The German Pilgrims and Travellers of Limassol from 1192 until 1978

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Abstract

The city of Limassol held an important harbour for pilgrims and travellers of various nationalities who came to Limassol from all different walks of life. The aim of this paper is to bring forward the different German narratives within Limassol by following the streams of pilgrims and travellers that passed through over the decades. It will also investigate the decrease in the number of pilgrims around the 14th century and the rise of travellers who specifically came to Limassol during the 18th century, concluding that there was no actual decrease but a lack of documentation due to the constant passing of Cyprus from one power to the next.

Keywords: German, pilgrims, travellers, Limassol, Cyprus

Introduction

Cyprus had always been a place for pilgrims and travellers. From as early as the 11th century and even earlier, it had been one of the most vital stops for those who were on their way to the Holy Land.² The City of Limassol had an important harbour from which it was easy to come to land and leave again. Amongst these travellers and pilgrims coming to Limassol was also the occasional German. A reason for such a journey in the 12th century was, most likely, either having committed crimes against the Church and looking for holy absolution through pilgrimage or having become an extension of the Pope's flaming sword, trying to win back Jerusalem on a crusade.

However, from the 18^{th} century on, one is able to observe a shift, as the traditional and constant stream of Christian pilgrims was replaced by a colourful trickle of

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² Maria Ktori, 'Impressions, Itineraries and Perceptions of a Coastscape: The Case of Medieval Paphos' in Matthew Keith and Amanda Evans (eds), *ACUA*, *Underwater Archaeology Proceedings* 2018 (Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology, 2018) 71.

individuals, such as archaeologists,³ journalists,⁴ and even a pilot⁵ who stopped in Limassol during his trip around the world.

It must be pointed out that there is a clear distinction between pilgrims who passe through Limassol on their journey to their sacred goals, such as Duke Alexander von Pfalz-Zweibrücken,⁶ who was on a journey of penance, and travellers who have their own reasons to visit a place, such as Richard Schneider,⁷ who travelled specifically to Cyprus and by extension to Limassol. The aim of this paper is to investigate within which historical context these Germans arrived in Limassol, as well as to illustrate the shift from pilgrim to traveller.

This will be done first by presenting the overall historial context of Cyprus during the time-period covered in this paper (1192-1978). This study will then describe the importance of Limassol in the journey of the pilgrim, before showing a slow but steady metamorphosis into the German traveller. Finally, it will conclude by high-

³ An example of one of these archaeologists who came to Cyprus was Max Ohnefalsh-Richter. He came to Cyprus in 1878 under British jurisdiction and excavated all over Cyprus. He sold what he found-to various European museums. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, Cyprus, the Bible and Homer: Contribution to Cultural, Art and Religious History of the Orients in Antiquity. With special Consideration to my own twelve-year Research and Excavation on the Island Cyprus (Kypros die Bibel und Homer: Beiträge zur Cultur-, Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte des Orients im Altertume. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eigener zwölfjähriger Forschungen und Ausgrabungen auf der Insel Cypern) (Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1893) (in German).

⁴ One of the journalists was Karl Schneider who had visited and travelled all over Cyprus for his research on how the native Cypriot population was dealing with the new British population; Karl Schneider, Cyprus under the British: Travel Sketches (Cypern unter den Engländern: Reise-Skizzen) (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1879) 130-132 (in German).

⁵ Von Gronau was, during his lifetime, one of the best aviators in the history of not just Germany but the world. He had come to fame through several record-breaking flights, such as being the first person to cross the Atlantic from the East to the West in a float plane. Anonymous, 'Gronaus Flight Home, On the way to Baghdad', (Gronaus Heimflug, Auf den Weg nach Baghdad) Karlsruher Tageblatt (Karlsruhe, 31 of October, 1932) 1 (in German).

⁶ For details concerning German pilgrims, one must greatly rely on Paravicini's *Late Middle Ages European Travel Reports*.

