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## JERUSALEM IN THE TRADITIONS OF THE TEUTONIC MILITARY ORDER – SYMBOLISM AND UNIQUENESS\*

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Much has been written about the role of the Military Orders in the history of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, their part in the power structure of the kingdom and their connection to the holy city of Jerusalem. Interest has generally focused on the well established Military Orders of the Hospitallers and Templars, founded in the Holy Land at the beginning of the twelfth century, with their central Headquarters in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>. The third Military Order, the Teutonic Order was established later, in 1198, when Jerusalem was under the rule of the Ayyubids, and the idea of reinstating the city to Crusader sovereignty was no more than a sheer dream.

In the Thirteenth century Crusader control of Jerusalem was regained and held for a period of fifteen years (1229 to 1244). The Teutonic Knights then maintained a military presence in the city and contributed to its defence and to the strengthening of its fortifications, thus influencing the history and heritage of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land and throughout Europe.

In this article, I shall examine the spiritual influence of Jerusalem on the history of the Teutonic Military Order, as well as the geographical expansion of the Teutonic Knights within the city and the sites of the Teutonic strongholds in Jerusalem.

The history of the Teutonic Military Order in Jerusalem in the first half of the thirteenth century calls for an overview of the status of German settlers in Jeru-

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<sup>1</sup> About the Hospitallers in Jerusalem see: R. Heistand, *Die Anfänge der Johanniter*, [in:] *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 42–46; A. Luttrell, *The Earliest Hospitallers*, [in:] *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, R. Heistand, Aldershot 1997, pp. 37–40. On the Templar's headquarters in Jerusalem see: M. Barber, *The Origins of the Order of the Temple*, *Studia Monastica*, Vol. 12: 1970, Fasc. 2, pp. 220–225.

salem and the location of their institutions during the twelfth century, before the Teutonic Order was established, when the city was under uncontested Crusader rule between the years 1099–1187.

#### THE PRESENCE OF GERMANS IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In 1099, after a siege and bloody warfare, Jerusalem was conquered by the Crusader forces following a long Crusade across Europe and Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>. Jerusalem became a spiritual centre and focal point for pilgrims throughout Europe, including Germany. Pilgrims who visited Jerusalem talked about the holy sites, the new Crusader constructions, and the diversity of the population<sup>3</sup>.

A Middle-Ages German source noted that in the year 1127 several German houses were built in Jerusalem. According to this contemporary source a hospital, a hospice and a church were established in the south eastern part of the city. The compound was established by a charitable couple from Germany who visited the city and wanted to create a centre for German pilgrims who needed medical treatment and spiritual support<sup>4</sup>.

Excavations in the south east part of the old city of Jerusalem have revealed several buildings in the German compound, including a Romanesque style church and the remains of an adjacent hospital building – „hospitalis sancta Marie domus Theutonicorum in Jerusalem”<sup>5</sup>.

This German hospital was controlled by the Hospital Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It had been the main medical institution in the Holy Land. In 1143, Pope Celestine II confirmed the Jerusalem Hospitallers’ authority over the German hospital and over the adjacent church of St. Mary. The Pope decreed that the Prior of this hospital as well as his members would be German speakers and that it would

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<sup>2</sup> On the conquest of Jerusalem at the end of the First Crusade see: *Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, hrsg. von H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, pp. 302–304; B. Z. Kedar, *The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades*, Crusades, Vol. 3: 2004, pp. 16–25; J. France, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade*, Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 47: 1996, pp. 3–15; C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, Leiden 2008, pp. 44–45, 153.

<sup>3</sup> A. Haverkamp, *Cities as Cultic Centers in Germany and Italy during the Early and High Middle Ages*, [in:] *Sacred Space. Shrine, City, Land*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, R. J. Z. Werblowsky, New York 1998, p. 174; M. L. Favreau-Lilie, *The German Empire and Palestine: German pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century*, Journal of Medieval History, Vol. 21: 1995, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis seu Iherosolimitana*, [in:] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, Vol. 1, Hannover 1611, p. 1085: „[...] honesto et religioso viro Teutonico, qui in civitate cum uxore sua morabatur, quatenus quoddam Xenodochium de bonis suis construeret, in quo pauperibus et infirmis Teutonicis hospitalitatem exhiberet”; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, Vol. 3: *The City of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 228–229.

