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of Change and Crisis



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## CONTENTS

### I. STUDIES AND ARTICLES

<i>Alan Forey</i> (Kirtlington) A Hospitaller <i>Consilium</i> (1274) and the Explanations Advanced by Military Orders for Problems Confronting them in the Holy Land in the Later Thirteenth Century .....	7
<i>Shlomo Lotan</i> (Jerusalem) Empowering and Struggling in an Era of Uncertainty and Crisis – The Teutonic Military Order in the Latin East, 1250–1291 .....	19
<i>Sylvain Gouguenheim</i> (ENS Lyon) Die Vorschläge zum Zusammenschluss der Ritterorden am Ende des 13. und Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts Eine Konsequenz der Kritike oder eine Chance? .....	29
<i>Klaus Militzer</i> (Köln) Die Übersiedlung Siegfrieds von Feuchtwangen in die Marienburg .....	47
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton) Die Templer auf Ruad (1300–1302) .....	63
<i>Magdalena Satora</i> (Toruń) The Role of Cardinals in the Templars' Affair (1307–1308) .....	93
<i>Marek Smoliński</i> (Gdańsk) Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens durch den Deutschen Orden .....	105
<i>Jürgen Sarnowsky</i> (Hamburg) Herausforderung und Schwäche: die Johanniter und die Anfänge der äußeren Bedrohung von Rhodos, 1428–1464 .....	125
<i>Stefan Kwiatkowski</i> (Szczecin) Verlorene Schlachten und Gefallene in der geistigen Tradition des Deut- schen Ordens .....	141

<i>Roman Czaja</i> (Toruń)	
Die Krise der Landesherrschaft. Der Deutsche Orden und die Gesellschaft seines Staates in Preußen in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts .....	159
<i>Johannes A. Mol</i> (Leeuwarden / Leiden)	
Crisis in Prussia, crisis in the bailiwicks? The case of Utrecht 1440–1470 .....	173
<i>Karl Borchardt</i> (München)	
Zucker und Mohren: Zur Krise der Johanniter auf Zypern im 15. Jahrhundert .....	191
<i>Grischa Vercamer</i> (Warschau)	
Ein Hochmeister wird zum Herzog: Reaktionen und Schicksal der letzten Ordensbrüdern in Preußen um das Jahr 1525 .....	213
<i>Udo Arnold</i> (Bonn)	
Hochmeisterverlust, Bauernunruhen und Reformation -Krisenbewältigung unter den Deutschmeistern Dietrich von Cleen und Walter von Cronberg .....	241
<i>Matthias Asche, Magnus von Hirschheydt und Mathis Mager</i> (Tübingen)	
Legitimationsdefizite, Bedrohungspotenziale und Bewältigungsstrategien der europäischen Ritterorden in der Krisenzeit der 1520er Jahre – Fallbeispiele und allgemeine Reflexionen .....	259
<i>Juhan Kreem</i> (Tallinn)	
Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei: Bemerkungen zu Regierungspraxis und Religionspolitik .....	303
II. MISCELLANEOUS AND OTHER MATERIALS	
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton))	
Die erste urkundliche Erwähnung eines Großpräzeptors der Templer im Heiligen Land: Edition von Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, nouv. acquis. lat. 21, fol. 5 und 25 bis .....	319
III. BOOK NOTICES .....	323



SHLOMO LOTAN (Jerusalem)

EMPOWERING AND STRUGGLING  
IN AN ERA OF UNCERTAINTY AND CRISIS –  
THE TEUTONIC MILITARY ORDER  
IN THE LATIN EAST, 1250–1291<sup>1</sup>

Being an international organisation, the Teutonic Military Order had not only been able to survive the crisis in the Latin East during the second half of the thirteen century. In effect, it had – possibly unexpectedly – been able to reinvigorate itself and “re-invent” itself as a powerful and vital organisation militarily and administratively.