In his work, not only does he provide the collection of an extensive list of all the Germans who went on pilgrimage during the Middle Ages, but he also gives a clear outline of the geographical journey that they followed, as well as any surviving written primary sources and what these entail. His work is often viewed as greatly complementary to Reinhhald Roricht's work, whose research on medieval pilgrimage is considered to be essential when working on this theme. Christian Paravicini, Late Middle Ages European Travel Reports. An Analytical Bibliography. Part 1: German Travel Reports (Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters Eine analytische Bibliographie. Teil 1: Deutsche Reiseberichte) (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010) 268 (in German).

⁷ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

lighting the importance of Limassol as a connection point between people from all different walks of life.

A Short Historical Context of Cyprus during the Medieval Period of 1192-1878

Cyprus' advantageous geographical location between the East and the West, as well as its natural resources almost immediately sealed the island's fate as a place under some sort of almost constant occupation. Indeed, during the medieval period, Cyprus was under the Lusignan rule (1192-1489) before it was passed on to the Venetians (1489-1571).8

During the Lusignan rule that lasted from 1192 until 1489, there was a period that was almost completely ignored scholastically speaking, and which essentially began in 1196 and ended in 1233.. It is the period when Cyprus had become a fief of the Holy Roman Empire. A fief refers to an estate of land, especially one held on condition of feudal service. In the case of Cyprus, Aimery of Lusignan had sworn to acknowledge the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI's suzerainty, if the emperor sent a royal crown to him. This was done and Cyprus was proclaimed a Kingdom in 1196.¹⁰ This gave way to an event of utmost historical importance for Germany. Franz Von Löher describes in the history section of his book Cyprus: Nature and Landscape, People and History, what he believed was the version of events that occurred. More specifically, he describes how in the 13th century, the Holy Roman Emperor of Germany, Fredrich II, on his way to Jerusalem during the sixth crusade, decided to land in Cyprus, which at the time was under his liege. He did so to call out Henry I, also known as Henry the fat, as King of Cyprus. However, control of the island was upheld by the brothers Phillip and Johan d' Iblin. The d' Iblins where one of the oldest and noblest houses in Cyprus who held a significant amount of power, having been placed there as support for Henry's mother, Alice, the widowed queen of Jerusalem, until Henry came of age and was thus proclaimed King. However, the family d'Iblin had

⁸ Carr declared that the 15th and 16th centuries are: 'one of the richest of all periods of Cypriot painting' with over twenty painted churches and 'dozens of icons.' Annmarie Weyl Carr, 'Byzantine and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art' (1995) 49 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (343).

⁹ Löher was a German jurist and historian who travelled extensively. It's not clear as to why he came to Cyprus, but he writes extensively on the island and its history. Franz von Löher, *Cyprus*, *Traveller Reports about Nature*, *Landscape*, *People and History* (*Cypers*, *Reisebeirchte ueber Natur and Landshaft*, *Volk und Geschichte*) (Stuttgart: J. D. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1878) (in German).

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Amalric II', available at https://www.britannica.com/biography/Amalric-II (last accessed 1 September 2021).

become so powerful that it was questionable if they would relinquish power to Henry, or even worse, if they would someday decide to take over all of Cyprus, thus usurping the power from the German emperor.

In his text, von Löher describes how Friedrich II landed in Limassol on 12 July 1228 and then called both Henrich I and Johan d'Iblin (Philip had died previously) to be present on his vessels. The cause of the meal was the emperor questioning Johann d'Iblins motives for power as he had been previously told by his courtiers that d'Iblin was posing an immense threat. Furthermore, the population of Cyprus took this as an opportunity to call upon the emperor under whose jurisdiction Cyprus was under, to act as a judge. The crime: the noble family of Ibelin stood accused of embezzling money for their own profit from the taxes meant for the German crown. Hence, two days after the emperor's arrival in Cyprus, Johan d'Iblin together with his sons and courtiers found themselves in Limassol at the banquet. Thus, that banquet had by extension become both a dinner, a trial, and an investigation session for tax evasion. According to von Löher, after dinner was finished, King Friedrich raised his voice and said:

Two things, Herr Johan, I demand of you. You must give back the castle in Beirut as it belongs to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the income of Cyprus over the last ten years since the beginning of rule you must show me the bills, as is my right since I am the lord here by the grace of the Emperor and Kingdom.¹¹

The matter was resolved by d'Iblin, who gave the King two of his sons and twenty knights as hostages to take with him on his holy crusade. The King promised that he would take care of d'Iblin's sons and knights 'and god willing to make them rich and powerful'. However, the next part is where the sources differ. Von Löher states that at the same night, d'Iblin, his followers, and his sons fled from Limassol to find refuge in their castle in Nicosia and prepare for siege.

