



Marek Smoliński

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

West Pomerania's part in the war for the throne of the Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1277–1283

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15 January 1277 saw the death of Archbishop of Magdeburg Conrad von Sternberg, who had an inimical attitude towards the Margraves of Brandenburg from the Johannine line¹. Among the several things that negatively affected the Archbishop's relations with the sons of John I: John II, Otto IV and Conrad, was the fact that they supported the ecclesiastical career of their brother Eric, canon of the Monastery in Halberstadt. They determinedly and stubbornly promoted their brother to important positions in the chapter in Magdeburg. From 1264, he held the prebend in Magdeburg. The successive steps of his well-planned church career were to lead him, first to the office of bishop coadjutor and then to the throne of the Archbishops of Magdeburg. The Johannine margraves made an attempt to strengthen Eric's position in the structure of the chapter in Magdeburg as early as in 1272. Their actions led to a sharp conflict and a war with the incumbent archbishop Konrad von Sternberg and his allies. On 1 May 1272, Archbishop Konrad made a pact with Lord Nicholas of Werle, Count Gunzelin of Schwerin, Lord Henry of Mecklenburg, and Waldemar of Rostock and his sons that they would support the archbishop with all their might

1 Georg Adalbert von Mülverstedt, bearb., *Regesta archiepiscopatus Magdeburgensis. Sammlung von Auszügen aus Urkunden und Annalisten zur Geschichte des Erzstifts und Herzogtums Magdeburg*, Bd. 3: *Von 1270 bis 1305* (Magdeburg: Verlag E. Baensch, 1886), 248–249; Hermann Krabbo, Georg Winter, bearb., *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus askanischem Hause*, Lief. 1–12 (Leipzig et al.: Verlag von Duncker & Humblod, Selbstverlage des Vereins Geschäftsstelle Berlin–Dahlem, Selbstverlag für Geschichte des Mark Brandenburg, 1910–1955), 1102a.

against the Margraves of Brandenburg and every other enemy except for Duke Albert of Brunswick, Margrave Dietrich of Landsberg and the Dukes of Saxony: John and Albert. Konrad and his chapter were promised help in the war against the margraves and their brother Eric². This coalition was joined by Vitslav II of Rügen, and Barnim I, Duke of Pomerania. The Duke of Greater Poland, Bolesław (Boleslaus) the Pious, and the Duke of East Pomerania, Mestwin II were also interested in this anti-Brandenburg venture³. After the Margraves of Brandenburg had been driven from Gdańsk in the spring of 1272, Bolesław the Pious' nephew, Przemysław (Premyslas) II attacked the territory governed directly by Margrave Conrad, who came from the Johannine line of margraves and was Eric's brother⁴. The alliance between Pomerania and Greater Poland was reinforced by the marriage of Przemysław II with Ludgarda, who was the daughter of Henry, Lord of Mecklenburg, and Anastasia, the daughter of Duke Barnim. The marriage took place in 1273 in Szczecin (Stettin), at Barnim I's court⁵. Since it was planned at the time when Barnim I was engaged in the war against the margraves, this union heralded the accession to the anti-Brandenburg coalition of the Dukes of Greater Poland (Bolesław the Pious and Przemysław II), and thus probably also the Duke of East Pomerania. Mestwin II, however, approached the durability of this alliance with

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- 2 Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch *et al.*, hrsg. von, *Meklenburgische Urkundebuch* (hereinafter: MUB), Bd. II (1251–1280) (Schwerin: in Commission der Stiller'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1864), 1250; Rodgero Prümers, hrsg. von, *Pommersches Urkundenbuch I* (hereinafter: PommUB), Bd. II (Abth. I–II) (Stettin: In Commission bei Th. von der Rahmer, Friedr. Nagelsche Buchhandlung, Paul Rikammer, 1885), 956; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1021; 1022; Georg Adalbert Mülverstedt, "Die Erzbischöfe von Magdeburg Günter (1277–1279), Bernhard (1279–1282) und Erich (1283–1295) vor ihrer Wahl", *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 5 (1870): 150–152; Dietmar Lucht, "Die Außenpolitik Herzog Barnims I. von Pommern", *Baltische Studien. Neue Folge* 51 (1965): 29–30; Józef Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej, słupskiej i białogardzkiej XII–XIV w.* (Słupsk–Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1973), 137; Edward Rymar, "Walka o Pomorze Gdańskie w latach 1269–1272", *Rocznik Gdański* 44 (1987): 26; Marek Smoliński, "Sytuacja na pograniczu askańsko-meklemburskim w II połowie XIII w. i na przełomie XIII/XIV w. i najazd Brandenburgii na Pomorze Sławieńskie w 1306 r.", *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, Issue 7: Mazowsze, Pomorze, Prusy (2000): 186–188.
 - 3 Bronisław Nowacki, *Przemysław II odnowiciel Królestwa Polskiego* (Kraków: Avalon, 2007), 57 *et seq.*; Marcin Hlebionek, *Bolesław Pobożny i Wielkopolska jego czasów* (Kraków: Avalon, 2010), 109; Błażej Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294) książę wschodniopomorski (gdański)* (Warszawa: DiG, 2016), 191 *et seq.*
 - 4 Brigida Kürbis, ed. "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej", in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (hereinafter MPH), series II, vol. VI (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), cap. 118, 50–51; Brigida Kürbis, ed. "Kronika wielkopolska", in: MPH, series II, vol. VIII (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1970), cap. 163, 128; ostatnio Edward Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do roku 1535)* (Gorzów Wielkopolski: Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Zbigniewa Herberta 2015), 180.
 - 5 Kürbis, ed., "Kronika wielkopolska", cap. 164, 128; Kazimierz Jasiński, "Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich", *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2 (1995): 54.

great reserve due to the fact that at that time the Sławno land was in the hands of the margraves' adversary Vitslav II of Rügen.

The war allowed, for the time being, to curb the Ascanians' appetites and their attempts to subjugate the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. However, it ended with poor results for Barnim I. In 1273, the Ascanians invaded the areas in the vicinity of Pyrzyce (Pyrütz), Szczecin and probably also Kamień (Cammin). During that invasion, the Cistercian monastery in Kołbacz (Kolbatz) also sustained losses⁶. In the same year (1273), the Johannine margraves concluded a treaty with Mestwin II in the presence of Bishop of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen, on the Drawa (Drage) Bridge⁷. It is not known when exactly they managed to placate Barnim I. The hostility between the Griffin and the margraves may have lingered for some time. On other fronts of this war, fighting continued until 1274⁸ and perhaps even until 1275⁹. The fear of the Brandenburg margraves' actions persisted even into 1276–77, when, on 30 April, Barnim I concluded a treaty with bishop Hermann on the part of the Kolberg land belonging to the Duke. Barnim I sold the land (with borders as previously designated by the Burggraves of Kolberg, Borko and Kazimierz) to the bishop for 3,500 silver ingots (grzywnas) and two villages in order to receive it back from him as a fief. The treaty was made under the condition that the bishop would not pass this land over to the margraves of Brandenburg. Barnim I pledged on his own behalf and the behalf of his heirs, that he would not create any difficulties for the bishop in terms of his ownership of this land¹⁰.

