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Borders and original revenues of the Wrocław bishopric

I am perfectly aware of all the difficulties that inevitably beset each researcher who attempts at examining a matter so complex and at the same time so frequently discussed by the literature of the subject as the one this paper is devoted to. The issue of our interest has been indeed revisited numerous times by a vast number of scholars, starting from J. Heyne¹ through J. Jungnitz² to K. Dola³ (who has recently published a history of the Church of Silesia).

It is a well known fact that in A.D. 1000⁴, on the foundation of the archbishopric of Gniezno by Bolesław Chrobry (Boleslaus the Valiant) and Otto III, no slightest attention was devoted to the issue of legal delimitation of the archbishopric's boundaries. So was the case with its sub-units: the bishopric of Kołobrzeg, the bishopric of Kraków, and most importantly, the former missionary bishopric of Poznań. Therefore, we may discuss here only an approximate geographical distribution of the bishopric's boundaries determined on the basis of the territorial range of the sovereignty of the first Piasts, or—in more detailed cases—on the basis of the contemporary tribal territorial divisions. This significant restriction had to be taken into account by scholars ever since the issue has been investigated (see i.e. the aforementioned article of J. Jungnitz)⁵. Nonetheless, the original tribal territorial divisions were often understood all too literally, a model example of which is the study of H. Boettger on the Slavic tribe of Polabians⁶. Over time, a reasonable view began to sprout among the scholars that in the Early Middle Ages neither ecclesiastical nor state boundaries were possible to be precisely determined. The territories of the tribes (i.e. in Silesia) were separated by vast stretches of woodland, the so-called '*mediae silvae*'—as stated in the Prague document of 1086 (and more precisely from before A.D. 973).⁷ According to the document, as many as 4 tribes resided in the northern part of Silesia: *Zlasane, Pobarane, Trebouane, Dedosize*, and their territories reached '*ad mediam*

¹ J. Heyne, *Dokumentierte Geschichte des Bisthums und Hochstifts Breslau*, vol. I, Breslau 1860, pp. 186 and following.

² J. Jungnitz, 'Die Grenzen des Breslauer Bistums' (*Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesischen Geschichte*, vol. III, Breslau 1907, pp. 1–18).

³ K. Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła na Śląsku*, part I: *Średniowiecze*, Nysa 1993.

⁴ *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon* (hereafter referred to as: *Thietmari Chronikon*), R. Holtzman, ed., lib. IV, cap. 45, MGH, SRS, NS, vol. IX, Berlin 1935, pp. 182 and following.; *Kronika Thietmara*, M. Z. Jedlicki, ed., Poznań 1955, pp. 203–209. Cf.: Gąsiorowski, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵ See Jungnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 4, for his apt remarks on the issue.

⁶ H. Boettger, *Diöcesan- und Gaugrenzen*, vol. IV, Halle 1876. Cf.: H. F. Schmid, *Das Recht der Gründung und Ausstattung vom Kirchen im kolonialen Theile der Magdeburger Kirchenprovinz während des Mittelalters*, Weimar 1924; S. Arnold, *Terytoria plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (XII–XIII w.)*, Kraków 1927. Quoted after *idem. Z dziejów średniowiecza. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 196, pp. 233 and following, 'Śląsk', pp. 375–401, the map on p. 384.

⁷ MGH, DH, 1. VI, part I, D. von Gladiss, ed., Weimar 1959, no. 390, pp. 515–517; KDS, K. Maleczyński, vol. I, Wrocław 1956, no. 8, pp. 15–20; SUB, vol. I, H. Appelt, ed., Graz-Köln 1963, no. 5, pp. 4–5.



*silvam, qua Milcianorum occurrunt termini*⁸. German literature describes these inter-tribal strips of land as *Grenzsäume*⁹. For example, the earliest tribal settlements of the time located in Silesia, including those belonging to *Ślężanie*, did not overlap with mountainous areas, but reached merely as far as its foothills—which has been accepted *unanymi voce* by all researchers¹⁰. At the base of the mountains there stretched a road 'semita Bohemiae' (mentioned in the *Book of Henryków*),¹¹ and, more importantly, this was the place where lied a protective barrier of dense, impassable borderland forests—the famous 'Przesieka Śląska' (literally: the Silesian Cutting)¹². In the north, similar was the role of muddy and forested areas which comprised not only '*mediae silvae*' (mentioned in the document of Prague) but also deserted areas, like those located within the former territory of the tribe of *Dziadoszanie*, which according to Thietmar¹³, were home to only one '*apum magister*'—bee-keeper. All the aforementioned conditions need to be considered in our attempt to retrace the original territorial range of the Wrocław diocese as established by Boleslaus the Valiant and Holy Roman Emperor Otto III at the Congress of Gniezno¹⁴.

Therefore, the presentation of the initial borders of the bishopric of Wrocław is yet another review of the distribution of borders dividing the territories of the Silesian tribes and territories subjected to the states or, merely, to the tribes that were contiguous to Silesia. It is worth to mention that, as it has been once pointed out by W. Semkowicz, Silesia is 'a gift of the Odra river'¹⁵. Although it is impossible for us to re-examine here once again all the issues related to the distribution of tribes in Silesia¹⁶,

⁸ Cf. footnote no. 7, above.

⁹ O. Schluter, *Die Siedlungsräume Mitteleuropas im frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, Remagen 1952; S. Arnold, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, Warszawa 1951, pp. 25 and following.

¹⁰ M. Treblin, 'Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte im ehemaligen Fürstentum Schweidnitz' (*Darstellungen*, vol. VI, 1908 pp. 1 and following); M. Hellmich, *Die Besiedlung Schlesiens in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, Breslau 1923; H. Uhtenwoldt, *Die Burgverfassung in der Vorgeschichte und Geschichte Schlesiens*, Breslau 1938; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Ze studiów nad osadnictwem wczesnofeudalnym na Śląsku', (*Sobótka*, 1957, 1, pp. 1–50, on the forestation of the Sudetes Foothills pp. 13 and following).