What must be remembered in this case is that von Löher, despite mainly being a jurist and a politician, is also a traveller who largely finances his travels from selling his travel journals. The most likely market for him to sell his books at the time would be Germany, which explains why his book is written in German. Furthermore, Friedrich II is one of the most famed German emperors, who is known for his diplomatic skills that led to him eventually becoming King of Jerusalem, rather than the more traditional approach of pure muscle power and belief in the righteousness of one's

¹¹ von Löher (no 8) 310.

¹² von Löher (no 8) 312.

actions through God. It can therefore be stated that he is a very important figure in German history. Presenting him as anything but such during a time where German patriotism was on the rise,¹³ with Otto von Bismark directing Germany into a prosperous and economically stable position, might not have been good for von Löher's publication. Therefore, it may be that he wrote something that was more in line with the myth surrounding Fredrich that existed in the minds of the Germans at the time.

Emperor Friedrich's presence in Cyprus is confirmed by various credible sources, ¹⁴ such as that dramatic dinner and its after effect. However, the counter story of events that occurred is the following:

Shortly after his arrival, Frederick summoned John of Ibelin to join him at a banquet in Limassol and to bring with him his sons, his supporters, and the young king....soon the emperor's soldiers surrounded the Cypriots; Frederick made his demands, but John refused to comply, delivering a fierce speech; the emperor was enraged and made several threats; John had to surrender two of his sons and promise to appear before the High Court of Jerusalem before leaving for Nicosia; and the two sons of the lord of Beirut were put in prison in the tower of the Hospitallers, who supported the emperor and whose tower was apparently the most fortified place in Limassol at the time.¹⁵

Here it must be pointed out that Phillip of Novara was highly antagonistic against the Frankish claim to Cyprus. Hence, he cannot be viewed as an entirely reliable narrator, and it is currently not clear what was truly stated during this dinner. However, the aftereffects of this dinner would essentially escalate into the War of the Lombard which lasted from 1299 until 1233, after which Friedrich would only return one more time to Cyprus in 1229 where he married King Henry I to Alice of Montferrat and handed over the kingdom's administration to his group of supporters, before embarking again from Limassol for the West'. 17

¹³ von Löher himself was counted as one of the people during the March revolutions of 1848 in Germany, where the German population revolted against the antiquated societal, political, and economic structures that, despite having failed, caused the modernisation of the German State. Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Routledge, 2014).

¹⁴ Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel, 'Limassol Under Latin Rule 1191-1571' in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (eds), *Lemesos*, *A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 215.

¹⁵ Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel (no 12) 215.

¹⁶ David Abulafia, Friedrich II: A Medieval Emperor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 175.

¹⁷ Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel (no 12) 215.

Shortly after Emperor Fredrich left, Cyprus fell completely back under Lusignan control before it was sold to the Venetians in the 13th century. The Venetians would lose Cyprus to the Ottomans in 1571. During the three centuries of Ottoman domination (1571-1878), the Ottoman Empire transferred the administration of Cyprus to Britain, which annexed the island in 1914, declaring it a Crown Colony in 1925. Cyprus was considered a key country to Asia and one of the outposts securing the route to India, I thus sealing its fate as a place under constant occupation before the island could even consider any sort of defence.

