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Circumstances of Wartislaw IV's Assumption of Power over the Lands of Sławno and Słupsk

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Duke Wartislaw IV, born around 1290 as the son of Bogusław IV and Margaret, daughter of Wizlaw II, Prince of Rügen, ruled the Duchy of Wolgast from 1309. Around 1316, he also became ruler of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, and from 1325, following the extinction of the Rügen¹ princely line, he held power over the island as well.

The figure of Wartislaw IV appears frequently in the works of both Polish and German historians. Although a full biography has yet to be written, various aspects of his activity have been the subject of scholarly interest. His life, marriage, and relations with the Margraviate of Brandenburg have been explored in detail by Edward Rymar.² Wartislaw IV's foreign policy, as well as the broader diplomatic stance of the Western Pomeranian dukes towards the Teutonic Order in Prussia between 1320 and 1423, has been analysed by Rafał Simiński.³ Joachim Zdrenka has extensively discussed the foreign policy of the dukes of Szczecin from the division of the Duchy of Western

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- 1 Edward Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, vol. 2 (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska im. Stanisława Staszica w Szczecinie, 1995), 12.
 - 2 For example: Rymar, *Rodowód*; Idem, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do roku 1535)* (Gorzów Wielkopolski: Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Zbigniewa Herberta, 2015); Idem, "Itinerarium książąt zachodniopomorskich: Bogusława IV (1278–1309) i Warcisława IV (1309–1326)," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 22 (2007), 2: 5–53.
 - 3 Rafał Simiński, "Z badań nad polityką zagraniczną księcia wologoskiego Warcisława IV (1309–1326)," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 32 (2017), 2: 211–229; Idem, *Konflikt-Pojednanie-Współpraca. Studia nad polityką książąt zachodniopomorskich i biskupów kamińskich wobec Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1320–1423* (Wrocław: Chronicon, 2019).

Pomerania in 1295 up to 1411, also addressing Wartislaw IV's participation in relations with the princes of Szczecin.⁴ The rule of Wartislaw IV over Rügen has been the subject of studies by Janiśław Osiegiłowski.⁵ The lands of Sławno and Słupsk, especially during Wartislaw's rise to power, have been studied in depth by Józef Spors⁶ and Barbara Popielas-Szultka.⁷ Political circumstances linked to Wartislaw's reign and its historical context have also been discussed by Arkadiusz Bugaj,⁸ Błażej Śliwiński⁹ and Marek Smoliński.¹⁰ Among German historians, the most notable contributions come from Robert Klempin,¹¹ Adolf Hofmeister,¹² Martin Wehrmann,¹³ and Wilhelm Wegener.¹⁴

The Lands of Słupsk and Sławno Before Wartislaw IV's Rule

In the 13th and early 14th centuries, the lands of Sławno and Słupsk were contested by the Sobiesławids, the Piasts, the Danish and Rügen rulers, as well as the Přemyslids, the Ascanians, and the Griffins. The bishops of Kamień also took part in these disputes. From the beginning of the 14th century, the lands of Sławno and Słupsk

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- 4 Joachim Zdrenka, *Polityka książąt szczecińskich w latach 1295–1411* (Słupsk: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Oddział w Słupsku, 1985).
 - 5 Janiśław Osiegiłowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii (1168–1328)* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975).
 - 6 For example: Józef Spors, *Podziały polityczne i administracyjne Pomorza Gdańskiego i Sławięno-Słupskiego XII–XIV w.* (Słupsk: Urząd Wojewódzki, 1979); Idem, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławięskiej, słupskiej i białogardzkiej XII–XIV w.* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1973).
 - 7 Barbara Popielas-Szultka, *Początki i lokacje miast na Pomorzu Sławięno-Słupskim do połowy XIV w.* (Słupsk: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna: 1990); Idem, "Związki polityczne Pomorza Słupskiego z Polską od X w. do połowy XVII w.," *Słupskie Prace Humanistyczne* 14a (1995): 145–158.
 - 8 Arkadiusz Bugaj, "Problem przynależności politycznej ziemi sławięskiej w latach 1316–1320," in: *Biskupi, lennicy, żeglarze*, vol. 9: *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza Biskupi, lennicy, żeglarze*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2003), 17–39.
 - 9 Błażej Śliwiński, "Przynależność państwowa ziemi słupskiej w XII i w początkach XIII w. Czyli o historiograficznym micie przynależności ziemi słupskiej do księstwa sławięskiego," in: *Biskupi, lennicy, żeglarze*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, 273–289; Idem, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294) książę wschodniopomorski (gdański)* (Warszawa: DiG, 2016); Idem, *Pomorze Wschodnie w okresie rządów księcia polskiego Władysława Łokietka w latach 1306–1309* (Oświęcim: Napoleon V, 2016).
 - 10 Marek Smoliński, *Świętopętk gdański* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2016).
 - 11 Robert Klempin, *Stammtafeln des Pommersch-Rügischen Fürstenhauses und seiner Nebenlinien. Aus dem Nachlaß von R. Klempin zum Druck gegeben von G. v. Bülow* (Stettin: Th. von den Nahmer, 1876).
 - 12 Adolf Hofmeister, *Aus der Geschichte des pommerschen Herzogshauses* (Greifswald: Bamberg, 1938); Idem, *Genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des pommerschen Herzogshauses* (Greifswald: Universitätsverlag Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg, 1938).
 - 13 Martin Wehrmann, *Genealogie des Pommersches herzogshauses* (Stettin: Verlag Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung, 1937); Idem, *Geschichte der Insel Rugen* (Greifswald: Verlag Dr. Karl Moninger, 1923).
 - 14 Wilhelm Wegener, *Die Herzoge von Pommern aus dem Greifen-Hause ca. 1100–1637 mit einer Einführung* (Göttingen: Heinz Reise Verlag, 1969).

