

Peter of Dusburg's attitude towards the Holy Land in the Crusades Period

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Abstract: This article will analyze the context offered by Peter of Dusburg, a brethren of the Teutonic Order, who wrote in 1326 in Prussia one of the most important descriptions of the history of the Teutonic Order - 'Chronicon Terrae Prussiae'. This Chronicle described the activities of the Teutonic Order first in the Holy Land, while also examining a number of events and persons who were active while the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem still existed. This article will deal with the establishment of the German institution in Acre in 1190 and until the fall of Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, when the kingdom was conquered by the Muslim (Saracens) warriors after the fall of all the Crusader strongholds in the Latin East, particularly Acre, to which Peter of Dusburg's chronicles, dedicated a special chapter. These topics will allow an insight into the world of Peter of Dusburg, who had been active long time after the fall of the Latin Kingdom and who did not know what exactly happened there. He had presented, in his chronicle, the history of the Teutonic Order in a unique way, linking its activities in the Baltic region with its historical role in the Holy Land. That was far away from the military and political scene of Prussia and the Baltic region, long before the Teutonic Order had began its activities in the northern part of Europe.

Keywords: Peter of Dusburg, Teutonic Order, Military Orders, Crusades, Prussia, Holy Land, Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Acre, Jerusalem.

Resumo: O artigo analisa o contexto de Pedro de Dusburg, da Ordem Teutônica, que em 1326 na Prússia escreveu uma das mais importantes descrições da história da Ordem Teutônica - 'Chronicon Terrae Prussiae'. Essa Crônica descreve as atividades da Ordem Teutônica na Terra Santa.

Palavras Chave: Pedro de Dusburg, Ordem Teutônica, Ordens Militares, Cruzadas, Prússia, Reino Latino de Jerusalém, Acre, Jerusalém.

Peter of Dusburg, a monk and brethren of the Teutonic Order had been one of the greatest Chronicles writers of the Military Order. He had written his book 'Chronicon Terrae Prussiae' in Latin in 1326, during the tenure of the Teutonic Grand Master Werner von Orseln.² At that time, the Teutonic Order had been at the highest point of its political power and military capabilities, spreading throughout Prussia and Livonia in north Eastern Europe.³

Peter of Dusburg had described in his book the History of the Teutonic Order from its beginning when it was established in the Holy Land in the era of Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The book had ended in the period after the Order had

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² One of the important Medieval source relating to Peter of Dusburg Chronicles is: Petrus de Dusburg, 'Cronica Terre Prussiae', ed. M. Töppen, *Scriptores Rerum Prussiae*, vol 1, Leipzig 1861 rep. Frankfurt am Main 1965, pp. 3-219. For science editions of Peter of Dusburg Chronicles See: K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki, (trans.), *Peter von Dusburg Chronik des Preussenlandes*, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 25, Darmstadt 1984; J. Wenta and S. Wyzomirski (eds.), *Petrus de Dusburg, 'Kronika ziemi pruskiej'*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series*, vol. 13, Kraków 2007.

³ K. Górski, "The Teutonic Order in Prussia", *Medievalia et Humanistica* 1966, pp. 20-37.

established and based itself in Prussia.⁴ Peter of Dusburg's goal was to present to the members of the Order and to the Teutonic leadership the tradition of the Military Order from its foundation in the Holy Land, in order to glorify the military activities of the members and to celebrate their success in the places where they had fought, settled and set up their headquarters. Another purpose was to advertise the Order so as to help recruiting new members to the Teutonic Order.⁵

Above all, the chronicles of Peter of Dusburg described in detail the stages of the conquest of Prussia from the year 1230, when the Teutonic warriors first conquered the land of Prussia's heathen tribes.⁶ Peter of Dusburg gave a detailed account of the aggression of the heathen tribes and also the stages of the harsh war and the difficulties faced the Order. This battle was described as cruel and agonizing, persistent fighting and without inhibitions which had caused suffering to the Teutonic knights.⁷ The author's aim was to justify the Teutonic military purpose and to describe what he had regarded as negative habits of the heathen population in Prussia, whom he described them as 'devils'.⁸ Peter of Dusburg wanted to defend the Teutonic military aggression that culminated some half a century after the conquest of Prussia and the end of heathen domination, after being slaughtered or exiled from their homeland in Prussia.⁹

The fighting in the Baltic region was hard and protracted, from 1230 to 1283. Some researchers have described the fighting in the Baltic region as cruel, without any heed to the laws of warfare.¹⁰ This sort of battle did not resemble, nor had it been affected by, any fighting that had taken place in the Latin East. The fighting in the

⁴ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), pp. 36-54.

