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Wends/Slavs/Pomeranians as Allies of the Margraves of Brandenburg in 1229. Voice in the Discussion on Political Alliances of the Rulers of West Pomerania in the 1220's

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The goals of the present paper are: 1) to attempt and verify the hypothesis of Pomeranian-armed aid provided to the Brandenburg Margraves in 1229, formulated in the literature on the subject, 2) to indicate the existence of a political alliance between the Ascanians and Griffins, which would fully explain this aid. The first of the assumptions made was based on the analysis of narrative sources that mentioned the military cooperation of the Brandenburg Margraves with the Wends / Slavs. The second assumption required recalling some facts from the history of the policies pursued towards their neighbours by the Margraves of Brandenburg and West Pomeranian Dukes in the 20's of the 13th century. One should also note a certain similarity of the fate of the under-age rulers of Brandenburg (John I and Otto III) and the Dukes of the House of Griffin (Wartislaw III and Barnim I). The policy of the regents watching over the representatives of both dynasties before 1225, when they gradually began to come of age (John I or Wartislaw III), was characterised by a high degree of caution in external relations.

In 1229, the Brandenburg Margraves John I and Otto III took an armed action against the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albert II von Käfernburg. Most likely in the summer of this year there was a battle between the troops of the Margraves and the

Archbishop on the River Plane (not far from Magdeburg).¹ Medieval narrative sources, whose authors were interested in the history of the broadly understood Saxony, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the March of Brandenburg, informed about the fights between the Margraves and the Archbishop. Bearing in mind the chronology of writing or editing the above-mentioned sources, four chronicles should be mentioned. The first one is the so-called *Saxon World Chronicle* (*Sächsische Weltchronik*). Information about the battle is contained in its oldest part. It was written down in the Magdeburg circle, probably around 1230. In the past, it was assumed that its author was a well-known German jurist, Eike von Repgow. Contemporary research has undermined, though probably not ultimately ruled out, the hypothesis about his authorship. The aforementioned chronicle was written in Low German.² The second narrative source is

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- 1 Christian Wilhelm Spieker, Part 1 (Berlin: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1839), 534–535; Ferdinand Voigt, “Über das Alter der Markgrafen Johann I. und Otto III. und ihre Familien,” *Märkische Forschungen* 9 (1865): 116–117; Julius Hartung, “Die Territorialpolitik der Magdeburger Erzbischöfe Wichmann, Ludolf und Albrecht, 1152–1232,” *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 21 (1886): 234; Alfred Bauch, *Markgrafen Johann I. und Otto III. von Brandenburg: Reichslegat Gebhard von Arnstein, ein Brandenburger im Dienste Kaiser Friedrichs II. Die Wahl Richards von Cornwall zum römischen König* (Breslau: Verlag von Eduard Trewendt, 1886), 18, note 1; Hermann Brosien, *Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg im Mittelalter* (Salzwasser Verlag GmbH: Paderborn, 2015, Nachdruck des Originals von 1887), 66; Georg Sello, *Markgraf Otto III. von Brandenburg* (Brandenburg: J. Wiesicke’s Buchdruckerei, 1887), 4–5; Georg Sello, “Die Erwerbung des Barnim und Teltow durch die Markgrafen Johann I. und Otto III.,” *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 5 (1892) 2: 297; Siegfried Passow, “Die Occupation und Kolonisation des Barnim,” *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 14 (1902): 41–42, note 1; Hans Silberborth, “Erzbischof Albrecht II. von Magdeburg,” *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 45 (1910): 214; Johannes Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, vol. 1 of *Entstehung und Entwicklung unter den askanischen Markgrafen (bis 1319)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1961), 139; Wienfried Schich, “Zur Genese der Stadtanlage der Altstadt und Neustadt Brandenburg,” in: *Beiträge zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Stadt Brandenburg im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Wienfried Schich (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 84) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), 70; Jerzy Hauziński, “Uniwersalistyczny kontekst aktu raweńskiego w sprawie Pomorza,” in: *Pomorze słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi X–XI w.*, ed. Jerzy Hauziński (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo “Marpress,” 1995), 129; Edward Rymar, “Międzynarodowy kontekst genezy przywileju raweńskiego w sprawie lenna pomorskiego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli arcybiskupstwa magdeburckiego,” in: *Polska, Prusy, Ruś. Studia ofiarowane prof. zw. dr. hab. Janowi Powierskiemu w trzydziestelecie pracy naukowej* (Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza 2), ed. Błażej Śliwiński (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo “Marpress,” 1995), 142–143; Edward Rymar, “Termin i okoliczności utraty i rezygnacji księstwa pomorskiego z ziem barnimskiej, teltowskiej i południowej ziemi wkrzańskiej (1180–1230),” *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 19 (2015): 163–164. The author spoke in a similar vein in the biography of the Pomeranian Duke Barnim I, which is being prepared for publication. I would like to thank Professor Rymar for this information. See also Marek Smoliński, *Polityka zachodnia księcia gdańsko-pomorskiego Świętopelka* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Oficyna Ferberiana, 2000), 65. The author decided not to refer to entries of a dictionary nature concerning both the Margraves of Brandenburg and the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albert II.
- 2 Jürgen Wolf, *Die sächsische Weltchronik im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften Überlieferung, Textentwicklung, Rezeption* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1997), 110, 194, 204, 374. For more information on the doubts regarding the authorship of the first part of the chronicle, see: Hubert Herkommer, “Eike von Repgows «Sachsenspiegel» und die «Sächsische Weltchronik»,” *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 100 (1977): 7–42; Manfred Zips, “«Daz ist des van Repegouwe rat».

the so-called *Chronicle of the Dukes of Saxony* (*Chronica principum Saxoniae*). To put it simply, it is the first part of the *Chronicle of the Margraves of Brandenburg*.³ The third chronicle referring to the above-mentioned events is the *Deeds of the Archbishops of Magdeburg* (*Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*) covering the years 968–1513. For some time this source has been called the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Magdeburg* in historiography⁴. Due to the broader description of the battle in its pages, it seems to be of particular importance for this topic. The description of the Battle of the Plane can be found here in the part covering the years 1150–1280. This part was probably edited at the beginning of the 14th century.⁵ The details of the description of the clash of the armies of the Brandenburg Margraves and the Archbishop suggest that the knowledge contained in the *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* must have been based on some previous source or living memory of these events kept in the circle of the Magdeburg archbishops. The above accounts were compiled within a relatively short time after the described events took place. For this reason, the authors of the discussed accounts were quite well-versed in the causes and course of the Brandenburg-Magdeburg conflict.

The circumstances and the course of the dispute between the Margraves of Brandenburg John I and Otto III with the Archbishop of Magdeburg Albert II in 1229 have been discussed relatively often in the literature on the subject.⁶ Historians have devoted much less space to the matter of Wendish or Slavic troops supporting the army of the Margraves of Brandenburg. Georg Sello, Siegfried Passow and Edward Rymar spoke the most about this matter. All the mentioned researchers concluded that the Brandenburg Ascanians were supported by Pomeranians in the clash on the River

Bemerkungen zur Verfasserfrage der «Sächsischen Weltchronik», *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 106 (1983): 43–73.

- 3 Oswald Holder-Egger, “Über die Braunschweiger und Sächsische Fürstenchronik und verwandte Quellen,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 17 (1892): 172.
- 4 Michale Kleinen, “Die Magdeburger Bischofschronik als Quelle für den Historiker,” in: *Magdeburger Bischofschronik*, hrsg. v. Eckhart Wilhelm Peters, translated by Hermann Michaëlis (Dößel: Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2006), 33–60. See Ludwig Weiland, hrsg. v., “Sächsische Weltchronik,” in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Deutsch Chroniken*, Vol. 2 (Hannoverae: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1887): 248; Oswald Holder-Egger, hrsg. v., “Chronica principum Saxoniae,” in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum* (hereinafter: MGH SS), vol. 25 (Hannoverae: impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani 1888), 478; Wilhelm Schum, hrsg. v., “Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,” in: MGH SS, vol. 25 (Hannoverae: impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani 1883), 421; Georg Sello, hrsg. v., “Chronica Marchionum Brandenburgensium. Nach einer Handschrift der Trierer Stadtbibliothek und den Excerpten des Pulkawa,” *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 1 (1888): 121; Hermann Krabbo, Georg Winter, bearb., *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus askanischem Hause*, Lief. 1–12 (hereinafter: *Regesten*) (Leipzig et al.: Verlag von Duncker & Humblod, Selbstverlage des Vereins Geschäftsstelle Berlin-Dahlem, Selbstverlag für Geschichte des Mark Brandenburg, 1910–1955), 598.
- 5 Kleinen, “Die Magdeburger Bischofschronik,” 51.
- 6 See the literature from note 1.

Plane.⁷ However, which part of Pomerania the units supporting the Margraves were to come from was already a subject of discussion among the aforementioned historians. Sello concluded that the Ascanians were aided by both Pomeranian Dukes. They shared then an alliance with the Margraves. A testimony to this was the help given by the Margraves to Duke Otto the Child of Lüneburg. He was an opponent of the Hohenstaufen in the Reich, and at the same time brother-in-law of the Margraves of Brandenburg John I and Otto III. He was also closely related to the Danish King Valdemar II. The Duke's mother was Helena of Denmark, daughter of King Valdemar I. Sello also rightly drew attention to the Pomeranian-Danish dynastic relations. He pointed to the marriage of the Pomeranian Duke Casimir II and Ingardis from Scandinavia. He also recalled the later marriage of John I, Margrave of Brandenburg, with Sophia, the daughter of Valdemar II of Denmark. The attention of the cited researcher was also attracted by Barnim I's journeys to Spandau in Brandenburg, which began as early as 1232. The quoted historian did not disregard the rights of the Ascanians to the land of Barnim, preserved in existent sources. According to Sello, this meant an earlier hand-over by the Pomeranian rulers to the margraves of the disputed territories between Pomerania and the March.⁸

Passow, searching for the date of the conquest of the Barnim land by the Brandenburg margraves, preceded his argument with a reflection on the Brandenburg-Pomeranian relations during the times of the Margraves Otto II and Albert II. According to Passow, after 1198, the land of Barnim was to become the property of the Brandenburg Ascanians. It was owned by the sons of Albert II: John and Otto. It was from there that the Slavic detachment was recruited, which assisted the Brandenburg Ascanians in the war with the Archbishop of Magdeburg. These events were, of course, associated with the then functioning peace or even an alliance linking the March of Brandenburg and Pomerania.⁹

Rymar believed that the Duke supporting John I and Otto III was Barnim I. The basis for this conclusion was the strive of Barnim I to maintain control over the southern territories of the Duchy of Pomerania, demonstrated by the quoted historian. The background of the alliance was the war of the Pomeranian Dukes with Denmark, Rügen and Mecklenburg, which, according to Rymar, began as early as 1228.¹⁰ As a result of this alliance, Barnim I gave up his claims to parts of the land of Teltow and all of Barnim, which had been annexed to the March of Brandenburg earlier (before the reign of John I and Otto III).

