



Pilgrimage Processions, Religious Sensibilities and Piety in the City of Acre in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Peregrinaciones, sensibilidades religiosas y piedad en la ciudad de Acre del Reino latino de Jerusalén

Peregrinações, sensibilidades religiosas e piedade na cidade de Acre do Reino Latino de Jerusalém

Shlomo LOTAN¹

Resumen: Después de la caída de Jerusalén en 1187, Acre se convirtió en la capital formal de la cruzada de la cristiandad. Durante el siglo XIII, se convirtió en lugar de peregrinaje para los cristianos, quienes, a su vez, enriquecieron la ciudad con las ceremonias religiosas que aportaron. Esta procesión se ha denominado Perdón de Acre y ha contribuido notablemente al entendimiento que hoy tenemos de los lugares religiosos y de los grupos militares situados en la Acre franca. Es por ello que en este ensayo pretendo visitar estos eventos para aportar nueva luz a la comprensión de los lugares religiosos, peregrinaciones y grupos militares que participaron en tan señalado momento.

Palabras clave: Cruzadas – Reino latino de Jerusalén – Acre – Peregrinación – Órdenes militares – Hospitalarios – Templarios – Orden Teutónica.

Abstract: After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, Acre became the formal capital of the Crusader Kingdom. During the 13th century, it became a pilgrimage site for many Christian pilgrims, who enriched the city with their religious ceremonies. Such as a procession called the Pardon d'Acre, which contributed greatly to our understanding of the religious places and military compounds in Frankish Acre. In this essay, I link the religious ceremonies that took place in Acre with the passages among the locations mentioned therein. All these contributed to the revival of the historical and religious space in medieval Acre.

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The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, which survived for 200 years in the medieval period, existed during the period between the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099 until 1291 with the fall of Acre to the Mamluk army, serving as an influential Christian entity in the heart of Muslim lands, in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin.² At the same time, Christian pilgrimage movement developed, organizing ritual ceremonies and religious processions to the holy sites in the Latin East. Thus, the liberation of the Christian holy places and the possibility of visiting the theological sites where Christianity began, led to an exceptional movement of pilgrims who left Europe and traveled by land and sea to the Holy Land.³

The Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were one of the most important events of medieval Christianity. In proclaiming of at the council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II promised to the participants on the Crusade, salvation to the Christians obsessed with their own sinfulness. The Pope preceded at Clermont the idea of Crusade as a pilgrimage that received the Church protection for struggling in Christ's own war.⁴

² I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of **Prof. David Jacoby** (1928-2018), from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, whose prominent studies contributed greatly to Crusader studies and to our understanding of Acre's layout and topography during the medieval era.

³ OURSEL, Raymond. *Les Pèlerins du Moyen Ages*. Paris: Fayard, 1963; TURNER, Victor. *Drams, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974; TURNER, Victor and TURNER, Edith. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978; HOWARD, Donald R. *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980; WEBB, Diana. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999; ALLEN, Rosamund ed. *Eastward bound: Travel and travellers, 1050-1550*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

⁴ ERDMAN, Carl. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977; COWDREY, Herbert E. J. "Pope Urban's Preaching of the First Crusade", in *History* 55. 1970, p. 177-188; FRANCE John. "Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade", in *The Crusades: The Essential Reading*, Thomas, Madden ed. Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2002, p. 194-207; FLORI, Jean. "Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade", In *The Crusades* (Palgrave Advances series), Helen, J. Nicholson ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 15-36.

In the two centuries followed, the Crusade movement offered a route to redemption, which eclipsed every other spiritual exercise. The Church leaders regarded the Crusade movement to the East as a part of a wider movement of Christian war for liberation, and an act of merit and devotion for the salvation of the participant's soul.⁵

Jonathan Riley-Smith claimed that the Crusaders regarded themselves as pilgrims. They shared the same hopes of spiritual rebirth, performed the same rites, enjoyed the same legal privileges and received plenary indulgences that erased all the penances. It was determined that the Crusades inspired by God, acted out of love for God and for Christ as one of his *Milites Christi* (Knights of Christ).⁶