⁵ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 114: 'Huius viri animus et totus conatus ad destructionem infidelium et ad Cristianorum terminos dilatandos fuerat inclinatus', p. 132: 'in ampliando fines Cristianorum et dilatando, in impugnando hostes, in expugnando municiones ingesserint manus suas, quorum prelia et triumphos usque ad finem seculi narrabit omnis ecclesia sanctorum'; K. Helm and W. Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, Giessen 1951, pp. 149-150; H. Boockmann, "Die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens, Gattungsfragen und 'Gebrauchssituationen'", H. Patze (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im Späten Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 449-450; A. Mentzel-Reuters, "Literatur im Deutschen Orden 1275-1550", C. Gottzmann (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur und Sprache im östlichen Europa*, Leipzig 1995, pp. 40-43.

⁶ G. Labuda, "Die Urkunden, Über die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Kulmerland und in Preußen in den Jahren 1226-1243", J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 299-316; E. N. Johnson, "The German Crusade on the Baltic", H. W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, Madison 1975, pp. 569-571, 576-577; H. Boockman, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte*, München 1981, pp. 70-93; M. Starnawska, "Military Orders and the Beginning of Crusades in Prussia", Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds.), *The Crusades and the Military Orders, Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest 2001, pp. 422-424.

⁷ E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, Minneapolis 1980, pp. 77-78; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, Oxford 1992, pp. 323-324, 338-339; R. Mažeika, "Granting Power to Enemy: Gods in the Chronicles of the Baltic Crusades",

D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, Aldershot 2002, p. 153.

⁸ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 216: 'Filii ergo Belial videntes'; p. 248: 'Quedam mulier pruthena servilis condicionis filia Belial recessit de dicto castro..'

⁹ F. L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia*, Oxford 1954; pp. 1-9; K. Kļaviņš, "The Ideology of Christianity and Pagan Practice among the Teutonic Knights: The Case of the Baltic Region", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37.3 (2006), pp. 261-268; R. Mažeika, "An Amicable Enmity: Some Peculiarities in Teutonic-Balt Relations", C. Ingrao (ed.), *The Germans and the East*, West Lafayette 2008, pp.49-57.

¹⁰ F. Russel, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 5-22; A. Forey, "The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century", *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), pp. 4-5; R. Mažeika, "Violent Victims?, Surprising Aspects of the Just War Theory in the Chronicle of Peter von Dusburg", A. V. Murray (ed.), *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, Aldershot 2009, pp. 124-134.

Latin East had been criticized by many groups who had been in the region, e.g., the Church authorities, the Crusader nobility, the local population and the pilgrims who visited the area and integrated in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The fighting that took place in the Baltic region had been in marginal and isolated corners of Europe, far from the observing eye of the Church leaders and from the Christian population.¹¹

In order to glorify the Teutonic fighting against the heathen tribes in Prussia, Peter of Dusburg had associated this fighting with biblical heroic stories and other heroes like the Maccabees and the prophets, which he had recruited to enhance the faith in God and to glorify the Christianity and the Holy Land. In this, he had hoped to also enhance the Teutonic warriors' faith, even when they were at a disadvantage when they had failed, or when they had faced destruction and defeat on the battlefield.¹²

The chronicles of Peter of Dusburg are particularly important in understanding the ways of deployment of the Teutonic knights in Prussia and the Teutonic tradition in general. It also a good source for the identification of the location of the Order's strongholds and the fighting zones in the second half of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century. Another contribution of the chronicles is the breakdown they give of the military organization in the Teutonic sites in the Holy Land and in the Mediterranean basin.¹³

This article will analyze the context offered by the chronicles to the activities of the Teutonic Order when it appeared first in the Holy Land, while also examining a number of events and persons who were active in this area while the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem existed. Moreover, this paper will deal with the establishment of the German nursing institution in Acre in 1190 and until the fall of Latin Kingdom

¹¹ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission, European Approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton 1984, pp. 131-133; C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East 1192-1291*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 158-174; J. France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300*, Ithaca 1999, pp. 204-208; Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies, Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden 2002, pp. 6-12; N. Housley, *Fighting for the Cross, Crusading to the Holy Land*, New Haven 2008, pp. 210-212, 222-223.