experienced frequent changes in political affiliation, as various claims were put forward by the Margraves of Brandenburg, the bishops of Kamień, and the dukes of Western Pomerania and Rügen.¹⁵

Despite the interest shown by historians in the political changes concerning the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, little attention has been paid to the role played in these developments by Duke Wartislaw IV. Establishing the precise basis and timing of Wartislaw IV's acquisition of these territories has long posed difficulties. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the circumstances under which the Duke of Wolgast came to assume power over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. It is worth re-evaluating the direction of Wartislaw IV's political strategies, especially his relations with Brandenburg, the Duchy of Szczecin, and the Kingdom of Poland. Was it perhaps due to a political approach differing from that of his father, with respect to the Margraviate of Brandenburg, that Wartislaw IV succeeded in expanding his domain to include the lands of Sławno and Słupsk? What actions did he take to retain them and stabilise their long-disputed political status?

This would have been of particular importance, as he intended to pass his dominion on to his sons after his death, and he certainly wished it to be as territorially expansive as possible. This article aims to gather and verify the current findings and to demonstrate the role played by Duke Wartislaw IV in incorporating the aforementioned lands into the Duchy of Wolgast. Its content focuses significantly on tracing the origins of Sławno and Słupsk's inclusion within Wartislaw IV's rule and, consequently, on the policy pursued by the Western Pomeranian dukes with regard to these territories. It is worth noting, among other things, that Wartislaw IV's father, Bogusław IV, may already have aspired to take control of these lands. Perhaps Wartislaw inherited this ambition from his father? Perhaps, as a young prince, he learned from him, and this is why, once ruling independently, he changed his allies?

The lands of Sławno and Słupsk were situated on the periphery in relation to both the Duchy of Pomerania and the Duchy of Gdańsk, and they also bordered the Margraviate of Brandenburg. The history of these territories in the 12th and early 13th centuries remains unclear.¹⁶ Their political position had a significant impact on the processes taking

15 The historical trajectories of the lands of Słupsk and Sławno diverged significantly, which in turn affected their political and administrative structures. At least from the early 13th century, the land of Sławno remained under strong influence of the Dukes of Western Pomerania. In contrast, the land of Słupsk came under the authority of the Dukes of Eastern Pomerania. In the 13th century, the Polish model of administration was introduced in Słupsk, adopted by the Dukes of Gdańsk. The situation was different in Sławno, which at various times fell under different models of governance. See e.g. Marek Smoliński, "Termin zjednoczenia ziemi słupskiej z Pomorzem Gdańskim w świetle nowych badań nad historią Pomorza w XII i XIII w.," in: *Słupsk i ziemia słupska. Od średniowiecza do współczesności*, ed. Wojciech Skóra and Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio (Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku, 2021), 73 ff.

16 Smoliński, "Termin," 73–91. The question of whether the land of Słupsk belonged to the land of Sławno and formed a separate duchy has been addressed by Błażej Śliwiński; see: Śliwiński, "Przynależność," 273–289.

place in the region—for example, feudal relations developed here later than in the western and eastern parts of Pomerania.¹⁷

After the death of Duke Świętopełk¹⁸ of Gdańsk in 1266, the land of Sławno was incorporated into the Duchy of Western Pomerania (in 1269 it was taken over by the then Duke of Rügen, Wislaw II, who in 1277 sold it to the Margraves of Brandenburg).¹⁹ Meanwhile, the land of Słupsk and its surrounding areas came under the control of the rulers of Eastern Pomerania. Wislaw, styling himself *dei gratia Ruyanorum princeps*, referred in documents to *terra Zlauensen*.²⁰

According to Błażej Śliwiński, Świętopełk's son, Duke Mściwoj II, around 1274 united the Duchy of Gdańsk. Continuing his father's policy towards western neighbours, he sought to incorporate the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. However, he managed to seize only Słupsk. When he launched his campaign to take both territories, the townspeople of Słupsk promptly opened the city gates to him. An attack on the land of Sławno did not occur, as Wislaw II ultimately chose to begin negotiations. The aforementioned researcher suggests that the signing of the relevant document likely took place in Słupsk.²¹

It should also be noted that in February 1282, an agreement was concluded in Kępno between Duke Mściwoj II of Pomerania and Duke Przemysław II²² of Greater Poland. A year later, in 1283, an armed conflict broke out in Western Pomerania between local forces and the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Mściwoj II took advantage of this opportunity and annexed the land of Sławno²³ into his domain.

