

QUELLEN UND STUDIEN
ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS



AKKON – VENEDIG – MARIENBURG
MOBILITÄT UND IMMOBILITÄT
IM DEUTSCHEN ORDEN



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AKKON – VENEDIG – MARIENBURG

MOBILITÄT UND IMMOBILITÄT

IM DEUTSCHEN ORDEN

Vorträge der Tagung
der Internationalen Historischen Kommission
zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens
in Venedig 2018

herausgegeben von
Hubert Houben



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Vorwort

Der Deutsche Orden verfügte wie die Templer und Johanniter über Besitzungen und Stützpunkte zwischen dem Mittelmeerraum und dem nördlichen Europa. In diesem Netzwerk spielte Venedig im 13. Jahrhundert als Knotenpunkt der Mobilität zwischen Nord und Süd eine wichtige Rolle. Nach der Vertreibung der christlichen Ritterorden aus dem Heiligen Land (1291) verlegte der Deutsche Orden seinen Hauptsitz von Akkon nach Venedig, anders als die Templer und Johanniter, die damals in Zypern ihre neue Zentrale errichteten. Dies lag daran, dass der Deutsche Orden auf dem Wege war, in Preußen eine eigene Landesherrschaft aufzubauen und dass es spätestens seit den achtziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts innerhalb des Ordens eine „preußische Partei“ gab, die eine Verlegung der Ordenszentrale nach Preußen wünschte, während eine „mediterrane Partei“ an einem Hochmeistersitz im Mittelmeerraum festhalten wollte.

Die Wahl Venedigs war wahrscheinlich ein Kompromiss zwischen diesen beiden Parteien und von vorneherein nur eine Übergangslösung, denn die kleine venezianische Niederlassung des Ordens in einer Stadt, die eine strenge Kontrolle über alle in ihrem Gebiet errichteten geistlichen Institutionen ausübte, konnte als Ordenszentrale keine Zukunft haben. Daher verwundert es nicht, dass das venezianische Intermezzo als Hochmeistersitz in der Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, zwischen Palästina und Preußen, nur achtzehn Jahre dauerte.

Der Orden besaß in Venedig erst seit 1258 ein Ordenshaus auf der Isola della dogana (Zollinsel), das er dem Dogen Reniero Zeno verdankte. Dieser honorierte damit die Unterstützung der Deutschordensritter in Akkon im dort zwischen Venezianern und Genuesen ausgebrochenen sog. Krieg von St. Sabas. Das vom Dogen erbaute *monasterium* lag an der Stelle der heutigen Basilika Santa Maria della Salute in Blickweite zum Dogenpalast auf dem Markusplatz. Auch nach der 1309 erfolgten Verlegung des Hochmeistersitzes von Venedig nach Marienburg und der Konzentration der Ordensinteressen auf das Baltikum unterhielt der Deutsche Orden bis 1512 in der Lagunenstadt eine kleine Niederlassung.

Nach der Verlegung des Ordenszentrums nach Preußen und den vergeblichen Versuchen der Ritterorden, wieder im Heiligen Land Fuß zu fassen, verloren die Mittelmeerballeien langsam aber sicher an Bedeutung. Venedig blieb lediglich eine Station für Ordensbrüder auf Reisen vom Norden in den Süden und umgekehrt, etwa bei Visitationen.

Das Thema „Mobilität und Immobilität im Deutschen Orden“ bot sich also für eine Tagung in der Stadt am Rialto, Brücke nicht nur zwischen Nord und Süd, sondern auch zwischen Okzident und Orient, geradezu an. Mobilität ist bei einem Orden, dessen Niederlassungen vom Nahen Osten bis zum Baltikum reichten, ein zentrales und vielschichtiges Phänomen. Es ging sowohl um personelle sowie materielle und geistig-kulturelle Mobilität bzw. Immobilität als auch um interne horizontale und vertikale Mobilität im Orden.¹ Die im Heiligen Land und in den Mittelmeerballeien Apulien, Sizilien, Armenien (Kilikien), Griechenland, Zypern, Spanien, Norditalien und Südfrankreich tätigen Ordensbrüder kamen, ebenso wie die in Preußen und Baltikum präsenten, mit wenigen Ausnahmen aus dem deutschen Sprachraum nördlich der Alpen.