M-L. Favreau-Lilie, "Mission to the Heathen in Prussia and Livonia: The Attitudes of the Religious Military Orders toward Christianization", G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (eds.), *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, Turnout 2000, pp. 151-154; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (as no. 6), pp. 135-139.

¹² *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 46: 'Propheta quippe cum esset David et familiare spiritus sancti organum, tam presencia quam futura in scriptures veritatis intuens distinctione sue cohortis edocuit, quod in novissimis temporibus caput ecclesie Christus custodes foret habiturus, 'qui preciosiores' animas suas se ipsis facientes accingerentur gladio suo sancto super femur suum, ut fortissimi Israel viri Salomonis lectulum ambientes timores nocturnos tenebrose perfidie a finibus expellerent Christianis. Subit eciam animum illud laudabile et Deu dignum bellum Machabeorum, qui in deserto feni cibo pasti, ne participes fierent coinquinacionis'; p. 36: 'Ad ipsum enim confluit ecclesia universalis audire et videre sue doctrine, ut regina Saba sapienciam Salomonis'; N. F. Palmer, *German Literary Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Oxford 1993, p. 10; M. Fischer, *"Di Himmels rote". The Idea of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order*, Göppingen 1991; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg, Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1309*, und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens [QSGDO] 56, Marburg 1999, p. 38.

¹³ G. Labuda, "Zu den Quellen der 'Preußischen Chronik' Peters von Dusburg", U. Arnold and M. Biskup (eds.), *Der Deutschordensstaat Preussen in der Polnischen Geschichtsschreibung den Gegenwart*, QSGDO 30, Marburg 1982, pp. 136-137; J. Wenta, "Der Deutschordenspriester Peter von Dusburg und sein Bemühen um die geistige Bildung der Laienbrüder", R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (eds.), *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der Geistlichen Ritterorden*, Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica [OMCTH] 13 (2005), pp. 115-125.

of Jerusalem in 1291, when the Crusader Kingdom was conquered by the Muslim (Saracens) warriors after the fall of all the Crusader strongholds in the Latin East, particularly Acre, to which Peter of Dusburg's chronicles dedicated a special chapter. These topics will allow an insight into the world of Peter of Dusburg, a member of the Teutonic order, who had been active long time after the fall of the Latin Kingdom and who did not know what exactly happened in the Latin East. He had presented, in his book, the history of the Teutonic Order in a unique way, linking its activities in the Baltic region with its historical role in the Holy Land far away from the military and political scene of Prussia and North Eastern Europe and long before the Teutonic Order had begun its activities there.

Peter of Dusburg described in his chronicles the establishment of Order in a similar way as mentioned in the sources referring to the creation of the German nursing foundation in 1190, during the siege of Acre in the Third Crusade. In the first part of the chronicles, the author described as in the - *Narratio de primordiis Ordinis Teutonici*, the establishment of the nursing institution in Acre by German warriors and sailors from the towns Lübeck and Bremen, which contributed to the organization of the German field hospital in front of Acre, during the tenure of Pope Celestine III (1191-1198).¹⁴ Peter of Dusburg had added some dismissing remarks with regard to the German institution established in the holy city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem has become an integral part of the Order and it had been mentioned in the Order's writings. This was an attempt to link the Teutonic activities in the Holy Land to its presence in the city of Jerusalem when it came back to Christian rule in the years 1229-1244.¹⁵

Peter of Dusburg had also examined the establishing ceremony of the Teutonic Order in Acre in 1198, attended by rulers of the Crusader Kingdom, Church leaders and many German nobles who gathered in the Crusader Kingdom at the end of the German Crusade.¹⁶ He had also referred to the rule adopted at that occasion by the newly established Military Order. The structure had combined the nursing activities emphasized by the Hospitallers and the military functions which were heralded by the Templars, as part of their concept of defending the Holy Land.¹⁷ This combined code was the basis for the structuring the Teutonic Order's interwoven military and nursing activities in the Latin East and throughout Europe.

