THE CRUSADER CASTLES OF CYPRUS
AND
THEIR PLACE WITHIN THE CRUSADING HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

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With the confrontation of opponents, cultures and religions, the different spiritual and material possessions of sides end up with a synthesis. Such a unity may be one of the rare benefits of events like wars; while the main objection is to destroy the other. The crusades where the idea was to rescue the Holy Lands not only generated a culture of Levant but also furnished the lands of near east with the art and architecture of the crusading Latin Kingdom. Cyprus, as support and stronghold had been an important and strategic place where the Latins took advantage and granted back with beautiful Gothic churches and strongly built inaccessible castles. The castles, especially the three hilltop castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara on the north probably perfectly reflect the crusading culture and exemplify the architecture which the Latins built in Cyprus.

The crusader castles in Cyprus are certainly the products of a synthesis which combine the war and castle building experiences of the west, which crusaders brought with them

when they came and the east which they faced with in the Holy Lands. In order to comprehend on the castles in Cyprus, subjects like the idea of crusading, the feudal system and knighthood in Europe and Levant are also important to enlighten the context as well as the characteristics and the types of the crusader castles in Levant. Therefore this study aims to find out the place and the importance of crusader castles in Cyprus in the crusading history.

Keywords: Crusades, Medieval Knighthood, Crusader Castles, Cyprus.

ÖZ

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Kültürlerin, dinlerin ve zıt fikirli toplumların karşılaşmalarıyla tarafların farklı manevi ve maddi birikimleri bir sentez oluşturur. Böyle bir birleşme gerçek amacın karşıdakine zarar vermek olduğu savaşların belki de ender kazançlarından biridir. Kutsal Toprakları kurtarma düşüncesiyle başlayan Haçlı Seferleri de sadece bir Levanten kültürü oluşturmakla kalmamış aynı zamanda yakın doğunun topraklarını Latin Krallığı'nın sanat ve mimarlığıyla donatmıştır. Kıbrıs da destek ve sığınak olarak Latinlerin büyük fayda sağladığı ve güzel Gotik kiliseler, güçlü ve ulaşılmaz kalelerle bu kazancın geri döndüğü çok önemli ve stratejik bir yer olmuştur. Kaleler, özellikle de kuzeydeki üç zirve kalesi olan St Hilarion, Buffavento ve Kantara kaleleri Kıbrıs'ta Latinlerin inşa ettiği haçlı kültürünü ve mimarlığını belki de en iyi yansıtan örneklerdir.

Kıbrıs'taki haçlı kaleleri tabii olarak, haçlıların gelirken beraberlerinde getirdikleri batılı savaş ve kale inşası deneyimiyle Kutsal topraklarda karşılaştıkları doğu birikimlerinin

sentezidir. Bu kaleleri anlayabilmek için haçlı olma fikri, Avrupa ve Levanten kültüründeki feodal sistem ve şövalyelik kavramları ve haçlı kalelerinin tip ve karakteristikleri gibi konular da bağlamı aydınlatması açısından önemlidir. Bütün bunların ışığında bu çalışma Kıbrıs'taki haçlı kalelerinin haçlı tarihindeki yeri ve önemini bulmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Haçlı Seferleri, Ortaçağ Şövalyeliği, Haçlı Kaleleri, Kıbrıs.

To My Dearest Mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

xi

xii

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Photograph: G.Uçar.

Photograph: G.Uçar.

Photograph: G.Uçar.

Photograph: G.Uçar.

xxviii

Photograph: G.Uçar.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Cyprus has been a senior witness of history for several thousand years. The never ending demands of wealth, power, freedom and victory led people from different parts of the world to meet here and share a common destiny while contributing their portion of the story. Many of these people did not just pass along. Some adopted the island as a homeland, while some used it as a station; but all left a part of their culture with the material remains of their architecture. Like the ones before them and the others which came after, the Crusaders also lived some part of their life here, and benefited from the shores of the Mediterranean as a temporary but important station.

Many comments about the crusaders and what they added to history can be made. From the first moment when the idea of crusading appeared, to the last soldier returning from the alien lands, there was a search for identity and justification for these armed and crossed men. But it must not be forgotten that apart from their social and political aims the crusaders were also adventurers who traveled, saw things, influenced and impacted, fought and died, or returned back with the burden of memories of years. The analysis of the single soldier who came east to fight; his needs, ambitions and dreams is, in fact, the analysis of a huge army which was renewed through the years and created the Latin Kingdom with its cities, fortresses and castles. What the crusaders created was an organism, which diffused and grew in the east feeding on the local culture and giving birth to a unique synthesis composed of different heritages.

What crusaders built in the east was directly dependent on where they originally came from and what they used to know. Their own local experiences on architecture were carried with them to the lands of their mission, and as the unavoidable result, merged with

1

the local techniques and customs. The castles, which were built as defensive elements of crusading warfare thus reveal characteristics of the military experiences of several former civilizations. In a way, it can be said that they reveal a synthesis of "east" and "west". As such it is hard to examine anywhere else the furnishing of western determination with eastern supplies so lucidly. The crusader castles are the defense houses of harsh times, in which people fought against each other, died but also exchanged many ideas in terms of culture and humanity.

The emergence and development of the military architecture of a community is vitally important. It serves the basic instincts like protection and security. So from the first man on earth who needed a shelter above his head, the formations which protect men from danger are rooted and matured in time to become the structures which are called castles mainly for protection. However the evolution of "castles" is not so simple. Involved in this is a continuous process of development with feedback from different cultures. The crusader castles reached their most elaborate examples through time with considerable effort and patience. The guidance of western and the influence of eastern castles ended up in a group of defense "houses" to protect and lead the crusaders to their target. These castles have different types but common characteristics.

During the crusader era Cyprus intersected with the ideals of the Latin Kingdom in the eastern Mediterranean. The involvement of this island led to the evolution of a strategic defensive line on top of its northern mountain range consisting of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara castles. While the mainland witnessed the most severe battles and sieges, the island and three hilltop castles embraced the crusaders in retreat. The Cypriot castles were originally founded by Byzantium, but like many other crusader structures in Anatolia and Syria with Byzantium origin, they were neither totally Latin nor Byzantine. They were enlarged and repaired by the crusaders, and used mostly for refuge.

This thesis aims to study the three crusader castles in Cyprus. The intention is to develop the research within the frame of the medieval context and the idea of crusading. In doing so, the need for castles, and the products of castle architecture in the provinces of the Latin Kingdom and particularly in Cyprus; and where they stand on the way between east and west will be investigated. In further detail, the intention is to find out why there was need to establish castles on Cyprus, leaving the ones in the mainland; and how the three mountaintop castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara rose to prominence.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEA OF CRUSADING

The castles which were constructed by crusaders in the Levant consolidate the Latin presence in these lands hostile to them. They remain as solid testimony through time, embodying the conception of crusading. Time may remove the opponent ideas, heal the wounds which civilizations and cultures inflict upon each other and wash all the blood away from the lands. However the material products of the tension and discomfort often continue to survive. As such, castles allow the traces of the Latin presence in these lands be visible. While analyzing a specific castle gives information about the crusading ideals of western Christendom it is also important to look from the broader perspective to reveal what lays behind the spirit of crusading which enabled the effort of this monumental construction.

2.1 Factors Leading to the Crusades

The definitions of Crusades are various. Aziz Atiya (1962) defines the Crusade in the introduction chapter of his book: *Crusade, Commerce and Culture.* He claims that there have been many different definitions of the subject according to the understanding of the age and comprehension of the audience.

For the medieval man for example, the Crusade was a holy war proclaimed by a holy person to clarify a holy problem. It was as simple as this; elementary and totally poetic to let the medieval mind easily get the point. When this was combined with the announcement of a reasonable way of discharging from the sins, the Crusade was totally acceptable. It was as innocent as a mass pilgrimage (Atiya 1962, 17).

However some rationalist thinkers who were active in Renaissance times as well as in the eighteenth century had opposite ideas about the subject. According to them the crusades represented an outburst and demonstration of the intolerance shown by the medieval man to the spreading Islamic world. The attempt to regain the lands of Holy Jerusalem was a perfect cover for this mental state (Atiya 1962, 17-18).

From the political point of view, the crusaders could be seen as a kind of migration to the East. Instead of a marching army, the Crusaders were regarded as a wandering group of people (referring to Normans and Franks who were known to migrate) who were often in search of better conditions. An incentive for social and economic uplifting went hand in hand with more obvious ideal of removing the uneasiness caused by the fact of abandoned Holy Jerusalem (Figures 1-5) (Atiya 1962, 18).

The economic point of view regards the Crusade as a process of colonization. For example, as the population of France unexpectedly increased, it was announced by the Pope himself that the rivers of Palestine were flowing with milk and honey, resulting in many people flocking from West to East by land and sea (Atiya 1962, 18).

However the most general idea among the historians is that the Crusaders were the military expeditions gathered by the Western Christians under the leadership of Popes to rescue the Holy Land of Jerusalem from the Islamic World (Atiya 1962, 18).

As time goes on more ideas and definitions about the historic fact of Crusades will certainly emerge. The list of ideas may duly increase and the arguments alter. Nevertheless historians and thinkers will always turn back to search the underlying motivation behind the war between "east" and "west" that resulted in the crusades marking the medieval age. Such an understanding underscoring the tension between the relations of east and west during the medieval age was neither the first nor the last of all oppositions. Hence it would be useful to probe into some of the reasons leading to the confrontation between east and west which made the east a *question* in the eyes of the west.

2.2 The Eastern Question

Aziz Atiya posits that some of the most important troubles of the west were about the frontiers of Europe. He claims that it was the Greek mind that inspired the Crusades as a conception of extending spiritual frontiers. He says:

> The Crusade should be regarded as one of numerous chapters in the relations between east and west. These relations go back into antiquity beyond the confines of the medieval world. The bone of contention was the undefined frontiers of Europe, otherwise described as the spiritual frontiers of the West vis-à-vis Asia. In fact, it was Greece and the miracle of Greek mind and Hellenic culture that gave Europe a clear consciousness of its spiritual frontier…In the fifth century B.C. we begin to perceive unmistakable signs of that marked cleavage between Europe with its Hellenic civilization and Asia as identified with the way of life and thought prevailing in the Persian Empire. This gave birth to what may be described even at that early stage in ancient history as the Eastern Question, that is, the question of the mobile frontiers which separated the realms of Greece and Persia, or more broadly conceived Europe and Asia. (Atiya 1962, 19)

As it is seen from many different points of view above, the same outcome is reflected and commented upon in highly dissimilar ways. The Crusaders may be all: a savage army, a group of needy immigrants, intolerant fanatics or simple-minded peasants. But there is a substantial aspect which cannot be disregarded: in all these cases there is a problem between East and West of which Crusades have been a part. By the nature of duality, there have been continuous integrations and penetrations between East and West. There have been times when lines of allegiance forgot relations and relearned. Hence the emergence of doubts and *questions* may be inevitable. In this regard, Atiya (1962, 19) claims that the Crusades were the Frankish solution to the Eastern question. He also mentions the earlier attitudes to the Eastern Question. At this point, it is beneficial to have an overview of some of the earlier solutions also, in order to be able to locate the Frankish Solution to the whole scene of solutions pertaining to the Eastern Question.

2.2.1 The Greek Solution

The genesis of the Eastern Question began with the efforts of Greece and Persia concerning the ownership of the lands of Asia Minor and Ionia. The will of Alexander the

Great to include the people of the entire world under one leadership; which meant the Hellenization of the world including the East constituted the first response to the Eastern Question in history. It should be understood that this was not an attempt to Hellenize the East, but rather an act to unify both sides as he encouraged his soldiers to marry the daughters of the Iranian chiefs (Atiya 1962, 23-24).

2.2.2 The Roman Solution

The Roman aim was quite similar to that of Alexander the Great. What the Roman emperors aimed was to implement *Pax Romana* throughout their vast territories. Hence in Trajan's times while he was expanding his territories towards the Persian Gulf, a new face of the question appeared. The Jewish people all over Asia and Africa revolted in 117 A.D. Before then the struggle was between nations or cultures as in Greeks and Persians, but for the first time the religions became disputed and the war became a religious war. Thus, the question became more complicated (Atiya 1962, 24).

2.2.3 The Byzantine Solution

The two lines of the east-west problem acquired different faces as time went on. The Greek culture that once fought against Persians left this culture and the lands to Romans and then to Byzantines, who became Christian. On the other hand by the unification of all Arabs under one leader, the Prophet Muhammed and one religion - Islam, Persians received the Arabic culture. The new faces on the scene now were Christian Byzantine and Muslim Arabs who fought for the sacred lands. Holy Jerusalem surrendered to Caliph Ömer in 638, with some religious agreements for the relief of the Christian inhabitants. The Byzantine solution could keep only northern Syria while leaving Jerusalem, but the religious assurances were better gains than nothing (Atiya 1962, 25-34).

2.2.4 The Carolingian Solution

The abandonment of Jerusalem to Muslim masters did not provide the solutions which were expected by Westerners. However, Arabs instituted peace and justice over the minorities and the West realized that the power of Byzantium was diminishing. This resulted in a series of diplomatic exchanges between Franks and Abbasid Caliphs in the eighth century. The Caliphs were tolerant and respectful, leaving the religious and

administrative issues of Christians and Jews of Jerusalem to their own leaders. Nevertheless they allowed Carolingians to establish a protectorate over the Eastern Christians and the sacred occupancies. By means of this some new monasteries were built, pilgrims traveled to Jerusalem and some funds were sent for repairing old churches. The westerners kept the contact with the east close and the Carolingian solution of Charlemagne was quite successful (Atiya 1962, 35-37).

2.2.5 The Frankish Solution

Westerners, encouraged embarking on religious pilgrimage, increased in number during the Middle Ages, and this became very fashionable. The difficulty of the journey made it more adventurous and the cult of sacred places became more popular. In medieval Christianity forgiveness from sins was associated with penance. As the difficulty of the journey, effort and sacrifices increased, prayer became more valuable. Considering the three most important pilgrimage targets of the time, in Spain (Santiago de Compostela), Italy (Rome) and the Holy Land (Jerusalem) respectively, the one with most trouble was certainly Jerusalem. A journey with no guarantee of return, barefooted and full of danger increased the amount of penance and forgiveness simultaneously; so the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the most important one (Newhall 1963, 24-25). New hostels were established in Jerusalem by the Carolingian protectorate, to meet the increased number of pilgrims. Western monks, bishops, abbots and feudal lords sponsored the groups for the journey and led them as well. The routes were mostly from the sea, from Rome to Venice, Naples, etc. The land route was quite dangerous during the tenth century as Byzantium was in war; and it was only then that the roads were opened to Constantinople when Hungarians accepted Christianity in 1000 A.D. The great German pilgrimage in 1064-65 with the presence of 7000 pilgrims was the most crowded marching to the Holy Lands before the first Crusade. This clearly shows that the Westerners were in close contact with Jerusalem, and that gathering and marching for such a cause was neither an unusual nor unfamiliar event for them. However it must be noted that these pilgrims were not allowed to carry any kind of gun; they mostly marched on foot, while the richer were on donkeys. In later years, the roads became so dangerous to walk alone that even the traders joined pilgrims traveling in big groups (Atiya 1962, 37-47).

In the eve of the first Crusade, the West tended to be dominated by the Papacy rather than the Empire. Therefore the Papacy felt responsible for the moral well being of the Christians of the West as well as the East. Due to the entrance of Turks in Asia Minor following the victory at Malazgirt in 1071, Byzantium became nervous about the security of the eastern borders upon which the Byzantine Emperor had to ask for military help from European allies. The Pope, Urban II took this call for his account and he proclaimed the first Crusade soon after, for the security of the Eastern Christians and the deliverance of the Holy Jerusalem (Figure 6) (Atiya 1962, 47-48). Therefore the importance of the battle of Malazgirt is quite important. It was a crucial turning point that provoked the Crusades. When Turks took over Jerusalem from the Fatimids of Egypt in 1076, this did not bring harsh times for minorities. On the contrary they had privileges and autonomy. However it was the immigrations which dulled the destiny of Asia Minor. The Malazgirt victory opened the way of Asia Minor to Turkish tribes, who were somewhat disorganized. Within a short time the roads between cities became dangerous for merchants, agriculture declined and the economy was in danger (Newhall 1963, 31-32). This led Western Byzantine minorities to migrate and Asia Minor was in turn "easternized". This is best seen in the words of Newhall:

> A region that had been a flourishing part of some European state since the days of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. became in economics and in population a part of Asia. So it still remains. (Newhall 1963, 32)

Following the Malazgirt victory, the last well-ordered army was destroyed, and Byzantium was left to a civil war. Thus the emperor asked support from northern and Western Europe whereby the Papacy felt that the well being of Eastern Christianity was in danger (Newhall 1963, 32-33).

Concerning the initial idea explaining the rise of the Crusades, Jean Richard does not hesitate to claim that this was just a cover for the desire of war. In this regard, Richard claims that the Crusades represent a problem which still clings in human minds as a legitimate act of war. Despite the fact that for both the Byzantine and the Latin Church, killing people was considered a guilt, the Crusades were agreed as legitimate and necessary defenses against hostile strangers in the homeland of Christianity, the Holy Land and the eastern borders (Richard 1999, 1-2).

The call of the Pope for a Crusade was answered by the people of Europe. At this time Germany was in disorder. Although some volunteers joined the armies of Franks and Normans, there was not an ordered army coming from Germany. From England the Norman order answered the Pope's call with grace. In Italy, the northern part was under the influence of the Papacy, so that they did not refrain from assistance. The southern part on the other hand had just passed from Byzantine to Norman rule; the call was thus a good opportunity to show their power and authority. In Spain, the Christian principalities of Asturia, Castile, Navarre and Aragon and the county of Portugal accepted the Frank and Norman leadership to attend the Holy march. Frenchmen were ready to join the Pope who was also French and take the leadership of the Crusade together with Normans. This was how the west gathered together with a single goal (Atiya 1962, 49-52).

The political circumstances and the timing of Pope's summon were also convenient for a decision of invasion. The crusaders' successful control over Syria and Palestine in the first crusade owed much to the political chaos within the Muslim forces. In the north, the grand vizier of the Seljuk Empire had been murdered in 1092, and the Seljuk Emperor Malikshah had died soon after him. As a result, the empire was divided into small factions. In the south the Fatimid Empire was undergoing a similar condition. The caliph -and the ruler- died in 1094 and his son succeeded him. However the new caliph was not recognized by all the Shiite groups; therefore, the caliph did not have any authority or a binding force among Shiite Muslims. There was also no agreement between religious groups, Sunnis of Baghdad whose caliph was also dead in 1094 and Shiites of Egypt. There was a struggle between Shiites and Sunnis and they were in a war as desperate as accepting Franks as allies. There was a Shiite fanatic group in Syria known as 'Assassins' who terrorized any political or religious authority (Nicholson 2001, 19-20). Other than Franks there were different Christian comunities in the Latin east like Greeks, Syrians (*Suriani)*, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites and Nestorians. Among these groups, Greeks, Syrians and Georgians were Orthodox. Armenians who had settled in the Holy Lands since the fifth century obeyed the Catholics of Armenia. Jacobites were also Syrian Orthodox but they did not obey the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem but the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Nestorians were the members of the Asian church (Pringle 2003, 161-164) Despite this political inconsistency, the leaders of the first crusade could achieve success and settled a kingdom in the Holy Lands

It must not be forgotten that the crusades were not only the wars between two political opponents, but they were the "holy wars" which transformed the case to a more sensible common base for both sides[1]. Richard A. Newhall likens the Crusades of Christianity to the Jihad of Islam, which Prophet Muhammed justified as the way to spread Islam. According to his point of view, the religious character of these struggles has a certain extra energy which differs from the long lasting struggle between east and west than from the times of Greek and Roman wars against Persians (Newhall 1963, 1-2). This religious energy is expressed as such:

> There always remained for both antagonists some consciousness
> that the war was one between believer and infidel in which God
> would assist the faithful. (Newhall 1963, 2)

In a similar vein, Runciman refers to the Bible: 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the Holy Place.' (St Matthew XXIV, 15) (Runciman 1962, 3) Using religion, he paints the scene leading to the Crusades as a holy goal and justifies the purification of the Holy Land from the infidel and mean strangers. This religious energy and continuously increasing wish to redefine the eastern borders continued with the Frankish Solution of the Eastern Question, the Crusades.

The Eastern Question thus continued to grow in the minds of westerners. In this respect, the mobile spiritual frontiers of Europe that became religious frontiers by the domination of Christianity and Islam had been threatening by Turks as a result of the Malazgirt victory in 1071 and the eastern borders of the Byzantine were already easternized. Had the Christian Church and Pope remained silent and oblivious to the diminishing frontiers of the Byzantine this would not simply be a loss of another Christian ally but a loss for all Westerners. Therefore the loss of the Holy Lands represented an unpleasant outcome for Christianity for a very long time. Considering the relationships between east and west starting from Greeks and Persians, the Eastern Question appears to be slowly shrinking parallel to the retreating frontiers of Byzantium. In order not to let the question disappear towards the majority of Islam, the Frankish solution decided to confront the small Turkish tribes with an immense army that would guarantee the safety of Christian

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[1] For further information about the "holy war" and "just" war, see Cowdrey (2003).

domination and Holy Lands. This was without question the most important decision and attempt which Western Christians had made in the name of uniting against the "other".

The spirit which lies behind the idea of crusading may obviously not be explained so briefly. However the urge to redefine the eastern borders, rescuing the Holy Lands of Jerusalem from the enemy and granting it back to the Christian world where it belonged were enough for the westerns to march east. Although the establishment of the Latin Kingdom did have some additional motives related with the social background of Europe in the middle ages, the desire for the Christian presence in the Levant appears to be the basic reason for why and how the Latins settled in the east, ruling a kingdom with many castles, civic, religious and domestic buildings.

CHAPTER III

SOLDIERS WHO MARCH: HUMAN SIDE OF CRUSADES

One aspect that must certainly not be avoided in a study of crusades is the human dimension. The mass of armies was made up of single humans acting together. Therefore all the crusades and the Latin Kingdom were ultimately based on the contemporary dynamics of mankind. When the hostile gigantic force that flowed to the east with swords and crosses is reduced to a single man, it becomes ironically bizarre. In this respect, the actors appear as close as friends, hence it is harder to accept that the one who fiercely kills overseas returns back home and becomes a peaceful father who plays chess with his son by the fireplace in his castle. Yet it is important to realize that when a subject is studied from the human point of view it becomes more familiar and easier to understand. Whether one approves or not, any historical event is more comprehensible when the humans who were active on scene are clearly identified. By recognition of the human side of a subject, it turns out to be an active, living event. Therefore analyzing the human side of the crusades is crucial in order to identify and comprehend their role in the medieval era. The lords who ruled, the knights who fought, the sergeants who did their best to be of service during the marches and the actual battles they fought in the Levant collectively contribute to the overall picture.

3.1 The Lords and the Knights

When they entered Constantinople the Crusaders were faced with one of the most important difficulties they would ever meet. The relations with the Byzantine emperor were not as expected. At the end of the year 1096, when Godfrey (Figure 10) reached and camped outside the city walls of Constantinople, he was in a manner blaming the

Byzantine Emperor for the disaster of the People's Crusade (Figures 7, 8). He was not ready to enter alliance to restore all the conquered lands back to the Byzantine Empire where they once belonged. Hence the relations of Godfrey and his army towards Byzantium were lukewarm. On the other hand, the emperor was not very hospitable to a commander rejecting his offer of alliance and an army attacking his city walls (Hamilton 1965, 45-47). Therefore the idea of joining forces with Byzantium failed while the Crusaders led themselves through Asia Minor alone (Figures 11, 12). Richard Newhall quotes the ideas of the famous historian Gibbon who likens the Byzantine Emperor to a Hindu peasant; a peasant who prayed for water and who was defeated by the flood sent by two generous gods! For sure, the emperor did not foresee the crusaders gathered and marching upon his territories when he called for help against Turks. Besides, the forces flowing on him were commanded by medieval princes who had their own ambitions of conquering principalities for themselves in Syria or Asia Minor[2] (Newhall 1963, 37-46). Looking upon the case, it is vitally important to find out about the "crusaders" since they were the subjects of the action and moreover to magnify the human side and social context of crusades.

It is also very important to be able to distinguish how the evaluations of the crusades and the crusaders have been generated after many centuries. The historical event of the Christian West marching to the Muslim East under the pretext of the crusades in order to rescue the Holy Lands of Jerusalem seems far away from the 21st century. In a naive manner though, one wonders how thousands of soldiers, peasants, religious men and aristocrats were persuaded to set everything aside and depart to an unknown distant land with an unknown future. But trying to understand the past with the mentality of today would be a big mistake. Hence considering the conditions of the eleventh century west, crusades appear more alive and reasonable. The editors K. M. Setton and M. W. Baldwin preface their five-volume book *A History of the Crusades* with some insightful comments to stress how the crusades were a natural outcome and a lucid result of the formative events of the eleventh century. According to Sidney Painter:

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[2] As a matter of fact the crusaders were travelling with a Byzantine force of considerable size. However the reason Alexius Comnenus allocated the force was not to assist the crusaders but to prevent the plundering of the towns and provide security within Byzantine territory (Barber 1995, 257)

The crusades had their origin in eleventh century western Europe and to understand them one must know something of the environment in which they emerged. No mere static description of the land and its people can serve this purpose. The picture must be a moving one that shows the basic forces that were slowly molding medieval civilization, for the crusades were a natural product of these forces... Both expansion and organization marked the eleventh century. The crusades were a part of the former and were made possible by the latter. (Painter 1969, 3)

If anyone wonders about the miraculous formation behind the crusades which enabled thousands of soldiers and leading aristocrats to be persuaded to march to Jerusalem then they must study the feudal system of the medieval society because it was the feudal system itself that provided the human resource to the exhaustion matched by the preaching of Urban II.

3.1.1 Feudal System: The Frankish Model

The feudal institutions which had been developing in Europe since the eighth century matured and expanded in the eleventh century. The Frankish model was developed in France as a means of protection against Viking attacks. Under the model, the landholders chose to be vassals of someone more powerful than themselves in order to survive. Hence the feudal societies emerged with a certain hierarchy, whereby the functions of the government were shared out by the members of the system (Painter 1969, 7-11).

The smallest unit in the feudal system was the knight who had just enough land and peasants to live with. Each unit was bounded to someone higher than him in hierarchy. Each member had obligations to his lord. However every lord was valued by the importance and power of his vassals. So the relations between the lords and the vassals were reciprocal.

The feudal customs include both political and military issues. The vassal's main responsibility was to provide military service for his lord and in turn the lord was supposed to protect his vassals. The simplest request of the lord was a means for the vassal to be honored. Therefore the crusades gathered both financial and human resources through the requests of the lords to their vassals and vassals to their simplest knights (Painter 1969, 3-13).

14

The feudal system, which is described as the 'Frankish Model' converted government to a warrior nobility according to Jean Richard (1999). In this system, the leaders usually belonged to an aristocratic family. In short, the members of the system, the vassals were always ready to protect their lord's body and honor. These ties of loyalty played important roles while the crusader armies were gathering. On the other hand, the churches and the lords had been converting their money to silver or golden objects. Therefore the crusades also provided a means of solving financial problems at the end of the eleventh century.

One other important issue was the pilgrims. Especially after the great German Pilgrimage (1064-65), the society was mobilized. Traveling within big groups for the purpose of visiting sacred places became a life style, departing for a similar goal was acceptable and more than that it was usual for the western society (Richard 1999, 6-8). These were some of the factors which molded the Western Society in the eve of the crusades.

3.1.2 The Lords and the Knights

Among the lords who commanded the armies of the first crusade were younger sons of important families who had no chance of inheriting the family wealth. Especially for such lords the crusade was a way to obtain fortune, power and fame all at once. Bohemond of Taranto from Norman Sicily, Duke Robert the son of William the Conqueror were two such examples. Others include brothers Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Lorraine whose elder brother Eustace of Boulogne would be inheriting the family wealth. There were also lords who had land and property at home but who wished to increase their fame and glory by participating in such a journey. Count Raymond of Toulouse, for example did not expect to conquer new lands for himself but to be a part of this holy tale in the name of honor. These lords were the commanders of the first crusade (Hamilton 1965, 28-29).

The first Crusade began in late 1096 with forces arriving from the west in Constantinople. The peak was reached in the summer of 1099 when the city of Jerusalem fell. The crusader armies which were at first 70.000 people - 7.000 of whom were

knights - reached Jerusalem reduced to 12.000 people with 1.200-1.300 knights.[3] The thousands of soldiers who marched to the east for the first crusade represented a combination of four separate armies; one was composed of knights of southern France and Italy and commanded by Count Raymond of Toulouse. He was the most prestigious one among the commanders. Three brothers, Eustace of Boulogne, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Lorraine, led the second army of Northern Frenchmen and Germans. The third army consisted of men from north and central France. Robert, the Duke of Normandy, Count Stephen of Blois, and Count Robert II commanded it. Norman Duke Robert Curthose was the son of William the Conqueror and he was in a restless war with his brother William Rufus, the successor of England. Count Stephen of Blois was the husband of the Conqueror's daughter and was pushed by her to join the crusades. Robert of Flanders on the other hand felt it an obligation to answer his father's ally the Byzantine emperor Alexius who called for help against Turks. The fourth army was composed of Normans of southern Italy. Normans fought against Byzantines for Sicily and afterwards continued a civil war. Bohemond of Taranto who decided to join the crusades, as he was the losing side in Sicily commanded the fourth army. His wish was to procure new lands to rule. Not all of the leaders, but most, took the cross and joined the war not for the well being of Jerusalem, but for conquering lands to live in. Thus they were departing for a journey of lifetime (Hamilton 1965, 37-41).

Like the lords and the kings who took the cross not only for the welfare of the Christian world but also for their own individual ambitions, the army which followed them also had motives rendered by some reasons different from Christian spirit.

> The crusader was not only someone who, in the words of the bulls, left for the war against infidel bearing the cost of his commitment. He could also be someone who accompanied his lord on the expedition for the wages he would be paid. The crusading army, in the thirteenth century as already in the twelfth, was composed of quasi feudal contingents; those who followed a great lord were from among his vassals or his neighbours who had placed themselves under his command. (Richard, 1999, 267)

Therefore the departure was not always the personal choice of these adventurous young men whether lord or vassal. The social circumstances which they lived in forced them

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[3] France, J., 1994, *Victory in the East* Cambridge, pp. 122-142 quoted in Riley-Smith 1997, 13-14

into an expedition away from home. In this respect, the crusades offered the best opportunities to regain fortune and glory to these men. In time they rose to prominence as expected. During the twelfth century in France, a group of people who were called "youth" rose to prominence. These armed young men were very important because it was through the profile of youth that one may trace the knightly spirit of both crusades and the European military class.

3.1.2.1 The Youth

These people who were called "youth" were young sons of aristocracy who were grown up enough to complete their education and bear arms, but who had not yet reached adulthood. Therefore they were either married or did not yet have children (Duby 1990, 115). The youth period of a person could vary according to the conditions and personal decisions. A person who was married and who had children would be accepted as senior in comparison to a man who was not married although the latter was older in age. Therefore the youth was mostly related with the physical availability of a young person for the adventures of young age like crusades, wars, tournaments and other faithful services. The period spent in youth could consist of many years of knighthood. Among the knights a big group was in this category (Duby 1990, 115-116).

One of the most important characteristics of these young people was that they were not settled in any place; they were mobile. So, they were free to travel through countries; they could go anywhere on earth. The best life for them was the one where they could wander around searching for honor, wealth and adventure. Therefore it was fame and glory which they sought for by joining wars and tournaments. These young people were mostly not alone, they were within a group of young knights like themselves or with a retainer assigned by their father. They were mostly gathered around magnates who hired them. Hence, the group was usually composed of young sons of vassals who gathered around the young son of a magnate (Duby 1990, 116-117).

To understand this group better, first the structure of their families must be understood. In this regard, an ordinary senior would have approximately ten children of which half would be boys. When the first born son was grown up, he had a couple of years to spend in the adventure of youth. When he returned however, his father would still be healthy and strong enough for taking care of his wealth. The son therefore would feel

uncomfortable and so leave the house once more to continue his youthful journey until his father became weak and ready to turn over the household duties. The tradition concerning the family heritage was that among the sons, the first born son would continue the kin. So the younger sons who were not as lucky as their brother would leave the house permanently. Some might enter a religious order; some continued to live the young knight's life until they made themselves a fortune or married a girl and lived with her heritage. Fathers did not encourage the younger sons to marry in order to prevent branching of offspring and division of family wealth. Hence they were allowed to leave the house to join youth with grace. These young people searched their fortune in war, in tournaments or in far away adventures like crusades (Duby 1990, 112-121) as did the brothers Godfrey and Baldwin, the two commanders of the first crusade.

Similar to the young knights, there were also young clerics who were grouped around a magnet. The best place for both was of course the royal household. Inside the *familia regis*, there were these two groups competing with each other in aiming at perfection. Both knight and cleric represented the idealized position near the prince in the eyes of society[4] (Duby 1990, 159-160).

As explained above "youth" were the young nobles who were somewhat lost and unroofed. They were often the unstable, boundless wandering forces. Therefore the decisions of going on a crusade and searching for adventure and fortune were proper for the Church. By means of crusades, the church authorities not only canalized this unstable, threatening force out of Europe to keep the peace but also gained a considerable body of knights to fight in the Holy Land. Within all the series of crusades there existed a group of these young and energetic people who were eager to settle down in the east or where ever they could find a home. On the other hand it was only by the presence of these men that the continuous presence of a Latin Kingdom was viable (Barber 1995, 253-257). More precisely,

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[4] Duby mentions such a trinity in his book *The Three Orders* in a different way. He defines the three groups which form the society as the ones who pray, the ones who fight and the ones who work. In other words the clerics, the peasants and the nobles form the trinity. Barber (1995) notes that the medieval society is established to create harmony. The castle in the wild forest represents the intuitions of men who try to bring order to the forest, to civilize its wild nature. So the medieval society is a composition of this desire of order and harmony. In order to stabilize it, each group fulfills their duties; clerics devote themselves to God and pray, knights fight and peasants work for the existence of the harmony. However this idea is not modern, such a harmony and trinity was also used by the medieval religious people.

Even Godfrey of Boullion, whom later ages transformed into a
golden hero, had some political reasons for setting out. Added to
the temptations of adventure itself, was the possibility of winning
great estates in the east, and men who might not have been
interested in mere soldiering came because there were hopes of a
fortune to be won. On the other hand, this provided the Frankish
kingdom of Jerusalem with its original settlers, and meant that the
moment of triumph could be turned into a material achievement:
without these men, there would have been no permanent Christian
state in the east. (Barber 1995, p.257)

3.1.2.2 Knights in Society

The place of knights in the society before and during the times of crusades is an
important subject. The meanings of the "knight", the people who belong to knighthood,
why men desired to be knights and chose to fight are all questions that need to be probed
in order to clarify the warrior profile that came east to fight in the crusades[5]. Finding out
about the relations of knights with their lords, brothers-in-arms and with the rest of
society like ladies, land holders or peasants will enlighten the relations and attitudes of
these warriors in the Levant too. As Barber mentions, the Frankish settlements in the
Levant were not different than the ones in Europe. Accordingly, the institutions were
modeled on the basis of the ones in the homeland (Barber 1995, 258). Therefore it is
beneficial to locate the knights within the western society in order to reveal the residents
inside the castles of the Latin Kingdom. In this respect, the rough sketch of western
society in the eve of the crusades will stand for the Levant model of it.