Die Tagung war interdisziplinär und international konzipiert, so wie es bei einer Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens zu erwarten war, welche zum Zeitpunkt der Tagung (am 8.–10. Oktober 2018) aus 42 Mitgliedern aus 15 Ländern bestand (heute sind es 54 aus 17 Ländern).

Das Konzept der Tagung geht auf Gespräche zurück, die ich 2015 und 2016 mit dem damaligen Direktor des Deutschen Studienzentrums Venedig (DSZV), Romeo Schmitz-Esser, im Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza (am Canal Grande) führen konnte. Nachdem dieser am 1. Januar 2017 eine Professur an der Universität Graz angetreten hatte, erklärte sich seine Nachfolgerin Martina Liebermann freundlicherweise bereit, die von ihrem Vorgänger eingeleitete Kooperation des DSZV mit der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens fortzusetzen und die Durchführung der Tagung in den Räumen des Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza zu gestatten. Dafür sei beiden an dieser Stelle gedankt.

Am Abend des ersten Tags der Tagung fand im DSZV auch ein für ein breiteres Publikum bestimmter öffentlicher Vortrag über die Präsenz des Deutschen Ordens in Venedig in italienischer Sprache statt, mit anschließendem Empfang auf der wunderbaren Terasse am Canal Grande, der der Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza seinen Namen verdankt. Die Vorträge des zweiten Tags der Tagung fanden im an der Accademia-Brücke gelegenen Palazzo Franchetti des Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti statt, dessen Präsident Gherardo Ortalli für seine Gastfreundschaft gedankt sei.

Der vorliegende Band enthält zusätzlich zu den vierzehn der insgesamt fünfzehn gehaltenen Vorträge auch zwei kleinere kunsthistorische Beiträge, die mit der Präsenz des Deutschen Ordens in Venedig in Zusammenhang stehen.

Lecce, den 12. Juli 2021
Hubert Houben

1 Zu verschiedenen Aspekten dieses Themas sei exemplarisch verwiesen auf: *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business*, hg. v. Jochen Burgdorf und Helen Nicholson, Tuscaloosa 2006.

Acre - Gateway to the Holy Land and Teutonic Possessions in the Latin East

by
Adrian J. Boas

After the crusader army successfully recovered Acre on 12 July 1191, King Guy of Jerusalem, on 10 February 1192, in fulfilment of an earlier promise, granted property inside the city walls near its eastern fortifications to the Teutonic Knights in order to build there a permanent hospital.¹ The origins of this grant date prior to the conquest. During the siege by the armies of the Third Crusade, German crusaders from the cities of Bremen and Lübeck took on an important role. They were remnants of the great Imperial German army under Frederick Barbarossa, most of which had come overland and had disbanded after the emperor's death in Asia Minor in the summer of 1190. But the crusaders from these two cities travelled separately by ship arriving at Acre in September 1189. According to the earliest Teutonic chronicle, *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici* (c. 1252–64), they set up a field hospital near the cemetery of St Nicholas, east of the city, using the sail of their cog to make a tent in which they attended to the injured and infirm. When Frederick, duke of Swabia arrived in October 1190, as the German crusaders wished to return home, they handed over the hospital to the duke's chaplain, Conrad and his chamberlain, Burchard and the new German hospital was thereby established.² In recognition of the Germans' efforts in caring for the injured and ill, King Guy and Queen Sibylla, in advance of the expected conquest of the city, granted them "a house in Acre in which to establish a hospital" and had located the site as "that

- 1 Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, ed. Ernst Strehlke, Berlin 1869 (repr. with introduction by Hans Eberhard Mayer, Toronto 1975), pp. 23–24, no. 27; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, Innsbruck 1893, no. 701; Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, (MGH Diplomata regum latinorum hierosolymitanorum), ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, 4 vol., Hannover 2010, no. 488, p. 835.
- 2 *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*, in: Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens, ed. Max Perlbach, Halle a. S. 1890, p.159. For the date of the *Narratio* see Udo Arnold, Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung, in: Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden, ed. Bernhart Jähniq, Arno Mentzel-Reuters, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 177–195.

house in which the Armenians and the patrons were accustomed to lodge” or, if that was not possible, a piece of adjacent land on which to build the hospital.³ The hospital was to be within the city walls but in nearest proximity to the field hospital. No doubt this peripheral location had been chosen for them primarily for its having been in a less densely populated area where there were available properties, whereas there were many Frankish claimants to buildings and plots further within the city. After the recovery of Acre on 12 July 1191, many previous property owners contested those who had taken over properties they had held prior to 1187 whereas there remained open lands near the fortification walls which were under less demand from returning owners and more easily handed over to a new foundation.