The other important matter of the Crusade was the liberation of Jerusalem. This holy place was special, center of interest to Christians and a goal of the impending expeditions. It also elevated further by the heightened veneration of relics, the popularity of cult centers and the growth of pilgrimages. In fact, the attitude of the Christians toward Jerusalem and the Holy Land was obsessive. Jerusalem became the center of the world, the spot of earth on which God himself had focused when he chose to redeem humanity.⁷

I. Religious processions and Pilgrimage

Ritual structure underlying the great majority of liturgical processions and public ceremonies of the medieval Christian world. This gathered people of all layers of the

⁵ RUSSEL, Frederick H. *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 11-35; BULL, Marcus. "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade", in *History* 78. 1993, p. 352-372; CLASTER, Jill N. *Sacred Violence, The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095-1396*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 21-45; ALLEN SMITH, Katherine. *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011, p. 102-106, 147-153.

⁶ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan. *What Were the Crusades*. London: Macmillan, 1977; RILEY-SMITH, Louise and Jonathan. *The Crusades, Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan. *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading*. London: Athlone Press, 1986; Ibid. *The first crusaders, 1095-1131*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Ibid. "Crusading as an Act of Love", in *History* 65. 1980, p. 177-192.

⁷ WILKINSON, John, HILL, Joyce and RAYN, William F. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988; PRINGLE, Denys. *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012; Limor, Ora and Stroumsa, Guy G. eds., *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006; GRABIOS, Arie. *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Age*. Bruxelles: De Boeck université, 1998; FRIEDMAN, Yvonne. "Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom", In *Knights of the Holy Land. The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Silvia, Rozenberg ed. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999, p. 100-110.

Christian society in major religious processions. These ceremonies assembled prominent peoples such as Church leaders and military orders high-officials, who escorted the one appeared in this destination for religious activities, allowed for the re-creation for ritual events. Liturgical singing, relics, bells and candles, used very often in these religious processions. It seemed that all variety of the Christian society – lay, clerical or monastic, experienced these festive processions in emotional way.⁸ This journey also fulfilled their way as religious committee and directed their intensions during the pilgrimage in the Holy Land, as was the monastic exercise as in the early years of Christianity in the Fourth Century.⁹

Processions were important and ubiquitous elements in medieval Christian rituals. Processions included liturgical events that comprised the orderly movement of a devoted Christian group of people. During the Crusade period, religious processions were one of the many ways by which the Franks expressed their dominance over the urban and rural landscape in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but it was also a way that all Christian communities used to construct relationships among themselves and even created unity.

These processions had the potential to explore the urban compounds and acknowledged the church and monasteries foundations. Religious processions performed a variety of functions and presented an image of a united community, they even mapped out space as belonging to a particular community or institution. All these strengthened the identity of the participants.¹⁰

⁸ SUMPTION, Jonathan. *Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faver & Faver, 1975, p. 114-145; KAY DAVIDSON Linda and DUNN-WOOD, Maryjane. *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland, 1993; SCHRÖTER, Susanne. "Rituals of Rebellion – Rebellion as Rituals: A Theory Reconsidered", in *The Dynamics of Changing Rituals. The Transformation of Religious Rituals within their Social and Cultural Context*, Jens Kreinath, Constance Hartung and Annette Deschner eds. New York: Peter Lang, 2004, p. 41-58.

⁹ HUNT, Edward D. "Travel, Tourism and Piety in the Roman Empire: A Context for the Beginning of Christian Pilgrimage", in *Echos du monde Classique* 28. 1984, p. 391-417; SIVAN, Hagit S. "Pilgrimage, Monasticism, and the Emergence of Christian Palestine in the 4th Century", *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, Robert, Ousterhout ed. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990, p. 54-65; PRINGLE, Denys. "The planning of some pilgrimage churches in Crusader Palestine", in *World Archeology* 18.3. Feb. 1987, p. 341-362.

¹⁰ GEARY, Patrick. *Furta Sacra*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990; MACEVITT, Christopher. *Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008; JOTISCHKY, Andrew. "Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Crusader States", in *Cultural Encounters in the Crusades*, Kurt, Villads Jensen, Kirsi, Salonen, and Helle, Vogt eds. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013, p. 245-262.