Indeed, it had been the administrative and military activities of the Teutonic Order which – together with efforts extended by the other Military Orders – that had aided the attempt to salvage and maintained the Latin Kingdom during the decline and final collapse which marked the Crusader Kingdom in the later years of the thirteen century.

The Teutonic Military Order was founded in the Holy Land in 1198, where the already well established Military Orders of the Hospitallers and Templars were long active, with an ever-increasing military power and political influence.<sup>2</sup> The rather new Teutonic Order had to secure its military power and to elevate its

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<sup>1</sup> This study is based on a research work which is included in my Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, *Bar Ilan University*, Ramat Gan, Israel (2008). I am indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Yvonne Friedman for her valuable guidance in the course of my work. I would also like to thank the European Forum at the *Hebrew University*, Jerusalem, Israel, for its continued support in my research on the Teutonic Military Order.

<sup>2</sup> W. Hubatsch, *Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen 1966, pp. 169–170; U. Arnold, *Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), hrsg. v. J. Fleckenstein u. M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 98–99.

political standing in the havoc characterised the Crusader Kingdom of the time.<sup>3</sup> Its strength stemmed from economic and military vigour frequently tested in political events in the Latin East. Such trials included the expansion of Crusader settlements in the north of the Latin Kingdom which also resulted in new rural fiefs and urban estates that had been acquired by the Order. Also, their leadership had acted as arbitrator in disputes between other Military Orders and the Kingdom's political authorities. The Teutonic knights offered their political experience and intimate knowledge of the Crusaders' enemies and helped in formulating what could be construed as a rational policy for the Latin Kingdom. All of these had occurred during King Louis IX's Crusade in the Latin East in 1248, lasting until the collapse of the Latin Kingdom and the fall of Acre in 1291.<sup>4</sup>

During the Seventh Crusade led, in Egypt, by Saint Louis in 1249, the Teutonic Knights had fought together with the other Military Orders and combined armies of French and Crusades. The Teutonic Knights participated in the attempts to conquer the Muslim city of Damietta and took part, in 1250, in the battle of Mansura, where they had sustained several fatalities. Ten of their Knights had been captured with some French soldiers and with Saint Louis himself. When released after the defeat at Mansura, the French king had decided, on the advice of the Military Orders and the Crusader leadership, to concentrate on the rehabilitation of the Frankish Kingdom and the securing of its holdings.<sup>5</sup> Securing the interior of the Kingdom had become a major Crusader policy to the realisation of which they had extended considerable military efforts during the second half of the thirteenth century.

The history of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East had been affected by several political and military events in 1260. The Mongol invasion had reached the Near East threatening the very existence of the Latin Kingdom. The Crusader assembled in Acre, to discuss the Muslim request to join forces against the Mongols. The tendency amongst the Crusaders was to accept this request. However, the Teutonic

<sup>3</sup> I. Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, in: *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5, eds. N. P. Zacour a. H. W. Hazard, Madison 1985, pp. 371–378.

<sup>4</sup> K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens (QSGDO 2), Bonn 1967, pp. 38–53; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg, Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309*, QSGDO 56, Marburg 1999, pp. 42–46; W. Urban, *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History*, London 2003, pp. 26–29.

<sup>5</sup> P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254: Sources and Documents*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 99–102; C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville*, Aldershot 2006, pp. 4–5; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. 3, Paris 1936, pp. 500–501; W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade, A study in Rulership*, Princeton 1979, pp. 77–78; J. Richard, *Saint Louis, Crusader King of France*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 113–127.