The Germans established themselves as a hospitaller order, continuing their involvement in providing medical care, lodging and food for German-speaking pilgrims, merchants, and other travellers. However, in 1198 they decided to go a step further and to follow the Hospitallers of St John and the Templars by taking on a rule and become a fully-fledged military order; a logical step considering that the founding members of the German hospital were indeed knights. Possibly they had already taken steps in this direction. Already in 1193/94, the German hospital received a section of the city walls, probably adjacent to their house, which they were required to “repair and improve”,⁴ though whether this included the role of defending it is not at all clear. In converting into a military order, the Germans came face to face with opposition from both of the established orders who regarded the newcomer as a rival for political influence, property, and endowments. Gifts and grants from German nobles that might formerly have been given to the older orders were now likely to be given to the German order. Wealthy nobles buried in the German cemetery would be likely to bequeath their possessions to that order rather than to one of the older military orders that had been accustomed to receiving the bulk of such endowments. For the Hospital of St John, the precedent for their position vis-à-vis the German hospital had been established the previous century. In a papal ruling of 1143 Pope Celestine II had decided that, on condition that the prior and the brothers of the earlier German hospital in Jerusalem should always be Germans or speak German, the hospital of *Sancta Maria Alemannorum* would be under control

3 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), p. 22, no. 25; Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 696; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), p. 824, no. 482 (preserved only in a copy from c. 1243/44, adulterated with the interpolation of a phrase related to the construction of the hospital by a certain *Sibrandus* during the siege of Acre (*Hoc autem donamus et concedimus per manum magistri Sibrandi, qui hoc hospitale incepit et edificavit in obsidione Accon*) and of the addition of the last two words (*medio septembris*). These interpolations, according to Mayer pp. 822–823, should be seen as an attempt, through the naming of a master-founder, to reject the Hospitallers’ request to take control of the German Hospital, considering it the successor to the old German Hospital in Jerusalem, which had been subordinated to the Hospitallers as a priory.

4 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), pp. 24–25, no. 28; Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 716; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), pp. 951–952, no. 575.

of the order of St John. The Hospitallers felt that this status quo should be maintained. Their antagonism towards the Germans was perhaps the new order's own doing, in its having adopted the earlier institution's name. As for the Templars, the new military order had based its rule and costume on theirs, and it was unthinkable in their eyes that this upstart organisation could be placed on equal footing with them. They consequently made demands and set conditions. Nonetheless, the Germans forged ahead, establishing in their compound the various institutions required for them to function as a military order. Regarding their rule, it was based on that of both the older orders. According to the *Narratio*, the German crusaders met in the Templar house and there it was decided that they should follow the Hospitaller rule with regard to care for the sick and poor and the Templar rule in all other matters.⁵

The plot of the German hospital in Acre was described in a document issued by Guy on 10 February 1192, as being "situated between two staircases leading to a gate tower in the city wall, as far as a public street that extends to the Gate of St Nicholas and belongs to the German hospital, and then as far as a *platea* (square) and *curia* and from the *platea* back to the city wall and back along it as far as the stairs."⁶ [Fig. 1] On this land the order built a smaller version of the type of compound that was possessed by the Hospitallers, presumably with an administrative building, a church, hospice, tower, infirmary or hospital, and possibly a cemetery, although the latter was located outside the city walls. The Street of the Armenian Hospital (*strata hospitalis Armeniorum*) appears in the document as one of the borders of the German holdings. The lack of any further reference to the Armenian hospital after 1192 suggests that, as in Guy and Sibylla's pre-conquest grant of 1190, it had indeed come into German hands. The Germans apparently also came to possess a property formerly granted to the English order of St. Thomas on the northern side of the street leading to the Gate of St. Nicholas, directly next to, or very close to the Armenian house. Unlike the Armenians, at this time the English brothers retained their holdings beside the German hospital. Only when they too reorganised as a military order in 1227/28 did they relocate their house to a site beside the sea in the north-western part of Montmusard, the northern *burgus novus* of Acre. This move was probably partly motivated by the expansion and consolidation of the Germans over much of the peripheral eastern part of the old city, a process which continued through the thirteenth century.