Rise of the Pilgrim

A pilgrimage is defined as 'a journey undertaken for a religious motive. Although some pilgrims have wandered continuously with no fixed destination, pilgrims more commonly seek a specific place that has been sanctified by association with a divinity or other holy personage'. Going on pilgrimage was by no means a new concept. For instance, Christians had been going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem since the late antiquity. The primary reason for someone to go on a Christian pilgrimage during the 11th and 12th centuries was mainly for religious piety and to see Jerusalem 'with their own two eyes'. 22

During this specific time of medieval pilgrimage and up until the 16th century, when there is a knowledge gap, Limassol became a harbour of great importance for the German pilgrim. After the fall of Accon in 1191, going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem was forbidden to not give any money to the Ottomans, but only ten years later the same number of pilgrims were on their way to Jersualem as before.²³ In the 12th and

¹⁸ Frederick Madden and John Darwin (eds), The Dependent Empire, 1900-1948: Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth, Volume VII (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 524, 525.

¹⁹ Captain C. W. J. Orr, Cyprus under British Rule (London: Zeno, 1972), 44.

²⁰ Three months after the conquest Disraeli [the prime minister of the United Kingdom] said, 'In taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean. It is Indian. Percy Arnold, *Cyprus Challenge. A Colonial Island and its Aspirations* (London: Hogarth Press, 1956) 208.

²¹ Michael S. Coleman, 'Pilgrimage' in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (17 February 2021), available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/pilgrimage-religion Last accessed 2 September 2021).

²² Röhrich is considered to have laid the foundation for all modern research on crusades. Despite his work not being used in the main relevant lexica works due to him never teaching on a university level, his vast insight into the theme is still relevant and must be considered whenever writing about German pilgrimage. Reinhold Röhrich, *German Travelling Reports to the Holy Land (Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande)* (Innsbruck: Wagnerischen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1900) 1 (in German).

²³ Röhrich (no 21) 4

13th centuries, the clerical pilgrim was dominated by abbots and bishops. For example, Wilhelm von Boldensele undertook the journey for penance, as he had decided to leave behind his life as a monk, and, on his journey, stopped in Limassol.²⁴ Apart from being dangerous, going on pilgrimage was also expensive. Usually, individuals who would go on such a journey had a substantial amount of wealth and status, or were part of the court of someone with such a status, essentially relying on one's superior's protection like in the 11th and 12th centuries. Nevertheless, most Germans who went on a pilgrimage between the 12th and 16th century were still rich and descended from nobility or the clergy, such as Duke Alexander von Pfalz-Zweibrücken.²⁵ He went on a pilgrimage for penance as he had imprisoned his older brother in a dungeon in order to take his place as a Duke.

This bring us to the second reason for the change in the German pilgrim, which was the improvement of the Venetian-German relations, as things changed in the 13th until the late14th century. An argument may be made that the improved relations to Venice also meant that even the less rich could afford to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thus, many Germans took this as an opportunity to leave their home for a substantial amount of time to travel.

The journey of a pilgrim to Jerusalem would follow a certain blueprint. Indeed, the pilgrim would begin his journey already at home by putting on the Habit of a Pilgrim. He would grow a beard, stick a red cross on his robe, another visible hat on his forehead and a sack filled with food. In the 16th century, one would stick the Jerusalem cross on their chest. To go to the Holy Land and, by extension, Jerusalem via mainland Europe, the safest and quickest route was via Cyprus, as it remained a stronghold of Christianity under the Venetian rule until the late 14th century. Therefore, the pilgrim would first travel to Venice. Venetian ships provided the fastest and most comfortable connection between Europe and Jerusalem and were preferred by all German pilgrims who wanted to reach Jerusalem in the shortest possible time. In Venice or earlier, the pilgrim would have made a contract with ship owners for his journey to the Holy Land. The contract spanned various points including how much money was to be paid to the ship owner, what food and drink would be supplied, and how long a ship was allowed to stay anchored. Indeed, the area of interest for this particular paper concerning Limassol is that the captain was only allowed to take the ships to the normal harbours, and it was stated explicitly that in a harbour in Cyprus,

²⁴ Paravicini (no 5) 31

²⁵ Paravicini (no 5) 268.