¹¹ *Księga Henrykowska*, R. Grodecki, ed., Wrocław 1949, p. 293; *Księga henrykowska*, J. Pater, ed., Wrocław 1991, p. 143—'*semita Bohemorum*'. Cf.: Uhtenwoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Tyszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 13 and following.

¹² *Księga henrykowska*, R. Grodecki, ed., p. 296; *Księga henrykowska*, J. Pater, p. 145; Cf.: Tyszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and following; and the map on p. 50; W. Semkowicz, 'Historyczno-geograficzne podstawy Śląska' (*Historia Śląska PAU*, vol. I, Kraków 1933, p. 69 and the map on p. 71).

¹³ *Thietmari Chronicon*, VII, 20, p. 420; *Kronika Thietmara*, p. 497.

¹⁴ Cf.: here. L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Zachodni sąsiedzi plemion śląskich' (*Sobótka* 1964, 1–2, pp. 3 and following.); *idem*, 'Zur Problematik der frühmittelalterlichen Stammesgebiete und Burgbezirke in der Nieder- und Oberlausitz', (*Letopis. Jahresschrift für sorbische Volksforschung*, Seria B, no. 15, pp. 39–66); *idem*, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież w systemie plemion śląskich' (*Śląskie Prace Prahistoryczne*, vol. II, Katowice 1991, pp. 49–71); *idem*, 'Ziemia kłodzka a państwo pierwszych Piastów' (*Studia z dziejów ziemi kłodzkiej*, A.U.Wr., Hist. LIII, Wrocław 1990, pp. 33 and following); *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny i osadnictwo pierwotne Euroregionu Nysa we wczesnym średniowieczu' (*Die Besiedlung der Neisseregion*, Zittau 1995, pp. 43–51.).

¹⁵ Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Tyszkiewicz, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież...', p. 50 and following; *idem*, 'Die slawische Burgenorganisation und ihre Umgestaltung in das mittelalterliche Kastellaneisystem' (*Stadtgeschichte Oberschlesiens*, Berlin 1995, p. 10, and following); *idem*, 'Ziemia kłodzka', p. 33 and following; *idem*, 'Południowy okręg grodowy Śląska' (*Ojczyzna wielka i mała. Księga pamiątkowa wydana z okazji 40-lecia Oddziału PTH w Cieszynie*, I. Panica, ed., Cieszyn 1996, p. 7 and following); *idem*, 'Granice i podziały Śląska we wczesnym średniowieczu' (*Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska*, vol. XX, Katowice 1992).

¹⁶ Cf. footnotes 14 and 15 and following, pp. 5 and following.



what we need to recount is the distribution of the north-western tribes, including that of *Ślężanie* and *Dziadoszanie* (mentioned in the *Geograf bawarski*¹⁷), smaller tribal units (mentioned in the document of Prague¹⁸) of *Bobrzanie* and *Trzebowianie* which were connected with these larger tribal units on the one hand and a larger south-eastern unit which comprised the tribes of *Opolanie*, *Lupiglanie-Głupczyce* and *Gołężyce* (*Geograf bawarski*, as above)¹⁹, on the other. The north-western cluster of tribes was separated from the tribes of Lusatia by the 'Wały Śląskie' (the Silesian Walls) and from the south-eastern cluster—by the Silesian Cutting²⁰.

The group of these 7 tribes—some of which were either confirmed or only considered to be Silesian—constituted one whole, which was a well-known fact for our two oldest historians-chroniclers: Anonymous Gaul and Wincenty Kadłubek. Gaul, for instance, not only did mention Wrocław²¹, the seat of the bishops (the episodic role of Ryczyn emerged somewhat later²²) among the distinguished '*sedes regni principales*'²³, but also aptly described the entire Silesia as '*regio Zleznensis*'²⁴ or, equivalently, as '*regio Wratislauensis*'²⁵. Master Wincenty Kadłubek also viewed Silesia as one whole. He referred to it as '*Silencii*' or, alternatively, as '*Silenciana provincia*'²⁶; and even—which was crucially important from the perspective of the ecclesiastic structure—'*sacra Silencii provincia*'²⁷. The borders of this province coincided with the borders of the Wrocław diocese which was founded in A.D. 1000.²⁸

It is now time for us to focus on the examining of the boundaries of Silesia and the Wrocław diocese in relation to the outside frontiers of the aforementioned tribes.

¹⁷ In the edition of B. Horak and D. Travniček, 'Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalen plagam Danubii (t. zv.) Bavorsky Geograf' (*Rozprawy Československe Akademie Véd*, R. 66, 1956, b. 2, Praha b.d.w., p. 3).

¹⁸ DH, IV, 390; KDS, no. 8, p. 25; SUB, no. 5, pp. 4–5.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Tyszkiewicz, 'Z badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznym osadnictwem górnego dorzecza Odry. Brzmienie pierwotne i umiejscowienie Lupiglaa i Golensiszi tzw. Geografa Bawarskiego' (*Studia z dziejów osadnictwa*, vol. I, Warszawa 1963, pp. 7 and following.); Tyszkiewicz, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież...', p. 60; T. Jurek, 'Ryczyn biskupi. Studium z dziejów Kościoła polskiego w XI wieku' (*Roczniki Historyczne*, LX, 1994), cf. especially: pp. 42 and following.

²⁰ *Księga henrykowska*, R. Gródecki, ed., p. 296; *Księga henrykowska*, J. Pater, ed., p. 145. Cf.: L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Ze studiów nad osadnictwem...', p. 50, the map; *idem*, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież...', p. 64; Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 71 (the map). For details on the Silesian Walls cf.: R. Kiersnowski, 'Wały Śląskie' (*Przegląd Zachodni*, vol. VII, 1951, pp. 152–192); E. Kowalczyk, *Systemy obronne wałów podłużnych we wczesnym średniowieczu na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1987, especially p. 102.

²¹ We would rather disagree with the clearly exaggerated role of Ryczyn: Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and *passim*.

²² *Chronica principum Poloniae*, G. A. Stenzel, ed., SRS, vol. I, 1835, p. 156; Z. Węclewski, ed., (MPH, vol. III, 1878, p. 545).