Grand Master (Magister) Anno von Sangerhausen (1256–1273) argued that the Crusaders should refrain from military involvement in this crisis, pointing out the many occasions when the Muslim had not kept their promises. His argument had invoked in those present the fear that once the struggle against the Mongols is settled, the Muslims would turn against the Christians and annihilate their positions. This fear was also fed by the suggestion that such a co-operation would bring a large number of Muslim troops onto the borders and soil of the Latin Kingdom. The Teutonic Grand Master had eventually convinced those present. As a result, the Crusaders avoided the Ein Jalud battle.<sup>6</sup>

Unlike other Teutonic Grand Masters, Anno von Sangerhausen had spent several years (1257–1261) at the Order's headquarters in the Holy Land. It had contributed to the consolidation of the Order's political status and power in the Kingdom. He had personally been involved in purchasing numerous rural estates and agricultural land in the north of the Kingdom, in the Shouf Mountains region east to Sidon, including the fortress of Cave of Tyron, Gezin and the Baq'a valley.<sup>7</sup> The impoverishment of local Outremer nobility (e.g., Jean and Andre from the Shouf), together with willingness of the Teutonic leadership to invest large sums of money in the Latin East, substantiated their standing and strength. It had also enabled them to create large territorial holdings adjacent to their Joscelyn Fief in the upper Galilee.<sup>8</sup> During his tenure he had also purchased lands in other

<sup>6</sup> *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. II (henceforth RHC Occ. II), Paris 1859, p. 637: ... *et li mestrez de l'Ospital de Nostre Dame des Alemeuz dist que ce ne seroit mie bon, car il avoient esprouvé assez de foiees, et n'avoit mie grammant, que li Sarrazin ne tenoient miene trives ne convenances aus Crestienz si bien comme il devoient, ainz I mesprenoient assez de foiz; et se il se combatoient oveques les Sarrazins encontre les Tartarinz et li Tartarin estoient desconfist et vaincu, et li Crestien, qui ne seroient mie mort en la bataille, seroient tuit las et il et leur chevaux, se cele tres grant planté de Sarrazins leur coroit sus legierement, seroient tuit les Crestien, qui demouré estoient en la bataille, ou mort ou priz. En ceste maniere seroit toute la terre que li Crestien tienment toute pardue*; J. Shirley (trans.), *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century, The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*, Aldershot 1999, pp. 118–119; P. Hilsch, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden im südlichen Libanon*, Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina Vereins 96 (1980), p. 187 (henceforth ZDPV); J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London 1973, p. 203; P. Jackson, *The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260*, English Historical Review 95 (1980), pp. 502–503 (henceforth EHR).

<sup>7</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, hrsg. v. E. Strehlke, Berlin 1869; repr. Toronto and Jerusalem 1975, No. 108 (1257) pp. 88–89, No. 109 (1257) p. 89, No. 110 (1257) p. 89: ... *ma forteresse, la quele est apelee Cave de Tyron, et totes ses raisons, que je et mes beirs avons et avoir devons en cele desus dite cave*.

<sup>8</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 109 (1257) p. 89. No. 111, pp. 90–91 mentions villages and other land owned by the Nobleman Jean of the Shouf. The sale of the land of Nobleman Andre of the

locations in the Latin East, such as Casal Imbert in Galilee and also Sarvantikar in Armenia.<sup>9</sup>

Anno's presence in the Holy Land had influenced the Teutonic Order's standing vis-à-vis the older Military Orders. He had signed in 1258, an agreement of co-operation with the Masters of the other Military Orders. It stipulated the conditions for mutual assistance at times of conflicts in the Latin East. Also, when a Master was to leave the Holy Land he had to inform the other Orders' headquarters of his plans, so that they could support his Order's brethren during his absence. This agreement strengthened the co-operation and enhanced unity among the Military Orders in the Latin East at times of crises and uncertainty.<sup>10</sup>

Inspired by this agreement, the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land had determined that the Grand Master could only leave headquarters under approval of the general assembly of the Order's representatives. Moreover, the Master had to reveal his purpose and motives for such a proposed journey and absence.<sup>11</sup> It stands to reason that the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land had thought that the Master's presence in this highly sensitive and potentially unstable region was an asset.

