



Marek Smoliński

Institute of History
University of Gdansk
mszczuj1294@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-1231-6531

Who Were the Slavs who Destroyed the Fortress on the River Trave in 1181? The Origins of the Imperial-Pomeranian Alliance in the Early 80s of the 12th Century

Keywords: Polabian Slavs, Pomeranians, Bogislaw I Duke of Pomerania, Henry the Lion, Frederick I Barbarossa, siege of Lübeck in 1181

The question posed in the first part of the title stems from a reading of an excerpt from the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck. This work covers the years 1171–1209, and its author was very familiar with the course of the conflict between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The dispute between the two broke out in 1176. A year later it turned into an open war between Henry the Lion and the emperor's supporters in the Reich. An excerpt from the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, which forms the basis of the issue presented here, is part of the 1180s, writing about the rebuilding of a castle on the banks of the Trave River (later Travemünde) by Count Adolf III of Holstein. This castle was erected in the second half of the 12th century, Henry the Lion. It was built at the mouth of the Trave River to the Baltic Sea. It was originally built on the river. Count Adolf moved its location to the riverbank. According to the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, this fortress was destroyed by some Slavs during the emperor's siege of Lübeck. ("Hac serie dierurn Adolfus comes cepit reedificare castrum ad ostium Travene, quod a Sclavis exustum fuerat, quando imperator civitatem Lubeke obsederat"¹). The event, therefore, must have taken place in 1181. The attempt to identify the Slavs who destroyed the fortress on the river Trave, as well as the attempt to place the event within the framework of the ongoing conflict, has so far not been separately considered by historians.

1 Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed. *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum ex recensione I.M. Lappenbergii in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit Georgius Heinricus Pertz* (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1868) (hereafter Arnold), III, 20: 109–110. Chronology adopted after the findings of the chronicle's publisher: Arnold, 61, note 2.

The sphere of scholarly interest in the participation of Slavs in the events surrounding the battles of 1181 has so far included other problems. These included the meeting at Lübeck of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa with an army of Slavs and Holzats,² the passage to the side of the Emperor of Pomerania, Duke Bogislaw I and the paying of tribute to the emperor,³

- 2 In this regard, first of all, Edward Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," in: *Monumenta manent. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Tadeuszowi Bialeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. Adam Makowski, Edward Włodarczyk (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2003), 81, note 9.
- 3 In this context, in addition to the tribute itself, the literature primarily debated the legal appropriateness of the ducal title obtained by Bogislaw I from Frederick Barbarossa. See: Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil 2: *Von der Bekehrung Pommerns zum Christenthume bis zum Tode Barnims I. i. J. 1278. Nebst einer Höhen und Fluß-Karte von Pommern* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perches, 1840), 258; Otto Fock, *Rügen'sch-Pommersche Geschichten aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1861), 95; Ludwig Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780 bis 1182*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Rudolf Geartner Amerlanke'sche Sort-Buchhandlung, 1843), 269; Felix Rachfahl, "Der Ursprung des brandenburgisch-pommerschen Lehnsverhältniss," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 5 (1892): 81–82; Wilhelm von Sommerfeld, *Geschichte der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern oder Slavien bis zum Ablauf des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1896), 83; Wilhelm Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej aż do wynarodowienia Słowian zaodrzańskich*, vol. 4, (Poznań: nakładem autora, 1900), 12–13; Paul von Niessen, "Die staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse Pommerns in den Jahren 1180–1214," *Baltische Studien* NF 17 (1913): 253, 263–265; Martin Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe, Herzog von Bayern und Sachsen, sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Leipzig: O. Leiner, 1918), 449; Fritz Curschmann, "Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaws I. von Pommern im Lager von Lübeck (1181)," *Pommersche Jahrbücher* 31 (1937): 5–34; Kazimierz Myśliński, "Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie po śmierci Krzywoustego," *Roczniki Historyczne* 17 (1948): 2, 23–24; Idem, *Bogusław I książę Pomorza Zachodniego* (Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk–Szczecin: Instytut Zachodni, 1948): 34–36; Jerzy Dowiat, "Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego na ziemie wielecko-obodrzyckie w drugiej połowie XII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 50 (1959) 4: 717–718; Manfred Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte. Von den Anfängen bis zur landständischen Union von 1523* (Böhlau-Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1968), 92; Dietmar Lucht, "War Bogislaw I. Reichfürst?," *Baltische Studien* NF 54 (1968): 26–30; Hans-Joachim Freytag, "Der Nordosten des Reiches nach dem Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen. Bischof Waldemar von Schleswig und das Erzbistum Bremen (1192/93)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 25 (1969) 2: 483; Benedykt Zientara, "Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską w drugiej połowie XII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 61 (1970) 4: 563–564; Karl Jordan, "Deutsche Könige in Nordelbingen während des Mittelalters," in: *Schleswig-Holstein und der Norden. Festschrift für Olaf Klose zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Kamphausen (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1968), 27; Jürgen Petersohn, "Pommerns staatsrechtliches Verhältnis zu den Nachbarmächten im Mittelalter," in: *Die Rolle Schlesiens und Pommerns in der Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen im Mittelalter: XII. Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkonferenz der Historiker vom 5. bis 10. Juni 1979 in Allenstein/Olsztyn (Polen)*, ed. Rainer Riemenschneider (Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung 1980), 106; Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie* (München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag 1993), 116, 205, 207; Hartmut Boockmann, "Barbarossa in Lübeck," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1981): 14; Odilo Engels, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark," in: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 382; Detlef Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin. Ein Versuch über das Lehnsverhältnis Heinrichs des Löwen gegenüber den pommerschen Herzögen," in: *Land am Meer. Pommern im Spiegel seiner Geschichte. Roderich Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Werner Buchholz, Günter Mangelsdorf (Köln: Böhlau, 1995), 81; Hans-Otto Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische*

and the possible arrival at Lübeck of the Slav *princeps* Niklot Warcislawic and his participation in the war against Henry the Lion.⁴

When describing the siege of Lübeck, chronicler Arnold mentioned that the emperor crossed the river [Trave], moved to Lübeck, and met the troops of Slavs and Holzats who joined him (“Imperator autem transito flumine venit Lubeke, et occurrit ei exercitus Sclavorum et Holtsatorum”).⁵ The arrival of Frederick I at Lübeck was associated with the closing of the city with a siege ring. The events are dated between late June and early July 1181.⁶ In the next sentence, the chronicler described the arrival of the Danish king, Valdemar I, at the imperial camp. The Scandinavian forces got here most likely by the shortest possible route. It led across the Baltic Sea towards the Bay of Lübeck to the mouth of the Trave.⁷ The voyage of the Danish fleet to Lübeck must have been preceded by the destruction of *castrum ad ostium Travene*, which blocked the free entrance to the Tave. The surviving sources say nothing about the Danes having to break through the Saxon defensive line formed by the defenders of the aforementioned fortress. Such probably no longer existed at the time. According to Saxo Grammaticus, the Danish fleet that Valdemar I brought to Lübeck was not prepared for battle. Its task was to dazzle the emperor and his entourage with the dignity and power of the Danish ruler.⁸ According to some historians, the Rugian fleet played a major role in the siege of Lübeck. Its task was to blockade Lübeck from the sea.⁹ Undisputed was the fact

Geschichte 121 (1996): 47; Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie* (München: Siedler Verlag, 2008), 342; Christian Lübke, “Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven,” in: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund and Bernd Schütte (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008), 195; Oliver Auge, *Handlungsspielräume fürstlicher Politik im Mittelalter: der südliche Ostseeraum von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis in die frühe Reformationszeit* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009), 265–266; Idem, “Behauptung, Unterordnung, Anpassung: Der Weg der slawischen Herren von Mecklenburg und Herzöge von Pommern zu Reichsfürsten (vom frühen 12. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts),” *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 150 (2014): 227–228.