Following the events mentioned above, likely in an effort to secure the lands held by the Pomeranian rulers—including those of Sławno and Słupsk—Dukes Mściwoj II, Przemysław II, and Bogusław IV (the Duke of Western Pomerania and father of Wartislaw IV) formed an alliance in Słupsk on 23 November 1287.²⁴ It is possible that they agreed at that time that, upon the death of Przemysław II, Bogusław IV would assume

17 Barbara Popielas-Szultka, ed., *Źródła do historii Słupska do połowy XIV w.* (Słupsk: Pomorska Akademia Pedagogiczna, 2000), 13.

18 Duke Świętopełk, the question of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk in his policies, and his relations with neighbouring duchies, see: Smoliński, *Świętopełk*, 184–333. For a more extensive and recent study of Świętopełk's ties to Słupsk and Sławno, see: Idem, "Termin," 73 ff.

19 Max Perlbach, ed., *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch* (hereinafter PommU) (Danzig: Westpreussischen Geschichtsverein, 1882), no. 285. See Osieglowski, *Polityka*, 87. On Mściwoj II's takeover of the land of Sławno, most recently see: Marek Smoliński, "Międzynarodowy kontekst odzyskania ziemi sławieńskiej przez Mściwoja II w 1283 r. i zawarcia sojuszu brandenbursko-wielkopolskiego," *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 24 (2020): 172–211.

20 PommU, no. 285.

21 Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 208–211.

22 For detailed analysis of the Treaty of Kępno, see: Bronisław Nowacki, *Przemysław II odnowiciel Korony Polskiej (1257–1296)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2013), 106 and n. Cf. Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 257–272.

23 Popielas-Szultka, *Źródła do historii Słupska*, 14–15; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 288–296.

24 PommU, no. 426. For a more detailed discussion, see: Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 331–335.

control over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. Perhaps this was part of a strategy adopted by the Duke of Wolgast to acquire these territories. If this were the case, it would suggest that Bogusław IV employed different methods to expand his domain from those later used by his son Wartislav IV during his reign.

Most historians agree that the alliance was political in nature and most likely aimed against the Margraviate of Brandenburg.²⁵ After the alliance in Słupsk was concluded between the three dukes, the Brandenburgers attempted to isolate Bogusław IV from his two allies. Despite Brandenburg's efforts, the Słupsk agreement remained in force for several years, as evidenced by documents issued by Przemysław II and Bogusław IV for the Oliwa Monastery in 1291.²⁶

Duke Mściwoj II died in 1294.²⁷ In accordance with the Kępno agreement of 1282, Gdańsk Pomerania—together with the lands of Sławno and Słupsk—came under the rule of Duke Przemysław II of Greater Poland. It is significant that the already accomplished unification of Greater Poland with Gdańsk Pomerania created the opportunity to pursue the coronation of this duke as King of Poland. This indeed took place on 25 June 1295 in Gniezno.²⁸ Shortly thereafter, in 1296, Przemysław II was assassinated in a plot inspired by the Brandenburgers.²⁹

Przemysław's legacy was taken up by Duke Władysław Łokietek of Kuyavia. However, his rule over Gdańsk Pomerania was short-lived, as in 1300 the Polish crown passed to King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, and then to his son, Wenceslaus III. The lands of Sławno and Słupsk remained under Bohemian rule until 1306³⁰ (during this period, Duke Sambor I of Rügen also laid claim to Mściwoj II's inheritance and occupied the lands of Sławno and Słupsk in 1301, ruling there until 1303).³¹

With the extinction of the Bohemian dynasty ruling in Poland and Gdańsk Pomerania, the Brandenburg margraves once again entered the scene. Their claims to Pomerania were based on an agreement concluded with King Wenceslaus III of Bohemia

25 See also: Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II*, 330 ff. An interesting perspective on the issue of succession to the Eastern Pomeranian throne after Mściwoj II is presented by Thomas Kantzow. See Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Kronika pomorska z XVI wieku*, trans. Krzysztof Gołda (Szczecin: Dokument, 2005), 368, 379. See Nowacki, *Przemysław II*, 134; Cf. Spors, *Dzieje*, 147.

26 PommU, no. 481, 482.

27 Rymar, *Rodowód*, vol. 1, 295.

28 August Bielowski, ed. "Rocznik Traski," in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 2 (Lwów: Akademia Umiejętności, 1872), 853.

29 See Rymar, *Historia*, 200 and n. See also his discussion on the assassination of Przemysław II. For a broader treatment of the topic, see: Nowacki, *Przemysław II*, 201–219.

30 For more on the rule of Władysław Łokietek and the Přemyslid dynasty in Eastern Pomerania, see: Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 15–40.

