



Historia Slavorum Occidentis  
2022, R. 12, nr 1 (32)  
ISSN 2084-1213  
DOI: 10.15804/hso220102

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# The relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Knights Templar (12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.)

**Słowa kluczowe:** margrabiowie brandenburscy; dynastia askańska; templariusze; komandoria w Tempelhof

**Keywords:** the margraves of Brandenburg; the House of Ascania; the Knights Templar; the commandery in Tempelhof

**Abstract:** The paper focuses on the relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg from the House of Ascania and the Knights Templar. The author presents four essential stages of these relationships: occasional contacts, the conflict over the Transodrian estates, rapprochement and collaboration.

## The first encounters

It should be surmised that the first contacts of the margraves of Brandenburg and the Knights Templar date back to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps it was Albert the Bear who met them during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land with his wife Sophie, and bishop Ulrich von Halberstadt in early 1158.<sup>1</sup> Albert's descendants, on

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<sup>1</sup> *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus askanischem Hause* (further referred to as RMB), ed. H. Krabbo, vol. 1, Leipzig 1910, no. 286, p. 55; no. 289, pp. 55–56. Vide: J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, vol. 1: *Entstehung und Entwicklung unter den askanischen Markgrafen (bis 1319)*, Berlin 1989, p. 79.

the other hand, would not have had to journey beyond the empire, as the Templars marked their presence in the vicinity of the Ascanian demesne, in Süpplingenburg and Brunswick, around 1173.<sup>2</sup>

In 1195, emperor Henry VI embarked on an expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup> Margrave Otto II and his stepbrother, Albert II, committed themselves to joining in.<sup>4</sup> Otto withdrew from the undertaking and received dispensation from Pope Celestine III.<sup>5</sup> Albert kept his word,<sup>6</sup> and even became a witness to the founding of the Teutonic Order in Acre in 1198.<sup>7</sup> During his sojourn in the Middle East, Albert must have been in contact with the Templars, who were at the time headquartered in Acre, of all places.<sup>8</sup> It is also likely that margrave Otto met them in the Holy Land as well, where he eventually went as a pilgrim.<sup>9</sup>

In the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, contacts between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Templars were fairly sporadic. In that period, the Knights Templar were not particularly interested in expanding the structures of their order in that part of Europe.<sup>10</sup> In any case, the Ascanians engaged in cooperation with their rivals – the Knights Hospitaller – who had been brought to Brandenburg by Albert the Bear and settled in Werben in 1160.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>2</sup> H. Steinführer, *Braunschweig – Templer (Nach 1173 bis 1312/57)*, [In:] *Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch. Verzeichnis der Klöster, Stifte, Kommenden und Beginenhäuser in Niedersachsen und Bremen von den Anfängen bis 1810*, eds. J. Dolle, D. Knochenhauer, vol. 1, Bielefeld 2012, p. 142; R. Berwinkel, *Süpplingenburg – Kollegiatstift, ab ca. 1170–1312 Templer, anschließend Johanniter (Ca. 1130 bis 1820)*, [In:] *Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 3, Bielefeld 2012, p. 1404.

<sup>3</sup> Vide: C. Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI*, Frankfurt am Main 1994; G.A. Loud, *The German Crusade of 1197–1198*, *Crusades* 13 (2014), pp. 143–172.

<sup>4</sup> RMB, vol. 2, Leipzig 1911, no. 484, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, no. 493, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, no. 497, p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, no. 502, p. 103. Vide: J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 129–130.

<sup>8</sup> M. Barber, *Templariusze*, transl. R. Sudól, Warszawa 1999, p. 106, 200–202.

<sup>9</sup> RMB, vol. 2, no. 527, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> K. Borchardt, *The Templars in Central Europe*, [In:] *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Z. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, pp. 234–235.

<sup>11</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Anhaltinus*, ed. O. von Heinemann, vol. 1: 936–1212, part 2: 1123–1170. Nov. 18., Dessau 1869, no. 456, p. 333; RMB, vol. 1, no. 306, pp. 59–60. Vide: L. Partenheimer, P. Knüvener, *Werben. Kommende des Johanniterordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches*

## The commandery in Tempelhof

It is widely assumed in literature on the subject the Templars' permanent presence in the March of Brandenburg should be attributed to the commandery in Tempelhof (now within the administrative boundaries of Berlin).<sup>12</sup> Scholars have argued that it was founded, alternatively, by duke of Silesia, Henry the Bearded (Helmut Lüpke),<sup>13</sup> the margraves of Brandenburg, Otto II and Albert II (Johannes Schultze),<sup>14</sup> archbishop of Magdeburg Albert (Benedykt Zientara),<sup>15</sup> Jaksa of Kopanica (Paweł Stróżyk)<sup>16</sup> or the Wettins, the counts of Brehna and margraves of Meissen (Ralf Gebuhr).<sup>17</sup> It is crucial for this study to determine both the founder and the point in time when that house of the order was established.

The normative, toponomastic, and architectural source materials, concerning the presence of the Templars in Teltow, are very scarce indeed. The normative material includes documents of Rutger, bishop of Brandenburg,<sup>18</sup> and the chapter of Brandenburg dated 29 April 1247,<sup>19</sup> a document of the margrave of Brandenburg Otto III

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*Klosterbuch. Handbuch der Klöster, Stifte und Kommenden bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, ed. H.-D. Heimann [et al.], Berlin 2007, p. 1289.

<sup>12</sup> Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof. Kommende des Templer- bzw. Johanniterordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 1275–1288.

<sup>13</sup> H. Lüpke, *Die Templerkommende Tempelhof. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Templerordens in Ostdeutschland*, Teltower Kreis Kalender 30 (1933), pp. 31–32.

<sup>14</sup> J. Schultze, *Das Alter des Tempelhofs. Nachweise und Argumente*, Der Bär von Berlin. Jahrbuch des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins 4 (1954), pp. 95–99; idem, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 129–130.

<sup>15</sup> B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 267–268.

<sup>16</sup> P. Stróżyk, *Fundacja preceptorii templariuszy w Tempelhof*, *Roczniki Historyczne* 58 (1992), pp. 10–21.

<sup>17</sup> R. Gebuhr, *Templer und Machtpolitik. Bemerkungen zur Kommende Tempelhof im Süden Berlins*, [In:] *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte. Ritterordenskommenden der Templer und Johanniter im nordöstlichen Deutschland und Polen*, ed. Ch. Gahlbeck [et al.], Berlin 2014, pp. 136–139.

<sup>18</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis. Sammlung der Urkunden, Chroniken und sonstigen Geschichtsquellen für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten* (further referred to as CDB), ed. A.F. Riedel, vol. 1/13, Berlin 1857, no. 9, pp. 315–316. Vide: *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Templerordens im Bereich des Bistums Cammin und der Kirchenprovinz Gnesen* (further referred to as UuR), ed. W. Irgang, Köln–Wien 1987, no. 31, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> CDB, vol. 1/13, no. 10, p. 316. Vide: UuR, no. 31, p. 33.

dated 21 November 1261,<sup>20</sup> a document of pope Nicholas IV from 1288 or 1289 (known from a regest though the dating remains uncertain)<sup>21</sup> as well as a transumpt of a document of knight Jacob von Nybede dated 8 September 1290<sup>22</sup> (Jacob von Nybede's legal transaction was corroborated by Frederick II, the elector of Brandenburg, in 1443).<sup>23</sup> The names of the localities which may have been held by the Templars, such as Tempelhof, Mariendorf, Marienfelde and Rixdorf, make up a group of toponomastic sources. The most important of them is the temple in Tempelhof, commonly regarded a conventual church. Notably, in order to reconstruct the assets of the commandery, the source materials from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries need to be examined. However, this particular issue lies outside the scope of this study.