²³ *Galii Anonymi Chronica et gesta ducum sive principum Poloniae* (hereafter referred to as: *Galii Chronica*) K. Maleczyński, ed., MPH, NS, vol. II, Kraków 1952; cf.: II, 8, p. 75 and II, 24, p. 91. Cf. also: T. Silnicki, *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. II, Kraków 1939, pp. 13 and following. (sub-title: *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła na Śląsku*).

²⁴ *Galii Chronica*, II, 50, p. 119.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, II, p. 70. Cf.: Silnicki, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁶ *Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum* (hereafter referred to as: *Magistri Vincenti Chronica*), M. Piezia et al. eds., MPH, NS, vol. XI, Kraków 1994. Here cf.: II, 9, p. 15 and II, 22, p. 63.

²⁷ *Magistri Vincenti Chronica*, III, 30, p. 125, mentioned in the description on the arrival of Ladislaus the Exile's sons to Silesia 1163 r. Cf.: *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum* (hereafter referred to as: *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*), B. Bretholz et. al., eds., SRG, NS, vol. II, Berlin 1923. Here: II, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5—Bretislaus's invasion of 1039., pp. 82–90; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów* (hereafter referred to as: *Kosmasa kronika*), M. Wojciechowska, ed., Warszawa 1968, pp. 204–219. The destruction of Silesia reaching as far as Ryczyn (1093). *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*, III, 1, p. 161; *Kosmasa kronika*, p. 314.

²⁸ *Thietmari Chronicon*, IV, 45, p. 184; *Kronika Thietmara*, p. 209.



LECH A. TYSZKIEWICZ: Borders and original revenues of the Wrocław bishopric

Among highly significant yet not that much controversial issues was the outline of the western border we have already discussed in some of our earlier publications²⁹. Nonetheless, this relatively clear picture is obscured by the imperial documents by which the power over part of the Silesian territory was granted to the bishops of Miśnia. According to one of them, issued by Otto I in 971³⁰, the territory of the so-called 'Diedes' (*Dziadoszanie*) was part of the diocese of Miśnia, and according to another, issued by Otto III in 995³¹, the eastern border of Miśnia was to run '*Ubi caput et fons aque, que dicitur Odera*'. Otto III's decision—obviously unfavourable for Chrobry's Poland—was revoked, according to R. Holtzmann and Mathilde Uhlirz³², soon after 995, thereby paving the way for the Congress of Gniezno. It was most probably at that time when the rights of the bishopric of Miśnia to part of Silesia were suspended. We may therefore safely omit this element of imperial policy and assume that the newly formed bishopric of Wrocław included the territories of the western tribes reaching as far as the so-called '*mediae silvae*' (of the 1086 document of Prague.³³ In the northern part of this western section, the border must have run between the territories of the Lower Lusatian tribes of *Nice* and *Zara* (mentioned in Thietmar's chronicle³⁴), and in the east, between the lands of the tribe of *Dziadoszanie* (which was best described in the Prague document)³⁵ and the southern section of their territory designated as the lands of *Bobrzanie*. What is especially important to us is the fact that the settlement of *Zara* (nearby the town of Żary) was part of the Lower Lusatian tribal cluster³⁶. As we know, Thietmar (IV, 45) wrote that the meeting of Chrobry with Otto III took place in the gord (*gród*) of '*Ilua*' (Iłowa) which belonged to *Dziadoszanie*. This is where the Holy Roman Emperor was welcomed by the Polish ruler, following his stay within the territory of the Upper-Lusatian tribe of *Milczanie*. The chronicler obviously failed to mention the minute tribe of *Bobrzanie* whose lands were included in the territory of *Dziadoszanie*³⁷. Also in the west, where Otto III set out to his journey, next to the lands of *Milczanie*, there also resided other smaller tribes, like for instance '*Besunzane*'—*Bieżuńczanie* (mentioned in

²⁹ L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Zachodni sąsiedzi...', pp. 3 and following.; *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny i osadnictwo pierwotne Euroregionu Nysa...', p. 43 and following.; *idem*, *Granice i podziały Śląska...*, p. 11 and following. The issue of the convergence of ecclesiastic and political borders was also addressed by Dola, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³⁰ MGH, *Diplomata regnum et imperatorum Germaniae*, tomi I, *pars tertia*; 'Ottonis I Imperatoris diplomata' (hereafter referred to as: DO, I), Hannover 1884, 407; KDS, no. 1, p. 2; SUB, no. 1, p. 1.

³¹ MGH, *Diplomata regnum et imperatorum Germaniae*, tomi III, *pars posterior*, Hannover 1893, 186; KDS, I no. 3, p. 10; SUB, I, no. 3, p. 4. Cf.: K. Maleczyński, 'Die Politik Ottons Ul. gegenüber Polen und Böhmen im Lichte der Meissner Bistumsurkunde vom Jahre 995' (*Letopis. Jahresschrift für sorbische Volksforschung*, series B, no. 10, b. 2, 1963, pp. 163 and following); Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 45; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Przyłączenie Śląska do monarchii wczesno piastowskiej pod koniec X wieku' (*Od plemienia do państwa*, Wrocław 1991, here cf. pp. 126 and following).

³² R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sachsichen Kaiserzeit (900–1024)*, Berlin b.d.w., pp. 308 and following; M. Uhlirz, *Jahrbucher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II und Otto III*, vol. II: *Otto III (983–1002)*, Berlin 1954, p. 125.

³³ DH, IV, 390; KDS, I, no. 8, pp. 25–26; SUB, no. 5, pp. 4 and following.

³⁴ *Thietmari Chronicon*, VI, 54, p. 315; *Kronika Thietmara*, p. 365. Cf.: L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Zachodni sąsiedzi...', p. 6; *idem*, 'Zur Problematik...', p. 54; *idem*, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 12; *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny Euroregionu Nysa...', p. 44 and following.

³⁵ Cf. footnote no. 33.

³⁶ G. Domański, 'Osadnictwo nad dolną Nysą Łużycką we wczesnym średniowieczu' (*Slavia Antiqua*, vol. XXXIX, 1985, pp. 69–109); J. Lodowski, *Dolny Śląsk na początku średniowiecza (VI–X wiek). Podstawy osadnicze i gospodarcze*, Wrocław 1980. For the tribe of *Bobrzanie* see p. 122 and the map.