31 See Błażej Śliwiński, "Fragment dziejów politycznych ziemi sławieńskiej w latach 1301–1303," *Zapiski Historyczne* 56 (1991), 1: 16. On the rule of Sambor I in the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, see also: Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzną*, 109 ff.

on 8 August 1305.³² According to this treaty, the Brandenburgers returned Meissen—previously pledged to them—to Wenceslaus III, in exchange for receiving Gdańsk Pomerania.³³ This clearly shows that the margraves remained determined to gain control over Eastern Pomerania.

Polish and German historians differ in their views on Brandenburg's occupation of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk.³⁴ In the summer of 1306, the Brandenburgers had an opportunity to seize the Pomeranian territories following the death of King Waław III. However, Władysław Łokietek thwarted their efforts. The Brandenburgers used the Neumark as their base of operations on the Pomeranian front. That same year, troops under the command of the von Wedel family³⁵ (acting on behalf of the margraves) occupied the land of Sławno and, during their raid, destroyed Kamień, which was the seat of the bishopric. In 1307, these same forces took control of the land of Słupsk, aided by the feudal submission of the powerful Świąca family. Ludolf von Wedel had to hand over the castles taken the year before—Polanów, Sianów, and Sławno³⁶—which had been garrisoned by the Świącas.

Initially, members of the Świąca family recognised the authority of Władysław Łokietek over the territories previously ruled by Mściwoj II and Przemysław II. However, faced with threats to their positions—both in terms of official posts and property—due to a lawsuit brought against them by Bishop Gerard of Włocławek on 17 July 1307 in Lędowo³⁷ near Ustka, the Świąca family, along with Piotr of Nowe, submitted the land of Słupsk to the Brandenburg margraves.³⁸ In return for recognising Brandenburg overlordship, the family received from Ludolf von Wedel the aforementioned castles of Polanów, Sianów, and Sławno.³⁹

Following the events of 1306 and 1307, the lands of Sławno and Słupsk came under Brandenburg rule. Władysław Łokietek attempted to reclaim the legacy of Przemysław II,

32 PommU, no. 640.

33 See Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 36–38.

34 For discussions on this topic, see: Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 153–162; Marek Smoliński, “Sytuacja na pograniczu askańsko-brandenburskim w II połowie XIII w. i na przełomie XIII/ XIV w. Najazd Brandenburgii na Pomorze Sławieńskie w 1306 r.,” in: *Pomorze, Mazowsze, Prusy*, vol. 7: *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*. (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2000), 181–234.

35 On the Wedel family, see, e.g.: Rymar, *Historia polityczna*, 915.

36 Rymar, *Historia polityczna*, 212. Cf. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 161 ff.

37 PommU, no. 656; Georg Winter, bearb. v. *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* (hereinafter PUB), Bd. IV. Abt. 2 (Stettin, 1903), no. 2355.

38 According to Arkadiusz Bugaj, the Świąca family was required to swear fealty to the margraves in 1307. See Bugaj, *Problem przynależności*, 26–27. Gerard Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza. Czasy średniowieczne*, vol.1 (Gdańsk: Instytut Kaszubski w Gdańsku, 2006), 378–380.

39 On the issue of whether the so-called “betrayal of the Świąca family” truly occurred, and for more on the 1307 agreement in Lędowo, see: Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 209–234.

but the situation was difficult. Once again, Duke Bogusław IV of Western Pomerania opposed the margraves. Unable to wrest control of the Pomeranian territories from Brandenburg hands, Władysław turned to the Teutonic Order for assistance. The Teutonic Knights expelled the enemy from Eastern Pomerania but subsequently occupied Gdańsk themselves.⁴⁰ However, the Brandenburgers retained control over Sławno and Słupsk.⁴¹

The Oliwa Chronicle reports that in 1309 an agreement was reached between Brandenburg and the Teutonic Order, under which the Order acquired the so-called “rights” of the Brandenburgers to Pomerania up to the borders of the land of Słupsk.⁴² Ultimately, the arrangement resulted in the lands of Sławno and Słupsk remaining under the rule of the Margraviate, with Margraves Waldemar, Otto, and Hermann at the helm, while the rest of Eastern Pomerania came under the dominion of the Teutonic Order.⁴³

The Lands of Sławno and Słupsk under the rule of Wartislaw IV

Wartislaw, the son of Bogusław IV and Margaret of Rügen, was born around 1290 and, from the beginning of his reign in 1309, maintained good relations with Brandenburg—unlike his father. Upon the death of Bogusław IV, Wartislaw became Duke of Wolgast. His loyal stance toward Margrave Waldemar contributed to Wartislaw acquiring the lands of Słupsk, Sławno, and Darłowo.⁴⁴ According to Edward Rymar and others, these lands may have constituted the dowry of Wartislaw IV's wife, Elisabeth, who was most likely (according to the aforementioned scholar) a Brandenburg margravine.⁴⁵

Let us take a closer look at the matter of Wartislaw IV receiving the lands of Sławno and Słupsk from Margrave Waldemar. In 1315, a great anti-Brandenburg coalition was formed, led by King Eric VI of Denmark. Apart from the king himself, the alliance included Henry of Mecklenburg, Wizlaw III of Rügen, the Duke of Lüneburg, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Schwerin, many other North German lords,

40 Wojciech Kętrzyński, ed., “Kronika oliwska,” in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 6 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1893), 318 ff.