<sup>5</sup> A. Ovadiah, *A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem*, Eretz Israel, Vol. 11: 1973, pp. 208–212 (in Hebrew); M. Ben Dov, *The Restoration of St. Mary’s Church of the German Knights in Jerusalem*, [in:] *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Y. Tsafir, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 140–142.

provide medical and spiritual care for German pilgrims. This had contributed to the identity of the German hospital in Jerusalem<sup>6</sup>.

The pilgrim Johan von Würzburg, writing in the 1160s, had described the activities of the German hospital and the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. He wrote about the German institution and praised the medical services of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. The German hospital was situated near the road that led to the Templar establishment on Mount Temple, in the south eastern part of the city<sup>7</sup>. This was where the Templar Military Order had established its headquarters on the *Templum Salomonis*<sup>8</sup>. Another description from 1176 mentioned the death of Princess Sophia of Holland in Jerusalem on her third pilgrimage and her burial in a site next to the German church<sup>9</sup>.

Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie argued that the number of German pilgrims visiting Jerusalem had increased in the twelfth century, causing the expansion of the site adjacent to the German hospital and the church of St. Mary. Thus, another church was built to serve German pilgrims visiting the Holy City – „*ecclesia Sancti Thomae Alemannorum*”. Archaeologists Dan Bahat and Ronnie Reich had determined that the church discovered in the western part of the Jewish quarter (close to the German hospital site) was that of St. Thomas<sup>10</sup>.

The German establishment had further developed and increased its holdings and agricultural properties in Jerusalem as well as in other locations such as Nablus, Beit She'an and Hebron. The Germans were granted revenues and parcels of agricultural land. These contributed to the wealth and strength of the German hospital in Jerusalem<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, Vol. 1, Paris 1894, no. 154, p. 124: „Quia igitur de Hospitali illo, quod ad susceptionem Teutonicorum ibidem constructum est, tam in regno Jherosolimitano quam in aliis mundi partibus [...] ita videlicet ut de gente Theutonicorum priorem et servientes, quos idoneos cognoveritis, ibidem constitutatis, qui Christi pauperibus in lingua sua responderere [...]”; no. 155, p. 124–125; P. D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades, Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 75–78. Piers D. Mitchell estimated that the German Hospital in Jerusalem contained 100–150 beds (*ibid.*, p. 97).

<sup>7</sup> *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 139), Turnhout 1994, p. 133: „[...] in qua via est hospitale cum aeclesia, quae fit de novo in honore sanctae Mariae et vocatur »Domus Alemannorum«”.

<sup>8</sup> J. Prawer, *Between the Mount Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, Cathedra, Vol. 61: 1991, pp. 87–89 (in Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup> *Annales Egmundani*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, [Vol.] 16), Hannover 1859, p. 468.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. Favreau-Lilie, *op.cit.*, p. 324; D. Bahat, R. Reich, *Une église médiévale dans le Quartier juif de Jérusalem*, Revue Biblique, Vol. 43: 1986, no. 1, p. 114; A. J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, London 2001, pp. 89, 125–126.

<sup>11</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke, Berlin 1869 (reprint: Toronto–Jerusalem 1975), no. 6 (1173), p. 7–8: „Amalricus I Hierosolymitanus rex donat b. Mariae s. domus hospitalis Theutonicorum 400 bisantios de funda Neapolitana, quatuor casalia in partibus S. Abrahae et Bethan, certos proventus frumenti et hordei de omnibus suis bonis in terriis Ierusalem et Neapolis”; no. 8 (1177), p. 9: „Amalricus I Hierosolymitanus rex concedit b. Mariae sanctae domus Theutonicorum annuatim de porta David recipiendos 300 bisantios”.