II. Religious processions in the city of Acre

During the 12th century, when the first Crusader Kingdom was established, the pilgrimage movement to the holy cities flourished in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, side by side with expeditions to the countryside areas of the Galilee as well as Judea and Samaria. After the bitter defeat in the Battle of Hattin in 1187, the Crusader Kingdom experienced a period of decline and retreat. Jerusalem, the capital, fell to the Muslims, and pilgrimage movement on the roads became less regular. Despite this, the Kingdom existed in a limited area along the Mediterranean coast, between the cities of Beirut, Tyre, Acre, Caesarea and Jaffa, in the southern part of the existing Latin Kingdom. With the fall of the capital city of Jerusalem at the end of the 12th century, most of its Church institutions and people moved to the coastal cities, mostly to Acre.¹¹

In 1191 Acre became the formal 'capital' of the Crusader Kingdom. This city incorporated church institutions, monasteries, districts of Italian merchant communes and the headquarters of the military orders, which adopted the protected city of Acre as their center, an alternative to Jerusalem that had been lost to the Christians.¹² Acre, which had not been given a place of importance in religious testimonies, became a focal point of pilgrimage, a procession main site and a replacement to the holy positions and settlements of the Crusader Kingdom that were lost to the Christians.¹³

¹¹ RUNCIMAN, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 18-33, 47-54; RICHARD, Jean. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. II A, B. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979, p. 185-227; HAMILTON, Bernard. *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the secular church*. London: Variorum Pub., 1980, p. 299-309; MAYER, Hans E. *The Crusades*, John, Gillingham trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 152-195.

¹² JACOBY, David. "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography", *Studi medievali*, III/20 (1979), p. 1-45; BOAS, Adrian J. "Some Reflections on Urban Landscapes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and Acre", in *Dei gesta per Francos. études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Michel Balard, Benjamin, Z. Kedar, and Jonathan, Riley-Smith eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, p. 249-254; PRINGLE, Denys. "The Churches of Crusader Acre: Destruction and Detection." in *Archaeology and the Crusades*. Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia, 1 February 2005, Peter, Edbury and Sophia, Kalopissi-Verti eds. Athens: Pierides Foundation Pub., 2007, p. 112-113; DICHTER, Bernard. *The Maps of Acre, An Historical Cartography*. Acre: Municipality of Acre, 1973, p. 57-61.

¹³ PRINGLE, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A Corpus, vol. IV, The cities of Acre and Tyre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 7-24.

In this article, I describe the spiritual change it had undergone following the reduction of the Latin Kingdom's territory in the 13th century, and the pilgrimage procession route within it. All this presented through a description of the indulgences and the pilgrims' procession of the city's sites on their way between the religious institutions' churches and monasteries and the military orders' compounds. All these emphasize the process of the adaptation to the geopolitical situation in the city of Acre and its environs, and the uniqueness of Acre as a spiritual center during the 13th century.

Acre became the Kingdom's central gathering place to diverse population groups, including Latin and Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews, merchants, churchmen and Christian monks. Jacques de Vitry, the bishop of Acre in the years 1216-1228, described the city's situation bluntly, likening it to a monster, a wild animal with nine heads, each one at odds with the other.¹⁴ The Bishop further claimed that there were many religious institutions in the city that were not concerned with saving faithful Christians' souls.

He also claimed that their laypeople were corrupt and that there was no proper personal example.¹⁵ It is reasonable to assume that in such a diverse city, in which different population groups are surrounded by so many temptations, it was difficult to maintain a pious life, as the Church institutions demanded.¹⁶ It is important to emphasize that most of the church institutions and monasteries were crowded together and all fought for status, wealth, and even for the pilgrims visiting their compounds. The journey to their sites contributed greatly to their glorification in Europe, as well as the number and size of donations, so that in the kingdom's state and the danger it was in, they were considered a main factor of survival. Even the influential military orders (Hospitallers, Templars and the Teutonic Order), those monastic organizations that fought alongside the Crusader king and his army, sought to preserve their own activities and publish them among the ranks of pilgrims walking

¹⁴ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (1160/1170-1240), Robert, B. C. Huygens ed. Leiden: Brill, 1960, II, p. 83: "Universa autem civitas obviam nobis occurrens cum gaudio magno nos suscepit, inveni autem civitatem Acconensem tanquam monstrum et beluam IX capita sibi adinvicem repugnantia habentem".

¹⁵ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (n. 14), II, p. 86: "Inveni preterea homines extraneos, qui pro diversis et immensis flagitiis de fartibus suis quasi desperati confugerant, qui timore domini penitus abiecto nephariis operibus et perniciosis exemplis totam civitatem corrumpebant".