³⁷ Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 87 and following.



the *Geograf bawarski*)³⁸—who settled the territories around Zgorzelec. Also to the south of the lands of Milsko and *Biezuńczanie* we encounter a distinct, although deserted territory of the so-called 'Zagost' or 'Zalesie', famous for only one geographic location, '*mons Syden*'³⁹, today known as Zawidów. There, the border was formed by a strip of uninhabited lands between the upper reaches of the Kwisa river and the Nysa Łużycka river.

Generally speaking, the western border of Silesia, which was also the border of the bishopric of Wrocław, must have run along the strip of woodland, '*mediae silvae*' (the document of Prague) which divided the territories of the tribe of *Dziadoszanie* and their southern extension—forming the territory of *Bobrzanie*—from the Lower Lusatian territories of the *Nice* and *Zara* tribes together with the gord of Żary, Upper Silesian tribe of *Biezuńczanie* (stretching south to the territory of *Miliczanie*) and the patch of uninhabited land called Zagost which was surrounded from three sides by the territory of *Miliczanie*, and the lands of Bohemia and Silesia. As far as the landform is concerned, the border stretched between the lower and middle sections of the Bóbr and Kwisa rivers, and Nysa Łużycka. Another natural feature which is worth mentioning are the Silesian Walls, situated more to the east of the Bóbr river⁴⁰.

It would seem that the easiest to retrace would be the southern border—the one with the most natural line. It stretched along the local mountain ranges: from the Karkonosze Mountains, through the Stone Mountains, the Owl Mountains, the Bardzkie Mountains to the Jeseniky Mountains. Though it is and it was so, nonetheless, this border has indeed raised most controversy among the successive generations of historians and historiographers. The dispute, however, does not concern the southwestern section of the border, for there—in the west—was located the aforementioned *Zagost*, and in its southern section—the territory of the Bohemian tribe of *Pszowianie*⁴¹. The section situated further to the east was also problematic—and not for historical reasons, but because of historians of the modern period—exclusively those Polish ones. For, based on the entry from *Kronika Kosmasa ad annum 1068*, mentioning the assembly of the Bohemian magnates '*ad custodiae portam, qui itur in Poloniam, et in loco, qui dicitur Dobenina*' (currently Vaclavice)⁴², W. Semkowicz has drawn a conclusion (based on the location of *Dobeniny-Vaclavice* at the entrance to the Kłodzko Valley) that the land of Kłodzko was formerly included into the state of the first Piasts, which means that the tribe which was designated in the document of Prague as '*altera Chrowati*' was a Silesian tribe⁴³. Semkowicz's hypothesis was supported by W.

³⁸ Horak and Travnicek, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Cf.: J. Nalepa, 'Biezuńczanie. Nazwa i położenie' (*Pamiętnik Słowiński*, vol. IV, 1954, pp. 304–323); L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Zachodni sąsiedzi...', p. 6; *idem*, 'Zur Problematik...', p. 49; *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny Euroregionu Nysa..', p. 44 and following.; J. Jankowski, *Polskie terytoria plemienne w świetle toponimów obronnych*, Wrocław 1988, pp. 90 and following.; J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, Wrocław 1953, p. 230 and following.; J. Hermann, *Siedlung, Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der slawischen Stämme zwischen Oder, Neisse und Elbe*, Berlin 1968, p. 33 and following (and the map).

³⁹ The document of 1187 r. *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae regiae*, vol. I, 2, no. 529; cf.: L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Zachodni sąsiedzi...', p. 13; *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny Euroregionu Nysa...', p. 47.

⁴⁰ Kiersnowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–192; Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 102; L. Tyszkiewicz, *Południowo-wschodnia rubież...*, p. 102; Jankowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 and the map on p. 24.

⁴¹ L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 13; *idem*, 'Ustrój plemienny Euroregionu Nysa...', p. 47.

⁴² *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*, II, 23, p. 115; *Kosmasa kronika*, p. 251.

⁴³ DH, IV, 390; KDS, no. 8, p. 25; SÜb, no. 5, p. 5; cf.: Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 36 and the map on p. 71.



Dziewulski, K. Bartkiewicz⁴⁴ and P. Bogdanowicz. Simultaneously, during the Early Middle Ages the settlements of *Ślężanie* located in this section did not spread far enough to reach the territory of the foothills⁴⁵; on the other hand, the very settlement process in the land of Kłodzko was sparked off relatively late—in the second half of the 13th century—and its source was not Silesia but Bohemia⁴⁶. A crucial argument which needs to be added at this point is that the Kłodzko decanate was part of the diocese of Prague and that the castellan of Kłodzko appeared as witness in the royal documents of the rulers of Bohemia⁴⁷. Based on these facts we decidedly need to rule out the possibility of the Kłodzko land's affiliation to Silesia (and also to Poland). It was only from the initiative of Rudolph Habsburg that the land of Kłodzko became part of Silesia in 1278, after being granted by him in fief to Henryk Probus (Henry the Righteous). It was also the place where Duke Bretislaus II tore down in 1096 the Polish borderland gord named Bardo (which proves the fact that Kłodzko belonged to Bohemia!) with the intention to build a new gord named Kamieniec not far away, by the river Nysa⁴⁸. This place, located at the mountain-foot and at the Nysa river gorge, was home to the Silesian Cutting (mentioned above)⁴⁹, which is also illustrated by the map in the paper by W. Semkowicz⁵⁰. The border ran there along completely uninhabited mountain ranges and the Nysa river gorge, and, more specifically, in Bardo Śląskie.