7 Sello, "Die Erwerbung," 297; Passow, "Die Occupation," 41–42, note 1; Rymar, "Termin," 163–164.

8 Sello, "Die Erwerbung," 297.

9 Passow, "Die Occupation," 41–42, note 1; see Rymar, "Termin," 163–164.

10 Rymar, "Termin," 163–164.

The hypothesis pointing to Pomeranians as allies of John I and Otto III in 1229 seems correct. However, it was not preceded by wider research conducted towards the possibility of identifying the Slavs or the Wends known from the German chronicles with the populations of specific Slav-inhabited territories. Hence, doubts may still arise in this respect. The basis of the assumption that the Pomeranians were the allies of the Margraves in 1229 was the hypothetical identification of the Ascanian allies with the subjects of the Griffin princes. This conclusion resulted mainly from the analysis of the political situation in West Pomerania and the Brandenburg March at the end of the 1220's.¹¹

It seems that not only research into the policies of the rulers of Brandenburg and Pomerania supports the identification of the Slavic troops from the Battle of the Plane with the Pomeranians. There are clear premises for this in the sources as well. So far, historians have not devoted enough attention to them separately. In order to point them out, one needs to start with the *Saxon World Chronicle* and compare its relation with fragments of the *Deeds of the Archbishops of Magdeburg*. The first chronicle laconically stated that [in 1229 – MS] near Brandenburg there was a clash between the Margraves and the Archbishop of Brandenburg. The Margraves emerged without a victory from it, hence they actually lost it. In this battle, the Ascanians and apparently the Wends allied with them suffered heavy losses (“Se quemen tolest to stride bi Brandenburg, dar ward de maregreve segelos unde de Wenede unde namen groten schaden”).¹²

More information about the events of 1229 was provided by the *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*. In this source it was claimed that the young Ascanians joined the fight against the Archbishop after gathering a strong detachment of knights (or a detachment of valiant knights) from Slavia (i.e., Slavic) countries (“validam de partibus Slauię miliciam conduxsissent”). The battle with the troops of ministeriales of the Archbishop of Magdeburg took place on the River Plane.¹³ It did not end successfully for the Margraves. The attack of the Ascanian forces ground to a halt fairly quickly. The situation was made worse by the fact that a nearby causeway, across which the road to Brandenburg's New Town led, had been blocked by supply wagons. As a result, the

11 See Wolfgang Hermann Fritze, “Das Vordringen deutscher Herrschaft in Teltow und Barnim,” *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Landesgeschichte* 22 (1971): 101, where the quoted author, based on the Slavic titles of the Pomeranian Dukes Bogislaw I and Casimir I, and the information about the erection of the fortified town of Oderberg against the Slavs by Albert II, Margrave of Brandenburg, which can be found in the *Chronicle of the Margraves of Brandenburg*, also assumed that the Slavs mentioned in German sources relating to the period in question were the Pomeranians. See also Winfried Schich, “Oppida, Kirchenbauten und Fernhandelsstraße zwischen Berlin und Oderberg im 13. Jahrhundert,” in: *Ein gefüllter Willkomm. Festschrift für Knut Schulz zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. Franz Felten, Stephanie J. Irrgang, and Kurt Wesoly (Aachen: Ashaken Verlag, 2002), 146 and, most recently, Edward Rymar, “Termin,” 163–164

12 Weiland, “Sächsische Weltchronik,” 248.

13 Ibidem, 85, 86, 143, 163.

escape route was cut off for those who panicked and tried to flee the battlefield. Many of the belligerents tried to save themselves by throwing themselves into the currents of the River Plane. For some of them, it ended in demise. Those fighting on the side of the Margraves who wanted to save their lives surrendered to the Archbishop. The victorious Magdeburg forces unblocked the causeway and gave chase after the escaping Margraves' men. John I and Otto III, taking advantage of the approaching dusk, luckily escaped from the battlefield. They tried to seek refuge in the walls of the New Town of Brandenburg, which was one of their allodial estates. The darkness of the night, however, made it difficult to distinguish the belligerents who found themselves outside the municipal walls. As a result, the town gates were closed by the dwellers of the New Town of Brandenburg. The Margraves, perhaps convinced of the betrayal of the townspeople, fled as far as Spandau. Despite the insistence of the commanders of the Archbishop's army, Albert II decided not to pursue the fleeing Margraves. He argued that the Margraves were not of age and that they were his liege subjects. Albert II von Käfernburg apparently believed that the death or captivity of both Ascanians might have actually brought him more trouble than good.

The terms "Wends" and "Slavs" used in German narrative sources from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century are not very precise.¹⁴ In the literature on the subject it has long been noticed that the term still present in the chronicles of Helmold and Arnold of Lübeck can actually be applied sometimes (though not always) to Pomeranians.¹⁵ The issue of the use of the Slavic title by the West Pomeranian rulers of the 12th and 13th centuries is also beyond doubt. However, it should be remembered that the Slavs also inhabited territories dependent on the Brandenburg Ascanians in the second half of the 12th century.¹⁶ The aforementioned term could mean the Slavic population inhabiting the lands on the Havel (former Stodorans or Hevelli).¹⁷ The Slavs

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- 14 Similarly, Scandinavian sources mentioning the Slavs are also characterised by poor precision. This problem requires a separate study. For this reason, it will not be discussed in this work.
- 15 Paweł Czaplewski, "Tytułatura książąt pomorskich do początku XIV wieku," *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 15 (1949): 53. On identifying the term Slavia with Pomerania: Gerhard Renn, *Die Bedeutung des Namens "Pommern" und die Bezeichnungen für das heutige Pommern in der Geschichte* (Greifswald: Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg. Hans Adler, E. Panzig & Co., 1937), 49–51, see also Jan M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne. Historia – Archeologia – Językoznawstwo* (Poznań–Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Scorus, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2002), 28.
- 16 Gerard Labuda, "Podstawy polityczno-prawne kupna Pomorza Gdańskiego przez Zakon Krzyżacki od margrabiów brandenburskich w latach 1309–1310," *Roczniki Historyczne* 71 (2005): 45, 47.
- 17 In the documents of Henry the Lion from 1154 and 1169, the bishoprics in Ratzeburg, Lübeck, and Schwerin were defined as being in the Polabian Slavia (Slavic lands). See: Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch *et al.*, hrsg. v., *Meklenburgische Urkundebuch* (hereinafter: MUB), vol. I (Schwerin: in Commission der Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung 1863): 57, 90, 96. See also Gerard Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, 2nd ed. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2002), 159[728]–162[732], 172[747] *et seq.*; idem, "Podstawy polityczno-prawne"

of the Prignitz district and of the lands on the Havel supported Otto II, Margrave of Brandenburg in his conflict with Denmark in 1198.¹⁸ This did not mean, of course, that the Ascanian estates were no longer exposed to the attacks of the Slavs. In the literature on the subject it was noted that in 1208, the Margrave of Brandenburg Albert II, while issuing a privilege for the abbey in Lehnin, obliged the peasants belonging to the monastery to defend it against any attacks of the Wends.¹⁹ There is a belief in the related literature that the importance of the Slavs in Brandenburg as a separate ethnic group diminished significantly in the following years.²⁰ Hence the doubts as to whether the local Slavs could possibly raise a strong knightly unit that would support the Brandenburg margraves at the end of the 1220's.

The above-mentioned terms describing the Ascanian allies in 1229 can be applied not only to Pomeranians. They may pertain to people who were subjects of the Mecklenburg or Rugian principes.²¹ The rulers of Mecklenburg earlier used the titles of "Slavic lords."²² In a document issued in Werben dated 5 August 1227, Margraves John

41 *et seq.*, where there is more on the term *Slavia* used for areas remote from the territory of the Duchy of Pomerania. On the extension of the margraves' power over the Slavs living in the territory east of the Elbe: Helmut Assing, "Die Anfänge askanischer Herrschaft in den Gebieten östlich der Elbe," in: *Brandenburgische Landesgeschichte und Archivwissenschaft. Festschrift für Lieselott Enders zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. Friedrich Beck and Klaus Neitmann (Veröffentlichungen des Brandenburgischen Landeshauptarchivs, 34) (Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger Weimar, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 1997), 21–35. On the gradual integration of the Slavs with the new settlers brought by the Ascanians in the Brandenburg March, see Eberhard Schmidt, *Die Mark Brandenburg unter den Askaniern (1134–1320)* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 59 *et seq.*