While trying to find out about who were called knights, it is relevant to start with the
meanings of the words. However the concept of knighthood must never be
underestimated, because the words which are used for correspondence would never have
the same notion of knighthood as it is not only a professional status but an order, a guild
with a distinctive ethos and idealistic reference (Barber 1995, 9). It is very important to
see that a knight is far from a soldier. Hence the phrase "making a knight" indicates a
non-military status and a ritual, while "making a soldier" means nothing. Hence the
knight-belt represents power. Also the status of a knight is enhanced by other solid

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[5] This is important because some of these knights joined to the military orders of the east and
became the Frankish settlers of the Latin Kingdom. (See the parts related with the origins of the
Orders of Temple and Hospital.)

privileges like residing inside castles which protected them and showed the power and authority, the opportunity to join in the tournaments, and a distinct importance of joining the crusades. These strengthen the exclusive benefits coming with the knight-belt whereby a knight should not be reduced to a soldier (Barber 1995, 10-13).

3.1.2.3 Cnith and Miles

The word 'knight' is the transliteration of the English word *cniht* and the Norman word *miles* into modern language. Both *cniht* and *miles* mean mounted soldier. Knighthood is a concern which developed by the militarization of the societies in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The transformation of nobility into warrior aristocracy resulted in the distribution of authority and hence men became dependent on other men as in the case of vassals and knights. The insecure environment of the age where the ones who could protect themselves would survive followed the advance of the knighthood profession (Coss 1993, 5-6).

In order to analyze the position of the knight in England before and after the Conquest, we must concentrate on the *cniht.* Its original meaning is 'boy', but it happened to be used as household retainer of some important person. *Cnihtas* (plural of *cniht*) were servants or stewards in a house where they took part in household service and in times of need they were equipped and fought by the side of their lord, escorted him and hunted for him. *Cnihtas* were personal retainers in the service of a lord. To equate the English *cniht* with the Norman *miles* which means soldier after the conquest was probably because *cnihtas* serviced the feudal hosts and the functions of *miles* and *cniht* were similar after the conquest in England that both words meant soldier (Figure 9) (Coss 1993, 12-13).

Therefore *milites* (plural of *miles*) were used for soldiers or vassals who fought with a horse and who accompanied a lord in order to guard him; they performed military duties and took care of the lord's belongings (Coss 1993, 7). As a matter of fact, the word *cnith* denoted a group of warriors from a peasant origin where they stood between the authority and ordinary peasants (Coss 1993, 6). However by the end of the eleventh century, the knightly class and the noble class came closer. Both used common techniques in war; enjoyed similar kinds of brutal activities like hunting and had similar mentalities. Nevertheless they stood distant in terms of social classes and in the halls of castles the separation never faded because the social hierarchy never diminished (Coss 1993, 7). By

the mid-eleventh century to the mid-twelfth century the status of knights became elevated in Normandy. The nobility got accustomed to the knightly class and did not mind sharing similar military ethics with them any more (Coss 1993, 10).

Milites were always bounded to a more powerful lord; naming a knight as the knight of someone designated vassalage as well as the distinction of that knight. Kings, dukes, bishops, abbots and other hierarchically lower lords had their own knights and the knights in turn were dependent on their lords to supply their needs as well as their military equipment. Most knights were known by their first names or the name of their lord following their name. The words knight or *miles* before names were used to indicate function rather than status (Coss 1993, 9-10). By the time of the Conquest in England, as everywhere else, knighthood was accepted as a function that included both men from noble origin, sons of high status families or men from humble peasant origin (Coss 1993, 11-12). Military service had a very important moral value and it was a means for a more advanced status in society. Being in the honorable, loyal service of an important lord commanded respect in society regardless of noble or peasant origins (Coss 1993, 18).

The knights who were mounted soldiers for Norman England (Figure 13) after the conquest were the most essential part of the feudal system. However, mounted soldiers were not crucially important for military feudalism; the quotas could well be filled by sergeants and other armed warriors too. On the other hand, the knights were definitely necessary for feudalism as a social system. In this regard, the social contracts of landholding and homage, marriage and inheritance of the land were some important social obligations of the knight's service (Morillo 1994, 23-26).

The leaders of the military and non-military world of Anglo-Norman kings derived from the greater and lesser magnate families. Men and sometimes women from these families occupied positions of government and church. Mostly the same people acted in important positions in the army as well (Morillo 1994, 41).[6] As for great campaigns, the leaders were the leaders of the social life; conversely, the faithful knights were the leaders and social binders of their rural areas in times of peace. Knights took the social administration

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[6] According to Maurice Keen, the bishops and abbots who come from noble origin are from the same families as the ones of the military class (Keen 1984, 54). So the upper positions of the government, army and church were held by the people belonging to same families.

as an obligation and this responsibility further reinforced their local status[7]. They represented their communities in formal meetings by the king. So they were the bridge between the local and the royal. They connected the great local lord and the vassal creating a stabilized, bounded society (Coss 1993, 107-115). Hence their social role was as important as their military position. In this respect, it was impossible to separate the knight as a soldier and the knight as a social figure. However the knight was first of all a military person whereby his profession as a warrior and his successes at war had more priority.

3.1.3 Knights and Militia

For the people of the middle ages, wars and fighting were strongly engaging parts of life. They had been the kings, soldiers and peasants of a world where there was a continuous struggle for more power, lands and domination. Within such an environment, where fighting was inevitable, the best profession would have been being a knight and fighting as a high status, well armed, professional soldier. Not only delaying the risk of death as a mounted soldier with equipments of the best kind, a knightly career also elevated the social status of a person and brought respect in society as mentioned above.

3.1.3.1 Knightly Profession

Apart from the fact that receiving the knight-belt was very coveted, the reasons why men decided on a knightly career and went to war were various. It might be the military status and sense of honor. The wish for fame and glory in battle and to be distinguished in courtly environments were some reasons which could not be underestimated. The formal contracts with lords, feudal obligations, offers of plunder and ransom, shares from the conquered lands, payments and prizes, therefore the financial part of fighting was another good reason. In addition, men might sometimes feel it a moral, conventional obligation that in the eye of society any knight should fight until death unless he did not belong to a religious group (Prestwich 1996, 57). However warriors' inclinations and motivations to fight could change in time, therefore some warriors took knighthood as a lifetime career, while some were only interested in it as a youthful enthusiasm (Coss 1993, 108). The

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[7] Barber calls the knights with such social duty as the "knights of the shire" and claims that they are the key figures for both local and central government (Barber 1995, 41).

knightly career thus depended on personal choice, whereby anywhere from the age of fifteen to sixty men could bear arms (Prestwich 1996, 54).

Knighthood which started with the conversion of *cnihtas*, rising the household retainers to mounted soldiers developed to become the symbol of perfection and idealized position in later times. This alteration in the eyes of society made it a popular and faithful profession for men from all social classes. Honor, good reputation, fame and glory lay on the way of gaining the knighthood belt, hence making a fortune as profits of fighting, having strong fraternity bonds with a friend, acceptance in courtly meetings and convincing a lady for marriage, were all benefits of knighthood. For peasants it was a way of upward social mobility; for nobles it was a chance to be glorified; but for all it was one of the best careers men could achieve in the middle ages.

Being a knight also brought a burden of great responsibility. After receiving the knight-belt, a knight had to compete with others to show his courage and strength. On the other hand, as it was very important for a man to increase his honor and reputation it was also very important to record them. This was where literature and poetry became involved with the stories of the battles. For a poet, like the warriors, to record cowardice and shame was as important as recording bravery and praiseworthy events. Other than being announced as a coward and being dishonored, the punishment for cowardice might range from losing the knight belt to money burden. In terms of social recognition, a bad reputation was hereditary and the worst penalty than ever was to dispute kin. Therefore a man might become glorified or dishonored by the reputations of his ancestors. However it was not always clear whether an action in battle was a war tactic or a dishonorable act. It was up to the lords' and leaders' genius to draw the line, to decide the time of retreat without being coward or attack without being dishonored (Strickland 1996, 111-126).

3.1.3.2 Knights and Military Service

In the Norman period of England, it is seen that the government and military system were in close interaction; the government built a powerful military system and the military system was, in turn, active in the development of government. The administrative staff had military functions and military officials had non-military duties. This was best seen in the multifunctional usage of castles. In this respect, the castles were residences,

governmental centers of local districts and prisons. They were also sometimes used as treasuries and places for producing monetary profit (Morillo 1994, 18-19).

Following the reduction of quotas for feudal tenants in the thirteenth century, the military system became more complicated and based on contracts. However it was also hard for the king to trust tenants for a fixed number of knights when it was required (Prestwich 1996, 89). That is the reason why the household was the most important and elaborate force of a lord or a king which he called his *familia*. The household knights were characteristics of feudal society (Coss 1993, 26). In times of war, the first group to be called was usually the knights of the royal household. Among the knights there were some who had military obligation for a lifetime as according to lifetime agreements. There were also knights in feudal service, who were unpaid and there were ones hired with temporary agreement. The same knights could serve in different campaigns under the rule of different lords. The commanders could gather an army by contract (Figure 16). And a contractor could have sub-contractors. Hence a contractor was dependent on lesser men like archers, sergeants and knights as sub-contractors. This risk of dependence was the reason for long term agreements of powerful lords with knights and esquires who were in service in times of peace as well as in war, like the household knights. In this way a dependable force could always be ready (Coss 1993, 101-105).

The lords found their followers for war in various ways. The first source was the family, while the second was the knights who held land for service and fought for feudal obligation. Thirdly, there were hired men who were trained for war and fought under contract. A lord had to attend a war call with his household. Other than obligations and mercenaries, there were some other social contracts between men like brotherhood in arms or formal contracts between lords and knights to share gains and profits, provide support and aid in war (Prestwich 1996, 42-45).

The soldiers for an army were usually gathered in three groups. The first group constituted the ones with military obligation of personal or by land and the hired soldiers. Some of these hired soldiers had horses but they were not well trained to fight on horseback, while others were usually the infantry who had a spear, shield, helmet and mail shirt. The second group included the soldiers who held the *fief*. These were trained to fight on horseback and were equipped with lance and sword. They had a protective armor, shield, helmet and mail shirt. The third group was the group containing men of

hired soldiers who did not have particular standards and might vary from case to case. The army was composed of these groups but the core always consisted of soldiers of the royal household and they were usually enough except for great campaigns (Morillo 1994, 47-53).

In the thirteenth century the most important warriors in the English army were the bannerettes and the knights. Sergeants, squires and valets who were equal in status were below them. Bannerettes were commissioned to organize the cavalry men, knights and the others. This social standing of bannerettes was not hereditary but gained by personality and reputation. Unlike them, knighthood was hereditary. In the thirteenth century, sons of knights were expected to receive their father's rank, although this was not always the case. In the thirteenth century, receiving knighthood became not a matter of courage and leadership in war but a matter of finance[8]. The eleventh century *cniht* who was a low status household servant climbed up to a higher rank in the society in later centuries. The sergeants might be various people from men of infantry to men holding land with special service. Later they became mounted soldiers like knights. Squire was a man who applied for knighthood but could not receive a belt. From the eleventh century to mid fourteenth century, knights, sergeants and squires formed the royal household (Prestwich 1996, 13-38).

The standard wages for warriors were stable but the king could give an extra reward for good service in war. Such rewards could be a granted amount for lifetime payment as well as lands and shares of plunder. The lands as grants were not only important for wealth but in terms of status also. Another important service of the government to armed men was total protection and guarantee for safety of their houses while they were away during battle. This promise was formalized by protection letters. This was an important privilege especially for the ones who would go on a crusade (Prestwich 1996, 86-109). One of the most important awards a warrior could ever reach was probably becoming a hero. The relics of the knights who bravely died in the Holy Land were kept in monasteries. Their banners were hung and their shields were displayed. They became

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[8] When a man rose to a rank of knighthood, his income also increased. This prevented lords from giving a sword-belt when the financial conditions are unsuitable. On the other hand the knightly ceremony was quite a costly event so that even the poorer nobles hesitated to undertake it (Barber 1995, 39).

cults and in this way the knight would reach the twin goal of fame and salvation at the same time (Keen 1984, 46).

The feudal service may be defined as the formal relationship between a vassal and his lord where the man who held the land provided military service in return. Other than the standard *fief* obligation there could be times when a call for war was announced for all free men to defend their country. There could be agreements and even bargains between the king and the lords to join a war. Sometimes men bore arms voluntarily in the name of the king and were not even paid (Prestwich 1996, 57-98). Various such personal bonds were common in medieval ages. The most striking one of all was the brotherhood in arms.

3.1.3.3 Brotherhood in Arms

The bond between two men of military status was known as brotherhood in arms. The nature of this relationship is hard to understand as there are not many historic records about them. The literary evidence however is a good source to study, especially on what was understood by this bond by sides. The only disadvantage is that they are fictional. The importance of the oath given by sides is that it depended on trust. Besides it was not only a military contract, it could affect a man's honor, fortune and emotional world. The oath given by the sides was not simply a promise but had a legal binding where in the case of death, the other companion may demand right on the plunders and ransoms and any kind of gains in war as well as the personal belongings including companion's wife and fortune (Keen 1996, 43-45).

For the two knights who gave the oath to be brothers, the fraternity bond was quite important. This was also visible through the oath ceremonies. Between the rituals, there existed drinking the other's blood and let the bond be like a kinship. Testimony of a knight about such a ceremony is therefore like this:

> …and this knight said of the Cumans, that when they wish to make an alliance, in order to obtain some surety of the fraternal bond, that each (of the persons involved) has himself bled, and given his blood to his fellow to drink in token of fraternity, and they say they are brothers and of one blood…[9]

[9] Joinville, Histoire de St. Louis, ch.97. quoted by Keen 1996, 47.

A text of the contract of the bond between two persons is as follows:

> I, Thomas, the king's son, duke of Clarence, swear and promise on
> the faith of my body, and by all the oaths which a *preudhomme* can
> make, that I will be good and true kinsman, brother and companion-
> in-arms to my very dear and very beloved cousin, Charles duke of
> Orléans, and that I will serve him, aid him, counsel him, and protect
> his honor and well being in all ways and to the best of my powers,
> saving and excepting my allegiance reserved to my sovereign lord
> the king. And this oath I promise to keep loyally and fulfill to the
> utmost of my ability, and never, whatever may happen, will I go
> against it. And in witness hereof I have written this letter, and signed
> it with my hand and sealed it with my seal, this twelfth day of
> November, the year 1412.[10]

The relations between brothers-in-arms were different than the feudal relationships of a lord and a vassal. Although they were as important and binding as the feudal contracts, the fraternity agreements were more domestic and personal. The brother was accepted to the most intimate family chambers. One could also trust in his companion to take care of his wife and children while he was away. Parties not only shared the profits and gains but were also responsible for each other to overcome the most difficult tasks, assume sacred duties and protect the other's kin and offspring. The familial nature of the fraternity relationship was more alike the relationships between lords and retainers; both had the understanding of accepting the other as a family member (Keen 1996, 55-56).

3.1.4 Psychological Aspects and Recognition

The knightly ethos was dependent on the personal values which were admired and respected by the society. As a matter of fact, what made the profession of knighthood so popular was the appreciation of the society; the desire of attending an exclusive group of faithful people was a privilege not everybody could receive. In this respect, the place of a knight in the eyes of society and the social recognition were quite an important part of the concept of knighthood. Conversely the society needed heroes to adore as the utmost examples of courage and honor. Although they were members of the society, the knights were differentiated from other status groups by their lifestyles and motives. In this respect, they were exemplary figures for the society. This was one of the reasons why

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[10] Douetd'Arq, Piéces inédites, p.359 quoted by Keen 1996, 49.

tournaments were very highly regarded activities both for the knights as well as the society.

The concept of knighthood was deeply woven with the social aspects but it was also closely related with the church and religious concerns. The close interaction of the knightly ethos and the church had been consolidated by the crusades[11]. However it would be unfair to limit the relations of religion and the knighthood after the eleventh century. Because like all other medieval men, the knights were also faithful Christians and even if not like the monks, praying was an essential part of their life. For them too, the church was an authority with great respect and value.

3.1.4.1 War Cries of Divine Aid

The close relation between Christianity and the concept of knighthood was also apparent in the definitions of missions. Theoretically, the real mission of *milites* was not only to extend and protect boundaries and fight against pagans but also to protect and assist the poor and the needy as well as to protect the position and name of the Church. The ceremonies of belting knighthood in front of the altar while taking oaths to protect the Holy Church show a deep connection between the concept of knighthood and the church.[12] However the practical knighthood of the medieval age did not fully respond to the teachings of religion and also revealed a contradiction. In this respect, the nature of war and fighting caused violence and confronted the church in terms of disturbing the peasants and violating the sanctuaries themselves (Strickland, 1996, 55-57).

Either Christian or pagan, warriors needed psychological aid to overcome the difficulties of the battle field. The aid of God was most essential for the knights besides the ambitions of personal goals such as honor and courage. It was an eminent relief to fight the enemy with God to help them. In these terms, it was very important for a knight to be as pure and innocent as possible; any sin to prevent divine aid needed to be avoided. Thus confessions

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[11] For further information about the religious character of the knights who joined the crusades, see Chapter 4.
[12] A knight may receive the knight-belt from a priest 'in the English fashion' or from a knight 'in the Norman fashion' but Barber (1995, 26) mentions (giving reference to Elsbet Orth, 'Formen und Funktion der höfischen Rittererhebung' in Joseph Fleckenstein' (ed.) *Curialitas: Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur* (Verröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 100) (Göttingen 1990) 153) that there has been a preference of being knighted by a priest so that the knight will use his sword only for justice as he made an oath.

and prayer ceremonies were conventional before going into battle (Figure 17). War cries like 'Divine Aid' or uttering the name of a sanctuary or saint was important for bolstering confidence.[13] Similar to using the images of saints on banners and war-carts it was a means for solidarity and spiritual relief. Bringing relics and even wearing them during combat was another way of diffusing divine aid into battle (Strickland, 1996, 58-67). The idea behind the cross on the clothing and shields of the crusaders was to show the distinction of a crusader knight from an ordinary warrior, to remind that they were fighting in the name of the church and God and to symbolize the holy energy of the divine aid. As a matter of fact, the Cross was something more for the Latins:

> …the Cross had acquired a reputation as a powerful vehicle of divine favour and assistance, which eclipsed all other holy objects in Palestine, so that it became a talisman which the Franks of Jerusalem regarded as essential to a military success whenever the security of the realm was threatened. (Murray 1998, 231)

3.1.4.2 Fame and Reputation

The fear of God, the desire of forgiveness and divine approval were strong reasons for motivation. However the knights were soldiers and the regulations of the church could not prevent them from incurred violence and knightly ethos. Therefore the militia continued to confront the teachings of the church. It was not the spiritual concern but more secular values like honor and reputation that kept knights from immorality, violence and crime (Strickland 1996, 90-97).

In this respect, the warrior values of honor and shame were involved with battle attitudes more than any of the church teachings. According to Julian Pitt-Rivers, "honor" was defined as 'the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It was his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it was also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society - his right to pride.'[14] In order to be an honorable knight the qualities to be attained were: loyalty to one's lord and kin, brilliance in war and diplomacy, generosity to one's vassal or companions in arms, greatness in spirit, devotion and behaving properly in front of ladies

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[13] The same was true for Muslims. In combat, they used war cries like 'Allah', phrases from the Quran or the words of Prophet Muhammed.

[14] J. Pitt-Rivers, 'Honor and Social Status', in Honor and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society, ed. J.G. Peristiany (London, 1965) page 21, quoted by Strickland 1996, 99.

and in courtly circles.[15] Above all, one's honor was valued by his strength and courage in war (Strickland 1996, 98-99). In the mid-twelfth century, the concepts of "ideal knight" and "ideal lover" were quite overlapped. 'Lords, look at the best knight that you have ever seen...he is brave and courtly and skillful, and of good lineage, eloquent, handsomely, experienced in hunting and falconry, he knows how to play chess and backgammon...'[16]

Being a knight of honor and fame was quite important in the eyes of society and a true knight was expected to accomplish certain social necessities. However the knightly career became important for men not only because of social benefits but also by the privileges of valuable armor. A knight was equipped in the best manner as he was a professional with a relevant income (Barber 1995, 4). The full military equipment of the knight included lance and sword, helmet, shield, and hauberk (mail shirt) (Figure 14, 15) (Coss 1993, 24). The most essential and most expensive among all the possessions of the knight, however, was the horse. The war horse was well trained to carry the heavy load of the knight equipped with arms and armor during challenging battle conditions. They were suitable for riding long distances. In this regard, soldiers usually needed more than one horse. After the twelfth century the horses were also equipped for war and called covered horses (Prestwich 1996, 30-35). This further improved the elite appearance of a knight who was already the symbol of perfection.

If a knight combined his military skills and courage with his other virtues, his fame and reputation would also multiply. For example, granting the gains in war like arms and horses to his fellow warriors, being ready to give his life for his lord's when necessary were some virtues that brought great respect. Especially giving his mount to his lord in battle and staying on foot was one of the most important and dangerous sacrifices a knight could ever face. In reverse, like Richard I, rescuing his warriors by risking his life and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them, taking into account all the dangers of the field were great virtues for a lord who would be awarded with the devotion of his men, a successful siege and great reputation. Such an attitude was a great vassalic property and an incredible leadership (Strickland 1996, 102-104).

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[15] S. Painter, French Chivalry (Baltimore, 1940) page 29, quoted by Strickland 1996, 99.
[16] l. Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in Twelfth Century Occitan Epic' Forum of Modern Language Studies, 17 (1981) pages 117-30 quoted by Keen 1996, 23.

3.1.4.3 Tournaments

Reputation, honor and fame needed to be renewed from time to time. The best way to do this was to join in tournaments since these were the ideal arenas for actually practicing for war, displaying talents in front of patrons and ladies, meeting friends and building up brotherhoods. It was important for ordinary *milites* to show their skills and courage to their lords in the presence of ladies because the easiest way for a single warrior to ascend the social ladder was by marriage (Coss 1993, 8). Other than feudal service in times of war, in tournaments also men could serve under temporary contracts. It was an important service for a knight to attend a tournament during his service period. The knights of a lord were expected to be by the side of their lords in tournaments and in wars because it was important to note that usually the same knights who succeed in tournaments did so also in wars (Coss 1993, 117).

From the aspect of authority, tournaments were politically more important than social values of honor and reputation. The reason for a king to organize tournaments was to prepare an environment for his warriors to be trained and experienced already in their homeland. Tournaments were the ideal places for such practice because the services expected from a man in war and in tournament were similar i.e. to act individually and as a member of a group. This close resemblance made tournaments politically important. Such tournaments also had the risks that they could sometimes turn into a civil war as they helped to train and increase firmness among different groups (Keen 1996, 85-94). Another risk was that the great magnates would be personally present in the tournament with their household knights. This meant that in an agitated position the warriors of opposing sides would be ready to turn the tournament field into a battlefield. In the end, however, even though the advantage of tournaments as a good training field made them popular, the ever present danger of turning into a war caused the kings to forbid them.

3.2 The Recruits and the Military Orders

Aside from the lords and the knights there were also recruits in the army of the crusaders. These lower status soldiers who were shortly mentioned above were either free contractors or mostly they were within an order. In Western Europe from the first crusade on, the military orders were established in order to support and provide resources for the main army. All were present within these orders: knights, sergeants and

infantry. The very first of all military orders was the order of Temple[17] which was founded in the early twelfth century in Jerusalem. The main obligation of the Templars was to protect and defend the pilgrims in the Holy Land; the Templars were additional forces for the defense of Jerusalem and available when the crusader states were in need. They had both religious and military discipline. Because of this, they were criticized to be influenced from the Islamic order of *ribat* which was a border fortress adopting a religious way of life while fighting against the infidel (Forey 1994, I 175-78).

The customs of the military orders did not differ widely from other middle age religious orders[18] even though devotion to a religious order meant the sacrifice of all secular life. Despite the fact that the gap between the religious and military life was greater in the early middle ages, these two ends came closer after the introduction of the crusades. There was an attempt to Christianize knighthood mostly for political reasons. Therefore the function of the warrior was redefined as: 'to protect and to defend the poor and weak, the Church and Christianity.' The crusades offered a chance of gaining salvation and forgiveness of sins without true devotion of life to religion. By the beginning of the twelfth century, crusades were accepted as a way of expressing one's love to God and to his brothers. Members of the true knighthood were equally regarded as if they belonged to a religious order of charity and devotion. Hence the gap between religious and secular life became diminished by the advancement of the crusades (Forey 1994, I 181-187).

Most military orders received new recruits from the local regions where they belonged. Only the Temple and the Hospital orders' recruits were from all over Europe. Commitment to military orders from the upper nobility was less than the others. In fact, in order to enter a military order, the main condition to be fulfilled was not being a serf but a freeman. Nevertheless forgiveness from serfdom in order to attend the orders was also possible. There was no age limit for the entry of the orders. However, in order to take responsibility or make a profession, there were age limits like 14 for the Teutonic order, 15 for Santiago, and 18 for Calatrava. Therefore underage children were accepted not as recruits but for being trained as in the case of noble families' sons or to be

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[17] For further information about the military orders of Templars and Hospitallers see Chapter 4.
[18] It is very important to note the resemblance of the rules of military orders. Especially the conventional life has very similar rules to the other monastic orders, mostly because the Rule of the Order of the Temple was originated by Bernard of Clairvaux based on the Cistercian Order. See also Appendix II and III. For further information about the religious and monastic orders, see Burton (1994).

protected as for orphans. For the usual recruit, the condition of marriage was also asked while entering the order where at least the will of the wife was required. One of the most important conditions was to be healthy; both physical and mental health was investigated. Especially for the ones who would go to the east breathing problems were obstacles. Before the approval to a military order, the financial background of the aspirants was also ascertained. Those in debt were rejected since donations from the recruits were also expected (Forey 1994, II 140-155).

The decision to enter a military order was mostly an individual choice. However, sometimes family pressure and transfer from other religious orders played a role. Individuals often chose to join these orders because the alternatives they offered were better than the secular life. Some could escape from serfdom; others could be satisfied with the altered life standards and higher social status, as the military orders meant authority and power. Some chose to overcome the financial difficulties of life in this way, while for the elderly the orders could be places of refuge. Despite all other secular reasons some still chose to join orders due to spiritual reasons (Forey 1994, II 162-170).

The social context of Europe in the middle ages and the feudal system[19] disclose the riddle of the crusades. It was not a mystical, sacred or miraculous event that made thousands of people take their arms on one hand and the cross on the other to march east and overcome the infidel. Politically this was in order to sort out the question of the diminishing eastern borders and rescue the Holy Lands from Arabs and Turks, but personally the aim was to gain fortune and glory and to ask for forgiveness from the sins which led men took the cross. No matter how powerful it was, no mere political or governmental force could gather such a force and convince men of western Christianity to fight for centuries in a distant land. The impetus created over several centuries by the people, and accomplished again by the human factor, social context and morality of the westerners. When split into components it is easier to comprehend; hence from a single warrior's point of view it is even easier to understand because every crusader army was a mass of warriors running to a single goal. In order to be more realistic one must see the individuals within those armies. The moving scene exemplified by Painter (1969) was

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[19] The Feudal System of Europe in the Middle Ages is very important to clarify many points about the crusades and the Latin Kingdom. However the subject is very broad and needs to be studied in detail and the information about the feudal system of Europe given in this thesis is introductive. For further information, especially about the social classes of knighthood and nobility and the organizations of society and vassalage, see Bloch (1965).

constructed by those individuals: who ran to help his father's friend, who convinced his soldiers in quest of new territories to rule and who fought for fame and glory. Each of the lords made up his mind and answered the call of the pope with the eagerness of his own vigorous reasons. The knights who lived on their lands were bounded with customs of feudality, by contacts or by tradition which set the foundation of knightly ethos (Barber 1995, 262). Crusade was a legendary tradition and by the desire of their lords they prepared to honor them. The recruits on the other hand were motivated to join the flow by the binding forces of the medieval society. All united under the same army with different decisions and destinations hence by analyzing the diversity of the minds of the members make it easier to comprehend the whole as crusaders, marching thousands of warriors for the salvation of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER IV

SOLDIERS OF CHRIST: CRUSADERS, TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS

As already explained above, the crusades were a means of Christianizing knighthood. The importance of crusades within the social and religious settings of the Western military system was that it elevated the significance of war and warriors' place in society as well as in the eyes of the church and papacy. The knighthood ethos was something quite different than the crusading ideals; it was about aristocracy and the feudal system of the medieval society. Therefore the ethics of chivalry did not have significance for the church. The regulations of the church were geared towards restricting the violence of warfare. Although the initiation of knighthood was through the altar, fighting and shedding blood were accepted as evil attitudes. Knighthood and the church were two opposite ends of medieval society until the crusades and it was when the decisions of sending an army to the east emerged that the significance of knighthood arose. According to Keen, crusades became the theme of a church doctrine and played a major role in the Christian knighthood concept. It also raised attention towards aspects like war and combating which the church had preferred to condemn before (Keen 1984, 44-45).

Before the announcement of a holy war at Clermont by the Pope, the attitude of the church towards war and killing was totally prohibiting. The ones who shed the blood of others were subjected to penalty. The idea behind this found its origin back in the division of churches; the Eastern Church adopted soldier-saints easily, but the western one started to look to war and killing with increased suspicion (Barber 1995, 249). However by the desire of a holy war to rescue Jerusalem, understanding of war and combating differed sharply. According to the new understanding, anyone participating in the holy war to kill the infidel would be forgiven, and the ones who would die during combat were promised entry into heaven (Keen 1984, 46). This new perspective opened a new way to

Christianity offering the same status to soldiers as Islam did, balancing the circumstances with the enemy: anyone who dies for religion becomes a martyr and goes to heaven. In these terms, as some scholars mention, the crusades were not much different than the holy "Cihad" of Muslims. Therefore the forgiveness of the soldiers who fought and died for Christian society became similar to that of Islam. In several parts, Quran mentions about the holy war and the forgiveness of the ones who fight for Allah.[20]

The church directed the knighthood which it had disapproved to a more positive direction; with this new concern, the robbers (the knights who plunder) and killers (who fight to kill) were to become the soldiers of Christ. Therefore a chance for salvation was given to the soldiers and heaven was promised to them (Keen 1984, 48). The crusades owed much to this new mental attitude which was shaped by the church to legitimize certain political aims. On the other hand it was a very progressive compromise for the development of the western military system and its improvement to a higher rank. From then on, the knights who had been honored as the knight of a faithful lord and by fighting for him would now become the knights of Christ and the honor would be for fighting in the name of Christianity. Salvation was only a small detail which motivated society in the middle ages. Despite the great effect of crusades which brought together the two ends of society, the period after the first crusade saw the rise of other institutions which consolidated the combination of religious behavior with knightly ethos. The military orders of the twelfth century were one of the most important aspects of the Latin Kingdom among which the most prominent ones were the Order of the Temple and the Order of the Hospital.

4.1 Templars of Jerusalem: The New Knighthood, the Lost Order

When it came into existence, the concept behind the Order of the Temple was something which the Christian World had been recently accepting as mentioned before. For an order

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[20] 'Surely those who believed and those who fled (their home) and strove hard in the way of Allah these hope for the mercy of Allah and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.' (*Bakara*-218)

O you who believe! Be careful of (your duty to) Allah and seek means of nearness to Him and strive hard in His way that you may be successful. (*Maide*-35)

And prepare against them what force you can and horses tied at the frontier, to frighten thereby the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them, whom you do not know (but) Allah knows them; and whatever thing you will spend in Allah's way, it will be paid back to you fully and you shall not be dealt with unjustly. (*Enfal*-60)

O Prophet! Strive hard against the Unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be harsh with them. Their abode is Hell, - an evil refuge (indeed). (*Tahrim*-9)

http://www.kurandaara.com/

which existed for charity, there was the Order of Hospital that had been curing pilgrims even before the times of the first crusade. However a military order which was composed of devoted knight-monks to fight for Christ was a concept full of contradictions and complexity. Socially, the knights, who were well armed, mounted warriors, were a group highly admired. Wars and fighting were inseparable parts of life for medieval people. However according to the teachings of the church and the Christian way of life, in which all the knights were involved without exception, there was no excuse for killing people and shedding blood. The concept of the Order of the Temple stood in between these two opposite ends which shaped the medieval society, removing the gap between them. The Order of the Temple was a crystallized form of the idea of crusading where warrior nature and Christian virtues overlapped; shedding blood meant martyrdom; a warrior wore both, a knight's dress and a monk's habit. In this respect, the concept of the 'soldiers of Christ' which was born inside the crusading society found itself a meaningful, acceptable and more than that approvable place within the Order of the Temple which gained appreciation from all ranks of society including religious authorities. In addition, by approving crusades and Templars, the church could legitimize the war and canalize the warrior violence into a profitable account for the Christian world. As Barber mentions, by the existence of the Order of the Temple, the soldiers of Christ were not only fighting in spiritual battles but also in physical battles (Barber 1994, 40). The Temple which sheltered the monks who fought against evil also became the barracks of the knights who fought with the infidel.

4.1.1 The Origin of the Order

The pilgrim roads were more dangerous than ever after the first crusade. This was an important problem which influenced some knights who had been in the Holy Lands at that time. The rise of the Templars was due to this desire to protect the pilgrims, who came to see the Holy Land from far away, encountering many dangers and difficulties. The formation of the Order of the Temple was so natural, simple and unplanned that at the beginning these knights were not important enough to pay attention. As a matter of fact, there is no record about the beginning of the Order. After it was noticed and became an important foundation, the chroniclers wrote about the beginning as they remembered it or according to the information they could gather (Barber 1994, 6).

There are various accounts about the origins of the Order of the Temple mentioning that the first knights who founded the Order were either pilgrims who came with the first crusade or were actually the crusaders themselves. Such stories which were written after many years of the foundation are the most reliable sources today because the Order was not initiated as an important, powerful order but as an insignificant group that nobody, including the Templars themselves cared enough to record their history. Although it is unusual that an order did not record its history, it is understandable as it was the first military order, not institutionally but intuitively formed. On the other hand the main focus was not the scripts but the swords even in the very early days of the Order (Nicholson 2001, 23).

One of these sources is the history of Archbishop William of Tyre who mentioned the Templars while he wrote the history of the crusader states between 1165 and 1184. According to him, the Templars were a group of noble knights (led by Hugh of Payns and Godfrey of St Omer) who devoted themselves to God and with the guidance of the patriarch who were ready to serve Christ. King Baldwin II let them live in his palace near the Dome of the Rock which was called Solomon's Temple (Aqsa Mosque) (Figure 19) and since they lived in the Temple they were called "Templars". The knights were offered to undertake the regular monastic canons of chastity (no sexual relationship), poverty (no personal property) and obedience (accepting the leadership in the name of Christ). The council of Troyes (1128[21]) in Champagne is very important in the history of the Order because this was when the Templars received official recognition from the Pope; they were announced as the defenders of Holy Jerusalem and protectors of pilgrims. Also in this council, their garments were decided as the white cloak with a red cross; white symbolizing purity, the cross in the middle indicating that they were the soldiers of Christ, with the red color showed their willingness to martyrdom (Nicholson 2001, 23 Barber 1994, 7-8).