41 See e.g. Jan Baszkiewicz, *Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego 1295–1320* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008), 57 ff.

42 “[T]erram Pomeranie usque ad terminos terre Stolpensis emerunt.” Kętrzyński, “Kronika oliwska”, 319. Cf. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, 429 ff.

43 Popielas-Szultka, *Źródła do historii Słupska*, 17.

44 Otto Heinemann, bearb. v. *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. V. Abt. 2 (Stettin: 1905), no. 3152.

45 Rymar, *Historia polityczna*, 228. See also Zdrenka, *Polityka*, 45–47; Rymar, *Rodowód*, 300–305; Klempin, *Stammtafeln*, 9.

and Władysław Łokietek.⁴⁶ On Waldemar's side, apart from Wartislav IV, stood Duke Otto of Szczecin, who, for his loyal stance towards the margrave, received the land of Pełczno. The war only came to an end with the deaths of both Waldemar of Brandenburg and King Eric of Denmark, which occurred in 1319.⁴⁷

According to Józef Spors, in this situation the Brandenburg margrave, Waldemar, sought to win over at least the dukes of Western Pomerania. Territorial grants may have served as a convincing incentive. Thus, around 1316, the margrave granted Wartislav IV the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. One may agree with Spors that the Margraviate adopted a visibly conciliatory attitude toward Western Pomerania⁴⁸—likely as a result of the powerful coalition formed against it.

An interesting document that may shed light on the governance of the land of Słupsk before Wartislav IV received it from the Margrave of Brandenburg is a charter issued on 22 August 1315 in the locality of Tankow. In this document, the Brandenburg margrave confirmed the Świąca family and their heirs in the possession of the villages of Kobylnica, Siemianice, Nożyno, Dąbrówno, Skórzyno, Wykosowo, Żelazo, Skórowo, Borzytuchom, Tuchomie, and Tuchomko as fiefs. Among the witnesses to this charter were Henning de Blankenburch, Piotr of Nowe, Jakub Boytin, and Ludwig von Wedel.⁴⁹ It is evident that the Świąca family was well known to Margrave Waldemar and held significant influence in the lands of Słupsk, Sławno, and Bytów—as confirmed by the listed villages from this region. Furthermore, among the witnesses to Waldemar's charter was Piotr of Nowe, who also appears in other documents issued by the margrave, providing additional confirmation of the Świąca family's prominence.⁵⁰

The precise date when the lands of Sławno and Słupsk were incorporated into Wartislav IV's domain remains a matter of scholarly debate. Historians suggest the years 1313, 1316, or 1317.⁵¹ It can be assumed that the rule of the Dukes of Wolgast over these lands was definitively established by December 1317,⁵² though this does not exclude the possibility that they were incorporated earlier. Initially, Wartislav IV held these territories as a vassal of Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg (until 1319), and later—after the extinction of the Ascanian line—he gained full sovereignty over them (in 1320).⁵³

46 See note 159 in: Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 176.

47 Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*, 377.

48 Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 177.

49 Otto Heinemann, bearb. v., *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. VI. Abt. 2 (Stettin: 1907), no. 4109.

50 See, e.g. PUB, VI/2, no. 4121, here referred to as *Petrus de Pomerania*. Also mentioned is the provost of Słupsk: *Everardus*, in *Stolpe prepositus*.

51 See Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 177. For a more recent perspective on the state of research, see e.g.: Smoliński, "Termin," 73–91.

52 PUB, vol. V/2, no. 3152.

53 Bugaj, *Problem*, 17–38.

Before examining the documents that may shed more light on the circumstances under which the Duke of Wolgast took control of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, it is worth considering another source that offers valuable insights: the *Protocol of Augustine of Stargard*, which was thoroughly annotated by Edward Rymar. This source contains interesting information about the context in which Wartislaw IV acquired the aforementioned territories. According to the accounts published, Margrave Waldemar, having possession of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, ceded part of the former—that is, the area between the rivers Unieść and Grabowa (the eastern portion of Sławno land)—to the Bishopric of Kamień as compensation for the Brandenburg raid on Kamień in 1306. However, the remaining territory in the eastern part of Pomerania, up to the Łeba River, was reportedly sold to Wartislaw IV, Duke of Szczecin. Moreover, there was a belief at the time that Wartislaw IV could inherit the dominion of Mściwoj II following his death without heirs.⁵⁴ The protocol also mentions that Wartislaw was to have received the land of Słupsk around the year 1316, which had implications for ecclesiastical matters—specifically, for the transfer of the land from the jurisdiction of the Archdeaconry of Gniezno to that of the Bishops of Kamień.⁵⁵