On 29 April 1247, Rutger, bishop of Brandenburg, donated tithes from 100 fields (lans), located in the Uckermark, to the Cistercian monastery in Walkenried.<sup>24</sup> The endowment was confirmed by the cathedral chapter under provost Petrus.<sup>25</sup> The act of the bishop was witnessed by Herman, master of the Knights Templar. The episcopal document refers to him as *magister Hermannus de Templo*,<sup>26</sup> whereas in the charter issued by the cathedral chapter, the title of *Hermannus de Templo plebanus*<sup>27</sup> was used. Based on the sobriquet *de Templo*, H. Lüpke inferred in the 1930s that Herman had headed the convent in Tempelhof, and the view gained popularity in historiography.<sup>28</sup> However, the attribute means no more than “of the Temple”, and therefore denotes Herman's affiliation with the order of the Templars, rather than a specific convent. Notably, it was common practice to describe members of the

<sup>20</sup> *Historisch-diplomatische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Berlin*, vol. 2: *Berlinische Urkunden von 1261 bis 1550*, ed. E. Fidicin, Berlin 1837, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> UuR, no. 67, pp. 63–64.

<sup>22</sup> *Der Berlinischen Urkunden*, part 1: *Die Zeit der Askanier von 1232 bis 1323*, [In:] *Urkunden-Buch zur Berlinischen Chronik. 1232 bis 1550*, eds. F. Voigt, E. Fidicin, Berlin 1880, no. 58, p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis Continuatus. Sammlung ungedruckter Urkunden zur Brandenburgischen Geschichte*, ed. G.W. von Raumer, Hildesheim–New York 1976, no. 3, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> CDB, vol. 1/13, no. 9, pp. 315–316. Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1275.

<sup>25</sup> CDB, vol. 1/13, no. 10, p. 316.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 9, p. 315.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 10, p. 316.

<sup>28</sup> H. Lüpke, *Die Templerkommende Tempelhof*, pp. 22–23.

Knights Templar in this fashion. For instance, a legal act performed by Henry, bishop of Lebus in 1244 was witnessed by “brothers of the Temple” (*fratres de Templo*): *Iohannes Polonus, Iohannes Balke, Iansunus* and *Martinus*.<sup>29</sup> As Edmund Burzyński noted,<sup>30</sup> quite possibly Herman himself was associated with the commandery in Rurka (Germ. Rörchen)<sup>31</sup> rather than Tempelhof, specifically with one Herman, a priest in the order, who witnessed two legal acts of the Pomeranian duke Barnim to the benefit of the Templars, who were granted the Banie land (Germ. das Bahner Land) in 1234 (the testatory list names a *Hermannus sacerdos*)<sup>32</sup> and the village of Nawodna (Germ. Nahausen) in 1244 (*Hermannus sacerdos et capellanus Templi* in the testatory list).<sup>33</sup> It is less likely that the individual in question was canon Herman, member of the convent in Lietzen,<sup>34</sup> who is mentioned in the document of Henry, bishop of Lebus, from 1244 (*Hermannus Templariorum canonicus*).<sup>35</sup>

The Templars’ presence in the Teltow area is also apparently attested by a document of Otto III, margrave of Brandenburg, issued in Spandau on 21 November

<sup>29</sup> UuR, no. 28, p. 31. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/24, Berlin 1863, no. 5, p. 3; H. Metz, *Hermannus de Templo und Tempelhof. Eine Untersuchung zur Ersterwähnung des gleichnamigen Dorfes auf dem Teltow*, Mitteilungsblatt der Landesgeschichtlichen Vereinigung für die Mark Brandenburg 102 (2001), no. 3, p. 78.

<sup>30</sup> Vide: E. Burzyński, *Zestawienie imienne i przynależność konwentualna członków rycerskiego zakonu templariuszy z komandorii lokowanych na terenie ziem piastowskich i na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, [In:] *Na szlakach dwóch światów. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Hauzińskiemu*, ed. A. Teterycz-Puzio, Słupsk 2016, pp. 586–587.

<sup>31</sup> Concerning the commandery in Rurka vide: A. Breitsprecher, *Die Komturei Rörchen-Wildenbruch. Geschichte des Landes Bahn und Wildenbruch*, Stettin 1940; Z. Radacki, *Średniowieczne zamki Pomorza Zachodniego*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 115–121; E. Rymar, *Dzieje Bań i Ziemi Bańsko-Swobnickiej ok. 1230–1945*, [In:] *Banie nad Tywą. Z dziejów Ziemi Bańsko-Swobnickiej*, ed. E. Rymar, Pyrzyce 1999, passim; G. Lehmann, Ch. Patzner, *Die Templer im Osten Deutschlands*, Erfurt 2005, pp. 70–78; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski templariuszy na ziemiach Polski piastowskiej i na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wodzisław Śląski 2010, pp. 136–149; P. Kołosowski, *Rurka. Wieś templariuszy*, Chwarszczany 2018.

<sup>32</sup> UuR, no. 12, p. 18. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, Berlin 1860, no. 4, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> UuR, no. 29, p. 32. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no 1, p. 173.

<sup>34</sup> Concerning the commandery in Lietzen vide: P. Hope, *Curia militiae templi in Liceniz. Z dziejów templariuszy na zaodrzańskim obszarze diecezji lubuskiej*, Poznański Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny 2/3 (1994–1995), pp. 11–18; A. Wigger, D. Schumann, *Lietzen. Kommende des Templer- bzw. Johanniterordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 805–817; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 45–60; K. Wasilkiewicz, *Templariusze i joannici w biskupstwie lubuskim (XIII–XVI w.)*, Gniezno 2016, pp. 108–115, 186–194.

<sup>35</sup> UuR, no. 26, p. 29. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/20, Berlin 1861, no. 8, p. 182.

1261. With the consent of his sons, Otto presented the town of Cölln (now a borough of Berlin), property of knight Rudolf von Stralau/Stralow (*Dominus Rudolphus miles de Ystralowe*). According to some researchers, it was an erstwhile property of the Templars,<sup>36</sup> but the document offers no indication to that effect.<sup>37</sup>

A document of Pope Nicholas IV, dated to 1288 or 1289, is another piece of evidence which arguably attests to the existence of the commandery in Tempelhof. In the past, it was kept in the archives in Kostrzyn on the Oder but it has not survived. Its content is known only in part owing to archival registers and the regests of Elias Löckel (Elias Lockelius, 1621–1704/1622–1705), pastor of Mieszkowice (Germ. Bärwalde) and Ośno Lubuskie (Germ. Drossen), who studied historical documents of the New March, including records relating to the Templars. Based on the regests, it has been established that the pope had endorsed the Templars' right of patronage to the church in Berlin, granted by the margraves of Brandenburg, Otto V and Albert III.<sup>38</sup>

A hypothesis has been advanced in literature on the subject, according to which the Templars obtained the right of patronage to the church in Barlinek (Germ. Berlinchen).<sup>39</sup> It relied on the town's name from 1278, namely "new Berlin" (*Noua Berlyn/Nova Berlin*),<sup>40</sup> as it appears in the documents of margraves Otto v and Albert III. Still, the hypothesis has to be dismissed since all regests state clearly that the margraves granted the Templars with the right of patronage to a church in Berlin:

- Löckel's regest (I): *ius patronatus ecclesiae in Berlin*;
- Löckel's regest (II): *ius patronatus über die kirche zu Berlin*;
- archival regest (I): *das Kirchenlehen zum Berlin*;
- archival regest (II): *jus patronatus Ecclesiae in Berlin*;
- archival regest (III): *juris Patronatus über die Kirche zu Berlin*.<sup>41</sup>

Importantly enough, one of the Löckel's regests states that the right of patronage was granted to the Templars by the margraves with the consent of bishop of Brandenburg (*mit consens des bischofs zu Brandenburg*), who did not exercise any jurisdiction over the church in Barlinek, located in the eastern part of the Ascanian demesne

<sup>36</sup> Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1276.