4.1.1.1 The New Knighthood

There are other accounts about the Templars but these later writings are not trust worthy because usually they were the records prepared under the influence of important former

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[21] The information about the foundation date of the order was obtained from the records which mention that in the Council of Troyes in 1128 it was the ninth year of the foundation. However this date was obtained according to the French calendar with 25 March as the beginning of the year. Therefore the foundation date of Templars was approximately between 14 January and 13 September 1120 (Barber 1994, 9).

records such as the letter written by Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux (Figure 20). Bernard's letter, written before 1136 in Latin and addressed to Hugh de Payns had been written as an encouragement to the brothers of the Order probably by the request of Hugh de Payns. The letter is important as it sets the spiritual basis of the Order; while encouraging on one side, it also aimed to inform the brothers about their mission. With this letter, Bernard clearly differentiated the new knighthood from the secular knighthood. According to him the secular knighthood was not *militia* (knighthood) but *malicia* (evil); the knights belonging to the new order preserved their souls when they were killed and preserved Christendom when they killed. He described the Templar knights as peaceful lambs at home and fierce lions in the field. He even doubted whether these new knights should be called as knights or monks. Therefore he described the Templars as 'the knights who lived like monks', 'the knights who dedicate themselves to die for Christ' (Nicholson 2001, 26-27).

In this letter, Bernard praised the life and mission of the Templars stating that all the crusades were in fact pilgrimages where true Christians acted with the passion of Christ. The Templars who left all their worldly life behind for the devotion to the service of Christ were the real monks. Bernard also pointed out that they were the Templars who lived where Christ had lived, and this privilege also gave them a better comprehension of the spiritual meanings of Christianity. Therefore sitting on the same rock where Jesus once sat, drinking water from the same spring from which the lord had drunk and breathing the same air that Christ did would make them stronger. No one else could understand better what an important mission they had there in the Holy Lands (Barber 1994, 44-48).

The letter of Bernard and the council of Troyes were very important for the official and public recognition of the Order. However even before the council of Troyes in 1129, the Templars started to be recognized by the noble and religious people of western Christendom and they started to accept donations. These donations show how strong the effect of the new order was and how the Templar concept was appreciated. In a text indicating why the donation was made Simon, bishop of Noyons wrote in 1130-1:

> For we know that three orders have been instituted by God in the Church, the order of prayers, of defenders and of workers. The other orders were in decline while the order of defenders had almost completely perished. But God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ,

God's Son, had mercy on the Church. Through the infusion of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, in these most recent times he deigned to repair the lost order. So in the holy city where once the Church originated, the lost order of the Church began to be repaired. (Nicholson 2001, 33)[22]

Besides admiration and appreciation, there was also disapproval against the new order and debates that a religious order could not be a proper religious order when it included fighting and killing. There were people who excluded such an order from the religious orders and there were accusations against the Templars. It was a subject of argument whether a Christian could kill or whether blood shedding accorded with Christianity. Nevertheless, according to some religious men including Bernard of Clairvaux, violence had to be met with violence in order to keep peace. What the Templars practiced was such a justified war in order to protect the Holy places. Like Bernard, there were other religious men who thought that what the Templars did involved a dual mission; they had been fighting physically in battle and spiritually in the temple (Nicholson 2001, 35-37).

The support of all against the disapprovals was from the Pope. The papal recognition in the Council of Troyes was the keystone which enforced the organization of the order opening the way for donations and recruits. In addition to this first attempt, the privileges given to the Order by the Pope between 1139 and 1945 (*Omne datum optimum* (1139), *Milites Templi* (1144) and *Militia Dei* (1145)) were very important to reinforce the presence of the Order of the Temple against religious authorities and nobles of Europe and the Levant (Barber 1994, 56-58)

After the initial efforts of Bernard of Clairvaux and the church, the Order of the Temple soon became a very favorable order which received many donations. Donations in the middle ages were made in order to receive forgiveness from God. Therefore the donor would choose the religious or military order which he thought the closest to God (Nicholson 2001, 123). The first donations to the Order which dated back to 1128 showed the rapid public admiration which changed within a wide range both socially and geographically (Barber 1994, 23).

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[22] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?-1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives l'ordre du Temple,* ed. Le marquis d'Albon (Paris, Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1913) quoted by H. Nicholson 2001, 33. (See also page 18, footnote.4)

4.1.2 The Organization of the Order

The donations given to the Order in the west could be in the form of buildings, estates or financial assets. These donations established the provincial structure of the Order in the west (Barber 1994, 19-20). The provinces in the west were governed in administrative centers called commanderies. The commandery was very similar to a secular lord's house; the responsibilities of the commander of the province were to collect money or production, send every possible financial resource to the east, accept donations and gifts and provide justice (Nicholson 2001, 13-121-124).

The organization of the order was similar to other military orders, like the Hospitallers of St John and the Teutonic Order. The most responsible officer was the Master who lived in the headquarters with other high officials who were assisted by subordinate officials. The lands in the west were divided into provinces and ruled by a provincial officer. Below them were other subordinate officers who were responsible for each house. Officers came together in charter meetings, so that the headquarters and the Master were informed about the occurring in the west. The Master was authorized to make decisions. However he was not alone especially while making important decisions of war, treaty or alliance or accepting the responsibility of an entrusted castle. The members who would contribute to such decisions were the high officials of the Order like the Marshal, the Commander of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Seneschal and the Draper. These five officials were the high officials of the Order. Below them there were minor officials like the Commander of the City of Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch and the western provinces; the Commander of the Knights, the Commander of the Land of Jerusalem were all knightly origin (Barber 1994, 187-189).

The initial idea behind the foundation of the Order of the Temple was to serve Christ, hence to protect the sacred places as well as the pilgrims. However, because the Templars were the best knights to protect the lands in the Levant and ready to fight all the time, in time the Order began to be used like a royal military force (Nicholson 2001, 69).

The Templars were also involved in crusades as a natural outcome of their military identity. They guided and marched with the crusader army; they guarded them or fought together. They also supplied war machines such as stone throwers, ships and supplies for the crusader armies; they lent money to the crusading leaders, and also assumed important roles in negotiations with Muslim leaders (Nicholson 2001, 70-72).

4.1.3 The Templar Castles

The military orders had received many donations and gifts both back in the homeland and in the Levant. Especially from 1250s onward, the number of castles to be entrusted was increased. The lords who could not hold enough force to garrison the castles left them to military orders with the responsibility of protecting the town. Being the most prominent military order, Templars also received many castle donations. Thus increasing their status and reputation, these castles were also great burdens to the Order especially in later years when the Order's financial income could not afford to supply all of them. Other than donations, there were also castles constructed by the Order of Temple. In 1178-9, together with King Baldwin IV, they constructed a fortress at Jacob's Ford (Vadum Jacob). During the Fifth Crusade (1217-21), Templars built Castle Pilgrim (Figure 22) (Nicholson 2001, 59-61).

Templar castles had various functions. While they were the administrative centers of the states, they were the religious centers for the brothers[23], and the garrisons for the knights at the same time. From castles, Templars conducted raids against Muslims. Castles also provided a secure pilgrim route; from secure castle spots, Templars escorted pilgrims. Since castles were trusted campaign areas in wars, the Templars of the castle gave military advice to the king or commander in charge of the area they enclosed. The castles were also used by Templars and the tenants for refuge in times of Muslim raids and even by the allies of Templars. Although the initiation idea of the Order was to protect and defend, the Templar castles served both offensive and defensive. In order to get ransom and booty which could easily be turned into money, Templars attacked Muslim towns and caravans. The brothers who lived inside the castles were few in number. When there was a war, mercenaries had to be hired. Since most of the population of the castle was composed of lay brothers (Nicholson 2001, 61-64).

There were castles which were built by Templars in the Holy Lands. However the castles which they held in Cilicia are dated very early. Hence the Order did not have enough resources to build them. In this respect, they probably occupied existing Armenian castles

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[23] According to some scholars the concentric plan of castles was improved to isolate brothers from the outside world. Inside the inner wards would be the brothers and their chapel; while the outside would be used for mercenaries and other purposes. Hence the military function that was served by the inner keep was the most protected point was probably the main purpose (Nicholson 2001, 61).

and altered them afterwards when money became available. In Cilicia, by the late 1130s they received a series of castles which formed a protection ring. The Baghras (Gaston) Castle was the most important among these castles and protected the pass to Syria. It had very impressive towers and three lines of defense walls. Not far was the Darbsak (Trapesak) Castle which guarded the northern approach to the pass. In the north, there were two other castles which viewed the east-west route to the Gulf of Alexandretta, La Roche de Roussel and La Roche Guillaume. These series of castles formed a screen protecting the northern end of the kingdom; the Principality of Antioch and Templars used these castles for this same function as did the Armenians (Barber 1994, 79).

The most important castles in the county of Tripoli were Chastel Blanc and Tortosa Castle. The Tortosa Castle had been held by a secular lord, (Raynouard of Maraclea) who did not have enough resources to maintain it after the destruction by Nur-ad-Din. Archbishop William of Tortosa had donated the lands, including the castle itself to Templars in 1152. After receiving the castle the Templars built a larger keep with flanking towers. When the Order was granted Tortosa Castle, they already held Chastel-Blanc where they built a large keep protected by a round defense line. From the top of the tower, the castle had a view with Crac des Chevaliers which was held by Hospitallers and another castle of Templars, al-'Arimah (received before 1152), which was between Chastel-Blanc and the coast line. Al-'Arimah was a ridge castle and had a wide view towards the sea, the Akkar plain and further to the south (Barber 1994, 79-82).

During 1160s, the Order was entrusted with more castles in the region of Transjordan and Galilee. Ahamat Castle was donated by Philip of Milly, one of the leading lords of the kingdom as a part of a huge grant upon entering the Order in 1166. The castle was the north member of a series of southern castles. In the region of Galilee, the Order took over the Safad Castle (before 1168), which was purchased from its lord by the king Amalric with a contribution of the Order. Jacob's Fort (Chastellet-1178) was guarding one of the three points where there was easy pass from River Jordan to the kingdom. Templars constructed this fort, together with the king Baldwin IV to prevent Saladdin's attacks. More centrally placed, there was La Fève Castle which was built to be used as a supply depot of arms, food and tools. It was placed very strategically at a junction. In addition to this strategic importance, there were the ruins of a Bronze Age castle on an artificial mound which supplied water from a nearby marsh (Barber 1994, 83-87).

The castles mentioned above were the defensive spots of the kingdom. However there were also castles built to protect the pilgrim routes. The important routes were from the ports Jaffa, Haifa and Acre to the holy places and from Jerusalem to Jordon. Casal des Plains (Yazur) (before 1187) was outside the city of Jaffa and on the road to Jerusalem there were Castel Arnold (Yalu) (1150s) and Toron of the Knights (Latrun) (before 1172). Near Haifa, there was another castle protecting the narrow pass and another small fort used as refuge. Between Jerusalem and Jordan, there was the Castle of Maldoim (Red Cistern-before 1172) looking over the road to Jericho. It had a rectangular keep and some vaulted buildings. Overlooking Jericho, there was another fort used for supplies of food and arms (Barber 1994, 87-89). The primary purpose of the castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem, (Yazur, Latrun, Yalu) was to protect the road. However according to Pringle they were also constructed as bases of colonization and became offensive strongholds against Muslim cities (Pringle 1998, 108)

4.1.4 The Templar Life

The members of the Temple Order were very skillful knights. The idea that they fought for Christ was the great motive behind them. While the secular knights aimed at fame and glory as well as plunder and ransom during combat, the Templars' main idea was to glorify and protect the name of Christ. In battles, the Templars acted quite properly. This was due to the fact that fighting was a means of honoring God's name. On the other hand, there were regulations governing the actions of Templars during battles and campaigns such as 'how brothers make a camp' or 'how the brothers should form the line of march' (Nicholson 2001, 69). Among the knights who joined the Order, there were professionals who attended many wars and tournaments in the west as well as in the east. But whether professional or less competent, all the Templar knights lacked in the rules of a communal life. For such a possibility of disorder, the Rule had very distinct explanations both about military and social life. Therefore a Templar knight would become an obeyed and ordered strong knight at war and a mild monk in the Temple (Barber 1994, 192-93). Each knight had three horses and a squire but decorating the horses with gold or silver or with attractive colored cloths was forbidden. The knightly sports of hunting or hawking were also not allowed unless the hunted animal was the lion which represented the evil (Barber 1994, 16). The Templar knights did not spend their time like a secular knight. Therefore they were knights in terms of what knighthood meant only in the battlefield.

The life of Templar knights was quite interesting and distinctive. They lived in the Levant and fought for the crusader states but were not crusaders. They adopted a communal life with the monastic rules of monks, but were not religious people like monks. Templar knights were neither knights nor monks, or they were both. They were a privileged group who adopted a monastic life in order to fight. As Barber calls it, the "dual aspects" of Templar life, unifying the spirituality of a monk and a knight was what made the Templars so unique. But this was not the only reason making the life of Tempalrs so interesting. Another fact was that they were living in Jerusalem, in a city which was accepted as sacred by most religions. In addition they were living in the Temple of Solomon which was also an important mosque for Muslims. A contemporary Muslim knight called Usama wrote about the Templars in his memories:

> …when I was in Jerusalem I used to go to the Masjid al-Aqsa, beside which is a small oratory which the Franks have made into a church. Whenever I went into the mosque, which was in the hand of Templars who were friends of mine, they would put the little oratory at my disposal, so that I could say my prayers there…
> (Gabrieli 1989, 79-80)

This shows that Templars had good relations with their non-Christian neighbors; they trusted Muslims to leave them alone in their church where the initial idea was to purify these sacred places from them. They were friends with the Muslim knights whom they fought to kill in the battle. It is not easy to understand such contradictions in the life of Templars. Nevertheless their unique life deserves respect and admiration even in the twentieth century.

The Templar knights in the Levant did not always fight. They also had a casual life centered mostly on Benedictine rules. The every day life of Templars was based on a regular monastic day. It was composed of times to pray between meal times (Nicholson 2001, 188-189). There were two main meals a day, one in the late morning, one in the evening; the meals would be mostly simple vegetarian meals. Conversation was limited to the most necessary functional dialogs; laughter or shameful words, or showing anger was strictly forbidden. Casual conversation with outsiders, personal possessions, sending or receiving gifts were all actions performed with the permission from the Master. The life inside the Order of the Temple was a total and strict monastic life (Barber 1994, 16-17). Praying was a very important activity for Templars. Even if the enemy attacked while they were praying, they continued to pray instead of defense. Templars were also

respected with their love and veneration of Virgin Mary. They also had devotion to St George who was also a warrior and killed by pagans due to his faith[24] (Nicholson 2001, 141-149).

4.1.5 The End of the Order

Templars had been an effective order which the west had been proud of. People had envied, criticized or even blamed them. But when Europe was submerged internal troubles like wars, invasions and threats against papal authority, then the Levant, the crusader states and Templars were left to their own faith. On the other hand, in the east, there was another great threat against the crusader states. The trade routes shifted to the north in relation to Mongol invasions. Therefore trade, which was the biggest income of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, decreased. In addition to this, the Muslim forces which had been formerly separated and in quarrel with each other were now unified under the leadership of Mamluks. After the victory of Saladdin in Hattin, the westerners in the Levant who were weaker and poorer than before, lost the city of Acre which had been the strongest city in the spring of 1291. The Order of Temple like the other military orders fought bravely. Many high officials died, but could not save the city. Afterwards, although Antioch and Triopli were still held, the citizens and soldiers took refuge in Cyprus which still resisted the Mamluks (Nicholson 2001, 84-86).

In sum, Templars were a very important force in the Holy Lands. They were much trusted by western authorities so that ignoring the political and economic circumstances of the Levant, they were blamed for failure. Their bad reputation thus increased. Such a reputation was the worst thing that an order could face because like the other orders, The Order of the Temple could only survive with the donations coming from the west. Their accomplishments were thus very important for westerns who would decide to support them or actually consider entering the order. They had to act very carefully not to be misunderstood or else they were unwilling to fight. However they had been deeply criticized for any advice of withdrawal or retreat, they were blamed to continue war in order to supply money from the west (Nicholson 2001, 72-78). It was even claimed that the Templars had been accepting money from Muslims to fail! Therefore they were even blamed as culprits for western defeat and being allies with Muslims, especially in times of

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[24] The knights of the Temple also presented an ideal state combining the most purified goals of knights and clerics, therefore they were the symbols of perfection (See page 18, Duby 1990, 159-160)

defeat. The westerners could not tolerate to their failure. If they were not allies and accepting money from Muslims, it was considered impossible for them to fail because they were very talented, respectful warriors who were ready to die in the name of Christ (Nicholson 2001, 6-7).

Such blames ruined the honor of the Order, but the end of the Order was prepared by the events in 1306. The chief officials of the Order of the Temple were against the king of Cyprus, and when the king succeeded to rule, he arrested them in 1310. The officials died in prison in 1316, but the Order that did not have any officials to rule dissolved in 1312 as the Pope rescinded their recognition and they could no longer raise money as an institution. All their properties passed to other orders. All over Europe, the Templar knights were then "hunted" to be executed (Figure 21) (Nicholson 2001, 13).

4.2 The Order of Hospital

The military and monastic orders of the middle ages were the harvest of a new kind of understanding resulting from the differentiation in spiritual and mental behaviors. According to Giles Constable, this variety, which started with the division of the Greek and Latin churches continued to be a reform both in the religious and social life of medieval Europe. Constable describes the division, disorder, or, in other terms, the crisis in the church. This was also expressed by Pope Urban II, as 'a dreadful schism in the house of God' when he mentioned the foundation of Cistercians, as a reform in the medieval society. The changing ideals about 'personal perfection' were encouraged by various religious institutions and interpretations as canons and habits which were the reformers of society. On the other hand, for medieval people religion was a way of life rather than just a way of belief. Therefore, the variety of the institutions, which served as alternatives for the desire of self perfection and personal purification created diversity in the lives of people. Among various such reformers in medieval society, there were the military as well as the monastic orders. The military orders which offered a different interpretation to the religious life and purification had in fact been offering a new kind of religion according to some medieval writers such as Joachim of Fiore. This new kind of religion which based its origin on laymen rather than monks and clerics offered an alternative life of assistance to religious people. In the opinion of other scholars, however, there was a parallelism between entering a military order and a monastic order since both saved lives by fighting in the name of God. In this regard, the ethos behind the crusades

and the idea of entering heaven by fighting with the infidel had long been a subject of debate (Constable 1996, 1-80).

The foundation of the Order of Hospital as one of the first international institutions was in the core of common belief and within a diversity of such practices. The purpose of charity and the ideal of helping the poor and humble pilgrims in Jerusalem were both reasons unable to reject for any authority that witnessed the rising of the Order of the Hospital of St John. As Riley-Smith mentions, 'the Order's greatness lay in its corporate personality and in the practical application of a unique ideal' (Riley-Smith 1967 3). As such, the Order of the Hospital had from the first days of its origin the single purpose of aiding the pilgrims of Jerusalem.

4.2.1 The Origin of the Order

About the origin of the Order of Hospital the information derived from William of Tyre is reliable. According to him, in the eleventh century, before the first crusade, some merchants from Amalfi received a gift of land from the Fatimid caliph in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem where they built a monastery dedicated to St. Mary. Within a short time a daughter house was constructed in honor of St Mary Magdalene which provided a shelter for female pilgrims. Due to the increase in the number of pilgrims however, the monastery decided to build a hospice dedicated to St John with its own church and monastery to take care of these unprotected pilgrims. This hospice is the original Hospital of St John. This account of William of Tyre is also supported (with some differences) by other sources and archeological evidence (Riley-Smith 1967, 34-35).

The purpose of the Order was to give service to poor pilgrims, which was highly admirable. Therefore it did not take long for the Order to have a widespread fame all around Europe and it received many gifts. Already before 1113, the Order had property in Italy, Spain and France. These properties were organized along the route of pilgrim traffic of Europe to serve as daughter houses. By 1113, the Order of Hospital grew quickly to become the first international order ruled from Jerusalem (Riley-Smith 1967, 39-41).

According to the rules of the Order, the brothers had to wear humble dresses because they were the servants of the poor who were naked or dressed very simple. The idea of the "lordship of the poor" which was invented by Gerard the Master, had a great effect in Europe. Soon after Pope established a bull to recognize the Hospital as an independent

institution. With the bull of 1113, Pope Paschal II proclaimed the Order was to be under his protection from then on. He also confirmed everything it would acquire from people. The Order was thus freed from tithes, and the master would be elected independently only by the members. The Order had the right to own or establish churches and was to be responsible for the spiritual welfare of its tenants (Riley-Smith 1967, 41-46)[25]. Therefore the Order of Hospital of St John soon became a rich, privileged, powerful and prestigious order of medieval Europe.

The first master Gerard was the most influential man on the foundation of the Order and with his efforts, the Order soon became an important institution of Europe. He died in 1120 and Raymond du Puy was elected as the new Master. When Raymond died between 1158 and 1160, the structure of the Order had almost reached its most characteristic mature form (Riley-Smith 1967, 44).

The Rule of the Order was also prepared by the first two Masters, Gerard and Raymond. Despite the inaccuracies about the exact date of the Rule it was probably prepared by Gerard before he died in 1120 based on Benedictine rules and then altered by Raymond between 1120 and 1153. The Rule of the Order of the Hospital included many points from the regulations about daily communal life to the cures of many illnesses. The Rule of Raymond was a reflection of a highly organized institution (Riley-Smith 1967, 48-51).

4.2.2 The Organization of the Order

The members of the Order were grouped in different categories. There were lay brothers, priest brothers and by the thirteenth century knight brothers and sergeants. By the end of the twelfth century there were sisters of St John. There were also associate brothers; *confratres* and donates in the Order who would like be a member but not to be subject to the regulations (Riley-Smith 1967, 230).

The Order was administered by the Master who was aided by high officials. The central government was also responsible for the territories of Europe. The smallest unit in Europe was called a commandery; these commanderies were grouped as provinces called priories

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[25] The basic privileges are collected in five important bulls: *Pie postulatio voluntatis(1113); Ad hoc nos, disponente; Christiane fidei religio (1154); Quam amabilis Deo(1139-43);* and the renewal of *Christiane fidei relgio* (Riley-Smith 1967, 46).

(or capitular commanderies, capitular castellanies) and as grand commanderies. By the end of thirteenth century, all were grouped into seven Tongues. In Syria and Cyprus, there were both commanderies and castellanies (Riley-Smith 1967, 230).

The headquarters of the Order, which was located in Jerusalem,[26] was the center of administration. Until the end of the thirteenth century the central government was composed of the Master and eight high officials: the Grand Commander, the Marshal, the Hospitaller, the Drapier, the Treasurer, the Admiral, Turcopolier and Conventual Prior.

4.2.3 Military Actions and Hospitaller Knights

The Rule of Raymond mentions about priest and lay brothers but there is no evidence about military side of the Order and of the knight brothers until 1200s. The reason for this may be that at first the Order was involved in military activities only as charity purposes and instead of a differentiation of knightly class they hired mercenaries. The military activities of the Order were consolidated by the donation of the Castle of Bethgibelin in 1136 (Figure 23). Soon after the Order became an important force influencing the politics of the kingdom and assumed the responsibility of some frontier territories (Riley-Smith 1967, 52-57).

When a lord could not afford to defend all parts of his lands, he donated some of the lands -including castles and cities in it with all the rights and privileges - to the Order of Hospital so that they would contribute to the defense of the territory. The lords of Antioch and Tripoli left parts of their lands to Hospitallers including some fortresses. With the acqusation of these lands many privileges were also granted to the Order. In Antioch, the Order controlled the fortresses of Chastel Rouge, Cavea, Rochefort and perhaps Shughr-Bakas (Riley-Smith 1967, 131). In 1144 the Order received the fortresses of Crac des Chevaliers, Castellum Bochee, Lacum, Felicium and Mardabech from Count Raymond of Tripoli. In 1152, Maurice, Lord of Montreal donated some part of his castle of Kerak in Moab to the Order including a tower and a barbican. Some years later the Order shared the responsibility of Chastel Neuf. Before 1168, the important castle of Belvoir was also sold to the Order. In 1170 they received the castles of Archas and Gibelacar from King Amalric. These castles strategically controlled the roads to Homs and the plain of

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[26] The headquarters moved to Acre from Jerusalem after 1187, to Limassol after 1191, to Rhodes after 1306, to Malta after 1530, and to Italy after 1798 (Luttrell 1992, XVIII 3-4) (Luttrell 1989, 3-4).

Baalbek. In 1180, Raymond of Tripoli gave them Tuban and its territories. Next year he gave up the control of his lands including the castle of Melechin to the Order. In 1186, Margat which was an important castle to defend southern Antioch and northern Tripoli was entrusted to Hospitallers with its dependencies including castles of Brahim, Popos and perhaps Ericium. Castles Beauda, Belda and perhaps Corveis which were in the same territory were the castles that the Order already owned at that time (Riley-Smith 1967, 131). The rapid growth of the military side of the Order is obvious from the number of castles they occupied. By 1160s the Order already had seven or eight castles[27] (Riley-Smith 1967, 52-70).

The Hospitaller castles were usually small castles of administration which probably remained unoccupied most of the time. However as in the case of the strategically strong castles such as Margat, these castles would be used for defensive purposes when required. Among these fortresses were: Bellfort, Belmont, Belvoirr, Castellum Emmaus, Chola, Kalansue, St Job, Turriclee, Manueth, Turris Salinarum, La Tor de l'Opital, Castrum Rubrum, Coliath, Lo Camel and Maraclea, Lath and Turris Bertranni Milonis and perhaps Arames, Castellum Bovonis and Gouvaira (Riley-Smith 1967, 136). In Cyprus the Order had the castle of Kolossi together with control of wide areas of vineyards (Riley-Smith 1967, 505-507). The Rule of the Order, the regulations and the archives were also kept in one of the Order's castles (Luttrell 1998, 38).

It was the Master of the Order, Raymond du Puy who organized the development of the military part of the Order. Before 1153, the cross had been inserted on the habits of the brothers; this was an attempt to assume the Crusader's responsibilities and become an active participant. However Raymond limited the interaction of the Order to the military actions of the kingdom. The Order served as a military order only when the kingdom needed the aid of it as a military force (Riley-Smith 1967, 58-59).

The desire of some secular authorities to make use of the Order and hand over some of the military burdens and duties and the wish of the Master to interfere in the military actions of the kingdom created a military class within the Order of Hospital. The crusaders who stayed in the Holy Land became the Order's recruits. There is evidence that by the end of twelfth century Templars influenced the Order in a military manner and

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[27] Bethgibelin, Tamarin, Bellfort, castellum Bochee, Crac des chevaliers, Felicium, Lacum and perhaps Castellum Bovonis (Riley-Smith 1967, 69).

in the thirteenth century, Hospitallers practiced with arms. However the differentiation between the Order of the Temple which was founded as a military order and Hospitallers whose main priority always remained as serving poor pilgrims, never totally dissolved. Although the Order of Hospital took part in the military actions this had always been a secondary duty for them[28] (Riley-Smith 1967, 54-59 Sire 1994, 5). However it should also be noted that even though they were militarized afterwards and their priority was not fighting, the notes from the Muslim sources indicate that the Hospitallers were soldiers to be feared:

> The Hospitalers who held it (Margat) were daily becoming more insolent, dangerous and murderous, to such a degree that the people of the neighboring forts were confined to them as if imprisoned or even entombed. (Gabrieli 1989, 334)

4.2.4 Conventual Life in the Order

The Hospitallers lived a communal life. They had conventual buildings near their hospitals. They stayed in the dormitories. Only the Master and high officials had their own quarters and households. They slept clothed with bed clothes and there was a strict rule of silence in the dormitory. The Hospitallers lived according to the basic monastic rules of poverty, chastity and obedience and they were supposed to attend the regular monastic hours; they would attend religious ceremonies on some special days and hear the Mass. There were inflexible regulations about the burial ceremonies of the brothers and the pilgrims. There was also a strict understanding of justice which could lead to losing habit temporally or totally (Riley-Smith 1967, 246-270).

The Hospitallers meals were served twice a day, and each meal was held in two sittings. According to the Rule, the Order required to provide only bread and water to the brothers. However the meals of the Hospitallers were quite satisfactory including meat, fish, eggs and wine. They ate better than any other order. They had also fasting days and on Wednesdays they did not eat meat. In general, they had to eat in good manners and in complete silence (Riley-Smith 1967, 252-254).

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[28] The military actions of the Order of Hospital were also controlled by the papacy. In 1172, the Pope restricted the building of castles without permission, and in the Bull *Piam admodum et jugem*, he pointed out that the first duty of the Order was to care for the poor pilgrims (Riley-Smith 1967, 76).

The Rule restricted any kind of fashionable, colorful clothing or furs. The habits had to be humble. A cross on the breast of their mantles was mandatory. They wore shoes and a white coif on their head. Their garments were always complete and well-kept. The brothers had a small amount of pocket money which they sometimes used for better dressing (Riley-Smith 1967, 254- 257).

4.2.5 The Order after 13th century

After the fall of Acre (Figure 24), the headquarters of the Order was moved to Cyprus[29], Limassol in 1291. However the Order had some difficulties after the failure in Acre. The first was the number of survivors who could escape to Cyprus. There were only seven knights and it was very difficult to rebuild the organization of the Order with such a small number. The second problem was the lack of a strategic purpose because after the loss of Jerusalem and Acre Hospitallers could only serve overseas. The Order tried to establish alliance with the king of Armenia against Muslims; but neither him nor the king of Cyprus were willing to collaborate with the Order (Sire 1994, 25). In 1306 Hospitallers took part in the invasion of Rhodes and in 1309 the Order took the control of the island transferring the headquarters there. In 1312 the Pope decided to hand over the properties of Templars to Hospitallers while organizing some reforms within the Order. Some of its privileges were also cancelled (Luttrell 1992, II 85) (Luttrell 1988, 85). The Order was moved to Malta in 1510 after the loss of Rhodes (Figure 25) and then to Italy after 1798. With the loss of Malta, military actions of the Hospitallers also ended and the Order remained with its charitable and medical functions (Luttrell 1992, XVIII 3-4) (Luttrell 1989, 3-4).

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[29] For more information about the actions of the military orders and other monastic orders in Cyprus see Coureas (1997), chapter 3 and 4.

CHAPTER V

THE CASTLES OF THE CRUSADERS

Castles have a history of several thousand years before they emerged in a fully developed form. The huge, wide surrounding walls, the flanking towers, elaborated entrances with outworks, barbicans, loopholes and many other detailed and advanced properties were added over time to form the ever best war house. Circumstances over the centuries produced the offensive defenses to destroy the enemy or the defensive towers to retreat.

5.1 The Emergence of Castles

Many people's fears, many others' ambitions and blood wet lands over a long period matured the idea of castle building. The art of war and the architecture of castle building became progressively more elaborate over time between east and west. Needless to say, the instincts for protection are human based, hence the wide, strong walls that cover a more secure domain are anonymous. This is an important thing to note, because a survey of castle architecture cannot be limited within a particular geography alone as it spread to the territories where human settlements were most developed and crowded. Therefore military architecture came into existence during the prehistoric periods and grew in Anatolia and Mesopotamia, with respect to the achievements in technology and developments in early societies. As Anderson claims military architecture is as old as religious architecture. In ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, the temple and citadel were found combined where the strong gates of the temples were also designed to be military towers (Anderson 1970, 20).

5.1.2 Roman Fortifications

During the prehistoric periods, military architecture reached an advanced level starting with the enclosure walls of settlements as in Hacılar or in Troy, gradually giving way to examples such as Khorsabad and Babylon. Military architecture reached a more advanced level in the Hittite Period with strong fortification walls built on the sites with considerable natural strength. In east Anatolia, the Urartian hilltop citadels with fortress cities on the slopes are also noteworthy. Further west in the Peloponnesus, the military developments were continued by Mycenaeans. After the Dark Age, the Greeks continued to build walls around their towns; however the protective surrounding walls were improved by colonial cities.

Despite Mycenaean and Greek activities, more widespread castle building in the west really started with Roman fortifications. From the very early times these fortresses and defenses had great importance and some details such as the usage of portcullises in the gates were known. But it was by 200 B.C. that the military architecture became a special topic and its education was given in big centers like Rhodes (Toy 1955 p.30). Afterwards many treatises were written on military architecture that gave information about the fortifications including the shape and the material. For example, the treatise of Philo of Byzantium which was written around 120 B.C. includes quite detailed descriptions as below:

The site is chosen carefully and the plan is applied after the site is inspected properly, because some elements like the curves and the inclination of the curtain walls are dependent on the natural shape of the site. There are several plan types: 'angular', 'saw-shaped', plan with concaved walls, plan with double walls, etc. Curtain walls should be at least 4.5 m (15 ft.) thick and 9 m (30 ft.) high. They must be built out of gypsum. The wall which faced more attacks should be enforced with a double wall where the distance between two walls will be from 3.5 m (12 ft.) to 5.5 m (18 ft.) and the roof will either be a timber roof or a vault. The enclosure wall must be at least 28 m (90 ft.) away from the houses of the city; there must be a road which enables easy access for vehicles, engines, etc. Towers, either angular or round must be in a form that suits best to its position on the wall. All towers and walls must stand on strong stone foundations and they must be out of gypsum and strengthen by iron clamps. The sides of the wall that faces more attacks with engines must be strengthen by hard stone that were well attached to the wall. The

outworks must be paid great attention and there must be a strong wall and at least three layers of ditches (Toy 1955, 30-31).

Vitruvius writes about the military architecture around 30 B.C. According to him, the plans of the towns must not be angular but circular to be able to view the enemy from many points. The roads which reach the gates must not be planned in straight and easy ways. They must be organized in such a way that they reach the gates from right to left so that the shielded side of the enemy will be on the other side and the unprotected right arm will be against the wall. The foundations must be constructed on a firm ground and they must be as deep as the magnitude of the superstructure requires. Their thickness must be greater than the walls they support. The thickness of the walls must be convenient for the passing of two armed men next to each other. The towers must be either round or polygonal. They must project from the wall and must be placed in an arrow flight distance from each other. The connection of the tower with the wall must be with a wooden slab which can be destroyed by soldiers if the enemy takes one portion of the wall. In some cases the earth ramparts may be used for a safer protection. The materials may differ with respect to the site, but it is important to choose the most useful one for the best result. (Vitruvius 1, 5, 1-8)

Both the instructions of Philo and Vitruvius are important sources being the written evidence belonging to the time of the building activity. They either describe the existing systems of castle building or provide commentaries in an idealized way. Hence they turn out to be important sources of Roman times. One of the best examples of these early fortifications providing material evidence is the fortifications of Pompeii (Figure 26) (Toy, 1955, 32).

The Roman fortresses gained greater order and systematization when the state became an empire. The Roman camp grew out to be the model of these fortresses. The principles of the camps which guided the construction and planning of permanent fortresses were quite methodical. In this respect, the Roman camps were usually rectangular in plan and surrounded by a rampart or an enclosure wall with at least one ditch. There were four gates, each placed near the middle of each side, and the gates were connected by streets. There was also a road that ran along the enclosure wall inside the rampart. In the center, facing the main gate was the tent of the commander. The walls were strengthened by towers and the war engines were placed along the defenses between towers. One of the

best examples of these permanent fortresses which were built on a camp was the city of Aosta in Italy built by Augustus in 23 B.C (Figure 27) (Toy, 1955 38).

The Romans used the turrets as defense structures which they learned from Greeks. They assigned the tower as a watch tower similar to Greeks. In time, watch towers were enlarged and started to be called *burgus*. Reminiscent of the atrium house of Pompeii, these had a courtyard in the middle. However the stone watch tower with a courtyard was soon altered; the courtyard grew and it could no longer be called tower. With the inspirations from the east as the empire grew, the Roman castle found its shape as a quadrilateral ground plan with surrounding walls, towers, ramparts and moats. The word *castellum* was used for it which was derived from *castrum,* meaning a small, closed place. One of the best examples of the Roman castellum is the Castellum of Unterböbingen (Figure 28). Here a rectangular camp area is enclosed by regular walls as it is the usual way to convert camp areas to fortresses. There are four gateways all of which are symmetrically and orderly placed. Each gateway is protected by two rectangular towers that are placed inside the wall. Inside the courtyard the buildings are grouped as a western characteristic. The Roman castles in Europe are similar to this type. However the Roman military architecture spread through vast areas, which were under the control of the empire. Hence there are Roman castles in the east between Damascus and Hauran which were built after the example of Kasr il Abjad (Figure 29). Here the rectangular geometry is enriched by round corner towers. The buildings are organized around the inner wall and instead of four gates there is only one (Tuulse 1958, 14, 15).