THE GERMAN PRESENCE IN THE HOLY LAND  
AFTER THE BATTLE OF HATTIN

The German hospital ceased its activities with the Crusader defeat at the battle of Hattin in 1187. The Germans abandoned Jerusalem, and together with other Christian settlers joined the Crusaders who gathered in the city of Tyre<sup>12</sup>. They helped in conquering Acre and the re-establishment of the Crusader Kingdom during the third Crusade. In 1190, in the course of the Crusader siege, a German field hospital was set up in front of the eastern walls of Acre to tend wounded German soldiers who needed medical care. Among them was Duke Frederick of Swabia, son of Frederick I who had drowned in Asia Minor on his Crusade to the Holy Land. The Duke reached Acre with the remainder of the German forces, organised them, and helped in the establishment of a new German medical institution – „Fratrum Theutonicorum ecclesiae Sancte Mariae Hiersolymitanae”. The Duke died in 1191 during the Crusader siege and was buried in the German compound in Acre after the city was taken in July 1191. The connection between the new institution in Acre and the German hospital in the Holy City became clear in a source describing the foundation of the Teutonic Order in Acre – *Narratio de primordiis Ordinis Teutonici* – which emphasised the spiritual importance and centrality of Jerusalem to the new foundation. This source expressed the intention of the Order to erect its centre in Jerusalem when it returns to Christian rule<sup>13</sup>. The Teutonic Order, as the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, added the name of Jerusalem to their name, attempted to connect the Holy City to their tradition and heritage<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, The Teutonic Order also expressed its aspiration to build again a hospital in the city as well as its future headquarters in Jerusalem<sup>15</sup>.

It is possible that the Germans who survived the collapse of the Latin Kingdom after 1187 and gathered in Acre, wanted to be associated with the new institution that continued their medical activity and presence in the Holy Land. That the new German foundation used the sanctified name of Jerusalem may have encouraged

<sup>12</sup> About Jerusalem after the battle of Hattin and the Christian response to that defeat see: B. Z. Kedar, *Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187*, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Jg. 38: 1982, H. 1, pp. 116–117; S. Schein, „The Terrible News”: *The Reaction of Christendom to the Fall of Jerusalem (1187)*, [in:] eadem, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 159–160; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3, Cambridge 1954, pp. 3–4, 23–25; P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, Aldershot 1996 (sources in translation), pp. 53, 82–83, 162–163; S. Menache, *Love of God or Hatred of your Enemy? The Emotional Voices of the Crusades*, *Mirabilia*, Vol. 10: 2010, pp. 16–18.

<sup>13</sup> *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach seinen ältesten Handschriften*, hrsg. von M. Perlbach, Halle 1890, p. 159: „[...] et spe et fiducia, ut Terra Sancta christiano cultui restituta in civitate Sancta Jerusalem domus fieret eiusdem ordinis principalis, mater, caput partier et magistra”; U. Arnold, *Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens*, [in:] *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, hrsg. von J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 89–90, 94.

<sup>14</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*, London 1967, pp. 51–52.

<sup>15</sup> W. Hubatsch, *Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates um Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen 1966, pp. 166, 173.



donations and recruits, which would elevate its status and increase its strength in the Holy Land.

Evidence of the Teutonic knights' efforts to associate Jerusalem with their Order's name can be found in a document of 1211, describing the beginning of the Teutonic presence in the Burzenland region in east Hungary. The document declared that the king of Hungary had confirmed the transfer of the income from the territories in Burzenland to the hospital of Saint Mary in Jerusalem which, due to „our sins”, had to move to Acre. The source dwells on the spiritual meaning of the Holy City and described the effect of its loss for Christianity<sup>16</sup>.