<sup>37</sup> *Historisch-diplomatische Beiträge*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 1. Vide: RMB, vol. 3, München und Leipzig 1913, no. 863, p. 205.

<sup>38</sup> UuR, no. 67, pp. 63–64. Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1276.

<sup>39</sup> Vide: H. Metz, *Hermannus de Templo*, p. 76; R. Gebuhr, *Templer und Machtpolitik*, p. 136.

<sup>40</sup> CDB, vol. 1/18, Berlin 1859, no. 4, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup> UuR, no. 67, pp. 63–64.

referred to by the contemporaries the Transodrian Land (Lat. *terra transoderana*).<sup>42</sup> It would therefore seem that H. Lüpke was correct when he linked the Templars with the Church of St. Nicholas in Berlin.<sup>43</sup>

The content of the document issued by Nicholas IV attests to the continued presence of the Templars in Teltow. The right of patronage over a church in Berlin could only be exercised by brethren residing on the premises of the order located in the vicinity. Tempelhof should be considered such a site.

The house itself is mentioned for the first time in a document of knight Jacob von Nybede, dated 8 September 1290, which refers to *Tempelhoffe*<sup>44</sup> (no pertinent mention can be found in earlier written sources). This is an intriguing fact, especially in the context of two events: firstly, the rights of the Templars to specific estates and the associated revenues were affirmed by pope Innocent IV; secondly, margrave Otto VI joined the order.

On 18 January 1247, Innocent IV affirmed in Lyon the entitlement of the Templars, specifically of the preceptor and the brethren *in Alemannia*, to the tithes, lands, revenues, estates and all property of Chwarszczany (Germ. Quartschen), Kiniec land (Germ. das Land Kienitz), Banie land, Lietzen, Heinersdorf, Tempelberg, Marxdorf, Neuentempel and Colaz.<sup>45</sup> Tempelhof is not mentioned although it should have been included in the list, considering the geographical location of the above estates.<sup>46</sup>

On 27 October 1286 in Chwarszczany, margraves Otto V and Otto VI granted the Templars the town of Sulęcín (Germ. Zielenzig) and five surrounding villages.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, Otto VI joined their ranks to go into temporary service.<sup>48</sup> Curiously enough, his admission into the order did not take place in Tempelhof but in

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>43</sup> H. Lüpke, *Die Templerkommende Tempelhof*, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup> *Der Berlinischen Urkunden*, vol. 1, no. 58, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> UuR, no. 30, p. 33. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 6, p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1275.

<sup>47</sup> UuR, no. 63, pp. 59–60. Vide: CDB, 1/19, no. 4, pp. 125–126; Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zielenzig (Sulęcín), Kommende des Templerordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 1339.

<sup>48</sup> J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 191–192; E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczajska templariuszy i joannitów (1232–1540)*, *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 9 (2002), pp. 23–24; idem, *Władcy Brandenburgii (Askańczycy) na dzisiejszych ziemiach polskich, zwłaszcza w Nowej Marchii i na Pomorzu w latach 1200–1319 (itinerarium): wyd. II*, *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 15 (2008), p. 28.

Chwarszczany,<sup>49</sup> which might suggest that the Templar commandery in Tempelhof had not yet existed.

Any inquiry related to the Tempelhof commandery needs to take the architectural sources into account. Based on Ernst Heinrich's investigations in the 1950s, it may be presumed that a Romanesque church had stood there already in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> It is conjectured that it was destroyed when the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen fought for Teltow in 1239–1245, aided by archbishop of Magdeburg Wilbrand, among others.<sup>51</sup> However, its construction should not be attributed to the Templars. An analysis of the written sources has not corroborated their presence in the region at the time. It should be rather surmised that the church was built by a Slavic population, at least partially Christianized in the Teltow area even prior to the German conquest.<sup>52</sup>

A late Romanesque temple was built on the site of the aforementioned church in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> Its dimensions and quality of the construction make it stand out from among the other sacred buildings in the countryside. Its surface amounted to 235 m<sup>2</sup>, while the walls were erected using fieldstones, meticulously laid into ash-lars.<sup>54</sup> Given these features, it is quite conceivable that the church was built by the Templars yet it does not have the characteristic elements (like the ones found in the Chwarszczany church) that would enable conclusive determination.<sup>55</sup>

It is equally difficult to ascertain the time when the order's premises in Tempelhof were established. Nonetheless, an analysis of the source material leads to the following conclusions:

<sup>49</sup> About the commandery in Chwarszczany vide: E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczańska*, pp. 11–47; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany). Kommende des Templer- bzw. Johanniterordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 991–1018; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 60–93; K. Wasilkiewicz, *Templariusze i joannici*, pp. 93–108, 169–185.

<sup>50</sup> E. Heinrich, *Die Dorfkirche in Tempelhof. Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Der Bär von Berlin. Jahrbuch des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins 4 (1954), p. 87.

<sup>51</sup> M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1281.

<sup>52</sup> CDB, vol. 1/8, Berlin 1847, pp. 146–147, no. 62. Vide: B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty*, p. 263.

<sup>53</sup> E. Heinrich, *Die Dorfkirche*, p. 84.

<sup>54</sup> M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, pp. 1280–1281.

<sup>55</sup> About the church in Chwarszczany vide: J. Jarzewicz, *Gotycka architektura Nowej Marchii. Budownictwo sakralne w okresie Askańczyków i Wittelsbachów*, Poznań 2000, pp. 215–245; D. Schumann, *Die mittelalterlichen Ordensbauten der ehemaligen Templerkommenden in Lietzen und Quartschen (Chwarszczany). Konzepte sakraler Architekturgestaltung im späten 13. Jahrhundert*, [In:] *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte*, pp. 425–441.



1. The house of the Templars in Tempelhof was not established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as a result of Jaksa of Kopanica's foundation. The view is not corroborated by the sources.
2. There is little likelihood that the Templars were brought to the Teltow area in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Source evidence, indicating their presence in the region at the time, is non-existent. The contemporary church in Tempelhof, or more precisely, the feature which existed at the site, was probably built by a Slavic population.
3. Theoretically, the establishment of the Templar house in Tempelhof may have taken place in the 1240s or 1250s (after 18 January 1247). This may be inferred from the age of the church (built in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century) and, possibly, from the documents of bishop Rutger and the chapter of Brandenburg dated 29 April 1247. However, the hypothesis has one essential weakness: the foundation would have to be attributed to margraves John I and Otto III, unfavourably disposed towards the Templars, at least since the 1250s (see subchapter: The conflict over the Transodrian estates).
4. Most probably, the commandery in Tempelhof was established in the second half of the 1280s, in the autumn of 1286(?) at the earliest, and in 1289 at the latest, i.e. after Otto VI had joined the convent of Chwarszczany, but before the Templars were granted the right of patronage to the church in Berlin. The commandery would have been established following the endowment from Otto V and Albert III. Admittedly, the foundation would have been very much in line with the then policy adopted by the margraves of Brandenburg towards the Templars (see subchapter: The cooperation). The brethren from Tempelhof obtained the right of patronage to the church in Berlin in 1288 or 1289, while their house was mentioned in the document of Jacob von Nybede dated 8 September 1290. At the same time, one should consider who, if not the Templars, could have built a sumptuous church in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century on the premises of their later commandery.