So was the case in the territories located further to the south-east. Nonetheless, it was the most westward section that witnessed crucial historical changes relatively early. Indeed, Gaul's⁵¹ '*regio Zlesnensis*' or Kadłubek's '*sacra Silencii provincia*' initially included the tribal territories of *Opolanie* and *Gołężyce*. The Wrocław bull of 1155 mentions both *Gradice Golenzicezke* (Grodziec Gołężycki) and *Tescin* (Cieszyn)⁵². Thanks to the studies conducted by J. Tyszkiewicz, this group was extended by the third district: *Lupiglaa-Głupczyce* which included the territories by the upper Odra river, the Opava river and the Moravice river⁵³. The territory of the Bytom castellany, awarded to Duke Mieszko the Tanglefoot as late as in 1179 was not part of the diocese of Wrocław⁵⁴. Changes in this respect could have been introduced only following the

⁴⁴ W. Dziewulski, 'Zaludnienie i germanizacja ziemi kłodzkiej' (*Rocznik Kłodzki*, vol. I, p. 25 and following); K. Bartkiewicz, *Dzieje ziemi kłodzkiej w wiekach średnich*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 11 and following; P. Bogdanowicz, *Przynależność polityczna Śląska w X wieku. Dzieje problemu i próba jego rozwiązania*, Wrocław 1968, *passim*. Cf. the review by: L. Tyszkiewicz (*Kwartalnik Historyczny*, LXXV, 1969, pp. 177–181).

⁴⁵ Hellmich, *op. cit.*; Treblin, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 20 and following; Tyszkiewicz, 'Ze studiów nad osadnictwem...', pp. 13 and following and the map on p. 50.

⁴⁶ J. Simak, 'Osiedleni Kladzka' (*Česky Časopis Historyčky*, XXV, 1929, p. 57).

⁴⁷ L. Tyszkiewicz, *Ziemia kłodzka a państwo pierwszych Piastów...*, pp. 33–34, for detailed evidence on the subject. Cf. recently: Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and following.

⁴⁸ *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*, III, 4, p. 164; *Kosmasa kronika*, p. 317.

⁴⁹ *Księga henrykowska*, R. Gródecki, ed., I, p. 296, II, p. 145.

⁵⁰ Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, map on p. 71; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Ze studiów nad osadnictwem...', p. 12 and following, 33 and following and the map on p. 50.

⁵¹ *Galli Chronica*, II, 50, p. 119; *Magistri Vincentii Chronica*, III, 29, p. 175. Cf. above.

⁵² KDS, no. 35, p. 87; SUB, no. 20, p. 28.

⁵³ I. Panic, 'Osadnictwo ziemi cieszyńskiej w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza' (*Sobótka*, 1984, 1, pp. 1–2); *idem*, 'Historia osadnictwa w księstwie opolskim we wczesnym średniowieczu', Katowice 1992; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Południowy okręg...', pp. 7 and following.

⁵⁴ L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 15; Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Dola, *op. cit.*, p. 29.



annexation of Silesia by Duke Bretislaus I in 1039.⁵⁵ Already in 1041 was he forced by Emperor Henry III to return all the territories '*nisi duas regiones, quasi sibi meruit accipere*' to Poland⁵⁶. And most probably, the focus was mainly on the territories of Gołężyce and *Lupiglaa-Głupczyce*. Such has been our approach towards this issue (as shown by the studies of J. Tyszkiewicz and the studies of T. Jurek and my own)⁵⁷. In the context of the fact that the land of Kłodzko belonged to Bohemia from the very beginning of its existence, the view of E. Rymar that the focus was rather on the territory of Gołężyce and land of Kłodzko has to be rejected⁵⁸. In 1050 Grodziec Gołężycki belonged to Poland⁵⁹, but as it was besieged in 1078 by Bolesław Śmiały (Boleslaus the Generous), it most probably changed hands to Bohemia not long later⁶⁰. The last commonly known act of fragmentation of Silesia took place in 1054.⁶¹ Yet, the territorial feuds, mainly those between the church representatives, continued, which is proved by the fact that as late as in 1229 the papal court had to settle the dispute between Bishop Laurentius of Wrocław, and Bishop Robert of Olomuc '*super limitibus suarum diocesum de Golesisco*'⁶². The former papal tribunal resolved this argument in favour of Bishop Żyrosław, but this time the Pope proclaimed that the new verdict would be issued within the period 4 months⁶³. Perhaps this time it was only about—as it is maintained by T. Jurek⁶⁴—some peripheral parts of the land of Gołężyce, for already in 1201 Przemysław Ottokar I obliged the Bishop of Olomuc to pay the tithe '*in provincia Golassizch*'⁶⁵. In this context, the issue is rather unclear. One thing is certain, though: until 1039 the lands of *Głupczyce* and *Gołężyce* belonged to Silesia and, naturally, to the diocese of Wrocław. From the time the territories were annexed by Bretislaus, as early as in 1041, further disputes were sparked off, which most probably resulted with the fact that by the outset of the 13th century, the territory was joined to the diocese of Olomuc, though the bishops were pursuing their rights to these territories up till 1229.

For—as it has been emphasized above—the land of Bytom became part of Silesia, but not of the diocese of Wrocław, in 1179 when it was awarded by Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy (Casimir the Just) to Mieszko Płatonogi ('the Tanglefoot')⁶⁶, the south-

⁵⁵ *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*, II, 2, 3, 4, pp. 83 and following; *Kosmasa kronika*, pp. 204 and following; cf. Nestor's report, *Powieść wriemiennych let, ad ann. 6538 (1030)*, D. S. Lichaczew, ed., Moskva 1950, p. 101; *Powieść lat minionych*, F. Sielicki, ed., Wrocław 1968, p. 317.

⁵⁶ *Annales Altahenses maiores, ad ann. 1040*, L. B. Oefele et. al., eds., MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover 1890, p. 27–28. Cf.: J. Tyszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 65; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież...', p. 54; *idem*, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 14; Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and following.

⁵⁷ Jurek, *op. cit.*, see above.

⁵⁸ E. Rymar, 'Prawnopolityczny stosunek Kazimierza Odnowiciela do Niemiec oraz termin odzyskania przez niego Śląska (1041)' (*Sobótka*, XLII, 1987, 2, p. 137); cf.: Jurek, *op. cit.*, 40 and following; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Ziemia kłodzka...', *passim*; Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 and following.

⁵⁹ *Annales Altahenses maiores, ad ann. 1050*, L. B. Oefele, ed., p. 46; Jurek, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ *Galii Chronica*, I, 22, p. 48.