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- 6 Rodgero Prümers, hrsg. von, "Annales Colbacenses", in: PommUB, Zweite Abtheilung, Bd. I (Stettin: In Commission bei Th. von der Rahmer, Friedr. Nagelsche Buchhandlung, Paul Rikammer 1877), 485; Otto Heinemann hrsg. von, *Johannes Bugenhagens, Pomerania* (Stettin: Herrcke & Lebeting; Verlag von Léon Saunier's Buchhandlung, 1900), 110; Edward Rymar, "Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim i wojenne czyny Pomorza poza Pomorzem XII – początek XVII wieku (Kalendarium)", in: *Pomorze militarne XII–XXI wiek. Materials from a scientific session held on 27 November 2003 at the Ducal Castle in Szczecin*, ed. Kazimierz Kozłowski, Edward Rymar, vol. 1 (Szczecin: Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie "Dokument", 2004), 147; Rymar, "Władcy Brandenburgii (Askańczycy) na dzisiejszych ziemiach polskich, zwłaszcza w Nowej Marchii i na Pomorzu w latach 1200–1319 (itinerarium): ed. II.", *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 15 (2008): 24.
- 7 Max Perlbach, hrsg. von, *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch* (Danzig: Westpreussischer Geschichtsverein. 1882), 253; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 177 *et seq.*; Rymar, "Mściwoj II jako lennik margrabiów brandenburskich (w latach 1269–1273)", *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 23 (2019): 235 *et seq.*
- 8 In 1274, some Germans, supposedly the margraves, attacked Poznań. Kürbis, ed., "Spominki poznańskie", in: MPH Series II, vol. VI, 126; Józef Spors, "Agresja brandenburska wobec Wielkopolski do 1278 roku", *Roczniki Historyczne* 40 (1974): 119.
- 9 Lucht, "Die Außenpolitik Herzog Barnims I.", 30. In May 1276, the Margraves of Brandenburg John II, Otto IV and Conrad established a border on the river Havel, which separated the property of their ministeriales from the property of the ministeriales of the Magdeburg Archbishopric (Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1087). This was possible due to the ongoing peace.
- 10 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1060; 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), 554–555; Wilhelm Wichard Waldemar von Sommerfeld, *Geschichte der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern*

Participation in the war of the early 1270s did not bring any tangible benefits to the Duchy of Pomerania. Actually, it can be counted as one in a series of failures that Barnim I suffered in his relations with Brandenburg at the end of the 1260s and the beginning of the 1270s. They resulted in the Duke's losing control over his estates in the Choszczno (Arnswald) land and parts of the Stargard and Korytowo lands¹¹. An armed attack against the Johannine margraves around 1273 was perhaps Barnim's last attempt to confront them (he died in 1278).

As already mentioned, the next stage of the fight for influence in the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and for the throne of the Archbishop of Magdeburg broke out in January 1277 after Konrad von Sternberg's death. After the Archbishop died, the chapter in Magdeburg failed to hold an election, the result of which would be acceptable to all interested parties. This fact started a fierce ecclesiastical and political feud. In the years 1277–1283, the feud turned into an armed conflict which involved the supporters of the individual candidates for the Archbishop's throne. The most serious candidates were those of the cathedral waiter and Archdeacon of Waldeser – Bernhard von Wölpe, canon Burchard (= Busse) von Querfurt, Cathedral Provost Günther von Schwalenberg, and the then Provost of St. Boniface and Maurice's Cathedral in Halberstadt – Eric, the aforementioned son of the Margrave of Brandenburg, John I. Apart from enjoying prestige, political influence and a position of importance in the Reich, every Archbishop of Magdeburg at that time was the feudal overlord of allodial land of the Margraves of Brandenburg located in the March of Brandenburg. This office was therefore very attractive to all the key political parties operating in the north-eastern part of the Reich.

The tumult, initiated in Magdeburg by the supporters of Burchard von Querfurt a day before the elections, made it impossible for all the parties to participate in it together peacefully. In general, the victor of the elections, which were held in such unusual circumstances, was Günther von Schwalenberg, the late Archbishop Konrad's

oder Slavien (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1896), 218; Martin Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommerns*, Bd. 1 (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1919), 103; Friedrich Salis, "Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte des Bistums Kammin", *Baltische Studien*. Neue Folge, 26 (1924): 141; Hellmuth Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte von Pommern*, Bd. 1, *Von den Anfängen des Christentums bis zur Reformationszeit* (Stettin: Verlag Fischer & Schmidt, 1937), 86; Kazimierz Ślaski, *Dzieje ziemi kołobrzeszkiej do czasów jej germanizacji* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1948): 52–53; Dariusz Wybranowski, "Początki świeckiego kręgu wasali biskupa kamińskiego Hermana von Gleichen (1251–1288/89) na tle jego działalności politycznej i kolonizacyjnej. Część 2 (1275–1280)", *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, 12: *Krzyżacy, szpitalnicy, kondotierzy* (2006): 331; Marek Smoliński, "Między dwoma organizmami państwowymi – biskup kamiński Herman von Gleichen i jego stosunki z księżętami Pomorza Zachodniego oraz margrabiami brandenburskimi", *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie* 3 (2011), 7: 36.

11 Paul von Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark im Zeitalter ihrer Entstehung und Besiedlung (Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Aussterben der Askanier)* (Landsberg: Landsberg a. In: Dermietzel & Schmidt, 1905), 234; Rymar, "Walka o Pomorze Gdańskie", 19–20.

uncle. While the party of Burchard von Querfurt turned out to be too weak to question the result of the election, provost Eric and his supporters did not accept it¹². They considered the Ascanian to be the winner of the elections. Apart from some members of the chapter in Magdeburg, Eric was supported by his older brothers: Margraves John II, Otto IV and Conrad. Their most important ally was their uncle, Duke of Brunswick Albert I the Tall, the Dukes of Saxony Albert and John, and Otto IV's brother-in-law, Adolph V, Count of Holstein. Otto IV was the leader of this coalition.

Apart from the support of the chapter, Günther von Schwalenberg obtained help from the Magdeburg townsmen, Count of Anhalt (-Aschersleben) Otto I, and his brother-in-law Otto, Bishop of Hildesheim (a brother of the Brunswick Duke Albert I the Tall). Before the end of 1277, the coalition was joined by the Duke of Lüneburg, John (who incidentally was a brother of the Duke of Brunswick, Albert I the Tall and the Bishop of Hildesheim, Otto). The Archbishop of Bremen, Gieselbrecht, and, most importantly, the Margraves of Brandenburg from the Ottonian line, Otto V and Albert III, also joined it. The alliance formed in this way meant a fratricidal conflict that affected the Margraves of Brandenburg from the Johannine and Ottonian lines and the sons of Otto I the Child of the House of Welf, i.e. the Dukes of Brunswick. This dispute was also of utmost importance for the higher diocesan clergy from the regions under the above-mentioned rulers. The conflict over the throne of the Archbishop of Magdeburg could have ended in 1279, when Günther von Schwalenberg resigned from this office¹³. His resignation was prompted by the lack of papal approval. It is possible that he also lost faith in the support among the ranks of the Magdeburg Chapter. Some of its members began to secretly negotiate with the Johannine Ascanians and take money from them¹⁴.

After Günther von Schwalenberg's resignation, Bernhard von Wölpe, the waiter of the Magdeburg Chapter, was elected archbishop in 1279¹⁵. Eric's Ascanian supporters again refused to accept this majority decision. The election was protested by the cathedral provost Albrecht von Arnstein, one of the would-be candidates for the disputed office, who as early as in 1277 had already joined the party of the Johannine Ascanians. The effective diplomacy of the senior margrave line managed to block the papal approval of this election also in this case. The war for the appointment of the Archbishop

12 Karl Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik* (= *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Bd. 7: *Die Chroniken der niederdeutschen Städte*, Bd. 1) (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1869), 160, Krabbo, Winter (bearb.), *Regesten*, 1103, 1105.

13 Wilhelm Schum, hrsg. von, "Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium", in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* (hereinafter: MGH SS), Bd. XXV (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani, 1883), 424; Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 160; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1171a.