¹⁶ DICHTER, Bernard. *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*. Acre: The Municipality of Acre, 1979; JACOBY, David. "Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre", in *Crusades 4*. 2005, p. 78-82; Ibid, "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusade Acre", in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, Daniel, H. Weiss and Lisa, Mahoney eds. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 107-108.

in the religious procession through the city of Acre. These military and religious organizations, despite their wealth and spread throughout their compounds in Europe, still sought to win recognition from the pilgrims visiting Acre.¹⁷ The pilgrims' procession in the city of Acre combined holy sites with a visit to the focal places of the medieval city. It was a glorious pilgrimage procession, which raised the triumph of the Christian faith in the Holy Land. This situation characterized by the marking of an important procession, which received the name *Pardouns d'Acre*.¹⁸

Fig 1: Map of Frankish Acre and the Processions Routh

¹⁷ MORTON, Nicholas E. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2013, p. 54-59.

¹⁸ *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés et français aux XI, XII et XIII siècles*, Henri, Michelant and Gaston, Raynaud eds. Geneva: J. G. Fick, 1882, p. 229-236; SALETTI, Beatrice. "Tracce di indulgenze nel Regno Latino di Gerusalemme. La 'Summa stacionum et dedicacionum' del codice Arundel 507 (con un'edizione del testo)", in *Annali online dell'Università di Ferrara, sezione Lettere* 7. 2012, p. 269-294.

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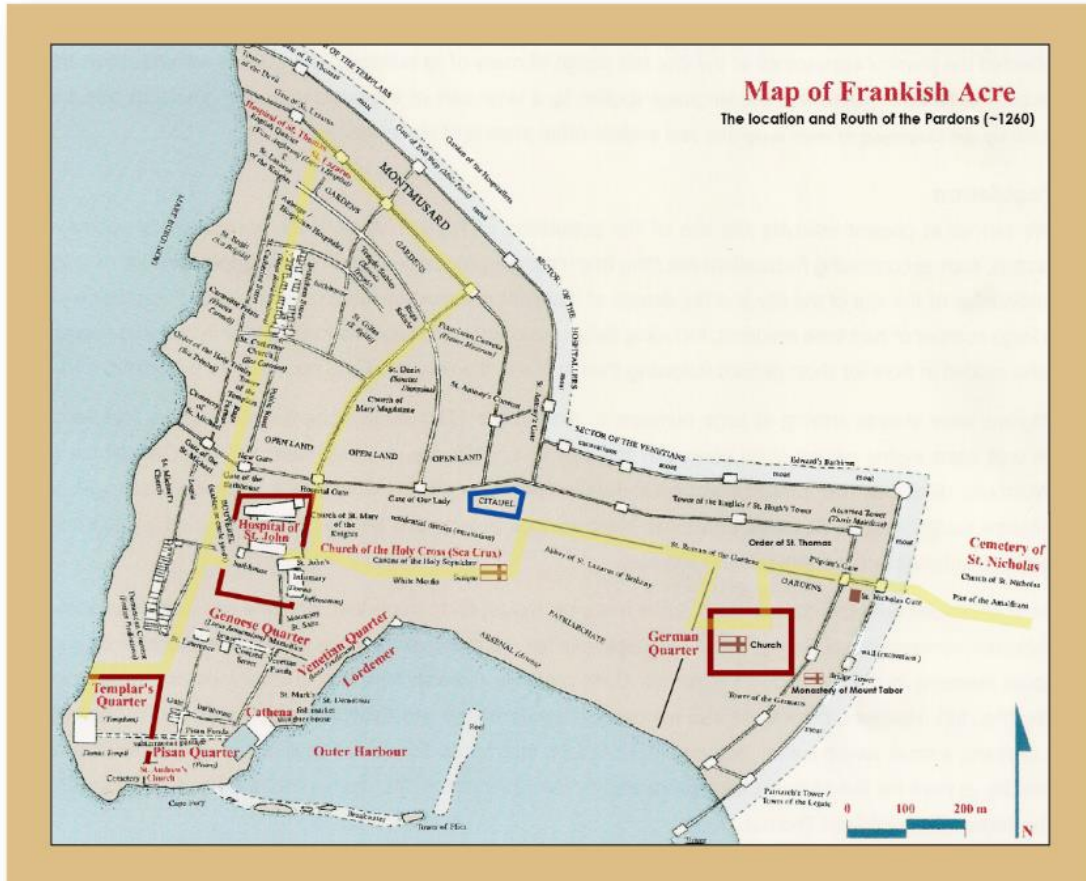
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Map of Arce. (Drawing K.M. Barry)