5.1.3 Byzantine Fortifications

The Byzantine castles and fortifications which are parts of Roman castles reveal the most elaborate example in the fortifications of Constantinople. In order to ensure the protection of Constantinople from the attacks of Persians and Huns, the fortifications which were strengthened by strong towers every 55 m (60 yards) were built in 413. These were repaired in 447 and then a new outer wall was added and a moat was dug in front of this wall. The walls were built of stone with a concrete core and brick courses. The inner wall was 4.5 m (15 ft) in thickness and the outer wall was nearly 1.8 m (6 ft) wide constructed with internal arches. The walls of Constantinople were enormous and with its triple line of defense including outer and inner wall and the moat, they were of great strength (Figure 32- 34) (Toy 1955, 52-54).

The fortifications of the city of Nicaea (modern İznik) which resemble the walls of Constantinople were built around the 5th century. This city had two lines of walls where the inner one was higher and thicker, while the outer one was less significant. All towers were out of stone with brick lacing courses and the towers were placed at close intervals. A large residential tower, much stronger than the others was placed at the southern side of the city. This tower which was the probable prototype of the rectangular keeps of later times was totally destroyed during successive attacks. There were four gates and three posterns (Toy 1955, 54).

Military architecture gained speed and prominence during the time of Justinian who not only repaired and strengthened the existing fortresses but also built new ones around important cities. Many new fortresses were built in the territories of north Africa. These were usually rectangular in plan; the walls varied from 2 m (7ft). to 3 m (9ft) in thickness and from 8 m (26ft) to 10 m (32ft) in height. Wall walks were protected by crenellations and towers which were often rectangular. The towers were usually two storey high bold projections. The gates were protected by one or two towers. Sometimes there was a tower which was larger and stronger than the others as in Nicaea, which was built on the most strategic point or on the place where it was open to most attacks (Toy 1955, 56-59).

5.2 Western Castles before Crusades

The castles took their shape by the end of the Roman Empire whether they were a small fortress or a wholly fortified city. But castles continued to be built in Europe and in different parts of the world afterwards too. In fact, some important contributions were made to military architecture during the Holy War of Christians, the Crusades. The place of crusades was very important because they were a series of marches by large numbers of people to a land where they had no protection and they aimed to attack and defend. Crusades contained the instincts which made people construct castles in a more critical way. Before investigating the crusader castles, however, there is one more group of defense buildings built in Europe before Crusaders departed that needs to be viewed over. In this regard, the Norman keeps are important to mention due to their likeness to crusader castles, as mentioned by Kennedy (1994, 12):

> …the castles of Norman Conquest are of considerable interest because, like the Crusader castles in the Levant, they were built by an alien, occupying military aristocracy on a hostile environment.

Hence the influence of Norman keeps on Crusader castles must be considerable.

5.2.1 Norman Keeps

After the dark ages of Europe, in which no building activity took place, castle architecture acquired a new form. The castles now became the houses of the landlords. In this respect the Norman castles which were mainly composed of rectangular keeps and donjons constituted interesting examples. These keeps were built especially in northern France and in England after the conquest starting with the eleventh century.

These castles were built on the firm ground of the bailey - not on a mound - and they usually stood alone in the bailey as in London and Canterbury or were attached to the wall at a strategic point as in Kenilworth, Corfe and Loches (Figure 30, 31). The main characteristics of these keeps were that they were strong structures with buttressed thick walls. They had from two to four stories and each storey was usually divided into quarters by partition walls. The entrance was usually on the second floor and a stairway that was attached to one side of the keep led to it. The stairway was usually protected by a fore building. Access to the other stories was by inner staircases. The great hall was generally at the entrance floor; there were fireplaces built usually on the outer walls. Within the keep or sometimes in the fore building one could see a chapel and there was at least one well. Usually a postern which was used to escape when the enemy held the main gate was also present. The earliest examples of these keeps are Langeais and Loches which were built in France in eleventh century (Toy 1955, 74-77).

The history of fortifications and castles in the east and in the west starting from prehistoric periods until the time of the Crusaders evolved steadily over centuries and reached advanced levels in terms of technique and workmanship. Therefore the western ones became examples for crusaders to follow since, there were various types of plans and construction techniques throughout Europe. As indicated below, in terms of experience, Crusaders already knew a lot before coming to east:

> …the Crusaders who came to settle and build in the Levant had
> experience of a large number of different castle types in their
> homelands. Furthermore, they were used to adapting designs to
> local terrains. They needed no eastern masters to show them
> how to build a curtain wall along the crest of the ridge or to
> separate an inner redoubt by walls and ditches from an outer
> bailey. But this did not mean that they had nothing to learn from
> eastern techniques. (Kennedy 1994, 14)

Therefore before they came to the east, crusaders knew the basics about castle building and they had enough experience deriving from very different examples throughout Europe. However by this preliminary knowledge, by using local techniques and with the genius of the difficult war and combating conditions crusaders constructed many new castles or altered and enlarged existing castles, thus contributing rather advanced examples to the history of castle building.

5.3 Crusader Castles

Crusader castles can be categorized according to their most dominant functions, plan types or some common characteristics. When we consider the sequential emergence of Latin castles, we see that the pattern which defines the categorization is quite rational and historical. Fedden and Thomson group the crusader states and fortifications as below:

> The Christian states passed through two phases, an initial and hopeful
> period of expansion followed by a long and painful period of retreat. In
> the first phase both Franks and Armenians built relatively simple castles
> whose purpose was largely offensive; in the second phase both retired
> behind fortification of ever-increasing complexity. (Fedden and Thomson
> 1957, 20)

Fortifications in the period of expansion are further divided into two: the existing castles, constructed by Byzantine or Arabs, and reused and modified by crusaders and the castles constructed by the crusaders for offensive purposes. This second group is also subdivided into the castles which were constructed near the coast to take the port towns and the castles constructed in the eastern frontiers to extend the boundaries of the kingdom. During the period of retreat, the crusaders usually reinforced the existing castles and constructed highly defensive castles which gave the best examples of crusader military architecture (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 20-30).[30]

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[30] -Fortifications of the 'hopeful period of expansion':

5.3.1 The Functions of the Crusader Castles

The functions of the crusader castles were various. Like every castle which was supposed to bear resistance to the enemy (Figure 36), they had strategic and military importance. However, reducing a crusader castle to simple headquarters only used by the military class would be a mistake. During the crusading period in the Levant it was impossible to separate the military duties of a lord or leader from his social identity. The castles used by all sections of the society had been built with the combined aid of crusaders, knights and sergeants of military orders, workers from settlers and slaves. The individual lords were ready to prepare the material supplies (Marshall 1996, 94-95). This was a corporate activity in order to build the castles which the Latin Kingdom urgently needed. Therefore among the functions of the castles the priority cannot be attributed to any one of the roles. As Smail points out the functions of the crusader castles were both military and social:

> On the one hand frontier defense was a role which a castle or a group of castles, could only imperfectly fulfill; on the other, the building discharged a wide variety of other functions, and perhaps more effectively. They were used in attack, and played a notable part in the Latin conquest of Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre and Ascalon. In Transjordan and southern Palestine they were used to establish Latin control in areas of strategic importance, and these castles subsequently became centers of colonization and economic development. They served as residences, as administrative centers, as barracks, and as police posts. Above all, they were centers of authority. (Smail 1967, 60)

The crusader castles were devices which the western leaders used to establish a Latin Kingdom in the Levant and it is impossible to consider that a conquest of this size would be successful and permanent without the aid of these castles. However there were certain reasons why crusaders constructed so many strongholds varying both in size and form.

-Existing castles occupied by crusaders (Castles in the Principality of Antioch, the first castles constructed on the sites of Crac des Chevaliers and Saone)
-Castles constructed by crusaders for offense
-Coastal castles to take port towns (Blanche Garde, Ibelin, Beth Gibelin and Gaza constructed for Ascolon)
-Eastern frontier castles to extend the boundaries (Castles in Transjordan and southern Palestine)
-Fortifications of the 'painful period of retreat' (Chastel Pelerin, Montfort, Margat, Saphet) (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 20-30)

5.3.1.1 Need for Castles

According to Fedden and Thomson, the Crusaders needed to build castles for three main reasons: first was the curious shape of the Latin kingdom, second was the lack of manpower and the third was the need for feudal administration. The administrative function of these castles will be explained further. However the other two reasons are unique to the case and deserve attention too.

The Latin kingdom (Figure 35), including the Kingdom of Jerusalem, County of Tripoli, Principality of Antioch, and County of Edessa, was very long extending four to five hundred miles and rather narrow like at most fifty to seventy miles. Such a curious form of land was very hard to control. Especially in times of battle, transporting the army from one point to another, or turning back for refuge were difficult. In times of crusades the loss of men while marching to the Holy Land was another important reason for castle building (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 14-16). If the shape of the Latin Kingdom had been more concentric a few important castles would have been enough to control the whole land. However the narrow and long shape created the diversity of forms and functions resulting in the necessity to construct many castles differing in size.

Another important reason why Frankish leaders built many castles was the lack of manpower. The size of garrisons which every castle held was the minimum required to protect that castle. Therefore when the army had to be transported to another unprotected place, the remaining lands would become targets of attack. In these terms, in order to control every possible area of the kingdom, many castles housed enough soldiers to maintain the security of their territory. This problem of manpower was also officially discussed by the western authorities during the thirteenth century because when the Muslims were on attack, many castles had to be left with no hope of aiding forces resulting in the loss of the lands to Muslims (Marshall 1996, 93-94).

5.3.1.2 The Military Functions

The basic and most probably first military function that appears in the mind concerning the crusader castles would be their characteristic as frontier castles. However according to Smail, despite the fact that they had been very effective as frontier castles, their other functions such as providing the base for aggression, means of colonization and centers of

administration and authority must not be underestimated (Smail 1967, 60). Whether reoccupied or constructed, it is obvious that the Frankish castles in the Levant performed very important functions as military centers and as residences of feudal lordships which had also been quite essential to hold together the Latin Kingdom.

5.3.1.2.1 Frontier Defense

Many scholars consider the crusader castles as frontier castles which were placed to act against raids from Muslim cities. However according to Smail, besides the usage of any castle for frontier defense, there were other important functions which a castle acquired and the defensive function of any castle must not be exaggerated. In this regard, Smail also claims that the period during which a castle was active in times of a siege or battle was much shorter than its presence as a symbol of power and authority; when a fully equipped army tended to pass through the roads it meant to protect, the castle would easily be defeated. On the other hand, while giving due respect to the social roles of castles, Smail also accepts the priority of the frontier castles which would be under continuous attack and claims that they should be stronger and more important than the inland castles. During raids, it was the frontier castles which prevented the enemy from entering the inner wards of the Frankish territories giving time for the army to gather for battle (Figure 37). During the battles a castle also acted as a basis where supplies and water were taken. When the enemy could not be defeated, again the nearest castle would be the place to gather and reorganize or take total refuge (Smail 1967, 205-209).

5.3.1.2.2 Offensive Use

During the First Crusade the leaders of the Frankish army built castles in order to control the ongoing war. In the conquest of Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre and Ascalon the castles were used not for defense but rather as a basis for attacks. During a siege, the defenders did not always hide behind the walls of the castle but made sorties to the enemy camp. In such cases, especially during important sieges like the siege of Antioch, building a fortress within their own lines would have been beneficial for the attackers. This was how Franks built their first castles in the Levant. The attacks to Tyre were also very troublesome. This was a well protected port town and the nearest base for Franks to take refuge was far away. Therefore in 1107 the Castle of Toron was built in Tibrin at thirteen miles distance

63

and in 1117, a castle in Iskanderuna (Scandelion) was built at distance of nine miles in order to capture the city of Tyre (Smail 1967, 60-211).

Such an offensive function was observed during the construction of the castles around the city of Ascalon. Ascalon was the last Muslim garrison. It was from there that attacks were held to the neighboring territories. This caused an insecure environment both for the settlers and for the pilgrim roads. Therefore between 1136 and 1149, the castles of Beth Gibelin, Ibelin (Yibneh), Blanche Garde (Tell es-Safi) and Gaza were constructed. The apparent purpose of these castles was to provide the security but the real intention was to keep a garrison in each castle, so that whenever the attackers left the city, to be able to make a counter attack to take the city when it was empty in terms of defenders. According to Smail, this was the same offensive strategy which Franks performed during the siege of Antioch (Smail 1967, 211-213).

5.3.1.3 The Administrative and Social Functions

The Frankish castles had also social functions besides their military ones. The most important of these were firstly the administrative functions being the bases of authority of the feudal ruling system and secondly the colonizing function for the conquered Latin Kingdom. Other than these, the castles especially occupied by the military orders would definitely have a church and clerics, therefore acting like the religious centers of the neighboring territories. In addition, the dungeons would be used as prisons. For example, as mentioned in their Rule, Château Pèlerin was the major prison of the Order of the Temple (Marshall 1996, 125-126).

5.3.1.3.1 Centers of Authority

It must not be forgotten that the social and military functions were totally interwoven. However leaving aside all the other functions, the castles had been worth constructing as centers of administration and authority. During the First Crusade, the leaders who occupied the existing Byzantine castles were not military leaders who acted in accordance with a military plan but individuals who were in the search of new lands to rule. Therefore especially for the reused or rebuilt Byzantine castles, the need for a strong point as a military element was more minor than the need for it as a place of government. With the presence of such a stronghold, the lord of the castle became the most dominant

figure who controlled the territory. As he held a garrison within his castle, he had the equipment and supply to counter any opposition to his authority. As it controlled the area around it, new territories would be under the control of the kingdom where the lordship could also benefit from its production and supplies. Even such a feudal service would provide justification for a castle to be built (Smail 1967, 61-206).

5.3.1.3.2 Means of Colonization

Despite all the offensive functions of these castles, they also brought security to the neighboring territories so that new families started to settle in these areas who would also increase the production. The castles Blanche Garde and Beth Gibelin were the pioneers of these colonizing castles. Especially Beth Gibelin had been given to Hospitallers for the purpose of increasing the population within the territories it controlled. These castles in Transjordan and southern Palestine were residences, centers of administration, barracks and police stations which established the Frankish control over their territories and extended the Latin Kingdom (Smail 1967, 60-213).

The functions of the castles of the Latin Kingdom were both military and social and it would not be correct to draw the line between these two aspects and separate one from the other. The Franks built their castles in order to attack and to defend, as centers of lordship to be an element of feudal system and means of colonization. The first leaders occupied the existing castles without considering its military values; the later leaders built up new castles where they wanted to extend the kingdom or keep the existing territories. As Smail states, Franks used the castles as offensive weapons when they were invaders. When they were invaded the castles were the places to take refuge (Smail 1967, 214-215).

5.3.2 Types of Crusader Castles

The idea behind the medieval fortresses was to keep the enemy away from the defense lines. For this purpose the walls were enclosed by ditches or moats and ramparts gave access to the complex gate structures. Fighting platforms were found on the walls of the fortresses from which the defenders could attack the enemy. There were also loopholes for archers to shoot. Within some intervals, the walls of the fortresses were strengthened by towers which also acted like buttresses. The towers provided shelter for secondary

attacks when the defense lines were lost to the enemy; they also provided space for residence (Smail 1967, 216).

The castles which Franks built in Syria were products of a more developed knowledge than the ones in Europe. The reason was that at first Franks were the enemies who attacked the Byzantine and Arabic castles. Later they were the ones who occupied or built their first castles on the existing sites of these former castles. Therefore the castles which Franks built in the Levant were products of a synthesis and although they had similarities to the ones in Europe in terms of form they were more developed in the technique and in details (Smail 1967, 215-227).

The crusader castles can be categorized in three groups in terms of form: the ones which use the natural strength of the site, in other words hilltop castles; the ones where the dominant element is the Norman keep; and the enclosure castles where a curtain wall was strengthened by several towers.

5.3.2.1 Towers (Norman keep)

The great tower or in other words the keep which dominated the castle was the basic characteristic of this type. The massive walls reaching a thickness of 11 feet at Chastel Blanc and 17 feet at Sahyun provided passive resistance against the enemy. Crusaders had built their first castles as towers before they entered the Holy Lands, in Antioch against Turkish attacks. Most of the castles of this type were built by noble landowners in the Frankish territories, especially in the fertile lands as centers of administration. Despite the similarity of the Syrian keeps to their European counterparts, the tradition of entering from the first floor was eliminated in Syria. Different from Europe, the towers in Syria were constructed without wood; therefore the stories were raised by stone vaults. There were two at most three stories but the overall height was not less than the European keeps. On the walls of the keeps, there were a few holes for the archers to shoot. However other than that they were totally simple and plain. The defenders could attack from the roof, but the tower keeps were small places of passive defense and they could house a small number of soldiers. These towers were used by Frankish people as well as the settlers for refuge in times of Muslim raids (Smail 1967, 226-228) (Boas 1999, 93-101)

5.3.2.2 Enclosure Castles (*Castra*)

Castra were larger than towers. They were quadrilateral areas surrounded by curtain walls on four sides. This plan type was similar to the Greek *tetrapyrgion* and Roman *quadriburgium*. There were towers on each corner, and sometimes intermediate towers were placed in between. The advantage of this plan type was that it was very simple and easy to erect. The enclosure castles were designed for active defense, the towers and the long wall walks were suitable for shooting. As they were built for active defense the sites chosen for them were not inaccessible, they were built on slightly slopping lands offering a wide vision. They served as border fortresses and feudal administrative centers (Benevisti 1972, 280-282) (Boas 1999, 101-104).

In the *castrum* plan, it is obvious that the Franks were influenced from Byzantines and Arabs. They used the *castrum* plan type mostly when they constructed on existing sites. Sometimes the *castrum* was seen with a keep inside it; sometimes an outwork was added to prevent the enemy from easy passage. Some varieties of this type had double lines of defenses, which was also a Byzantine influence. In these cases there were two identical *castra* built one inside the other to form a concentric castle (Boas 1999, 104-109) (Smail 1967, 232-236).

5.3.2.3 Spur and Hilltop Castles

The natural strength of a site is an important military element which has been used since ancient times. The idea that the best defense is inaccessibility had been the major principle behind many castles which had been constructed without differentiation of nation or religion. Among the Latin castles in the Levant, hilltop castles were the most advanced and elaborate type, and like other small ones they also acted as administrative centers. They were placed on promontories or on rocky cliffs between two valleys. They used the natural strength of the site; they were protected with steep slopes on three sides while the fourth side usually had a complex gate structure or a rock cut moat. They often controlled major roads or passes; they were suitable for housing large garrisons and contained supplies. Due to the erection on slopes, the buildings of the spur castle were on various terraced levels, so there were several lines of defense. The keep or the residential quarter was at the highest point dominating all levels. These castles were designed for

passive defense and were placed above inaccessible sites, often to be used as places of refuge. They usually had loopholes, machicolations, projecting towers against flanking fire, bent entrances, store rooms and cisterns (Benevisti 1972, 283-284) (Boas 1999, 109-118).

5.3.3 Characteristics of Crusader Castles

The building activity carried out by Franks reveal some characteristics related with the experiences or requirements of the sites. The first castles which were built in the twelfth century were massive and simple structures like the Romanesque churches of the time. The ones belonging to the later periods were more complex and sophisticated. The crusader castles had some characteristics depending on the architectural elements that are peculiar to Latins and which were reflected on the physical forms of the castles. The military details and service elements which were vital for a castle, the materials and the technique which the Latins used while building their castles are examples of these characteristics.

5.3.3.1 Physical Forms

5.3.3.1.1 Keeps

The Norman keep was an important component in the development of military architecture. Being a characteristic of the European castles before the era of crusades, it became an important element for the castles that the crusaders built in the Levant. Besides that, the keep corresponded to the concept of knighthood which was one of the most important shaping forces of medieval society. According to Fedden and Thomson, the knights who were well armed warriors were effective weapons for offense. However as they would not be fighting all the time they had to rest and like a tortoise they needed a shell. Therefore unlike the big castles which could house big garrisons with soldiers in every level, the keep structures were exactly suitable for the knights to protect these specialists who were few in number from sudden attacks and raids. The keep was characteristic of the first crusader castles which had to be built within a short time for the purpose of offense (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 41-43).

5.3.3.1.2 Towers

In the architecture of defense another important development was the transition from the square tower to the round one. The change between the small square towers which were placed within long intervals on the curtain wall to bold and round towers which stood close to one another was an important progress which the Latins learned and experienced in the east. The round flanking towers enabled the defenders to fight in every direction which also kept away the enemy from getting close to the castle walls. The round towers provided advantages and more suitable positions to shoot and fight. Despite the effectiveness of square towers for artillery, the Latins used round towers in their most elaborated castles (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 43-49). The roof of the towers or the walls had crenellations which enabled the archers shoot from embrasures and hide behind merlons (Benevisti 1972, 288).

5.3.3.1.3 Concentric Fortifications and Multiple Lines of Defense

Even in the early periods Crusaders avoided the usage of simple castles. Even the simplest keeps were placed behind the town walls. The concentric fortresses where an inner ring was protected by an outer and lower ring were easier to defend in times of danger. In the castles that were built in the plains where the risk of danger was equal for all sides, such a treatment was advantageous. In rocky cliffs however where the possible attacks would be from one side, the fortresses were concentrated in this part; the concentric plan was avoided. In addition to the military requirements, the designs of the castles also reflected the social considerations like the loyalty and morale of the people. The concentric plan encouraged loyalty; the most trusted men were placed in the inner quarters. But it also dampened the morale of the ones who stayed outside. In some cases, these soldiers did not tend to protect the inner castle (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 52-53). Whether concentric as in plains or one sided as in hilltop or cliff castles, several lines of defenses had been very beneficial for the defenders and this characteristic further increased the strength of the castle.

5.3.3.2 Military Details

5.3.3.2.1 Sites

The sites where the Latins chose to build their castles varied from the need of the construction decision to the nearest possible strategic points. The site of a castle could be chosen because it was close to a castle under siege as in the times of expansion, or it could be chosen because the natural strength of the site was immense. In either case, communication with the other castles, therefore forming a network was essential. Communication could be obtained by carrier pigeons or by the help of fire. It can be said that the Latins preferred the pigeons, except in the castles where Byzantine influence was much. The natural strength of the site, the importance of which was mentioned above was one of the most important weapons used by Franks. As mentioned above the lack of manpower was one of the biggest problems of the Frankish Kingdom. Therefore overcoming this lack with the architectural details of the castles combined with the strength of the sites was the Frankish genius in military architecture. On the other hand it must not be assumed that, the most inaccessible and remote lands were chosen for the sake of natural strength. For most castles, being at the junction of important roads, controlling important passes or towns were important matters of concern. Therefore, the site of a castle was one of the most important decisions that the Franks had to take while improving their skills on military architecture (Marshall 1996, 98-99).

5.3.3.2.2 Gates (Bent Entrance)

The Crusading castles had complex gate structures. The gate was protected by towers if it was a straight gate or else it was placed inside a tower where one could enter the castle after two right angles. Sometimes these corridors were very narrow, suitable for a single person only. In later improvements as in Crac des Chevaliers, a covered passage was added to the gate structure inside which there were machicolations and loopholes from where the passers were watched. In cases of danger, the soldiers could shoot inside the gate. As a matter of fact, these gate structures were not only strong in defense so that the enemy could not get in but also offered an offensive opportunity for the soldiers to attack. Near the gates, posterns for the defenders allowed further attack. These complex gate structures which were very effective parts of crusader castles were in fact military elements of antiquity. Although these were not used back in Europe and only occasionally seen in Byzantine castles, crusaders made them habitual in their castles. Latins also used portcullises which they had taken over from Romans (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 51-52) (Figure 38).

5.3.3.2.3 Moats

Depending on their early experiences, the crusaders built their castles enclosed by a moat. Increasing the strength of the fortresses, the moat around the walls prevented the enemy from mining. In addition, the distance where the enemy could bring the movable siege towers would increase. Hence the defense of the walls was easier allowing the besiegers to concentrate on the defense of the gates. On sites where the sides were surrounded by rocky cliffs, only the side where the approach would be possible was moated. Therefore it may be said that the moat was used as a precaution to increase the strength of the site and the strength of the fortresses.

5.3.3.2.4 Loopholes

Initially the crusader army was mainly based on the Frankish knights. However in the thirteenth century the archers gained importance. The loopholes which were few in number were increased in both dimension and size in order to provide the archers with a wider view of fire (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 50-51). The loopholes were not always constructed for firing, but some of these holes could be used for light and ventilation either. Other details like machicolations and firing platforms were also important elements for an active defense (Benevisti 1972, 288-289).

5.3.3.2.5 Cisterns

Even in times of peace every castle had to maintain its preparedness in terms of manpower and supplies like food, drink or arms. Therefore, in times of peace, the residents of the castle had to make arrows and other equipment or repair their arms and be sure that the stores were filled with food. Therefore, in the castles, service areas like storerooms, kitchens and barns were as important as the defensive structures like gates and towers. In addition to the storerooms which guaranteed the food supplies, there were also cisterns for water storage. If the castle was not located near a water source then there had to be cisterns which collected water in the climate of the near east (Marshall 1996, 112-113). Therefore in many castles there were cisterns which were filled with rain water. Sometimes, there were draining systems and channels that carried water from the roofs to cisterns. Some castles had aqueducts as well (Benevisti 1972, 289).

5.3.3.2.6 Barracks and Chapel

Unlike the European castles which served feudal lords, the castles of the Levant were used as administrative and military centers. The castles of the Latin Kingdom were not lively family residences as in Europe but strongholds where garrisons were housed. In contrast, there were simple cell like barracks for the soldiers to live in. There were also a hall for meetings and banquets and chambers for high officials. In big castles there were also simple chapels with mostly a single nave (Benevisti 1972, 290).

5.3.3.3 Construction Techniques and Materials

The Franks used western methods which they had brought as a heritage to the east and combined these with eastern techniques. Depending on the building type, they used the technique and details which best fitted to the requirements. The materials they used also differed in quality depending on the type of construction. Domestic buildings always had the simplest, while castles and public buildings had the finest materials. The mortar used for building fortifications was white hard mortar and the plaster was a combination of sand and lime. The usage of wood was not as common as it was in the west because of the type of the trees and lack of forests. Hence, the shutters, door and window frames and panels, staircases as well as the scaffoldings which were used to construct vaults were out of wood. For windows, besides shutters, oiled leather and glass could also be used. Stone was the main material in all buildings constructed in the Levant, because of the lack of wood. In addition, stone was more durable to the climatic conditions of the near east where the temperature difference between day and night was high. There were various types of stone and the blocks were quarried and carved either in quarries or on site. The usage of the stone of the site and the antique marble and granite blocks was also seen. The most important characteristic of Frankish construction which helps the researchers differentiate Frankish buildings is the stone treatment. The Franks used diagonal striations which was common in France and England from the thirteenth century on. In addition, tooling the entire surface and leaving the margins or tooling only the margins and leaving the center rough were common stone treatment techniques. The walls which Franks constructed in castles and fortifications had to be wide for defensive use. In order to obtain such thicknesses, Franks used fine ashlar masonry on the inner and outer sides of the walls, filled with rubble and mortar in the middle. The roofs were

usually flat. Franks did not apply the pitched roof for their constructions but adopted the local techniques. The barrel and groin vaults with pointed arches were also commonly used. There is also evidence of tile roofs (Boas 1999, 217-225). On the whole, the crusader castles represent a period with their types, characteristics and materials. They show progress from the simplest keeps to the most complex concentric fortifications. In this respect, they are the best examples of the synthesis of the techniques of east and west.

CHAPTER VI

CYPRUS

The island of Cyprus has always been a place where different nations and subjects controlled, ruled or benefited from its sources. Because of its strategic geographical position as a junction of three continents and several civilizations, Cyprus has been witness to power fights, frequently changing hands and rulers. Therefore the island has been under the influence of not only many different civilizations and religions but also different trade activities, cultures and languages. Such richness of diversity has been the main reason for the synthesized unique culture of Cyprus which shows the characteristics of many civilizations without belonging to any one of them (Gazioğlu 1994, XV).

6.1 The History of the Island

Cyprus had always been ruled by the most powerful domination of the Near Eastern region and whoever achieved the authority of the region also controlled the island. The island has been purchased and even rented in its history. In time, under the successive control of Egyptians, Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, the Lusignan dynasty, Venetians, Ottomans and English rulers, the island sometimes lived in wealth and comfort, at others it was subjected to slavery. According to Gazioğlu, the period under the rule of Latins was a difficult one, when the island lived in poverty and under slavery with no individual rights of its local inhabitants (Gazioğlu 1994, XV-5).

6.1.1 The Conquest of Richard the Lion Heart

When Richard I reached Cyprus during his journey of the Third Crusade, Cyprus was under the rule of Isaac Comnenus the Byzantine ruler who was the grand son of Alexius

Comnenus and a distant relative of the current emperor Andronicus. He had been the ruler of Cilicia when he had been captured and sold to Templars for ransom. When he was released he went to Cyprus and announced that he was the new governor. He was somehow accepted by the local authorities and in time took possession of the whole island. However he became a tyrant more savage than any other. It was during his rein that Richard I – the Lion Heart - took the island from (Hill 1949, 312-315).

The reason for the conquest of Richard I is both romantic and tragic. While witnessing the wedding ceremony of the only English king who got married outside England, Cyprus changed its destiny becoming a part of the holy tale of Europe which eliminated the brutal Byzantine tyrant. Richard I broke his engagement with Alice, the sister of Philip Augustus of France and took the daughter of the King of Navarre, Berengaria as his future bride. After an engagement ceremony, they departed from Messina but because of bad weather, the ship carrying Berengaria the bride and Joanna of Sicily, the sister of Richard I fell apart from the group and reached Cyprus. Here they met with the hostile behavior of Isaac Comnenus and barely survived until the arrival of Richard as savior. Richard and Berengaria got married a few days later at Limasol in the Chapel of St George (Hill 1949, 315-319).

After the marriage ceremony Richard started his conquest. Isaac escaped to Kantara Castle to take refuge; the castles Kyrenia, St Hilarion and Buffavento were still under his control. However when Kyrenia surrendered, Isaac's wife and daughter fell in the hands of Richard. This resulted in the yield of St Hilarion and while Richard was on his way to Buffavento, Isaac finally decided to surrender. The hostility of Isaac Comnenus granted Richard with a great amount of booty and the possession of the island which he would change into cash by selling it to Templars (Hill 1949, 319-320). However the final destiny of the island for the following centuries was set when Richard took the island from the Templars who could not pay the debt and turned it over to Guy de Lusignan who agreed to pay the rest of the money. Cyprus thus became the house of the Lusignan dynasty.

6.1.2 Lusignan Regime

In 1192, Guy de Lusignan and his brother Aimery took the island from Richard I and established a Latin kingdom which would survive until the control of Venetians in the

1470s. What Lusignan rule brought to the island was extremely in favor of the Franks. The possession of the island therefore was a great opportunity for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. However the Latin rule was not very favorable for the inhabitants of the island. The local Cypriots who had also been badly treated by Isaac Comnenus and Templars, were reduced to a status of serfdom called *paroikoi*.[31] The local people who were not peasants, therefore were not serfs were also disadvantaged against Frankish immigrants. They could not became vassals; they were not allowed to attend any royal charter or court. The local Orthodox religion was underestimated. This was one of the reasons why Cypriots were considered to be lower in status than the Latin Christians (Edbury 1999, XX 1-9). On the whole the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus and the Lusignan regime were not beneficial for the locals but the period which corresponded to the Latin presence in Cyprus was without question very adventageous for Franks.

The first action of Guy de Lusignan after taking the island was a recall for Frankish settlers from Syria and Jerusalem. Anyone who wished to come and live in Cyprus was welcomed. Besides the military class, knights and sergeants who were in an expectation of fief, there were also women and orphans who had lost their families in wars. Most people were from the lands which had been left to Muslim rule. However people from Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem also migrated to Cyprus. Although small in size there were even Franks coming from Europe. The most fertile lands of Cyprus thus encountered a new group of settlers with Frankish origin (Edbury 1991, 16-19). There is an important point to note about this immigrant community: as Edbury mentions, these new settlers brought with them the customs and institutions which they had already been using in the west with small alterations to match the standards of the east. Therefore social groups, feudal customs and ideas of the Lusignan Cyprus had been originated from Europe (Edbury 1991, 19). This was true also for the military system and knightly class.

Guy de Lusignan had been aware from the experience of the Templar rule that the island was very difficult to control with a small force. A large and permanent garrison needed to be established. Therefore military forces with recruits and the strongholds had been important for him. Accepting many settlers, establishing new towns and creating a Frankish society in Cyprus, Guy de Lusignan had achieved a difficult task in setting up a

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[31] It must be noted that Edbury is in the opinion that this new system of serfdom did not change the status of peasants or not worse than the Byzantine regime both legally and economically (Edbry 1999, XX 5).

new system in Cyprus. However from the time of Richard's conquest till the loss of the last fort in the Holy lands, prominence was given to the mainland and all the sources of Cyprus were transformed to Syria (Edbury 1991, 17-21).

6.1.3 The Headquarters of the Latin Kingdom

The Kingdom of Cyprus (Figure 41) not only remained as a supporter of the Latin Kingdom but actually housed the institutions and the nobles of the kingdom of Jerusalem after the fall of Acre and the demise of the Latin Kingdom. However although the Kingdom of Cyprus had also been established and ruled by Franks who ruled in the mainland, the customs and rules were different. The institutions and rules needed some modifications to be come applicable in Cyprus. In this respect, the rights of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were always protected and the nobles became the vassals of the king. The force over the Orthodox Church and the desire to dominate the Latin Church were other important outcomes of the joining of the two kingdoms which created high tension[32] (Furber 1969, 618-628). E. C. Furber summarizes the Cypriot contribution to Latin Kingdom:

> Secure behind its sea walls, Cyprus played a significant role in thirteenth century crusading history. When the Latin states on the mainland fell, it offered asylum to the hordes and refugees. The Kingdom of Cyprus became the heir, in its institutions, of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Succeeding centuries were to witness bitter struggles-the Greek Church against the Latin and Cypriot Barons against their rulers. In a wider sphere, however, Cyprus was to become the great emporium for commerce between east and west, and was to loom large in the projects of those who planned future crusades. (Furber 1969, V2 629)

6.2 Strategic Position of the Island

Cyprus had always been easy to protect because of its strong natural defenses, the expense of sea that surrounded it. (Edbury 1991, 15) This advantage had also been the destiny of the island because such a strategic point which was close to the near eastern continents (Figure 39) had always been the object of power fights.

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[32] For further information about the Latin and Orthodox churches in Cyprus see Englezakis (1995, 213-220), "Cyprus as a Stepping-Stone between West and East in the Age of the Crusades: The Two Churches" and Güven (1999, 27-35), "Lusignan Kings and Cathedrals in Medieval Cyprus".