14 For more on this see Schum, hrsg. von, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, cap. 37, 424.

15 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 162; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1186a.

of Magdeburg therefore continued, formally until 1283. Its cause was finally removed by Pope Martin IV. He simply forbade the Magdeburg chapter from holding elections. He further rejected Bernard von Wölpe's efforts to be approved in the office. Referring to the appeal that was supposedly submitted to the papacy by the chapter, archbishopric suffragans, Dominicans and Franciscans, as well as other clergy and laity, he appointed Eric the Archbishop of Magdeburg¹⁶. The victory of the Ascanian was announced in the winter of 1282/1283 in the Magdeburg Cathedral. The outrage caused by the publicly presented papal ruling prompted Eric to flee Magdeburg again and take refuge with his brother Otto IV in Wolmirstedt¹⁷. For some time, Eric had serious difficulties in holding his office. His appointment was formally completed in June 1283¹⁸. Even before these events, however, the margraves of both lines had already reached an agreement and ceased any hostile actions against each other. Having finally obtained the assurance that Eric would maintain his office, the Johannine Margraves could proceed to intensify military activities in those regions where the rulers decided to get rid of their political dependence on the margraves of Brandenburg.

The history of the above-mentioned conflict was introduced in a systematic way on the pages of historical studies by Georg Sello¹⁹. In an overview of Brandenburg-Magdeburg relations, this historian arranged the source information on the dispute between margraves and archbishops-elects of Magdeburg. Contemporary historians are also indebted to him for his attempt to critically evaluate the sources discussing this conflict. Apart from the normative documents, which did not raise as many doubts, there are also narrative sources, often edited later but based on accounts from the 13th or 14th centuries. Among them, we should mention the sources containing the most information about the history of the conflict. Those include the chronicle of the rulers of Saxony²⁰, the so-called deeds of the Archbishops of Magdeburg²¹, and especially the

16 Krabbo, Winter (bearb.), *Regesten*, 1113a, 1321, 1326.

17 Schum, hrsg. von, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, cap. 38, 425; Krabbo, Winter (bearb.), *Regesten*, 1314.

18 Krabbo, Winter (bearb.), *Regesten*, 1326, 1331.

19 Georg Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen 1266–1283", *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 23 (1888): 71–98, 131–184.

20 Oswald Holder-Egger, hrsg. von, "Chronica principum Saxoniae", in: MGH SS, Bd. XXV (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani, 1888), 472–480; Oswald Holder-Egger, "Über die Braunschweiger und Sächsische Fürstenchronik und verwandte Quellen", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 17 (1892): 159–184; Klaus Nass, "Zur Cronica Saxonum und verwandten Braunschweiger Werken", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49 (1993): 557–582.

21 Schum, hrsg. von, "Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium", 374–484; Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz, 1894), 349–350; Keith von Sinclair, Herbert Grundmann, "Ein Fragment der Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 18 (1962): 247.

book of Magdeburg jurors with the earliest part written on the basis of the content of medieval Magdeburg annals as well as the chronicles / deeds of the Archbishops of Brandenburg. A rhymed Brunswick chronicle, which in significant fragments focuses on the person of Albert I the Tall²². The chronicle of the bishops of Hildesheim is also significant²³. The final chronology of the conflict was established by one of the publishers of the records of the margraves of Brandenburg, Herman Krabbo. Historiography also owes to the latter researcher the insights, which are overlooked in today's literature on the subject, about the participation of the Bishop of Cammin Hermann in the discussed conflict.

The war for the appointment of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, just like the events of the early 1270s, also had its Pomeranian episode. First of all, historians noticed the participation of the Pomeranian Duke Barnim I in this conflict. It is evidenced by the agreement concluded by him on 1 June 1278 with Eric's brother, Johannine Margrave Conrad. The conditions of the aforementioned pact (first of all the granting by Conrad in favour of Barnim) were also to be acknowledged by Conrad's brothers, John II and Otto IV, by hanging their seals. Barnim I, through the mediation of the margrave knight Ludwig von Wedel and in the presence of the Bishop of Cammin Hermann, then took into a fief Trzebień (Treben), a village near Dolice (Dölitz), Kolin (Kollin), Rzeplino (Repplin), Bralęcín (Brallentin), the presently lost Sconelinde, Piasecznik (Petznick), Radaczewo (Reichenbach), Ziemomyśl (Schönwerder), Sądów (Sandow), as well as a manor of the monks from Kołbacz (Kolbatz), with the adjacent Slavic village and the Copam manor²⁴. Moreover, the Margrave promised Barnim I 1,500 ingots (grzywnas)

22 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 349; Gundolf Keil, "Magdeburger Schöppenchronik", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Liselotte Lutz, Joyce M. McLellan, Ulrich Matzejiet, Frank Weyrich, Gloria Avella-Widhalm, Bd. 6 (München et al.: Artemis & Winkler Verlag, 1995), 79; Klaus Graf, "Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik. Anregungen für die künftige Forschung", *Sachsen und Anhalt* 30 (2018): 131–172; Ludwig Weiland, hrsg., "Braunschweigische Reimchronik", in: MGH Deutsche Chroniken, Bd. 2 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani, 1877), 430–587; Nass, "Zur Cronica Saxonum", 557–582; Gesine Mierke, "Norddeutsche Reimchroniken – Braunschweigische und Mecklenburgische Reimchronik", in: *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Gerhard Wolf, Norbert H. Ott, Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 197–224, about the chronicle itself: 203–212.

23 Georg Heinrich Pertz, hrsg. von, "Chronicon Hildesheimense", in: MGH SS, Bd. VI (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Haniani, 1846), 845–873.

24 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1096; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1146; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen* II, 570; Smoliński, "Udział Polaków i Pomorzan w bitwie pod Frohse 10 I 1278 r. Próba identyfikacji sojuszników Ottona IV ze Strzałą", *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, Issue 14: *Kaci, święci, templariusze* (2008): 287 and note 5, which lists references to the literature on this treaty. In addition to the literature cited there, see Benedykt Zientara, "Rola miast w walce stanów Pomorza Zachodniego z władzą książęcą na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 4 (1962): 492; Jan M. Piskorski, *Miasta księstwa szczecińskiego do połowy XIV wieku* (Poznań–Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005), 166; Rymar, "Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim", 147; Rymar, "Udział Pomorza w wojnie koalicyjnej 1283–1285", in:

for participating and helping in the war against the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and all its allies. The only exception in this regard were the margraves of the Ottonian line: Otto V and Albert III and the Slavic lords (i.e. the rulers of Mecklenburg). After receiving the summons, Barnim I was to appear in the land of the Margraves of Brandenburg with 150 armoured horsemen. In return, Margrave Conrad undertook to give the prince a payment, which was to be paid by 11 November 1278, while the Duke promised 30 more knights. 8 days after receiving the summons, the Duke was to report with his army on the border of the Margraves' land. After the expedition, and until the end of the war, he was to leave 60 armoured horsemen at the disposal of the Margraves. The following cities became the guarantors of the agreement on the part of Pomerania: Gardziec (Gartz), Gryfino (Greifenhagen), Pyrzyce (Pyritz) and Stargard. In the event that Barnim I did not fulfil his obligations, these cities would come under the authority of the Margraves. The cities were to be released from granting guarantees at the end of the war against the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. The agreement also stipulated that the taxes should additionally be paid by the people of the Margraves who were granted fiefs by Barnim. It does not appear from the text of the pact that it included the co-regent of Barnim I, his son Bogislaw IV. It is possible that the way this arrangement was interpreted by the Margraves and Bogislaw IV was the underlying cause of a conflict that divided both sides as early as in 1283.

The cited treaty allowed historians to speculate that Barnim I participated in the war on the side of the Johannine margraves already before the agreement. Therefore, the Pomeranian reinforcements he would send to Margrave Otto IV fought under the Ascanian's command, alongside the Margrave's own forces and reinforcements from Czechia and Poland, in the unlucky (for him) Battle of Frohse, which took place on 10 January 1278²⁵. Thus, the participation of Pomerania in this phase of the conflict for the throne of the Archbishop of Magdeburg could be extended at least to the beginning of 1278. However, what is certain, though unnoticed by historians, is the participation

W kręgu idei, polityki i wojska. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Farysiowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, eds. Tomasz Sikorski, Henryk Walczak, Adam Wątor (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2009), 472. On the matter of identifying the village of Trzebień (Treben), see Hermann Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, Bd. 1 (Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung: Stettin, 1924), 229, 231, 234, 2337–238, 299; Rymar, “Trzebień koło Dolic trwał dłużej niż sądziłem”, *Stargardia. Rocznik Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Stargardzie poświęcony przeszłości i kulturze Pomorza* 10 (2015): 315–321. On the potential identification of Copam as the manor at Kopań: Kamil Wasilkiewicz, “Konflikt księcia pomorskiego Bogusława IV z zakonem templariuszy (1283 – ok. 1291)”, *Zapiski Historyczne* 85 (2020), 2: 119.