- 18 Johann Martin Lappenberg, ed., ex recensione, "Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum," in: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recudi fecit G.H. Pertz* (Hannover: impensis Bibliopolii Hahnianae 1868), lib. VI, cap. 9–10, 229–230; Labuda, "Podstawy," 44–45. On the position of older literature and the identification of the Slavs with the Pomeranians in it, see Felix Rachfahl, "Der Ursprung des brandenburgisch-pommerschen Lehnverhältniss," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 5 (1892): 58 *et seq.*
- 19 Cf. Jörg Rogge, "Heilige Hallen. Zur Ausbildung der Kirchenorganisation im Bistum Brandenburg vom 10. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in: *Wege in die Himmelsstadt: Bischof, Glaube, Herrschaft 800–1550*, hrsg. v. Clemens Bergstedt and Heinz-Dieter Heimann (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2005), 108. Herein also about the earlier attacks of the Slavs on the estate and staff of the monastery.
- 20 Helmut Assing, "Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Slawen und Deutschen in der frühen Mark Brandenburg (12./13. Jahrhundert): Gedanken nach der Lektüre des Buches «Das Havelland im Mittelalter»,» *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 14 (1990): 197–198. On the importance of the lands on the Havel for the margraves after their conquest and the subjugation of the Slavs, cf. Hans-Joachim Fey, *Reise und Herrschaft der Markgrafen von Brandenburg (1134–1319)* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 26–30.
- 21 About the Slavic titles of Pomeranian dukes, see Czapplewski, "Tytulatura," 53.
- 22 In 1170, and 1177, the ancestor of the thirteenth-century rulers of Mecklenburg, Pribislaw I used the title "princeps [...] Slaue," once with the note "tocius." Also as a Slavic princeps he was described by the obituary of the monastery of St. Michael in Lüneburg in 1178. Later this title was assumed by his successor Niklot. See: MUB, vol. I, 98, 122, 126, 147 *et seq.* In 1199, the Pope wrote a letter to Christians from the Slavic lands on supporting the Christian mission in Livonia – MUB, vol. I, 164. See also index to volumes I to IV, in: MUB, vol. IV: (1297–1300), *Nachträge und Register zu I–IV*

and Otto confirmed that their beloved trusted supporters (“dilecti fideles nostri”), the sons of Lord Borwin, for the salvation of their souls, gave to the Joannites of Accon the village of Mirow, together with the adjacent lake and the stream flowing through it.²³ The confirmation of this granting was issued by the Ascanians in Werben, a place where the Knights Hospitaller of Accon already had their branch. The Werben estate was a foundation by Albert the Bear. The Knights Hospitaller from Mirow in Mecklenburg were therefore connected with the later Brandenburg commandery of the order from their very beginnings. The cited document also indicates at least an alliance between the margraves of Brandenburg and the rulers of Mecklenburg. It could possibly have been forged during the war between the rulers of the Reich and the King of Denmark, Valdemar II. In a broader sense, the phrase used in order to confirm the grants of the “beloved trusted supporters” of the margraves suggests a feudal relationship between the Ascanians and the rulers of Mecklenburg. It would at least concern the object of granting, i.e. the Mirow land. In the period in question, however, nothing (except the aforementioned document) indicates a feudal relationship between the margraves and the sons of Henry Borwin I. The authenticity of the above-mentioned diploma has been subjected to academic criticism in the literature on the subject.²⁴ It was considered to be forged and created later than the date of its issuance. Perhaps its drawing up was related to an attempt by the margraves of Brandenburg to subjugate the Mecklenburg rulers from the Werle line in the 1240’s.²⁵ The aforementioned sons of “Lord Borwin,” in contrast to the Brandenburg margraves, fought against Denmark in 1227. Therefore, their alliance with the Brandenburg Ascanians in the following years does not seem possible. Even in 1229, the rulers of Mecklenburg belonged to the anti-Danish party existing in the Reich. The political sympathies of the Brandenburg Ascanians were then located on the opposite side of the political dispute in the Reich and on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.

(Schwerin: in Commission der Stiller’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1867), 382. The lands of Prignitz and Stargard, which had earlier been subordinated by the margraves, adjoined the land of Ture, which in the described period belonged to the rulers of Mecklenburg from the Werle line. Like other representatives of this house, they also bore the title of the Lords of the Wends, see Schmidt, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 48.

23 MUB, vol. IV, 324, *Regesten*, 592.

24 MUB, vol. II (1251–1280) (Schwerin: in Commission der Stiller’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1864), 55; Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter-Ordens in Deutschland besonders in der Mark Brandenburg und in Mecklenburg* (Berlin: J.M. Spaeth, 1899), 49; Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, “Unechte Urkunden des Johanniter-Ordens aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert,” *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 11 (1898): 8[308]–9[309]; Gerhard Knoll, *Die Entstehung und Geschichte der Johanniterordenskommande Werben im 13. Jahrhundert mit ihren äußeren Beziehungen und im Lichte der Privilegien und Statuten* (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktor phil. des Fachbereichs Geschichtswissenschaft der Freie Universität Berlin, 1971), 42–44, 57.

25 Schmidt, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 48.

If we were to focus on how the concepts of Wends and Slavs were treated in the *Saxon World Chronicle*, two things must be pointed out. In the earliest section of this chronicle, the term Wends refers to the Slavic tribes initially contacting the Carolingian state, and then interacting with the German and Danish rulers. Later, the term Wends refers to the Veleti tribes. For their Christianisation and strengthening of German influence, the Bishoprics in Havelberg, Brandenburg and Stargard were established in the 10th century. The chronicle included among the rulers of the Wends: Mstivoj, Gottschalk, his son Budivoj (Buthue) and Niklot.²⁶ However, while relating the war of Otto II, Margrave of Brandenburg, with Bogislaw I of Pomerania, incorrectly described as the ruler of Demmin, the aforementioned chronicle stated that the conflict was not victorious for the Wends. Its consequence was the death of Lord Casimir I, Lord Borko and many others among the Wends.²⁷

In the Code of Zwickau, which was a later, enriched version of the Saxon chronicle, when describing the death of the Pomeranian Duke Casimir I, it was claimed that his demise was connected with the great victory of the Germans over the Wends.²⁸ Thus, in the 80's of the 12th century, in the Saxon chronicle, the Wends were identified with the Pomeranians. It is possible that this was due to the takeover of Demmin by the Pomeranian dukes. Pomeranian rulers seized Demmin with the consent of the Saxons and the Danes in the 1160's. Pomeranians then settled in the former seat of Pribislaw, son of the aforementioned Niklot.²⁹ The identification of the Wends with the Pomeranians in the Saxon chronicle can also be demonstrated in the description of the Danish king's attack on Demmin in 1233/1234, i.e. on the then seat of Wartislaw III, Duke of Pomerania. In the context of the conquest of Demmin by Denmark, the chronicle again referred to the Wends, although the owners of this stronghold were the Pomeranians at that time.³⁰

26 MUB, vol. II, 169, 174.

27 Weiland, "Sächsische Weltchronik," 119; other sources informing about the death of Casimir call him the princeps of the Pomeranians or the princeps of the Slavs: Lappenberg, "Arnoldi Chronica Salvorum," lib II, cap. 17, 58; Ernst Ehrenfeuchter hrsg., "Chronicon Montis Sereni," in: Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum, vol. 23 (Neudruck) (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925), 158.

28 Adolf Hofmeister, "Ueber eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* 32 (1907): 128; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 2nd ed. (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska, 2005), 119, note 139.

29 Józef Spors, "Przynależność polityczna i administracyjna ziem pomorskich na północ od środkowej Piany do końca XII i w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku," in: idem, *Studia nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi dziejami Pomorza Zachodniego XII – pierwsza połowa XIII w.* (Słupsk: Stowarzyszenie Społeczno-Kulturalne "Pobrzeże" w Słupsku, 1988), 252 i n.; Rymar, *Rodowód*, 119, note 136.

30 Weiland, "Sächsische Weltchronik," 250; Kazimierz Bobowski, "Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego wobec Brandenburgii na przestrzeni XIII w.," in: *Niemcy – Polska w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii UAM w dniach 14–16 XI 1983 roku*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk (Poznań: Wydawnictwo UAM, 1986): 229; Dietmar

Quite similar is the case with the use of the term Slavs in *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*. The chronicle of 938 reported the establishment of two bishoprics: in Brandenburg and Havelberg, which were erected in the land of the Slavs – “in terra Slaorum.”³¹ This land belonged mainly to the Slavic tribes of Veleti and both of these bishoprics were responsible, among others, for their Christianisation.

The next mention of the Slavs in the Magdeburg bishop’s chronicle appears in the year 968 in connection with the information about the creation of the Magdeburg Archbishopric. According to the chronicle, it was created to convert all the Slavs between the Saale and the Elbe and direct them towards God.³²

More information related to the Slavs was entered in the chronicle in question in 1115, when it mentioned the victory of Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt over 2,800 Slavs near Köthen.³³ So the defeated side this time were the Polabian Slavs.³⁴ After this mention, the *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensiu* remain silent about the Slavs. They do not reappear in the chronicle pages until 1229, with the description of the Battle of the Plane. They are not mentioned again in the later parts of this source. Compared to the previous information about the Slavs, those from 1229 appeared with a comment on their origin – (“de partibus Slauiæ”). Apparently, the author of the entry did not mean the Slavic lands (“terrae Slauiæ”), referred to in the previous parts of the “Magdeburg deeds.” These lands were mentioned in the context of the Slavic territories under the rule of the German feudal lords. While this conclusion does not explain anything yet in the context of the terminology used in the Magdeburg bishop’s chronicle, it has some significance when referring to the accounts given in the chronicles related to the margraves of Brandenburg.

As already mentioned, although the *Chronicle of the Dukes of Saxony* and its continuation, i.e. the *Chronicle of the Margraves of Brandenburg* both referred to the hostilities between the Margraves of Brandenburg and the Archbishop of Magdeburg, they

Lucht, “Die Außenpolitik Herzog Barnims I. von Pommern,” *Baltische Studien*, N.F. 51 (1965): 31; Spors, “Przynależność polityczna,” 362; Edward Rymar, “Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski i pomorsko-rugijski w Czrezpienii w warunkach likwidacji dominacji duńskiej na Pomorzu z lat 1223/27– 1238/9,” in: *A Pomerania ad ultimas terras: studia ofiarowane Barbarze Popielas-Szultce w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, eds. Jarosław Sochacki and Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio (Słupsk: Akademia Pomorska w Słupsku, 2011), 30–31.