The Teutonic Knights took an active part in Frederick II's Crusade to the Holy Land (1228–1229). The Knights were among the strongest supporting groups during the Emperor's marches in the East. They accompanied his army on its way from Acre to Jaffa and gave the Emperor support and encouragement by signing the Jaffa treaty with the Egyptian Sultan al-Kāmil on 18 February 1229. This peace agreement strengthened the Crusaders position in the Holy Land and brought under their control regions lost after the defeat in Hattin, including Toron and Nazareth in the northern part of the Latin Kingdom and a land corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It was also agreed that Jerusalem would be given back to the Christians but without Mount Temple which remained under Muslim authority<sup>17</sup>. This agreement, reached without any fighting or military involvement, caused much bitterness among the military orders and ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land and in Europe. The treaty also increased the existing rivalry between Pope Gregory IX and Frederick II, which eventually lead to the latter's excommunication<sup>18</sup>. To complete his Crusade in the Holy Land and make it of spiritual meaning, Frederick marched from Jaffa to Jerusalem and on Sunday, 18 of March 1229 was crowned King of Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The ceremony was attended by Military Orders and the pilgrims who had accompanied the Emperor. Among these was Hermann von Salza, the Teutonic Grand Master, who was one of Frederick's main supporters among the Crusader leaders in the Latin East. Hermann von Salza participated in the ceremony and translated the ritual into German<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 158 (1211), p. 156: „Andreas, Ungariae rex, cruciferis de hospitali s. Marie, quod quandoque fuit Ierusalem, sed modo peccatis exigentibus situm est in Accaron”.

<sup>17</sup> *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Vol. II, Paris 1859, pp. 373–374; I. Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, [in:] *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5, ed. N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, Madison 1985, pp. 364–365; L. Ross, *Frederick II: Tyrant or Benefactor of the Latin East?*, *Al Masāq*, Vol. 15: 2003, no. 2, p. 154.

<sup>18</sup> J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, Vol. 3, Turin 1963, pp. 102–110, 135–140; J. M. Powell, *Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II: The Matthew Paris Letter*, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 25: 1999, Issue 1, pp. 19–26; idem, *Frederick II and the Muslims: the making of an historiographical tradition*, [in:] *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, ed. L. J. Simon, Leiden 1995, pp. 263–264.

<sup>19</sup> J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, op.cit., Vol. 3, pp. 99–102: „[...] divitibus quoque ac pauperibus,

The Teutonic Knights' participation in the coronation ceremony in Jerusalem confirmed the spiritual bond between Jerusalem and the tradition of the Teutonic Order<sup>20</sup>. The connection of the holy city to the Order and its identification with King David and his House continued to be mentioned in the Teutonic sources, demonstrating their affinity to the Holy City and its faith. In this the Knights found justification for their presence in Jerusalem<sup>21</sup>. The attraction of the Teutonic Order to the holy city can also be detected in the fourteenth century. In 1326, Peter von Dusburg, one of the Teutonic priests in Prussia, wrote the full chronicles of the Order's history – *Chronica terre Prussie*. He made a connection between the Teutonic Knights and the Maccabees heroes, and biblical leaders including Gideon, Samson, Deborah, Joshua, and King Solomon. The reference to King David in the chronicle emphasised a strong leadership and a close connection to the Holy Land, which had characterised the Teutonic Order during the Middle Ages. The Knights also adopted the biblical duel between David and Goliath as a symbol of their long struggle with the heathens in the Baltic regions of Prussia and Livonia<sup>22</sup>.

Frederick II himself attributed a spiritual meaning to his coronation in Jerusalem. One can learn of the importance of the Holy City to the Emperor from his reaction to the fall of the city to the Khwarizmians tribes in August 1244. He was

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proposuit coram omnibus manifeste verba subscripta et nobis injunxit ut verba sua ipsi latine et theutonice exponeremus"; E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second 1194–1250*, New York 1957, pp. 198–199; B. Hechelhammer, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsspielräume von Kreuzzugspolitik (1215–1230) (Mittelalter-Forschungen, 13)*, Ostfildern 2004, pp. 296–306; I. Shagrir, *The Visitatio Sepulchri in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, Al Masāq, Vol. 22: 2010, no. 1, pp. 59–60.