Thus, the *Protocol* suggests that Wartislaw IV gained control of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk around 1316. This aligns with the theory that he was granted these territories by Margrave Waldemar as a reward for his loyalty in the face of the large anti-Brandenburg coalition formed in 1315—or that the lands formed part of the dowry of Wartislaw's wife, Elisabeth, who was likely a Brandenburg margravine. One might also wonder whether there was a particular reason why Margrave Waldemar so generously rewarded the Duke of Wolgast with these territories. Perhaps the lands of Sławno and Słupsk had become burdensome to the Brandenburg margraves? It seems likely that the main reason was simply the strategic difficulty of maintaining control over these lands, given their location and problematic neighbourhood, as mentioned earlier. Waldemar may have concluded that these territories would inevitably fall under the authority of a duke with whom he maintained good relations. Therefore, he might have regarded such a move as a sound investment in a loyal future ally.

Let us now examine the documents issued by Wartislaw IV that may help determine the probable period when he took control of Sławno and Słupsk. On 13 January 1317, Wartislaw IV was in Wolgast, where he issued a charter for the Żukowo monastery.

54 Edward Rymar, ed., *Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, Protokół. Kamińska kronika – rodowód książąt pomorskich. Tzw. Stargardzka genealogia* (Stargard: Muzeum w Stargardzie, 2008), 24–25, 27. See also footnote 104, where Edward Rymar rightly argues that even if the succession after Mściwoj II was to include the Duke of Wolgast, it certainly did not refer (in 1294 – the year of Mściwoj's death) to Wartislaw, but rather to his father, Bogusław IV. However, in the longer term, Wartislaw IV might also have been considered as the son of Bogusław IV.

55 Rymar, *Augustyn ze Stargardu*, 20.

At that time, the duke transumed a document issued by Margrave Waldemar dated 1 November 1313. The witnesses to this act included Nicholas Swanenbeke, canon of Kamień; Konrad Vemerem; and Henryk Rethim. The titulature used in this document is noteworthy, as it deviates slightly from that typically found in diplomatic sources: it includes the title “*Duke of Pomerania*.”⁵⁶ This document is of great importance for the Duke of Wolgast, as it can likely be considered the earliest evidence that Wartislaw IV received the lands of Sławno and Słupsk⁵⁷ from Margrave Waldemar. The title “Duke of Pomerania” had previously applied to rulers of the eastern parts of Pomerania,⁵⁸ and these lands had belonged to them for much of the 13th century.⁵⁹

The document issued on 13 July 1317 in Bukowo Morskie by members of the Święca family⁶⁰—Piotr of Nowe and his brother Jasiak, lords of Sławno and Darłowo—does not yet indicate any change in the political affiliation of the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. The act concerned the donation of the village of Dummaszloviz⁶¹ to the monastery in Bukowo. There is no mention in the document of Duke Wartislaw IV, nor is his consent referenced, which suggests that Duke Wartislaw IV was probably not considered a ruler in these lands.

The first document clearly indicating that Wartislaw IV had received the lands of Sławno and Słupsk from Margrave Waldemar is dated 18 December 1317. In Białoboki, the Duke of Wolgast transumed a document originally issued by the Brandenburg margraves Waldemar and John V on 2 February 1313 for the town of Słupsk. This act was witnessed by Konrad, bishop-elect of Kamień, Henning Bere (marshal), Arnold Monachus de Boene, Henning Bere de Stuochove, and Byspraus de Strackemyn. In the content of the document, Wartislaw IV styled himself as the Slavic, Kashubian, and Pomeranian duke.⁶² This charter unmistakably confirms that Wartislaw IV was exercising authority over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk.

56 PUB, V/2, no. 3040: *dei gracia dux Sclavorum et Caschubie Pomeranorumque*. On the titulature itself, see: Paweł Czaplewski, “Tytulatura książąt pomorskich do początku XIV wieku,” *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 15 (1949), 1–2: 18–21.

57 Such assumptions had already been made by Edward Rymar. See: Rymar, “Itinerarium,” 39.

58 For more on titulature, see also: Agnieszka Gut, *Formularz dokumentów książąt zachodniopomorskich do połowy XIV wieku* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2002), 73; Gerard Labuda, *Kaszubi i ich dzieje* (Gdynia: Oficyna Czac, 1996), 41–145.

59 Regarding the origins of the claims of the Dukes of Western Pomerania to the lands of Eastern Pomerania, especially Słupsk and Sławno, see: Smoliński, “Termin,” 76–77.

60 On the Święca family, see e.g.: Błażej Śliwiński, “Gniazdo rodu Święców,” *Studia Bałtyckie. Historia* 2 (1996), 35–51; Barbara Popielas-Szultka, “Polityka miejska Święców,” *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Czachorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę jego urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, vol. 2, eds. Roman Czaja and Janusz Tandecki (Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 1996), 69–81.