25 Schum, hrsg. von, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, cap. 37, 423. For more on the battle, see Franz Winter, “Die Schlacht bei Frohse am 10. Januar 1278”, *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 5 (1870): 1–6; Smoliński, “Udział Polaków i Pomorzan w bitwie pod Frohse”, 285–310 and note 3, which provides references to the literature which mentions that battle.

of the Bishop of Cammin Hermann in the events constituting the genesis of the war of 1277–1283.

The lively relations that the Bishop of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen had always kept with his relatives, that is, the Margraves of Brandenburg, were strengthened in 1276. On 18 August of that year, the Bishop sold for 3,000 silver ingots the Lipiany (Lippehne) Land to the Johannine Margraves Jan II, Otto IV and Conrad. The village of Letnin (Lettnin) and half of the village of Kozielice (Köselitz), which the Bishop wanted to keep for himself and his successors, were excluded from the transaction. The Margraves promised to pay 2,000 by 6 January 1277, and the remaining thousand ingots by 28 March 1277. The guarantors of the payment of these sums were Margrave John II and appointed knights of the Margraves, in the number of 14 for the first repayment and 16 for the second, respectively. Should the money not be transferred on time, one of the Margraves, accompanied by the appointed knights, was to meet with the Bishop in Pasewalk 15 days after the deadline for repayment and return the money to him. If there were any circumstances that made it difficult to meet in the aforementioned city, the arrangement included the possibility of designating a different meeting place. The agreement provided for the application of the law known as *obstagium*²⁶.

The letter of Margrave Otto IV from the end of January 1277, sent to the King of the Romans Rudolf of Habsburg, informs about the further cooperation of the Bishop and the Johannine Margraves. It is an account of the events related to the election of the new Archbishop of Magdeburg, which had to take place before 24 January 1277²⁷. Otto IV's story is valuable in that it complements the information from narrative sources from the Magdeburg chapter and the city of Magdeburg, which also described the events accompanying the election of the new archbishop and the later letter of Pope Martin IV. These messages show that after the death of Archbishop Konrad von Sternberg, cathedral canon Albrecht von Arnstein²⁸ sent a letter to the Margrave of Brandenburg, Otto IV and the Duke of Brunswick, Albert I the Tall, in order to invite them to the election and thus certainly increase the chances of choosing Eric,

26 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1042, 1043; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen* 2, 501; Ernst Friedländer, *Das Einlager. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (Münster: Verlag der Theissing'sches Buchhandlung, 1868), 38; Sommerfeld, *Geschichte der Germanisierung*, 221; Salis, "Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte", 86; Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte*, 86; Wybranowski, "Początki świeckiego kręgu wasali biskupa", 330–331; Smoliński, "Między dwoma organizmami państwowymi", 36; Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna*, 184.

27 Oswald Redlich, bearb., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Mittheilungen aus dem Vaticanischen Archive, 2) (Wien: In Commission bei F. Temsky, 1894), 73; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1105; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 87.

28 Albrecht was related to the Pomeranian dynasty. He was identified in historiography as the "sororius" nephew of Wartislaw III, Duke of Demmin. See Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 587; Gerd Heinrich, *Die Grafen von Arnstein* (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, Bd. 21) (Köln–Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1961), 44.

the brother of the mentioned Ascanian and the nephew of the named Welf²⁹. A letter from the Margrave of Brandenburg, Otto IV, mentions that other bishops attended the election with them: Hermann von Schladen from Schwerin (previously holding various offices in the Magdeburg Chapter) and Hermann von Gleichen from Cammin. The party supporting the Ascanians in the Magdeburg chapter along with the invited guests gathered at the local cathedral to elect Eric. However, as already mentioned, a tumult arose in the city. Hostile to the Johannine Margraves, the party with Bernhard von Wölpe managed to mobilize the townspeople who surrounded the cathedral and forced Eric's voters, guests and members of the Ascanian party to barricade themselves in the church. Eric's supporters had become prisoners and they would be released only on the condition that Eric resigned from the office of archbishop. However, the cathedral was not closely guarded. Eric, together with Heinrich von Groneberg, escaped from it at night through a window. Eric's comrade later became a diplomat of the Johannine Margraves. He periodically protested at the papal curia against successive opponents, elected in Magdeburg against Eric. Margrave Otto IV and Duke Albert I the Tall managed to escape from Magdeburg on horses that were not their own, and thus were probably stolen by their servants. It is not known how the bishops of Schwerin and Cammin were released. It can be assumed that they survived this adventure unscathed, as any harm done to them would certainly be reflected in the preserved sources. These events frightened the Ascanian faction in the chapter to such an extent that they failed to block the election of Günther von Schwaleneberg the following day. His victory was announced by a commission of 4 canons. Surprised by this turn of events, even Albrecht von Arnstein did not protest against Günther's election³⁰. A firm protest to the papal curia against this election was later brought by the aforementioned Heinrich von Groneberg³¹.

The first attempt to bring about an agreement between the elected Archbishop and Otto IV and Albert I the Tall was made at the turn of January and February 1277. Günther von Schwalenberg offered Margrave Otto IV and Duke Albert I the Tall compensation for the disgrace that befell them in Magdeburg. They were to receive 1,000 silver ingots (*grzywnas*). This, however, did not prevent the emerging conflict³². It broke out in full force in the Autumn of 1277. In the preceding period, the Johannine

29 Schum, hrsg. von, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, cap. 37, 423; Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 160; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1103, 1321; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 87.

30 Redlich, bearb., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung*, 73; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1105.

31 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1103, 1321.

32 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 160; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1106; Johannes Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, Bd. 1: *Entstehung und Entwicklung unter den askanischen Markgrafen (bis 1319)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1961), 184.

Margraves had tried to build a political alliance that would allow them to confront the Archbishop-elect, his allies and the townsmen of Magdeburg in an armed conflict. Already then, it turned out that they could not count on the support of their relatives from the Ottonian line. The emerging electoral dispute put a shadow on the relations between the representatives of the two lines. After the division of the March between the sons of John I and Otto III, the problem arose as to which line of the Margraves of Brandenburg should have the right to vote in elections for German rulers. This conflict began to smoulder as early as 1273, only to break out in full force in 1292 and 1298³³. Contrary to the Johannine Margraves, their Ottonian relatives in the period before the death of Archbishop Konrad von Sternberg maintained good relations with him³⁴.