31 Schum, “Gesta,” cap. 5, 378; Willy Hoppe, “Das Erzstift Magdeburg und der Osten,” in: idem, *Die Mark Brandenburg, Wettin und Magdeburg. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, hrsg. v. Herbert Ludat (Köln–Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), 210 *et seq.*; Gerard Labuda, “Magdeburg i Poznań (Założenie arcybiskupstwa magdeburskiego i biskupstwa poznańskiego na tle wschodniej polityki misyjnej Ottona Wielkiego),” *Roczniki Historyczne* 14 (1938): 187 *et seq.*; idem, *Fragmenty*, 183[753] *et seq.*

32 Schum, “Gesta,” cap. 9–10, cap. 14, 380–381, 389.

33 Ibidem, cap. 24, 410.

34 Lutz Partenheimer, *Albrecht der Bär. Gründer der Mark Brandenburg und des Fürstentums Anhalt* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Verlag Böhlau, 2003), 30.

did not deal with the Ascanians' allies. In the part preceding the fragment mentioning the Brandenburg-Magdeburg conflict of 1229, these sources refer, among others, to earlier fights which took place in a rather similar political constellation. They involved Albert II, Margrave of Brandenburg and the Pomeranian Dukes: Casimir I and Bogislaw I. The mentioned sources referred to them as Slavic princes. The same paragraph also mentioned the war of the Margrave with the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, defended by the brothers Gumbert von Weneborg and Richard von Plawe, as well as other ministeriales of the Archbishopric. According to the cited testimony, "bella [...] contra [...] principes Sclavorum" was in fact a war against the aforementioned Pomeranian Dukes.³⁵ Thus, also in this case the Slavs were considered Pomeranians.

The identification of the Wends and the Slavs with the Pomeranians in the pages of chronicles focusing on the events of 1229 can therefore be considered highly probable. Particular significance must be given here to the *Saxon World Chronicle*. Although this fact was not noticed in the older literature on the subject, in its descriptions of the events in the period between the 1180's and the 1220's, the term Wends always denotes the Pomeranians. The Magdeburg bishop's chronicle, which uses the plural ["de partibus Slaue"], seems to indicate the need to include at least two such Slavic countries (or those located in Slavia).³⁶ In the absence of precise information as to which countries the chronicler could have meant, when trying to define them, one should refer to the history of Brandenburg and Pomerania in the 20's of the 13th century.

The above-mentioned period brought about major changes in the political situation of the countries located on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. They affected Western Pomerania. They also did not miss the territories whose rulers claimed the right to feudal authority over the Griffin duchy. They were foreshadowed by the death of the Pomeranian rulers Casimir II and Bogislaw II. They both died before the end of 1220 or, at the latest, the beginning of 1221, leaving behind under-age heirs.

In 1220, Albert II, Margrave of Brandenburg, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to wrestle control of Western Pomerania from Denmark's influence a few years earlier, also died. His efforts to force the Pomeranian rulers to recognise his sovereignty

35 Schum, "Gesta," 421; Sello, "Chronica Marchionum," 121.

36 Unfortunately, the term being explained is not unambiguous. One of the publishing reviewers of this text pointed out that it could mean "border areas of Slavia" or generally "areas of the Slavic lands." I would like to express my gratitude for these comments. In contemporary German literature, this phrase is translated as "eine starke Heresmacht aus den slavischen Länder" – see Kleinen, *Die Magdeburger Bischofschronik*, 166. This translation is therefore in line with the interpretation I have adopted. For this reason, with regard to the correct understanding of the passage in question, I decide in favour of the interpretation of Hermann Michaëlis, who translated the discussed chronicle into German. Hence, I understand that the strong unit supporting the Margraves came not from one, but – due to the plural used – a large number of "Slavic countries."

utterly failed, mainly in the face of Danish victories over the Brandenburg armies.³⁷ When dying, the Margrave also left behind under-age heirs.

After the deaths of Casimir II and Bogislaw II, the rule in Western Pomerania was taken over, on behalf of their under-age sons: Wartislaw III and Barnim I, by the Dowager Duchesses: Ingardis i Mirosława.³⁸ The first of them is currently considered to be a representative of the influential Scandinavian House of Hvide, which was associated with the Danish throne. The second was the daughter of Mestvin (Mściwoj) I, the ruler of Eastern Pomerania (Pomerelia). Anastasia of Greater Poland, the youngest daughter of Mieszko III and the grandmother of the under-age princes, also continued to play an important political role in Western Pomerania. The priority of the regency of the Pomeranian Duchesses was the desire to secure the succession of the young Griffins in their respective duchies. The way to do this had been marked out still in the 12th century by Anastasia, Duchess of Pomerania. After the death of her husband, Duke Bogislaw I in 1187, she moved to the Danish court together with her under-age sons Casimir II and Bogislaw II. There, the descendants of Bogislaw I, probably accompanied by their mother acting on behalf of the little Dukes, paid homage to Canute VI.³⁹ This ploy secured the rights of young Griffins to assume control of their domains. However, it did not fully protect the territorial integrity of West Pomerania against the possessiveness of the Dukes' regent. Jaromar I, Prince of Rügen was appointed by Denmark to perform this role in 1193. Using his office, he deprived Pomerania of the lands north of the River Peene.⁴⁰ Anastasia, Duchess of Pomerania eventually managed to regain control of at least the lands of Lassan and Ziethen through a court trial conducted before the arbitration of the Danish king. The problem of recuperating the remaining losses for some time remained an open question.

37 The last author to discuss these events was Rymar, "Zaodrzańska połącz księstwa pomorskiego," 93 *et seq.* See also Marek Smoliński, "Mirosława – księżna pomorska, regentka i dyplomatka," in: *Kobiety i władza w czasach dawnych*, eds. Bożena Czwojdrak and Agata A. Kluczek (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2015), 146–147.

38 Rymar, *Rodowód*, 115–118, 130, 133–134; Smoliński, "Mirosława," 137 *et seq.*; Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki. O utrzymanie władzy dla synów (koniec XII w. – początek XIV w.)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2016), 44–56.

39 Ellen Jørgensen, ed., "Annales Slesuicensis," in: *Annales Danici medii aevi. Udgivne af Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie med understøttelse af Carlsbergfondet* (København: Hos Nielsen & Lydische. Axel Simmelklear, 1920), 134: "Mortuo Bugislao eius herdes uenerunt ad regem pro auxilio"; Jacob Langebeck, ed., "Chronicon Danicum 1074–1219," in: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi 3* (Hafniae: Godiche, 1774), 261: "Mortuo Bugizlao heredes ejus ad Regem K. venerunt pro beneficio suo habendo."

40 Klaus Conrad, hrsg. v., *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* (hereinafter: PU), vol. I, 2 Auflage (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1970), 125; Kazimierz Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XI–XIII w.* (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1960), 22, 24; Janisław Osiegiński, *Polityka zewnętrzna księstwa Rugii (1168–1328)* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 45, 47; Spors, "Przynależność polityczna," 332–333.

During the times of political independence of Bogislaw II and Casimir II, Danish sovereignty over Pomerania was put to the test several times. One of the causes were the efforts to impose his sovereignty on Pomerania by Albert II, Margrave of Brandenburg. The still unresolved territorial dispute between Pomerania and Rügen was not without importance, either.⁴¹ At the beginning of the 1220's, it could even result in a periodic loss of the castellany of Wolgast by Pomerania.⁴² In the prevailing political realities, the foreign policy of the Pomeranian regent Duchesses boiled down primarily to the diplomatic defence of the current status quo and remaining within the circle of the Danish feudal sovereignty.

In the March of Brandenburg, the burden of guardianship over minors John I and Otto III was initially placed on Matilda of the House of Wettin, the widow of Albert II. In the regency, she was assisted by one of the close relatives of the deceased Ascanian, Count Henry I of Anhalt.⁴³ Already in 1220, the German King Frederick II Hohenstaufen appointed, on behalf of the Reich, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albert II von Käfernburg as the regent for John I and Otto III.⁴⁴ At that time, he was a supporter of the Hohenstaufen, additionally maintaining intense relations with the papacy. As a result, at the turn of the first and second decades of the 1220's, he acted as the emperor's representative appointed for parts of Italy or the papal legate appointed for the countries of the Reich.⁴⁵ It is also worth recalling that during the wars of Frederick II with Otto IV of the House of Welf, the Archbishop's army fought Albert II, Margrave of Brandenburg.⁴⁶

41 Recently, mainly owing to the studies by Edward Rymar, research on this period in the history of Western Pomerania experiences a renaissance – see Rymar, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie, zwłaszcza ich połąć zaodrzańska u schyłku dominacji duńskiej (1215–1223/1228),” in: *Scriptura, diploma, sigillum. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Kazimierzowi Bobowskiemu*, eds. Joachim Zdrenka and Joanna Karczewska (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2009), 323–339; Edward Rymar, “Zaodrzańska połąć księstwa zachodniopomorskiego jako teren wojny brandenbursko-duńskiej (1214 rok),” in: *Od najazdów pogańskich dotąd są państwa Waszej Królewskiej Mości spokojne... Studia ofiarowane w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin Profesorowi Karolowi Olejnikowi*, eds. Zbigniew Pilarczyk and Maciej Franz (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2008), 90–102; idem, “Termin,” 157–178; Edward Rymar, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie w pierwszym okresie wpływów duńskich (1187–1211),” *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 17 (2013), 151–178.

42 Rymar, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie,” 335.

43 Voigt, “Über das Alter der Markgrafen,” 114–115; Bauch, *Markgrafen*, 5–6; Sello, *Markgraf Otto III.*, 8; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 136–137.

44 *Regesten*, 576; Sello, *Markgraf Otto III.*, 8; Voigt, “Über das Alter der Markgrafen,” 114; Bauch, *Markgrafen*, 7–8; Silberborth, “Erzbischof Albrecht II.,” 212; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 136–137.

45 Cf. Hartung, “Die Territorialpolitik,” 228; Aloys Ruppel, “Zur Reichslegation des Erzbischofs Albert von Magdeburg (1222–24),” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 13 (1910): 103–134.

46 *Regesten*, 560; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 116.