Adrian J. Boas, "Daily Life in Frankish Arce", One Thousand Nights and Days - Akko through the Ages, Hecht Museum, University of Haifa, Haifa 2010

The Anglo-Norman source of the *Pardouns d'Acre* related to the situation of the Crusader Kingdom in the late 1250s and early 1260s, when the Mamluk conquest of the Latin East began. During that period, Acre became a focal place for Church institutions and pilgrims. This medieval source described the Church layout and structure in Acre, its spread and density.¹⁹

The first part of the medieval source associated to the description of holy sites in the Holy Land, especially in Jerusalem and the Galilee, most of which were lost to Christians living in the Latin Kingdom at that time.²⁰ The second part of the source focused on the city of Acre and its spiritual sites. This section mentioned a list of indulgences and days of remission from purgatory, obtained after a visit, in a procession through approximately 40 churches or monasteries during the pilgrimage in the city of Acre. It was a spiritual route which began in St. Nicholas Cemetery and the church within the site, located outside the gates of the city on its eastern side, and continued to the headquarters of the military orders and the churches of the Italian communes, ending in the quarter of Montmusard in the northern part of Acre.²¹

It seemed that the church leaders encouraged pilgrimage processions to the Latin East to strengthen the local church's institutions including the military orders compounds. The religious processions in the city of Acre led to the creation of a unique path in which the Christians enhance themselves in a tremendous reward of indulgencies. This route included visits to monasteries and less-known churches, and even journeys among the quarters of the leading military orders, which I would like to focus on.

As mentioned earlier, the expedition began in the eastern part of the city of Acre, in the cemetery of St. Nicholas and the adjacent church. This was the central cemetery

¹⁹ PRINGLE, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land* (n. 7), p. 229-236; MYLOD, Elizabeth J. *Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*. Research submitted in accordance for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Leeds: University of Leeds, 2013, p. 33-34, 250-252; JACOBY, David. "Ports of Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Eleventh-Fourteenth century: Jaffa, Acre, Alexandria", in *The Holy Portolano: The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages*, Martin, Rohde and Michele, Bacci eds. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014, p. 59-63.

²⁰ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 229-234.

²¹ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 235-236; SALETTI, *Tracce di indulgenze nel Regno Latino di Gerusalemme* (n. 18), p. 273, 277-278; JACOBY, David. "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The Pardouns d'Acre", in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem*, Yitzhak, Hen ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, p. 107-112; Ibid, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre. The First Stage of its Development", in *Outremer: Studies in the History of Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Benjamin, Z. Kedar, Hans, E. Mayer and R. C. Smail eds. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1982, p. 207-212.

of the city, located near the eastern part of the walls.²² The Hospital of St. John, the first monastic order in the Kingdom, dealt with issues of combat, especially in the field of nursing and burial of the pilgrims.²³ This was highly appreciated in their headquarters in Jerusalem, where, until 1187, they had managed a large hospital, which included nursing for about two thousand sick people, as well as a cemetery outside the city gates in a place known as *Akeldama*.²⁴

The traditional function of the Hospitallers continued in the city of Acre, where they served the pilgrims in a hospital in their headquarters.²⁵ On this site, the visiting pilgrims received religious indulgences for four years and 40 days.²⁶

The pilgrims continued and visited the site of the Teutonic Order (*Ordo domus Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanorum*), which was also located in the eastern part of the city, near the gates of St. Nicholas.²⁷ The pilgrims, entering the inner city, visited

²² RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan. "The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099-1291", in *Crusades* 7. 2008, p. 165-179, p. 176-178; PRINGLE, Denys. "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem", in *The Medieval City under Siege*, Ivy, A. Corfis and Michael, Wolfe eds. Woodbridge: Boydell Pr., 1995, p. 81-83.

²³ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan. *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310*. London: Macmillan, 1967, p. 177-185, 246-252.