On 14 February 1277, two weeks after the attempted agreement between Otto IV, Albert I the Tall and the Archbishop-elect Günther, Margraves John II, Otto IV and Conrad met at the castle of Schildberg with the Bishop of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen. Information about this event comes from a document issued that day by the Margraves for Pyrzyce (Pyritz). The Johannine Ascanians confirmed the town's possession of 10 lahns/hubes between Sitno (Hohenziethen), Kozielice (Köselitz), Mieleno Pyrzyckie (Groß Möllen) and Tetyń (Beyersdorf) with all the adjoining areas that were handed over to the town by the Bishop of Cammin Hermann and the Slavic Princeps Barnim I. This confirmation was issued by the Margraves on the occasion of remeasuring the land belonging to the town. The list of witnesses of the above-mentioned diploma was opened by the aforementioned Bishop³⁵. One can suspect that the meeting could have concerned, inter alia, the repayment of the debt that the Margraves owed for the Lipiany (Lippehne) Land to the Bishop and the recent events that took place in Magdeburg. It is possible that during the Schildberg congress, the Margraves authorised the Bishop to hold talks with Barnim I. As already mentioned, on 30 April 1277, the Bishop, having obtained the rest of the money for the Lippehne Land in March this year, concluded an agreement with Barnim I and his son Bogislaw IV on the purchase

33 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1049 *et seq.* See also Eberhard Schmidt, *Die Mark Brandenburg unter den Askaniern (1134–1320)* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1975), 135; Helmut Assing, “Der Weg der sächsischen und brandenburgischen Askanier zur Kurwürde”, in: *Askanier-Studien der Lauenburgischen Akademie*, hrsg. von, Eckardt Opitz (Kolloquium. Lauenburgische Akademie für Wissenschaft und Kultur, Bd. 16) (Bochum: Lukas Verlag, 2010), 107 *et seq.*

34 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1094, for more on the treaty of 28 September 1276 concluded between Konrad von Sternberg and Margrave Albert III on Lebus canons. It included a promise of remuneration by Albert and his brother Otto V by 11 November 1276 for all damages suffered by the archbishopric.

35 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1228 (here with an incorrect annual date of 1282); Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1228 (where, due to the death of Margrave John II in 1281, the date of 1282 was disputed and fixed as 1277 as the annual date of issue of the document). Rymar, “Władcy Brandenburgii”, 25, adopted the year 1277, though not ultimately ruling out 1281.

of the ducal part of the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) land³⁶. Since this agreement included a clause regarding the Margraves of Brandenburg, they were certainly talked of when it was being concluded.

In the autumn of 1277, a regular war broke out between the Johannine margraves and their allies and Magdeburg. It was started by an attack and robbery of the wagons of Magdeburg merchants by the men of Margrave Otto IV³⁷. First, the city and its Archbishop were attacked by the Dukes of Saxony: John and Albert, and Adolph, Count of Holstein. Their failures led Otto IV to lead the attack in person. As already mentioned, the Margrave set off against Magdeburg with the support of the Czechs, Poles and Pomeranians. With his own forces and the support of his allies, he marched to Magdeburg to be defeated on 10 January 1278 at the Battle of Frohse. Unfortunately, the terms describing the external support of the Margrave's troops are so imprecise that it is impossible to establish without any doubt the allies of Otto IV³⁸. The older literature of the subject assumed that the aforementioned Czechs were Czech knights from that part of Lusatia, which was a fief of the Johannine line of Margraves³⁹. However, it cannot be ruled out that they were reinforcements sent to Otto IV by the Czech king, Přemysl Ottokar II, who wanted to strengthen the anti-Habsburg alliance.

It is even more difficult to attempt and identify Poles and Pomeranians supporting the Margrave. Whoever sent them can only be inferred by eliminating individual candidates for allies of the Johannine Margraves. Using such an unreliable research method and referring to the events that took place in the summer of 1278, it seems that Bolesław the Pious, or Przemysł II and Barnim I have the best chance of being assigned the role of allies of Otto IV⁴⁰. Among the sources created in the office servicing the margraves of Brandenburg in the 1280's, Poland was identical to the lands from which the wife of Margrave Conrad came. In 1281, when the Margraves Otto IV and Conrad approved the testamentary bequests made by their elder brother John II, they also mentioned the last will of Constance – the late wife of the younger of the aforementioned Margraves. The daughter of Przemysł (Premyslas) I was referred to as “de Polonya” or Lady “de Polonicali”⁴¹. According to the treaty of Vierraden, which was the preliminary peace treaty ending the war between the Margraves and the signato-

36 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1060.

37 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 160–161; Holder-Egger, hrsg. von, “Chronica principum Saxoniae”, 474; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1124.

38 See Smoliński, “Udział Polaków i Pomorzan w bitwie pod Frohse”, 285–310.

39 Sello, “Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen”, 88.

40 For inquiries on this subject, see Smoliński, “Udział Polaków i Pomorzan w bitwie pod Frohse”, 285–310.

41 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1216; Georg Winter, hrsg. von, *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. IV (Abt. I–II) (Stettin: Paul Niekammer, 1902–1903), 3990; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1271, 1274.

ries of the Rostock Landfriede in 1283, Przemysł II, acting on the side of the Johannine Margraves, was defined as the Duke of Kalisz⁴². The office of the Margraves was thus able to quite accurately determine the origin of the rulers of Polish lands. However, it is difficult to say to what extent this knowledge was disseminated among the milieus writing narrative sources, in which the discussed problem of the origin of foreign reinforcements supporting Otto IV was raised.

The involvement of Barnim I in the war on the side of the Johannine Margraves, perhaps in January 1277, and certainly in June this year, indubitably put the Duke of West Pomerania in a rather embarrassing situation. Apart from the fact that Barnim I was a liege subject of both lines of margraves of Brandenburg, his support for the Johannine Ascanians caused conflicts with the families of the former and current wives of the Duke. Margareta, who died around 1260–1261, was the daughter of Nicholas I of Werle and the mother of the Duke's co-regent, i.e. Bogislaw IV. At the time when Barnim I concluded an agreement with Margrave Conrad (1 June 1278), the Duke was married to Matilda, a daughter of Otto III and sister of Otto V and Albert III – Margraves from the Ottonian line⁴³. The desire to avoid a conflict with them was perhaps the reason why in the text of the treaty between Barnim I and Conrad, a security clause was introduced in the form of a statement that the Duke was to help the Margrave and his brothers against everyone, except the Margraves: Otto V and Albert III (i.e. the brothers-in-law of Barnim I) as well as Slavic lords (i.e. in this case the rulers of Mecklenburg, with whom the Pomeranian court continued to maintain lively relations)⁴⁴. The introduction to the text of the Ascanians from the Ottonian line indicates, in any case, that the possibility of fighting them was taken into account at that time.

At the time when Margrave Conrad was securing the support of West Pomerania, his elder brother, Otto IV, had already set off on a military expedition against the archbishopric and Otto I, Prince of Anhalt-Aschersleben, who was supporting it. Before that, however, he needed to buy himself out of the Magdeburg captivity and arrange the help of the Dukes of Saxony. At the beginning of June or July 1277, Otto IV besieged Staßfurt, owned from 1276 by the Archbishopric of Magdeburg through a grant by the same Dukes of Saxony. He managed to take the city. However, the crew of the local castle still resisted. In the end, the siege did not end successfully for Otto IV. Firstly, he was shot in the head with an arrow, after which he had to flee the battlefield, and secondly, the siege of the March army was interrupted by an attack of the troops of

42 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1312; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1366.

43 Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich* (ed. 2) (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska im. Stanisława Staszica w Szczecinie, 2005), 146 *et seq.*; Mariola Freza-Olczyk, "Stepmother and stepson: Duchess Matilda in the power struggle after the death of her husband Barnim I the Duke of Pomerania", *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 23 (2019): 84 *et seq.*

44 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1096.

the Bishop of Hildesheim Otto⁴⁵. As already mentioned, he was the brother of the principal ally of the Johannine Margraves, Albert I the Tall. The chronicle of the bishops of Hildesheim mentioned the conflict that broke out between Albert I the Tall, supported by the Margrave of Brandenburg Otto IV, and the brothers of the former: Otto, Bishop of Hildesheim and John, Duke of Lüneburg. The fighting between the two sides must have taken place before 13 December 1277, because on that day John died. As reported in the aforementioned chronicle, the Bishop, attempting to get help against his elder brother, allied himself with the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Archbishop of Bremen and the Margraves of the Ottonian line: Otto V and Albert III⁴⁶. It is uncertain, of course, whether the Margraves of the younger line were supporting Bishop Otto already in the summer of 1278. Certainly, however, their cooperation with the Bishop and other members of the Magdeburg-supporting alliance had to further worsen the relations between both lines of the Ascanians of Brandenburg.