There is ample evidence that indicates an increase in standing of the Teutonic Order and its activities in the Latin East during this period. In 1262 the Teutonic Grand Commander Hartmann von Heldringen is documented to have been the

Shouf is also mentioned (e.g., Gezin and Be'lhum). See also Document No. 115, pp. 97–98; J. L. La Monte, *The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Byzantion 17 (1944–1945), pp. 205–209; Anno von Sangerhausen's involvement in the Latin East policy is different from the early stages of the Teutonic organization in the Crusader Kingdom in the beginning of the thirteenth century, see also: J. Burgtorf, *Leadership Structures in the orders of the Hospital and the Temple (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Century)*, *Select Aspects*, in: *The Crusades and the Military Orders Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Z. Hunyadi a. J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, p. 383.

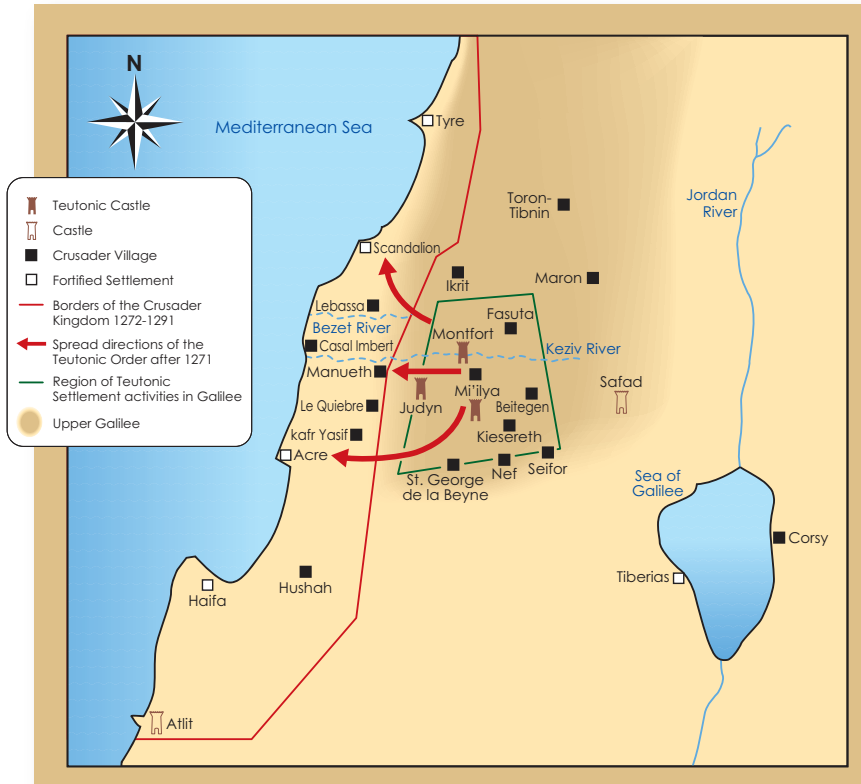
<sup>9</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 108 (1257) p. 88: *Julien, Seigneur de Saiete et de Beaufort. conferme a frere Anne honorable maistre de l'hospital de nostre dame des Alemans en Jerusalem ... toute ma terre dou Souf.*; No. 110 (1257) pp. 89–90, No. 111 (1257) pp. 90–91, No. 113 (1257) p. 95: *..fratri Annoni magistro et conventui domus hospitalis sancta Marie Theotonicorum in Accon.*; No. 117 (1261) pp. 103–104, No. 118 (1261) pp. 104–106; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani 1097–1291*, hrsg. v. R. Röhrich, Innsbruck 1893 (henceforth RRH), No. 1379 (1271): *Constantinus, dominus de Sarvantikar, cum Johanne, magistro fratrum Theutonicorum, de aedificatione domus et quibusdam vectigalibus convenit...*

<sup>10</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 116 (1258) pp. 101–102: *Si vero contingat, quod aliquis nostrum absentet se de partibus cismarinis vel regno Ierosolimitano, se absentans ante suum recessum roget aliarum domorum magistros ...*; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)* 2, Paris 1897, No. 2902 (1258), 859–863.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach seinen ältesten Handschriften*, hrsg. v. M. Perlach, Halle 1890, *Gewohnheiten* No. 12, pp. 99–100: *Quod magistro non liceat transfretare*, pp. 134–135.