The appointment of the Archbishop of Magdeburg as the legal guardian of the Margraves of Brandenburg gave Albert II a real influence on the March of Brandenburg. It is worth recalling that from the end of the 12th century, every current Archbishop of Magdeburg was the feudal overlord of the margraves of Brandenburg in terms of at least some of their allodial estates.⁴⁷ Thus, the Archbishop concentrated in his hands the right to use the fiefs of the Reich and hereditary estates that were owned by the margraves and were to be confirmed in the future by Frederick II von Hohenstaufen. The legal situation of the sons of Albert II did not look very good then. For this reason, the actions of their mother, Marchioness Matilda, focused first on weakening the position of the Archbishop in relation to her sons. In 1221, for the price of 1920 ingots of Magdeburg silver, she practically bought the right to regency from the Archbishop.⁴⁸ Albert II von Käfernburg also vowed that he would help the young Ascanians to obtain imperial confirmation for their offices and the lands of the Reich subordinate to them as margraves. It was an important point in the Brandenburg-March relations. Frederick II Hohenstaufen, the king and soon to be emperor, was in no rush to grant this confirmation. The late Margrave Albert II remained in opposition to him for a long time, supporting the deposed Emperor Otto IV of the House of Welf. Even after reconciling with Frederick II, the Brandenburg Margrave Albert II further strengthened his alliance with the Welfs. In 1219, a marriage plan was developed to unite the two houses.⁴⁹ It was predicted that the Duke of Lüneburg, Otto, later known as the Child, being a fosterling and nephew of Emperor Otto IV, would marry Matilda, daughter of Margrave Albert II. This marriage was contracted a few years later, between 1227 and 1229. It was probably the widow of Albert II, Matilda, and her sons John I and Otto III that would make these plans come true.

In May 1223, an event took place that destroyed the political order on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. The Danish King Valdemar II, along with his eldest son, were taken captive by Henry I, Count of Schwerin. Already at the end of that year, negotiations for the release of the Danish rulers began. The Reich and its rulers: Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and his son, the German King Henry VII, officially became a party in the Schwerin-Danish negotiations. During the talks, the German allies considered the possibility of military action that would take back lands previously lost by the Reich to Denmark.⁵⁰ The participants of the anti-Danish expedition were to be the princes of the Reich, who had previously been harmed by Denmark. Among those to

47 *Regesten*, 485, 491; Hartung, "Die Territorialpolitik," 118–213; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 104–105; Schmidt, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 54.

48 *Regesten*, 577; Voigt, "Über das Alter der Markgrafen," 114; Bauch, *Markgrafen*, 7–8.

49 Voigt, "Über das Alter der Markgrafen," 115.

50 MUB, vol. I, 290; *Regesten*, 578; Rudolf Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte 1189–1227* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1863), 307.

whom this proposal was addressed were also the under-age margraves of Brandenburg. This was a potential chance for them to, inter alia, take up the efforts of their deceased father Albert II to gain supremacy over Pomerania.⁵¹ The accession of the Margraves to the planned expedition would have to mean the end of the policy of political restraint, which was followed at that time by the private guardians of the Margraves (Marchioness Matilda and Henry of Anhalt). In addition, joining the described endeavour must have meant breaking the alliance of the Brandenburg Ascanians with the Danish party, including the Welfs. However, this cooperation was very important to those who were determining the policy of the minor margraves. For this reason, the Brandenburg Ascanians did not decide to support the initiative put forward by the Emperor.

The position of Pomerania on the unfolding events was influenced by at least two factors. The first one was the minority of the heirs of the Pomeranian Duchies and the regency in the hands of their mothers. The second was the kinship linking the Pomeranian rulers with Count Henry of Schwerin, who detained Valdemar II and his son Valdemar III. This was due to the Pomeranian influence of the wife of the Count of Schwerin, Margaret Audacia, and her mother. In the literature on the subject, it is now recognised that this mother was the mysterious “lady from Sławno.”⁵² She was staying in Western Pomerania at the end of 1219 and maybe at the beginning of the 1220's. She was then at the court of Duke Casimir II's wife, Ingardis.⁵³ It is possible that she remained in Western Pomerania at the time of the Pomeranian congress, which took place after the death of Casimir II.⁵⁴

51 *Regesten*, 591; Spors, “Przynależność polityczna,” 361; Rymar, “Termin,” 165 *et seq.*; idem, “Zaodrzańska połącz księstwa pomorskiego,” 90–102.

52 Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch, “Audacia, Gemahlin des Grafen Heinrich I., von Schwerin,” *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 27 (1862): 131–162; Edward Rymar, “Dobrosława, księżniczka zachodniopomorska, pani na Sławnie potem Chockowie oraz Audacja (Eudoksja) Piastówna, hrabina zwierzyńska,” *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza* 14 (1982) 2: 6–11; idem, *Rodowód*, 137–138; Labuda, *Fragmenty*, 290 [860]; Rudolf Benl, *Die Gestaltung der Bodenrechtsverhältnisse in Pommern vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1986). 41–42, note 123; Marek Smoliński, *Świętopełk gdański* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2016), pp. 114–115; idem, “Kilka uwag w sprawie roli politycznej hrabianki szweryńskiej Audacji-Małogorzaty,” *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 25 (2022): 242..

53 PU, vol. I, 200; Rymar, *Rodowód*, 215.

54 PU, vol. I, 197, 200, 218, 221; MUB, vol. I, 290; 305; Rymar, “Dobrosława,” 12–16; Edward Rymar, “Zjazd w Kamieniu Pomorskim w końcu 1219 r. Świętoborzyce w ziemi choćkowskiej i kołobrzskiej,” *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 22 (1976): 145 *et seq.*; idem, “Sprawa pochodzenia Ermengardy drugiej żony Świętopełka gdańskiego,” *Rocznik Gdańsk* 52/1 (1982): 12; idem, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie,” 330; Dariusz Wybranowski, “Rola polityczna możnowładztwa i rycerstwa w czasach regencji księżnych Ingardy i Mirosławy w latach 1220–1227. Przyczynek do dziejów Pomorza w czasach zwierzchności duńskiej w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku,” *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 28 (2003), 1: 19; Marek Smoliński, “Potencjalny udział oddziałów zachodniopomorskich w V krucjacie (1217?, 1219?) w świetle relacji krucjatowych Olivera z Padebornu,” in: *Pomorze militarne XII–XXI w. Materiały*

In 1233, in the Pomeranian region of Wkryujście (Ueckermünde), a national congress of dukes, lords and Pomeranian knights was held. It was attended by officials of the Danish king.⁵⁵ One of them, King Valdemar II's royal steward, was mentioned without a name in the document that remained from this colloquy. The lack of the exact date of this diploma significantly hinders the recognition of the goals of the Pomeranian Congress. If it took place after the imprisonment of Valdemar II, then at least one of the reasons for the meeting was the discussion on the further remaining of Pomerania on the Danish side. In addition, the conference could also involve the problem of collecting part of the ransom intended for the release of both Valdemars from captivity, which the vassals of Denmark were obliged to do.

It is also unknown who the aforementioned Danish royal steward was. Recently, a supposition was put forward in the literature on the subject that it could have been Jacob Sunesen from Møn (Möen) of the Hvide family.⁵⁶ His family was strongly associated with the Danish crown already in the times of Valdemar I or Canute VI. During the reign of Valdemar II, Jacob served as the royal governor (= lord) of the Baltic island of Møn. One of his sons, Andrew, held the office of chamberlain to Valdemar II. Most likely, he died at the hands of kidnappers led by Count Henry of Schwerin, during the detention of Danish kings on the night of 6 May 1223.⁵⁷

Jacob is especially notable in historiography on account of his subsequent deeds as “the lord of the island of Møn.” His influence in Danish politics increased significantly in 1225, when Count Albert von Orlamünde was captured by the German counts. In the same year, Jacob successfully negotiated the release of Valdemar II from Schwerin captivity. He then became the guarantor of partial payment of the ransom to the Count of Schwerin and handing over Rendsborg to Count Adolf IV of Holstein. In 1227, Jacob was taken prisoner by the Germans. In 1230, a final agreement was made with the widow of Count Henry of Schwerin Margaret Audacia and her son Gunzelin III regarding the release of the Danish hostages.⁵⁸ According to its provisions, it was Jacob who was to receive the sons of King Valdemar: Eric and Abel after they were freed. Jacob was

z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej 27 listopada 2003 r. w Zamku Książąt Pomorskich, eds. Kazimierz Kozłowski and Edward Rymar, vol. 1 (Szczecin: Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, 2004), 198–199.

55 Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen und Pommern*, vol. 2: *Von der Belehrung Pommerns zum Christenthume bis zum Tode Barnims I. i. J. 1278* (Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1840), 375. Martin Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, 1st ed. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1904), 97; Lucht, “Die Aussenpolitik,” 16; Wybranowski, “Rola polityczna możnowładztwa i rycerstwa,” 19; Rymar, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie,” 331.

56 Rymar, “Księstwa zachodniopomorskie,” 331.

57 Frede Bojsen, *Jacob Sunesøn af Møn: Et mindeskraft og nogle undersøgelser* (København: Akademisk Boghandel, 1902), 23, 25–26.

58 The last author to discuss these issues was Marek Smoliński, “Kilka uwag w sprawie roli politycznej,” 267.

also one of the signatories of the settlement concluded at that time.⁵⁹ Assuming that the widow of the Pomeranian Duke Casimir II, Ingardis was also a member of the Hvide family,⁶⁰ Jacob of Møn would have to be her relative. Thus, both his origin and the position he enjoyed in Denmark would predestine Jacob to come to Pomerania in 1223 to attend to the matters of his ruler.

However, the above hypothesis raises doubts. One of them is the question of whether the Danish magnate of such great importance in the political life of Denmark actually held the office of the royal steward in the 1320's. His high position is evidenced by the fact that in the undated document of King Valdemar III, which was possibly written in the years 1219–1231, Jacob was mentioned first on the list of witnesses. However, he then appeared without any official title.⁶¹ In 1224, the Danish king's steward was certainly an official named Drugillus. He held his office during another stage of the negotiations for the release of Valdemar II, who was still in captivity of the Count of Schwerin.⁶² It is possible that Drugillus became the royal steward even earlier, namely already in 1223. However, it remains a mystery whether he was appointed before or after the Pomeranian Congress. Regardless of this issue, Pomerania remained faithful to the Danish king in the following years. The arrival of the Danish envoys in Pomerania also indicates the great importance attached in Denmark to the Griffins' reaction to the political situation at the time.