In August 1278, Otto IV, having somewhat healed the wounds he sustained at Staßfurt, set out to help the Czech king, Přemysl Ottokar II. His forces, as well as reinforcements from some of the Piast and, again, Pomeranian dukes, took part in the Battle on the Marchfeld (Czech: Suché Kruty), in which the forces of Přemysl Ottokar II and Rudolf I Habsburg clashed⁴⁷. Surprisingly, the Czech forces were not supported that time by the Margraves of the Ottonian line, who much more closely associated with Přemysl Ottokar II. According to the so-called Traska's Annals [Rocznik Traski], exactly at the same time as the Battle of Marchfeld (26 August 1278) took place, Bolesław the Pious and Mściwoj II launched an attack on the Neumark⁴⁸. The Polish-Pomeranian offensive was aimed at the estates of the younger line of Margraves. This is evidenced by the later, though trusted by researchers, account by Jan Długosz⁴⁹. The troops of Otto V, who was apparently in charge of the defence, then suffered a defeat at Soldin (presently known as Myślibórz). The result of this expedition was the recovery of Santok (Zantoch) by the Duchy of Greater Poland.

45 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 162; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1147; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 166; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 184.

46 Pertz, hrsg. von, "Chronicon Hildesheimense", 864; see also Weiland, hrsg., "Braunschweigische Reimchronik", 568; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 169–170.

47 Smoliński, "W poszukiwaniu Pomorza biorących udział w bitwie pod Suchymi Krutami 26 VIII 1278 r.", in: *Pomerania et alia opuscula Joachimo Zdrenka dedicata*, ed. Joanna Karczewska, Marcelli Tureczek (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2017), 77–100.

48 August Bielowski, ed., "Rocznik Traski", in: MPH, vol. II (Lwów: Self-published, 1872), 844.

49 Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, Krystyna Pieradzka, ed. and foreword, *Iohannis Dlugossi, Annales seu Cronicae regni Poloniae, Liber VII/VIII* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwa Naukowe, 1975), p. 200; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen 2*, 557 *et seq.*; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 87; Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 252 *et seq.*; Rymar, "Władcy Brandenburgii (Askańczycy)", 26; Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna*, 187–189; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 230–231.

Recently, historians tend to look for the reasons for the invasion of the lands of the younger line (if, of course, the Polish-Pomeranian attack truly did not affect the estates of the Johannine Ascanians) in the international situation. The rulers of Greater Poland and Eastern Pomerania were to make the said attack while remaining in alliance with the King of the Romans Rudolf of Habsburg⁵⁰. This hypothesis cannot be ruled out. It seems, however, that the problems with the war for the throne of the Archbishops of Brandenburg were a much more urgent matter for Otto IV. At this stage of the conflict, the Margraves had not yet moved against one another. Nevertheless, the allies of the individual lines had been attacking the Margraves representing the hostile political camps for some time.

The second half of 1278 was a series of setbacks for the Johannine Margraves. The armed expedition to Anhalt, led by the eldest of them, John II, ended with a defeat. The destruction that his troops caused while passing through the property of the Halberstad bishopric instigated the local bishop Volard to anathemise John II and his brothers. Worse still, the anathema was sanctioned by the Pope⁵¹. To make matters worse, 13 or 14 November 1278 saw the death of an ally of the Johannine line of margraves, Barnim I⁵². West Pomerania was now in the hands of Bogislaw IV, the nominal successor of Barnim I, as well as the widow of the deceased ruler, Matilda, who came from the Ottonian line of margraves, and her children. It seems unlikely that John II, Otto IV and Conrad could count on her support at this point in time. Hence, their political goal was to ensure cooperation with Bogislaw IV. The path to this was also to lead through a marriage with a *Markgräfin*. The heir to the Pomeranian throne was married to one of the Margraves' sisters, whose name was also Matilda. It is not known when exactly they were married. It was probably some time before 1278, or December of that year. On 14 December 1278, Margrave Conrad visited Szczecin in person. In the document issued at that time, he was referred to as "gener", that is, the Duke's brother-in-law⁵³. Coming to Szczecin at that very moment, Conrad wanted to either strengthen Bogislaw IV in cooperation with him and his brothers, or – if that was the time that the *Markgräfin* was married – to initiate such cooperation, to be strengthened by marriage.

The first half of the next year's struggle for the throne of the Archbishop of Magdeburg began a little more favourably for the Johannine Margraves. As already mentioned,

50 Rymar, "Władcy Brandenburgii (Askańczycy)", 26; Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna*, 187–189.

51 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 162; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1167; Sello, „Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen”, 168.

52 Rymar, *Rodowód*, 145.

53 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1118; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil 3: *Vom Tode Barnims I. (1278) bis zum Auftreten der Hohenzollern in der Mark Brandenburg (1411)* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perches 1842), 5; Rymar, *Rodowód*, 145.

in March 1279 Günther von Schwaleneberg resigned from the bishop's office. Unfortunately, the chapter again did not choose Eric this time, but gave the disputed throne to Bernhard von Wölpe. The year 1279 saw an increase in hostilities and the involvement of most of the allies of both sides. The Ottonian Margraves, and above all Albert III, supported with force the Magdeburg party. This led to an almost armed clash between him and Otto IV in July 1279 on the Fuhse River, near the city of Reine⁵⁴. However, it did not happen because of the panic that broke out at night in Albert III's camp with the news of the approaching troops of Otto IV. The fleeing knights of Albert III were to carry him out of the camp with their own hands. Albert III, who failed to meet Otto IV in battle, took refuge in Hildesheim. It is not clear when he managed to leave it, because both the Duke of Brunswick, Albert I the Tall, as well as Margrave Otto IV were determined to capture him and for a long time they took pains to cut off any way out of the city. Albert III probably returned to the March only in the fall of 1279. Then, together with his brother Otto V, who for some time finally broke away from Czech affairs, he issued a document for the nunnery in Diensdorf (near Salzwedel)⁵⁵. Before the end of the year, Albert III went to Ueckermünde, where the widow of Barnim I, Matilda of the Ottonian line of margraves, resided⁵⁶. The Margrave assisted his sister in confirming her deceased husband's privileges for the town of Gartz (presently: Gardziec). This fact gave rise to two reflections in historiography. The first one concerned the Duchess' stay in Ueckermünde. It was sometimes treated as an expression of a conflict at the Pomeranian court and the escape of the widowed Duchess with her children from Szczecin⁵⁷. The second one was related to the observation that Gartz was one of the cities-guarantors of the agreement between Margrave Conrad and Barnim I⁵⁸.

In the first matter, it is of course impossible to rule out a conflict between the widow of Barnim I and her stepson. On the other hand, one should not disregard the opinion of researchers who indicate that Matilda's issuance of a document in Ueckermünde may be a proof, above all, that in 1279 this town was one of the ducal seats⁵⁹.

54 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik*, 163; Weiland, hrsg., "Braunschweigische Reimchronik", 570-571; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1183, 1184; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 174.

55 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1203.

56 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1205; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen* 3, 6; Jerzy Walachowicz, *Geneza i ustrój polityczny Nowej Marchii do początków XIV wieku* (Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 62; Freza-Olczyk, *Stepmother and stepson: Duchess Matilda*, 94.

57 Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen* III, 6.

58 Benedykt Zientara, "Rola Szczecina w odrzańskim i bałtyckim handlu zbożem XIII-XIV wiek", Part 1, *Przegląd Historyczny* 52 (1961) 3: 423; Dietmar Lucht, *Die Städtepolitik Herzog Barnims I. von Pommern 1220-1278* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern, H. 10) (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag 1965), 28; Freza-Olczyk, "Stepmother and stepson: Duchess Matilda", 94.