Map of the Teutonic Order Spread and Settlement in Galilee



arbitrator in a dispute between the Templars and the Hospitallers about the use of water for their mills in Ricordane (Doc) near the Na'aman stream south of Acre. The Teutonic leader was entrusted with the attempt to resolve the conflict between the other two Military Orders so as to prevent deterioration in their relationship in the Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1260s, Mamluk power was increasing, with their conquest of large parts of the Crusader Kingdom around Jaffa and Caesarea. The Teutonic Knights

<sup>12</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 123 (1262) p. 114: *Hartmannus de Helderungen, magnus commendator domus s. Mariae Theutonicorum in regno Ierusalem et locum tenens magistri, caeteri arbitri dirimunt litem inter Templarios et Hospitalarios super molendinis de Doc et de Ricordane*; I. Shaked, *Identifying the Medieval Flour Mills at Doc and Recordane*, *Cathedra* 98 (2000), pp. 63–66 (in Hebrew).

had continued, nevertheless, to hold most of their positions in the north of the Kingdom, maintaining their political and economic strength in that region.<sup>13</sup>

The Order used its main estate in the upper Galilee, the fief of Joscelyn de Courtenay, as a bridgehead for expanding in the northern part of Galilee, the sea shore and the region south of Tyre. The purchase of land and rural settlements adjacent to the Joscelyn Fief had enlarged their propriety in the upper Galilee and formed an unbroken stretch of Teutonic land.<sup>14</sup> An indication of this advance in the Teutonic policy can be seen in the purchase, in 1230, of casal Kiesereth and gastina Mahus from the Abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat.<sup>15</sup>

In 1249, the Teutonic Order expanded further in the Galilee, with the purchasing of fiefs from one of the Crusader noble Jean l'Aleman, Lord of Caesarea and heir of de the Milly Fief in Galilee. These lands were located in the Beit Ha-kerem Valley, south of the Joscelyn Fief and close to the village of Saint George de la Beyne. Other villages in that area are also mentioned in the 1249 document. They include Beitegen, Seifor, Nef, Mergecolon and Gelon. This drive had enlarged Teutonic holdings in upper Galilee and reinforced their position.<sup>16</sup> The 1249 acquisition drive had been initiated by Grand Commander Eberhard von Sayn. He had left the Holy Land in 1250 on assignment to Prussia and Livonia. There he became one of the most important leaders of the Teutonic Order, enhancing its military power and administration in the Baltic region.<sup>17</sup> (see: Map of the Teutonic Order Spread and Settlement in Galilee)

<sup>13</sup> P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt, Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, London 1987, pp. 158–161, 187–188; A. Forey, *The Military Orders, From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto 1992, p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> H. E. Mayer, *Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), hrsg. v. J. Fleckenstein u. M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 189–190, 192–194; *ibid.*, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford 1988, p. 279; R. Frankel, *Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusader Period*, *Israel Exploration Journal* 38.4 (1988), pp. 260–263; Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg* (as n. 3), pp. 307–315.

<sup>15</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 73 (1230) pp. 57–58, No. 74 (1230) pp. 58–60; E. F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte, Provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, Paris 1880, p. 97; R. Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee, Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*, Jerusalem 2001, pp. 25–26.

<sup>16</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 100 (1249) pp. 78–81; J. L. La Monte, *The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusaders*, *Speculum* 22.2 (1947), p. 158; *Lignages d'Outremer, Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades XVIII*, éd. M.-A. Nielen, Paris 2003, p. 69; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 167–168; A. J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, London 2006, pp. 91–92.