### **The conflict over the Transodrian estates**

In the second half of the 1240s, the Duchy of Silesia witnessed an internal conflict between the sons of Henry the Pious, Bolesław II the Horned and Henry III the White.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> J. Mularczyk, *Podziały Śląska między synów Henryka II Pobożnego w połowie XIII wie-*

In need of support, Bolesław forged an alliance with Wilbrand, bishop of Magdeburg (Legnica, 20 April 1249). The clergyman promised the duke assistance in case of war, and he received Lebus and the land of Lebus in return. Half of the city and the land was left to Bolesław as a fief (including the upper castle and half of the middle castle in Lebus).<sup>57</sup>

The situation in the Silesian dukedom became even more complicated after 15 June 1249 when Konrad I, another brother of Bolesław II the Horned, abandoned clerical state and demanded a principality of his own.<sup>58</sup> Bolesław found himself in a very difficult position as Konrad had the support of Przemysł I, duke of Greater Poland.<sup>59</sup> At that point, the monarch solicited the aid of the margraves of Brandenburg, which in 1250 compelled him to cede the rights to the fiefs obtained from Wilbrand.<sup>60</sup>

The arrangement between the margraves and Bolesław II the Horned created a range of opportunities for the Ascanians, but first they had to negotiate the division of the Lebus land with the archbishop of Magdeburg. They succeeded in reaching an agreement between 7 March 1252 and 3 May 1253.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the margraves now held the area north of the Warta, the eastern part of the Torzym land (Germ. das Sternberger Land) and an unspecified territory on the left bank of the Oder, south of Lebus. The remainder of the Lebus land belonged to the Archbishopric

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*ku*, Przegląd Historyczny 76 (1985), no. 3, p. 481; W. Korta, *Historia Śląska do 1763 roku*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 82–84; R. Żerelik, *Dzieje Śląska do 1526 roku*, [In:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. M. Czaplinski [et al.], Wrocław 2007, pp. 62–63.

<sup>57</sup> CDB, vol. 1/24, pp. 336–338, no. 17. Vide: A. Wałkowski, *Poglądy na sprawę utraty Lubusza w świetle badań dyplomatycznych nad umową z 1249 roku*, *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 1 (1994), pp. 20–32; E. Rymar, *Klucz do ziem polskich, czyli dzieje Ziemi Lubuskiej aż po jej utratę przez Piastów i ugruntowanie władzy margrabiów brandenburskich*, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2007, pp. 65–89.

<sup>58</sup> In a document dated 15 June 1249, Konrad is still referred to as bishop elect of Passau. Vide: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 1/7: *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte. Namens des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, ed. C. Grünhagen, part 1: *Bis zum Jahre 1250*, Breslau 1884, no. 702, p. 312.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 703, pp. 312–313. Vide: T. Jurek, *Konrad I głogowski, Studium z dziejów dzielnicowego Śląska*, *Roczniki Historyczne* 54 (1988), pp. 115–117; W. Korta, *Historia Śląska*, pp. 83–84; R. Żerelik, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup> *Kronika polska*, ed. L. Ćwikliński, [In:] *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 652. Vide: G. Labuda, *Zajęcie Ziemi Lubuskiej przez margrabiów brandenburskich w połowie XIII wieku*, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 28 (1973), no. 3, pp. 311–322; E. Rymar, *Klucz do ziem*, pp. 89–92.

<sup>61</sup> RMB, vol. 3, no. 761, p. 175.

of Magdeburg.<sup>62</sup> Notably, the division of the region was completed in 1287 when archbishop Eric, of the House of Ascania, transferred the rights to the Magdeburg part of the Lebus land to his brother, Otto IV.<sup>63</sup>

The Templars had a strong foothold in the Lebus land.<sup>64</sup> The order had been supported there since the 1220s, both by secular lords and ecclesiastical dignitaries. They received the most substantial help from the Piast dukes<sup>65</sup>, Henry the Bearded<sup>66</sup> and Władysław Odonic<sup>67</sup> as well as bishops of Lebus,<sup>68</sup> Laurence<sup>69</sup> and Henry.<sup>70</sup> In the region, the monks owned three demesnes with estates centred around Lietzen, Chwarszczany and Sulęcín. In the early 1250s, they could have held around 30 localities:

- the commandery in Lietzen: Lietzen, Heinersdorf, Tempelberg, Marxdorf, Neuentempel, Werbig,<sup>71</sup> Colaz;<sup>72</sup>

<sup>62</sup> E. Rymar, *Klucz do ziem*, pp. 95–96.

<sup>63</sup> J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, p. 151.

<sup>64</sup> Vide: M. Starnawska, *Mnisi – rycerze – szlachta. Templariusze i joannicy na pograniczu wielkopolsko-brandenbursko-pomorskim*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 99 (1992), no. 1, pp. 5–9; K. Wasilkiewicz, *Zakon templariuszy na Ziemi Lubuskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, [In:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej*, vol. 12, ed. S. Górzyński, Warszawa 2012, pp. 91–133.

<sup>65</sup> Vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, *Der Oder-Drage-Raum in voraskanischer Zeit. Grosspolen, Schlesien und Pommern im Wettstreit um den Besitz der Späteren Neumark*, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Zeitschrift für vergleichende und preußische Landesgeschichte* 45 (1999), pp. 10–57; M. Przybył, *Die Herzöge von Großpolen und Schlesien und die Templer im Raum an der mittleren Oder und unteren Warthe*, [In:] *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte*, pp. 140–154; idem, *Polityka Piastów śląskich i wielkopolskich wobec templariuszy nad środkową Odrą i dolną Wartą w XIII wieku*, *Slavia Antiqua* 62 (2021), pp. 329–345.

<sup>66</sup> UuR, no. 4, p. 11. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/20, no. 4, p. 180.

<sup>67</sup> UuR, no. 6, pp. 6–7. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 2, pp. 1–2.

<sup>68</sup> Vide: K. Wasilkiewicz, *Biskupi lubuscy wobec zakonu templariuszy (XIII–XIV w.)*, *Colloquia Lubuskie* 2 (7) (2019), pp. 37–62.

<sup>69</sup> UuR, no. 4, p. 11; no. 8, pp. 14–15. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 1, p. 1; vol. 1/20, no. 4, p. 180.

<sup>70</sup> UuR, no. 14, pp. 19–20; no. 23, pp. 26–27; no. 24, pp. 27–28; no. 26, pp. 28–29; no. 28, p. 31. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/20, no. 8, p. 182; vol. 1/24, no. 2, pp. 1–2; no. 4, p. 3; no. 5, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> UuR, no. 4, p. 11; no. 26, pp. 28–29; no. 30, pp. 32–33. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/20, no. 4, p. 180; no. 8, p. 182; vol. 1/24, no. 5, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> A no longer extant village which was probably located near Kalischsee, 1–2 km south-east of the commandery in Lietzen. Mentioned as property of the Templars in the document of pope Innocent IV dated 18 January 1247. UuR, no. 30, p. 33. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 6, p. 4; A. Wigger, D. Schumann, *Lietzen*, p. 808.

- the commandery in Chwarszczany: Chwarszczany, Dargomyśl (Germ. Darmietzel), Oborzany (Germ. Nabern), Warniki (Germ. Warnick; now a part of Kostrzyn on the Oder), Dąbroszyn (Germ. Tamsel), Witnica (Germ. Vietz), Cychry (Germ. Zicher), Krześnica (Germ. Wilkersdorf), Sarbinowo (Germ. Zorndorf), Bogusław (Germ. Batzlow), Dębno (Germ. Neudamm), Gudzisz (Germ. Kutzdorf),<sup>73</sup> Lubno,<sup>74</sup> Clöznitz,<sup>75</sup> Pudignowe,<sup>76</sup> Nywik,<sup>77</sup> Carkzowe;<sup>78</sup>
- the Sulęcín demesne: Sulęcín, Długoszyn (Germ. Langenfeld), Brzeźno

<sup>73</sup> UuR, no. 6, pp. 12–13; no. 11, pp. 16–17; no. 24, pp. 27–28; no. 30, pp. 32–33; no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 2, pp. 1–2; no. 3, p. 2; no. 6, p. 4; no. 8, pp. 5–6; vol. 1/24, no. 4, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Either Lubno (Germ. Liebenow), 7 km west of Gorzów Wielkopolski (Germ. Landsberg an der Warthe) or a no longer extant village in the vicinity of Dębno. Listed in the document of Henry, bishop of Lebus from 1241/1243. UuR, no. 24, pp. 27–28. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/24, no. 4, p. 3; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu*, Studia kościelno-historyczne, vol. 1, Lublin 1977, p. 261; E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczańska*, pp. 18–19; idem, *Słownik historyczny Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu*, vol. 2: *Ziemia chojeńska, mieszkowicka, trzcicka i kostrzyńska*, Chojna–Wodzisław Śląski 2016, pp. 146–147; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 992, 1001, 1015.