5 *Narratio de primordiis* (as note 2), p. 160.

6 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), pp. 23–24, no. 27; Röhrlich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 701; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), pp. 835, no. 488: *a duobus gradibus turris perforate, ita quod gradus remaneant extra clausuram vestram a parte turris, prout divisa est inter vos et fratres sancti Thome, usque in stratum publicam, que extenditur ad portam sancti Nicholai, abinde siquidem ad plateam et curiam, sicut strata est hospitalis Armeniorum, a platea equidem illa usque ad murum civitatis, et exinde, prout murus adiacet terre, usque ad predictos gradus.*

The Germans acquired several properties in the city including, according to grants dating to 1193/94, a barbican with towers, walls and a ditch, and a vault built against the city wall next to the Gate of St. Nicholas.⁷ A prior of the German church is recorded in 1194 establishing the existence of the church of St. Mary of the Germans by that date.⁸ The church was burnt down by the Templars during internecine disturbances in 1242.⁹ The Germans possessed a tower over the Gate of St. Nicholas and a second German tower appears on the fourteenth century maps of Pietro Vesconte and Paolino Veneto as the *turris Alemanorum* further to the west. This was the famed tower that the Templar of Tyre referred to as a “most noble tower which was as large and as lovely as that of the Temple”.¹⁰ Other properties were received as grants or purchased both within and outside the city walls. In August 1217 the brothers were granted the abovementioned barbican or open space between the two city walls extending from the Barbican of the Seneschal to the Barbican of Geoffrey le Tor far to the south where the wall reached the bay.¹¹ From Emperor Frederick II in 1229 they received the right to construct buildings within their barbican.¹² In 1257 they obtained from the abbey of St. Mary of Mount Zion houses near their hospital,¹³ and in 1273 they purchased a large property south of the citadel on the old northern wall, perhaps close to the Garden of San Romano, and well as houses in the garden in the north-east, in the suburb of Montmusard and additional houses the following year.¹⁴ Some of these properties may have been required to house the displaced garrison of the Teutonic fortress of Montfort, which had fallen to the Mamluks in 1271. Outside the city the order held mills and their cemetery. In the latter the duke of Swabia was buried in January 1191.

Along with the rest of Acre all the German properties in the city were destroyed by dismantling and conflagration in 1291. The Mamluks under Al-Ashraf Khalil broke into the city in the vicinity of the German quarter. Probably much damage had already been done during the final siege to these buildings close to the fortifications. In any case, after taking the city the Mamluks carried out their standard “scorched-earth” policy, which left the city entirely in ruins. The outskirts near the walls probably suffered the most. A panorama of Akko drawn during a French re-

7 As above note 4.

8 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), p. 25, no. 28; Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 710; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), pp. 948–949, no. 573.

9 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*, London 1967, p. 179.

10 Paul Crawford, trans., *The Templar of Tyre. Part III of the Deeds of the Cypriots*, Aldershot–Burlington 2003, p. 115.

11 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), p. 41, no. 50; Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 899; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), p. 1033, no. 633.

12 Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 1009; Mayer, *Urkunden* (as note 1), pp. 1145–1146, no. 675.