<sup>17</sup> *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. M. Biskup u. J. Janosz-Biskupowa, QSGDO 50, Marburg 2002, No. 2 (1251–1252), pp. 3–5; *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*,

The status of the Teutonic Order and its control over Muslim villages in the upper Galilee can well be seen in a chapter from the Templar Order rule. Dealing with punishment, it relates that a Templar Knight named Esteven had left the Templar castle in Safad (constructed in 1240) for Acre without permission. He had lodged, on his way in a Teutonic Order village inhabited by Muslims. The Templar was subject to punishment not because he had left the castle without permission, but for his reckless self-endangerment induced by lodging in a Muslim environment (perhaps a village in the Beit ha-kerem valley located on the way from Safad to Acre).<sup>18</sup> This account suggests that the Teutonic Knights had governed parts of the eastern Galilee that included villages, lands and other properties. It should be noted, however, that they did not change the make-up of the mostly Muslim population.<sup>19</sup>

The presence and involvement of the Teutonic Order in the Galilee region can also be seen after the fall of the Templar castle in Safad to the Mamluk Sultan Baibars. The Teutonic Knights had joined forces with the other military Orders and the Crusader army in a raid towards Tiberias. The Christians were caught in an ambush of the Mamluk troops and Muslim villagers. Over 500 Christian soldiers were killed in this incident with just a few that were spared. They have also lost their arms, equipment and even cloths.<sup>20</sup> This episode demonstrates the Teutonic presence and involvement in the region, which had lasted until the fall of their headquarters, Montfort Castle (Starkenberg) in 1271.<sup>21</sup>

After the fall of the Christian strongholds in the upper Galilee a new policy seem to have been developed within the Teutonic Order. The Order had put stron-

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trans. J. C. Smith a. W. Urban, Bloomington 2006, No. 3577 pp. 48–49, No. 3609 p. 49; N. E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291*, pp. 119–120, 163.

<sup>18</sup> J. M. Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars, a critical edition and English translation from Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona 'Cartas reales' ms. 3344*, Woodbridge 2003, p. 68. The area where the Teutonic village might be identified is in the Beit Hakerem Valley. There, on the Safad Acre Road, were several Teutonic controlled villages, such as Seifor, Mergel-colon and Nef. See also Y. Friedman a. A. Peled, *The Map of Roads in Galilee in the Middle Ages*, in: *Hikrei Eretz, Studies in the History of the land of Israel, Dedicated to Prof. Yehuda Feliks*, eds. Y. Friedman, Z. Safrai a. J. Schwartz, Ramat Gan 1997, pp. 334–335 (in Hebrew).

<sup>19</sup> B. Z. Kedar, *The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant*, in: *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J. M. Powell, Princeton 1990, pp. 172–174; J. Riley-Smith, *Some lesser officials in Latin Syria*, *EHR* 87 (1972), pp. 1–26.

<sup>20</sup> *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* (1243–1314), *La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. L. Minervini, Naples 2000, No. 349, p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Furat, *Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk, Ayyubids, Mameluks and Crusades*, eds. and trans. U. a. M. C. Lyons, with an introduction by J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 2 vol., Cambridge 1971, pp. 106–112 (1271); *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in: *RHC Occ. II* (as n. 5), Paris 1859, p. 460.

ger emphasis on reinforcement of their strength and began to adapt its organisation and institutions to the new reality that emerged in the Latin East. This shift can be marked by the acquisition of the Scandalion Fief (Iskandarun). In 1263, the Order leadership gave a loan to the noble family of Scandalion, William Amigdala and Agnes of Scandalion to settle their debts. The nobles had to pay the Order's institutions an annual sum of 400 besants. These situations occurred as Crusader nobility had lost revenues from taxes on their lands, which impoverished them to the point of selling their properties. The buyers were mostly the well organised and wealthy Military Orders. The Teutonic leadership saw here an opportunity to enlarge their land property in the northern part of the Latin Kingdom, near their headquarters in Acre. By 1272, with the conquest of the Kingdom's eastern part, the financial position of the noble families had worsened. In 1274 Agnes had to sell her estate to the Teutonic Treasurer Johan von Saxonia who bought it for mere 2000 besants.<sup>22</sup>