- 4 The supposition of Niklot Warcislawic’s sojourn near Lübeck was introduced into literature by Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, 269. Following Giesebrecht, this idea was repeated by, among others: Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 207; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 342; Engels, “Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark,” 382; Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, “Die Staufer und Lübeck,” in: *Die Staufer und der Norden Deutschlands*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für Staufische Geschichte, 2016), 73; Rymar, “Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180,” 102.
- 5 Arnold, III, 21: 63.
- 6 Curschmann, “Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaws I. von Pommern im Lager von Lübeck (1181),” 13; Gaethke, “Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingien 1182–1227,” 61.
- 7 Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840), 306.
- 8 Alfred Holder, ed., *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum* (hereafter Saxo), (Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1886), XV, 651.
- 9 Hans Witte, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte in Anknüpfung an Ernst Boll*, vol. 1: *Von der Urzeit bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Wismar: Hinstorff’sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1909), 97; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92.

of the stay at Lübeck of the Rügen ruler Jaromar I. According to Saxo Grammaticus, his declared allegiance to the Danish king aroused the resentment of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The emperor was said to have directly articulated it in the camp at Lübeck.¹⁰

Not long ago in literature there was an assumption that the army of Slavs and Holzats that joined the emperor was composed of Holzats loyal to the Holstein Count Adolf III and Pomeranians.¹¹ This assumption requires discussion of Adolf III's participation in the battles of Lübeck as well as identification of the Slavs mentioned in Arnold's chronicle. In its pages there is no information that Adolf III personally took part in the siege of Lübeck.¹² Source news about him in the period 1180–1181 is quite scarce. These include the conflict over prisoners of war, which, initiated by accusations hurled by Count Schwerin Gunzelin, divided Count Adolf III and Henry the Lion. The conflict between Henry the Lion and Adolf III began in the summer of 1179, during a war expedition directed by the Archbishop of Cologne, Philip von Heinsberg.¹³ However, it reached its climax during the attack of Henry the Lion's forces on Thuringia in May 1180.¹⁴ The dispute resulted in the count leaving Henry the Lion's side. Henry the Lion responded by seizing Holstein and its strongest strongholds Plön and Segeberg.¹⁵ The count had to leave his Holstein dominion.

The conflict between Henry and Adolf revealed deep divisions among the Holstein moguls. Some of them openly sided with Henry the Lion. In Henry the Lion's plans, his Holzat governors Luppold of Sigberg and Markward II of Plöne were to play an important role in defence against attacks by the emperor's partisans in the summer of 1181.¹⁶ Faced with the threat, the prince demanded that they bring reinforcements from Holstein. During the fighting at Lübeck, the city was also defended by the Holzats, among others. Thus, Arnold of Lübeck claimed that Count Simon of Tecklenburg,

10 Saxo, XV, 652.

11 Edward Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich* (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska, 2005), 120, note 146. For the political divisions that existed in Holstein against the background of Adolf III's domestic politics and deepened after the outbreak of the conflict between Count Adolf III and Henry the Lion see. Ulrich Lange, "Grundlagen der Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger in Holstein," Teil 1, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 99 (1974): 27–28.

12 Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92.

13 Arnold, II, 13: 51; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 200–201; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 333.

14 Arnold, II, 13: 51–52, 16: 55–57; Rudolf Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte 1189–1227* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1863), 77–78; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 116, 205; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 337–338.

15 Wilhelm Meyer-Seedorf, "Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 76 (1911): 41.

16 Arnold, II, 20: 61–62; Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingien 1182–1227," 61; Detlev Kraack, "Die frühen Schauenburger als Grafen von Holstein und Stormarn (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," in: *Die Fürsten des Landes. Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*, eds. Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen, Elke Imberger, E. Dieter Lohmeier and Ingwer E. Mommsen (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2008), 36.

Count Bernhard of Frisian Oldenburg and his namesake Count Wölpe, along with Markward II, commander of the Holzats and Emeco of Holte, were in Lübeck during the imperial siege, with “some very brave Holzats” and a very large number of inhabitants.¹⁷ These “brave Holzats,” defenders of the city, were pitted by the chronicler against the Holzats, who had been commanded only a year earlier by Count Adolf III. Arnold of Lübeck wrote of the latter that they were a people “knowing no mercy and most eager for bloodshed.”¹⁸

Adolf III, after his expulsion, was to set off for his native Sachuenburg. However, by the summer of 1180 he was already at the imperial court. Historians point to his presence in the entourage of Henry the Lion’s opponents at the Werle convention (15–18 August 1180).¹⁹ The count can also be found in the imperial entourage in the autumn of that year. He was then noted as a witness to an imperial document issued for the city of Magdeburg.²⁰ This happened during another convention, which was attended by counts who were former supporters of Henry the Lion to the emperor. In addition to Adolf III of Holstein, the counts of Wötzingeroode, Scharzfeld, Dannenberg and Ilfeld were present.²¹

Arnold of Lübeck devoted a section of his chronicle to a discussion of events after the surrender of the Lübeck burghers. At the time, the chronicler wrote that Frederick I Barbarossa granted Count Adolf III a half share in the tolls, mills and mint of Lübeck, both for his great services to the empire and as reparation for the exile he had suffered for some time because of it.²² Leaving aside the extent of the endowment and how much the count actually wanted to receive from the Lübeck revenues, this information seems to prejudge the possibility of Adolf III’s participation in the siege of Lübeck. It is reasonable to assume that the count was in Hohenstauf’s retinue when the imperial army entered Saxony. With the emperor he probably also reached Lübeck. The next source information on the count comes from November 1181, indicating that Schauenburg continued to cooperate with the emperor and remained in the entourage of the imperial court. The count then reappeared as a witness to the imperial privilege.²³

The problem is trying to connect the Count’s actions with the Slavs or Pomeranians. There was certainly a possibility that Adolf III interacted with Slavs other than the Pomeranians. They may have originated from Wagria located in the lower

17 Arnold, II, 21: 61; Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 438–439, 449; Freytag, “Der Nordosten des Reiches nach dem Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen. Bischof Waldemar von Schleswig und das Erzbistum Bremen (1192/93),” 481–482; Lange, “Grundlagen der Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger in Holstein,” 27.

18 Arnold, II, 13: 51.

19 Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 441.

20 Paul Hasse, ed. *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Regesten und Urkunden* (hereafter SHLRuU), vol. 1 (Hamburg–Leipzig: Verlag von Leopold Voss, 1860), no. 140.

21 See: Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 441; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 340.