59 As confirmed by Piskorski, *Miasta księstwa szczecińskiego*, 55, note 114.

In the second matter, it should be assumed that the Ottonian Margraves had no influence on the guarantees granted by the Pomeranian towns to the Margraves of the Johannine line. One can only guess that since Margrave Albert III testified on a document that confirmed the rights of Gartz, the Ascanians of the Ottonian line made an attempt to weaken the relations of Pomerania with their relatives of the Johannine line. Albert III and his brothers could not punish Pomeranian towns for the fact that, in their understanding, Bogislaw IV assumed his father's obligations, but did not fulfil them. It would be different if the Pomeranians had actually attacked the Ottonian Margraves. However, there is no proof of this. For the lack of clear source testimonies, there is more supposition on this point than any certainty as to the facts. It seems certain, however, that the disputes between the Ascanians led to the dissipation of their power and prestige in Pomerania. Suffice it to recall in this case that the Margraves managed to force Bogislaw IV, and his stepmother with her sons, to pay a feudal tribute only on 28 August 1284, after the war with the participants of the Rostock Landfriede in the years 1283–1284⁶⁰.

The journey of Margrave Albert III to Pomerania at the end of 1279 could have been an element of a wider campaign aimed at extending the influence of the Ottonian Margraves in the Griffin state. The next step in this direction was to try to win over the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann von Gleichen, and thus weaken the party supporting Eric. Between January and April 1280, Margraves Otto V and Albert III concluded an agreement with the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann von Gleichen, regarding border disputes that were arising between the two parties⁶¹. Information about this dispute was transferred by a later document, which the same Margraves and their younger brother Otto VI issued on 13 July 1280, at Stargard in Mecklenburg, during a meeting held again with Bishop Hermann⁶². The aforementioned dispute arose because of the borders of the so-called "Terra Cinneborch", i.e. in fact the district belonging to the bishopric of Cammin, concentrated around Świdwin (Schivelbein) and Lipie (Arnhausen, south of Białogard/Belgard)⁶³ as well as the Kolberg land. The Bishop of Magdeburg

60 See Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1312; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1366, 1367.

61 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1168; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1213, 1218.

62 Prümers, hrsg. von, PommUB II, 1168; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1218; Eberhard Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns (die Länder Kolberg, Belgard, Schlawe, Stolp) 1250–1350* (Stettin: Verlag Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung, 1939), 109–110; Wybranowski, "Początki świeckiego kręgu wasali", 55–56.

63 Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster*, 55; Sauer, *Der Adel*, 109–110; Kazimierz Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XI–XIII w.* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1960), 150, 155; Halina Szulc, *Morfogenetyczne typy osiedli wiejskich na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Wrocław et al.: Prace Geograficzne Instytutu Geografii i Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Polskiej Akademii Nauk, nr 149, 2008), 99; Rymar, "Rycerstwo ziemi świdwińskiej w XII–XVI wieku", *Przełęcz Zachodniopomorski* 24 (2009), 53: 7 (for more on the location of this territory); Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna*, 191.

Gebhard and other trusted vassals of the Margraves were appointed to arbitrate in it. They ruled that the Cinneborch land, which the Margraves were to acquire from some monks not exactly specified in the document, should maintain the boundaries as defined by Duke Barnim I in his privilege. The Margraves agreed that Bishop Hermann and his church should retain the gord (burgwall) Lipie built by him in their part of the land of Cinneborch, together with the land whose borders had been delimited already by Barnim I by his vassals and some canons of Cammin, as well as the ownership of this part of the land of Kolberg, which the Bishop acquired from Duke Barnim I, along with all the rights and freedoms⁶⁴. The Margraves, however, reserved the right to exercise judicial power in the Bishop's part of the Cinneborch land. As for the details of the border of the disputed area, the Bishop had previously agreed with the knights of the Margraves: Borek, Romel and Ludek de Lassen during the congress in Löcknitz. The gord in Lipie⁶⁵, which was awarded to the Bishop and his church, was to be returned to him only when he fulfilled the conditions of the agreement. Instead of a part of the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) land bought by Bishop Hermann from Barnim I, the Bishop was to transfer to the Margraves the rights held by him and his church to the land of Pełczyce (Bernstein Land) in the New March (as long as the Margraves manage to hold it). If the Margraves were to return the land of Pełczyce to the son of Barnim I, Duke Bogislaw IV, the Bishop and his church should retain their rights in it. If in the future there was a division in which the Margraves and their relatives (i.e. the Margraves of the Johannine line) would participate, then the Kolberg land bought by the Bishop from the hands of Barnim I should not be the subject of this division, and the Pełczyce/Bernstein Land, being compensation, should remain with the Bishop and his church – as agreed by the trusted knights of the Margraves: Borek, Romel and Ludek as well as the representatives appointed by the canons of Cammin. At the end of the treaty, it was stipulated that the Bishop and the chapter accepted the protection of the Margraves against everyone except their relatives – the Margraves of Brandenburg (of the Johannine line). The Bishop and his chapter, for their part, also pledged their help against any enemy except the Johannine Margraves. This condition must have been particularly important to the Bishop, who certainly desired to remain neutral in the ongoing conflict.

64 For more on this transaction, see one of the latest analyses by Krzysztof Guzikowski, *Obce rycerstwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do początku XIV wieku* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego US "Minewra", 2013), 90.

65 More on this gord/castle, see Zbigniew Radacki, *Średniowieczne zamki Pomorza Zachodniego* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 214, 248; Eugeniusz Cnotliwy, Tadeusz Nawrołski, "Gród wczesnośredniowieczny i zamek późnośredniowieczny w Lipiu, gm. Rąbino, woj. Koszalińskie w świetle badań archeologicznych", *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 32 (1968): 182–183, 259; Henryk W. Janocha, Franciszek J. Lachowicz, *Zamki Pomorza Środkowego* (Koszalin: Prasowe Zakłady Graficzne w Koszalinie, 1990), 109–113.

From the reading of the cited document, it appears that at some point hostile actions took place between the Ottonian Margraves and the Bishop of Cammin. The Bishop's construction of a gord (burgwall) in the land considered by the Margraves as theirs should be considered as such. The takeover of this fortified settlement by the Ascanians could not be considered in terms of peace either. However, due to the lack of other sources, we are unable to define the chronology of these events.

Another problem that emerges from the above document concerns the Pełczyce land. One must wonder about the circumstances of its acquisition by Margrave Albert III. The Margrave in the quoted document claimed that he had bought it from certain monks. But what was the reason for placing in the text of the diploma a note about the possibility of returning this land to prince Bogislaw IV? It probably indicates that the Duke did not consider the reign of the Margraves in it to be legal, and that the ruler might attempt to retrieve it from Albert III.

The opinion about the hostile relations between Albert III and Duke Bogislaw IV in the 16th century was delivered by the Pomeranian chronicler Thomas Kantzow. Unfortunately, his account is tainted with accusations of mistakes concerning chronology and names of localities. However, this does not change the essence of the account. The chronicler mentioned in it that Albert III was arguing with Bogislaw IV about the borders of the Pełczyce land. In 1280, the Margrave was to invade Bogislaw IV's estate with all his might and take over the entire land of Pełczyce, including the town itself⁶⁶. It is also certain that Albert III, when entering into negotiations with the Bishop of Cammin in 1280, owned the Pełczyce land and that he was considering the possibility of its return to Bogislaw IV. Referring to Kantzow, as there are no other sources that would try to show the circumstances of the transition of the land of Pełczyce into the hands of the Margrave, it should be assumed that the dispute over its borders broke out after Barnim I's death. The Brandenburg annexation could have occurred at the time when the relations between Bogislaw IV and his stepmother deteriorated. The aim of Albert III's attack could also be to discourage Bogislaw IV from associating himself more closely with the Johannine Margraves. Since the Pomeranian Duke married Matilda, the daughter of John I, Margrave of Brandenburg, Albert III and his brothers had the right to have doubts about the attitude of Bogislaw IV. However, these fears proved to be unfounded.