61 The village was probably incorporated into the boundaries of Darłowo at a later time.

62 PUB, V/2, no. 3152: *dei gracia dux Slavorum, Cassuborum et Pomeranorum*.

It is possible that the earlier adoption of the title “Duke of Pomerania,” as previously noted, was already an indication of his claims to these territories. The sporadic use of this title before 1317 may reflect Wartislaw IV’s aspirations to rule over the mentioned region.⁶³ The fact that the document was issued in Białoboki rather than in Słupsk suggests that the duke had not yet physically been present in either Słupsk or Sławno at that time.

Another diploma confirming Wartislaw IV’s assumption of authority over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk is one issued by him on 27 December 1317. The location of its issuance is unknown, but the content reveals that the duke confirmed the sale of the villages of Żukowo and Żyrawa in the land of Sławno to the Bishop of Kamień by the knight Teszlaus de Bevenhusen. This diploma was witnessed by Teszlaus himself and the following knights: Jan Urso (marshal), Jan Troge, Arnold Monych de Bone, Siegfried Lode, Theodor Scherf, Jan Urso de Stucchove, Konrad Ubesseke, Tymon Mokervitze, Konrad Vleming, Herman Silbur, and Piotr Camich.⁶⁴

In this document, Wartislaw IV used the titulature most commonly found in his official acts.⁶⁵ The document is of particular importance for several reasons. First, it allows us to determine that the knight Teszlaus de Bevenhusen originated from the territory of Sławno or Słupsk—evidenced by his involvement in the sale of the villages of Żukowo and Żyrawa, both located in the land of Sławno. His origin from that region is further supported by the fact that he does not appear in earlier documents among the witnesses associated with the Duke of Wolgast.

Secondly, the act confirms that the sale of both villages required confirmation from Wartislaw IV himself, and not from Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg. This provides strong evidence that the Duke of Wolgast was already ruling over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk at the time.

Furthermore, the document also sheds light on Wartislaw’s relationship with the Bishop of Kamień. Had relations between the two not been amicable, it is unlikely that the duke would have approved the sale. The list of witnesses mentioned includes

63 Wartislaw IV is recorded as Duke of Pomerania as early as 1313, see: PUB, V/2, no. 2807: *dei gracia Stetyensis, Slavorum, Pomeranie et Cassubie dux*. Interestingly, the Duke of Szczecin, Otto I, usually employed the titulature *dei gracia dux Slavorum et Cassubie dominus in Stetin*, though the “Pomeranian” component also appeared in his titulature in 1311, e.g. Otto Heinemann, *bearb. v. Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. V. Abt. 1 (Stettin: 1903), no. 2648: *dei gracia Slavie, Cassubie et Pomeranie dux*, and no. 2721: *nos dei gracia Slavie, Cassubie et Pomeranie dux*. This may have been related to his own aspirations or reflected rivalry with Wartislaw IV.

64 To illustrate the role of knights who acted as witnesses in the documents of the Griffins up to the early 14th century, see: Krzysztof Guzikowski, *Obce rycerstwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do początku XIV wieku* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2015), 76–89. For further information on individuals in the entourage of Wartislaw IV see: Idem, “Milites novi w otoczeniu księcia wołogoskiego Wartysława IV (1309–1326),” *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 31 (2016), 1: 73–94.

65 PUB, V/2, no. 3157: *dei gracia dux Slavorum et Cassubie*.

the names of knights likely originating from the territory of Sławno, further reinforcing the local character of the act and Wartislaw IV's authority in the region.

Taking into account the presented source material, it can be assumed that the lands of Sławno and Słupsk were incorporated into Warcisław IV's domain by 1317. It is known that this process did not take place suddenly, so it is possible that the mentioned lands had already been prepared for the change of political affiliation.

Conclusions

The precise timing of Wartislaw IV's assumption of power over the territories of Sławno and Słupsk remains difficult to determine definitively. The year 1313 can likely be excluded, despite Wartislaw twice adding the term *Pomeranian*⁶⁶ to his titulature that year. It is possible that, in 1313, Wartislaw IV simply wished to express his claims to the eastern parts of Pomerania—claims often asserted by members of the Griffin dynasty, as previously discussed. It is also plausible that the Duke of Wolgast diplomatically aimed to signal to Margrave Waldemar his willingness to take control of those territories in exchange for loyalty to the Brandenburg side. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Wartislaw ultimately received the territory as a reward for his allegiance between 1315 and 1317. By the year 1317, we already have documented evidence confirming that Wartislaw IV had assumed power in the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. It is highly probable that decisions regarding the transfer of these lands were made as early as the previous year—evidence for which has been outlined above.⁶⁷ Although by 1317 Wartislaw IV was documented as holding authority over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk, subsequent diplomatic sources⁶⁸ reveal that his position there was not yet fully consolidated. The Świąca family continued to wield considerable influence in the governance of these regions. It is very likely that members of the Świąca family served as local administrators under Wartislaw IV's rule.

Two documents dated 2 July 1320, issued near the Łeba River, are crucial in confirming Wartislaw IV's authority over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk. On that day, Wartislaw—styled *dux Slavorum, Cassubie et Pomeranorum*—entered into an alliance with Bishop Konrad IV of Kamień and the Teutonic Order, represented by the Prussian Provincial Master, Friedrich von Wildenberg, on the eastern border of his dominion,

66 PUB, V/1, no. 2807: *dei gracia Stetyensis, Slavorum, Pomeranie et Cassubie dux*; no. 2820: *dei gracia Sclavorum, Cassubie et Pomeranie dux*.