<sup>20</sup> See Hermann von Salza's description in a letter to the Pope Gregory IX in 1229: *Coronatio Hierosolimitana 1229*, ed. L. Weiland (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum, 2), Hannover 1896, no. 121, p. 162: „Et dum de restitutione Terre Sancte tractaretur, dominus Iesus Christus sua solita providential ita ordinavit, quod soldanus restituit domino imperatori et christianis civitatem sanctam Ierusalem cum suis tenimentis [...]”; no. 122, p. 165: „[...] soldanus Babylonie restituit nobis civitatem sanctam Ierusalem, locum videlicet ubi pedes Christi steterunt, locum etiam ubi veri adoratores in spiritu et veritate Patrem partum adorant”.

<sup>21</sup> U. Arnold, *Ritter und Priester*, [in:] *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Nordwesteuropa. (Ausstellungskatalog)*, hrsg. von U. Arnold, Alden Biesen 1992, pp. 11–13; G. Wichert, *Die Spiritualität des Deutschen Ordens in seiner mittelalterlichen Regeln*, [in:] *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von Z. H. Nowak (Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica, [Vol.] 7), Toruń 1993, pp. 136–137; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 56), Marburg 1999, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, deutsche Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen von K. Scholz, D. Wojtecki, Darmstadt 1984, p. 68: „[...] in turri David omnis armature forcium dependebat [...]”; p. 82: „Sis ergo tu David manu fortis”; p. 72: „Non est aliud nisi gladius Gedeonis milicie Cristiane”; p. 350: „Numquid ergo forcior Samson, sanctior Davide, sapiencior Salomone”; p. 70: „Magne fidei verbum fuit, cum David pugnaturus contra Golyam diceret [...]”; V. I. Matuzova, *Mental Frontiers: Prussians as seen by Peter von Dusburg*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray, Aldershot 2001, pp. 253–259; N. Morton, *The defence of the Holy land and the memory of the Maccabees*, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 36: 2010, Issue 3, pp. 289–291.

deeply affected by the loss of the city and the destruction of the Christian holy places<sup>23</sup>.

Frederick II supported the Teutonic Knights during their fifteen-year presence in Jerusalem. He granted them several properties such as Curia Regis (Royal Palace) in the western part of the city, on the Armenian street, near the St. Thomas church, and also six „carruca” in an open field close to this area. This might be the present day Armenian Garden, south of the Curia Regis and the St. Thomas Church next to Citadel<sup>24</sup>. Another structure was assigned to the Teutonic Order close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>25</sup>. Frederick II also granted the Order the German hospital in the southern part of Jerusalem. These acts affirmed the connection between the former German estates of the twelfth century and the new, albeit brief thirteenth century presence in Jerusalem<sup>26</sup>.

An important act during Frederick II's visit to Jerusalem was to transfer the Citadel in western Jerusalem to the Teutonic Order. The Citadel was the main defensive structure in the city and was located at a strategically important point, overlooking the environs. The Teutonic Knights associated their post in the Citadel with the tradition of King David's occupation of the site and his rule over Jerusalem. Teutonic guards were placed in the fortress, establishing a command post. They offered protection to the Christian population that had remained in Jerusalem and sought refuge in the Citadel when Muslim attacks occurred in the isolated city between 1229 and 1244<sup>27</sup>.

The Citadel was the safest place in Jerusalem in this period when the city walls and gates were in ruins, and Christian defending forces unavailable. The walls were destroyed in 1219 under al-Mu'azzam 'Isa'. The fortress stood until 1239 when it

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<sup>23</sup> J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, op.cit., Vol. 6, Turin 1963, pp. 236–240: „[...] quod tota regni Hierosolymitani terra quam christiani possederant trans Jordanem, retentis sibi villis et montanis aliquibus, christianis restituta [...] Quo superveniente, perfide gentis metu, de civitate Hierosolymitana [...] sepulchro Domini violato, quod fuerat fidei christiane visibile nutrimentum”.