22 Arnold, II, 21: 62; Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 450.

23 SHLRuU, no. 142.

reaches of the Trave River. The subjugation of Wagria by Henry the Lion and his German fiefs took place in the 1140s. The lands of the Slavs there were originally divided between Adolf III's father, Adolf II von Schauenburg and Henry von Badewide. Adolf II then received Wagria and Segeberg. Henry von Badewide was to rule the lands of the Polabian Slavs. The ruler of the Slavs there, Prybislav, was forced to recognise Saxon sovereignty. He exercised power, still until 1156/57, only in the coastal strip around Starogard Wagry (Oldenburg).²⁴ After his death, this land was captured by Count Adolf II von Schauenburg and integrated into the Holstein County.²⁵

In addition to Oldenburg, the Slavs lived around Plöne, Ljütenborg, Crempe and Ratkau.²⁶ In addition to the tribute paid to the Saxon prince, they were obliged to provide military reinforcements to Henry the Lion and his fiefs.²⁷ The Oldenburg Slavs were among the ranks of Adolf II's army during his 1164 expedition against their neighbour, Prybislav *princeps* of Obodrites.²⁸ He was supported by the armies of the Pomeranian

24 Gerard Labuda, "Przybysław," in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, eds. Bernard Labuda, Zdzisław Stieber, vol. 4 (hereafter SSS), (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970), 398 (here older literature on the subject); Kazimierz Wachowski, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2000), 117–124; Hans Holm Bielfeld, Jan Branač, Werner Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und die Herausbildung der vollentwickelten Feudalgesellschaft zwischen Elbe und Oder," in: *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der Slavischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Joachim Hermann (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 383–384; Jordan, *Henrich der Löwe*, 93–94; Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 69; Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," 47; Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa, Heinrich der Löwe und die Kirchenorganisation in Transalbingen Voraussetzungen, Bedeutung und Wirkungen des Goslarer Privilegs von 1154," in: *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, eds. Johannes Fried, Otto Gerhard Oexle (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2003), 249; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 195; see also: Ehlers, *Henrich der Löwe*, 62–64, 153 and Robert F. Barkowski, *Słowianie połabscy. Dzieje zagłady* (Warszawa: Bellona, 2021), 228–229.

25 After Adolf II occupied the territory, he pursued a settlement policy that promoted the immigrant German and Dutch population. One of the tools of this process was the count's support for the activities of the German Church, which involved numerous church foundations made by Schauneburg. See: Friedrich Lotter, "Die Vorstellungen vom Heidenkrieg und Wendenmission bei Heinrich dem Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Mohrmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 33; Ehlers, *Henrich der Löwe*, 153; see also: Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," 53–54; Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 213; Ulrich Müller, "Die Slawen im östlichen Holstein," in: *Besonderes aus Ostholstein. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Region: anlässlich des 50-jährigen Jubiläums des Kreises Ostholstein*, eds. Oliver Auge, Anke Scharrenberg (Husum: Husum Verlag, 2020), 15 et seq.; Barkowski, *Słowianie połabscy*, 230–231, 236 et seq.

26 Werner Carstens, "Die Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger und die Entstehung der landständischen Verfassung in Schleswig-Holstein I.," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 55 (1925): 311–313.

27 See: Bielfeld, Branač, Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion," 390.

28 Bernhard Schmeidler, ed., "Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum" editio 3, (hereafter Helmold), in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum*,

dukes Boguslav I and Casimir I. The highlight of the described campaign was the battle fought on 6th July 1164 at Verchen. Death was suffered in it, among others, by Adolf II. The chronicler Helmold of Bosau directly accused the Oldenburg Slavs, who were subordinate to Adolf II, of treasonous actions and collaboration with Pribislav and the Dukes of Pomerania.²⁹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to answer the question of how much these events reflected on the attitude of his son Adolf III towards the Slavs, including the Pomeranians. Both of these groups, the count had the right to blame for the death of his father.

It was the Vagrian Slavs who had the best chance to strike castle on Trave in 1181. This is supported primarily by geographical considerations. It is not insignificant that even in 1164, i.e., 17 years earlier, they evidently had a viable armed force. Arnold of Lübeck, however, did not link their attack to the actions of Count Adolf III. Although the chronicler had knowledge that a few years after these events Adolf III rebuilt the destroyed fortress, he had no such knowledge regarding Schauenburg's possible involvement in the earlier destruction of this fortress.³⁰ Following the account of Arnold of Lübeck, it should be assumed that the Slavs attacked the fortress on the river Trave without the participation of the Count of Holstein. If this was the case, then the Holzats, loyal to Adolf III, joined the Slavs from his county even before Frederick I Barbarossa arrived at Lübeck. Arnold of Lübeck described these troops as "exercitus Sclavorum et Holtsatorum" (army of Slavs and Holzats). The order was not accidental in this regard. Apparently, it caught the attention of a chronicler interested primarily in representatives of the German population populating the theatre of warfare he described. Perhaps, then, the Slavs were the majority in the army described by Arnold? They may have attacked the fortress on the river Trave at the instigation of the Count of Holstein. Another option is to assume that they did so as part of a possible collaboration with the Pomeranians, inspired by Bogislaw I.

Between 1179 and 1180, the Pomeranian dukes Casimir I and Bogislaw I, allied with Henry the Lion, carried out several military expeditions against the enemies of Henry the Lion. These attacks affected territories subordinated to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Brandenburg and Lusatian margraves. This was mentioned in the Annals of Pegau, the *Chronicon Montis Sereni* also known as the Lautenberg Chronicle,

vol. 32 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1937), II, 50: 196; See also: Labuda, "Przybysław, najstarszy syn Niklota," in: SSS, 398.

29 Helmold, II, 196; Bielfeld, Branač, Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion," 390; Kraack, "Die frühen Schauenburger als Grafen von Holstein und Stormarn (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," 35.

30 In view of Arnold's criticism of Adolf III's policies, the story of his involvement in the attack on the fortress would not have been confused by the chronicler. See: Volker Scior, "Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta. Arnold von Lübeck als Geschichtsschreiber," in: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund and Bernd Schütte (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008), 158, 164.

Arnold of Lübeck and the *Saxon World Chronicle*.³¹ The latter two sources described the aggressors as either Slavs or Wends. The Annals of Pegau and the Lautenberg Chronicle already defined them more precisely. They mentioned: the Pomeranians, the Lutyks/Lutics (Wilzi) and the Slavs. Thus, we are undoubtedly dealing with Slavic peoples living on both sides of the Oder River basin, Slavs settling in the former territories of the Dolezhan, Chyzan and Czrezipienian tribes (the Wielets/Lutics), and a group of Slavic peoples settled in the Polabian region (the former Obodrites). Among the latter group, the Polabians and Vagrians are traditionally distinguished. Due to the former Pomeranian-Obodric alliance, the influence of the Pomeranian princes certainly extended to the lands of the Polabians and Vagrians. It should also be assumed that the Slavs, to whom the prince had previously imposed his political supremacy, must have fought on the side of Henry the Lion. The Polabians and Vagrians certainly corresponded to this and must have supported the prince.