The stay in West Pomerania in 1224 of Barnuta, the former prince of Rügen and son of Prince Jaromar I, may serve as indirect evidence for the above statement.⁶³ It is possible that the reason for his arrival in Pomerania was the ceremony connected with the foundation of the monastery in Marianówek (Marienbusch) near Trzebiatów (Trep-tow).⁶⁴ Its founder was the Pomeranian Duchess Anastasia, daughter of Mieszko III

59 Cf. Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 346 et seq.; Bojsen, *Jacob Sunesön*, 39 et seq.; C.A. Christensen, "Jacob Sunesen," in: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed 23 April 2022, https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Jacob_Sunesen.

60 Rymar, *Rodowód*, 134.

61 Niels Skyum-Neilsen, udgivet af, *Diplomatarium Danicaum*, series 1, vol. 5: 1211–1223 (København: Ejnar Munkgaards Forlag S/A, 1957), 164.

62 MUB, vol. I, 305; Henry Petersen, *Adelige sigiller fra det XIII. og XIV. aarhundrede* (København: Ritzel, 1897), 1; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 331, note 49.

63 PU, vol. I, 222; Wybranowski, "Rola polityczna możnowładztwa," 21.

64 Franciszek Duda, *Rozwój terytorialny Pomorza polskiego (wiek XI–XIII)* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności; Fundusz Nestora Bucewicz, 1909), 94; Herman Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, vol. 2 (Stettin: Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung, 1925), 758; Jerzy Walachowicz, *Monopole książęce w skarbowości wczesnofeudalnej Pomorza Zachodniego* (Poznań: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1963), 52; Kazimierz Bobowski, "Ze studiów nad autentycznością wczesnośredniowiecznych dokumentów zachodniopomorskich," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia* 499 (1980): 23; Ryszard Marciniak, "O sprawie wiana Anastazji Mieszkówny, księżnej zachodniopomorskiej," *Zapiski Historyczne* 52 (1987), 4: 21–25; Wybranowski, "Rola polityczna możnowładztwa," 21.

and current or former sister-in-law of Barnuta.⁶⁵ The meeting of Barnuta and Anastasia took place during the all-Pomeranian colloquy. It was attended by, among others, the Dowager Duchesses: Miroslava and Ingardis, the Bishop of Cammin (Kamień) Conrad and representatives of Pomeranian knights and local monastic clergy. The former ruler of Rügen visited Pomerania at least once more. It was in 1228, when Barnuta arrived in Demmin at the court of Wartislaw III.⁶⁶

The presence of Barnuta at the Pomeranian Congress of 1224 seems to be particularly important for the attempt to define further political sympathies of the Pomeranians. Despite the problems that affected Denmark as a result of the imprisonment of Valdemar II, Rügen did not decide to break with the Danish sovereignty. In 1224, the preliminary conditions for the release of the Danish prisoners from their captivity in Schwerin were finally agreed. This was to happen during a meeting on the Elbe, which was scheduled for the beginning of November of that year. The Danish delegation was led by Valdemar II's nephew, Albert II, Count of Orlamünde. In addition to him and the Danish nobles, the royal side was perhaps also represented by the then ruler of Rügen, Vitslav I (Barnuta's brother).⁶⁷ The purpose of this mission was to conclude the negotiations and, for a specified amount of money, to free Valdemar II from his captivity in Schwerin. For some reason, this operation ended in a fiasco. There was an assumption in the literature on the subject that some Slavs participated in these unsuccessful negotiations on the Danish side.⁶⁸ If it were so, they could have been Pomeranians or subjects of the Mecklenburg ruler Henry Borwin I. Contrary to his son

65 The widow of Bogislaw I, Duchess Anastasia, was the sister of Władysław III Spindleshanks, who still maintained an interest in the matters of Western Pomerania. The Duke of Greater Poland, if he was not present in person, at least sent his officials to the already-mentioned congress of Cammin of 1219/1220. Władysław Spindleshanks was married to Lucia of Rügen, Barnuta's sister and daughter of Jaromar I, Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 2nd ed. (Kraków: Avalon, 2005), 259–361. Still between 1222 and 1224, both Dowager Duchesses certainly maintained relations with Greater Poland, as evidenced by their documents issued for the monastery in Mogilno, PU, vol. I, 210, 211, 214.

66 PU, vol. I, 244; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 329–330.

67 Cf. Georg Waitz, edit. "Chronica regia Coloniensis cum continuationibus in monasterio S. Pantaleonis scriptis aliisque Coloniensis monumentis partim ex monumentis Germaniae historicis recusa," in: MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 18 (Hannoverae: impensis Bibliopolinii Hahnani, 1880), 254. The Slavs, whose shores Lübeck ships were supposed to frequent, were mentioned in the document of Vitslav I of Rügen for Lübeck of 14 September 1224, Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Friedrich Techen, bearb., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* (hereinafter quoted: UB St. Lübeck) Part I (Lübeck: F. Asfchenfeldt, 1843), 27. This diploma concerned the freedoms related to the coastal law, which were granted to the merchants and fishermen of Lübeck by the ruler of Rügen. Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen*, 376; Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 330. In September 1224, the ruler of Rügen appeared near Lübeck. His stay in Polabia was connected with his participation in negotiations for the release of Valdemar II or with the possible conflict between Vitslav I and the ruler of Rostock, Henry Borwin II, or the rulers of Pomerania. However, speculations on this subject assume a thorough disintegration of the Danish political camp as early as 1224/1225.

68 Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen*, 376.

Henry Borwin II, the senior ruler of Mecklenburg probably stood, until his death in 1227, at the side of Denmark, supporting her against Count Adolf of Holstein.⁶⁹ His subjects could therefore have been in the ranks of the Danish delegation. However, the hypothesis that Pomeranians were also there cannot be verified. Despite the opinion that Pomerania stood by Denmark in 1224, there is no evidence that the Pomeranians were actively involved in the attempts to free Valdemar II.

During the period in question, the Duchy of Wartislaw III particularly manifested its loyalty to Denmark. From 1225 to 1228, in his documents, the aforementioned ruler used a seal containing a legend around the perimeter referring to his kinship with the Danish king.⁷⁰ This period coincided with the newly-gained independence of Wartislaw III and the end of the regency of Duchess Ingardis. Maintaining relations with Barnuta of Rügen by the Duke of Demmin in 1228 also seems to prove that Pomerania continued to support Denmark.

The events of 1225 further undermined Denmark's current political position. Nephews of Valdemar II: Albert von Orlamünde and Otto the Child suffered defeat in 1225 in a battle with the forces of the German counts and the Bremen Archbishop Gerhard II, which took place at Mölln. Albert von Orlamünde was then taken prisoner by the Schwerin army. Otto the Child escaped this fate by fleeing the battlefield and hurriedly crossing the Elbe.⁷¹

The involvement of the Duke of Lüneburg and Brunswick on the Danish side and the alliance of Otto the Child with the Margraves of Brandenburg largely determined the attitude of John I and Otto III to the conflict between the Reich and Denmark, as well as the Hohenstaufen and the Welfs. The matter was of utmost importance in the light of the succession policy pursued by the Welfs. The precursor of this policy was Henry V, Count Palatine of the Rhine. As his son, also named Henry, died in 1214, the Count Palatine began to look around for other heirs to his domain. First, he excluded his daughters: Irmengard, Margravine of Baden (by marriage to Herman V) and Agnes (wife of Otto II Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria). Eventually, Henry V chose his relative, son of Duke William of Lüneburg and Helena of Denmark, i.e. Otto the Child.

69 Cf. Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 332. From 1225, the sons of Henry Borwin I fought in the ranks of the German counts against Denmark.

70 PU, vol. I, 227; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 331.

71 Carl Ferdinand Allen, *Geschichte des Königreichs Dänemark: mit steter Rücksicht auf die innere Entwicklung in Staat und Volk* (Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1842), 110; Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dänemark*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Perthes, 1840), 385; Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 336–337; Grethe Jakobsen, "Wicked count Henry," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 9 (1978), 4: 328; Peter Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII.), das Reich und die Territorien. Untersuchungen zur Phase der Minderjährigkeit und der «Regentschaften» Erzbischof Engelberts I. von Köln und Herzog Ludwigs I. von Bayern (1211) 1220–1228* (Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reich unter Heinrich (VII.), Teil 1) (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998), 245–251; Nils Hybel, *The Nature of Kingship c. 800–1300* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017), 336.

In 1223, he was officially recognised as the successor and heir of Henry V.⁷² However, the emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, who had already manifested in 1220 plans to take over at least some of the former lands belonging to the Welfs, was reluctant to agree with Henry's deed. When Henry V died, the emperor enticed to his side the ministeriales of the deceased, recognising them as Reich ministeriales. It was a prelude to an attempt to seize control of at least some of the territories belonging to the Welfs by force.

In the above-mentioned Danish-German conflict of 1225, Otto the Child already participated as heir to the former might of the Welfs. Among the lands he was to inherit were the territories between the Elbe and Weser. The Archbishopric of Magdeburg raised claims to some parts of those lands. At the end of April 1227, Henry V, Count Palatine of the Rhine, died. The forces of Otto the Child, supported by the Brandenburg margraves, then focused on the defence of Brunswick, which was threatened by an attack by the Hohenstaufen army.⁷³ This operation was successful for the Duke. In July 1227, Otto set out to support his uncle Valdemar II of Denmark. In the battle of Bornhöved in 1227, which proved decisive for the history of Denmark, the Duke of Lüneburg and Brunswick was captured by the Schwerin forces. The Hohenstaufen tried to take advantage of this situation. Frederick II Hohenstaufen offered the Margrave of Baden 2300 silver ingots in exchange for a pledge, which was to be established on Welf estates, the heir of which was, in his eyes and by his marriage, the Margrave of Baden. At the same time, the emperor tried to take over the claims of the Bavarian Duke to Brunswick.⁷⁴ Imperial troops, commanded by the German King Henry VII, made an attempt to take control of Brunswick already in 1227. This action failed due to the loyalty which the Brunswick townspeople manifested to Otto the Child as well as the military assistance brought personally to Brunswick by the Margraves of Brandenburg: John I and Otto III.⁷⁵ The young Ascanians once again clearly declared themselves on the side of their brother-in-law. Thus, they found themselves in the anti-imperial and pro-Danish political camp. In local politics, this led to a significant

72 *Regesten*, 590; Egon Boshof, "Die Entstehung des Herzogtums Braunschweig-Lüneburg," in: *Heinrich der Löwe*, hrsg. v. Wolf-Dieter Mohrmann (Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung, 39) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 256; Thorau, *König Heinrich*, 320–328; Gudrun Pischke, "Brunonen und Welfen als Königskandidaten und Königswähler vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert," in: *Königliche Tochterstämme, Königswähler und Kurfürsten*, hrsg. v. Armin Wolf (Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2002), 139; Hans Patze, "Die Begründung des Herzogtums Braunschweig im Jahre 1235 und die «Braunschweigische Reimchronik»," in: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Hans Patze*, hrsg. v. Peter Johaneck, Ernst Schubert, Matthias Werne (Vorträge und Forschungen, Herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 1) (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002), 593–954.