²⁴ *Peregrinationes Tres, Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis CXXXIX, Robert, B. C. Huygens ed. Turnhout: Brepold, 1994, p. 131-132; DOLEV, Eran. "Medicine in the Crusaders' Kingdom of Jerusalem", in *Health and Disease in the Holy Land: Studies in the History and Sociology of Medicine from Ancient Times to the Present*, Manfred, Wasserman and Samuel, S. Kottek eds. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996, p. 168-169; EDGINGTON, Susan. "Medical Care in the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem", in *The Military Orders, Welfare and Warfare*, vol II, Helen, Nicolson ed. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, p. 28-29.

²⁵ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan. "Further thoughts on the layout of the Hospital in Acre", in *Chemins d'Outre-mer. Études d'Historie sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, Damien, Coulon, Catherine, Otten-Froux, Paule, Pagès and Dominique, Valérien eds. 2 vols. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004, p. 755-758; STERN, Eliezer. "La Commanderie de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers à Acre", in *Bulletion Monumental* 164.1. 2006, p. 53-56; BOAS, Adrian J. *Archaeology of the Military Orders: a survey of the urban centres, rural settlement and castles of the military orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)*. London: Routledge, 2006, p. 49-58.

²⁶ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 235.

²⁷ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, Ernest, Strehlke ed., Berlin 1869; repr. Toronto and Jerusalem: University of Toronto Press, 1975, no. 28 (1193) p. 24-25: 'Henricus..donat fratribus domus hospitalis Theutonicorum barbacanam, turres, muros, fossatum Accone prope portam S. Nicolai'.quam in ipsa barbacana domui hospitalis sancti Iohannis et fratribus dedi, usque portam sancti Nicholay'; FAVREAU, Marie-Louise. *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*. Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1974, p. 35-50; ARNOLD. Udo. "Entstehung und Frühzeit des

the Church of the Germans, where they received forgiveness for four years.²⁸ This church was familiar to the German pilgrims. The founder of the German Institute was Duke Frederick of Swabia, son of Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), who, unlike his father, was able to reach the city of Acre with the remains of the German warriors in the Third Crusade in 1190, and died there during the Christian siege outside the city in 1191.²⁹

With the conquest of the city of Acre in July 1191, the Germans buried the nobleman in their church and this led to the glorification of their compound. This act caused a long-lasting conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Hospitallers, who received the formal right of burial in the Latin Kingdom.³⁰ This illustrated the tensions among the Christian population and the need to create points of identity within the Latin Kingdom, fighting within the Christian community for the pilgrims' contributions.

From the Church of the Germans the pilgrims' journey took them in a procession to the churches at the heart of the city (St. Leonard, St. Romanus, St. Stephen and St. Samuel), where the pilgrims received long-term indulgences and walked among these Crusader Churches, completing their religious obligations for this procession.³¹

Deutschen Ordens", in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden*, (Vorträge und Vorschungen 26), Josef, Fleckenstein and Manfred, Hellmann eds. Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1980, p. 83-86.

²⁸ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 235.

²⁹ 'Chronicon breve fratris, ut videtur, ordinis Theutonicorum', Georg, Waitz ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, vol. 24, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 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 strennue rexit, sed et ipse in brevi obiit et in ecclesia sancte Marie hospitalis Theutonicorum, quam pater et ipse inchoaverant sepultus fuit.': MILITZER, Klaus. *Von Akkon zur Marienburg, Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1309*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 56. Marburg: Elwert, 1999, p. 9-13; MORTON, Nicholas, E. *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190-1291*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009, p. 14-15.

³⁰ EDBURY, Peter W. *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996, p. 89-90; KEDAR, Benjamin Z. "The Tractatus de locis et statu Sancta Terre Ierosolimitane", in *The Crusades and Their Sources*. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton, John, France and William, G. Zajac eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, p. 132.