<sup>24</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 69 (1229), p. 55: „in civitate sua Ierusalem domum quondam Balduini Regis sitam in ruga Armeniorum prope ecclesiam s. Thomae [...] sex carrucatas terrae”; no. 70, pp. 55–56: „[...] omo sitam iuxta ecclesiam s. Sepulcri”; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, publiée par L. Mas Latrie, Paris 1871, p. 465: „le manoir le roi qui devant le tour David est”; A. Boas, *Some Reflections on Urban Landscapes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and Acre*, [in:] *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot 2001, p. 252; D. Bahat, M. Broshi, *Excavations in the Armenian Gardens*, Qadmoniot, Vol. 3–4 (19–20): 1972, pp. 102–103 (in Hebrew). The agricultural term „carruca” means a pair of fields, referring to a land unit that could be cultivated by a pair of oxes. Ellenblum estimated that a carruca was 30–40 acres in size: R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 98–99, 185.

<sup>25</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 70 (1229), pp. 55–56: „[...] domo sitam iuxta ecclesiam s. Sepulcri”.

<sup>26</sup> M. Tumler, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400*, Wien 1955, pp. 24–25; M. L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Stuttgart 1974, pp. 56–57.

<sup>27</sup> C. N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle (Atlit) David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad (Ajlun)*, ed. D. Pringle, Aldershot 1997, p. 167.

was demolished by the Ayyubid al-Nāsir Dāwūd who invaded the city and destroyed the fortifications<sup>28</sup>.

In August 1244 Jerusalem was finally conquered by the Khwarizmians tribes who destroyed the city and inflicted many casualties and losses to its Christian population. In October of the same year, the Crusaders suffered a massive defeat at La Forbie north to Gaza. This ended the Crusader rule in the southern part of the Holy Land and in the Holy City of Jerusalem even before the final collapse of the Crusader Kingdom in 1291<sup>29</sup>.

#### LOCATION AND EXPANSION OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER COMMAND POST IN JERUSALEM

A new description thus emerges of German installations in Jerusalem during the short period when the city returned to Crusader rule at the first half of the thirteenth century. The Christians were gathered in the north-eastern part of the city, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Patriarchal quarter and the Citadel. The Teutonic Knights also held positions in this area and offered some security to the Christian population remaining in the isolated city. The Knights contributed to Frederick II's efforts to rebuild the Citadel as well as the city walls near St. Stephen's gate in the northern part of the city<sup>30</sup>. The Emperor left Jerusalem for Acre and sailed back to Europe. Before he left, he placed a Teutonic garrison in Jerusalem, relying on it to implement his policy and defend the city<sup>31</sup>.

One can assume that the Teutonic Order renewed the twelfth century compound of the German hospital in the southern part of Jerusalem. A re-examination of Teutonic sources from that period confirms that the Teutonic Knights did

<sup>28</sup> P. Jackson, *The Crusades of 1239–41 and their aftermath*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental African Studies, Vol. 50: 1987, p. 39; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles, and the Medieval Citadel of Jerusalem*, [in:] *In Laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum, J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot 2007, pp. 106–107.

<sup>29</sup> On La Forbie and its effect on the faith of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem see: *Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 57), Vol. 1–7, London 1872–1883, here: Vol. 4, pp. 307–311; *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, pp. 427–431; R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)*, Amsterdam 1966, p. 865; J. Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars, History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, Leiden 2008, p. 125.

<sup>30</sup> On the rehabilitation of the Jerusalem walls and gates see: *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Vol. II, Paris 1859, p. 529: „Li Chrestien avoient commencié a fermer, de leur ausmosnes que il metoient, la cité par deverz la porte Saint Estienne, et avoient fait un pou del mur, et ne sai quantes tornelles”; *Roger of Wendover's, Flowers of History*, Vol. 2, trans. J. A. Giles, London 1849, p. 527; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jerusalem, traduction G. Nahon*, Paris 1975, p. 210; G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem: from the Canaanites to the Mamluks*, Sydney 1993, pp. 283–285; D. Bahat, *Sanuto's Map and the Walls of Jerusalem in the Thirteenth Century*, Eretz Israel, Vol. 19: 1987, pp. 296–297 (in Hebrew).