73 *Regesten*, 590.

74 Patze, "Die Begründung," 593–594.

75 *Regesten*, 593; Bauch, *Die Markgrafen*, 16; Thorau, *König Heinrich*, 323.

cooling of the relationship between the Brandenburg Margraves and the local pillar of the Hohenstaufen party, i.e. the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albert von Käfernburg. The Ascanians must have remembered his failure to keep his promise related to the imperial confirmation of their offices.

Another threat that John I, Otto III and their advisory circles had to deal with at that time was the renewal of the dispute between the Margraves and the Halberstadt bishopric. It certainly concerned financial matters and the problem of ownership of the district and Castle of Alvensleben as well as Walbeck Castle.⁷⁶ From 1209, the Bishopric was headed by Frederick II Burggraf von Kirchberg, who was trying to raise the political significance of his diocese and was pursuing an exuberant investment policy.⁷⁷ Despite the growing dispute between the Empire and the papacy, the Bishop sought the success of his plans (similar to Albert II von Käfernburg) in cooperation with the imperial court. The alliance between Bishop Frederick II and Archbishop Albert II thus seems to be fully understandable.

The defeat suffered by Denmark at the Battle of Bornhöved in 1227 made it possible to implement the German-Danish agreements of 1225. Valdemar II was to relinquish his sovereignty over the lands of the Reich located between the estuary of the River Eider (in today's Schleswig-Holstein) and the Rivers Levensau and Elbe. Valdemar II had to yield and return to the Reich the lands belonging to Lord Borwin (Henry Borwin I), and all lands of Slavia, except Rügen and its territories.⁷⁸

The rulers of West Pomerania, whose state fell within the concept of the land of Slavia, did not really believe in the permanence of the situation and the final defeat of Denmark. This was still the case in the year 1228, when Pomeranian-Rugian contacts can be proven. However, this state of affairs began to change in the face of political compromises that the Danish king had to make. To make matters more complicated, there were additional consequences of implementing the provisions of the treaty of 1225. Rügen, which was to remain with Denmark, decided to extend the borders of its

76 *Regesten*, 650; see: Georg Sello, "Halberstädtisch-brandenburgische Fehde 1238–1245," *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 24 (1891): 201–219; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 121 *et seq.*, which discusses the disputes between the Church and the margraves since the time of Albert II. The conflict with the Diocese of Brandenburg seems of primary importance here. It concerned income collected from the so-called new lands of the March. However, other dioceses also faced problems with the collection of church benefits and the enforcement of the rights of the Church in the territories belonging to the margraves of Brandenburg.

77 *Regesten*, 598 believed that Ludolf was then the Bishop of Halberstadt. In contemporary literature, however, it is assumed that the person in question is Frederick II Burggraf von Kirchberg, Bishop of Halberstadt in the years 1209–1236. Cf. Helmut Beumann, "Beiträge zum Urkundenwesen der Bischöfe von Halberstadt (965–1241). Mit 4 Tafeln," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 16 (1939): 5, where there is a board showing, inter alia, years in office of particular bishops of Halberstadt.

78 MUB, vol. I, 317; Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 350–351.

continental possessions to the limit. At that time, Mecklenburg also spotted a chance to resolve earlier border disputes with Pomerania.

According to the assumptions of contemporary researchers, Wartislaw III, who came of age around 1225, earlier lost to Rügen the castellany of Wolgast.⁷⁹ These circumstances may have been mentioned in the later fief treaty concluded between him and the Brandenburg margraves in Kremmen in 1236. The Duke wrote in it the request for the help which the Ascanians were to provide him in regaining what Wartislaw had lost in his childhood. According to historians, this loss was supposed to be Wolgast. The young Griffins: Wartislaw III and Barnim I managed to regain the disputed lands by the summer of 1228. Documents issued by both Dukes during this period are considered as evidence of this. They mention: Cieszymir, castellan of Demmin, accompanying Wartislaw III and Miroslav, castellan of Wolgast, accompanying Barnim I.⁸⁰ It was connected with the division of the regained territories between the two rulers.⁸¹

It is possible that Lübeck provided aid to the Pomeranian dukes in the described project. Its Pomeranian interests outweighed the considerable benefits that the privilege granted by the ruler of Rügen Vitslav I in 1224 gave to ships and merchants coming from this city.⁸² In the following period, Lübeck effectively became a pillar of the anti-Danish opposition in the countries of the Reich.⁸³ After the disastrous events of 1227, Valdemar II began to forge anti-Lübeck alliances composed mainly of trading cities competing with it: Bremen, Stade, Brunswick and Cologne. The location of the city of Soest by Valdemar II is also viewed as part of this process. In addition, the Danish king reached an agreement with the Archbishop of Bremen, Gerhard II and Count Adolf IV of Holstein. These feudal lords contributed greatly to the victory over

79 PU, vol. I, 252; *Regesten*, 636; Fritz Zickermann, "Das Lehnverhältnis zwischen Brandenburg und Pommern im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 4 (1891): 41; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 331.

80 PU, vol. I, 248, 250; Spors, "Przynależność polityczna," 354 *et seq.*; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 336.

81 Cf. Dietmar Lucht, "Herzog Wartislaw III. von Pommern," *Baltische Studien*, N.F. 53 (1967): 13; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 336.

82 UB St. Lübeck, 27; Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen*, 376; Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 330; Christian Reuter, "Lübeck und Stralsund bis zum Rostocker Landfrieden 1283," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 32 (1904/1905): 11–12.

83 The privileges granted by the Griffins to the city (PU, vol. I, 250–251) can testify to the alliance between Lübeck and Pomerania; Spors, "Przynależność polityczna," 351 *et seq.* On the anti-Danish activity of Lübeck, see Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 359 *et seq.*; Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna*, 70–71

Denmark in 1227.⁸⁴ Valdemar II managed to considerably weaken in the Reich the Count's party, whose troops defeated the King at Bornhöved.

The Griffins' move against Rügen and their alliance with Lübeck certainly caused a state of tension between West Pomerania and Denmark. Initially, however, it did not lead to an open severance of relations and war. The fights broke out a little later, and another factor contributing to the conflict between Pomerania and Denmark were border disputes between the Duchy of Wartislaw III and Mecklenburg. This dispute had a diocesan dimension and concerned the conflict between the Bishop of Schwerin, Brunward, and the Bishop of Cammin, Konrad II.⁸⁵ The territorial aspect of the conflict concerned the affiliation of the Bisdede and Tribeden lands.⁸⁶ Sources directly relating it come only from the 1230's. However, it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that the dispute aggravated already at the end of the 20's of the 13th century. In 1226, the ruler of Mecklenburg, Henry Borwin II of Rostock, founded a collegiate church with 10 prebendaries in Güstrow, which borders with Pomerania.⁸⁷ After his death, the donation was confirmed by his father, Henry Borwin I.⁸⁸ In June 1229, the estate of the funded collegiate church was confirmed by the Bishop of Schwerin, Brunward.⁸⁹ In the papal approval of this collegiate church of 11 May 1230, it was defined as situated in the Cammin diocese ("Gustrowe, Caminensis diocesis").⁹⁰ On 1 November 1228, the rulers of Mecklenburg: John, Nicholas, Henry and Pribislav stayed in Güstrow and confirmed the municipal rights granted to it by their father, Henry Borwin II. In the summer of 1229, Bishop Brunward confirmed the collegiate property in Güstrow. So it was probably after that date, and before May 1230, that the fights between Pomerania and Mecklenburg erupted. Perhaps Rymar rightly proposed the hypothesis that in the second half of 1229 the Mecklenburgers attacked the Pomeranian lands. At the same time, their appetites expanded significantly and targeted not only Circipania, but also the Wozlende lands.⁹¹ The conflict is evidenced by the granting by

84 Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte*, 387 *et seq.*, Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dänemark*, 393; Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzną*, 70–71; Rymar, "Księstwa zachodniopomorskie," 337; idem, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 30–31.

85 Wilhelm Biereye, "Bischof Brunward von Schwerin," *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher* 98 (1943): 108, 129–130; Hellmuth Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte von Pommern*, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen des Christentums bis zur Reformationszeit* (Stettin: Verlag von Fischer & Schmidt, 1937), 78–79; Rymar, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 26.

86 Rymar, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 26.

87 MUB, vol. I, 323.

88 Ibidem, 331.

89 Ibidem, 368.

90 Ibidem, 378, PU, vol. I, 244; Rymar, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 26.

91 It results from a subsequent agreement on the collection of tithes by Konrad II, Bishop of Cammin, from these lands and the transfer of half of them to Nicholas and Henry of Rostock. MUB, vol. I, 369;

the Mecklenburg rulers Nicholas and Henry of Rostock in 1229 again in Güstrow in favour of the Benedictine monastery in Arendsee in March. It concerned the granting of the village of Wargentín and the right to half of the fish caught in half of the lake of Malchin. The diploma was also a confirmation of earlier grants from Pomeranian Dukes Casimir II and his son Wartislaw III.⁹² Apparently, the object of the Pomeranian donation was in the hands of the Mecklenburgers in 1229.