³¹ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 235; Regarding the locations of the churches and roads in the inner city of Acre during the Crusader era, see: KESTEN, Alex. *The Old City of Acre, Re-Examination Report 1993*. Acre: The Old Acre Development Company, 1993, p. 18-19; EHRLICH, Michael. "Urban landscape development in twelfth-century Acre", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18.3. 2008, p. 263-264; BOAS, Adrian J. "The Streets of Frankish Acre", in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant. The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, Micaela, Sinibaldi, Kevin,

This medieval source contains no explanation for the 'method' by which the remissions were divided, and why one church received preference over its neighbor institution. Despite all this, it is clear the headquarters of the military orders received great favors regarding the number of years of misdeeds, and it is possible that this was due to the high status of the military orders and their contribution to the survival of the Crusader Kingdom.³²

The continuation of the pilgrimage route and its arrival at the Hospitaller compound in the heart of Acre can be cited as an example. On this site, the pilgrims received eight years and 40 days of remission each time they visited the hospital center. It is important to remember that the Hospitaller headquarters in the city was greatly adored at the time. It was an active center with many structures, such as the Hospitallers' Church, the Grand-Master palace, the Refractorium, and the place of dormitories for the Hospitaller warriors.³³

Inside this place, the pilgrims observed the burial site of the first Hospitaller Grand-Master - *Gerold*, whose remains were transferred from Jerusalem after the conquest of the city by Saladin and buried in the Hospitallers' headquarters in Acre. Also mentioned is Pierre de Ville Bride, the Hospitaller Grand-Master, who died in 1242. It was recalled that he was the Hospitallers' 8th Magister, and that during his tenure several French nobles were freed from captivity in Egypt after signing a peace agreement with the Muslims at the end of the Barons' Crusade.³⁴

The Hospitaller headquarters also served as a burial place for Crusader nobles, such as the Gautier (Walter) of Brienne, Count of Jaffa, who was taken captive by the Egyptians and exiled to Cairo in 1244, after the harsh defeat on the Battle of La Forbie near Gaza. The same count died in captivity, but his remains were returned to the city of Acre by the French King Louis IX (Saint Louis), after the defeat of the

J. Lewis, Balázs, Major and Jennifer, A. Thompson eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016, p. 30-32.

³² NICHOLSON, Helen. *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: images of the military orders. 1128-1291*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995, p. 102-122, 129-135; FOREY, Alan. *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, p. 17-23.

³³ BRONSTEIN, Judith. *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land, Financing the Latin East 1187-1274*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005, p. 11-14; PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (n. 13), p. 82-114.

³⁴ PRINGLE, Denys. "Notes of some Inscriptions from Crusader Acre", in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar, Iris, Shagrir, Ronnie, Ellenblum and Jonathan, Riley-Smith eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, p. 193-194.

Seventh Crusade in Egypt and his arrival to the Latin Kingdom in 1250. The French noble Joinville, who accompanied Saint Louis, wrote an account of the burial of the Crusader nobleman at the Hospitaller headquarters in Acre.³⁵ There is no doubt that all these ceremonies contributed greatly to the adoration of the compound and the spiritual atmosphere of the pilgrimage route.

The pilgrims' journey and the procession of the holy sites at the Hospitaller place can be learned from other charters of that period, mainly Hospitaller documents. A unique charter from 1252 states that the Hospitallers held prayer processions which passed among the structures of the compound and led to their church. This document mentions a street located between the *Ospital des maladies* and the Church of St. John on the one side, and the *grand manoir* and their palace. In that procession, the Hospitallers crossed this leading street via a bridge, leading to their church where they held their ceremonies, which included pilgrims and other visitors to the city.³⁶

A central site in the middle of the Pardons journey was expected during the pilgrims' visit to the Templar headquarters in the southern part of the city. At this point, one of the main structures in the city was the Templars' immense residence. Their great wealth and glorification, created by the members of the military order based on their fighting and sacrifice for the Kingdom, led to the Order's great publicity. In this place, the visiting pilgrims granted eight years and another 120 days of indulgences.³⁷ There is no exact indication of the location of the pilgrims' gathering place on the Templar site, but it is reasonable to assume that they visited the Church of the Order and viewed the Templar Tower, and especially the magnificent Grand-Master palace and its headquarters.³⁸

³⁵ Natalis de Wailly. *Histoire de Saint Louis*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1874, p. 255-256; POLEJOWSKI, Karol. "The Counts of Brienne and the Military Orders in the Thirteenth Century", in *The Military orders: Politics and Power*, vol. V, Peter, Edbury ed. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012, p. 291.