the patron was not allowed to keep the ship there for more than three days due to the bad air. An example of such a traveller who took on that journey was Gaudenz von Kirchberg whose servant, Friedrich Steigerwallder, wrote down tmemoirs of the journey. ²⁶ Brunner was a German priest of the 15th century, who visited Cyprus in the summer of 1470. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land via Venice, from where he took a galleon that sailed the route of Parenzo, Zadar, Lesina, Ragusa, Korfu, Zante, Methnoi, Venetico, Tzia, Crete, Crete, and Rhodes before reaching Cyprus and and thence leaving for Palestine. ²⁷

To be allowed to go on a pilgrimage, everyone—first needed a letter of travel by the Pope, but, later, one was able to obtain one through a prelate. If one had gone on a pilgrimage without such a letter, one would have run the risk of being excommunicated and would have only received absolution through a guardian of Jerusalem. If one had gone on a pilgrimage without such a letter they would have been known as Lutheran heretic. Women had also partaken in pilgrimage since the very beginning of Christianity from as early as the fifth century. However, idea of women going on a pilgrimage was not entirely acceptable'. Women were later on fully discouraged from going to the Holy Land or even go on a pilgrimage to Rome as 'the Church Fathers argued vehemently that a woman should be cloistered in order to remain spiritual.' In any case, they would still accompany their husbands on their pilgrimage, often dressed as men. Again, this angered the Church, since 'female tonsure and wearing men's clothing had already been forbidden by the Council of Gangra and a century later by the Theodosian Code pain of anathema', until the Church outright forbid it.³²

Eventually, Venice lost Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire in the late 14th century-early 15th Century,³³ thus putting an end to the pilgrimage. After Cyprus fell under Ottoman rule in 1571, it became rather difficult to find any direct traces of German pilgrims in Cyprus. It is a rather unlikely possibility for pilgrims to have suddenly stopped going on a pilgrimage entirely. However, a valid reason for the drop in the

²⁶ Paravicini (no 5) 163.

²⁷ Paravicini (no 5) 164.

²⁸ Röhrich (no 21) 6.

²⁹ Sylvia Schein, 'Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages in the Middle Ages' (1999) 14(1) Mediterranean Historical Review 44-58.

³⁰ Schein (no 28) 46.

³¹ Schein (no 28) 47.

³² Röhrich (no 21) 6.

³³ Madden and Darwin (eds) (no 17) 524, 525

numbers of pilgrims could simply be the lack of documentation and availability. Since Venice no longer had a hold on Cyprus, the route Venice-Cyprus-Jerusalem was no longer in common use, hence alternative rules had to be supplied, which somewhat gives an indication on how many Germans were using that route to Cyprus. Thus, it is not entirely clear why this gap of knowledge exists. By the time the British had taken over Cyprus, going on a pilgrimage no longer had the same appeal as it did two hundred years previously. The Industrial Revolution that was just beginning and taking hold of Europe allowed for faster travel, while changes in social and governmental structures meant people were no longer bound to the place they were born into nor did they need the approval of their feudal lord to leave.³⁴

The Rise of the Traveller

As mentioned previously, with the societal and economic changes now taking place, including easier access to means of transport, it was easier for people to leave their homes for travel. Thus, it became more common for people to view Cyprus as an actual travelling destination rather than a short layover.

Before going further into describing the different travellers that arrived in Limassol, it is important to clearly define what a traveller is, considering the context of this research. The main difference between a traveller and a pilgrim in the context of this paper is their purpose of arrival in Limassol. A pilgrim, as previously described, would not stay in Cyprus longer than three days, which was a fact stated in the contract he had made with the Venetian ship captain.³⁵ A traveller would arrive in Cyprus, and by extension Limassol, with the purpose of exploring the island.

Most German travellers were lured to Cyprus due to its geographical location that gave rise to its fascinating archaeological heritage. Cyprus was and still is one of the oldest archaeological sites in Europe, allowing for a plethora of excavations as far back as the Bronze Age and even earlier. Hence, several books have been written about the archaeology of Cyprus.³⁶ In some cases, the island's flora and fauna were of enough interest to encourage documentation.³⁷ There is one archaeologist of particular inter-

³⁴ Madden and Darwin (no 17) 524, 525.

³⁵ Röhrich (no 21) 10.