⁶¹ *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum*, III, 13, p. 101; *Kosmasa kronika*, p. 331; *Annales Altahenses maiores. ad ann. 1054*, L. B. Oefele, ed., p. 50.

⁶² G. Friedrich, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Bohemiae*, vol. II, Pragae 1912, no. 327, p. 333.

⁶³ Cf. with footnote 62, above.

⁶⁴ Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Friedrich, *Cod. dipl. et epistolaris...*, vol. II, no. 22, p. 19; SUB, I, no. 72, p. 47; Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ R. Gródecki, 'Dzieje polityczne Śląska do 1290 r.' (*Historia Śląska PAU*, vol. I, Kraków 1933, 77); K. Maleczyński, *Historia Śląska*, vol. I, part. I, Wrocław 1960, p. 328; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 15; Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and the map.



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eastern border of Silesia and that of the diocese of Wrocław must have initially run in line with the former tribal divisions between the province and Moravia and Lesser Poland. More specifically, its line was convergent with the line of the Odra river (Bierawka) and the Wisła river (Przemsza). Then, further to the north-east, the border stretched more or less along the eastern line of the upper reaches of the Warta river and its inflow—the Liswarta river. Furthermore, Silesia and the bishopric of Wrocław included the river basins of subsequent eastern inflows of the Odra river, such as the Mała Panew, the Stobrawa and the Widawa rivers, situated within the districts of Lubliniec, Olesno, Kluczbork and Namysłów⁶⁷.

Further, the border stretched to the north-west along the eastern frontiers of the territory of *Ślązanie* and perhaps also along the lands of their subordinate tribe of *Trzebowianie* and further up to the lands of *Dziadoszanie*. The bishopric of Silesia included the basins of the Widawa and the Ochla rivers stretching as far as Ostrzeszów which was recognized as part of this diocese by W. Semkowicz, and also by S. Arnold according to whom both Ostrzeszów and, naturally, Milicz were known already from the Gniezno bull of 1136⁶⁸, where we read as follows: '*de Miliche castello, quod est de Uratizlauensi episcopatu*'. It was here, around Trzebnica, that *Ślązanie* had their second, northern settlement district⁶⁹. The archidiaconate or rather the archipresbiterate of Głogów included the districts of Żmigród, Żmigródek and Uraz⁷⁰, as well as Sądowel and Góra Śląska, as confirmed by the following passage of the Wrocław bull of 1155: '*...villam iuxta Sandoul, que Gora dicitur*'⁷¹. The border in this section ran along the strips of muddy lands at the banks of the Barycz and Obra river, which was best presented in the publications of Z. Hilczerówna (Kurnatowska)⁷². There, Silesia included also the districts of Sulechów and Świebodzin, and in the north its territory was closed by the lands of the tribe of *Dziadoszanie*.

So, Silesia and the diocese of Wrocław were situated within the aforementioned western woodland territory of '*mediae silvae*' (mentioned in the document of Prague), between the territories of *Dziadoszanie* and *Bobrzanie*, and the territories of Lusatian tribes of *Nice* and *Zara* (Żary), *Bieżuńczanie* and *Zagost*. In turn, the southern border was located within a much wider stripe of the forests of the Iżera Mountains dividing Silesia from the lands of *Zagost*, and further to the east it ran through the Karkonosze Mountains, the Stone Mountains, the Owl Mountains and the Golden Mountains; then it bypassed the Kłodzko Valley and ran through the Nysa Kłodzka gorge nearby Bardo Śląskie (included in the territory of the bishopric) and headed down to the area of

⁶⁷ Semkowicz, *op. cit.*; Arnold, 'Terytoria plemienne...' (*Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1968, cf. p. 368 and map).

⁶⁸ *Codex diplomaticus maioris Poloniae*, vol. I, no. 7; KDS, I, no. 15, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Arnold, 'Terytoria...', p. 378; Z. Wojciechowski, 'Najstarszy ustrój plemiennie-szczepowy i administracja do roku 1139' (*Historia Śląska PAU*, vol. I, pp. 127, 129); Natanson-Leski, *op. cit.*, pp. 253; L. Tyszkiewicz, *Śląsk*, SSS, vol. V, p. 561.

⁷⁰ Arnold, 'Terytoria...', p. 383 and the map; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Granice i podziały...', p. 16; Dola, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁷¹ KDS, I, no. 35, p. 100; SUB, I, no. 28, p. 28.

⁷² Z. Hilczerówna, 'Dorzecze górnej Obry od VI do początków XI wieku', Wrocław 1967; and also, 'Z badań nad zasiedleniem południowej Wielkopolski i Dolnego Śląska w starszych fazach wczesnego średniowiecza' (*Studia z dziejów osadnictwa*, vol. VI, pp. 62–81); Z. Hilczerówna, A. Urbańska-Łosińska, 'Rozwój terenów osadniczych u schyłku starożytności i we wczesnym średniowieczu w południowej części województwa zielonogórskiego' (*Studia nad początkami i rozplanowaniem miast nad środkową Odrą i górną Wartą*, vol. II, Zielona Góra 1970, pp. 49–114); H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. III, Warszawa 1967, pp. 113 and following.



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Jesenik. There, Silesia and the bishopric included the territories of *Lupiglaa-Głupczyce* and *Gołęzyce* with Cieszyn, and Grodziec Gołężycki with Moravia. Then, along the frontier of the territory of *Opolanie* along the Odra-Wisła rivers watershed there run the border with Lesser Poland. Next, the border turned towards the north-west, ringing the districts of Lubliniec, Olesno, Kluczbork, Namysłów, Trzebnica, Milicz and Ostrzeszów and Żmigród and Góra Śląska in the north, with the dividing line at the rivers of Barycz and Obra. The border of the bishopric of Wrocław closed in the district of Sulechów, thereby including the original territory of Silesia. The changes brought about in consequence of the occupation of this territory by Bretislaus of Bohemia in 1039 affected only its south-eastern part. These have been discussed in more detail.