The reasons that decided the Slavs to go over to the side of Henry the Lion's opponents were directly articulated in the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck. The death of the Pomeranian Duke *princeps* Casimir I and the fact that his brother Bogislaw I became an "emperor's man" paying tribute ("Circa dies illo mortuus est Kazamarus princeps Pomeranorum, duci amicissimus, et defecerunt ab eo Sclavi, quia frater eius Buggezlaus, imperatori coniunctus, hominum et tributa ei persolvit").³² In this sentence, the chronicler included a flashback covering a period of more than six months. Casimir I died in battle with the troops of Brandenburg Margrave Otto in the autumn of 1180.³³

-
- 31 Georg Theodor Pertz ed., "Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses" (hereafter Pegavian Annals), in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum* (hereafter MGH SS), vol. 16 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahnani, 1895), 263; Klaus Nass ed., "Priester Konrad: Chronik des Lauterbergs (Petersberg bei Halle/S.)", in: *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 83 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2020), 146; Arnold, II, 10: 48; Ludwig Weiland ed., "Sächsische Weltchronik," in: *MGH Deutsche Chronike*, vol. 2/1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877), 230. Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," (passim), is the latest on these expeditions with regard to the older literature.
- 32 Arnold, III, 17: 58. "At this time the Pomeranian princeps Casimir died a very close friend of the prince [Henry the Lion], and the Slavs left him [i.e., Prince Henry the Lion] because Casimir's brother Bogislaw joined the emperor and paid him tribute." There was an attempt in the German literature to discuss the relationship between Henry the Lion and Bogislaw I and Casimir I, which sought to deny the fief relationship linking the Saxon prince and the Pomeranian rulers. See: Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 63–84. This idea was rightly not evaluated positively – Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," 81, note 9. Of the numerous works discussing the problem of the Pomeranian invasions, Rymar omitted Hans-Peter Richter's treatise, "Zu den machtpolitischen Hintergründen und Zielen der Pommernzüge von 1178 bis 1180 in die Lausitz und das Land Jüterbog," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 11 (1987): 83–104. Richter's study, however, did not make significant corrections to the picture known in the literature of Pomeranian politics vis-à-vis the dispute between Henry the Lion and Frederick I Barbarossa between 1178 and 1180.
- 33 On the date sought for the death of Casimir I between October and 11 November 1180, see: Adolf Hoffmeister, "Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32 (1907): 127; Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und

Bogislaw I, in accordance with the principle of assumption of power prevailing in Pomerania at the time,³⁴ as the eldest of the family, took over the lands from his deceased brother. If the problem in taking them was the fief-political arrangement that linked the Griffins to Henry the Lion, then in view of Henry the Lion's difficulties in defending his lands in 1181, such an agreement lost its significance. Difficulties in recognising Bogislaw I's authority in his deceased brother's lands, however, may have arisen with the liquidation of the fief rights held by Henry the Lion. The formal confiscation of the fiefs of the Reich held by Henry the Lion had occurred in the earlier period. The process of depriving Henry the Lion of his ancestral domains began at the end of March 1180 during the Gelnhausen congress. At the beginning of April 1180, Westphalia was separated from Henry the Lion's Saxon dominions, handing them over to the Archbishop of Cologne and the Saxon duchy given to Bernard of Anhalt.

The possibility of establishing contacts with the party of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa opened up to the Pomeranians as early as April 1180, during the aforementioned convention in Gelnhausen. The emperor's court was then visited by Mieszko III the Old, Duke of Poland, seeking help against Casimir the Just.³⁵ The Polish Duke and Bogislaw I were linked by a political alliance concluded before 1177. It was strengthened by the marriage of Mieszko III's daughter to Racibor, son of Bogislaw I of Pomerania.³⁶ Soon Bogislaw I himself also married a second time, this time to Mieszko III's daughter Anastasia.³⁷ With the imperial party fighting against Henry the Lion, Mieszko III the Old was linked by the marriages of his daughters Judith to the Count of Anhalt, and from 1180 the new Saxon prince Bernard, and Elisabeth to the Wettin-derived Konrad of Landsberg (c. 1180).³⁸ With the help of Bogislaw I of Pomerania, by 1181 Mieszko III the Old managed to return to Greater Poland and regain part of his inheritance. So, although the emperor did not directly assist Mieszko III the Old in 1180, the Polish Duke's contacts with Frederick I Barbarossa offered the chance to establish a diplomatic channel between the imperial party and the rulers of Pomerania.

Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 82; Rymar, "Pomeranian Armed Expeditions to Lusatia and Brandenburg in 1178–1180," 91–92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 120; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 194.

34 In this regard see: Marek Smoliński, *Świętopelk gdański* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2016), 84–85.

35 Karol Pertz, ed., "Annales Colonieses maximi ab O.c. – 1237," in: MGH SS, vol. 17 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1856), 790; Stanisław Smolka, *Mieszko III i jego wiek* (Kraków: Avalon 2009), 320.

36 Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 124.

37 Ibid., 115–118.

38 See: Smoliński, *Caesar et duces Poloniae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146–1191)*, (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2006), 102–146; Maciej Przybył, "Główne kierunki polityki dynastycznej Mieszka III Starego," in: *Totius mundi philohistor. Studia Georgi Strzelczyk octuagenario oblata*, eds. Małgorzata Delimata-Płoch, Adam Krawiec and Jakub Kujawiński (Poznań: UAM, 2021), 592 et seq.

There should be no doubt that Bogislaw I of Pomerania's transition to the emperor's side was preceded by negotiations. A trace of these can be found in the chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus. However, his account is distorted and characterised by the chronicler's deep dislike of both Frederick I Barbarossa and the Pomeranian Dukes. According to the Danish historian, the emperor came up with the idea of treaties with the Pomeranian Dukes Bogislaw I and Casimir I as soon as he arrived at the camp near Lübeck. Frederick I Barbarossa decided to try to pull the Griffins to his side supposedly out of fear of their military might. Saxo described it as follows: "Qui cum oppidum Lubecum obsidere coepisset Bugyszlavique et Kazymari fratrum vires admodum suspectas haberet, utrique se potentiae et claritatis incrementa daturum subornata legatione promittit, provincias, quas hactenus obscure et sine honorum insignibus gesserint, satraparum nomine recepturis" ("Since [the emperor] had begun the siege of Lübeck, and feared the strength of the brothers Bogislaw and Casimir, he sent a messenger promising them both to increase their power and glory (prestige/importance) if they would accept from him the provinces they had hitherto possessed in a doubtful/clear manner and without signs of authority [i.e., without proper title – M.S.], as satraps")³⁹.

If the emperor was indeed thinking of acquiring the two Pomeranian princes, he must have come up with the idea even before the death of Casimir I (in the autumn of 1180). He could not have conceived the idea during the siege of Lübeck in the summer of 1181. However, the fact that Saxo believed that both Griffins were in the imperial camp near the said city,⁴⁰ seems to depreciate the value of this account to some extent. From the information cited, it is possible to consider as plausible the proposal to recognise in the rulers of Pomerania imperial fiefs, independent to any German feudal states and the Danish king. This would be a promotion from "satraps" to rulers of the Slavs legally positioned in the imperial feudal system. The price was to abandon Henry the Lion and support the intentions of Frederick I Barbarossa.