It is important to recognize the link made by Peter of Dusburg between the leadership of the early grand masters of the Teutonic Order, the events in the Latin Kingdom and the history of the Crusader presence in the region. Peter of Dusburg pointed out in his chronicles such leaders as Heinrich Walpot, the first Magister (Grand Master). He appeared in Acre during the siege of the city in 1190 and also in time of the arrival of the German duke Fredrick of Swabia, son of Fredrick I, who led

¹⁴ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), pp. 38-40: 'De institutione ordinis domus Theutonicorum'; U. Arnold, "De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio", *Preußenland* 4 (1966), pp.17-30.

¹⁵ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach seinen ältesten Handschriften*, ed. 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", J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 89-90, 94; S. Lotan, "The Symbolism of Jerusalem in the Traditions of the Teutonic Military Order", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 75.4 (2010), pp. 7-16.

¹⁶ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 40; *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, p. 805: '...Si qui etiam in terra promissionis manere voluerint, reditus eis sufficientes in eadem terra assignari faciemus'; M-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Stuttgart 1974, pp. 64-66.

¹⁷ E. Strehlke (ed.), *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, Berlin 1869; repr. Toronto and Jerusalem 1975, no. 297 (1199) p. 266: '...Specialiter autem ordinationem factam in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitaliariorum in pauperibus et infirmis.'

the German warriors after the unexpected death of the German leader from Anatolia to the crusade in the Holy Land and there he died in 1191.¹⁸ He then mentioned the German position in the city after its conquest in 1191. The Germans had built a church and a hospital in the eastern part of Acre next to St Nicholas Gate. This location became the main position and at times the headquarters of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East.¹⁹ Peter of Dusburg also mentioned in the Chronicles the Teutonic leaders Otto and Herman Bart. However, their activities and contribution to the Teutonic stand in the Holy Land are not described at length.²⁰

Extensive place is devoted in the chronicles to the thirteenth century Teutonic leader Hermann of Salza (1209-1239), who was one of the most important and constructive leaders of the Order. He had paved the way to the recognition in the Teutonic Order as a leading Military Order and he was also responsible to the Order's expansion across Europe. Hermann of Salza brought about the Teutonic revival in his tenure and the Teutonic spread to new destinations in the Latin East, in Eastern Hungary (Burzenland) and throughout Europe, mostly in the Baltic region in Prussia and Livonia.²¹ Peter of Dusburg described personality and leadership of Grand Master Hermann of Salza in a highly speculative manner.²²

In this context, it is important to note that Peter of Dusburg did not elaborate on the expeditions of Herman of Salza to the Latin East and did not describe in detail the achievements during his tenure in the Holy Land, such as the construction of the Montfort Castle (Starkenberg) – the Teutonic headquarters in the Galilee.²³ Also, the author did not mention the consolidation of the Teutonic strongholds in Jerusalem and Acre as well as in other sites in the Holy Land. Peter of Dusburg did not point at the Teutonic important participation in the Fifth Crusade in Egypt (1218-1221) along with

¹⁸ Chronicon breve fratris, ut videtur, ordinis Theutonicorum, ed. G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, vol. 24, Hannover 1879, p. 153: 'Imperator Fridericus, pacato imperio, cum filio suo Friderico duce Suevorum et magno procerum et aliorum comitatu Terram Sanctam visitavit. Sed cum quadam die lavaretur in flumine periit, et dictus filius eius exercitum strenue rexit, sed et ipse in brevi obiit et in ecclesia sancte Marie hospitalis Theutonicorum, quam pater et ipse inchoaverant sepultus fuit.'; P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, Aldershot 1996, p. 90; E. Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, Tübingen 1977, p. 168.

¹⁹ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicici* (as n. 16), no. 27 (1192) p. 23: 'Guido Hierosolymitanus rex donat hospitali Alamannorum terram in urbe Acconensi, in qua domus eius sunt et hospitalis iuxta portam s. Nicolai.'; B. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre 1979, p. 80; U. Arnold, "Vom Feldspital zum Ritterorden. Militarisierung und Territorialisierung des Deutschen Ordens (1190-c. 1240)", Z. H. Nowak (ed.), *Balticum, Studia z dziejów Polityki, gospodarki i kultury XII-XVII wieku, ofiarowane Marianowi Biskupowi*, Toruń 1992, pp. 25-27.