Contrary to the opinion in the literature on the subject, I do not think that the Pomeranian-Mecklenburg war of 1229 immediately resulted in Denmark's move against the Pomeranian dukes. Rather, the political circumstances leading up to the Battle of the Plane point to the opposite. Despite the fact that since 1227 Otto the Child was in Schwerin captivity, it was quite obvious for the Welfs' political faction, which was associated with him and supported by Denmark and Brandenburg, that the Duke's imprisonment was only a temporary state. On 10 May 1228, through the intercession of Agnes of Wettin, mother-in-law of Otto the Child, the Duke was given all the estates in the Verden Bishopric that belonged to Count Palatine Henry.⁹³ In September that year, strong ties with Otto were clearly confirmed by the Danish King Valdemar II. In exchange for their loyalty to Otto and defence against the armies of King Henry VII, he granted the people of Brunswick numerous customs freedoms.⁹⁴ At the end of that year, the Danish King, Pope Gregory IX and the English King Henry III launched a large-scale diplomatic campaign aimed at forcing the widow of Henry of Schwerin Margaret-Audacia and her son Gunzelin III to release Otto the Child.⁹⁵ Pope Gregory IX and King Henry III who supported him saw in Otto a natural candidate for an anti-king who could be opposed to the Hohenstaufen. However, these plans could not be implemented mainly due to the fears and reluctance of Otto the Child himself.

Welf was released at the beginning of 1229 after the settlement he made with the Saxon Duke Albert I and the promise made to Schwerin that he would no longer support Valdemar II against Gunzelin III.⁹⁶ Judging by the correspondence between Otto and the papacy, the Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg did not intend to keep this

Rymar, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 28, note 34.

92 MUB, vol. I, 371; cf. Friedrich Salis, "Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte des Bistums Kammin," *Baltische Studien*, N.F. 26 (1924): 42; Rymar, "Konflikt pomorsko-meklemburski," 27–28.

93 MUB, vol. I, 353; Boshof, "Die Entstehung," 268.

94 MUB, vol. I, 357; Bauch, *Die Markgrafen*, 16.

95 MUB, vol. I, 361, 366, 367; Bauch, *Die Markgrafen*, 16; Boshof, "Die Entstehung," 268; Pischke, "Brunonen und Welfen," 140; Patze, "Die Begründung," 594; Smoliński, "Kilka uwag w sprawie roli politycznej," 259–260.

96 MUB, vol. I, 364; *Regesten*, 599; Hermann Steudener, "Albrecht I., Herzog zu Sachsen 1212–1260," *Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 28 (1895) 1: 47–48; Smoliński, "Kilka uwag o roli politycznej," 259–260.

promise.⁹⁷ Unexpectedly, however, the Duke's main ally, the Danish king, began to incline towards a settlement with the still hostile German counts. Valdemar II decided to end the war with Schwerin and finally be reunited with his younger sons who were held in captivity. The conflict with the Hohenstaufen and their local party became for Otto the Child much more urgent than the relations with Gunzelin III and the Saxon Duke Albert I. The Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg got involved in the war with the Hohenstaufen virtually immediately after his release from Schwerin captivity. The newly-liberated ruler had to tame the Brunswick ministeriales who switched sides and joined the Hohenstaufen. The rebellious ministeriales sought help from the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The fierceness of the conflict was so great that what mattered was not only defeating the opponent, but physically eliminating him. During the fighting, an accusation was raised that Otto the Child and, indirectly, the Brandenburg margraves supported the plan to assassinate the Archbishop.⁹⁸ One of Otto's officials, Cesarius, was to prepare it. He was notorious even earlier on account of his actions against the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. When he was captured, the margraves of Brandenburg saved him from losing his life by interceding on his behalf with the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The released Cesarius not only did not change his behaviour, but during the war of the Archbishopric with Brunswick and the March, he offered to kill Albert II von Käfernburg.

Otto the Child continued the war with the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Bishop of Halberstadt with the help of his former allies. They were his Brandenburg brothers-in-law and probably the Pomeranian dukes still associated with Denmark. The policy pursued by the Archbishop of Magdeburg could have induced the Griffins to join the fight against Albert II von Käfernburg. At least from 1210 until 1228, he carried out extensive campaigns in the Roman Curia aimed at recognising the subordination of the Bishopric of Cammin to Magdeburg.⁹⁹ These efforts were also intensified in 1228. At the end of June that year, Pope Gregory IX ordered the bishop of Cammin to respect the former decision of Innocent III to subordinate the Cammin diocese to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg.¹⁰⁰ The attempt to deprive the Pomeranian church of independence was certainly not positively received in Pomerania in 1228 or 1229.

97 MUB, vol. I, 367.

98 *Regesten*, 601.

99 PU, vol. I, 168, 216, 245; Hartung, "Die Territorialpolitik," 229–230; Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte von Pommern*, 72 *et seq.*; Rymar, "Termin," 165; Edward Rymar, *Biskupi, mnisi, reformatorzy: studia z dziejów diecezji kamieńskiej* (Rozprawy i Studia Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 45) (Szczecin: Scientific Publishers of the University of Szczecin, 2002), 17–18. While the attempt of subordination was successfully resisted by Bishop Sigwin, his successors, including Konrad III of Salzwedel, were inclined to recognise the claim of the Magdeburg Archbishopric.

100 PU, vol. I, 245.

Due to the impossibility of obtaining real help by the Pomeranians from Valdemar II in the war with Rügen and Mecklenburg, the Griffins decided to seek an alternative political solution. Without actively working against Denmark itself, they turned towards an alliance with the Brandenburg margraves. Since both Wartislaw III and Barnim I owned lands which were the subject of the dispute with Rügen and due to the message of the Magdeburg Bishop's chronicle mentioning the margraves' auxiliaries in the battle of Plane (a detachment from Slavic countries and not from one country), one can cautiously theorise that both Pomeranian rulers decided on an alliance with the margraves.

The war between Pomerania and Denmark probably took place in the early 1330's. The policies of the Danish king and the Brandenburg margraves had the greatest influence on the severance of the Pomeranian dukes with Valdemar II. In 1230, Valdemar II concluded a peace agreement with Gunzelin III and regained his younger sons and the rest of the Danish hostages. This act symbolised the end of the anti-Danish alliance of the German counts. In the following years, this enabled Valdemar II to attack the Pomeranian ally, i.e. Lübeck, and then, in alliance with Rügen, Pomerania itself. The Brandenburg margraves, after their defeat in 1229, made a political turn, seeking an agreement with the Hohenstaufen party. They succeeded in 1231, when John I and, in the event of his death, Otto III, obtained confirmation of their March offices and estates as well as the right to supremacy over the Pomeranian Duchy.¹⁰¹ If parts of the Teltow and Barnim lands had already fallen away from Pomerania, it is possible that Barnim I, when joining, together with Wartislaw III, an alliance with the March also agreed to give up claims to these territories.¹⁰² Their brother-in-law, Otto the Child, also made it possible for them to work towards a settlement with the imperial party. The war of 1229 was quickly ended by concluding an agreement with the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Bishop of Halberstadt regarding the Walbeck castle. The Duke promised them that the castle would not be rebuilt.¹⁰³ After successfully defending the Welf's Brunswick legacy, at least for a time, he was not interested in escalating the conflict with the Hohenstaufen. Owing to this attitude and English mediation, in 1235 he managed to come to an agreement with Emperor Frederick II.

101 Ibidem, 279.

102 Rymar, "Termin," 176. Since this hypothesis contradicts the message of the *Chronicle of the Margraves of Brandenburg*, where it was claimed that these territories were obtained by Margraves John I and Otto III, this matter should still be the subject of research.

103 Bauch, *Die Markgrafen*, 18, note 1, where the source material is quoted.

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

In 1229, a battle took place on the River Plane near Brandenburg. In the battle, troops of the Margraves of Brandenburg John I and Otto III met the army of the ministeriales of the Magdeburg Archbishopric, led by Archbishop Albert II von Käfernburg himself. The margraves were supported by a strong detachment of Slavs / Wends coming from Slavic countries. An analysis of narrative sources, mainly the *Saxon World Chronicle* and the *Deeds of the Archbishops of Magdeburg*, makes it possible to identify the Slavs / Wends with the subjects of Pomeranian dukes. They supported the margraves of Brandenburg and thus the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Otto the Child. Hence, in the described period, the Pomeranians have not broken with Denmark yet. The war with Valdemar II occurred only in the 1230's,

when the king of Denmark openly supported Rügen, while the margraves of Brandenburg and the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg altered their policies aiming at an agreement with the Hohenstaufen.

Wendowie/Słowianie/Pomorzanie jako sprzymierzeńcy margrabiów brandenburskich w 1229 r. Głos w dyskusji w sprawie sojuszy politycznych władców Pomorza Zachodniego w latach 20. XIII w.

Słowa kluczowe: Wendowie, Słowianie, Pomorzanie, Brandenburgia, Pomorze Zachodnie, margrabiowie brandenburscy Jan I i Otton III, arcybiskupa magdeburgski Albrecht II von Käfernburg, księżęta Pomorza Warcisław III i Barnim I, księżę Brunszwiku i Lüneburga Otton Dziecię

STRESZCZENIE

W 1229 r. doszło do bitwy nad rzeką Plane koło Brandneburga. Wzięły w niej udział oddziały margrabiów brandenburskich Jana I i Ottona III oraz wojska ministeriałów arcybiskupstwa magdeburgskiego na czele z samym arcybiskupem Albrechtem II von Käfernburg. Margrabiów wspomagał przy tym silny odział Słowian/Wendów pochodzący z krajów słowiańskich. Analiza przekazów źródeł narracyjnych, głównie *Saskiej kroniki świata* i *Czynów arcybiskupów magdeburgskich* pozwala z dużą pewnością utożsamić wspomnianych Słowian/Wendów z poddanymi księząt pomorskich. Wspomogli oni margrabiów brandenburskich i przez to księcia brunszwisko-lüneburskiego Ottona Dziecięcia. Tym samym w opisywanym okresie Pomorzanie raczej nie zerwali jeszcze z Danią. Do wojny z Waldemarem II doszło dopiero w latach 30 XIII w., gdy król duńskich otwarcie wsparł Rugię, a margrabiowie brandenburscy i księżę brunszwicko-lüneburski zmienili swą politykę zmierzając do ugody z Hohenstaufami.

Citation

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