The island of Cyprus which stands on the south east of Anatolia is the third of the Mediterranean islands in size after Sicily and Sardinia. On clear days, the shores of Cilicia and the peaks of Taurus are visible from the island as the distance to Cilicia from the nearest point is only forty miles. From the most eastern end of the island, the distance to Syria is less than seventy miles and on clear days, even Lebanon can be seen. The island has two mountain ranges with a wide plain lying between them. The northern range is approximately three miles from the shore and extends approximately 60 miles from Lapithos on the west to Kantara Castle on the east. One of the most striking summits of the northern mountain range is the 'Five Fingers', and with the romantic castles of St. Hilarion (2380 ft.), Buffavento (3131 ft.) and Kantara (2068 ft.). The northern range appears to be a defensive belt (Hill 1949, 1-5). This northern mountain belt had always been more important than the Trodos Mountains. Therefore its three summits had been the strategic key points. Even before the arrival of Franks, these castles had been important. Especially St Hilarion which controlled the pass between the capital Nicosia and the port town of Kyrenia had been the strongest point on the whole island. According to Edbury, to control these two cities with the castle of St Hilarion was critical to any conqueror or ruler (Edbury 1991, 13)

The position of the island was also important to control the trade routes between Western Europe and the east. In addition to the royal efforts which elevated the island's commercial importance (Housley 1992. 188-193), the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital which dominated the island as military forces had a role in increasing commerce and developing valuable relationships between the local traders and the westerners. They not only hired ships to merchants but also organized the export of the products of their commanderies. They contributed to the urban development of Cyprus especially in the port towns of Famagusta and Limassol, creating a great surplus in the commercial importance of the island between trade routes (Coureas 2003, 257-274).

6.3 The Crusader Architecture in Cyprus

After the establishment of the Lusignan regime, Cyprus underwent a tremendous architectural transformation. For sure, the crusader architecture in Cyprus was not limited to castles and fortresses only. Especially in the port towns like Limassol, Kyrenia, Paphos, and Famagusta, which were active spots for merchants, crusaders and aristocrats, the Latins contributed to the stock of domestic architecture and the public space with

78

arched streets. Famagusta rose to prominence after the loss of Acre in 1291 and became the main port for traders between Syria-Palestine and Europe. Most parts of its fortifications were constructed during the Lusignan period. At the center of the town were the royal palace and the beautiful Gothic Cathedral of St Nicholas which was constructed with the support of Bishop Guy of Ibelin. Other than that there were the churches of St George of the Greeks and St George of the Latins and two small churches belonging to Orders of Temple and Hospital. In Limassol, remains of the medieval town are scanty - only a few remains from the castle including a vaulted square hall with a circular staircase and ruins of prison cells. Nicosia had been the capital of the island even then. It had a strong castle in the thirteenth century and the city walls were built in the fourteenth century. From the Lusignan palace nothing remains today. The town had many churches including the Gothic church of St Sophia and a few medieval houses (Boas 1999, 12-56). In the north, beside the military castles of Kyrenia, the Bellapais Abbey, dating back to twelfth century stands out and exemplifies the Lusignan Gothic architecture in the island (Figure 42, 43) (*Historical and Archeological Places of Girne Area* 1981, 7).

Although there are many aspects of study concerning the crusader architecture of Cyprus, the military architecture and the castles are the most interesting group as they reflect the war psychology, and the crusading idea. In this respect, other than the towns which had a castle or a city wall the military orders also had possessions in the island. Each of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital owned a fortress in Gastria (near Famagusta) and Kolossi (near Limassol). These structures did not have a value as defensive military buildings but were mostly used as administrative centers. The Hospitallers owned a tower in Limassol and the orders' houses in Limassol and Nicosia were also fortified (Edbury 1991, 77-78). Like every military work belonging to the crusading period in Cyprus, the small towers, the fortified houses or even the slightest evidence also deserve attention. Nevertheless it is more beneficial to concentrate on the major military structures of the island.

6.4 The Cypriot Castles

Fedden and Thomson group the Latin castles built in Cyprus in three: the first are the inland castles mostly used for administration; the second are the port castles and the third are the hilltop castles with great natural strength (Figure 40) (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 110-112). Among the Cypriot castles, the Hospitaller Castle in Kolossi is an inland castle

which had been used as the headquarters of the order and the grand commandery for many centuries. Kyrenia, Limassol and Paphos were important port towns between the trade routes and the castles in these towns had been the defense structures which protected the harbor. The castles on the northern mountain range, St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara on the other hand were strong hilltop castles, bigger than all other military structures on the island. They had the strongest natural positions and man made walls to house the garrisons enough to protect the island. Many of these castles had been continued to be used in later periods and were either reconstructed or altered. In some it is very difficult to find the traces of the crusading period, while some are totally in ruins. Despite the later additions and restorations to the castles, they are very important as a testimony to the diversity in the military architecture of the crusading period of Cyprus. However, only the hilltop castles in the north which were dismantled by Venetians after their loss by crusaders still preserve the Latin work in ruins. The different types of Latin castles scattered all around the island also reveal that the northern part was used for more defensive purposes while the southern part was reserved for production and administration (Figure 44).

Kolossi Castle

The exact construction date of the Kolossi Castle (Figure 45, 46) is unknown. However the castle was probably erected when the King of Cyprus, Hugh I granted Kolossi to the Order of St John. According to the military politics of Guy de Lusignan who accepted many immigrants from the Holy Lands and distributed fiefs to the loyal soldiers, the Orders of Templar and Hospitaller increased their lands in Cyprus. The lands of Kolossi were held by Hospitallers and for a short time by Templars who benefitted from the wealthy fertile lands, the most important production being the sweet wine of Commandaria. The Hospitallers used the castle at Kolossi as headquarters after the fall of Acre. After they moved to Rhodes, it continued to be a commandery. The castle was badly damaged during the Memluk attacks and the earthquakes which influenced Limassol. The existing structure mostly dates back to the time of the Commander Louis de Magnac who ruled the order during mid-fifteenth century. The marble block on the east wall of the castle depicting the coat-of-arms of the Lusignans, one of which is considered to be his gives the exact date of the reconstruction of the castle as 1454, the date of election of the Grand Commander and the Commander of Cyprus (Figures 51, 53-

57). The castle also underwent later restorations and reconstructions in modern times (Aristidou, 1983 17-32).

Kolossi Castle is a good example for the inland castles which were used for administration. It is composed of a strong keep with considerably thick walls (Figure 47). The ground floor which was probably used for storage had three vaulted chambers lying in an east-west direction. It was reached by a door just below the main entrance or by stairs from the first floor. The main entrance to the castle was from the first floor which was reached with a flight of stairs and protected by a drawbridge and machicolations on the roof placed above the gate. There were two floors with two rectangular chambers on each floor. The chambers lay in a north-south direction and had vaulted ceilings and fireplaces. There were four windows on each room with window seats providing light and ventilation. A round staircase on the south east corner gave access to the upper story and the roof. The roof was crenellated and each merlon had a loophole in the middle. Outside the keep was a well (Figure 48) which was inside the foundations of a round tower. There was a structure which was used as stables on the south of the keep (Figure 50). On the south east end was the sugar factory (Figure 57) with the medieval aqueduct to the north (Figure 52) which provided water to the castle. The channel through which the water was carried to east entrance is still visible. Kolossi, being a good example for the inland crusader castles is also unfortunate to deliver the idea of crusader castle architecture as the present castle dates back to the fifteenth century.

Kyrenia Castle

The history of the city and the castle of Kyrenia go back to ancient times as the castle was constructed on the acropolis of the ancient city (Figure 58). The city walls were constructed in the seventh century to defend the city against the Arab raids. The castle was important to shelter the wife and daughter of Isaac Comnenus who took refuge here during the invasion of Richard I; it also played an important role as a defense during the civil war between Royalists and Imperialists in 1228-1233. It was later used as prison which also witnessed the rewriting of *Gestes des Chiprois*, one of the most important sources about the history of the island. It had many restorations in the sixteenth century, under Venetian hands. The west wall was rebuilt with bulk towers and the rectangular bastion on the south west corner during this time. After Venetians the castle passed to Ottoman and then to British rule. From the British period there is evidence that it was

used as a prison. It is known that the prisoners were used as workers during the clearance projects of the castle (*Antiquities Department*, 1-4) (*Reports of the Antiquities Department*, 1939 105-107). Today the castle is one of the finest monuments of the whole island.

The castle of Kyrenia (Figure 59) is a rectangular castle with towers at each corner. It was entered with a drawbridge. An entrance corridor defended with guard rooms. The curtain walls enclosing the castle were crenellated; they were bulky and defensive with many loopholes. There were arched doorways and vaulted chambers which characterized the thirteenth century castle architecture. Although the traces of the Frankish and Byzantine parts are visible at some parts much of the castle was reconstructed by Venetians (Enlart 1889, 422-428) which make it very difficult for the castle to be studied as a Frankish crusader castle (Figures 60-68).

Limassol Castle

The exact date of construction of the castle is unknown. It could have been constructed in the Lusignan period. It could also have been a Templar castle which was taken by the crown at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first information about the castle dates from 1228 when the supporters of Frederic II were held as prisoners there. At the end of the fourteenth century during the Genoese attacks, the castle was badly damaged because the harbor of Limassol was as important as the Genoese town of Famagusta in terms of trade. The castle was damaged by the attackers and various earthquakes and rebuilt many times. The structure which stands today is probably from the Venetian period (Figures 69- 72). The castle had been used as a fortress which protected the harbor, as a prison and as a center where trade and administration were controlled (Enlart 1889, 488-490). The castle was composed of two parts: (Figure 73), a hall with a vaulted ceiling (Figure 72) and a rectangular keep with chambers (Figures 75, 76) connected with a central corridor. On one end of the hall, was a circular staircase giving access to the upper stories. The roof (which is a later addition) was a flat roof with proper places for blasting. As the castle had been destroyed and rebuilt many times there are peculiarities due to the additions and later constructions, therefore it is very hard to observe the Latin work in the Limassol castle.

Paphos Port Castle and Saranda Colones

In Paphos, besides the small fort in the harbor which was dated to Venetians (Figure 77) there is also an important crusader castle which was discovered by Megaw in 1957 and excavated in the following years. This crusader castle named Saranda Colones[33] (Figures 78, 79) was a concentric castrum almost identical to the Hospitaller castle of Belvoir although smaller in size. The castle started to be constructed in the 1200s and was somehow used unfinished when the earthquake of 1222 reduced it to ruins. It was named as *Saranda Colones* (the forty columns) by the local people because many of the castle's towers had ancient columns which were carried from a nearby ruin and used as horizontal reinforcement. The castle was composed of three lines of defenses: two wards of enclosure walls and a ditch surrounding the outer wall (Figures 81, 82). The inner ward was a rectangular structure with square corner towers in the corners. It was entered by a semicircular tower-gate structure and composed of two stories. The rooms were arranged around a small opening in both stories. The lower storey had service areas like stables (Figure 80), a mill room, bath (Figure 83) and bakery. In the upper storey the only differentiated space was the small chapel. The outer ward had eight towers, on each corner and in the middle of the walls. The castle was probably constructed to be an important port castle because the south side of the island did not have protection as in the Kyrenia region. There is evidence that there used to be a crusader watch tower which was destroyed for the construction of a stronger castle and Saranda Colones had been a strong port castle until it was destroyed by the earthquake. But later maybe because of the presence of the Grand Commandery in Kolossi which was more central and suitable for administration or maybe due to the great damage of the earthquake to the harbor of Paphos and the castle of Saranda Colones were left to ruins (Enlart 1889, 502-503) (Megaw 1994, 42-51) (Rosser 1987, 185-198) (Rosser 1986, 45).

These castles and other smaller forts and towers of military orders also represent the Latin military architecture in Cyprus but as Fedden and Thomson state:

> …it is neither the administrative castles, like Kolossi, nor the fortified ports, like Kyrenia, that have chiefly impressed subsequent generations. Imagination has seized on the mountain strongholds of Kantara, Buffavento and St Hilarion. These castle-aeries[34], approached by paths

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[33] *Saranda Colones* means "Forty Columns" in Greek.
[34] It is written in the source as 'castle-eyries'.

that wind their precipitous way upward from anemones, oleanders and fig trees to juniper, scrub and rock, are amongst the most romantic fortifications in existence. (Fedden and Thomson 1957, 113-114).

The castles of the northern mountain defensive belt, St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were built as watchtowers in Byzantine times against the Arab raids and pirate attacks. They were used to inform the villagers when there was a possibility of attack and defended the coast when necessary. They were located on the summits therefore they could also communicate with each other through signaling. They were all mentioned for the first time during the conquest of Richard the Lion Heart, while being used as refuges by Isaac Comnenus and his family (Dreghorn 1985, 6-7).

6.4.1 The Castle of St Hilarion

The castle of St Hilarion takes its name from a hermit who had been known to live in Cyprus during the sixth century. However it is known that the hermit St Hilarion lived in Paphos and was buried there. Hence there should have been another Hilarion who was associated with this site. The castle of St Hilarion was also known by the Franks with the name Dieudamour. The Byzantine name of the castle was Didymos which meant twin and was given to the site because of its twin peaks. When the Franks took the castle, they made a word play by using the cult of Venus which was a part of the island's mythology and created the name Dieudamour. The castle of St Hilarion was one of the most strategic places in the island. According to Enlart, 'a strategic site like this must have been among the first in Cyprus that anyone would think of fortifying'. The castle had been a very important place during the turbulent times of the island from the time of Isaac Comnenus to the times of Venetians who dismantled it and mostly used as a refuge castle. During the Lusignan period, it was also the official palace where the members of the high court spent their summers (Enlart 1889, 428-429).

The castle was constructed on a peak (Figure 84) 732 m. above sea level and about a mile inland from the shore. It had a wide view towards the coastal plain and Kyrenia. However the southern plain was invisible like the pass between Kyrenia and Nicosia. Therefore according to Newman, the so called function of the castle to protect the strategic pass could not be true. However, the location of the castle was probably chosen because of its natural strength. Whether or not, the castle was placed on a steep cliff with a view reaching the Taurus Mountains of the Cilician shores. The castle was placed on the peak

where the north was protected with steep slopes; the south was protected with a bailey. The east and west of the castle continued with rocky cliffs (Newman 1947, 7-9).

The peak on which the castle was constructed is limestone. This is a special crystallized limestone called Hilarion marble. Millions of years ago, during the geological formation of the island, the limestone slabs were pushed to form the vertical cracks. These cracks were faced with erosion and in time rounded to become the natural towers of defenses of the summit. When looked closely, it will be realized that the man made towers were placed on these natural towers which reinforced the strength (Figure 85). The geological formation of the site was also beneficial for the curtain walls. In medieval times, before the invention of gunpowder, the defensive walls were defeated by mining technique. The minors dug holes under the wall to set a fire causing the wall to collapse. This is one of the reasons why the castles were surrounded with moats. However in St Hilarion, the castle was constructed on a bed rock where mining would have been impossible. Such a stone peak with natural towers was obviously an ideal site for a castle (Figure 86) (Dreghorn 1985, 3-4).

With the presence of Hilarion marble as the bed rock, the material needed to build the castle was ready at the top. The stones cut for leveling the rocks were probably used to construct the walls. Mortar could also be made on the site. There are still many pine trees around the castle, therefore the wood was also available. No evidence survives from the original roof material. However holes for wooden rafters are still visible in some buildings. These roofs were made with tiles or wood and clay. Some of the buildings had vaults (Newman 1947, 7-9).

The castle was composed of buildings grouped behind three lines of defenses, therefore the structures in the castle can be grouped in three: the bailey (the buildings behind the first defense line), the buildings behind the second defense line (Enlart calls it the first plateau) and the buildings behind the third defense line (the second plateau) (Figure 87).

6.4.1.1 Bailey

The bailey (Figure 88) was the first place that anybody friendly or hostile who wanted to enter the castle would confront. It was entered through a barbican (Figures 89-91) with turrets at the corners. The outer gate of the barbican (Figure 92) was quite simple; there is

no evidence for a drawbridge or portcullis. The inner door, which led into the bailey was a reinforced wooden door protected with machicolations (Figure 93, 94). Above the door were four brackets with carvings indicating the presence of machicolations (Figure 96). The carvings allow the researchers to date these brackets to the fifteenth century. The curtain wall enclosing the bailey was constructed with irregular masonry; it was about 5 feet thick with crenellations. The wall walk (Figure 97), embrasures and merlons provided space for defense. There were six semicircular towers with loopholes in order to reinforce the wall continuing up to the rocky cliff with a steep angle (Figure 99). The buildings inside the bailey were mostly service buildings. There were also cisterns (Figure 100), stables, store houses or rooms for soldiers and a bathhouse. The buildings which was probably used as a stable is in good preservation today (Figure 101, 102) (Newman 1947, 10-11) (Enlart 1889, 431-433) (Jeffery 1983, 264-265).

6.4.1.2 First Plateau

The building group on the first plateau was constructed following the contours of the rocks behind (Figures 103, 104). They were reached through a vaulted tower gate. The gate was a tower structure with a slightly bending tunnel which was also protected from the second storey of the tower (Figures 107-109). Traces of a drawbridge exist here. Probably, from the gateway of the tower structure a drawbridge was lowered onto a platform leaning on the cliff. The gate was also protected from the upper defense towers (Figure 106). A Byzantine chapel stood behind the gate (Figure 113-115). This was a single nave church constructed with 5 cm thick dark brown bricks with mortar between them. There were eight pillars which protected the roof which had a central dome in the middle. On the east were the apse with a semicircular dome, and an adjoining room which could have been used as treasury or oratory. The chapel was a part of the building complex including the main hall, royal apartments, belvedere, kitchen block and store rooms. As the northern part was protected by the steep slope, the buildings were placed in different levels with facades and windows on this side. These buildings were one or two stories high and the circulation between them was provided by stone staircases. Some of the roofs were pitched; some had vaults (Figure 116-118). Behind this complex, there were barracks for soldiers and a big cistern which was fed from the rainwater carried through pipes (Newman 1947, 11-12) (Enlart 1889, 433-434) (Jeffery 1983, 265).

6.4.1.3 Second Plateau

The second plateau was a courtyard between the twin peaks of the summit. It was entered from a gate structure with a semicircular tower protecting it (Figure 119). Similar to the lower plateau, in the upper plateau too, the easily accessible side was protected with a gate structure and the living quarters were placed among the rocky cliff where there was no possibility of attack. Therefore, on the west side of the courtyard, there is the palace with beautiful windows looking down the plain of Lapithos. The palace was a two storey structure with stone paved floors. The basement was an irregular shaped structure with a semicircular barrel vault. The ground floor had a pointed barrel vault (Figure 121) while the upper floor was not vaulted. It probably had a pitched roof for protection from rain and snow. The upper storey was reached by a flight of stairs. There were windows on the west façade one of which was famous as the "Queen's window" (Figure 123). The "Queen's window" had a pointed arch frame divided by a mullion and a lintel. It had floral fixed glazing. The other windows' frames were semicircular and smaller; they had stone benches in front of them (Figure 124, 125). There is still the trace of a wooden balcony that runs along the façade. Other than the royal hall, there are also service structures like the kitchen and store rooms as well as two cisterns in the upper plateau. The south of the courtyard was protected with a curtain wall with three towers. The Tower of Prince John was at the very east of this wall (Figures 126-128). This tower overlooked the lower buildings and protected the lower gate. It had loopholes and a flat roof probably with crenellations. This tower is known as Prince John's Tower because it was probably the place where John of Antioch has thrown himself in 1373 (Newman 1947, 12-13) (Enlart 1889, 434-437).

6.4.2 The Castle of Buffavento

The Buffavento Castle was also called as *Leonne*, the Lion Castle or the Queen's Castle because it was said to be founded by a queen or a noblewoman who also took refuge there in 1190[35] The castle of Buffavento was used as a refuge in times of war and as a prison in times of peace. It was also strategically important because it could communicate with the other hilltop castles and the castles of Kyrenia and Nicosia. It was also responsible for

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[35] In addition to these Hill also gives information that the name of Buffavento Castle was derived from Koutzoventi where a monastery used to stand; it was so called because it was placed on a very windy peak (Hill 1949, 271-272).

warning these castles when ships were spotted on the sea (Enlart 1889, 437-438). Baron Rey gave the best opinion with which Enlart also agreed:

> At Buffavento nature had done everything needed for defense and the aim of Lusignans seems to have been to build an inaccessible stronghold here rather than a proper fortress. (Enlart 1889, 439)

The castle was composed of two parts which were connected with a steep staircase. The staircase was destroyed by Venetians when they decided to omit the castle from the fortified places of the island. In Buffavento castle, like the other two castles built on the northern range, the part viewing the sea and the northern plain was blocked by the mountain and the other part faced the inland plain (Figures 167-168). Therefore Buffavento was composed of two blocks one of which was constructed leaning on the cliff while the other was constructed on the peak (Figures 131-135) (Enlart 1889, 441).

6.4.2.1 Lower Part

The buildings of the stronghold started with two structures at the foot. According to Enlart, one of these structures resembled a terrace or a barbican. The other was a buttressed cistern (Figure 136). The buildings were reached from a terrace which led to the main entrance. The entrance was through a groin vaulted structure. At the two ends, were pointed arches which framed the doors. The inner door opened to an opening which was closed by a curtain wall on southern part continuing from the wall of the gate structure to the wall of the next building. The upper part of the wall has now collapsed but it used to be crenellated according to Enlart. However the ruins give no evidence for a wall walk (Figures 137-138). On the north of the opening, the rocks were carved to provide space for another vaulted structure. The roof of this vaulted structure could also be the landing of the staircase which used to connect the two parts (Figure 139). The structures on the west were two storey buildings (Figure 140). Each had a barrel vaulted lower storey and a groin vaulted upper storey. In the upper storey there were also loopholes on the side facing outside (Figures 141-142). Behind these structures on the west stood a comparatively larger, two storey building. In fact the building stood above these structures. The roof of the rear structure was at the same level with the first floor of the building and it provided a terrace in front of the main building (Figure 143). The south side of this building was rounded and as Enlart says, it resembles the round towers

of Kantara (Figures 144-146). The beam holes for the second storey may still be observed on the walls (Figures 147-151) (Enlart 1889, 441-442).

6.4.2.2 Upper Part

Structures of the upper part were placed at the peak of the mountain. The first group was composed of cellular rooms adjacent to one another (Figures 152-153). There were four rooms, decreasing in size towards west (Figures 154-156), with a fifth one at the far end (Figure 157). There was an opening to the east of these structures enclosed by a parapet wall which used to be crenellated (Figures 158-159). Under this terrace, was another but smaller cistern. On the south of the terrace, on an elevated rock, was another structure composed of two small rooms (Figures 160-161). Its roof was groin vaulted. One of the rooms still has traces of plaster on the wall with a small niche at one side (Figures 162-164). Therefore this structure could have been a small chapel. According to Enlart, this room could also have been a keep similar to the 'Queen's chamber' of Kantara. In the south of this structure stood another building lying in east-west direction but mostly ruined (Figure 166) (Enlart 1889, 441-442).

The structures in Buffavento castle were used for accommodation while taking refuge or as barracks while being used as a watch tower. The stones used were dressed limestone carried to the top from the shore, and these stones with fine workmanship were used in the frames and corners of the buildings. The rest parts of the walls were constructed with the rubble stones collected from the mountain. According to Jeffery, the masonry looks like an accidental method or the materials were reused. The buildings are very simple with no evidence of decoration (Enlart 1889, 443) (Jeffery 1983, 274).

6.4.3 The Castle of Kantara

Kantara Castle's name comes from the Arabic word of *kantara* which means bridge (Hill 1949, 271-272). The castle is at the eastern most part of the northern mountain range, at a height of 630 meters above sea level. It is where the elevated terrain of the mountain groups starts to descend. Thus it can view the sea and the coastal plain both in the north and south. It can also view the Karpas peninsula (Figures 207-208). Although most parts of the castle were constructed in the Latin period, the Byzantine parts are also easily recognized. The horse shoe shaped towers at the gate and some parts of the curtain walls

are Byzantine in date. Actually, the Byzantines built their castles as small watchtowers, and the Latins enlarged these small strongholds in order to serve as centers of administration and military. They constructed towers and chambers with fine masonry and architectural details; windows with pointed arches and groin vaulted flat roofs are still visible. The castle continued to remain under Lusignan rule and in 1391, King James I refortified the castle and made some reconstructions. According to Newman the existing fortifications date to this period. After the castle passed to Venetian rule, it continued to be used in order to defend the coast. However, as it was too far to Famagusta the center in addition to the difficulty of maintaining an army, it was dismantled in 1560 (Dreghorn 1985, 7-9) (Newman 1973, 3-4).

The plan of the castle was shaped according to the contours of the hill on which it was constructed. Therefore it was protected by the cliff from three sides (Figures 169-170). The gate was placed in the east where the slope is gentler. The castle was entered through a barbican protected by strong towers. There were rectangular towers on the two sides of the gate and horse shoe shaped towers with loopholes were placed north and south of the barbican. Behind these flanking round towers which date to Byzantine period, there were two rectangular towers of medieval age with groin vaulted roofs. The outer skins of the roofs however were flat in order to provide a suitable terrace for rainwater. The basement of the southern tower used to be a prison, it was later turned into a cistern. The northern tower was also a two storey structure. The lower floor led to a vaulted chamber through a corridor with loopholes. The upper floor also ended in a rectangular chamber through a parapet of loopholes. The flanking tower at this side was quite an interesting structure with seven loopholes. This flanking turret probably served the cistern below it as well as the barbican. These four towers with many loopholes protected the gate and the barbican without mercy to anyone daring to enter (Figures 171-193) (Newman 1973, 5-8) (Jeffery 1983, 246).

South of the entrance, there were a series of vaulted rooms with loopholes which were used as barracks (Figure 194). There was a latrine at the far end of this structure, probably connected to a cistern with a flushing system (Figure 195). The castle continued with a curtain wall and a horse shoe shaped cistern to the south west (Figure 196). There were ruins of a tower on the west and remains of chambers and cisterns on the south. The far south west end of the castle was butted with a group of chambers and a horse shoe shaped tower (Figures 197-198). The south of the tower opened to a postern. Two vaulted

chambers were near the tower and two other chambers used as cisterns were adjacent to them. There are gutters and drainage to collect the water from the flat roof to cisterns (Figures 200-201). There were the Byzantine curtain wall (Figure 199), some other chambers and ruined cisterns on the west side of the castle (Figure 205). At the center were ruins of a structure with a window resembling the Queen's window of St Hilarion and named as the "Queen's chamber" by Enlart (Figures 202-204). Here the castle had the widest view (Figures 207-208). As the rock on which Kantara Castle was constructed is at the point where the mountain starts decreasing, on clear days the castle has a view of the sea on both sides and it was from the Queen's chamber, it communicated with Buffavento castle (Figure 206) (Newman 1973, 4-8).

6.5 The Crusader Characteristics of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara

The castles in Cyprus had been built in Byzantine times and were enlarged and reinforced during Latin use. For sure they have many characteristics similar to the other crusading castles of Syria and Palestine. On the other hand, being parts of another geography, the Cypriot castles do not reflect the enthusiasm and energy that caused many of the castles in mainland to be constructed. They were constructed as watch towers against pirate attacks to Cypriot shores. Unlike other Byzantine castles which were occupied by Latins who were in desperate rush to find themselves strong points as centers for authority, these castles remained in Byzantine hands until the third crusade. Therefore they were not the witness of the struggle between the ambitious Latins and the astonished Muslims. They were neither offensive nor frontier castles with missions of colonization. They were the products of a later period, and according to Fedden and Thomson's groups they were the castles of retreat.

In addition to their historic differences, the Cypriot castles also acted as defensive structures which protected Christians from Christians. In front of these fortifications, there had not been any infidel or Saracen fighting as enemy.[36] Therefore the Cypriot castles were not the first in the battle line in the crusader warfare against Muslims but were the supporters in the back. All kinds of support, recruitment when there was a shortage of men, various kinds of products from its fertile lands when there was need for

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[36] The the first time that the castles were actively used, the enemy was Richard the Lion Heart and the besieger was Isaac Comnenus; the second time was during the Ibelin succession in 1229-33 when the castle changed hands between Ibelins and Lombards (Marshall 1996, 137).

further supplies and shelter were provided. But most important of all, the Cypriot castles were the symbols of a strong and trustful ally who would be ready in times of need. This psychological support was the bridge between the island and the mainland which saved the lives of crusaders.

The castles St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were used as refuge castles. But besides their military functions they also served civic purposes. In this regard, the castle of St Hilarion was used as the royal palace of the High court, while the castle of Buffavento was utilized as a prison many times, the castle of Kantara was the administrative center and the prison of its surrounding territory. It was mentioned before that there were three types of castles used by crusaders in Cyprus: land castles like Kolossi, port castles like Kyrenia and the hilltop castles. These three castles – St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara - are the hilltop castles of the northern mountain range which also show many of the characteristics of the other hilltop castles in Palestine.

The great natural strength of their sites is worth mention; all three were constructed on the rocky cliffs of the mountains. St Hilarion was built on a bed rock of limestone where three sides were protected by the cliff. It was noted by Marshall that 'it was positioned on a very step slope and required a substantial force to maintain a siege.' During the Ibelin siege of St Hilarion in 1229-30, it took ten mounts for the Ibelin forces to take the castle. This was so long that the Lombards had to eat their horses in order to survive. Buffavento was on such a remote peak that it did not need to be defeated even by Richard the Lion Heart; the ones who controlled it mostly surrendered when the other two castles yielded. Like the other two Kantara was constructed on a piece of rock where approach was possible only from one direction. It also took 10 months for Ibelins to take it in 1229-30. When compared with other castles, holding a castle for 10 months shows the natural strength of the site (Marshall 1996, 114-242).

In sites where nature is so generous to create the most inaccessible rocky peaks, the human contribution would appeared to be less. In the hilltop castles of Cyprus, the bed rock sites reduced the necessity of digging trenches around the fortifications. On the other hand, gates were always one of the most important parts of the castles. The characteristic bent entrance of the crusaders with right angles was not used in Cypriot castles. However the gates were placed inside towers and protected by the other structures behind them. In St Hilarion the first gate was inside a barbican and protected by two towers. The second

gate of St Hilarion was inside an angular tower, protected by another tower (Prince John's tower) from the upper plateau while the third gate was also inside a structure protected by the Byzantine tower. The gate of Kantara was also widely protected. The approach passed in front of the barracks which have loopholes. The first gate was inside a barbican. The opening in front of the barbican was protected by two horse-shoe towers, while the gate was flanked by two guard rooms on both sides. The barbican was protected by two other towers and a gallery with loopholes. The second gate of Kantara was just a door with portcullis incase anyone dared to pass the barbican. The gate of Buffavento was inside a vaulted structure, while the opening in the front was protected by the crenellated roof of the latter. The courtyard behind the gate was also protected by the structures and terraces behind. Obviously the tricky bent entrance of the crusading castles was cleverly replaced by a combination of complex gate structures in all three Cypriot castles.

The characteristic round towers flanking the main structure are also important parts of the castles of St Hilarion and Kantara. In St Hilarion, the crenellated curtain wall of bailey was further reinforced by semicircular towers with loopholes. Other than these round towers, there were many rectangular towers with crenellations and loopholes in the upper parts. In Kantara, there were a variety of Byzantine and Frankish towers. The Byzantine towers were horse shoe shaped and the Frankish ones rectangular. All towers had many loopholes to guarantee the active defense. In Kantara unlike St Hilarion, most of the towers were assigned to protect the gate. In this regard, there was only a watch tower inside the castle if the "Queen's chamber" is accepted as a tower. The peculiar nature of Buffavento castle is obvious when one tries to comment on towers. Although a castle without a tower is hard to imagine, Buffavento castle did not have a differentiated structure which can be identified as a tower. On the other hand considering the lack of fortifications, it can easily be said that this is not a proper castle as claimed by Baron Rey (Enlart 1889, 439)[37]. It is either stated that this castle had no towers, or that every structure in both lower and upper parts would act like a tower in the event an enemy succeeded to break through its natural fortification walls made of rocks.

Despite the inaccessibility and the natural strength of their sites, the Cypriot castles have one of the most important characteristics of military architecture, the multiple lines of defense. Nevertheless they are not concentric fortifications; in order to benefit from the

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[37] See page 88.

site they were arranged in different levels. St Hilarion castle has three lines of defense with three gate structures. The buildings were arranged in three groups placing the most important one the royal palace at the highest point of the peak. Kantara castle was not arranged as a ring within another ring, but the barbican and the two gates were focused on the only side where the approach was possible. In Buffavento where no man could climb but goats, the upper part where there were the cells was saved behind the protection of first the nature and then the lower part. Therefore the Cypriot castles made use of several defense lines while standing against sieges.

The other important structures during sieges are the service quarters of the castles. In a siege if there was a shortage of water or supplies, no castle could stand long no matter how strong its fortifications were. The water problem was one of the biggest problems of the mountain top castles especially when there were no natural springs around. In all three castles the builders did not forget the cisterns which would save many lives. In St Hilarion there were several cisterns in each quarter. In Kantara there was one outside and several inside while in Buffavento there was one at the lower level, and another at the upper level. There were also drainage systems which carried the run-off rain water of the roof to these cisterns in St Hilarion and Kantara. Like the cisterns, the kitchen blocks were also carefully placed especially in St Hilarion. Each quarter had its own kitchen and storage structures. In Kantara there were many structures which could be used for storage. However there is no trace of a kitchen. On the other hand, having a latrine near the barracks, Kantara gives useful clues about medieval humanity. Buffavento has no traces for a kitchen or storage structures although it is the highest and the most remote of all three. Probably they solved the service problems with the multifunctional use of the rooms.

All three castles have also the living quarters. St Hilarion had a structure which could be used as barracks in the bailey and groin vaulted barracks in the first plateau. It had living quarters for royalty in both plateaus. Furthermore, it had a beautiful Byzantine church, big enough for all the royalty and the whole garrison. Kantara also had barracks; however there were no apartments as in St Hilarion. Yet it is quite possible that the upper watch tower "Queen's chamber" with its beautiful window and vaulted ceiling could be used for residence in times of refuge. Nevertheless there is no trace for a chapel or any room differentiated for praying. In Buffavento, however, there were clearly many rooms for residence. Especially the upper part seems completely reserved for refugees with its cell

like rooms and small chapel. The signs of human occupation show that all three castles were also used as residences –voluntarily or forcefully- even in times of peace (Figure 209).

The Cypriot hilltop castles of the northern mountain range differ from the crusader castles in Palestine in some ways, but they have many common characteristics too. Although being mostly constructed by Latins and used by them does not necessarily point to a crusader castle, the castles of St Hilarion, Kantara and Buffavento represent the military architecture of the crusading period perfectly. The importance of these castles is revealed best by the following quotations about St. Hilarion:

> …the castle not unsuitably closes a survey of crusading architecture. The isolation, the finely wrought masonry in a wild landscape, the energy that built in so inaccessible a place, its active role in a splendid and fantastic enterprise, its subsequent dereliction, and the silence that now obtains within the walls characterize many of the great monuments of the Crusading period. (Fedden and Thomson 1952, 127)

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The castles St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara are three representatives of a particular time period and the witnesses of the history and culture of that period. They were involved in wars, court fights and hostile struggles between the powerful people of the time in which they were active. Not only the cruel nature of a warrior society but also the gentle nature of the European aristocracy are still visible on the remains of these stone walls hiding many memories and emotions behind their solidity. However in order to be able to see what lies behind, the history and the social values of Europe which produced the crusading society has to be overviewed. To understand the people and the motives of these people who constructed and used these castles is important to differentiate these structures from other kinds of military architecture. On the other hand it is also important to note the characteristics of these castles in order to find out how different and alike the castles in Cyprus were to the ones in the Levant. The similarities and differences show how much they shared the crusading identity and how much they also preserve the Byzantine features or the characteristics derived from the special position of Cyprus in the crusading kingdom. Therefore it is also vitally important to find out about the place of Cyprus on which these three castles were constructed within the whole crusading history. By mining out these and bringing out a collective understanding of the concepts of crusading, crusader castles and the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus, the three hilltop castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara which resemble the romantic castles of fairy tales will take their place in history as solid and tangible examples.