²⁰ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), pp. 48-50; M. Pelech, "Heinrich Walpot 1198-1200 ?", *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Orden*, U. Arnold (ed.), *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Orden 1190-1994*, QSGDO 40, Marburg 1998, pp. 9-10; U. Arnold, "Otto von Kerpen 1200 ?- 1209", U. Arnold (ed.), *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Orden*, pp. 10-11; Ibid, "Heinrich Bart 1209-1209", *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Orden*, p. 11.

²¹ H. Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II*, QSGDO 37, Marburg 1987, pp. 6-9, 54-65; M. Biskup and G. Labuda, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen, Wirtschaft-Gesellschaft-Staat-Ideologie*, Osnabrück 2000, pp. 122-138; W. Urban, *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History*, London 2003, pp. 9-78.

²² *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. I, 5, p. 52: 'Nec mirum. Tantam enim gratiam contulit ei Deus, quod ab omnibus amaretur et vere posset de ipso dici, quod dilectus esset Deo et hominibus'.

²³ L. Mas Latrie (ed.), *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris 1871, p. 459; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicici* (as n. 16), no. 65 (1228), pp. 53-54: "et domo sua pro Trefila et Castro novo, quod dicitur Montfort, quod castrum domus ipsa firmavit in territorio Trefile"; N. E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190-1291*, Woodbridge 2009, pp. 154-157; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge 1994, p. 129; A. J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, London 2006, pp. 126-129.

the German nobles and the Crusader leaders from the Holy Land.²⁴ Another event that escapes his attention was the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II in the Holy Land, of which Hermann of Salza was one of the leading supporters against the Emperor's Christian rivals in the Latin Kingdom.²⁵ Also not mentioned was his participation in the journey to Jerusalem that culminated in the coronation in the Holy Sepulcher church in 1229.²⁶

After the description of the achievements of Hermann of Salsa, Peter of Dusburg turned to what was the main chapter of his book, where he described the conquest and the occupation of the land of Prussia. He explained in details the long and hard war in this region.²⁷ In later chapters in the chronicles other Teutonic leaders who served in the Holy Land in the second half of the thirteenth century are mentioned. The Grand Master Anno of Sangerhausen, who led the Order in crucial period in the Holy Land (1257-1261) is mentioned by name.²⁸ Also mentioned is the arrival of the grand master Burchard of Schwanden to Acre in 1290, leading a group of German warriors and Teutonic Knights who came to assist the main crusader city before the crucial battle against the Mamluks in 1291. No explanation is offered to his unexpected and immediate departure back to Europe after he had resigned his post as the Order's Magister in order to join, as a leading member, the Hospitallers in their compound in Switzerland.²⁹

The success of the fighting in the Baltic region in the late thirteenth century did not overlook the events in the Latin East. Peter of Dusburg described the fall of Acre and the loss of the Crusader Kingdom in 1291.³⁰ The collapse of Acre is documented along with lamentation (*Klage* in German) about the terrible loss and the fall of the Holy Land. He goes on to describe the chaos and the terrible reaction that was spread in the Christian world following the harsh defeat and the loss of the Crusader city.³¹ Acre became a symbol at that time for the loss of the Crusader

²⁴ 'Iohannes Codagnelli Gesta obsidionis Damiatinae 1217-1219', ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, vol. 31, Hannover 1903, p. 490; J. M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213-1221*, Philadelphia 1986, pp. 160-161.

²⁵ J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles (ed.), *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. III, Turin 1963, pp. 85-99.

²⁶ 'Coronatio Hierosolimitana 1229', ed. L. Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, 2, Hannover 1896, no. 121, p. 162: 'Verisimile enim videtur, quod si dominus imperator in gratia et concordia ecclesie Romane transivisset, longe efficacius et utilius prosperatum fuisset negotium Terre Sancte', 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.'; *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, (as n. 24), vol. 3, 99-102; E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second 1194-1250*, New York 1957, pp. 183-211; C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen immutator Mundi*, Oxford 1972, pp. 213-222; B. Hechelhammer, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsräume von Krreuzzugspolitik (1215-1230)*, (Mittelalter-Forschungen 13), Ostfildern 2004, pp. 296-306.