<sup>75</sup> A no longer extant village in the area of the present day Kostrzyn on the Oder (most likely abandoned in the 14<sup>th</sup> c.). Mentioned in the document of preceptor Widekind dated 31 December 1261. UuR, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6; E. Rozenkranz, *Kostrzyn*, [In:] *Studia nad początkami i rozplanowaniem miast nad środkową Odrą i dolną Wartą (województwo zielonogórskie)*, vol. 1: *Ziemia Lubuska, Nowa Marchia, Wielkopolska*, eds. Z. Kaczmarczyk, A. Wędzki, Zielona Góra 1967, p. 215; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej*, p. 256; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 1001, 1015; E. Rymar, *Słownik historyczny Nowej Marchii*, p. 122; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, p. 79.

<sup>76</sup> A village mentioned in the document of preceptor Widekind dated 31 December 1261, most probably Kamień Wielki (Germ. Gross Cammin). UuR, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6; E. Mucke, *Die slavischen Ortsnamen der Neumark*, Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark 7 (1898), p. 175; E. Rymar, *Powstanie i stan posiadania pomorskich komend templariuszy w Chwarszczanach i Myśliborzu w XIII wieku*, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 2 (31) (1987), no. 2, p. 196.

<sup>77</sup> A locality listed in the document of preceptor Widekind dated 31 December 1261 – Chlewice (Germ. Klewitz) or a no longer extant village, which may have been located in the environs of Gudzisz. UuR, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6; E. Rymar, *Powstanie i stan*, pp. 196, 198–199; idem, *Słownik historyczny*, pp. 39, 174; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, p. 1015.

<sup>78</sup> Another locality known from the document of preceptor Widekind dated 31 December 1261. A no longer extant village north of Dębno. UuR, pp. 48–49, no. 48. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6; E. Rymar, *Powstanie i stan*, pp. 196, 198; idem, *Słownik historyczny*, pp. 120–121; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 1001, 1015.

(Germ. Breesen), Rychlik (Germ. Reichen), Grabno (Germ. Buchholz), Lubów (Germ. Laubow),<sup>79</sup> Małuszów (Germ. Malsow; it remains uncertain if it was indeed a part of the demesne).<sup>80</sup>

The new rulers of the Lebus land raised claims with respect to the estates of the Templars. Archbishop Wilbrand was the first and followed by margraves John I and Otto III which resulted in serious disputes with the Order of the Temple. The contention between the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Templars ended in the spring of 1253(?) owing to the intercession of Konrad, I bishop of Meissen.<sup>81</sup> However, due to its complex nature the dispute with the margraves was not resolved until December 1261.<sup>82</sup>

It may be presumed that John I and Otto III made the claims concerning the Templars' property in the summer of 1257(?) at the latest, challenging the rights to parts of the estate.<sup>83</sup> Clearly, in their efforts to expand their territorial dominion, the margraves designed to seize the order's villages and the lands attached to the commandery in Chwarszczany.<sup>84</sup>

The Templars saw this as a major threat, and the matter was handled by the authorities of the German-Slavic province under a preceptor, most likely Widekind.<sup>85</sup> A request was dispatched to the pope, in which the order solicited confirmation of their rights to the estates of the Ascanians' interest. Alexander IV decided to succour the Templars. On 26 September 1257, he certified that the preceptor and the brethren from Germany and the Slavic territories were duly entitled to the villages, lands,

<sup>79</sup> UuR, no. 27, p. 30; no. 63, pp. 58–60. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 2, pp. 124–125; no. 4, pp. 125–126.

<sup>80</sup> *Malosow* was granted to the Templars by Bolesław II the Horned in 1241. According to E. Löckel's regest, the village was a part of the castellany of Santok (*in territorio Svantok*), which might mean that it cannot be identified with Małuszów in the Lebus land. UuR, no. 22, p. 26. Vide: S.W. Wohlbrück, *Geschichte des ehemahligen Bisthums Lebus und des Landes dieses Nahmens*, vol. 3, Berlin 1832, pp. 495–497.

<sup>81</sup> UuR, no. 39, p. 40. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/20, no. 13, p. 185.

<sup>82</sup> UuR, no. 48, p. 48. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6. Confer: E. Rymar, *Datacja układu templariuszy z margrabiami brandenburskimi w sprawie komandorii chwarszczańskiej i myśliborskiej* (31 XII 1262), *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 8 (2001), pp. 311–315.

<sup>83</sup> UuR, no. 43, pp. 43–44.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6.

<sup>85</sup> As the preceptor of the province, Widekind is mentioned for the first time in a document dated 31 December 1261. UuR, no. 48, p. 48. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6.

estates and the remaining property which they had received from dukes Władysław Odonic and Henry the Bearded, their successors and all other lords.<sup>86</sup>

John I and Otto III ignored the papal confirmation, upon which the Templars turned to Bolesław the Pious, the duke of Greater Poland, who on 11 February 1259 affirmed in Poznań that his father, Władysław Odonic, had endowed the order with the entire land of Kostrzyn, inclusive of the fields, hamlets, waters, and all usufructs thereof. The ruler delineated the boundaries of the land, which extended from the rivers Myśla and Noteć<sup>87</sup> to the Oder as far as Pomerania.<sup>88</sup>

Appealing for help from Bolesław the Pious should be seen as an act of desperation on the part of the Templars, as the threat of losing the commandery in Chwarszczany was very real (it would have deprived them of one of the most substantial estates in the entire German-Slavic province). Ultimately, the margraves of Brandenburg did not renounce the claims even after the pope's intervention, and it is hardly conceivable that they did so following juridical actions of the Greater Polish duke.<sup>89</sup>

It was not until December 1261 that the parties reached an agreement in Torgelow. The Templars kept the commandery in Chwarszczany but it came at a tremendous cost. In accordance with the document of preceptor Widekind, they had to surrender to the margraves the oppidum with the entirety of rights thereto<sup>90</sup> as well as the villages of Clößnitz, Warniki, Dąbroszyn, *Pudignowe* and Witnica with all appurtenances, rights, and usufructs. Also, the Ascanians received the commandery

<sup>86</sup> UuR, no. 43, pp. 43–44.

<sup>87</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, "Noteć" denoted a stretch of the Warta from Santok to where it flowed into the Oder. Vide: E. Rymar, *Nazwy wodne prawobrzeżnej dolnej Warty między Santokiem i Kostrzynem*, *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 19 (2012), pp. 30–31.

<sup>88</sup> UuR, no. 44, pp. 44–45. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 7, p. 5; J. Spors, *Początki i stan posiadania templariuszy w ziemi kostrzyńskiej w latach 1232–1261*, *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza* 16 (1987), no. 2, pp. 111–128.

<sup>89</sup> Confer: E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 66–68, 77–79.