In the formation of history, the scene of a specific time period is usually set up as a conclusion of the preceding events which prepared the break points and important actions. In time, whatever is to be lived, is lived to become the formative events of the

next scene and the scene changes by leaving remains and evidences of what had been lived during that short time. Sometimes these remains become ruins and preserved; sometimes they continue to be used to become the remains of another scene in history. Nevertheless each ruin becomes the most precious evidence of the period to which it belongs reveals what lies behind. The three hilltop castles of Cyprus are the most extraordinary evidence which show how the crusading military architecture was in the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus. However it is not enough to look at the archeological remains to comprehend. It is also very important to know how the scene was formed in that way and how the western Christians found themselves constructing castles in the isolated mountain peaks of Cyprus. The initiation of the Latin history of these castles lies in the idea of the crusading and the reasons of the desire of marching east.

The crusades were the reactions of the western Christendom to the diminishing eastern frontiers. They were caused by the wish to redefine the mobile eastern boundary which had been pushed to the west of Asia Minor by the Malazgirt victory in 1071. In order to regain dominance in the east and return the ownership of the Holy Lands of Jerusalem to Christendom the western armies marched east. Therefore every single step that has been taken towards the east, every struggle to be anchored in the east and every attempt to westernize the Levant are products of a cooperative will which has its roots back in history. In other words, it can be said that the crusader castles are the solid representatives of the attempt of spreading the spiritual and physical boundaries of the western world. Like the sea shell fossils found on the mountain tops which prove that once those pieces of earth had been under water, the crusader castles on the mountain tops of the Levant and Cyprus are the tangible proofs that these lands had been once the homelands of some western Christians.

However it is not enough to know that these castles were products of Christian western minds which had been brought to the Levant by the historic circumstances. Further more the Latin inhabitants of the towns in the east, the knights who fought for the security of these lands, the lords who resided in the castles and the kings who ruled them all must be known to give breath to the remote mountain peaks, stone dungeons and compact port towns. Unless the mentality of these western Christians is clarified, the language of the castles cannot be understood. If the social background of the western world in the tenth and eleventh centuries is underestimated the questions of who and why will not be answered; as Painter (1969) says, the scene which showed the mass migration to the east

is a moving one and the most dynamic force which shaped the scene is the human side of it.

The Latin Kingdom emerged because of two main reasons. The first one was the political disorder of eastern Muslims who could not stand against the Christian army when they entered Jerusalem. The second was the rootless western youth that was encouraged to find new lands to live in. The presence of these energetic young people who were ready for adventure and departure gave the spirit to the Latin Kingdom. The best part of it was that this energy and young blood had been continuously refreshed through crusades. Therefore before the first comers get old, they were replaced by the younger ones if they were the members of the military class. The settlers on the other hand were refreshed by new families coming with the crusades or by pilgrims who decided to settle down. It is very important that the best soldiers in the west spent some part of their lives in the east in order to take their share from the glory of the crusades. It is impossible to comment on whether or not some of these best knights had been in Cyprus or fought and defended the Cypriot hilltop castles because names are hardly mentioned in sources which are very rare. Nevertheless it is for sure that the glorious lords and their household knights, or young knights who bound themselves through contracts and who had their brother companions, had been at least part of the army of Richard the Lion Heart. When it was time to leave the Holy Lands and settle in Cyprus they were probably again the most glorious knights who had great reputation of their courage and who could get fief from the kings of Cyprus. Therefore the subjects of the events who had participated in the crusader castles, from the kings to the single archer or squire, were the parts of the western society who had the motivations and psychology derived from the circumstances of Europe.

As one knows more about the human side, the simple architectural structures turn into words and words into sentences to tell about what they had witnessed. For example it becomes easier to comment on the Byzantine church of St Hilarion and the chapel of Buffavento. One of the most important things before going to battle was the confession ceremonies because the soldiers of Christ wanted to be as pure as possible to guarantee the 'Divine Aid'. Therefore in a castle which could be under siege for ten months, a religious chamber is very essential. Before the soldiers get desperate and had to eat their horses (which are the most expensive and important equipments of the knights) they probably prayed and asked for forgiveness for days and weeks. Therefore a big castle like

St Hilarion would probably have its own priest even in times of peace to be ready for the war. The priest would probably stay in one of the rooms near the church. The chapel of Buffavento could be reserved for the comfort of the prisoner who probably would have been an important person once. In this small chapel, the prisoner who had been living a monk's life would pray for his mental health and ask for mercy.

The clues about the daily life inside a castle give enough information to assume that the knights who stayed in the barracks, would eat in the main hall and spend the rest of the evening by the fireplace in the great hall if it was winter or outside, chatting with other knights and telling their stories of bravery. In St Hilarion, it is very obvious that the barracks in the first plateau were for the knights while the squires stayed in the bailey. Therefore the great hall and the terraces around it accompanied these privileged men with 'one of the finest views in the world' (Enlart 1889, 429) while they had their dinner or evening walk. The soldiers of Kantara had been as lucky as the ones in St Hilarion. Although the place of the hall which would be used for gathering is uncertain, the chambers on the west side could have been used for this purpose. With its beautiful pointed arch openings, it fits best to the knights with their long mantles and swords. In Buffavento on the other hand, the main hall would have been used by soldiers, who were probably few in number and stayed in the chambers below the hall. The commander whose cell would be next to the prisoner's could sometimes join them or spend time in his room reading in the candle light. Within such a nature, a person could feel close to God and angels and pray or could consider himself within clouds and get involved in the art of poetry. These are all assumptions of course; the real situation is more uncertain. One can only guess about the pleasure that one felt in these castles or the fear of the enemy which led to surrender. Hence, some of the archeological remains become more meaningful when they are combined with the social background of the medieval ages. For example no one can ever doubt that the beautiful windows of St Hilarion were ordered to the best stone masons in order to please someone important with a gentle heart. Either male or female, it is obvious that the ones who watched the lonely plains of Lapithos from these windows had nothing to do with war or fighting.

It is undeniable that the crusades had brought a new understanding to the concept of knighthood. Therefore there were basically three groups who performed the knightly profession. The first group was composed of the secular knights, who fought for their lords, gave respect to fame and glory and, of course, who were highly interested in the

financial profits of the profession. These secular knights were the "knights of the shire" who held fief of a lord and admired by their fellow neighbors. They were administrators of their rural territory and the representatives of the local people to lords and the lords to local people. They were involved with religion like every medieval man; morning prayer would be the first in the daily routine. However they were far from the concept of 'Soldiers of Christ'. The second group constituted the crusaders, who were charged with the responsibility of being the 'Soldiers of Christ'. They were in fact the secular knights who agreed to join crusades. Hence they were privileged by the promises of martyrdom and remission of sins on one hand and on the other they were not excluded from the plunders or shares of the fertile lands of the east. They had many advantages like fighting under the leadership of Christ, seeing the Holy places, being pilgrims and feeling the religious energy which they could never feel during the battles in Europe. Crusaders who proudly carried the cross on their mantles were fighting for a sacred goal which the knights of the shire could not even imagine. The third group was more radical than the crusaders. The army of Christ and the sacred goals reached extreme points by the establishment of the military orders. None of the crusaders were religious people because the clerics and monks were forbidden to fight. However by the emergence of the military orders, European authorities accepted the knight monks announcing that they represented the rehabilitation of the lost order by God himself. The knight monks had been living and praying like monks and fighting like knights. The Templars and Hospitallers had the most sacred duties of protecting the holy places and pilgrims who came to see them and curing and sheltering the poor and the sick ones. They were fighting both in the physical and spiritual world in the name of Christ and their obedience of monastic rules guaranteed divine sanction. These three groups of knights whose distance to God and Christ decreased as they got close to the Holy Lands, had been performing different levels of knighthood which formed the western society in the middle ages. The crusaders and the military orders were always present in the Holy Lands and Cyprus while the third group – if any knight existed who could manage not to join crusades- were the secular knights who missed all the advantages of above.

The military orders had commandaries in many parts of Europe and in Cyprus. The castles of Kolossi and Saranda Colones are attributed to Hospitaller rule. It is also known from the chronicle of the 'Templar of Tyre' (Crawford 2003, 119) that the Templars regarded the three hilltop castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara as highly defensive structures. However there is not enough evidence to show that these hilltop

castles were used by any of the orders. Therefore, if it was not the military orders who occupied them, then they were the knights of the *familia Regis* of the Kingdom of Cyprus who defended and fought for these hilltop castles. In other words, they were the crusaders who had been there temporarily or who were settled there permanently. It is very important to differentiate the soldier profile of the castles because it can therefore be commented that unlike the Syrian castles which were entrusted to the orders during the period of retreat, the Cypriot castles did not change their owners due to any lack of financial or military power. Their struggle was more dependent on political inconsistency and the power fights of the Latins themselves. On the other hand the feudal system which characterized the medieval society was still the main source of recruitment. As there was no order to supply human support for these castles, they were the kings and the lords who assigned the soldiers through fiefs and contracts. On the other hand, there was no great commander who would rule the army but the individual kings, lords or their faithful knights who organized the defensive forces of the castles under siege.

Another aspect about the castles of Cyprus was that they were not in the mainland, in Jerusalem or on the way to Jerusalem. Hence, they were influenced from the crusader spirit in a different sense. The soldiers of Christ and the military orders that had defended the Syrian castles to strengthen the presence of the Latin Kingdom, and ensured or fought for the security of Jerusalem had been guided and ruled by Christ. If they had nothing left to remind them that they were still fighting for a holy purpose, they had the cross on their mantles and shields. Therefore the resistance of the soldiers and the castles had been fed with a religious energy. Every castle in mainland Syria had a story of its own and a reason of presence which juxtaposed with the crusader ideals while marching to Jerusalem or establishing the kingdom. Therefore the holy direction of all the castles in the mainland was Jerusalem and every military action of offense or defense was caused by the desire of staying close to the Holy Lands. However Cyprus had been far away from the play ground since the beginning. Obviously it was on the way to Jerusalem and being the last stop of the later crusader commanders who gathered there and settled a last meeting of military decisions, it was important and strategic. But the castles of the island which were well armed to withstand any kind of attack were never intended to serve for the holy wish of preserving Jerusalem. Therefore, despite being a province of the Latin Kingdom and being totally focused on refreshing the sources of the mainland, Cyprus had never been 'crusader' in terms of the religious energy and the holy spirit. This is one of the most distinctive differences of Cyprus and Cypriot castles in a survey of crusading

characteristics. In other words this lack of holy purpose means that the crusader castles shared many of the physical, military and architectural characteristics of the other crusader castles of the mainland, but their spiritual coherence was not as strictly holy as the ones in the mainland. Therefore if every castle is also a warrior, then the Cypriot castles were not secular and isolated like the secular knights of Europe, the knights of the shire, but they were not totally monastic and extremely militant like the Templars and the Hospitallers either. The island and the Cypriot castles were in between; but involved in every step of the crusading mentality. From the first day of the conquest by Richard I to the departure of the last crusader, the island had been a crusader state. Hence it had never been an active warrior and never had the chance to host in its fertile lands the battles which defined the destiny of the Latin Kingdom. The Cypriot castles were the soldiers of Christ like the crusaders who actively defended them; they all participated in this holy tale without being in the extreme ends.

Among the examples of the crusader military architecture in Cyprus, the place of the hilltop castles with great natural strength is unique because unlike other castles in the island, these castles were ignored by Venetians who unconsciously helped to preserve the Latin work by refusing contribution to these castles. Therefore none of the surviving examples of the military architecture in Cyprus have the privilege of being Latin, but they render a hybrid presence. On the other hand the physical placement of these hilltop castles, the decisions of site which in fact belongs to Byzantines, give them a high military value as a strong defensive belt. In this respect and in many other points which were mentioned above the three hilltop castles in Cyprus are very important in the history of the crusader military architecture and distinct examples of their kind.

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APPENDIX I

The Crusades to the Holy Land,1095-1291

Source: Nicholson 2001

1096-99	First Crusade: captures Jerusalem. Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem founded.
1100-01	Follow-up expedition: defeated by Turks.
1107-10	King Sigurd of Norway brings army to Holy Land.
1122-24	Venetian expedition to Holy Land.
1144	Zangi, ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, captures Edessa.
1146	Death of Zangi.
1147-49	Second Crusade: Attacks Damascus, failure.
1154	Nur al-Din (Zangi's son) captures Damascus.
1158	Pilgrimage of Count Thierry of Flanders.
1169	Saladin becomes vizier of Egypt.
1172	Pilgrimage of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony.
1174	Death of Nur al-Din. Saladin seizes Damascus.
1177	Pilgrimage of Count Philip of Flanders.
1187	Saladin captures Jerusalem.
1189-92	Third Crusade: to recover Jerusalem. Fails but recovers some territory.
1197-98	German Crusade. Recovers some territory.
1201-04	Fourth Crusade: to assist Christians in Holy Land. Captures Constantinople.
1217-21	Fifth Crusade: attacks Egypt. Initially successful but army cut off when Muslims open sluice gates of Nile.
1228-29	Crusade of the Emperor Frederick II: Jerusalem recovered by treaty.
1239-40	Crusade of Theobald, count of Champagne and King of Navarre.
1240-41	Crusade of Earl Richard of Cornwall. Recovers territory by negotiation.

1244	Jerusalem finally lost to Muslims.
1249-54	First Crusade of King Louis IX of France: to Egypt. Initially successful but defeated at Mansurah, February 1250. Louis then goes to the Holy Land and strengthens its defenses.
1269	Crusade of the princes of Aragon.
1269-70	Frisian Crusade.
1270	Second Crusade of King Louis IX of France: to Tunis. Failure.
1271-72	Crusade of the Lord Edward of England.
1274	Second Council of Lyons discusses plans for recovering the Holy Land.No decision reached.
1291	Acre captured by al-Ashraf Khalil, sultan of Egypt.The remaining Latin Christian territories in the Holy Land fall to the Muslims soon afterwards.

There are no more crusades to the Holy Land.

The Monastic Day According to the Rule of St Benedict

Source: Nicholson 2001

The monks or nuns were to live a life of obedience, silence, humility and poverty. Their day was made up of services in church with private study and work for the religious community, eg. in the fields or in the kitchen. The times of the services were calculated by dividing the hours of daylight into twelve, and the hours of dark into twelve. So in summer each daylight hour was longer than each night hour, and vice versa in the winter.

Time	Service in the Church	
c.2am winter, winter. Takes just before Lauds Sundays and feast days, after in summer Lauds	Vigils/Matils 'Night Office'	Shorter service in summer, longer in around 2 hours on night office in winter, read quietly until
First light	Lauds	
c.6am	Prime (1st hour)	
c.9am	Tierce (3rd hour)	
12 noon sleep	Sext (6th hour)	In summer, followed by a meal and then
c.3pm reading in cloister	Nones (9th hour)	Followed by a meal in winter, then
Before dark	Vespers	Followed by supper in summer, then reading in Cloister
Sundown (8pm summer)	Compline	Silence after Compline. Followed by bed in dormitory

At services, the hyms are sung, psalms are recited and lessons read from the Bible and the works of the Fathers of the Church (early authoritative Christian writers), as well as verses for meditation related to the lessons.

Meals: Two a day from Easter to 14 September, except on fast days. One a day from 14 September to Easter. The single meal is taken after Vespers during Lent.

Sleep: They sleep from sundown to the eight hour of the night. In the summer they also sleep after their noon meal until the service of nones.

The Templars' Day According to the Rule of the Temple

Source: Nicholson 2001

Time	Service in Chapel or Hall	
At night	Matins in Chapel	Brothers join in prayers. Then they go and check horses and equipment and speak to their squires. They sleep until down
c.6am	Prime Mass (or after sext)	
c.9am	Terce	
c.12 noon	Sext Mass (if not heard earlier)	Afterwards repair armor and equipment, make tent pegs, tent posts, or anything necessary. It is followed by lunch: knights eat at first sitting; sergeants at second sitting; clerk to read aloud while they eat. Go to chapel and give thanks: 'Go to their posts and do their best that God instructs them'.
c.3pm	Nones, Vespers and Virgils for the dead	
Dusk	Vespers	Followed by supper
	Compline	Followed by a drink. Check horses and equipment, speak to squire if necessary
Dark		Bed

During periods of fasting there was only one meal a day at 3pm or 4pm.

Orders were handed out to Brothers before the 'Hours' services in Chapel

Chapel meetings were held on Sundays and at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. In Europe, away from the frontier, attention to horses and equipment would be replaced by whatever work was needed in the House.

Important Dates in Crusading History

Source: Boase 1967

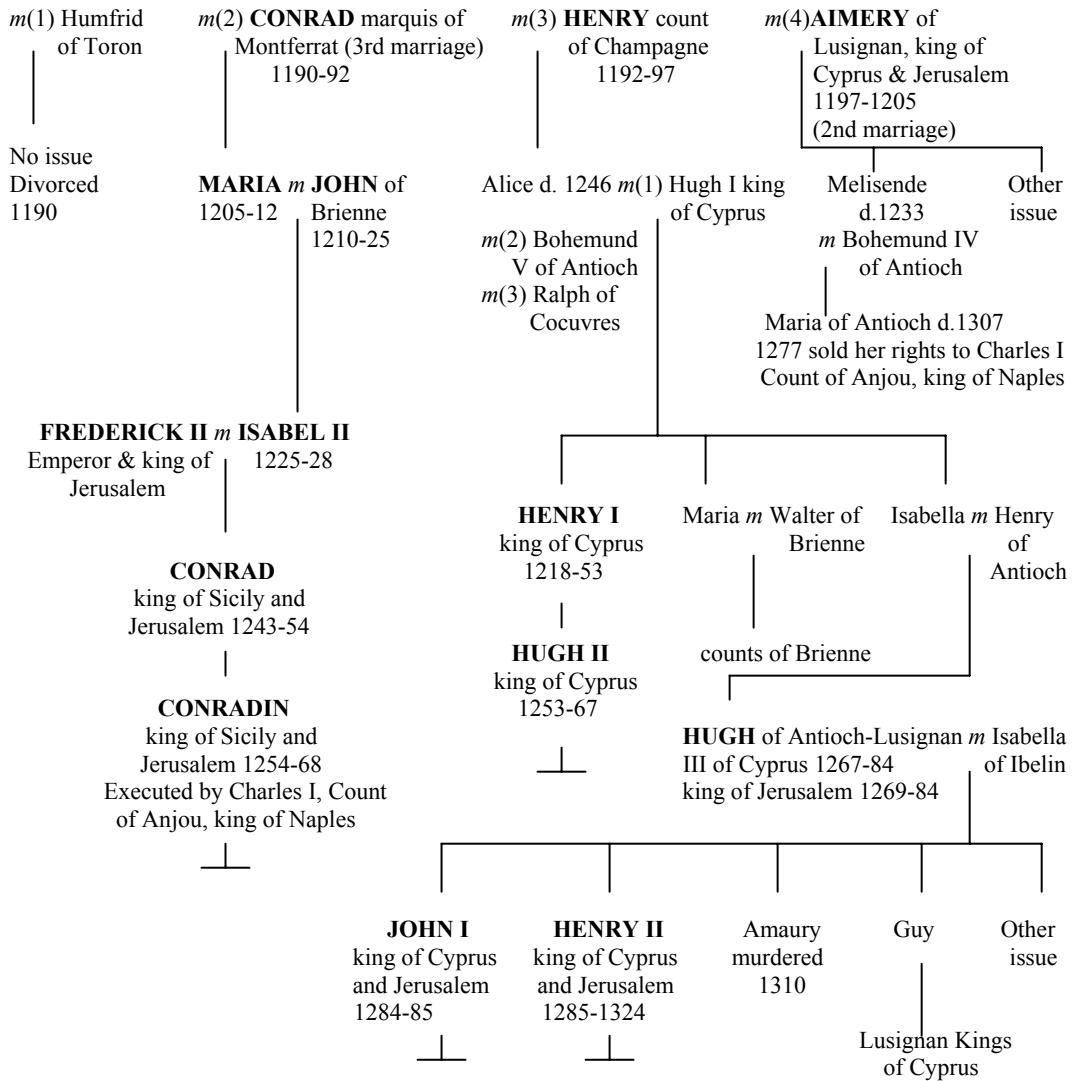|	
1095	Urban II preaches the crusade at the Council of Clermont.
1097	First crusade reaches Constantinople: Alexius Comnenus Emp., 1081-1118.
1097	21 October 1097-03 June 1098 Siege of Antioch.
1099	15 July, Capture of Jerusalem: Godfrey of Bouillon elevted Advocate of the Spelchure.
1100	Death of Godfrey: Baldwin I (1100-1118) succeeds as king.
1109	Capture of Tripoli.
1115	Baldwin I builds castle of Montreal.
1118	Accession of Baldwin II (1118-1131)
1124	Capture of Tyre.
1131	Accession of Fulk Anjou (1131-1143), as husband of Melisend, daughter of Baldwin II.
1132-33	The Assasins settle in Ansariyah Mountains.
1142	Castle of Kerak built.Crac des Chevaliers ceded to the Hospitallers.
1143	Death of Fulk, accession of Baldwin III (1143-1163).
1144	Zengi captures Edessa.
1147-48	Second Crusade, led by the Emperor Conrad III and Louis VII of France.
1149	15 July, Dedication of Church of Holy Sepulchre.
1153	Capture of Ascalon.
1154	Damascus submits to Nur ad Din.
1155	Crusading allience with Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180).
1163	Accession of Amalric (1163-1174).
1163-69	Campaigns against Egypt.
1169	Saladin occupies Cairo for Nur ad Din.
1174	Death of Nur ad Din and Amalric:accession of Baldwin IV, the Leper (1174-1185)
1186	Margat ceded to the Hospitallers.
1187	4 July, Defeat of crusading army by Saladin at Hattin.
1187	2 October, Jerusalem surrenders to Saladin.
1188	Saladin's northern campaign: capture of Saaone and of Kerak.
1189	Guy de Lusignan begins siege of Acre.
1190	Death of Frederic Barbarosa in Cilicia.
1191	Arrivals of Philip II of France and Richard the Lion Heart at Acre: recapture of Acre by the crusaders: departure of Philip.
1192	Guy de Lusignan buys Cyprus from the Templars, to whom Richard had assigned it after his conquest of the island: departure of Richard: refortification of Kerak by al-Adil.

1193	Death of Saladin.
1198	Leo II crowned king of Armenia (1198-1219)
1200	al-Adil, Saladin's brother, proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria.
1204	Constantinople taken by the crusaders.
1217-18	Death of al-Adil: al-Kamil succeeds him in Egypt.
1219	Capture of Damietta by crusaders.
1221	Crusaders evacuate Damietta.
1229	Frederick II regains Jerusalem, Nazareth and Toron by treaty with Kamil.
1232-36	John of Ibelin leads the baronage against Frederick's bailie, Richard Flangieri.
1239-40	Crusade of Theobald of Champagne: treaties with Damascus and Egypt restore Galilee and Ascalon to the crusaders: Jerusalem occupied by an-Nasir of Kerak.
1244	Jerusalem sacked by Khorezmians: Egyptians and Khorezmians defeat a crusader-Syrian army at Gaza.
1249	Louis IX lands in Egypt and captures Damietta.
1250	Louis defeated and captured by Egyptians; ransomed by surrender of Damietta.
1250-54	Louis in Palestine.
1258	Hulagu and the Mongols capture Baghdad and kill the last Abbasid caliph.
1259	Kutuz becomes first Mamluk sultan.
1260	Mongols under Kitbogha take Damascus, but are defeated at Ain Jalut by Mamluk army under Baybars:Baybars kills Kutuz and suceeds him as sultan (1260-1277).
1261	Michael Palaeologus reconquers Constantinople.
1266	Mamluks under Kalavun devastate Armenia: Baybars captures Safad and overruns Galilee.
1268	Baybars captures Jaffa, Beaufort and Antioch.
1270-72	Crusade of Edward of England.
1271	Baybars takes Crac des Chevaliers.
1277	Death of Baybars: succeeded after two years of dispute by Kalavun.
1281	Kalavun defeats the Mongols near Homs.
1285	Kalavun takes Margat.
1287	Fall of Latakia.
1289	Kalavun captures Tripoli.
1290	Death of Kalavun: succeeded by his son, al-Ashraf Khalil.
1291	18 May, Khalil captures Acre: Athlith and Tortosa evacuated.
1307-14	Suppression of the Temple Order.
1309	Hospitallers occupy Rhodes

The Rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

Source: Nicholson 2001

Eustace II, count of Boulogne *m* Ida of Lorraine

Eustace III,
Count of Boulogne

GODFREY
of Bouillon
1099-1100

BALDWIN I
1100-1118

BALDWIN II
(cousin of Baldwin I)
1118-31

issue

MELISENDE   *m* **FULK** (2nd marriage)
1131-61   former count of Anjou
                1131-1143

Hodierna *m* Raymound II
count of Tripoli

Raymound III *m* Eschiva,
count of Tripoli   lady of Tiberias
                   (2nd marriage)

BALDWIN III
1143-63

AMAURY *m*(1) Agnes de
1163-74   Courtenay

m(2)   Maria
        Comnena

BALDWIN IV
(The leper king)
1174-85

SIBYL 1186-90
m(1) William of
     Montferrat

m(2) **GUY** of Lusignan
       1186-1190-92
       Lord of Cyprus 1192-94

BALDWIN V
1185-86

2 daughters
d.1190

ISABEL I

ISABEL I
1190-1205

m(1) Humfrid of Toron

m(2) **CONRAD** marquis of Montferrat (3rd marriage) 1190-92

m(3) **HENRY** count of Champagne 1192-97

m(4)**AIMERY** of Lusignan, king of Cyprus & Jerusalem 1197-1205 (2nd marriage)

No issue
Divorced
1190

MARIA *m* **JOHN** of Brienne
1205-12   1210-25

Alice d. 1246 *m*(1) Hugh I king of Cyprus

m(2) Bohemund V of Antioch
m(3) Ralph of Cocuvres

Melisende d.1233 *m* Bohemund IV of Antioch

Other issue

Maria of Antioch d.1307
1277 sold her rights to Charles I
Count of Anjou, king of Naples

FREDERICK II *m* **ISABEL II**
Emperor & king of Jerusalem   1225-28

CONRAD
king of Sicily and Jerusalem 1243-54

CONRADIN
king of Sicily and Jerusalem 1254-68
Executed by Charles I, Count of Anjou, king of Naples

HENRY I
king of Cyprus
1218-53

Maria *m* Walter of Brienne

Isabella *m* Henry of Antioch

HUGH II
king of Cyprus
1253-67

counts of Brienne

HUGH of Antioch-Lusignan *m* Isabella
III of Cyprus 1267-84   of Ibelin
king of Jerusalem 1269-84

JOHN I
king of Cyprus and Jerusalem
1284-85

HENRY II
king of Cyprus and Jerusalem
1285-1324

Amaury
murdered
1310

Guy

Other issue

Lusignan Kings of Cyprus

FIGURE

Figure 1: The Map Of Jerusalem Showing The Holy Sites.

Figure 2: View Of Holy Sepulchre.

Figure 3: The View Of The Modern City Of Jerusalem, With Dome Of The Rock And The Aqsa Mosque.

Figure 4: Plan Of The Crusader Church Of Holy Sepulchre.
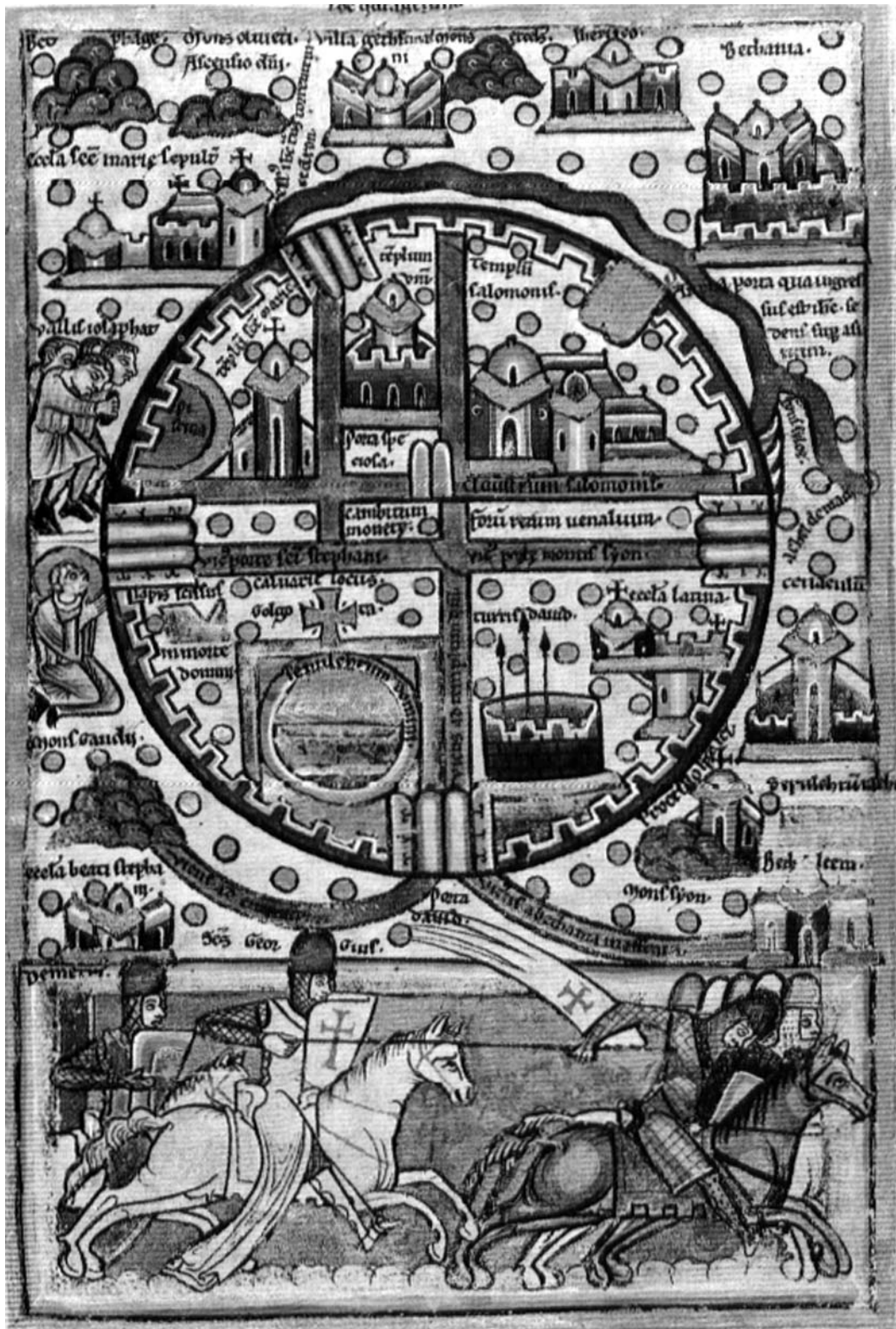
Figure 5: Illustrative Map Of Jerusalem.

Figure 6: The Preach Of Urban II.
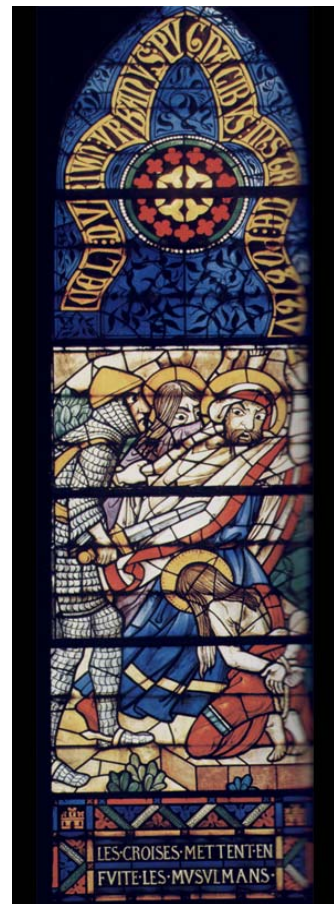
Fig.7, 8: Stained Glass In The Church Of St Dennis, Peter The Hermit And The Crusaders.

Figure 9: Fighting Knights.

Figure 10: Godfrey Of Boullion, One Of The Leaders Of The First Crusade And The First King Of The Kingdom Of Jerusalem.

Figure 11: Asia Minor At The Time Of The First Crusade.

Figure 12: Syria At The Time Of The First Crusade.

Figure 13: War Scene From England.

Figure 14: Medieval Armor.

Figure 15: A Young Crusader.

Figure 16: Medieval Contract For Accepting The Leadership Of A Lord, The Seals Of The Knights Were Attached.

Figure 17: Confession Of A Knight Before He Leaves For A Battle.

123

Figure 18: Scene Of A Siege With A Siege Tower.
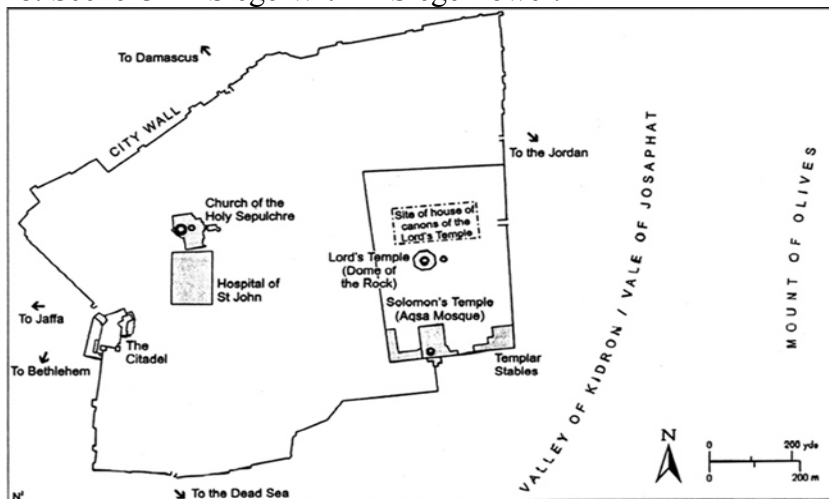
Figure 19: Schematic Map Of Jerusalem.

Figure 20: Bernard Of Clairvaux

Figure 21: Execution Of Templar Knights.

Figure 22: Castles Controlled By The Order Of The Temple.