²⁷ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. II, p. 54: 'De Adventu Fratrum Domus Theutonice in Terram Prussie'.

²⁸ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, p. 492: 'De fratre Annone magistro generali VII ordinis domus Theutonice'.

²⁹ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, p. 504: 'Frater Burgardus de Swanden magister generalis IX ordinis domus Theutonice pefuit hoc tempore. Hic nescio, quo ductus spiritu, dum ad terre sancte defensionem debuit transire, petita licencia et obtenta habitum ordinis Theutonice deposuit et ordinem Hospitaliariorum assumpsit, in quo postea est defunctus'; K. Militzer, "From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309", J. Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, Aldershot 1999, p. 79.

³⁰ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, pp. 508-510: 'De destructione civitatis Achonensis'.

³¹ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, p. 516: 'Sic ergo tu, o sancta terra promissionis Deo amabilis et angelis sanctis venerabilis et universo mundo admirabilis a Deo electa et preelecta, ut te presencia sua visibiliter illustraret et in te liberationis nostre sacramenta ministrando genus humanum redimeret, posita es desolata et merore consumpta. Factus est Dominus inimicus, precipitavit omnia menia tua, dissipavit municiones tuas, dissipavit quasi ortum tentorium tuum, demolitus est tabernaculum

positions in the Holy Land and for the total defeat of the Crusades by the Mamluks.³² With the fall of Acre, the Latin Kingdom and its main strongholds erected, and with it, also the hopes for the Kingdom recovery vanished.

Despite this, the leaders of the Church together with the Military Orders tried to restore the Crusader Kingdom territories and to bring them back to Christianity, but those attempts had failed. The aspiration for recovery had received its final blow when, in the first half of the fourteenth century the church shifted its focus to other tasks such as the Crusade attempts in the Baltic areas. It seemed that Peter of Dusburg was well aware of the attempts to recover the Holy Land, albeit the long distance from Prussia. Still, however, the Teutonic Order had a military role, alongside the other Christian forces, in further attempts to recapture the Crusader positions in the Latin East.³³

It is interesting to mention that Peter of Dusburg mentions the tension between the Mamluks and the Mongols in 1300 in northern Syria and Armenia and relates it to the desire to re-capture the Christian territories lost in 1291 by the Crusaders and to re-establish their Christian Kingdom. His description of this tension and the skirmishes and fighting are rather exaggerated as he describes them as a continuous battle that took place all the way from Armenia to Gaza, next to the Egyptian border. This attitude also characterizes his description of the Muslims loss in the course of battle, which he estimates has exceeded 200,000 that he claims to have been killed.³⁴ It is important to note here that Gaza was a gateway to Egypt and a border between the Crusaders to the Muslim region in the Latin East. It was also the entry point for the Muslims when they attacked the Crusader Kingdom positions. Gaza was used in the thirteenth century as the start point for fighting between the Crusades and the Muslim. This had happened in the area of the village Beit Hanoun in 1239 and in the battle of La Forbie in 1244. The Teutonic Order had participated in these battles which had been an important chapter in its tradition.³⁵

tuum, oblivioni tradidit festivitates et sabbatum, abiecit in opprobrium in indignacione furoris regem et sacerdotem'.

³² Cronaca del Tempere di Tiro (1243-1314), la caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare, ed. L. Minervini, Napoli 2000, no. 253-272 (489-508), pp. 206-226; E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon. Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bern and Frankfurt 1975; D. P. Little, "The Fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version", M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization, in Honor of Professor David Ayalon*, Leiden 1986, pp. 159-181.

³³ A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, Aldershot 1972, pp. 173-174; S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis, The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1291-1314*, Oxford 1991, pp. 101-110; A. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", *Traditio* 36 (1980), pp. 317-345; S. Schein, "The Future *regnum Hierusalem*. A Chapter in Medieval State Planning", *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), pp. 95-105.