Negotiations between the emperor and Bogislaw I of Pomerania entered a conclusive phase in the period following the death of Casimir I. At the turn of 1180/1181, Count Bernard of Ratzenburg left the ranks of Henry the Lion's allies. Henry the Lion accused him of treason, imprisoned his son Wolard and seized his county. He also added Ratzenburg to the castles already held by Henry the Lion in Plön and Sieberg. The prince then extended his direct control over territories inhabited by Slavic Polabians. It is not known to what extent they were forced to contribute to the costs of the defence prepared by Henry the Lion and what their attitude was to the ongoing battles.⁴¹ Arnold of Lübeck

39 Saxo, XV, 650; Lucht, "War Bogislaw I. Reichfürst?", 29.

40 Saxo, XV, 632.

41 The Vagrians, and the Obodrites in general, were quite quickly after their conquest drawn into the feudal system in which their German overlords operated. Helmold, I, 12: 25 c. 1170 claimed that the people of the Oldenburg bishopric were already paying a fixed tithe consisting of natural products and money.

mentioned in his chronicle that the Dukes of Saxony-Bavaria, in preparation for it, began to fortify the castles of Plön, Sieberg and Ratzenburg.⁴²

Count Bernard stayed in Gadebusch for some time. However, another attack by Henry the Lion forced him to defect to Bernard, Duke of Saxony, and consequently join the imperial party.⁴³ These events accelerated a wave of departures of Henry the Lion's former supporters to the party of Frederick I Barbarossa. On the backdrop of Arnold of Lübeck's description of this process, he alluded to the position that the Slavs and Bogislaw I of Pomerania had taken towards the imperial-princely conflict.

The aforementioned chronicler combined the news of the death of the younger of the Griffins in one paragraph with the information about Frederick I Barbarossa's attack on Saxony. By the way, Arnold vividly depicted the process of felicitation of the former partisans of the Saxon-Bavarian prince: "when he [the emperor – M.S.] approached, they surrendered to him all his strongest castles and themselves – whether by necessity or by their own wish. Many of his ministers, who had been raised by him [i.e., Henry the Lion – M.S.] from the cradle and whose fathers had served him continuously, such as Henry of Witha, Lupold of Herzberg, Ludolph of Peine and many others, left the prince and went over to the emperor's side. In this way the emperor strengthened himself, as he captured the castles of Herzberg, Lauenburg, Blankenburg, Heimbürg and Regenstein, and led his army to besiege Lichtenburg, which after a few days was delivered into his hands."⁴⁴

The events described are said to have taken place at the time of the emperor's entry into Saxony in June 1181, that is, before the siege of Lübeck began. The emperor's agreement with Bogislaw I must have occurred even before the siege of Lübeck. So it probably took place in the first half of 1181. Its effect was that the Slavs turned against Henry the Lion and consequently their attack on the fortress on the river Trave. The Pomeranians themselves supported Frederick I Barbarossa with the submission of the Lübeck tribute by Bogislaw I. Before the Pomeranian prince reached the Lübeck camp, however, he sent his envoys to the emperor. According to Saxo Grammaticus, the reason for this behaviour by Bogislaw I was fear of the Danish king, who had already sailed to Lübeck.⁴⁵ The Danish chronicler presented in passing the faithfulness of Frederick I Barbarossa. The emperor was said to have given his word to the Slavs that they would only be dependent on the Empire. Saxo claimed that this broke the emperor's promise to the Danish

Feudal burdens the said population probably also had to pay to the German counts or the Duke of Saxony. These included participation in war expeditions and taking care of the condition of defensive walls or entire castles/chateaux. See: Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski. Z dziejów Słowian w pierwszym tysiącleciu*, vol. V (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 287–288.

42 Arnold, II, 19: 61.

43 Meyer-Seedorf, "Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg," 41–42.

44 Arnold, II, 17: 58.

45 Saxo, XV, 652.

king. The latter had already declared to Valdemar I of Denmark the right to subjugate the Slavs. The consequence of the Emperor–Pomeranian agreement, according to Saxo Grammatik, was that the emperor accepted tribute from the two Pomeranian princes, presented them with imperial eagles and recognised them as princes of the Slavs. This title expressed the emperor’s consent to rule in lands previously ruled by the Gryfits. Perhaps, too, it could have served as a guise for intervention in the affairs of the Slavs living west of the Oder part of Pomerania. In any case, it was unacceptable to either Denmark or the Brandenburg March, which was building its territory largely on taking over former Slavic lands.

Admittedly, the presence of Casimir I at Lübeck was not possible. However, the Slavic *principes* who met with the emperor at Lübeck were mentioned not only by Saxo Grammatik, but also by Pegavian *Annales*.⁴⁶ They were informed that the Slavic (i.e., Pomeranian) *princeps* Casimir I died in 1180.⁴⁷ Under 1181, referring to the siege of Lübeck, these annals described a peaceful meeting with Frederick Barbarossa (“in pace occurrente”) of the king of the Danes and the Slav *principes* (“rege Danomrum et principibus Sclavorum”) (“With the emperor, who set out for Lübeck, the king of Denmark and the Slav *principes* met in peace, [and] all that the prince [i.e. Henry the Lion – M.S.] possessed in these lands, the emperor took possession and returned home as the victor.”) Thus, the account of the Pegavian annals uses the plural.⁴⁸ In addition to Boguslav I, other Slavic rulers must have appeared at Lübeck.

Some German historians have surmised that in addition to Boguslav, a Slavic *princeps* Niklot (Nicholas) came to Lübeck. He was the son of Wartislaw, killed in 1164 by Henry the Lion.⁴⁹ Polish scholars, with the exception of Edward Rymar, have hardly dealt with this matter.⁵⁰

Niklot was suitable as an opponent of Henry the Lion for at least two reasons. The first reason was the murder of his father on the orders of the Duke of Saxony-Bavaria in 1164. The second was a dispute over paternal property. Niklot fought over it with his uncle’s brother Henry Borwin I. He was the son of Prybislav I Prince of Obodriten (1160–1178), who died in 1178. This *princeps* recognised the supremacy of Henry the Lion. Henry Borwin I was also the husband of Matilda, the illegitimate daughter

46 Pegavian Annals, 265.

47 Hoffmeister, “Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik,” 127; Rymar, “Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180,” 91–92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 120.

48 Pegavian Annals, 264–265.

49 Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, 269; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 207; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 342; Goetheke, “Knud VI und Waldemar II,” 47; Engels, “Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark,” 382.

50 Rymar, “Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180,” 102.

of Henry the Lion, but also most likely the son of the Pomeranian princess Wojsława.⁵¹ He can be considered one of the few Slavic princes who did not abandon Henry the Lion in 1180/1181. His political declarations were further exacerbated by Niklot's dislike of him.

The invasions of the Pomeranian princes against the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Brandenburg and Lusatia in 1179–1180 caused the awakening of aspirations of freedom among the Obodritic Slavs. The 14th century chronicle of Ernest Kirchberg mentions that the Slavs attacked and destroyed the Doberan monastery on 10th November 1179.⁵² Niklot, who reigned at the time in the land of the former Circipians, tried unsuccessfully to repel this attack. After losing the battle against the invaders in December 1179, he took refuge behind the ramparts of the Rostock castle.