³⁶ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (no 2).

³⁷ Unger and Kotschy document Cyprus' nature, soil, and plants exist, as well as what plants grow and have grown in Limassol. Franz Unger, Theodor Kotschy, *The Island of Cyprus and its Physical and Organic Nature with Consideration of its Previous History (Die insel Cypern, ihrer Physischen und Organischen Natur nach mit Rücksicht auf ihre frühere Geschichte)* (Wien: Braumüller, 1865) (in German).

est who remained in Limassol, Justus Sigismund, who died in 1876 and lies buried in Limassol. A reference to him can be found in the work of Richard Schneider.³⁸

Schneider was a German journalist who was sent to Cyprus shortly after the rule of the island passed from the Ottomans to the British in 1878 to see how the Cypriot population would behave under the new occupation. He travelled the entire island and strengthened his conviction that there is an emancipation of the Christian state from the Muslims. Schneider arrived in Cyprus shortly after it falls under the control of the British. He stated that Limassol was the most civilised city of Cyprus.³⁹

He described the clean and straight streets and praised the locals for being diligent. He further stated that the only issue with Limassol is its geographical distance from the Mesaoria⁴⁰ and the difficulty of building a harbour due to the strong winds blowing from all directions, which are constantly destroying the dock. He describes the waves as being so strong that they, at times, reach far into the streets. This is also, he states, the main reason why Limassol is of no interest to the British, hence why the people of Limassol have not seen much of their new British rulers, except for the Governor. He concluded that for this emancipation, the British occupation of Cyprus acted as a catalyst. However, what is of particular interest in his work is the story he narrates about encountering Justus Sigismund, a young German archaeologist, who suddenly died due to the injuries that he sustained during a fall while doing his work in Amanthunta.

He had been very popular all over the island and was given one of the greatest funerals that had been seen in years. The entire town followed his casket, including spiritual leaders, bishops and religious puppets that were only used for events of much importance. There was a dispute over the funeral. Originally, it was meant to be conducted by Pater Celestiona of the Franciscan order. He was the first to reach the body of the archaeologist and ensured the delivery of the body to Limassol. However, the Greeks (according to Schneider) did not want to miss this chance of showing their sympathies to the Germans and pointed out that Sigismund was a protestant, which explained why the Catholics were not able to bury him. Schneider visited the grave and described it as the most beautiful in the entire graveyard. Sigismund's grave has the inscription 'Here rests the German academic Dr. Justus Sigismund from Leipzig.

³⁸ Karl Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

³⁹ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

⁴⁰ The Mesaoria is the name given to the broad plain that extends across Cyprus

An unfortunate fall ended on the 3rd of May in 1876 his hopeful and young life.'41 His grave can still be observed to this day. 42

Other travellers, such as Von Löher who visited Cyprus in 1887, describe Limassol in their travel journals as being the most European-looking city in all of Cyprus. ⁴³ Von Löher spends several of the passages in his book describing the architecture of the houses which were usually made of clay and wood. He describes clay housing as being especially beautiful in the Turkish Quarters. He also describes how Turkish Cypriot girls acted the same way as the girls in Smyrna and Constantinople. 'Upon seeing a foreigner from a distance, the girls would cover themselves fully from head to toe. Upon passing the strangers, the pretty ones amongst the group would drop their veil (schleier) a bit so that one would be able to view their smiling faces'. ⁴⁴ He comments that the frauenschleier (female veil) appears to be very popular all over the orient, as women do not wish to take it off.

Another Traveller was a journalist from the Badishe Presse who arrived in Cyprus in 1930 to interview the, oldest man in the world at the time, Giuseppe/Joseph, who lived in the Franciscan monastery, 45 whom the journalist had dubbed Der Schwarze Methusaalem. 46 The stream of travellers did not stop as did Eugene Obherhummer, who visited Cyprus in 1903 and was tasked to go by the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science in 1886, to work on a project describing the topography and geography of the Greek islands of which Cyprus was one. In his book, he goes into various different topics, including several literary references that past empires had made on Cyprus. 47 Indeed, events in Cyprus were irregularly covered in German newspaper magazines such as *Karlsruhe Zeitung* which in 1879 informed the public about how the German

⁴¹ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

⁴² Maria Chara, 'A German Archaeologist Stays Forever in Cyprus', available at Cyprus Alive. Com (last accessed 3 September 2021). https://www.cyprusalive.com/en/a-german-archaeologist-stays-forever-in-cyprus

⁴³ von Löher (no 8) 275.