Figure 23: Castles Controlled By The Order Of The Hospital.
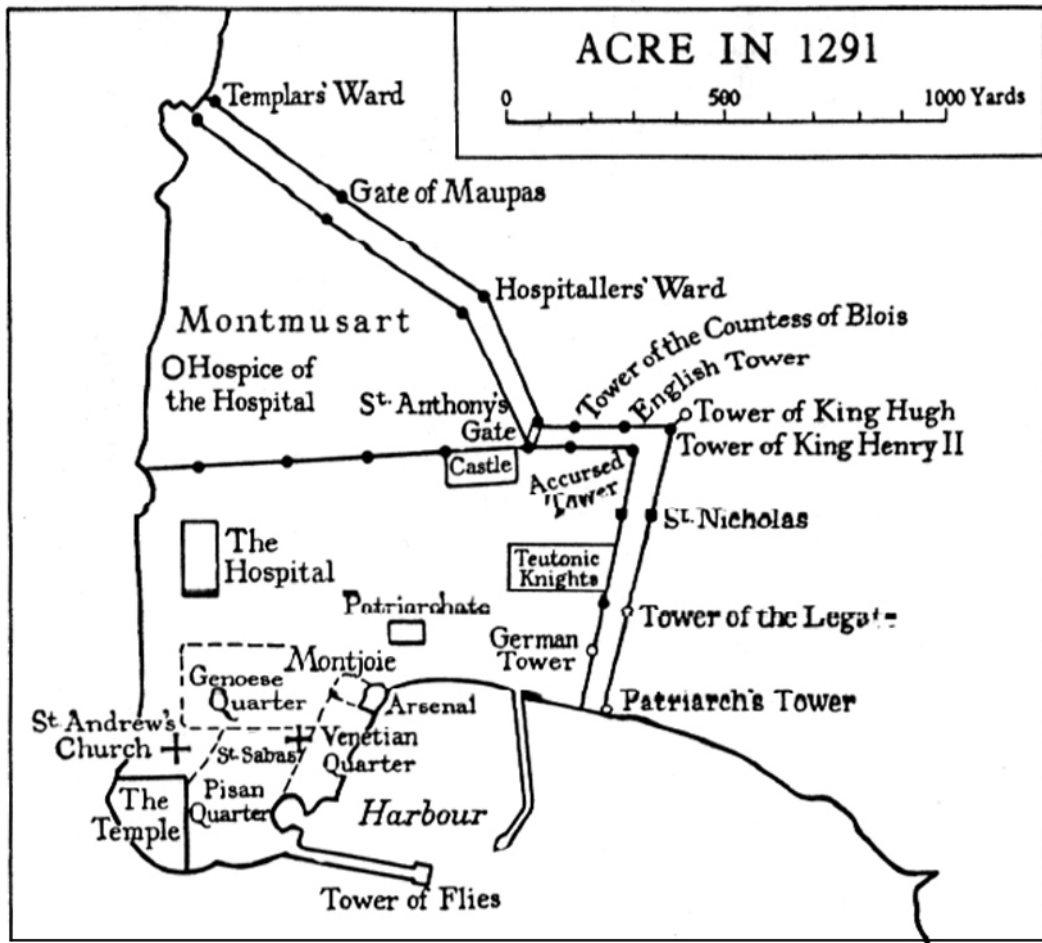
Figure 24: The Plan Of Acre In 1291.

Figure 25: The Siege Of Rhodes, Between Ottomans And Hospitallers.
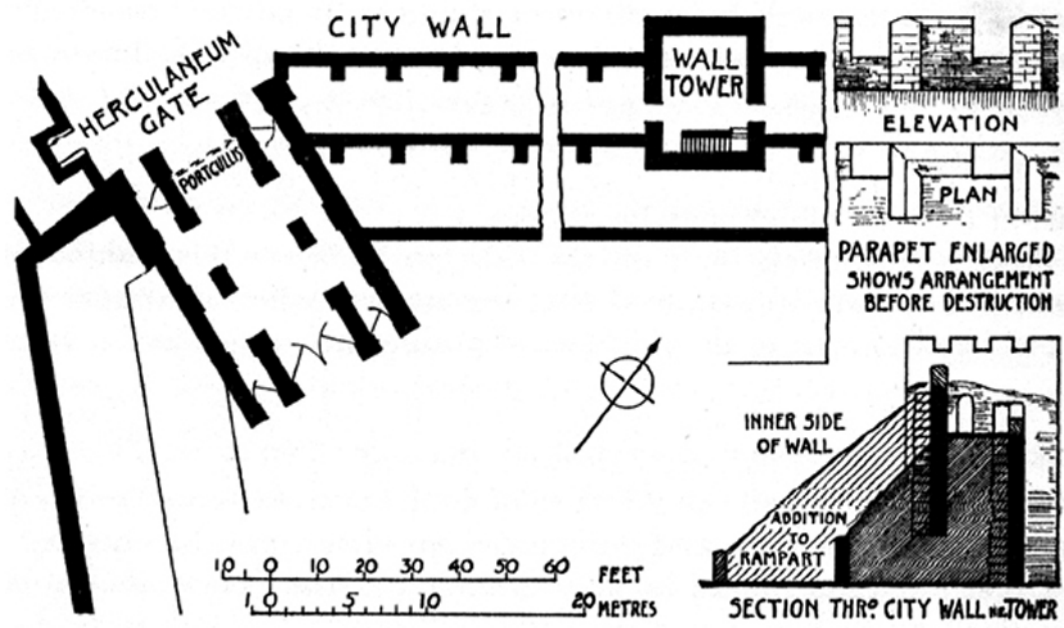
Figure 26: Pompeii, The Plans Of The Herculaneum Gate And The City Wall; Section Through City Wall.
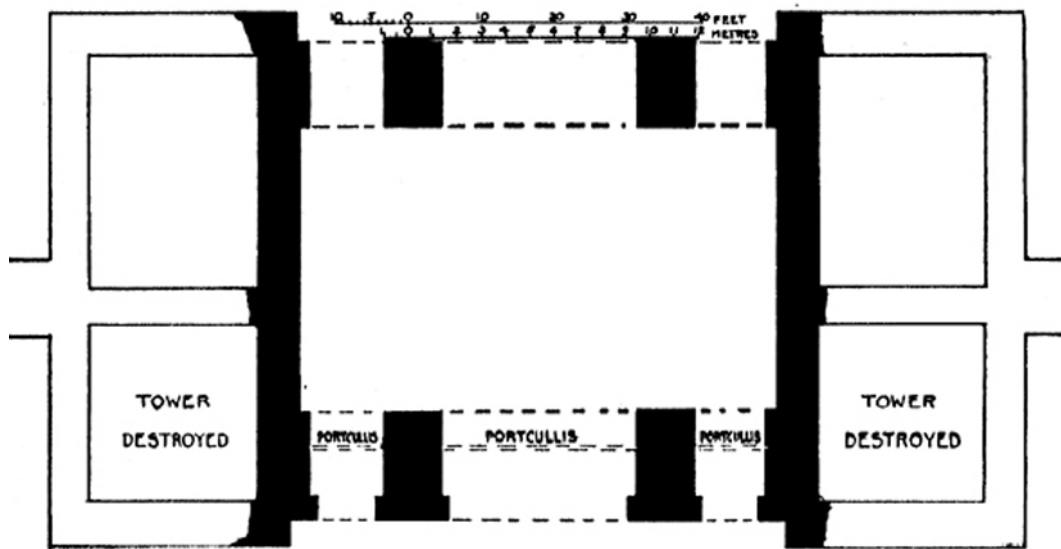
Figure 27: Aosta: Plan Of Porta Praetoria.
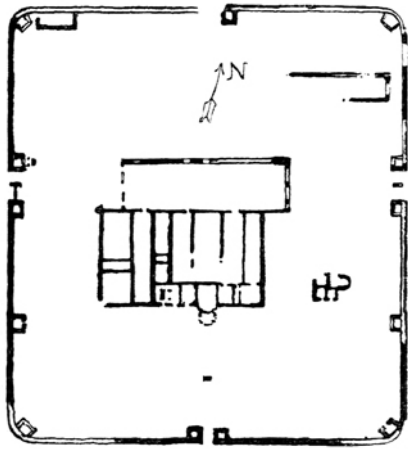
Fig. 28: Castellum Of Unterböbingen   Fig. 29: Kasr Il Abjad
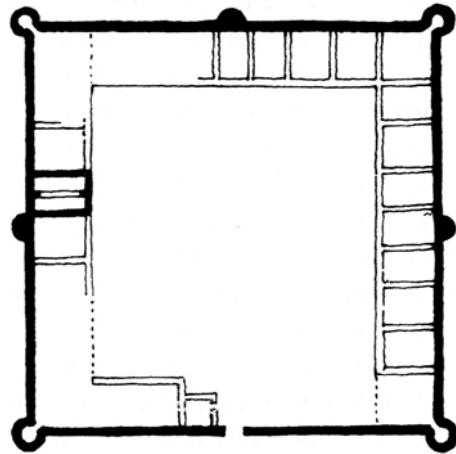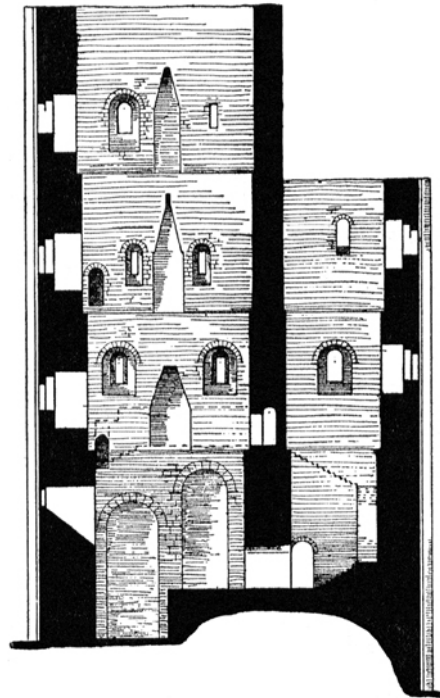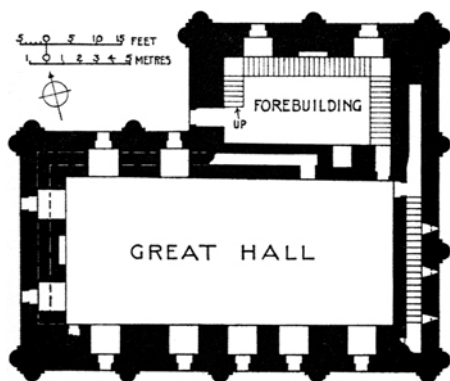
Fig. 30, 31: Loches Castle, The Plan And Section Of The Donjon.

130
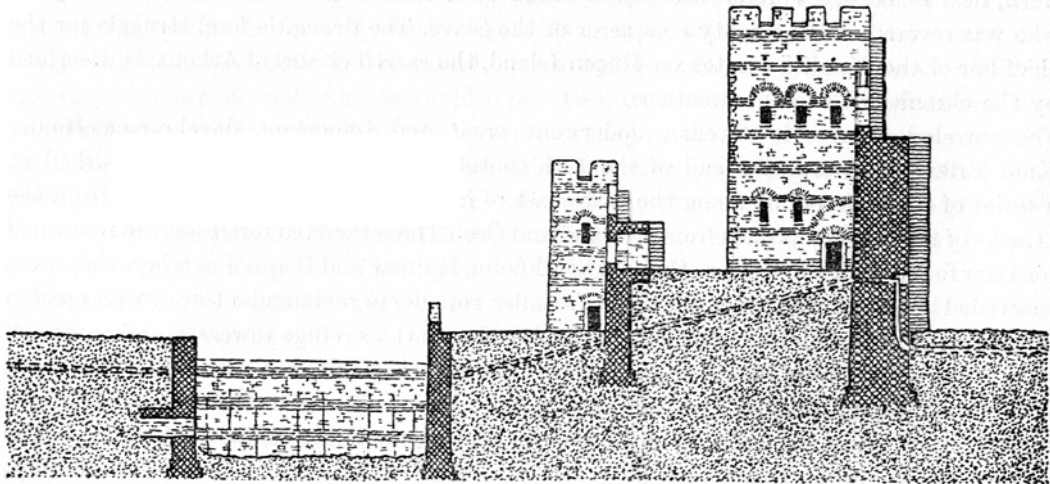
Figure 32: Constantinople, Section Of The Reconstruction Of The Wall.

Figure 33: Constantinople, The Walls.

Figure 34: An Engraving Of Constantinople, The Byzantine Walls Inspire The Western People In Later Times As In Times Of The Crusades.

Figure 35: The Map Of Latin Kingdoms In The East.

Figure 36: Formalized Painting Of Jerusalem While Muslims Attack And Christians Defend It.

Figure 37: The Battle Between Crusaders And Muslims In 1149.

KASR BAGAI.
Byzantine πυργοκαστελλα.

DIEHL. p. 193.

14

ILDAOUROUCH. GATE.

DIEHL. 161.

16

AIN TOUNGA GATE

DIEHL. 189.

15

TIMGAD. GATE.

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17
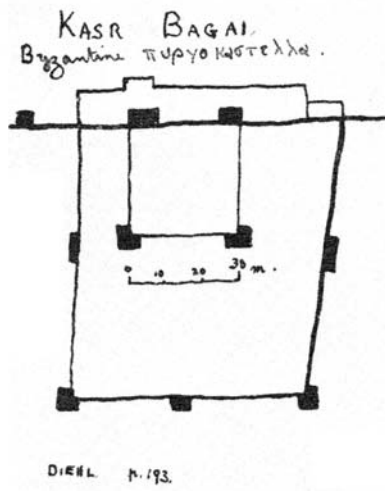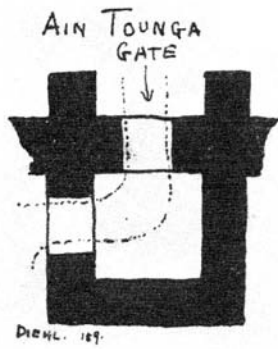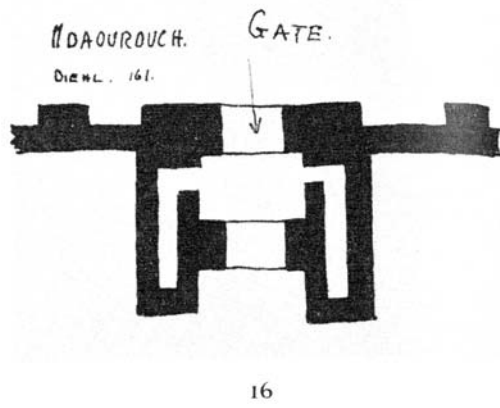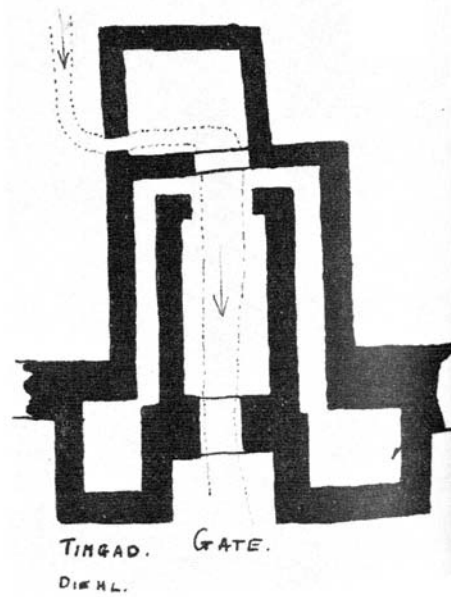
Figure 38: The Strong Gate Structures Of Some Crusader Castles.

Figure 39: The Satellite Photo Of Cyprus.

Figure 40: The Schematic Map Of The Island.
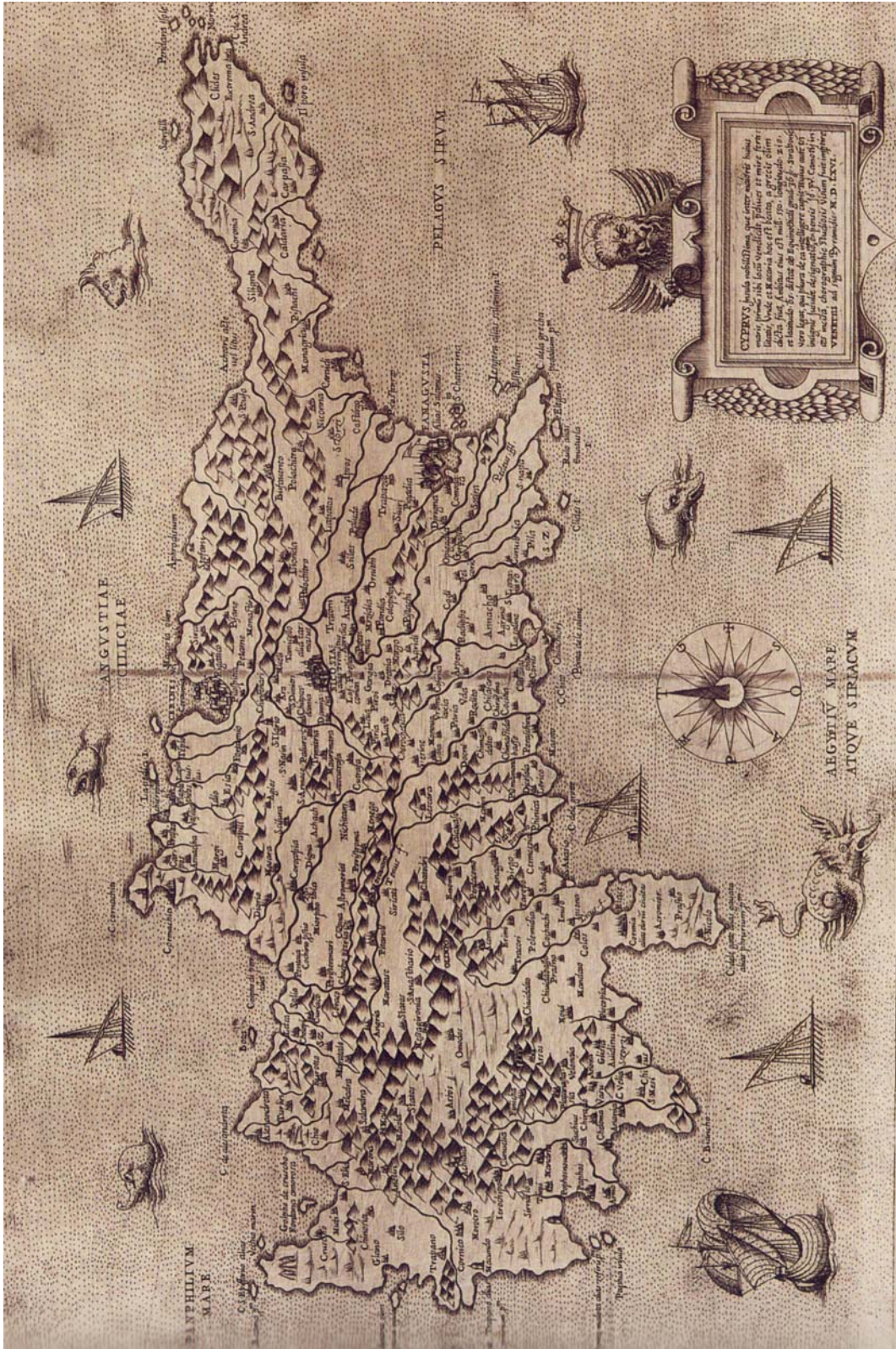
Figure 41: A Medieval Map Of Cyprus, Drawn By A Venetian Cartographer In 1566.

Fig. 42, 43: Bellapais Abbey.
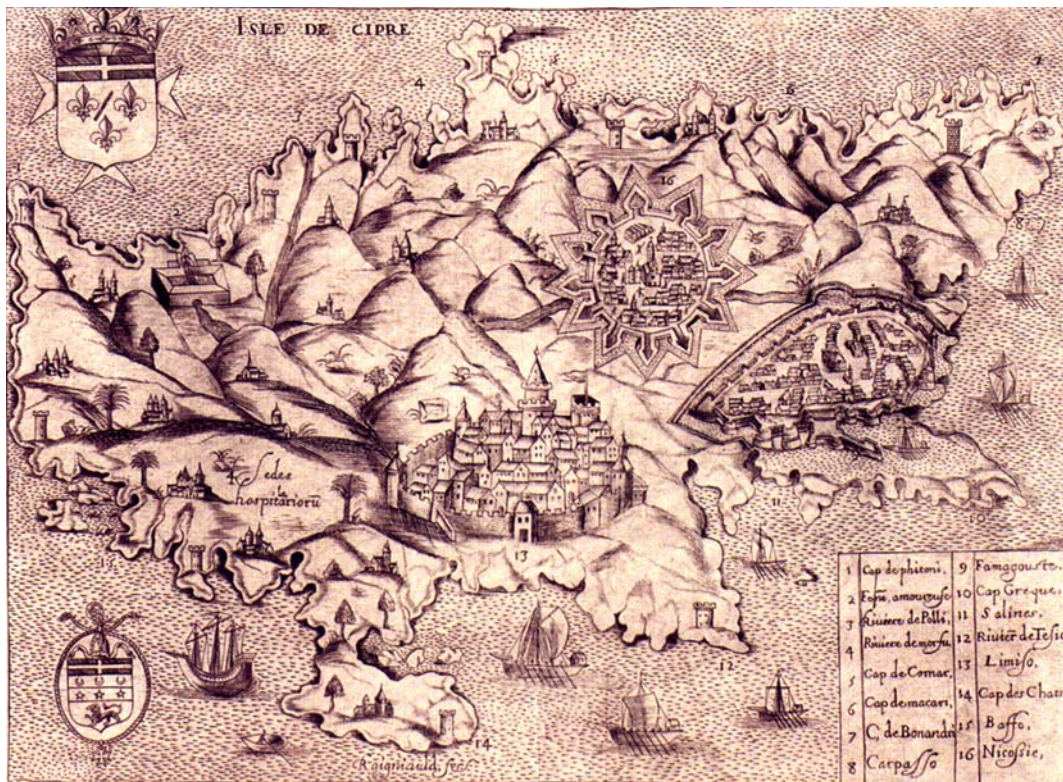
Figure 44: A Medieval Map Of The Island Dating 1629, Which Was Designed To Illustrate A Book About The History Of The Order Of Hospitallers.

Fig 45, 46: Kolossi Castle, View From South East And East.
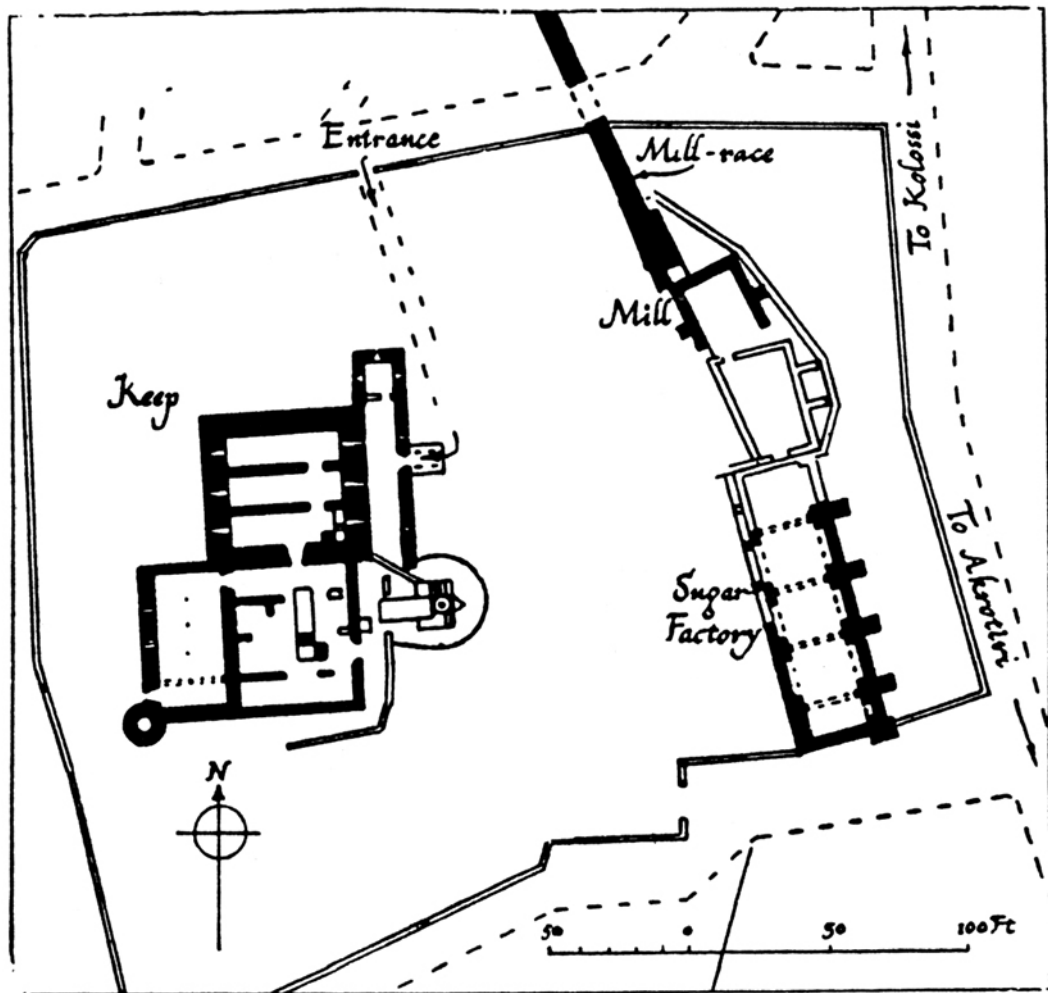
Figure 47: Plan Of The Hospitaller Tower Of Kolossi.

Fig.48: The Well Is Seen From The Roof. The Brackets Of Machicolations Are On The Top Left.

Fig.49: The Remains Of The Round Tower Of The South West Corner.

Figure50: The Stairs Of The Drawbridge And The Stables As Seen From The Roof.

Fig. 51: The Marble Panel Of Coat Of Arms.

Fig. 52: The Relief On The Aqueduct.

Fig. 53, 54: Details From The Marble Panel.
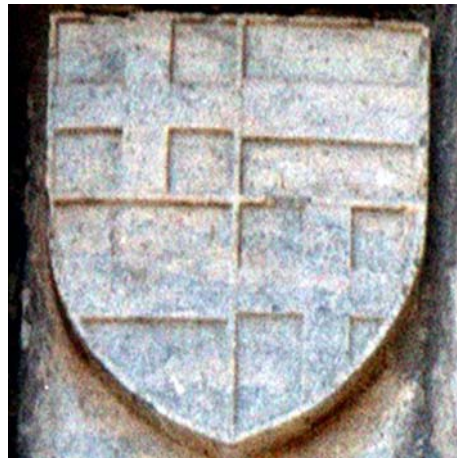
Fig. 55, 56: Details From The Marble Panel.

Figure 57: The Sugar Factory.
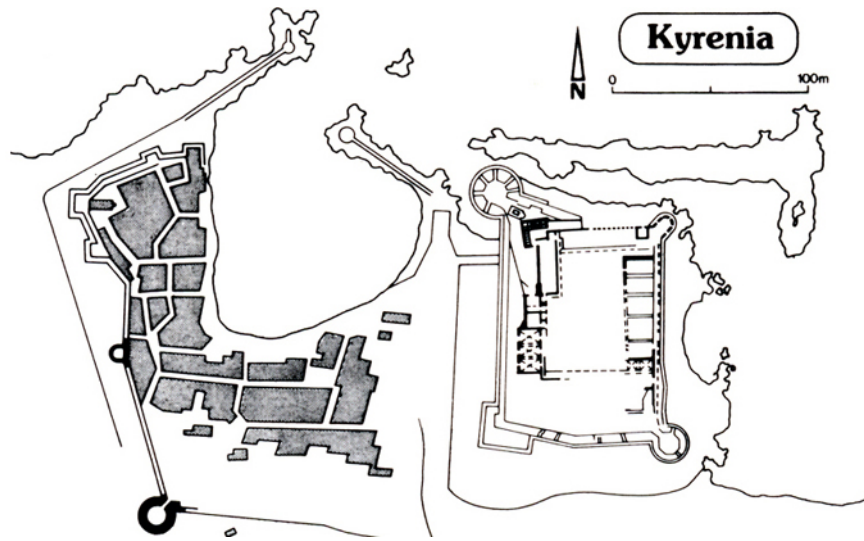
Figure 58: The Plan Of The Medieval Town Of Kyrenia.
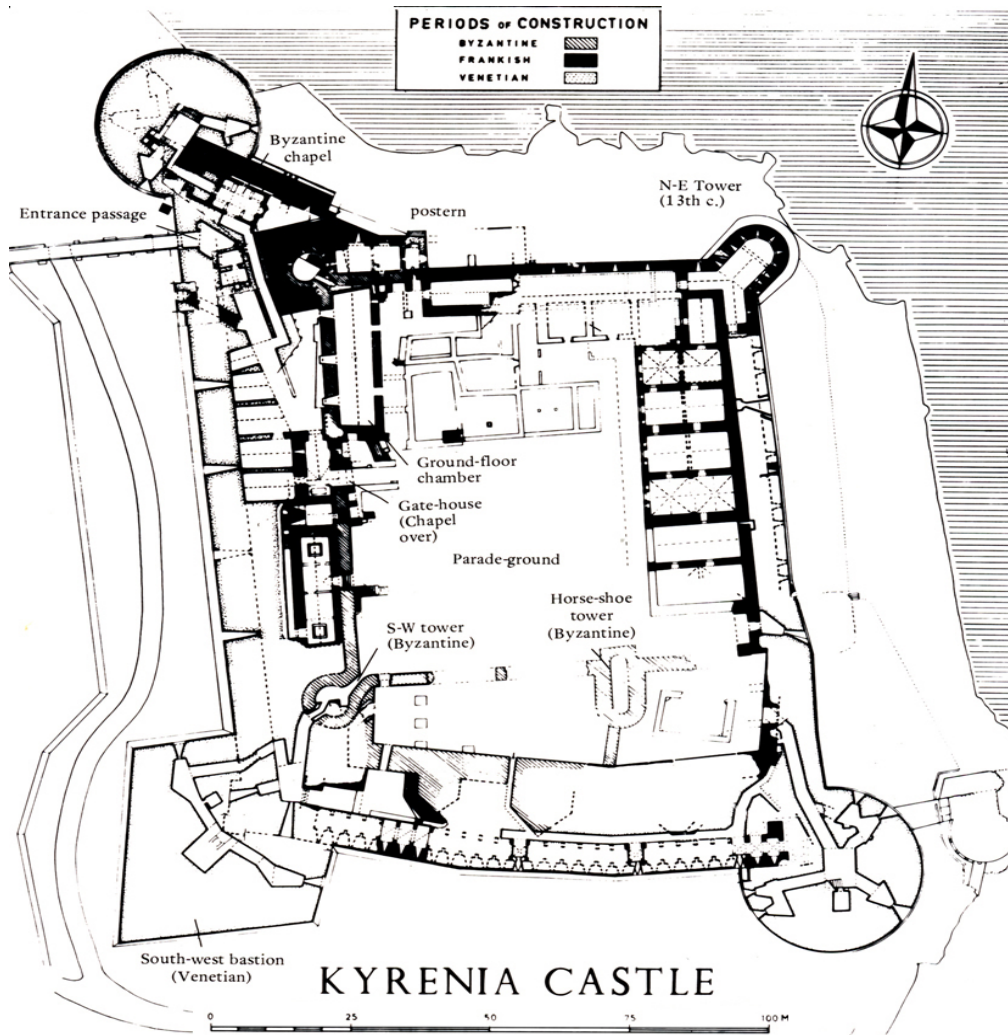
Figure 59: The Plan Of Kyrenia Castle.

Figure 60: The View Of Castle From North. At The Back, The Mountains And The Peek Of St Hilarion Castle Is Visible.

Fig.61, 62: The Castle Dominates The Harbor.

Figure 63: View Of The Buildings Around Courtyard.

Figure 64: View Of The Buildings Around Courtyard.
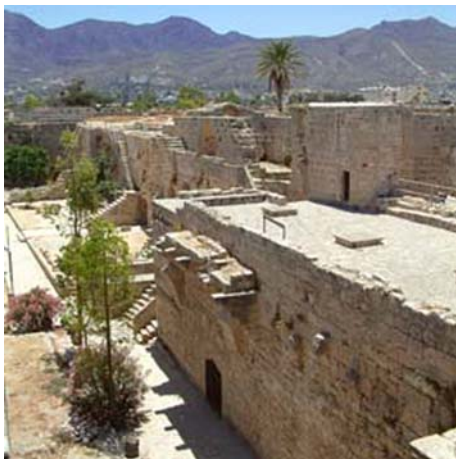
Fig. 65: Buildings Inside The Castle.

Fig. 66: Byzantine Church.
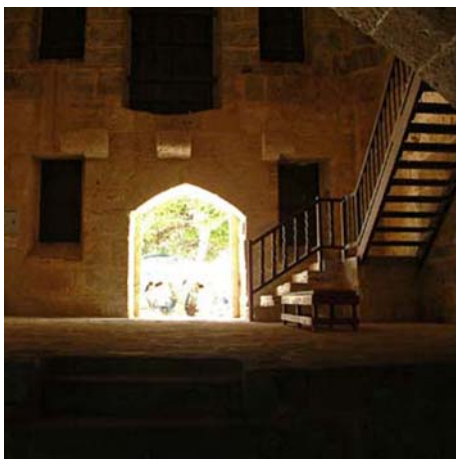
Fig. 67, 68: Interior Views From The Castle.

144

Fig. 69: The Barbican Of Limassol Castle.

Fig. 70: The Places Of Blasting At The Roof.

Fig. 71: The View Of Barbican From Above.

Fig. 72: Interior Of The Rectangular Keep.
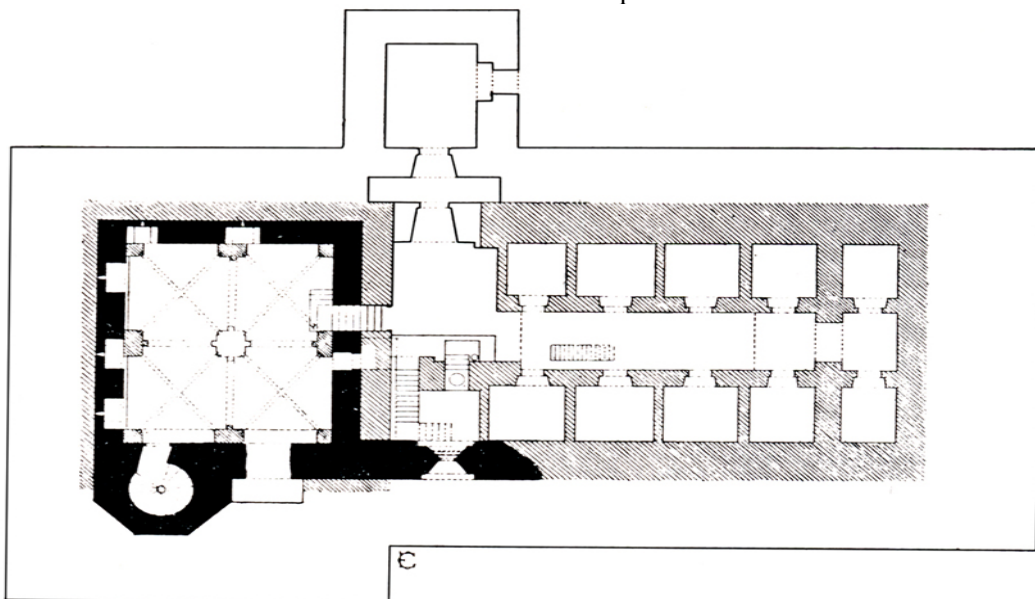
Figure 73: Plan Of The Limassol Castle.