13 Strehlke, *Tabulae* (as note 1), pp. 95–96, no. 113; Röhrich, *Regesta* (as note 1), no. 1262.

14 For a list of these properties see Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 132–133.

connaissance mission in 1686 conveys an idea of the degree of this destruction. [Fig. 2] On it we can observe sections of walls, arches, and vaults, but nothing intact in the area close to the city walls. It may be possible to identify on a panorama, remnants of the German buildings. Several ruins can be seen extending across the southern side of the city towards the east. All of these ruins would later be levelled when the Turks built their new walls in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

As a result of the thoroughness of the Mamluk and later Ottoman dismantling, the exact whereabouts of the German buildings in Acre remained unknown until 1999. In the summer of that year an excavation was carried out a few hundred metres outside the eastern Turkish fortifications of the Old City. This was a joint project of the University of Haifa and the Deutscher Orden with German and Israeli volunteers and directed jointly by the author and Georg Philipp Melloni, the representative of the order in Israel who headed their recently opened office in Akko. The aim was to discover, and expose remains of the original hospital. At that time, what was known of the German hospital was solely what could be gleaned from the few historical sources and medieval maps that told us little other than that the property of the order had been located adjacent to the eastern city wall. The chief difficulty facing the excavators was that not only the German hospital, but indeed the entire city and the fortifications had been systematically dismantled in the wake of the Mamluk conquest in 1291. More than that, in order to prevent its use by potential attackers wishing to approach the new walls unobserved, the remaining ruins in the area outside the Ottoman fortifications had been entirely levelled in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries so that nothing stood above ground, and the area had been largely built over in the twentieth century with modern housing and industrial complexes. This had left historians and archaeologists in the dark with regard to the position of the thirteenth century city walls and consequently, the location of the hospital itself.¹⁵

However, a timely article was published by Benjamin Kedar in 1997, titled “The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre” in which he persuasively established the position of the lost walls on the basis of textual and pictorial evidence (including medieval and post-medieval maps and aerial photographs) as well as archaeological finds.¹⁶ In this paper he confirmed that the area where the hospital had been located was well to the east of the existing Turkish walls. He also identified the probable actual line of the

15 Adrian J. Boas, Georg Philipp Melloni, New Evidence for Identifying the Site of the Teutonic Compound in Acre, in: *Acre and Its Falls. Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (History of Warfare 116), Leiden 2018, pp. 69–89.

16 Benjamin Z. Kedar, The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre, in: *‘Atiqot 31, 1997 [= ‘Akko (Acre): Excavation Reports and Historical Studies]*, pp. 157–180. See also David Jacoby, *Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Akko*, in: *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzeit*, ed. Mathias Piana, Petersberg 2008, pp. 242–252.

Frankish defences. As nothing survived above ground, for many years, scholars had debated about the position of the thirteenth century city walls, producing extremely different proposals. Kedar's paper enabled us to establish an approximate idea of where the hospital might be. In deciding the best location to examine we took into consideration earlier archaeological work in the vicinity. In the 1960s and 1970s remains of two monumental medieval structures were exposed, one, excavated by Ze'ev Goldmann in 1961 was describes as "the corner of a monumental building ... [consisting of] three courses of ashlars, each of which measured half a metre high ... dressed and incised with fine masons' marks ... [and] clearly of crusader date."¹⁷ In 1974 a second building was excavated by Moshe Dothan, also a monumental structure, with a porch on the south with marble facings.¹⁸ It had been destroyed in a conflagration. Goldmann suggested that one of these buildings could have been the headquarters of the German knights. In 1999 we examined possible locations in the vicinity of these earlier discoveries and were able to suggest a few scattered areas as potentially worth examination. In two excavation seasons that followed, in 1999 and 2000, the expedition carried out several probes between paved areas, apartment buildings, two cemeteries an abandoned bakery and a still-functioning factory. The excavations revealed parts of a group of extremely fragmentary structures that had, in few instances, survived more than a couple of courses of stonework, but were clearly the remains of monumental buildings of the Gothic style. [Fig. 3] They had been thoroughly destroyed by dismantling and conflagration and the evidence clearly pointed to the Mamluk demolition of the city in 1291. The most important discovery was among the ceramic finds. Included among the glazed table-wares discovered in the excavation, were bowls displaying the insignia of the Teutonic Order. [Fig. 4] As a result, we were able to confirm that this was indeed the location of the order's house. Three forms of this insignia exist: the simple "T"-shaped half-cross (*halbes Kreuz*) or Tau, a "T" in a circular shield or letter "O" and a "T" in a triangular shield. All three appear in Teutonic sites in the Latin East as well as in some Teutonic locations in the West and two of them, the latter two, appeared on the vessels found in Acre.¹⁹

17 Ze'ev Goldmann, Unpublished reports in Israel Antiquities Authority File D/1, 24, 26 July and 8 August 1961.

18 Moshe Dothan, Akko, in: Israel Exploration Journal 24, 1974, p. 277; Id., Akko: Interim Excavation Report. First Season, 1973/4", in: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 224, 1976, p. 38, Fig. 40.