If this news is considered true, further reasons would appear to count Niklot among the anti-Velphite party. However, this does not provide evidence of his stay in the camp at Lübeck in 1181. Nothing about this is seen by Arnold of Lübeck and Saxo Grammaticus. Both chroniclers knew Niklot from later events. They saw him as an ally of Rügen and Denmark. They were informed of the war Niklot waged against Henry Borwin I, Bogislaw I of Pomerania and indirectly Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1183–1185.⁵³

Saxo Grammaticus, in an excerpt from his chronicle, which treated the events in the camp at Lübeck, unambiguously identified the Slavs he described with the Pomeranians. Since his brother Casimir I could not appear there next to Boguslaw I, perhaps another Griffin should be sought next to this ruler at Lübeck.

His adult son Racibor had the chance to perform at his father's side in the camp near Lübeck. From the second half of the 1170s, he was married to the daughter of Mieszko III the Old. This piastic pairing linked him to representatives of the coalition fighting Henry the Lion. Racibor in the early 1180s became the brother-in-law of the new Saxon

51 Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 204; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 109–110; Auge, "Behauptung, Unterordnung, Anpassung," 226–227; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 196.

52 Ernest Joachim Westphalen ed, "Ernesti de Krichberg, Chronicon Meklenburgicum [...]," in: *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum praecipue Cimbricarum et Megapolensium*, vol. 4 (Lipsiae: Impensis Jo. Crystiani Martini, 1745), 760; Ernst Boll, *Geschichte Meklenburgs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Culturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Neubrandenburg: Im Selbstverlage Verfasser, 1855) 91–92; Friedrich Comaprt, "Geschichte des Klosters Doberan bis zum Jahre 1300," in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte Mecklenburg vornehmlich im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Schirrmacher (Rostock: Ernst Kun's Verlag, 1872), 11; Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej*, 14; Witte, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 96–97; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92–93.

53 In this regard see: Smoliński, "Z dziejów stosunków pomorsko-lubeckich w XII i XIII w. (część 1: Geneza sojuszu pomorsko-lubeckiego)," in: *Silesia – Polonia – Europa. Studia historyczne dedykowane Profesorowi Idziemu Panicowi*, red. Jerzy Sperka (Katowice–Bielsko–Biała: Wydawnictwo Cum Laude, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2019), 118 et seq.

prince Bernard of Anhalt and Conrad of Landsberg. In the absence of other source news and in view of Racibor's death around 1183,⁵⁴ unfortunately, nothing can be said about his participation in his father's external politics.

* * *

In conclusion, we can limit ourselves to recalling a few events known from the chronicles of Arnold and Saxo indicating the relationship between the cases discussed by them. An analysis of the accounts of Arnold of Lübeck, Saxo Grammaticus and German annals, especially those of Pegavian, allows us to formulate a hypothesis regarding the participation of Slavs in the battles between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1178–1181. Initially, due to their political dependence, Slavs, including Pomeranians, fought on the side of Henry the Lion. Their support was shaken by the political situation of the prince, in which Henry found himself in the second half of 1180. The Slavs (the Polabians, living in the former Weleti territories and part of the Pomeranians) left Henry the Lion after the death of Casimir I of Pomerania in the autumn of 1180. After his death, the Pomeranian duke Bogislaw I, who inherited his brother's lands, began negotiations with the imperial party. At stake was the recognition of the political position of the Pomeranian duke, who was to be exclusively an imperial fief. Saxo Grammaticus claimed that Boguslaw had obtained the title of Duke of the Slavs from the emperor. This titlature reconciled Danish and Brandenburg claims to rule over Slavic lands. I do not think that in the discussion about the status of Boguslaw I, the researchers who deny recognition of him as one of the dukes of the Reich are right. However, the Duke of Pomerania had to win the acceptance of this state of affairs by his neighbours in the Reich himself. In retrospect, it is clear that he failed.

The attack of the Slavic army in the summer of 1181 can be considered a testimony to the agreement reached. The greatest opportunity to do this was the Polabian (Vagriian) Slavs. Contrary to the silence of historians, dealing with the history of the Slavs in the Polabian region, the participation of these Slavs in the events of 1181 should be taken into account. Perhaps, then, the generally accepted date of 1168 (the fall of Rügen), as the date ending the political importance of the Polabian Slavs, must be revised.

⁵⁴ Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 123–125; Sébastien Rossignol, *Maiestas principum. Herzogsurkunden als Medien der Herrschaftsrepräsentation in Schlesien, Pommern und Pommerellen (1200–1325)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 51 – The author mistook the dates of the marriage of Boguslaw I and his son Racibor with the daughters of Mieszko III.

The destruction of this castle made it possible for the Danish fleet to enter Trave, which headed to camp near Lübeck. The fall of the fortress on the river Trave made it possible to close Lübeck with a siege ring. At the Lübeck camp, Bogislaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. The prince was probably not the only Slavic ruler who found himself in the Lübeck camp. Some researchers claimed that in addition to him, *princeps* Niklot appeared before the emperor. It is possible, however, that in addition to Bogislaw I of Pomerania, his eldest surviving adult son, Racibor, also appeared before the emperor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Printed sources

- Hasse, Paul, ed. *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Regesten und Urkunden*. Vol. 1. Hamburg–Leipzig: Verlag von Leopold Voss, 1860.
- Holder, Alfred, ed. *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1886.
- Nass, Klaus, ed. “Priester Konrad: Chronik des Lauterbergs (Petersberg bei Halle/S.)” In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum*. Vol. 83. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2020.
- Pertz, Georg Theodor, ed. “Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses.” In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. 16, 232–270. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahnani, 1895.
- Pertz, Georgius Henricus, ed. *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum ex recensione I.M. Lappenbergii in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit Georgius Henricus Pertz*. Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1868.
- Pertz, Karol, ed. “Annales Colonieses maximi ab O.c. – 1237.” In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. 17, 723–852. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1856.
- Schmeidler, Bernhard, ed. “Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum.” Editio 3. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum*. Vol. 32. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1937.
- Weiland, Ludwig, ed. “Sächsische Weltchronik.” In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Deutsche Chronike*. Vol. 2/1. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877.
- Westphalen, Ernest Joachim, ed. “Ernesti de Krichberg, Chronicon Meklenburgicum [...]” In: *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum praecipue Cimbriacarum et Megapolensium*. Vol. 4, 593–840. Lipsiae: Impensis Jo. Crystiani Martini, 1745.