67 We may also add here the previously mentioned issue of the titulature used by Wartislaw IV in diplomatic material. The element "Duke of Pomerania," or similar variants, appears increasingly often. See e.g. PUB, V/1, no. 3040; PUB, V/2, no. 3120, 3131, 3152.

68 See also PUB, V/2, no. 3297.

in Pomerania prope fluvium Leba. The witnesses to this act were Herman de Evirsten; the duke's marshal, Henning Bere, and his son Henning Bere; Piotr of Nowe, Ganzko; Piotr Putkamer; Jan Volgoszcz; Konrad of Nowynkirchin, and Orlikus; the parish priest in Bustowe.⁶⁹ These witnesses were also expected to enforce the agreement. Should Duke Wartislaw form an alliance with the King of Poland or another party opposed to the Teutonic Order, the knights of the lands of Białogard, Słupsk, and Sławno—commanded by Henning Behr, Henning de Plote, and the descendants of Voivode Święca, namely Piotr and Jasiek—were authorised to take action against the duke. This act confirms, among other things, that the knightly class from Central Pomerania acted in concert with the ruling elites of Wartislaw's state and supported the integration of these lands.⁷⁰ The meeting had the specific aim of confirming Wartislaw IV's rule over the lands of Sławno and Słupsk (the latter having belonged to Poland until 1307). The Wolgast–Teutonic alliance was explicitly aimed against “anyone or any prince or princes of the Kingdom of Poland” (*si quis vel qui princeps vel princeps regni Polonie*) who might attack any of the agreement's signatories.⁷¹ The second act, also dated 2 July 1320, was issued by Henning Bere, Wartislaw IV's marshal. In it, he pledged to uphold the alliance made near the Łeba River and to deliver a sealed copy of the agreement to the Teutonic Order.⁷² This shows that not only Bishop Konrad IV of Kamień supported Wartislaw IV's consolidation of power in the lands of Sławno and Słupsk—the Teutonic Order also accepted and endorsed this new state of affairs.

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69 PUB, V/2, no. 3375.

70 The leadership of the Święca family is clear; and they were deeply at odds with Łokietek and were eager to ally themselves with his enemies, e.g. the Teutonic Knights.

71 Simiński, “Z badań,” 215.

72 PUB, V/2, no. 3376.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

Prince Wartislav IV, born around 1290 as the son of Bogusław IV and Margaret, daughter of the Rügen prince Wizława II, ruled the Duchy of Wolgast from 1309. Around 1316, he also became the ruler of the Sławieńskie and Słupskie lands, and in 1325, after the extinction of the Rügen dynasty, the Duke of Rügen. Prince Wartislav IV pursued a different policy from that of his father, which resulted in the expansion of his dominion. The article aims to gather and verify previous findings and to show the role of Prince Wartislav IV in the incorporation

of Słupsk and Sławno lands to the Principality of Wolgast. The article's content focuses largely on the origins of the inclusion of Słupsk and Sławno lands into the domain of Duke Wartislaw IV, and consequently, the policy of the Western Pomeranian dukes towards these territories. The primary source material consists mainly of documents from Wartislaw IV and other princes and rulers who participated in the circumstances of the assumption of power in the Słupsk and Sławno lands by the Duke of Wolgast.

Okoliczności objęcia władzy przez Warcisława IV w ziemi sławieńskiej i słupskiej

Słowa kluczowe: Pomorze Zachodnie, Warcisław IV, Słupsk, Sławno

STRESZCZENIE

Książę Warcisław IV urodzony około roku 1290 jako syn Bogusława IV i Małgorzaty, córki księcia rugijskiego Wisława II, od 1309 roku sprawował władzę w księstwie wołogoskim. Ów książę od około 1316 roku stał się także władcą ziem sławieńskiej i słupskiej, a od 1325 roku, po wymarciu rugijskiej dynastii, również księciem Rugii. Książę Warcisław IV prowadził odmienną politykę niżeli jego ojciec, co skutkowało poszerzeniem jego władztwa. Artykuł ma na celu zebranie i weryfikację dotychczasowych ustaleń oraz ukazanie roli księcia Warcisława IV w przyłączeniu do księstwa wołogoskiego ziem słupskiej i sławieńskiej. Treść artykułu skupia się w znacznej mierze na wskazaniu genezy włączenia ziemi słupskiej i sławieńskiej do władztwa księcia Warcisława IV, a co za tym idzie, również polityki książąt zachodniopomorskich wobec tych terytoriów. Podstawę źródłową stanowią głównie dokumenty Warcisława IV oraz innych książąt i władców, którzy uczestniczyli w okolicznościach obejmowania władzy w ziemiach słupskiej i sławieńskiej przez księcia wołogoskiego.

Citation

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