<sup>31</sup> T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen Immutator Mundi*, Oxford 1972, pp. 225–226; D. Abulafia, *Frederick II. A Medieval Emperor*, London 1988, pp. 185–188.



not mention the former German hospital in Jerusalem. It seems that the activity of the German hospital had never produced the level of influence and status it had enjoyed during the twelfth century. The hospital was located in an isolated and marginal part of the city, close to the Muslim position on Mount Temple, under Muslim authority, as agreed by the Jaffa treaty of 1229. This location was far from the main Christian activities and presence in the north side of Jerusalem<sup>32</sup>.

The Teutonic Knights moved to the northern part of the city, close by the Curia Regis, to the Citadel, south of the Hospitaller complex and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Knights of the Order established a prominent presence in the Citadel and its surroundings. Evidence of the relocation of their Jerusalem Centre can be found in a description dated 1480, about two centuries after the final fall of the city, by a German Dominican monk named Felix Faber. Felix Faber maintained that the German house in Jerusalem stood adjacent to the Hospitaller compound south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He described the Teutonic structure's ruins with its high walls and remarked that German knights and German pilgrims used to gather in this building during their pilgrimage to Jerusalem<sup>33</sup>.

The Monk was perhaps referring to the building adjacent to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospitallers compound, which was granted to the Teutonic Order by Frederick II in his Crusade to Jerusalem<sup>34</sup>.

All of this firmly points at the strong connection that the Teutonic Order held to the spiritual symbolism of Jerusalem and its meaning for Christianity. The name of Jerusalem, which in itself carries a powerful religious meaning, was incorporated into the Order's name. The name remained in the Order's title long after the city had fallen in 1244 and also after the Crusader Kingdom disappeared in 1291<sup>35</sup>. These strong ties between the city and the spiritual role it played in the Teutonic Order and its central position in the Order's tradition, which remained so even when its headquarters and military focus were far removed from Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The Knights' position within the city during the brief period when it was again under the Crusader rule reiterates their ties with the city's religious past and to its defence. It also accentuated their attachment to such biblical tra-

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<sup>32</sup> J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, op.cit., Vol. 3, pp. 96–97: „[...] ut peregrine de cetero processum liberum habeant ad sepulcrum Domini et securum inde regressum, excepto videlicet quod cum Saraceni in quadam veneratione maxima Templum habeant et illuc secundum ritum eorum ad orandum (a) in modum Saracenorum peregrinorum accedant”.

<sup>33</sup> *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, Vol. 7: 1971 (New York), p. 395.

<sup>34</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 70 (1229), pp. 55–56; D. Pringle, *The layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the Twelfth Century: Further Thoughts and Suggestions*, [in:] *The Military Orders, Vol. 4: On Land and by Sea*, ed. J. Upton-Ward, Aldershot 2008, pp. 100–101.

<sup>35</sup> *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 183 (1298), p. 165: „[...] ordinis fratrum hospitalis sancte Marie Theutonicorum in Ierusalem”; no. 210 (1337), p. 201: „[...] fratres ordinis hospitalis beate Marie domus Theutonicorum Ierosolimitani, quorum sancta religio ab imperialibus beneficium”; G. Müller, *Jerusalem oder Akkon? Über den Anfang des Deutschen Ordens nach dem gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung*, Bad Münstereifel 1989, pp. 12–15.



JEROZOLIMA W TRADYCJACH ZAKONU KRZYŻACKIEGO  
– SYMBOLIZM I ORYGINALNOŚĆ

Streszczenie

**Słowa kluczowe:** zakon krzyżacki; Jerozolima; wyprawy krzyżowe; Ziemia Święta; średniowiecze; Królestwo Jerozolimskie

Zakon krzyżacki został założony w królestwie krzyżowców w Ziemi Świętej w 1198 r. Miało to miejsce w dobie organizacji wysiłku militarnego i odnowy politycznej po utracie Jerozolimy na rzecz muzułmanów w 1187 r. Zakon krzyżacki i jego nazwa były związane z Jerozolimą.