References

- Auge, Oliver. *Handlungsspielräume fürstlicher Politik im Mittelalter: der südliche Ostseeraum von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis in die frühe Reformationszeit*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009.
- Auge, Oliver. "Behauptung, Unterordnung, Anpassung: Der Weg der slawischen Herren von Mecklenburg und Herzöge von Pommern zu Reichsfürsten (vom frühen 12. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts)." *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 150 (2014): 211–244.
- Barkowski, Robert F. *Słowianie połabscy. Dzieje zagłady*. Warszawa: Bellona, 2021.
- Barthold, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*. Teil 2: *Von der Bekehrung Pommerns zum Christenthume bis zum Tode Barnims I. i. J. 1278. Nebst einer Höhen und Fluß-Karte von Pommern*. Hamburg: Friedrich Perches, 1840.
- Benedykt, Zientara. "Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską w drugiej połowie XII wieku." *Przegląd Historyczny* 61 (1970) 4: 546–576.
- Bielfeld, Hans Holm, Jan Branač, Werener Coblenz, et al. "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und die Herausbildung der vollentwickelten Feudalgesellschaft zwischen Elbe und Oder." In: *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der Slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*. ed. Joachim Hermann, 377–442. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985.
- Bogusławski, Wilhelm. *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej aż do wynarodowienia Słowian zaodrzańskich*, vol. 4. Poznań: nakładem autora, 1900.
- Boll, Ernst. *Geschichte Meklenburgs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Culturgeschichte*. Vol. 1. Neubrandenburg: Im Selbstverlage Verfasser, 1855.
- Boockmann, Hartmut. "Barbarossa in Lübeck." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1981): 7–18.
- Carstens, Werner. "Die Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger und die Entstehung der landständischen Verfassung in Schleswig-Holstein I." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 55 (1925): 288–401.
- Comaprt, Friedrich. "Geschichte des Klosters Doberan bis zum Jahre 1300." In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte Mecklenburg vornehmlich im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Schirmacher, 1–164. Rostock: Ernst Kun's Verlag, 1872.
- Curschmann, Fritz. "Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaws I. von Pommern im Lager von Lübeck (1181)." *Pommersche Jahrbücher* 31 (1937): 5–34.
- Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph. *Geschichte von Dännemark*. Vol. 1. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840.
- Dowiat, Jerzy. "Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego na ziemie wielecko-obodrzyckie w drugiej połowie XII wieku." *Przegląd Historyczny* 50 (1959) 4: 698–719.
- Ehlers, Joachim. *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie*. München: Siedler Verlag, 2008.

- Engels, Odilo. "Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark." In: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp, 353–385. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992.
- Fock, Otto. *Rügen'sch-Pommersche Geschichten aus sieben Jahrhunderten*. Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1861.
- Freytag, Hans-Joachim. "Der Nordosten des Reiches nach dem Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen. Bischof Waldemar von Schleswig und das Erzbistum Bremen (1192/93)." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 25 (1969) 2: 471–530.
- Gaethke, Hans-Otto. "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingien 1182–1227." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 121 (1996): 7–44.
- Giesebrecht, Ludwig. *Wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780 bis 1182*. Vol. 3. Berlin: Rudolf Geartner Amerlank'sche Sort-Buchhandlung, 1843.
- Hamann, Manfred. *Mecklenburgische Geschichte. Von den Anfängen bis zur landständischen Union von 1523*. Böhlau–Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1968.
- Hammel-Kiesow, Rolf. "Die Staufer und Lübeck." In: *Die Staufer und der Norden Deutschlands*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß, 67–94. Göppingen: Gesellschaft für Staufische Geschichte, 2016.
- Hoffmeister, Adolf. "Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik." *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32 (1907): 85–122.
- Jordan, Karl. "Deutsche Könige in Nordelbingen während des Mittelalters." In: *Schleswig-Holstein und der Norden. Festschrift für Olaf Klose zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Kamphausen, 22–32. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1968.
- Jordan, Karl. *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie*. München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag 1993.
- Kattinger, Detlef. "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin. Ein Versuch über das Lehnsverhältnis Heinrichs des Löwen gegenüber den pommerschen Herzögen." In: *Land am Meer. Pommern im Spiegel seiner Geschichte. Roderich Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Werner Buchholz, and Günter Mangelsdorf, 63–84. Köln: Böhlau, 1995.
- Kraack, Detlev. "Die frühen Schauenburger als Grafen von Holstein und Stormarn (12.–14. Jahrhundert)." In: *Die Fürsten des Landes. Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*, eds. Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen, Elke Imberger, E. Dieter Lohmeier, and Ingwer E. Momsen, 28–52. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2008.
- Labuda, Gerard. "Przybysław." In: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, eds. Bernard Labuda, and Zdzisław Stieber. Vol. 4, 398. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970.
- Labuda, Gerard. "Przybysław, najstarszy syn Niklota." In: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, eds. Bernard Labuda, and Zdzisław Stieber. Vol. 4, 398.

- Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970
- Lange, Ulrich. “Grundlagen der Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger in Holstein.” Teil 1. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 99 (1974): 83–161.
- Lotter, Friedrich. “Die Vorstellungen vom Heidenkrieg und Wendenmission bei Heinrich dem Löwen.” In: *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Mohrmann, 11–43. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.
- Łowmiański, Henryk. *Początki Polski. Z dziejów Słowian w pierwszym tysiącleciu*. Vol. V. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973.
- Lübke, Christian. “Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven.” In: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund, and Bernd Schütte. 191–202. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008.
- Lucht, Dietmar. “War Bogislav I. Reichfürst?” *Baltische Studien* NF 54 (1968): 26–30.
- Meyer-Seedorf, Wilhelm. “Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg.” *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 76 (1911): 1–162.
- Müller, Ulrich. “Die Slawen im östlichen Holstein.” In: *Besonderes aus Ostholstein. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Region: anlässlich des 50-jährigen Jubiläums des Kreises Ostholstein*, eds. Oliver Auge, and Anke Scharrenberg, 13–42. Husum: Husum Verlag, 2020.
- Myśliński, Kazimierz. *Bogusław I książę Pomorza Zachodniego*. Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk–Szczecin: Instytut Zachodni, 1948.
- Myśliński, Kazimierz. “Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie po śmierci Krzywoustego.” *Roczniki Historyczne* 17 (1948) 2: 1–69.
- Niessen, von Paul. “Die staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse Pommerns in den Jahren 1180–1214.” *Baltische Studien* NF 17 (1913): 233–323.
- Petersohn, Jürgen. “Friedrich Barbarossa, Heinrich der Löwe und die Kirchenorganisation in Transalpingien Voraussetzungen, Bedeutung und Wirkungen des Goslarer Privilegs von 1154.” In: *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, eds. Johannes Fried, and Otto Gerhard Oexle, 239–279. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2003.
- Petersohn, Jürgen. “Pommerns staatsrechtliches Verhältnis zu den Nachbarmächten im Mittelalter.” In: *Die Rolle Schlesiens und Pommerns in der Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen im Mittelalter: XII. Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkonferenz der Historiker vom. 5. bis 10. Juni 1979 in Allenstein/Olsztyn (Polen)*, ed. Rainer Riemenschneider, 98–115. Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung 1980.
- Philippson, Martin. *Heinrich der Löwe, Herzog von Bayern und Sachsen, sein Leben und seine Zeit*. Leipzig: O. Leiner, 1918.