It is interesting to note the participation and involvement of locals in the activities of the Teutonic headquarters in Acre. All this strength the status and the abilities, marked the involvement of the Teutonic Order in the Crusader Kingdom. The documentation pertaining to the acquisition of the Scandalion Fief mention such locals, as the Arab Scribe Brahim, the Jew Helya who lent Agnes money and local Christians inhabitants like Gregorius the scribe and Simon de Castro Regis (Castellum Regis – Mi'ilya).<sup>23</sup>

The series of acquisitions by the Teutonic Order may suggest that like in their behavioural pattern as observed in Prussia, this might have been part of an attempt to set a separate independence entity within the northern part of the Crusader Kingdom. Such a domain would have first been in the Lebanon Mountains in the 1260s and would then, after the Mongol conquest of the Shouf Mountains, spread to include also the estates of the Scandalion Fief. Such an assumption would have further been supported by the amount of money allocated by the Teutonic Order for these acquisitions and it would have even further supported by the Teutonic active participation in the local Frankish affairs.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> M-L. Favreau, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Scandalion (Iskanderūne)*, ZDPV 93 (1977), pp. 15–19, 21; Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 125 (1263) pp. 115–116; RRH (as n. 9), No. 1399 (1274); H. Houben, *Guido von Amigdala/Amendolea. Ein Italo-Palästinenser als landkomtur des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelmeerraum (1289–1311)*, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 88 (2008), pp. 155–157.

<sup>23</sup> 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*, eds. A. Giuffrida, H. Houben a. K. Toomaspoeg, Galatina 2007, pp. 71–74.

<sup>24</sup> M-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Vorstellung und Realität. Die Ritter-Orden in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, in: *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Ritterorden, Die Rezeption der Idee, und die Wirklichkeit*,

However, there is no evidence to support the possibility that the Teutonic Order had an ambition to establish its own entity in the northern part of the Crusader Kingdom. Moreover, the sources from this period strongly suggest that the Teutonic Order would be unable – even if such an aspiration had existed – to establish its own entity in this area. Certainly so in view of the fact that the territory in the proximity of Acre and Tyre had been the very heart of the Frankish Kingdom close to Acre and Tyre. As such, it was under a close supervision of the Crusader leadership and Church authority, as well as a central interest of the other Military Orders. In the Crusader reality of second half of the thirteenth century it would have been entirely impossible even to establishing a separate entity by the Teutonic Order, however dominant it might have been.

In 1283, new period began in the remnant of the Crusader Kingdom. A cease-fire treaty was signed between the representatives of the Crusaders and the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn. One of the signatories was the Teutonic Deputy Grand Master, Brother Conrad from the German Hospital.<sup>25</sup> Holt had suggested that it was Conrad von Feuchtwangen, who had served during this period at the Teutonic headquarters in several positions.<sup>26</sup> However, it appears that Conrad von Feuchtwangen was appointed in 1282 as the commander (Landkomtur) of Franken in Germany, ceasing his duties in the Teutonic leadership posted in the Holy Land.<sup>27</sup>

As a result of the treaty, the Crusaders were left with some land, which included parts of the western Galilee and the sea shore, the Acre valley, Sidon, Athlit and Scandalion. Some of these locations had become part of the Teutonic Order's territory. These included the villages of Missop and Lebassa in the Bezet region and Le Quiebre and Le Fierge in the Keziv region, a centre of sugar cane industry in western Galilee.<sup>28</sup> The villages Jashon, Amqa, kalil, Busenen, Kafr Yasif and

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(Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica 11), hrsg. v. Z. H. Nowak, Toruń 2001, pp. 14, 17.