Bracia zakonni próbowali uzyskać własne zbawienie poprzez powiązanie swojej aktywności na Łacińskim Wschodzie z Jerozolimą, która była świętym miastem chrześcijan. Ich działalność może być również łączona z próbą zabezpieczenia środków finansowych i rekrutacji nowych kandydatów do Zakonu. Krzyżacy połączyli również swoją działalność militarną z polityką opiekuńczą oraz z niemieckim szpitalem, który został założony w 1127 r. w południowej części Jerozolimy. W tej placówce niemieccy pielgrzymi korzystali podczas pobytu w mieście ze schronienia, wsparcia moralnego i opieki medycznej. Po upadku Jerozolimy podobna instytucja została założona w Akce i była prowadzona przez Niemców w ten sam sposób, w jaki funkcjonowała placówka w Jerozolimie w XII w.

Niemieckie związki duchowe z Jerozolimą osiągnęły apogeum w 1229 r., w okresie krucjaty jerozolimskiej cesarza Fryderyka II. Cesarz przywrócił miasto we władanie chrześcijan na mocy traktatu pokojowego, bez konieczności walki z armiami muzułmańskimi. Układ pokojowy podzielił świat chrześcijański i wywołał niezadowolenie wśród przywódców kościelnych oraz starych zakonów rycerskich. Z kolei Krzyżacy okazali cesarzowi pełne wsparcie i wzięli aktywny udział w ceremonii koronacyjnej, mającej miejsce w kościele Grobu Świętego w Jerozolimie. W zamian za to cesarz przyznał Zakonowi ziemie i posiadłości w mieście. Zakon krzyżacki tworzył forpocztę jerozolimskiego systemu obronnego, a jego członkowie osiedli w zachodniej części miasta i w cytadeli znajdującej się w pobliżu Wieży Dawida.

Podczas pobytu Krzyżaków w mieście w latach 1229–1244, wzmocnił się ich związek z miastem i jego biblijnym dziedzictwem. Krzyżacy powiązali się z dynastią króla Dawida oraz innymi postaciami biblijnymi, które były aktywne na terenie Izraela. Rozpatrywali swoją walkę w kategoriach zwycięskiej bitwy Dawida z Goliatem.

Militarne zmagania Krzyżaków i ich duchowa misja w Jerozolimie pozostawiły w średniowiecznych źródłach zakonnych różnorodne odniesienia i przekazy dotyczące miasta. O Jerozolimie Krzyżacy myśleli i mówili jeszcze przez długi czas po jej upadku w 1244 r., a nawet po likwidacji Królestwa Jerozolimskiego w 1291 r.

W artykule omówiono źródła krzyżackie traktujące o związkach Zakonu z Jerozolimą. Ponadto zbadano wydarzenia historyczne i przemiany polityczne, które pomogły Krzyżakom w usadowieniu się w Jerozolimie. Wreszcie podjęto próbę zbadania przemian geograficznych zachodzących w strukturze miasta i zidentyfikowania centrum zakonu krzyżackiego w średniowiecznej topografii Jerozolimy.

The Order of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary's Hospital in Jerusalem - 1190-2019. The German Order of the Teutonic Knights of Christ in Jerusalem. Orden der Brüder vom Deutschen Haus St. Mariens in Jerusalem. Some forty knights were received into the new Order at its foundation by the King of Jerusalem and Frederick of Swabia, who selected their first Master in the name of the Pope and Emperor. The knights of the new confraternity had to be of German birth (although this rule was occasionally relaxed), a unique requirement among the Crusader Orders founded in the Holy Land. They were drawn predominately from the noble or knightly class, although this latter obligation was not formally incorporated into the rule until much later.