<sup>90</sup> Historians identify the aforementioned oppidum with a market settlement which existed in the area of today's Kostrzyn on the Oder or with Kostrzyn on the Oder itself. Vide: J. Dobosz, *Kostrzyn nad Odrą w latach 1232–1536*, [In:] *Kostrzyn nad Odrą. Dzieje dawne i nowe*, ed. J. Marczewski, Poznań 1991, p. 82; E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczańska*, p. 21; Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 1001, 1015; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 79–81; K. Socha, *Wczesnośredniowieczny gród w Kostrzynie nad Odrą – mity i fakty. Przyczynek do dyskusji*, [In:] *Woda – żywioł ujarzmiony i nieujarzmiony. VII Polsko-Niemieckie Spotkania Archeologiczne: Janowiec, 24–25 maja 2012*, eds. A. Jaszewska, A. Michalak, Zielona Góra 2015, pp. 211–229.

in Myślubórz (Germ. Soldin)<sup>91</sup> with 300 fields (lans) and a lake. In exchange, John I and Otto III recognized the rights of the Templars to the manor in Chwarszczany, as well as to Cychry, Krześnica, Sarbinowo, Bogusław, Dargomyśl, Oborzany, Dębno, *Carkzowe*, Gudzisz and *Nywik*. They also ceded the village of Kaleńsko (Germ. Kalenzig).<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, the margraves became owners of the Sulęcín demesne, though the exact time remains unknown. At any rate, it was not included in the agreement of Torgelow. It may only be conjectured that the Ascanians took possession of the land between 1252/1253 and 1269 (or between 1257 and 1262, according to Christian Gahlbeck)<sup>93</sup> – it could have taken place after the margraves of Brandenburg seized the eastern part of the Torzym land, or as a result of yet another conflict with the Templars which may have ensued in the 1260s (after 31 December 1261).<sup>94</sup>

## The rapprochement

The first half of the 1280s saw the beginning of a new chapter in the relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Order of the Temple, as the Ascanians found out that the Templars might be quite useful allies. With a view to improving the relations, Otto V the Tall, Albert III and Otto VI the Short invited Henry, the commander of Chwarszczany, to Salzwedel. On 3 March 1282, he witnessed a legal transaction of the margraves to the benefit of the town and land of Salzwedel.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, Otto IV with the Arrow and Konrad I convened in Stendal where, on 22 April 1282, they granted the Templars the right of patronage (*ius patronatus*) over the parish church in Chojna (Germ. Königsberg in der Neumark),<sup>96</sup> which

<sup>91</sup> About the commandery in Myślubórz vide: E. Rymar, *Powstanie i stan*, pp. 200–204; Ch. Gahlbeck, *Soldin (Myślubórz). Kommende des Templerordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 1107–1110; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 149–153.

<sup>92</sup> UuR, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6. Vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 993, 1001; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 79–82; K. Wasilkiewicz, *Templariusze i joannici*, pp. 104–106.

<sup>93</sup> Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zielenzig (Sulęcín)*, p. 1339.

<sup>94</sup> UuR, no. 48, pp. 48–49. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 8, pp. 5–6.

<sup>95</sup> CDB, vol. 1/14, Berlin 1857, no. 24, pp. 26–27. Vide: UuR, no. 56, p. 53.

<sup>96</sup> CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 3, p. 174; UuR, no. 57, p. 54. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 10, p. 178; *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* (further referred to as PUB), vol. 4, part 1, ed. G. Winter, Stettin 1903, no. 2189, p. 160; UuR, no. 79, pp. 77–78.

the monks had later confirmed with Henry, bishop of Kamień, on 5 November 1304.<sup>97</sup>

In the spring of 1283, the situation in the region took a turn for the worse when the war had broken out between the margraves of Brandenburg and a coalition of rulers and cities of northern Germany and Pomerania. An alliance was formed against the Ascanians on 13 June 1283 in Rostock, signed by John I, duke of Saxony-Lauenburg, Bogislaw IV, duke of Pomerania, Vitslav II, duke of Rügen, Henry I and John I, lords of Werle, Helmold III and Nicholas I, counts of Schwerin, Bernard, count of Dannenberg, John II, Henry II the Lion and John III, lords of Mecklenburg, John, Nicholas and Borwin, dukes of Rostock, the vassals all the above as well as the cities of Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Szczecin (Germ. Stettin), Demmin and Anklam.<sup>98</sup>

In the course of warfare, the margraves' troops invaded Pomerania, capturing Pyrzyce (Germ. Pyritz) and Stargard (Germ. Stargard in Pommern, Stargard an der Ihna), apparently without a fight following agreements with the burghers.<sup>99</sup> According to the findings of Edward Rymar, a proportion of the Brandenburg troops launched an attack from the area of Chojna and, cutting across the lands of the Templars from Rurka, made their approach to Szczecin.<sup>100</sup>

The Templars supported the Brandenburg forces, most likely supplying provisions. Certain indirect evidence may be found in the terms of the peace agreement, concluded on 13 August 1284 near Vierraden (*apud Rotas*; now a borough of Schwedt/Oder), between margraves Otto IV and Konrad I and dukes Bogislaw IV and Vitslav II. This was because during the war, a group of subjects of the Pomeranian duke failed to fulfil their duties. Pursuant to the terms of the treaty, duke Bogislaw IV vowed not to undertake any hostile action against them. That particular clause applied to the Templars from the commandery in Rurka, the Knights Hospitaller from the commandery in Kopań (*Copam*,<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> UuR, no. 79, pp. 77–78. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 10, p. 178.

<sup>98</sup> PUB, vol. 2, part 2, ed. R. Prümers, Stettin 1885, no. 1265, pp. 496–497; no. 1266, pp. 498–501. Vide: E. Rymar, *Udział Pomorza w wojnie koalicyjnej z Brandenburgią 1283–1284*, [In:] *W kręgu idei, polityki i wojska. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Farysiowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. T. Sikorski [et al.], Szczecin 2009, p. 478.

<sup>99</sup> PUB, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1312, p. 536. Vide: E. Rymar, *Udział Pomorza*, p. 481.

<sup>100</sup> E. Rymar, *Udział Pomorza*, p. 480; idem, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do roku 1535)*, Gorzów Wlkp. 2015, p. 194.

<sup>101</sup> PUB, vol. 2, part 1, ed. R. Prümers, Stettin 1881, no. 1096, p. 371.



Cvpan,<sup>102</sup> Kopan,<sup>103</sup> Copan,<sup>104</sup> unidentified location),<sup>105</sup> the Cistercians from the Kolbacz Abbey (Germ. das Kloster Kolbatz) as well as the burghers of Stargard and Pyrzyce.<sup>106</sup>

## The cooperation

After the war, the relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Templars were very good, and the order enjoyed considerable support of the Ascanians.

On 27 October 1286 in Chwarszczany, Otto V the Tall and Otto VI the Short conveyed to the monks the town of Sulęcín and five villages: Długoszyn, Brzeźno, Rychlik, Grabno and Lubów with all appurtenances, fields, forests, waters, pastures, mills and meadows, as well as a vogtship with full freehold and the right of patronage over the churches in Sulęcín and the said villages.<sup>107</sup> The endowment was confirmed by pope Nicholas IV on 13 January 1289 in Rome.<sup>108</sup>

The fact that the Sulęcín demesne returned to the Templars was associated with Otto VI's intention to join the Order of the Temple. The margrave was inducted into the convent of Chwarszczany in the autumn of 1286(?), to stay with the Templars for a number of years. He left Chwarszczany in September 1291 at the latest.<sup>109</sup>

It is a calculated guess that the splendid relations between the margraves and the Templars were evinced in the endowment from Otto V the Tall and Albert III as a result of which the order could establish the commandery in Tempelhof (see subchapter: The commandery in Tempelhof). Undoubtedly, the award of the right

<sup>102</sup> PUB, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1312, p. 536.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, no. 1329, p. 553.

<sup>104</sup> PUB, vol. 3, part 1, ed. R. Prümers, Stettin 1888, no. 1430, p. 15.