19 The Teutonic insignia was recorded in the dispute between the German order and the Templars. When the Hospitallers attempted to seize German property, the Germans turned to the Templars for support. The Templars agreed but as a result, and as an attestation of Templar authority over them, no longer allowed them to use the emblem which they had worn up to that point, an insignia that the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre* refers to as "a circle around a cross". This appears in an addition to the *Tractatus* in the manuscript Munich, Clm [Codex latinus monacensis] 5307. See Benjamin Z. Kedar, The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, in: The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton, ed. John France and

The exposed remains of the German quarter in Acre had to be reburied after the excavations as this was private property, but in 2018 a second, small-scale excavation was carried out by Joppe Gosker of the Israel Antiquities Authorities in an area adjacent to the 1999/2000 excavations exposing additional massive walls and a floor of thirteenth century date, also covered with a burnt layer.²⁰ Through these excavations our knowledge of the location of the quarter was established, but unfortunately, because of the paucity of written records and the degree of post-medieval dismantling and the limitations of the excavations, little is known about the quarter's components and the functions of what was discovered, and considering the built-up nature of the area in which it was located it is unlikely that this will change in the near future. In this regard, the situation of the order's fortresses and some other properties in their possession is somewhat better.

* * *

The earlier, twelfth century German hospital in Jerusalem was located in the south-eastern quarter of the city from the time of its foundation until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, and it was this institution that the brothers of the German military order tied themselves to, by adopting its name in the title of their new foundation, calling themselves the brothers of the Hospital of St Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem (*Ordo fratrum domus hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum in Jerusalem*),

William G. Zajac, Aldershot 1998, pp. 111–113 (notably, Appendix 2, 132) repr. in: Kedari, Franks, Muslims, and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant. Studies for Frontier Acculturation, Aldershot 2006, p. 11. In point of fact the circle around a half-cross (“halbes Kreuz”) or letter “T” later reappeared in Teutonic use, or in the form of a half cross on its own. In archaeological sites its presence can be used to establish the identification of a site as a Teutonic possession. It has been found on stones and on ceramic vessels and at a number of Teutonic sites in the Holy Land, for example at Acre, Castellum Regis, near the village of Tarphile between Castellum Regis and Montfort Castle, at Montfort itself (Rabei G. Khamsiy, The History and Architectural Design of Castellum Regis and Some Other Finds in the Village of Mi'ilya, in: Crusades 12, 2013, pp.13–51, pl. 19), and in thirteenth century Jerusalem, on properties apparently possessed by the order between 1229 and 1244 (Boas-Melloni, as note 15, p. 86, pl. 4.6). It is also found at sites that were Teutonic possessions outside of the Latin East, for example at *Torre Alemanna* in Apulia: Hubert Houben, L'Ordine religioso-militare dei Teutonici a Cerignola, Corneto e Torre Alemanna, in: Kronos, Periodico del Dipartimento Beni Arti Storia Università di Lecce, 2, 2001, pp. 17–44, p. 32; Austacio Busto, Torre Alemanna. Il contributo delle indagini archeologiche, in: L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico. Incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture. Atti del Convegno internazionale Bari-Lecce-Brindisi 14–16 settembre 2006), ed. Hubert Houben, Kristjan Toomaspoeg (Acta Theutonica 5), Galatina 2008, pp. 289–343, p. 328 pl. 36–37; Boas-Melloni, as note 15, pp. 88–89 fig. 4.7–4.8. The “T” in a triangular shield was perhaps in imitation of the Templar emblem - an inverted “T” in a triangle. In the circular form the “O”-“T” perhaps represents the order's name, *Ordo Teutonicus*. It can be seen in a different form in Germany in the Brüder house in Marburg where it appears as two separate letters “T” and “O” representing the order's name in German - *Teutscher Orden*.

20 Joppe Gosker, personal communication.