This border was outlined mostly in relation to a wide strip of gords located in the outskirts of the diocese of Wrocław, which was mentioned for the first time in the Wrocław Bull of 1155.⁷³ Its gords included 'Trecen', namely, Ryczyn⁷⁴, 'Tescin' (Cieszyn), 'Gradice Golenzicezke' (Grodziec Gołężycki)⁷⁵, 'Otemochov' (Otmuchów), 'Gradice Barda' (Bardo Śląskie—cf. above), 'Nemechi' (Niemcza), 'Gramolin' (most probably Grodziszczce nearby Świdnica), 'Zpini' (Świny), 'Gradice Ztrigom' (Strzegom), 'Valan' (Wleń), następnie 'Godiuice Szbolezke' (nearby Bytom Odrzański), 'Glogov' (Głogów), 'Sezezko' (Sądowel or somewhere near), 'Milice' (Milicz). This obviously shows that the most important gords of Silesia have been omitted, and the major emphasis was put on the frontier castellanies, then the line moved south of Wrocław along the diocese borders in a direction which was opposite to that described by us above, and finally it reached Głogów, Bytom Odrzański and Sądowle nearby Góra Śląska⁷⁶.

The necessary supplements to the bishopric's network of gords were described in the subsequent bull of papal patronage issued by Innocent IV in 1245.⁷⁷ There, the Pope confirms: '*ius episcopale, quod habes in Tesin* [Cieszyn], *Ratibor* [Racibórz], *Cozli* [Koźle], *Thosech* [Toszek], *Opol* [Opole], *Otomuchou* [Otmuchów], *Rechen* [Ryczyn], *Nemchi* [Niemcza], *Bardo* [Bardo], *Stregom* [Strzegom], *Suini* [Świny], *Legnichezsk* [Legnica], *Vratizlauia* [Wrocław], *Milich* [Milicz], *Sandouel* [Sądowel], *Glogou* [Głogów], *Bithom* [Bytom Odrzański], *Crosten* [Krosno Odrzańskie], *Sagan* [Żagań], *Bolezlauetz* [Bolesławiec], *Grodez* [Grodziszczce?] *et Walan* [Wleń]'. As we can see, these supplements (which now seem clearer) mention all principal gords of Silesia, including Wrocław, Opole and Legnica.

Curiously enough, the bull contains the so-called relics of the former tribal system, namely larger territorial units corresponding—as it would seem—with former tribal districts. And so, what we find there is '*territorium Vratizlouiense*', a supposed former territory of *Ślężanie*, '*territorium de Legniz*' occupied by *Trzebowianie*, '*districtus*

⁷³ 7; KDS, I, no. 35, pp. 86-88; SUB, no. 25, p. 20; W. Schulte, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der Besitzverhältnisse des Bistums Breslau' (*Darstellungen*, vol. III, pp. 171 and following, p. 175—Bull of 1155, pp. 183 and following—Bull of 1245); G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. II, Poznań 1988, pp. 215 and following; Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and following.

⁷⁴ Labuda, *op. cit.*; Jurek, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Dola, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and following, 41.

⁷⁵ L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Południowy okręg plemienny-grodowy Śląska...', pp. 10 and following.; *idem*, 'Die slawische Burgenorganisation und ihre Umgestaltung in das mittelalterliche Kastellanaeisystem Oberschlesiens' (*Stadtgeschichte Oberschlesiens*, Berlin 1985–1995, pp. 16 and following); Panic, *Historia osadnictwa...*, pp. 127–131.

⁷⁶ See footnote no. 73.

⁷⁷ Schulte, *Quellen zur Geschichte...*, pp. 183 and following; SUB, vol. II, W. Irgang, ed., no. 287, pp. 172 and following.



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Glogouiensis et Bitomiensis' of *Dziadoszanie*, '*districtus de Bolezlauech*'—naturally—of *Bobrzanie*, and '*ducatus de Opol*', relating to *Opolanie* and their southern neighbours: *Głupczyce* and *Gołężyce*⁷⁸. '*Territorium de Legniz*' had been mentioned earlier as '*potestas Legnicensis*' in the document of the foundation of the Lubiąż monastery of 1175.⁷⁹ These larger territorial units correspond to larger diocesan units: archidiaconates or, rather, archipresbiterates⁸⁰. Hence, the old tradition of tribal divisions found its reflection in the 12th/13th ecclesiastic administration, though it did not bring about any changes in its range.

At this point we will briefly examine the issue of original revenues of the bishopric of Wrocław, based mainly on the aforementioned bulls of 1155 and 1245.

We have decided to open our discussion with *Chronica principum Poloniae*⁸¹ which reads as follows: '*Hic Wratislaviensis ecclesia principaliter, antequam terra Nissensis esset ecclesiae donata per dominum Iaroslau, filium quondam Boleslai alti, episcopum Wratislaviensem... super decimis et decimarum usibus est fundata*'. What we may conclude on the basis of this passage is that the diocese of Wrocław was not granted any lands before the second half of the 12th century. Yet, many historians often claim that the procedure of land endowment had already taken place as early as in the times of Kazimierz Odnowiciel (Casimir the Restorer). However, T. Jurek⁸² has recently accepted the information contained in the *Kronika książąt polskich (Chronica principum Poloniae)*.

The landed properties of the bishopric of Wrocław are numerous confirmed by the already quoted by us bull of Pope Hadrian IV issued for Bishop Walter in 1155. The document contains data which allows us to trace the exact dates of individual land endowments based on the list of donors, which was sent to the Holy See by the Wrocław Bishop in a relevant supplication including the outline of the document⁸³. Quite recently, the 1155 document served T. Jurek in the analysis of the bishopric's landed properties⁸⁴. The bull describes them as *civitates, castella, villae, curtes et plebes*⁸⁵. It also contains a list of the borderline gords of the bishopric, which is supplemented—as mentioned above—in the bull of Innocent IV of 1245.⁸⁶ The list is followed by a significant passage: '*Hec predicta loca singula cum omnibus pertinentiis earum, terras quoque cultas et incultas, servos et ancillas et cetera*'. The first property mentioned after the passage is '*abbatiam sancti Martini*' and next, two diocesan gords '*Castellum Otemochov*' and '*castrum Milich*'⁸⁷ which—already in 1136—was situated within the territory of the diocese of Wrocław but was not its property⁸⁸. When it

⁷⁸ See footnote no. 77.