145
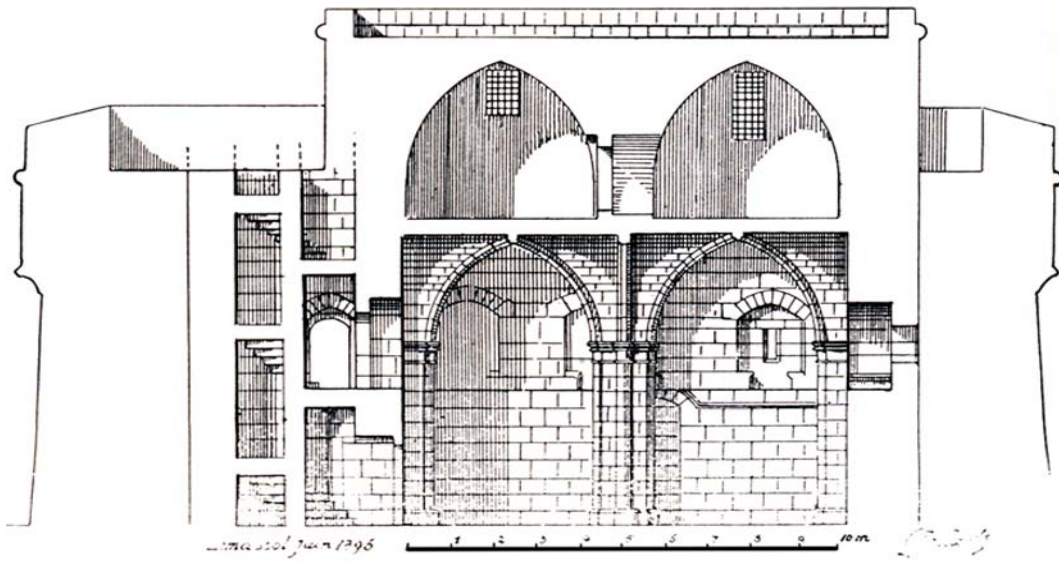
Figure 74: Section Through The Chapel, Hall With Vaulted Ceiling.
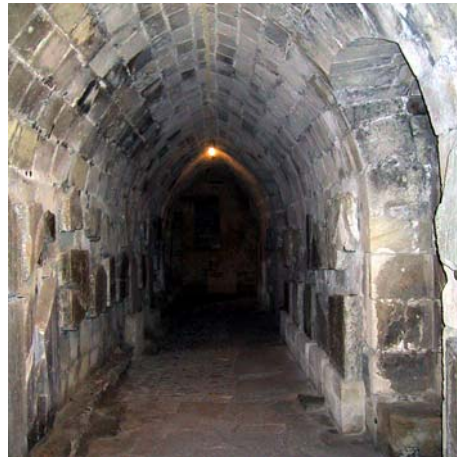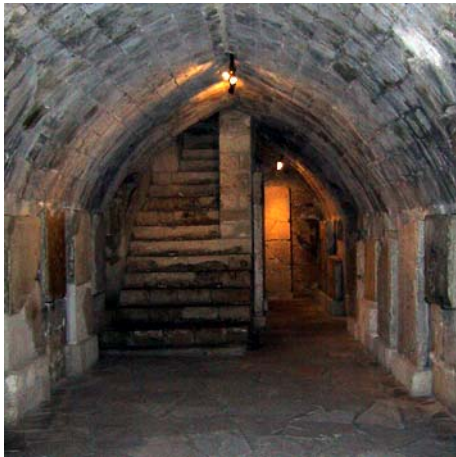
Fig. 75, 76: Underground Chambers.

Figure 77: Paphos Port Castle.

146

Figure 78: Remains Of The Vaults From Saranda Colones.
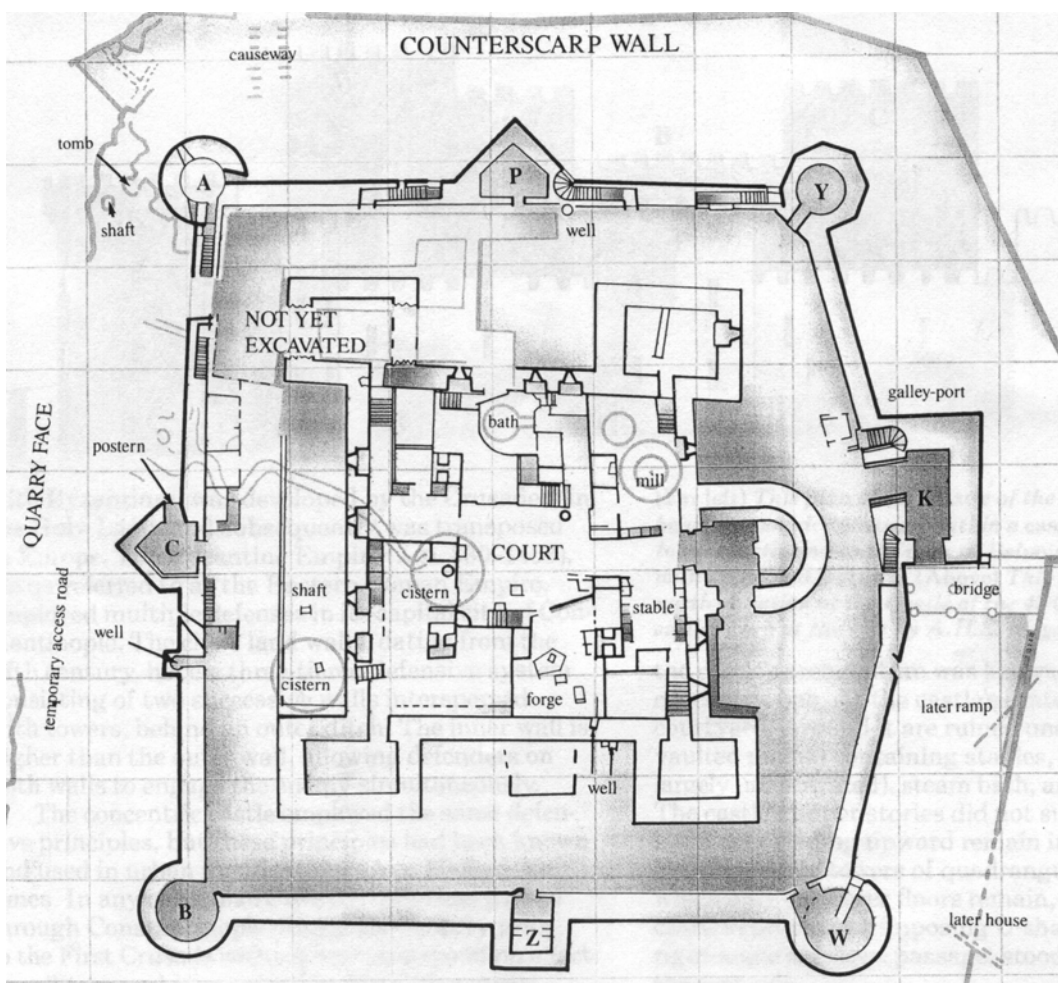
Figure 79: Plan Of Saranda Colones.

147

Figure 80: Stable.

Figure 81: The Ditch With The Remains Of The Round Corner Tower.

Fig. 82: Outer Ward.

Fig. 83: View From Bath.

148

Figure 84: The Peak Of The Castle Of St Hilarion As Seen From The North, The City Of Kyrenia.

Figure 85: View From The Road Which Approaches The Castle From East.

Figure 86: South Walls.
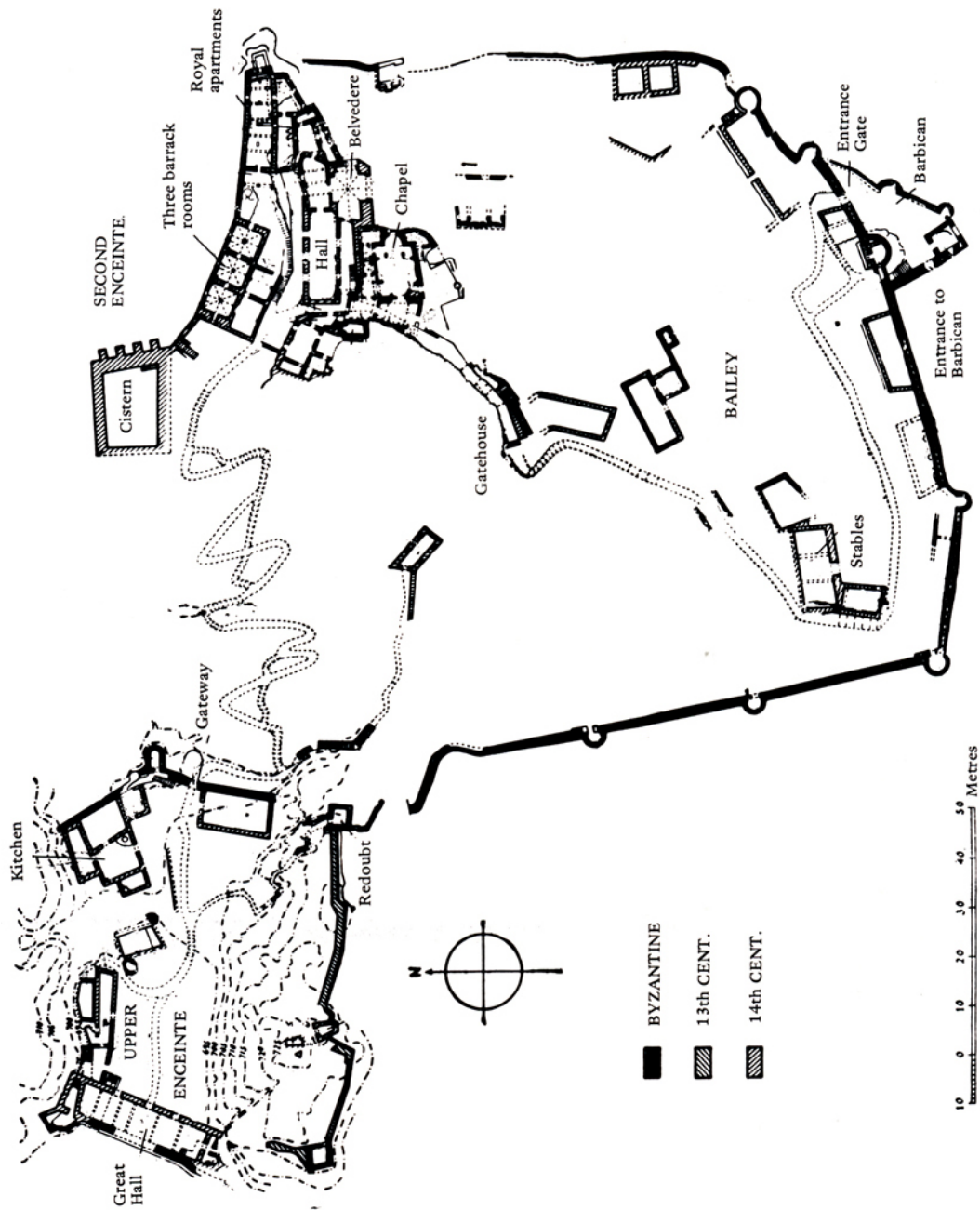
Figure 87: The Plan Of St Hilarion Castle.

Figure 88: Lower Bailey With The Tower Of The Barbican.

Fig. 89, 90: The Gate And The Barbican.

Figure 91: The Tower Of Barbican.   Figure 92: The First Gate From Inside.

Fig.93, 94: The Gate With Machicolations Which Leads To Bailey.

Fig. 95: The Second Gate From Inside.
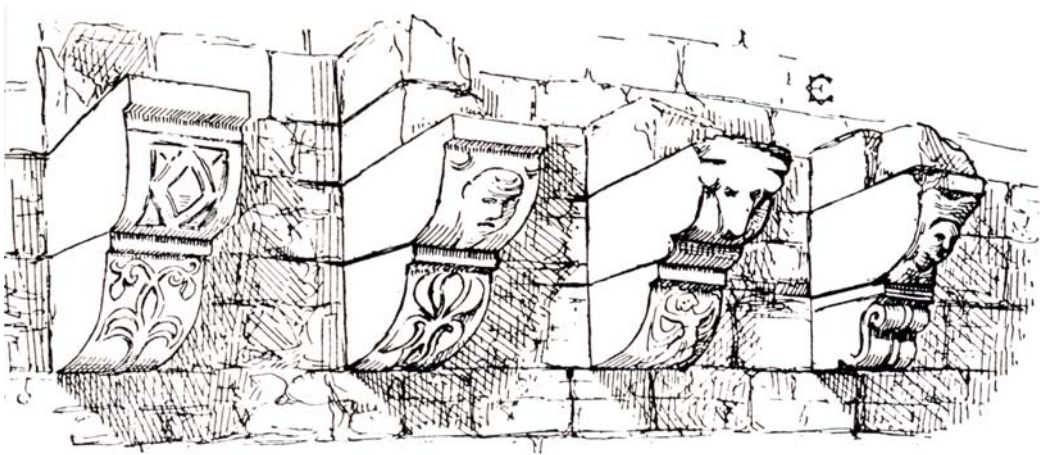
Figure 96: Detailed Drawing Of Machicolations.

152

Fig.97: The Crenellated Wall Walks.

Fig.98: The Square Corner Tower.

Fig.99: One Of The Round Towers.

Fig.100: The Cistern In The Bailey.

Fig.101: The Vaulted Stables.

Fig.102: Path Climbing To The Upper Plateau Around Stables.

153

Figure 103: The Buildings Of The Second Plateau As Seen From Bailey.

Figure 104: The Buildings Of The Second Plateau As Seen From The East.

Fig.105: The Double Storey Gate Structure On The Left Is The Third Gate Which Protects The Buildings In The Upper Plateaus.

Fig. 106: The Gate Structure Is Further Protected From The Second Plateau By The Tower Of Prince John.

154

Fig. 107: The Double Storey Gate Structure.

Fig.108: The Vaulted Path Inside The Gate Is Slightly Bending.

Fig. 109: Gate From Inside.

Fig.110: The Kiosk.

Fig. 111: Gate And Kiosk.

Fig. 112: Arch Remains Of The Buildings.

155

Figure 113: The Byzantine Church.

Figure 114: The Apse Section Of The Church Seen From The Royal Apartments.

Figure 115: The Church With The Double Layers Of Brick Which Is Peculiar To Byzantine Architecture.

Figure 116: Main Hall And Royal Apartments.

Fig.117: The Main Hall And Royal Apartments.
The Natural Rocks Create A Protective Wall
The East Side Of The Buildings.

Fig. 118: The Multiple Stories And
Different Levels Of The Buildings Of On
The First Plateau.

Fig.119: The Gate Which Leads To Second Plateau, The Fourth Gate.

Fig.120: The Royal Apartments.

Figure 121: The Vaulted Lower Story Of The Royal Apartments.
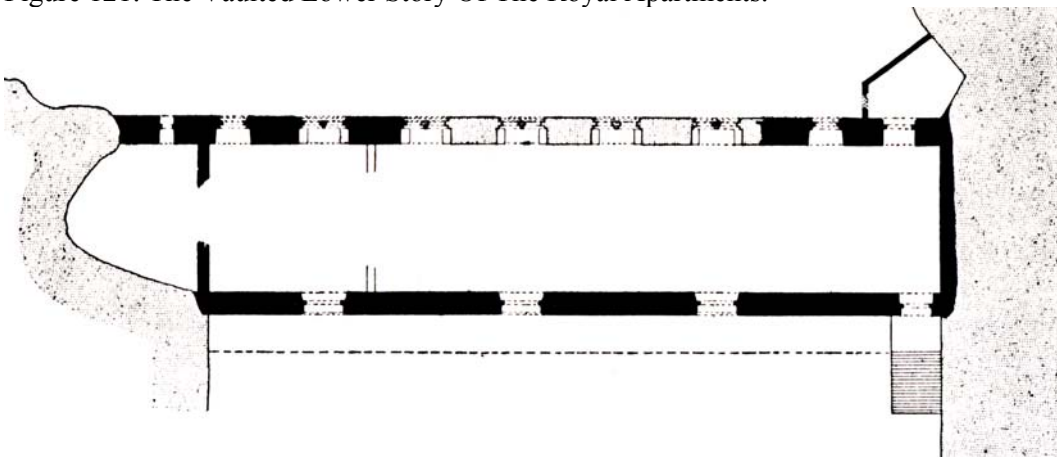
Figure 122: The Plan Of The Royal Apartments.

Figure 123: The Queen's Window.

Fig. 124, 125: The Other Windows Of The Royal Apartments Which Overlook The Lapithos Pain.

Fig.126: The Square Tower Of The Second Plateau.

Fig. 127: Prince John Tower As Seen From The Window Of The Square Tower.

Fig. 128: The Crenellated Roof And The Traces Of Wooden Fighting Platform.

Fig. 129: The Modern City Of Kyrenia As Seen From The Castle.

Figure 130: The City And The Castle Of Kyrenia As Seen From The Castle.

Fig. 131, 132: The Peek Of Buffavento Castle.

Figure 133: The Castle From The South Plain.

Figure 134: The Walls Of The Castle Emerges As A Part Of The Rocky Cliff. Due To The Natural Strength Of The Site, The Castle Does Not Have An Enclosure Wall.
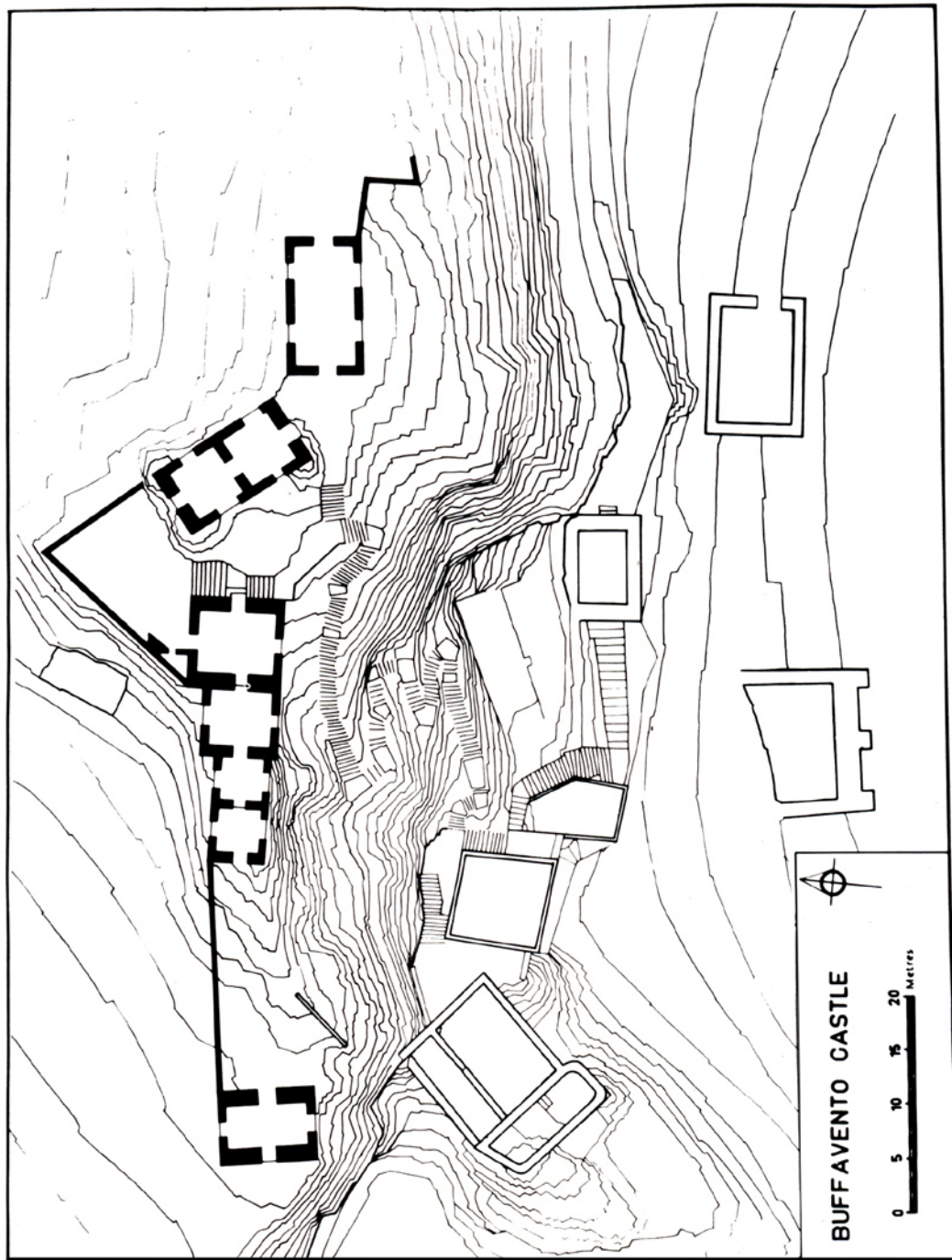
Figure 135: The Plan Of Buffavento Castle.

Fig. 136: The Southern Cistern. Outside.

Fig. 137: The Gate Stucture From

Fig. 138: The Gate From Inside.

Fig. 139: Different Levels Above The Gate.

Fig. 140: The Structures Of The Lower Part.

Fig. 141: The Door Of The Strucutre Which Is Opened To Back.

163

Fig. 142: The Stairs To The Main Building Climbing Near The Vaulted Structures.

Fig. 143: The Main Building From Above, The Roof Of The Lower Building Provides A Terrace.

Fig. 144: The Main Building From The Terrace In Front Of It.

Fig. 145,146: Interior Views From The Main Building.

164

Fig. 147, 148: Interior Views With Traces A Second Storey.

Fig. 149: Detail From The Plastered Of Floor.

Fig. 150: The Two Chambers Of The Main Building.

Fig. 151: The Windows Of The Bigger Chamber.

165

Fig. 152: The Vaulted Cell Structures Of The Upper Level.

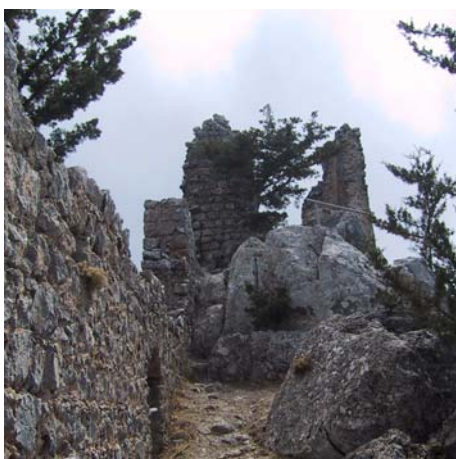Fig. 153: The Cell Structures From Outside.

Fig. 154, 155: Cellular Rooms.

Fig. 156: Looking To The Last Cell From The Far End.

Fig. 157: The Far End Room With The Enclosure Wall On The Right.

Fig. 158: Plaster Remains On Walls Of The Cells.

Fig. 159: Opening On The Enclosure Wall.

Fig. 160, 161: The Structure On The South Of The Terrace.

Fig. 162: The Niche In The Room Which May Be An Indication Of A Chapel.

Fig. 163: The Window Of The Adjacent Room.

Fig. 164: The Two Rooms Are Separated With A Door, There Are Plaster Remains On The Walls.

Fig. 165: From The Window Of The Room, The Cellular Rooms May Be Observed.

Fig. 166: Ruined Structure On The South.

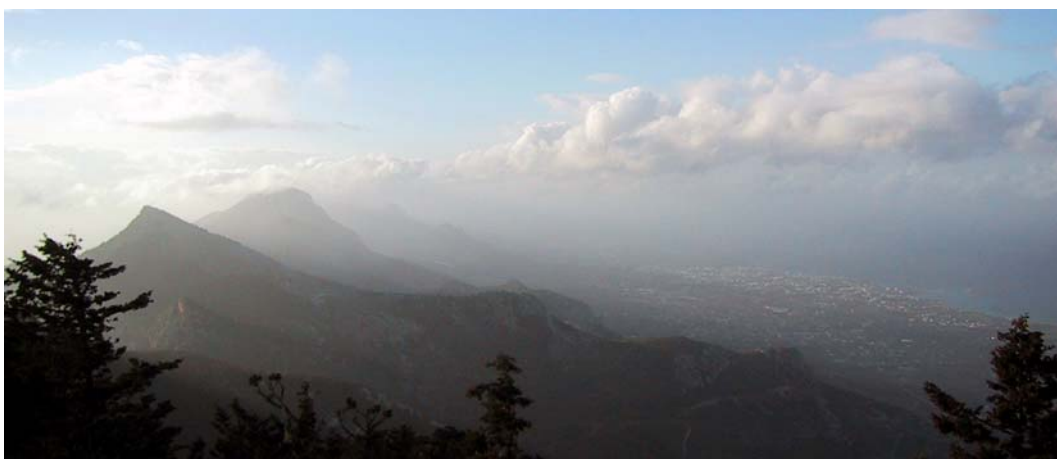Fig. 167: The Peeks Of The Mountains And The Southern Plain.

Fig. 168: The Mountain Peeks (From One Of Which Emerges St Hilarion) And The City Of Kyrenia.

Fig. 169: The Rocky Cliff On Which The
Kantara Castle Was Constructed On.

Fig. 170: The View Of The Castle
From The Road Approaching It.

Figure 171: The View Of The Castle, The Towers And The Wall Of The Barracks.
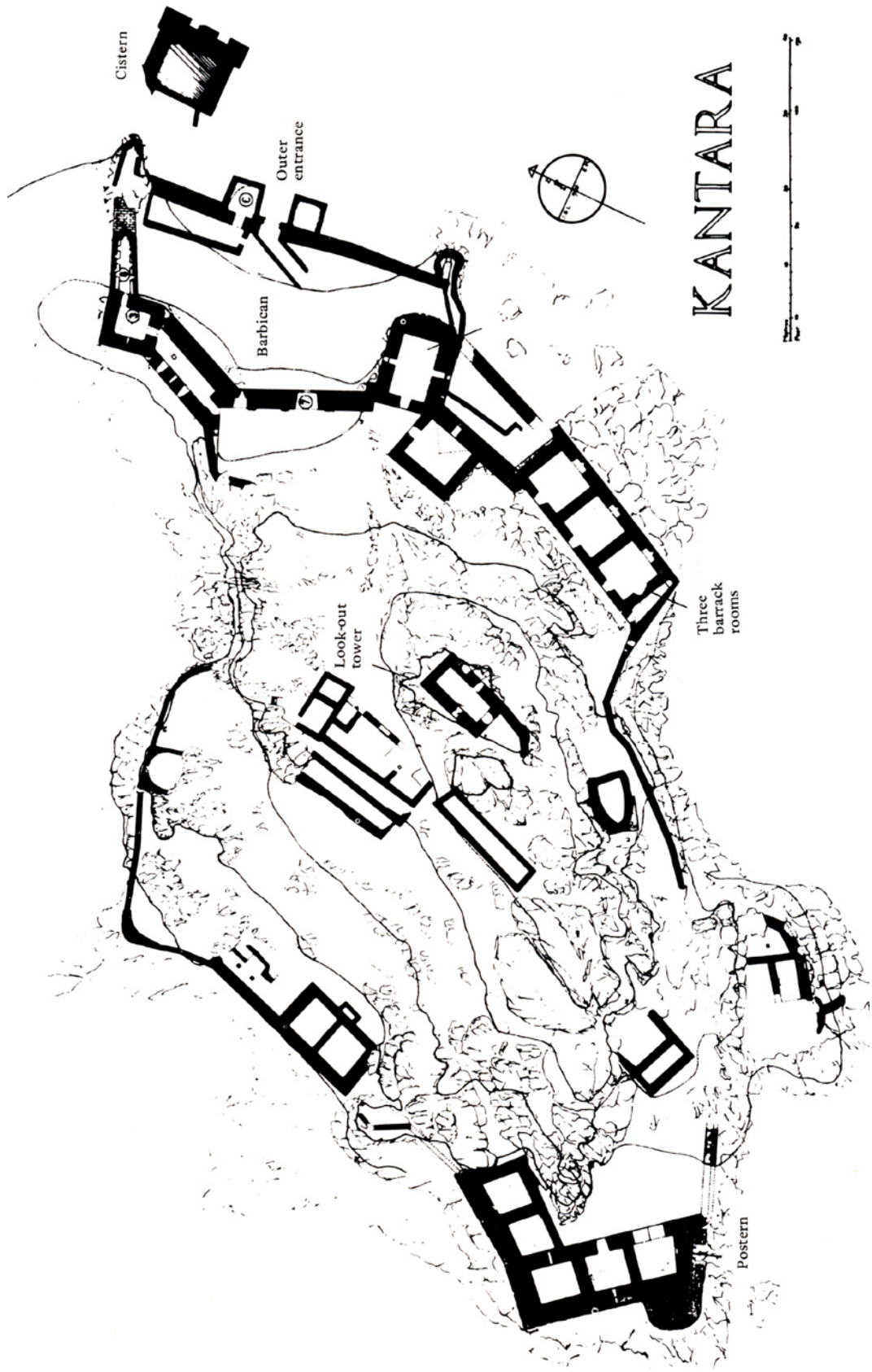

Figure 172: The Towers Protecting The Entrance.

Figure 173: The Plan Of Kantara Castle.

Figure 174: The Towers And The Barrack Wall Which Has Loopholes For Protection.

Fig. 175: The Medieval Square Tower And The Byzantine Horse Shoe Shaped Tower.

Fig. 176: The Two Gates And The Barbican.

Fig. 177: The Gate Structure That Enters The Barbican.

Fig. 178: The Gate, The Guard Room And The Tower Protecting It.

171

Fig. 179: The Towers Above The Gate With Loopholes.

Fig. 180: The Seven Loopholes From Inside.

Fig. 181: The Two Towers And The Guard Room.

Fig. 182: The Door Of One Of The Square Towers From Inside.

172

Fig. 183: The Pile Of Catapult Stones Near The Guard Room, Inside The Barbican.

Fig. 184: The Detail From The Channel System Which Carried Water From The Roof To The Cistern.

Fig. 185: The Second Gate Entering The Bailey.Fig. 186: The Second Gate From Inside.

Fig. 187: The Second Gate, And The Tower Structure From Inside.

Fig. 188: The Loophole Near The Gate.

Fig. 189: The Vaulted Entrance To The Tower.

Fig. 190: Inside The Tower, There Are Openings On The Roof For Light And On The Walls For Ventilation And Shooting.

Fig. 191: The Square Tower Protecting The Barbican.

Fig. 192: The Loophole Of One Of The Horse Shoe Shaped Towers.

Fig. 193: The Entrances Of The Two Square Towers.

Fig. 194: The Detail From A Loophole, Inside The Barracks.

174

Fig. 195: The Medieval Latrine.

Fig. 196: The Southern Enclosure Wall.

Figure 197: The Chambers In The East With A Horse Shoe Shaped Tower.

Fig. 198: The Horse Shoe Shaped Tower.

Fig. 199: The Remains Of The Wall On The West.

Fig. 200: The Channel And Drainage Which Fed The Cisterns.

Fig. 201: The Detail From The Drainage Channels.

Fig. 202, 203: The Queen's Chamber, It Is The Highest Point In The Castle.

Fig. 204: The Window And The Traces Of The Groined Vaulted Roof.

Fig. 205: The Remains Of The Northern Enclosure Wall.

Figure 206: The View Of The Mountain Peaks Looking Towards East.
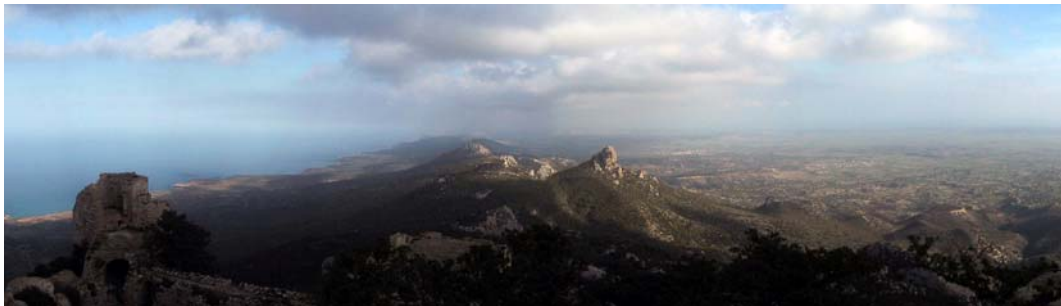

Figure 207: The Peaks And Plains Of Karpasian Peninsula.

Figure 208: The Rock On Which Kantara Castle Was Constructed At The Point Where The Castle Has A View Of The Sea On Both Sides.
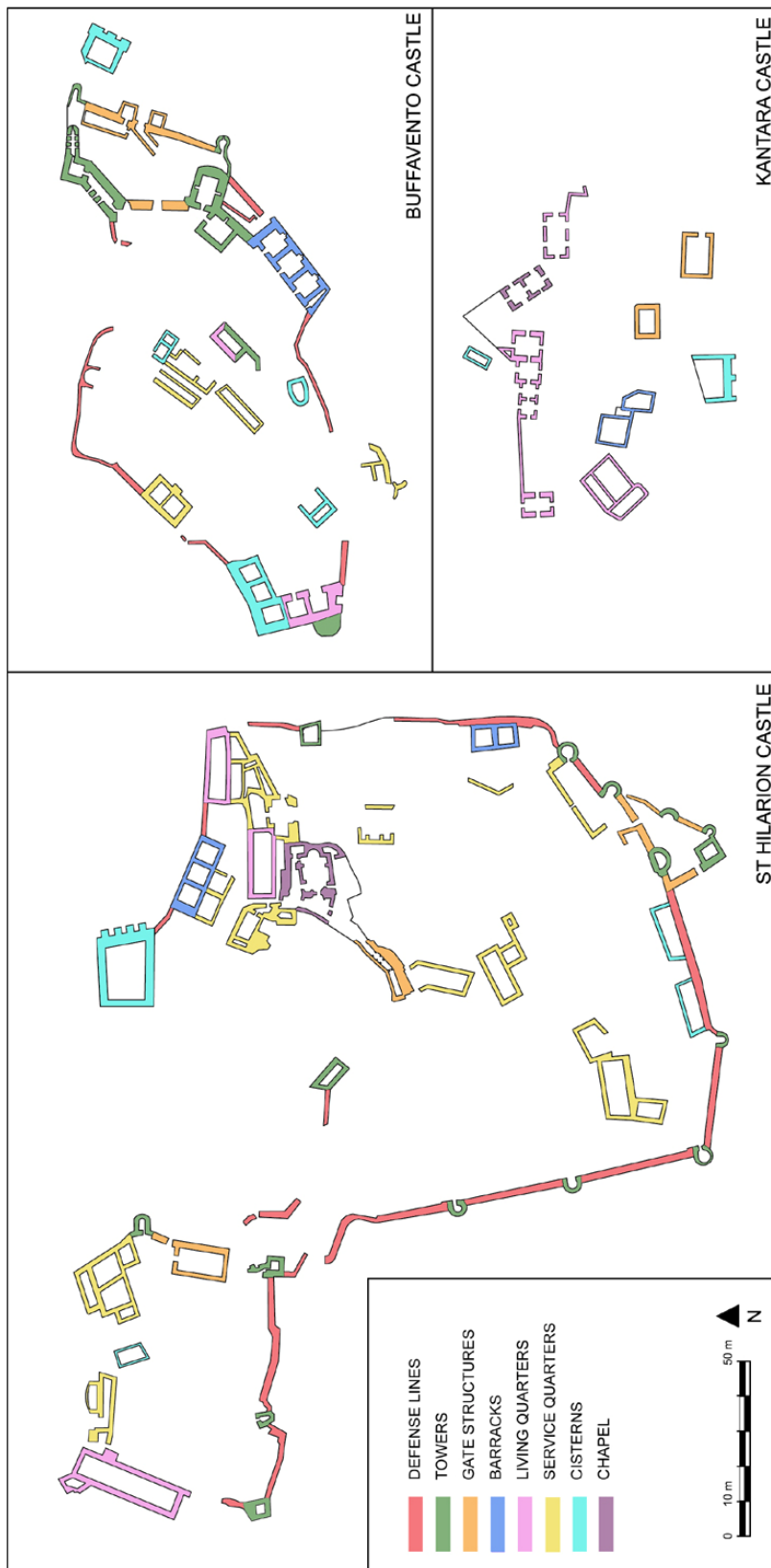
177

Figure 209: Comparative Chart Of St Hilarion, Buffavento And Kantara Castles.

178