⁴⁴ von Löher (no 8) 275.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Freiksa, 'The Black Methusalem' (Des Schwarze Methusalem) *Badische Presse* (Karlsruhe, 9 May 1930) 2 (in German).

⁴⁶ Methusaalem was a character in *Asterix and Obelix*, a French comic which remains immensely popular in Germany to the present day.

⁴⁷ Eugen Oberhummer, *The Island Cyprus A Study of the Land based on a Historic Background* (*Die Insel Cypern, Eine Landeskunde auf Historischer Grundlage*) (München: Theodor Ackermann, Koniglicher Hof, 1903) (in German).

Consulate in Limassol was withdrawn due to a misunderstanding between the Consul and the British authorities.⁴⁸

The beginning of the First World War also somewhat marks the end of the German travellers in Limassol as they had been before. The final one was the German pilot von Gronau, who in 1932 was on his record-breaking flight around the world and had to stop in Limassol. He describes his encounter with Limassol as follows:

We could have not expressed our joy with greater cries when the Mediterranean Sea appeared before our eyes. The first great setback for our joyous emotions was eminent when we saw the harbour that had been recommended to us on Limassol, Cyprus, and had to come to the realization that it was more of an open bay. It was a rather rough sea hence the anchoring and re-fuelling was in no-way enjoyable. One comforted us by telling us that the day before there had been such a storm that a landing would have been impossible. We tried to leave as soon as possible the next morning and were welcomed in Europe with storm and rain and for the first time in a very long time we were able to experience the wonderful feeling of cold.⁴⁹

Von Grau remained the last German traditional adventure travellers to arrive in Limassol. Shortly after his trip, the frail piece that had embalmed Europe was destroyed with the beginning of World War Two. After that period, the travellers and pilgrims were replaced by refugees fleeing the horrors of war.

Conclusion

It is clear from the information above that the change from pilgrim to traveller cannot be truly pinned to a singular historic event. It is hereby argued that this would mainly be due to the existing gap during the Ottoman rule. The reason for this gap is presently unknown and could be further investigated in more extensive research. Nevertheless, when the British took control over Cyprus and established their colonial rule, they ignited a renewed interest in Cyprus (and therefore Limassol). This, in turn, would re-vitalise the overall interest in documenting the life in this new colony, and the effects that it would have on the geographical location surrounding Cyprus. Travellers would now mainly see Cyprus as a destination rather than a layover. Hence, the time of the great pilgrimages had come to an end. Adding to its end was, as

⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'Unofficial Part' (Nicht Amtlicher Teil) Karlsruhe Zeitung, (Karlsruhe 8 July 1879) 1.

⁴⁹ Wolfgang von Gronau, 'Diary Entired from my Flight Around the World' ('Tageblaetter von meinem Weltflug') *Karlsruhe Tagesblatt* (Karlsruhe, 11 November 1932) 3 (in German).

mentioned in the previously, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, which took over Europe and allowed for faster and more frequent travel. Since then, the amount of people moving from one country to another became much more saturated with travellers due to the increased freedom of movement that people were experiencing due to no longer solely requiring a religious reason to travel. With the beginning of the Second World War, an indefinite halt was also put on the travellers, as any travelling towards or over Cyprus was no longer possible until the war was over. However, it is somewhat poignant that the final adventurous traveller, von Grau, has quite a few similarities with the first most notable traveller, Friedrich II. Limassol had not been their primary destination, and when they arrived there, the situation was not what they had expected. However, it was part of their journey and of vital importance for their legacy and life. This was a sentiment that one could argue befits anyone, be it pilgrim or traveller, who passed through Limassol, never mind if they stayed for three months, three years, or forever.

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