- Przybył, Maciej. "Główne kierunki polityki dynastycznej Mieszka III Starego."
In: *Totius mundi philohistor. Studia Georgi Strzelczyk octuagenario oblata*, eds. Małgorzata Delimata-Płoch, Adam Krawiec, and Jakub Kujawiński, 587–604. Poznań: UAM, 2021.
- Rachfahl, Felix. "Der Ursprung des brandenburgisch-pommerschen Lehnverhältnis."
Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte 5 (1892): 51–84.
- Richter, Hans-Peter. "Zu den machtpolitischen Hintergründen und Zielen der Pommernzüge von 1178 bis 1180 in die Lausitz und das Land Jüterbog."
Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus 11 (1987): 83–104.
- Rosignol, Sébastien. *Maiestas principium. Herzogsurkunden als Medien der Herrschaftsrepräsentation in Schlesien, Pommern und Pommerellen (1200–1325)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.
- Rymar, Edward. "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużycę i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180." In: *Monumenta manent. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Tadeuszowi Białeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. Adam Makowski, Edward Włodarczyk, 77–102. Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2003.
- Rymar, Edward. *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*. Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska, 2005.
- Scior, Volker. *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002.
- Scior, Volker. "Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta. Arnold von Lübeck als Geschichtsschreiber." In: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund, and Bernd Schütte, 149–174. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008.
- Smoliński, Marek. *Caesar et duces Poloniae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146–1191)*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2006.
- Smoliński, Marek. *Świętopelk gdański*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2016.
- Smoliński, Marek. "Z dziejów stosunków pomorsko-lubeckich w XII i XIII w. (część 1: Geneza sojuszu pomorsko-lubeckiego)." In: *Silesia – Polonia – Europa. Studia historyczne dedykowane Profesorowi Idziemu Panicowi*, red. Jerzy Sperka, 109–134. Katowice–Bielsko-Biała: Wydawnictwo Cum Laude, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2019.
- Smolka, Stanisław. *Mieszko III Stary i jego wiek*. Kraków: Avalon 2009.
- Sommerfeld, von Wilhelm. *Geschichte der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern oder Slavien bis zum Ablauf des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1896.

Usinger, Rudolf. *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte 1189–1227*. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1863.

Wachowski, Kazimierz. *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2000.

Witte, Hans. *Mecklenburgische Geschichte in Anknüpfung an Ernst Boll*, Vol. 1: *Von der Urzeit bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*. Wismar: Hinstorff'sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1909.

English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

An analysis of the accounts of Arnold of Lübeck, Saxo Gramatik and German Annales, especially those of Pegavian, allows us to formulate a hypothesis regarding the participation of Slavs in the battles between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1178–1181. Initially, due to their political dependence, Slavs, including Pomeranians, fought on the side of Henry the Lion. Their support was shaken by the political situation of the prince, in which Henry found himself in the second half of 1180. The Slavs (the Polabians, living in the former Wieleck territories and part of the Pomeranians) left Welf after the death of Casimir I of Pomerania in the autumn of 1180. After his death, the Pomeranian duke Boguslaw I, who inherited his brother's lands, began negotiations with the imperial party. At stake was the recognition of the political position of the Pomeranian duke, who was to be exclusively an imperial fief. Saxo Gramatik claimed that Boguslaw obtained the title of Duke of the Slavs from the Emperor. This titlature reconciled Danish and Brandenburg claims to rule over Slavic lands. The attack of the Slavic army on Travemünde in the summer of 1181 can be considered a testimony to the agreement reached. The greatest opportunity to do this was the Polabian (Vagrian) Slavs. The destruction of this castle made it possible for the Danish fleet to enter Trave, which headed for a camp near Lübeck. The fall of Travemünde made it possible to close Lübeck with a siege ring in the summer of 1181. At the Lübeck camp, Boguslaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. In the Lübeck camp, Boguslaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. The prince was probably not the only Slavic ruler who found himself in the Lübeck camp. Some researchers claimed that in addition to him, *princeps* Niklot appeared before the emperor. It is possible, however, that in addition to Boguslaw I of Pomerania, his eldest surviving adult son, Racibor, also appeared before the emperor.

Kim byli Słowianie, którzy spalili w 1181 r. twierdzę na rzece Trawnie. Początki sojuszu cesarsko-pomorskiego w początkach lat 80 XII wieku

Słowa kluczowe: Słowianie Połabscy, Pomorzanie, Bogusław I książę pomorski, Henryk Lew, Fryderyk I Barbarossa, oblężenie Lubeki w 1181 r.

STRESZCZENIE

Analiza relacji Arnolda z Lubeki, Saxo Gramatyka i roczników niemieckich, zwłaszcza pegawskich, pozwala na sformułowanie hipotezy dotyczącej udziału Słowian w walkach między księciem sasko-bawarskim Henrykiem Lwem i cesarzem Fryderykiem I Barbarossą w latach 1178–1181. Początkowo, ze względu na swą zależność polityczną, Słowianie, w tym też Pomorzanie, bili się po stronie Henryka Lwa. Ich poparciem zachwiała sytuacja polityczna księcia, w której Henryk znalazł się w drugiej połowie 1180 r. Słowianie (połabscy, zamieszkujący dawne tereny wieleckie i część Pomorzan) opuścili Henryka Lwa po śmierci Kazimierza I pomorskiego jesienią 1180 r. Po jego zgonie książę pomorski Bogusław I, który dziedziczył w ziemiach swego brata, rozpoczął negocjacje ze stronnictwem cesarskim. Stawką było uznanie pozycji politycznej księcia pomorskiego, który miał być wyłącznie cesarskim lennikiem. Saxo Gramatyk twierdził, że Bogusław uzyskał od cesarza tytuł księcia Słowian. Tytułatura ta godziła w pretensje duńskie i brandenburskie do panowania nad ziemiami słowiańskimi. Nie uważam przy tym, że rację mają historycy negujący uznanie Bogusława I za księcia Rzeszy przez cesarza Fryderyka I. Uznanie tego tytułu przez sąsiadów pomorskiego władcy z terenów Rzeszy książę musiał jednak sobie wywalczyć. Wiadomo jednak, że mu się to nie udało.

Za świadectwo osiągniętego porozumienia uznać można atak wojsk słowiańskich na twierdzę na rzece Trawnie latem 1181 r. Największą szansę, by tego dokonać, mieli Słowianie połabscy (wagryjscy). Wbrew milczeniu historyków, zajmujących się dziejami Słowian na Połabiu, należy uwzględnić udział tych Słowian w wydarzeniach roku 1181. Być może więc ogólnie przyjęta data 1168 r. (upadek Rugii), jako termin kładący kres politycznemu znaczeniu Słowian Połabskich, musi ulec zrewidowaniu.

Zniszczenie zamku na Trave umożliwiło wejście na nią floty duńskiej, która skierowała się do obozu pod Lubekę. Upadek tej twierdzy umożliwił zamknięcie Lubeki pierścieniem oblężenia latem 118 r. W obozie lubeckim Bogusław I pomorski złożył cesarzowi hołd. Książę nie był zapewne jedynym władcą słowiańskim, który znalazł się obozie lubeckim. Niektórzy badacze twierdzili, że oprócz niego przez cesarzem pojawił się *princeps* Niklot. Niewykluczone jednak, że obok Bogusława I pomorskiego przed cesarzem pojawił się też jego najstarszy żyjący, dorosły już syn, Racibor.

Citation

Smoliński, Marek. "Who Were the Slavs who Destroyed the Fortress on the River Trave in 1181? The Origins of the Imperial-Pomeranian Alliance in the Early 80s of the 12th Century." *Studia Maritima* 36 (2023): 5–25. DOI: 10.18276/sm.2023.36-11.