<sup>105</sup> On the commandery of the Knights Hospitaller in Kopań vide: H. Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, vol. 2, Stettin 1925, pp. 874–875; E. Rymar, *Kolińska komturia na tle dawnych dziejów stargardzkich joannitów*, Stargardia. Rocznik Muzeum w Stargardzie poświęcony przeszłości i kulturze Pomorza 3 (2003), pp. 61–63; B. Kłasa, *Siedziby joannitów na ziemiach polskich do 1312 roku*, Zielona Góra 2012, p. 78.

<sup>106</sup> PUB, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1312, p. 536. Vide: E. Rymar, *Udział Pomorza*, p. 485.

<sup>107</sup> CDB, vol. 1/19, no 4, pp. 125–126; UuR, no. 63, p. 59. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 5, p. 126; UuR, no. 68, pp. 64–65; Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zielenzig (Sulęcín)*, pp. 1339, 1341.

<sup>108</sup> UuR, no. 68, pp. 64–65. Vide: CDB, vol. 1/19, no. 5, p. 126.

<sup>109</sup> J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 191–192; E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczańska*, pp. 23–24; idem, *Władcy Brandenburgii*, p. 28.

of patronage over the church in Berlin, confirmed by pope Nicholas in 1288 or 1289, was another instance of mutual harmony.<sup>110</sup>

Albert III also demonstrated substantial generosity towards the Templars. In April 1295, he travelled to the order's seat in Chwarszczany, where he confirmed the boundaries of the commandery (23 April 1295), simultaneously asserting their inviolability. This must have been much appreciated by the Knights of the Temple.<sup>111</sup>

It appears that Albert III maintained good relations with the Templars until the end of his life (died on 4 December 1300).<sup>112</sup> Several months prior to his demise, he visited Chwarszczany where, on 2 June 1300, he granted the village of Niepołcko (Germ. Niepölzig) to the Cistercian nuns from Pełczyce (Germ. Bernstein). The margrave is likely to have stayed with the Templars at the time, while the writ of endowment for the nuns was made at the commandery. The list of witnesses includes a brother William, who may have been the commander there.<sup>113</sup>

The margraves and the Templars collaborated on several levels, including trade, which is attested by an agreement between the monks and the residents of Banie (Germ. Bahn) on the one hand, and the inhabitants of Trzcińsko-Zdrój (Germ. Bad Schönfließ) – who were Ascanian subjects – on the other. The agreement provides that the burghers of Trzcińsko-Zdrój were annually entitled to setting up six stands at the marketplace in Banie. In exchange, they paid a fee of 6 talents (pounds) of light denars and 11 solidi of light denars per annum for each stall. The agreement was honoured on 11 June 1296 in Chojna by margraves Otto IV and Konrad I.<sup>114</sup>

## Waldemar the Great and the fall of the Templars

On 13 October 1307, Philip IV the Fair issued an order to seize the Templar commanderies in the Kingdom of France.<sup>115</sup> Based on the depositions of numerous dig-

<sup>110</sup> UuR, no. 67, pp. 63–64. Vide: M. de Nève, M. Cante, B. Wittkopp, (*Berlin-*) *Tempelhof*, p. 1276.

<sup>111</sup> UuR, no. 74, pp. 71–72. Vide: E. Rymar, *Komandoria chwarszczańska*, p. 24; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 83, 201.

<sup>112</sup> J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, p. 196.

<sup>113</sup> CDB, vol. 1/18, no. 17, p. 72. Vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zisterzienser und Zisterzienserinnen in der Neumark*, Berlin 2002, p. 388.

<sup>114</sup> UuR, no. 76, p. 74. Vide: E. Rymar, *Dzieje Bań*, p. 95.

<sup>115</sup> M. Melville, *Dzieje templariuszy*, transl. A. Jędrychowska, Warszawa 1991, p. 278; H. Nicholson, *Rycerze templariusze*, transl. P. Chojnacki, Warszawa 2005, p. 221.

nitaries of the order, including the grand master Jacob de Molay, on 22 November 1307 pope Clement V decided to apprehend all its members in all the Christian countries in order to conduct official investigation. His will was to be enforced by the rulers of individual states (*Pastoralis praeminentiae* papal bull).<sup>116</sup>

The news of the attack on the Templars reverberated virtually around all of Europe, yet we do not know the response of the margraves of Brandenburg (Otto IV, Herman and Waldemar). However, it is possible that they took no steps against the order. In any case, Herman died in February 1308, followed by Otto barely a year later,<sup>117</sup> therefore the decisions concerning the Templars were taken only by Waldemar.

By all appearances, the ruler waited until the trial against Templars ended, in the meantime allowing them to operate in his dominion as if nothing had happened. On 13 September 1308, he corroborated a legal transaction performed by brother Günther von Köthen, probably the commander in Chwarszczany. The Templar in question was responsible for the sale of the village of Cychry to the burghers of Frankfurt, brothers Thomas and John Hokmann/Hokeman.<sup>118</sup> Then, on 7 February 1311, Waldemar confirmed the rights of the Bishopric of Lebus to the village of Werbig, obtained by the diocese from the Templars.<sup>119</sup> Interestingly, sale of the estate did not necessarily mean liquidation of the order's structures in the region, but may be attributed to the deteriorating financial position of the Templars whose revenues in the March of Brandenburg decreased while their convent was facing trial.<sup>120</sup>

On 3 April 1312, pope Clement V abolished the Order of the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon (*Vox in excelso* papal bull).<sup>121</sup> The Templars did not return to secular life because their vows had not been nullified.

<sup>116</sup> M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 89–91.

<sup>117</sup> J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 202, 204.

<sup>118</sup> CDB, vol. 1/24, no. 13, p. 9; UuR, no. 82, p. 79. Vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quart-schen (Chwarszczany)*, pp. 1001–1002.

<sup>119</sup> CDB, vol. 1/20, no. 28, p. 199; UuR, no. 83, p. 80. Vide: A. Wigger, D. Schumann, *Lietzen*, p. 808.

<sup>120</sup> Confer: G.J. Brzustowicz, *Likwidacja zakonu templariuszy w Nowej Marchii i na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 16 (2009), p. 55; idem, *Die Aufhebung des Templerordens in der Neumark und in Pommern*, [In:] *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte*, p. 161.

<sup>121</sup> Vide: *Vox in excelso*, [In:] *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych. Tekst grecki, łaciński, polski*, vol. 2: 869–1312, eds. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2007, pp. 464–482.

Instead, they joined other monastic orders, the Knights Hospitaller for instance. In some cases, they also remained in the former commanderies and continued to be titled in accordance with the previously held function, and received their salaries.<sup>122</sup>

On 2 May 1312, Clement V decreed that whatever assets the Templars had, they were to be handed over to the order of the Hospitallers (*Ad providam* papal bull).<sup>123</sup> On the same day, he issued a breve concerning the same affair to the archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishops of Brandenburg and Merseburg.<sup>124</sup> In spite of the papal guidelines, the closing down of the Templar structures in the March of Brandenburg was a complex process.<sup>125</sup> It seems that a number of Templar commanderies may have continued to operate as late as the summer of 1313, and there is evidence in favour of this supposition. For instance, on 3–4 August 1313 Herman von Bardeleben (*Hermannus de Bardeleve*), a commander from Wielka Wieś (Germ. Grossendorf),<sup>126</sup> was to act upon instruction of margrave Waldemar as an arbitrator in a boundary dispute between the Cistercian monastery in Zemsko (Germ. Semmritz) and the town of Skwierzyna (Germ. Schwerin an der Warthe).<sup>127</sup>

It should be surmised that margrave Waldemar was favourably disposed towards the Templars until the very last days of their active presence in the March of Brandenburg. It is conceivable that owing to his protection, at least some of the commanderies operated until the summer of 1313.<sup>128</sup> However, when the Knights Hospitaller began to take over the estates of the Templars in his realm, which is likely to have occurred in the second half of 1312, he decided to seize the commanderies in

<sup>122</sup> In 1318, the former Templars received remuneration in 24 dioceses in France, as well as in York, London, Cologne, Magdeburg, Milan, Bologna, Naples, Nicosia, and the Kingdoms of Aragon and Majorca. Vide: M. Barber, *Templariusze*, p. 13.