Bogislaw IV did not intend to get involved in the war for the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. As it was said, from the summer of 1280, the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann von Gleichen, also decided to at least remain neutral in the clash between the two lines of the Margraves. This turned out to be a prudent approach. In the summer

66 Georg Gaebel, hrsg. von, Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Eine pommersche Chronik aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stettin: Paul Niekammer, 1908), 238.

of 1280, a decisive campaign took place in the ongoing war. In the Battle of Wiesenburg (near Belzig), the Magdeburg troops led by Gumprecht von Alvensleben and Burchard Lappe suffered a crushing defeat in a clash with the troops of the Johannine Margraves led by knight Falk, a well-known *Raubritter* then in the service of the Johannine Ascanians, and Konrad von Reden⁶⁷. The Margraves took captive the commanders of the Magdeburg forces along with 320 knights and squires. After this decisive defeat, which actually broke the resistance of Magdeburg, Margrave Albert III undertook to mediate between the Archbishop-elect Bernhard von Wölpe and Margrave Otto IV⁶⁸. The result of these mediations is unfortunately not known. While skirmishes between the ministeriales of the Johannine Margraves and the Archbishopric continued for some time, the war was slowly dying out, and the conflict itself was transferred to the level of a court dispute before Papal arbitration. The mediation undertaken by Albert III is the ultimate proof of the peace established some time earlier (but rather after the Battle of Wiesenburg) between the Margraves of Brandenburg of both lines.

In August 1280, the possibly reconciled Ascanians began to regain their former influence around the Elbe River, in Mecklenburg and in Pomerania. On 24 August 1280, the King of the Romans Rudolf of Habsburg issued a document in which he stated that he handed over to his son-in-law Albert II, Duke of Saxony, and to the Margraves of Brandenburg John II, Otto IV and Conrad the rights to administration, executing power and ownership of Imperial possessions in Saxony and Thuringia, in exactly the same manner as these powers belonged to the deceased Albert I the Tall, Duke of Brunswick, and Albert I, Duke of Saxony, including the right to sovereignty over Lübeck⁶⁹. As the city refused to accept it, the royal act constituted a kind of prelude to the war between Lübeck and the Margraves of Brandenburg⁷⁰. Armed skirmishes, which had been taking place parallel to the diplomatic actions between the Margraves and Lübeck from 1280, in the following years resulted in the conflict's spreading to Saxony, Slavia, Rügen and Pomerania. Some time before 13 June 1283, Bogislaw IV, remaining in alliance with Lübeck, entered the war⁷¹. As mentioned above, his move ended with, inter alia, forcing the Pomeranian Duke to obedience and paying homage to the Margraves of Brandenburg. It was one of the conditions of the preliminary peace

67 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1219.

68 Janicke, hrsg. von, *Die Magdeburger Schöpffenchronik*, 167; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1220; Sello, "Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen", 177–178; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 185.

69 Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Friedrich Techen, bearb., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, Theil 1, Abtheilung 1 (Lübeck: Friedr. Aschenfeldt, 1843), 403; Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1224.

70 Smolinski, "Międzynarodowe okoliczności odzyskania ziemi sławieńskiej przez Mściwoja II w 1284 r. i zawarcia sojuszu brandenbursko-wielkopolskiego" (in print).

71 Krabbo, Winter, bearb., *Regesten*, 1333; Rymar, "Udział Pomorza w wojnie koalicyjnej 1283–1285", 471–487; Smoliński, "Międzynarodowe okoliczności".

treaty signed by the Johannine Margraves and Bogislaw IV as well as Vitslav II of Rügen on 13 August 1284 in Vierraden⁷². The Pomeranian Duke failed to take advantage of the political turmoil that arose as a result of the dispute over the appointment of the Archbishop of Magdeburg and to defend his independence.

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72 Prümers, hrsg. v., PommUB II, 1366.

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

Between 1277 and 1283, a dispute arose followed by an open war for the appointment of the Archbishop of Magdeburg. Margraves of Brandenburg of the Johannine confronted Günther von Schwalenberg, who was elected first, and then Bernhard von Wölpe. The Margraves attempted to promote the election of their brother Eric to the office in question. On the other side of the dispute were the Margraves of the Ottonian line. This situation potentially led to the outbreak of a civil war in the March of Brandenburg.

The plans of the Margraves of the Johannine line were initially supported by Western Pomerania. On their side was both the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann, and Duke Barnim I. The Pomeranian court, not only because of the feudal duties towards Margraves, but also due to family ties linking Barnim I and his son Bogislaw IV with both lines of the Margraves, could not remain indifferent to these events. It cannot be ruled out that in 1278 the Margraves of the Johannine line managed to persuade into cooperation the Dukes of Greater Poland as well as Mestvin (Mściwoj) II of East Pomerania.

At the end of 1278, Barnim I died, which affected the efforts of representatives of both lines of Margraves of Brandenburg to ensure the cooperation of his successor, Bogislaw IV. The Duke, however, did not seem to intend to support either side. Moreover, in view of the internal problems of the Brandenburg Ascanians, he began to think about political independence. However, these plans came to naught. Already in 1280, the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann von Gleichen, actually announced his neutrality in the dispute between the Margraves. Bogislaw IV tried to defend his independence by entering into an alliance with Lübeck and participating in the anti-Brandenburg Landfriede of Rostock (1283). In 1284, however, he found himself among the defeated belligerents and, apart from making other concessions to the Margraves, he had to pay homage to them.

Pomorze Zachodnie wobec wojny o tron arcybiskupa magdeburgskiego w latach 1277–1283

Słowa kluczowe: Arcybiskupstwo magdeburgskie, Brandenburgia, Pomorze, arcybiskup Günther von Schwalenberg, arcybiskup Bernhard von Wölpe, arcybiskup Eryk, syna margrabię brandenburskiego Jana I, margrabiowie brandenburscy: Jan II, Otton IV, Konrada, Otton V, Albrecht III, księżęta pomorscy: Barnim I, Bogusław IV

STRESZCZENIE

Między 1277 a 1283 r. doszło do sporu, a następnie wojny o urząd arcybiskupa magdeburgskiego. Przeciwno wybranemu najpierw Güntherowi von Schwalenberg, a potem Bernhardowi von Wölpe wystąpili margrabiowie brandenburscy z linii joannickiej. Forsowali oni wybór ich brata Eryka na wspomniany urząd. Po drugiej stronie sporu znaleźli się margrabiowie z linii ottońskiej. Sytuacja ta groziła wybuchem wojny domowej w Marchii Brandenburskiej. Plany margrabiów linii joannickiej poparło pierwotnie Pomorze Zachodnie. Po ich stronie znalazł się tak biskup kamieński Herman, jak i książę Barnim I. Dwór pomorski, nie tylko

ze względu na obowiązki lenne względem margrabiów, ale też i związki rodzinne łączące Barnima I i jego syna Bogusława IV z obiema liniami margrabiów, nie mógł pozostać w stosunku do tych wydarzeń obojętny. Nie można wykluczyć też możliwości, że margrabiom joannickim udało się w 1278 r. namówić do współdziałania książąt wielkopolskich i Mściwoja II wschodniopomorskiego.

Pod koniec 1278 r. zmarł Barnim I, co wpłynęło na zabiegi przedstawicieli obu linii margrabiów brandenburskich, by zapewnić sobie współpracę jego następcy, Bogusława IV. Książę jednak nie zamierzał chyba wspierać żadnej ze stron. Co więcej wobec problemów wewnętrznych Askańczyków brandenburskich, zaczął myśleć o samodzielności politycznej. Plany te jednak się nie powiodły. Jeszcze w 1280 r. swą neutralność w sporze między margrabiami ogłosił faktycznie biskup kamieński Herman von Gleichen. Bogusław IV próbował bronić swej niezależności wchodząc w sojusz z Lubeką i uczestnicząc w antybrandenburskim lantfrydzie Rostockim (1283). W 1284 r. znalazł się jednak w szeregu przegranych i oprócz innych ustępstw na rzecz margrabiów, musiał złożyć im hołd.

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