutonic Knights, Hospitallers, and citizens of Acre and Italian communes pleaded with the King in Tyre to remain in the territory of the Latin kingdom. They wanted him to appoint a Commissioner (Bailli) on his behalf, thus preventing the abandonment of the kingdom without leaving proper leadership during a time of uncertainty²⁶.

In 1286 the Teutonic Order together with the other Military Orders acknowledged the legitimacy of the leadership of King Henry II of Cyprus. The Commissioner responsible for Acre, Odo Poilechein, refused to give up his post and to concede to the King's control. The Commissioner refrained from delivering the Citadel, also using the French regiment stationed in the city to this end. Representatives of the Military Orders gathered in the Templar compound and decided to support King Henry's position in order to avoid bloodshed and military upheavals. They argued that they were under religious order from the Pope which prevented them from participating in controversial and internal military aggression. This was considered odd at the time, in view of their involvement in internal

²⁴ *Eracles*, RHC Occ. vol. 2, p. 450.

²⁵ *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, trans. P. Crawford (Aldershot 2003), no. 388, pp. 70-71.

²⁶ *Eracles*, RHC Occ. vol. 2, pp. 474-475; *Annales de Terre Sainte 1095-1291*, ed. R. Röhrich and G. Raynaud (Paris 1884), p. 456; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310* (London 1967), p. 188.

disputes in the Latin Kingdom, but it may have been caused by their desire to stabilize the situation in the Latin Kingdom²⁷.

Notwithstanding a series of disputes within the Holy Land, the Teutonic Order, along with the other Military Orders, had participated in the coronation of Henry II of Cyprus. The newly elected king was first crowned in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Tyre. He then preceded to Acre, where a great celebration in his honor was held in the Hospitaller compound, the *Auberge* (inn), in the suburb of Montmusard. This celebration lasted fifteen days, and included shows and performances by actors and dancers. It indicated more than anything else the relief felt in the Kingdom as a result of the coronation of a king acceptable to the Crusader population, which was a rare occurrence at the time²⁸. These events further accentuate the attempts made by the Teutonic Order and the other main organizations in the Latin Kingdom to stabilize the political situation and preserve the status quo. The Teutonic Order had sought to avoid unnecessary crisis that might change the political situation in the Latin Kingdom.

The Teutonic Order continued to be active in its Acre command post during the years of deterioration in the Kingdom's security situation. In 1289, the representatives of the Military Orders sailed to Tripoli to attend the city commune deliberations aimed at instilling order and bringing in the noble Lucia (Lucy) to rule the city. They tried to take advantage of the goodwill of the church authorities and King Henry II of Cyprus. This can be seen as an attempt of the Military Orders, including the Teutonic Order, to stabilize the situation in the Latin Kingdom and pacify the local rival factions. They did fail to change the security situation in Tripoli, which remained poor until the city was taken by the Mamluks later on that year²⁹. Again, it is possible to observe here the Teutonic involvement, together with the other Military Orders, in supporting King Henry II of Cyprus, who had also tried to stabilize the security situation. After the fall of Tripoli, King Henry II, while in Acre, tried to reach a truce with the Mamluk Sultan, and returned to Cyprus after leaving his brother

²⁷ *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243-1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. L. Minervini (Naples 2000), no. 202 (438) p. 170; C. J. Marshall, 'The French regiment in the Latin East, 1254-1291', *Journal of Medieval History*, 15.4 (1989), 305; J. Riley-Smith, 'The Crown of France and Acre', in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore 2004), p. 56.

²⁸ Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, no. 203 (439) pp. 170-171; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1954), pp. 396-397; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. II B (Amsterdam 1979), p. 419.

²⁹ Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, no. 231 (467) pp. 189-190.

Amalric as his representative (bailli) in the territory of the Latin Kingdom³⁰.

The relationship between the Teutonic Order and the leadership of Cyprus can also be inferred from the co-operation between the Teutonic Order and the Cypriot authorities located in the city of Acre. The Teutonic leadership sought to strengthen their position in the suburb of Montmusard, in the northern part of the city. This was the largest available area in Acre and for the Teutonic Order that meant the strengthening of their economic and political power, as had been the case for all the other Military Orders, Churches and Monasteries in the city³¹. In 1273, a dispute regarding a structure in Montmusard, acquired previously by Teutonic Order from the Hebron Church, was resolved between them and the Bishop of Hebron. However, it had required the assistance of Dean Arnolf, archbishop-Elect of Nicosia in Cyprus. Arnolf ruled in favor of the Teutonic Order and granted them the structure in the northern quarter of Acre³². This also shows the involvement of the Teutonic Order with the Crusaders authorities from the island, which accompanied them to the Teutonic compound in Acre³³.

The fall of Acre to the Mamluks and the loss of the Latin Kingdom in 1291 marked a fundamental change in the balance of power in the Latin East³⁴. The Teutonic Order itself had left an insignificant mark on the

³⁰ Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, no. 243 (479) p. 199.

³¹ D. Jacoby, 'Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre. The First Stage of its Development', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, R. C. Smail (Jerusalem 1982), pp. 210-217; B. Z. Kedar, 'the Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', *Atiqot*, 31 (1997), 160-162; A. Boas, 'Some Reflections on Urban Landscapes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and Acre', in *Dei gesta per Francos: études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard* ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot 2001), pp. 259-260; idem, *Domestic Settings, Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States* (Leiden 2010), pp. 212, 216.

³² Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 126 (1273) p. 117: '..ad talem concordiam, finem et facem devenerunt, mediante discreto viro domino Arnolfo decano Nicossiensis electo, amico communi, assumpto ab utraque parte de communi voluntate'; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London 1980), pp. 298-299; K. Elm, *Umbilicus Mundi, Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitals vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden* (Brugge 1998), pp. 318-320; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus. IV: The Cities of Acre and Tyre* (Cambridge 2009), pp. 51-52.

³³ RRH, no. 1399 (1274): '..Petrus de Cypro', no. 1435 (1280): '..Raimundus Cypren(sis) milites'.

³⁴ E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon. Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Bern and Frankfurt 1975), pp. 10-18.

island of Cyprus. Rather, it moved its centre to Venice, which was an important stronghold linking the Mediterranean outposts and its headquarters with the Baltic region and Germany³⁵. Cyprus had remained an isolated outpost overlooking the edge of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Teutonic presence in the island is again noted in 1300, when the Teutonic 'Spittler' (responsible for the medical care in the Military Order) in Famagusta had activated connections with the headquarters in Venice. The 'Spittler' named Konrad of Babenberg wanted to lease a ship with a Venetian crew and contribute to the planning of the Crusade in the Latin East³⁶. The Teutonic leader was asked to subsidize part of the Christian campaign against the Mongols, which was led at the time, without much success, in northern Syria³⁷. The Order's main chronicle, written in 1326 by Peter of Dusburg, mentions this military campaign³⁸. Also, in 1307, warriors were given agricultural supplies and horses from the Teutonic headquarters in Venice for Cyprus³⁹. The island economic importance increased at the time because of its location, and because of the agricultural land which produced crops such as sugar cane. This had intensified in the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century, and took place in Cyprus as well⁴⁰. In addition, the island was intended to be used as a springboard for

³⁵ M. L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291', *Journal of Medieval History*, 19.3 (1993), 218-219; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg, Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1309*, QuStDO 56 (Marburg 1999), pp. 397-399.

³⁶ Hubatsch, *Cypern*, pp. 282, 294-5; K. Militzer, 'Die Einbindung des Deutschen Ordens in die süddeutsche Adelswelt', in *Ritterorden und Region – politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, OMCTH 8, ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń 1995), p. 145.

³⁷ P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London 1987), pp. 174-175; A. T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers Interventions in Cilician Armenia, 1291-1375', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T. S. R. Boase (Edinburgh 1978), p. 122; S. Schein, 'Gesta Dei per Mongolos 1300. The genesis of a non-event', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), 810-811.

³⁸ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik des Preussenlandes*, trans. K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki (Darmstadt 1984), p. 520: 'Anno Domini MCCC Tartari exeuntes a sedibus suis invaserunt Sarracenos et primo in Capadocia, deinde in partibus Seleucie sive Antiochie, inde in Armenia maiori et minori, abinde in tota terra promessionis et in Damasco et in Gaza usque ad confinia Egipti, in quibus omnibus regionibus plus quam CC milia arracenorum occiderunt'.

³⁹ H. Houben, 'Zur Geschichte der Deutschordensballei Apulien. Abschriften und Regesten verlorener Urkunden aus Neapel in Graz und Wien', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 107 (1999), 100-101.

⁴⁰ M. Solomidou-Ieronymidou, 'The Crusaders, Sugar Mills and Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus', in *Archaeology and the Crusades*, ed. P. Edbury and S. Kalopissi-Verti

renewed fighting and the re-occupation of land in the Latin Kingdom at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Teutonic Order had a role in the organization of the potentially renewed crusade in the east, but these attempts faded at the beginning of the fourteenth century⁴¹.

The Decline of the rulers of Cyprus, together with the move of the Teutonic headquarters to the Marienburg Castle in Prussia, finally brought to an end the Teutonic presence in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus and Greece became subordinate outposts of the Apulia command in southern Italy. Teutonic activity now concentrated mostly in the Baltic region and Germany. Cyprus lost the important position it had occupied when the Teutonic Order was located in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem⁴².

The present paper argues that all in all, Cyprus, as related to the Teutonic Order, must be looked at as an auxiliary outpost assisting the Order in its central position in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Teutonic support given to the Latin Kingdom from Cyprus in the late thirteenth century was mainly aimed at the stabilization of the Latin Kingdom. The Teutonic's status in the Latin Kingdom depended on stronger economic power and military strength, which were anchored around Acre, Tyre and the western Galilee villages. This is also the context in which the ties between the Teutonic leadership of Latin Kingdom and Cyprus had developed.

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⁴¹ A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot 1972), pp. 173-174; A. Forey, 'The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries', *Traditio*, 36 (1980), 317-345; S. Schein, 'The Future *regnum Hierusalem*. A Chapter in Medieval State Planning', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 95-105; eadem, *Fideles Crucis, The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1291- 1314* (Oxford 1991), p. 106-110.

⁴² H. Houben, 'Die Landkomture der Deutschordenballei Apulien (1225-1474)', *Sacra Militia, Revista di Storia degli Ordini militari*, vol. 2 (2004), 127-129, 139-140; Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, p. 397- 406.

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