³⁶ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, Joseph, Delaville Le Roulx ed., vol. II. Paris: E. Leroux, 1897, no. 2612 (1252), p. 731-732; SHOTTEN-HALLEL, Vardit. "Ritual and conflict the Hospitaller church of St John in Acre, The architectural evidence", in *The Military Orders, Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World*, vol. 6.1, Jochen, Schenk and Mike, Carr eds. London: Routledge, 2017, p. 73-76.

³⁷ MICHELANT and GASTON, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (n. 18), p. 235.

³⁸ BARBER, Malcolm. *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 241-243; BOAS, Adrian J. Archaeology of *the Military Orders* (n. 18), p. 29-32; PRINGLE, Denys. "The Templars in Acre c. 1150–1291", in *Bulletin of the Council for British Research in the Levant* 2. 2007, p. 31-34; BURGTORF, Jochen. *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personal (1099/1120-1310)*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 90-93.

We can learn from another medieval source – the *Templar of Tyre*, who served as interpreter in the ranks of the military order, and described the fall of Acre in 1291 and the daring fighting of the Templar Order against the Mamluks in the late 13th century.³⁹ The *Templar of Tyre* mentioned the Templars' palace, writing that this was the strongest enclosure in the city, and that the structure took up much of the sea, like a citadel. At the entrance to the compound stood a tower and a turret was raised in every corner, and above each tower was a statue of a lion decorated with gold. To the east of this compound was a tall tower, and another palace on Santa Ana Street. It is possible that the church of St. Andres was constructed on the remains of this building on the road leading to the Pisan Quarter, which the Pilgrims probably visited during their religious journey.⁴⁰

The Templars also tried to draw the pilgrims to witness their ceremonies. The military brethren dominated some of the significant sacred relics uncovered in the Latin Kingdom. Thus, the Templars kept the remains of Saint Euphemia, which was miraculously transferred after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 from Constantinople to their fortress in 'Atlit (Pilgrim's Castle), located near Caesarea.⁴¹ In the city of Acre, the Templars preserved parts of the remains of the True Cross that they had uncovered during the Holy Cross celebrations held in September. The *bathtub* in which Jesus had been bathed as a child was also kept among the Templar remains. This tub was shown several times during the processions conducted by the Templars in the streets of Acre.⁴² There is no doubt that these issues also contributed to the glorification of the Templars and to the pilgrims' desire to visit their compound.

³⁹ *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243-1314), la caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, Laura, Minervini ed. Napoli: Liguori, 2000; About the fall of Acre in 1291 and the battle against the Mamluks, see: *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, CCII, Robert, B. C. Huygens ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004; STICKEL, Erwin. *Der Fall von Akkon. Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Bern and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1975, p. 50-65; LITTLE, Donald P. "The Fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version", in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization, in Honor of Professor David Ayalon*, Moshe, Sharon ed. Leiden: Brill, 1986, p. p. 166-177.

⁴⁰ *The 'Templar of Tyre'. Part III of the 'Deeds of Cypriots'*, Paul, Crawford trans. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, n. 501, p. 113-114.

⁴¹ NICHOLSON, Helen. "The Head of St. Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints", in *Gendering the Crusades*, Susan, Edgington and Sarah, Lambert eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001, p. 111; ROTHER, Joachim. *Das Martyrium im Templerorden. Eine Studie zur historisch-theologischen Relevanz des Opfertodes im geistlichen Ritterorden der Templer*, Bamberger Historische Studien, Band 16. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2017, p. 251.

⁴² PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (n. 13), p. 171-173; BOAS, *Archaeology of the Military Orders* (n. 25), p. 32.

Conclusion

It appears that the pilgrims' journey in the city of Acre continued through 40 locations, churches and other Crusader sites, such as the military order's house of Saint Thomas and the churches of Bethlehem and Tyre, as well as recognized institutions such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Despite all this, it was important to also visit the military orders' headquarters, which were some of the highlights of the pardons journey.

The procession through the military orders' compounds and the combinations between them and the church institutions also contributed to the great diversity in the religious procession. For the Crusades, these religious processions became a way to claim unity among Christians, to mark justification for the Frankish rule and to emphasize its power in the Levant. More than anything else, this ritual procession of *Pardouns d'Acre* pointed at the vitality of the city of Acre and its centrality to the Latin Kingdom and the pilgrimage community in the 13th century. Indeed, it was a powerful spiritual memory that ended in 1291, with the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

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