³⁴ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, p. 520 (1300): 'Anno Domini MCCC Tartari exeuntes a sedibus suis invaserunt Sarracenos et primo in Capadocia, deinde in partibus Seleucie sive Antiochie, inde in Armenia maiori et minori, abinde in tota terra promessionis et in Damasco et in Gaza usque ad confinia Egipti, in quibus omnibus regionibus plus quam CC milia Sarracenorum occiderunt'; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, London 1987, pp. 174-175; S. Schein, "Gesta Dei per Mongolos 1300. The genesis of a non-event", *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), pp. 810-811.

³⁵ About the battle of Beit Hanoun (1239) 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 [RHC Occ.], Paris 1859, pp. 543-544; S. Painter, *The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-1241*, R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (eds.), *A History of the Crusades, The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, vol. II, Philadelphia 1962, pp. 475-484; C. Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2006, pp. 760-769; M. Lower, *The Barons' Crusade. A Call to Arms and its Consequences*, Philadelphia 2005, pp. 169-173.

About the battle of La Forbie (1244) see: *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, [RHC Occ] Vol. II, Paris

Peter of Dusburg had taken great interest in the Muslims fighting against the Crusades in the Holy Land. An entire chapter in his book is devoted to describing the battles between Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land since the days of the Muslim leader, Halif Omar, who conquered the Holy Land at the end of Byzantine period in the year 638 A.C. In this chapter he describes the positions of the Muslims in the Holy Land and points at the harm they inflicted on the Christian's holy places in Jerusalem.³⁶ This had led to the appeal of Pope Urban II in 1095, in Clermont, to start preparations for a Crusade aimed at liberating the Holy Land and Jerusalem from the infidels.³⁷ It appears as if he had wanted to compare the battles of the Teutonic Order against the heathen tribes in the Baltic region with the fighting of the Crusades in the Latin East. Despite the geographical distance between the battle scenes and the difference in their habitual patterns, he had managed to create a link between the two different arenas in his chronicle.

Peter of Dusburg also discusses the Muslims ways of fighting. He describes a Teutonic warrior named *Hermannus Sarracenus* who was a member of the Order and fought at the battle in Prussia, defending the fortress on Königsberg from the heathen tribes invaded from Kurland region. Possibly, this Teutonic member had served in the Latin East and confronted Muslims before moving to Prussia. His unique nickname might give us a clue about his military background or maybe about his glory in the battlefield against the Muslim warriors. These assertions can possibly be inferred from the text, but they are not substantiated.³⁸

Another characteristic of Peter of Dusburg's writing is his tendency to glorify the Teutonic spiritual bond with the Holy Land, and the identification with the biblical figures. This invigorates the Holy Land in the tradition of the Teutonic Military Order.³⁹ This inclination was not obvious by mid-thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, when some of the Church leaders tried to divert Christian attention to the importance of a Crusade in the Baltic region, far away from the Holy Land. The Baltic region was used as a new focal point for the Crusades and for the drive to expand the Christian boundaries. Although the spiritual significance of the Holy Land and the attempts to preserve the Christian presence in that region in the thirteenth century continued, the Baltic region became a new magnetism for the Christian warriors in Europe. It is apparent that the church did not hesitate to support further military activities of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic region. The resistance

1859, pp. 427-431; 'Letter to the Prelates of France and England, in: *Matthew Paris, Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57 vol. IV, London 1872-1883, vol. IV, pp. 337-344; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyūb*, ed. G. Shayyāl et al., Cairo 1953, vol. V, pp. 330-333.

³⁶*Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, pp. 510-514: 'Non longe post recessum Eraclii imperatoris de terra sancta quidam nomine Homar princeps Arabum, qui tercius successor fuit regni Machometi, terram sanctam ingressus hostiliter occupavit et sic Christiani in civitate sancta Ierusalem'.

³⁷*Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. IV, pp. 510-512: '..quos spiritus sanctus ad ulcionem iniuriarum crucifixi et ad terre sancta liberacionem incitaret..'

³⁸*Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 206: 'Frater Hermannus, dictus Sarracenus dum de castro Kunigsbergk cum aliis fratribus ad bellum Curonie predictum deberet procedere..'