<sup>123</sup> Vide: *Ad providam*, [In:] *Dokumenty soborów*, pp. 482–495.

<sup>124</sup> CDB, vol. 2/1, Berlin 1843, no. 405, pp. 322–327.

<sup>125</sup> Vide: G.J. Brzustowicz, *Likwidacja zakonu*, passim; idem, *Die Aufhebung*, passim.

<sup>126</sup> About the commandery in Wielka Wieś vide: A. Łosińska, *Badania weryfikacyjno-sondazowe na stan. 6 I 6A w miejscowości Wielowieś-Wszeborów, gm. Sulęcín, woj. gorzowskie*, Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne 2 (1993), pp. 201–213; Ch. Gahlbeck, *Grossendorf (Wielka Wieś). Kommende des Templerordens*, [In:] *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 1, ed. H.-D. Heimann [et al.], Berlin 2007, pp. 543–550; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 121–127.

<sup>127</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 2: 1288–1349, Poznań 1878, no. 961, pp. 305–306. Vide: UuR, no. 83, p. 80.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*.

Sulęcín<sup>129</sup> and Czaplinek (Germ. Tempelburg)<sup>130</sup> with all their assets.<sup>131</sup> In so doing, he ignored the injunction of the pope expressed in the bull *Ad providam*, risking a conflict with the Holy See and the Hospitallers. The margrave came to an agreement with the Hospitallers only in January 1318 in Kremmen,<sup>132</sup> by which time the Templars were no more than history.

## Conclusions

Following an analysis of the relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg and the order of the Templars, a conclusion may be drawn that they developed in four essential stages.

The first phase – involving occasional contacts – lasted presumably from the 1150s to the 1250s (with the assumption that the commandery in Tempelhof was established in the second half of the 1280s, which is very likely). Hence the relations were neither permanent nor regular, but rather limited to random, chance encounters. The Ascanians may have met representatives of the Knights Templar during their journeys to the Holy Land and in the Empire, e.g. during their diplomatic duties.

The second stage saw conflict which broke out in the 1250s and lasted at least until December 1261, in the wake of claims made by John I and Otto III with regard to the Templars' estates owned by the commandery in Chwarszczany. It is safe to say that the margraves wanted to exploit the new political situation in the Lebus land, once the ducal authority (which previously prevented the expansion of German feudal lords eastwards) was gone. It was a splendid opportunity for the margraves to expand their territorial dominion and consolidate their standing in the Central Oder region. They were bold and determined in their actions, as they do not seem

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<sup>129</sup> On the Templar commandery in Sulęcín vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zielenzig (Sulęcín)*, pp. 1338–1344; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 93–102; K. Wasilkiewicz, *Templariusze i joannici*, pp. 115–121.

<sup>130</sup> About the commandery of the Templars in Czaplinek vide: H. Lüpke, *Das Land Tempelburg. Eine historisch-geographische Untersuchung*, Baltische Studien. Neue Folge 35 (1933), pp. 43–52; Z. Radacki, *Średniowieczne zamki*, pp. 121–123; G. Lehmann, Ch. Patzner, *Die Templer*, pp. 78–83; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 131–134.

<sup>131</sup> CDB, vol. 2/1, no. 505, pp. 418–420; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 2, no. 1246, pp. 573–574.

<sup>132</sup> CDB, vol. 2/1, no. 505, pp. 418–420.

to have feared a conflict with an international military order or the papacy. Possibly, one of the causes of the conflict was the margraves' aspiration to control the route from Kostrzyn on the Oder to Gorzów Wielkopolski, founded on the initiative of John I in July 1257.<sup>133</sup> The conflict reduced the Templars' strength and depleted their regional possessions. Despite the intervention of the order's authorities in the province of Germany and Slavic lands, coupled with the support from pope Alexander IV and Bolesław the Pious, duke of Greater Poland, the Templars lost the commandery in Myślibórz, a part of the assets owned by the commandery in Chwarszczany, and the demesne of Sulęcín.

This was followed by the third phase, during which the relationships returned to relatively amicable. It would seem that the margraves of Brandenburg, both in the younger and the elder line of the house, realized in the 1280s that the Templars might be allies or at least, as Dariusz Wybranowski observed, a useful instrument.<sup>134</sup> Therefore, since the first half of the 1280s, both parties would engage in dealings on, what one would call, normal terms. Notably, the Templars' assistance provided to the margraves during their war against a powerful coalition of rulers and cities of northern Germany and Pomerania, was a turning point in their mutual relationships.

The fourth was a stage of collaboration, which began in the mid-1280s and continued into the second decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In that period, the Templars enjoyed considerable support of the Ascanians who, among other things, returned the demesne of Sulęcín to the monks and granted them estates in the area of present-day Berlin. It is safe to say that the commandery in Tempelhof was established in the second half of the 1280s precisely owing to the endowment from Otto V and Albert III. The parties collaborated on a political, economic and religious level. As far as politics are concerned, the monks clearly attended legal transactions of the Ascanians, who for their part sanctioned a number of legal transactions carried out by the Templars. One can also discern a peculiar kind of patronage that the House of Brandenburg extended to the Knights Templar in the March, albeit it must have been of rather informal nature. The figure of margrave Waldemar calls for special attention; the latter should not be regarded an enemy of the Templars, one who deliberately exploited the order's predicament – as it is often argued in historiogra-

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<sup>133</sup> Vide: Ch. Gahlbeck, D. Schumann, *Quartschen (Chwarszczany)*, p. 993; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>134</sup> D. Wybranowski, *Fundacja komandorii joannitów w Goleniowie na tle stosunków księcia Bogusława IV z zakonami rycerskimi w latach 1280–1291*, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 14 (43) (1999), no. 3, p. 11.

phy – but as a kindly inclined ruler, owing to whom at least some of the commanderies continued to function, even after the order was officially dissolved. Although economic cooperation is poorly reflected in the sources, it is exemplified by the trade agreement between the Templars and the residents of Banie on the one hand, and the burghers of Trzcińsko-Zdrój – subjects of the margraves – on the other. As for the religious affairs, the Templars were clearly involved in the operations of specific parishes. The margraves granted them the right of patronage to churches in Chojna (1282), Sulęcín (1286) and Berlin (in 1289 at the latest) as well as in the villages of Długoszyń, Brzeźno, Rychlik, Grabno and Lubów (1286). The quality of the relations between the Ascanians and the Templars is epitomised in the fact that margrave Otto VI decided to join the Order of the Temple.

Nadesłany: 14 IX 2021

Nadesłany po poprawkach recenzyjnych: 6 II 2022

Zaakceptowany: 10 II 2022

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## Résumé

### **The relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Knights Templar (12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.)**

The aim of the paper is to describe the relationships between the margraves of Brandenburg from the House of Ascania and the Knights of Templar from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. to the second decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. The article is an outcome of research based mostly on an analysis of normative sources, including documents issued by Brandenburg margraves, popes, bishops of Brandenburg and Lebus, Piast dukes, as well as the Knights Templar. The result of this research is presentation of four essential stages of the relationships between the rulers of the March of Brandenburg and the Templars: the occasional contacts, the conflict over the Transodrian estates, the rapprochement and the collaboration. This paper is an attempt to show the relationships between the two political entities in a new, holistic way.

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