<sup>25</sup> E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi*, vol. 2.1, Paris 1842, pp. 179–180.

<sup>26</sup> P. M. Holt, *Qalāwūn's Treaty with Acre in 1283*, EHR 91 (1976), p. 805; For Conrad's service in the Teutonic leadership see also: U. Arnold, *Konrad von Feuchtwangen*, Preußenland 13 (1975), pp. 5–9; M. Biskup u. G. Labuda, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Staat und Ideologie*, Osnabrück 2000, p. 178.

<sup>27</sup> U. Niess, *Konrad von Feuchtwangen*, in: *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*, QSGDO 40, hrsg. v. U. Arnold, Marburg 1998, pp. 41–42.

<sup>28</sup> Strehlke (as n. 7), No. 53 (1220) pp. 43–44, No. 87 (1239) p. 69; J. Richard, *Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States*, in: *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5, eds. N. P. Zacour a. H. W. Hazard, Madison 1985, p. 259; A. Peled, *Sugar in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Crusader Technology between East and West*, Jerusalem 2009, pp. 131–135 (in Hebrew).

Hushah, on the agriculturally rich slopes of the Galilee Mountains had also been within their control.<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that his list seems to be more complete than any other source referring to the situation in the last decade of the Crusader Kingdom. In terms of viability and power, it seems that the Teutonic Order had come out of the treaty in a fairly strong position.<sup>30</sup> (see: Map of the Teutonic Order Spread and Settlement in Galilee)

Dan Barag had examined these lists and compared them to other documents from the late Crusader period, such as that of the first treaty with the Mamluks in 1272. He concluded that between 1272 and 1283 the Crusaders increased their rural activity in western Galilee and their involvement in that region. This may have been related to flight of Christian population from the Mamluk conquest of the upper Galilee. Most of the refugees had re-settled in the western Galilee villages that were, at least partly, under Teutonic protection.<sup>31</sup> Evidence is offered by a raid carried out in 1267 in the Montfort area, when the Crusaders attacked several Muslim villages in the upper Galilee. The Teutonic headquarters seem to have remained isolated in a Muslim region which is reinforced by the fact that there was no mention of any Christian village in the upper Galilee in connection with this raid.<sup>32</sup>

The sources and military events suggest that the Teutonic Order and its leadership tried to establish a safe military and political environment in the northern part of the Frankish Kingdom, in Galilee. It had strengthened its influence and rural positions in the narrow territory that remained under Crusader authority (the region of Acre and Scandalion) after the defeat it suffered from Mamluk forces. Despite losing their main position in the Montfort and in the region of Mi'ilya in the upper Galilee, the Order had attempted to adjust to the new political situation (see: Map of the Teutonic Order Spread and Settlement in Galilee). Moreover, it had continued to secure the Crusader Kingdom. The Knights had invested financial resources and extended military aid to preserve and defend the Crusader Kingdom until its final collapse in 1291.

<sup>29</sup> P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290), Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*, Leiden 1995, pp. 71–73, 78–80; G. Beyer, *Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galiläa*, ZDPV 67 (1944–1945), pp. 187–194, 203–208.

<sup>30</sup> M-L. Favreau-Lilie, *L'Ordine Teutonico in Terrasanta (1198–1291)*, in: *Teutonico nel Mediterraneo, Atti del Convegno internazionale studio Torre Alemanna*, (Cerignola)–Mesagne–Lecce 16–18 ottobre 2003 (Acta Theutonica, 1), ed. H. Houben, Galatina 2004, p. 68.

<sup>31</sup> D. Barag, *A New Source Concerning the Ultimate Borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Israel Exploration Journal 29.3–4 (1979), pp. 200–207, 212; P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden 1995, pp. 73–74, 77.

<sup>32</sup> *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* (as n. 20), No. 351, p. 114; Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt* (as n. 13), p. 173.