³⁹*Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), p. 70: 'Magne fidei verbum fuit, cum David pugnaturus contra Golyam diceret..', p. 94: 'fratrem Hermannum dictum Balke in magistrum dicens ad eum, sicut Dominus ad Iosue: Confortare et esto robustus, tu enim introduces filios Israel', p. 72: 'Non est aliud nisi gladius Gedeonis milicie Cristiane', p. 350: 'Numquid ergo forcior Samsone, sanctior Davide, sapiencior Salomone'; V. I. Matuzova, "Mental Frontiers: Prussians as Seen by Peter von Dusburg", A. V. Murray (ed.), *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, Aldershot 2001, pp. 253-259; M. Fischer, *Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature: The Teutonic Order in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, A.V. Murray (ed.), *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, Aldershot 2001, pp. 268, 272.

to the heathen tribes and the negative attitude towards them contributed to the intensity of the fighting in the Baltic region.⁴⁰

In this context it is noteworthy to mention Peter of Dusburg's description of the bringing of some relics from the Holy Land to Prussia. Allegedly, these were pieces from the remains of the True Cross, taken from the Holy Land and brought to the fortress of Elbing in northern Prussia at the end of the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II in 1229, together with the Teutonic Knights arriving from the Crusader Kingdom and moved to Northern Europe.⁴¹ The aim for this religious act was to enable warriors and pilgrims to reach the Baltic region and to contribute to the ability of the Teutonic brethren and other warriors in the conquest of Prussia. This was made probably one of the main religious attractions for those who joined the fight or to strengthen the Teutonic strongholds in Prussia, which attracted many Christian warriors to the military campaigns in the Baltic region.⁴²

Despite the religious significance of the Holy Land and the need to defend the Crusader Kingdom against the Muslim enemies, the Crusade ideas faded during the second half of the thirteenth century. There was much criticism in the Christian world on the expeditions to the Latin East, the remote destination and the difficulty in financing it. The series of failures in the Latin East along with the fall of the Crusader fortresses to the Muslim warriors resulted in the decline in motivation of Christians in Europe to join the Crusades in the Latin East.⁴³ This development was not unnoticed by Peter of Dusburg. There are merely few remarks about the military and political condition in the Holy Land in the period between 1230 and 1291, until the fall of the city of Acre and the entire Latin East. It seemed that when the military situation became worse in the Holy Land in the end of the thirteenth century, the situation in the Baltic area improved and the Teutonic strongholds and positions in the Baltic region grew stronger.⁴⁴

To sum up, it can be remarked that Peter of Dusburg chronicles make up an important chapter in the history of the Teutonic Order. It is one of the most reliable sources for the understanding the Teutonic spread in the Holy Land and even more so, in the Baltic region. It must be noted that not only these chronicles deal with the Teutonic battles against the heathen tribes in Prussia in mid thirteenth century, but

⁴⁰ P. A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Philadelphia 1975, pp. 110-114; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274*, Oxford 1985, pp. 156-158.

⁴¹ *Peter von Dusburg Chronik* (as n. 1), Chron. I, 5, p. 52: 'Unde factum est, quod, postquam Veneti pro rebellione, quam contra imperium exercuerant, essent graviter correcti, magnam partem sancta crucis Friderico imperatori secundo pro speciali munere obtulerunt, quam idem imperator dicto magistro dedit, qui eam versus Prussie partes misit ad castrum Elbingense, ubi usque in presentem diem a Cristifidelibus in magna reverencia habetur propter crebra miracula, que per ipsam Dominus operator'; A. Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, QSGDO 64, Marburg 2007, p. 34.

⁴² M. Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244-1291*, Leiden 1975, pp. 14-16; A. Ehlers, "The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered", A. V. Murray (ed.), *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, Aldershot 2001, pp. 21-24; I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254*, Leiden 2007, pp. 94-100.

⁴³ A. Forey, *The Military Orders, From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto 1992; pp. 204-220;

H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester 1995, pp. 43-50.

⁴⁴ M. Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 1-6; Housley, *The Later Crusades* (as no. 6), pp. 322-331; D. Nicholas, *The Transformation of Europe 1300-1600*, London 1999, pp. 49-51.

they also give a wide and important evidence to events that happened in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between the third Crusade in 1190 and the fall of Acre and the Latin Kingdom in 1291 and its aftermath.

Recebido para publicação em 12-03-13; aceito em 11-04-13