⁷⁹ 7; KDS, I, no. 55, p. 137; SUB, I, no. 45, p. 28.

⁸⁰ Arnold, *Terytoria...*, pp. 378 and following; Uhtenwoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 60; K. Maleczyński, 'Najstarsza zachodnia granica Polski' (*Początki państwa polskiego, Księga Tysiąclecia*, vol. I, p. 222); Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 93; L. Tyszkiewicz, 'Organizacja plemiennie-grodowa i państwowo-grodowa na przykładzie Łużyc i Śląska' (*Lokalne ośrodki władzy państwowej w Europie Środkowej*, Wrocław 1993, pp. 13 and following); *idem*, 'Południowo-wschodnia rubież...' , p. 53.

⁸¹ G. A. Stenzel, SRS, vol. 1: 1835, p. 153, Z. Węclewski, ed., MPH, vol. III, p. 545.

⁸² Cf.: Dola, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 and 37–40; Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and following.

⁸³ Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–35; Schulte, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁸⁴ Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–35.

⁸⁵ KDS, I, no. 35, p. 86; SUB, no. 28, p. 21; Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁸⁶ SUB II, no. 287, p. 172; Schulte, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and following; Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 and following; Labuda, *Studia...*, vol. II, pp. 221 and following.

⁸⁷ KDS, I, no. 35, p. 89; SUB, no. 28, p. 21.

⁸⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, vol. I, no. 1; KDS, I, no. 15, p. 40.



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comes to Otmuchów, we may rely on the information of the *Chronica principium Poloniae*⁸⁹, quoted above. Therefore, quite rightly, these three instances of land endowment—the abbey and two gords—were considered the oldest church-owned landed properties of Silesia⁹⁰. Soon afterwards, this set was extended by the market in Trzebnica which was later relocated to Cerekwica and by numerous villages whose donors' names are contained in the documents. Unfortunately, some of them, mentioned only once, may not be chronologically ordered. These are 'Sibin' and 'Tedleu'⁹¹. On the other hand, in the case of Sulisław and 'Wlaz' who, according to K. Maleczyński is Peter Wlast and according to T. Jurek Wlast's cousin, as well as Comes Wojisław and Duke Bolesław Kędzierzawy (Boleslaus the Curly) and Mieszko Stary ('the Old') we do not encounter any difficulty in this respect. Yet, all this is of minor importance, for all these individuals could have operated only in the 12th century, and it is to this century that date their endowments mentioned in the bull, as well as, most probably, other unmentioned endowments which were confirmed only by the next bull of 1245. It would be highly unlikely for the Silesian gords which were not mentioned by the first bull to be subject—within the bishopric's territory—to laws other than those relating to the gords mentioned in the bull of 1155. Even the quoted passage from the *Chronica principium Poloniae*⁹² on the granting of the land of Nysa by the Duke-Bishop Jarosław must be the evidence for the fact that other endowments to the bishopric must have occurred also earlier. Both Kazimierz Odnowiciel (Casimir the Restorer) and Bolesław Śmiały (Boleslaus the Bold) must have endowed the bishopric with land following its restitution in the second half of the 11th century, yet, they did so most probably in Wrocław not in Ryczyn (as claims T. Jurek), for Gaul uses the expression '*regio Wratislaviensis*' alternatively with '*regio Zleznensis*'⁹³, and Master Kadłubek uses the expression '*Sacra Silencii Provincia*'⁹⁴ which indicate that Wrocław was clearly perceived as the capital gord. What type of endowments were these? Here, quite aptly, T. Jurek⁹⁵ refers to the the documents of foundation of the bishoprics in Hobolin-Havelberg and Branibor-Brandenburg of the mid-10th century. In the Havelberg document of 946 we read about the following royal endowment: '*decimam tributi quae nobis debe tur*', oraz '*decimas istarum provinciarum*', relating to tribes⁹⁶. The bishopric of Brandenburg was simply required to pay rent in the form of natural products (*naturalia*) collected from particular royal gords⁹⁷.

Such or much alike must have been the original endowments granted to the bishopric of Wrocław prior to the landed endowments like '*castella*', '*villae*' or '*abbatia sancti Martini*'. The gords which are mentioned in the bulls as units of the bishops' '*ius episcopale*'⁹⁸ were also the sources of the bishops' revenue, even though it was mainly based on the payment of tithes. Same was the case with the market in Trzebnica which was later relocated to Cerekwica. The detailed history of this market is presented in the

⁸⁹ MPH, vol. III, p. 545 and following.

⁹⁰ Jurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and following.

⁹¹ KDS, I, no. 35, p. 89 and following.; SUB, no. 28, p. 21.

⁹² MPH, vol. III, p. 545.

⁹³ *Galii Cronica*, II, 4, p. 70 and II, 50, p. 119.

⁹⁴ *Magistri Vincentii Chronica*, I, 9, p. 15; II, 22, p. 63; III, 30, p. 125; cf. footnotes 23–27.

⁹⁵ Jurek, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁹⁶ DO, I, no. 76, pp. 155–156.

⁹⁷ DO, I, no. 105, p. 189 (of the year 948).

⁹⁸ The Wrocław Bull of 1245, (SUB, II no. 287, p. 172) Jurek, *op. cit.* p. 35 and following.



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document of foundation of the monastery of Trzebnica of 1203.⁹⁹ Eventually, the market in Trzebnica was restored by the duke for the Cistercian nunnery, and the Wrocław Chapter which was entitled to receive income from the former market was granted by him a relevant compensation. The bishops' revenues were further supplemented by income of numerous village endowments (mentioned in the bull of 1155) granted by dukes, the sons and the grandsons of Bolesław Krzywousty (Boleslaus the Wrymouth) and by the Silesian magnates headed by Peter Wlast.

In this way, I have examined the original distribution of the borders of the bishopric of Wrocław based on the outside frontiers of the tribal territories of Silesia. When it comes to the sections whose outline either raised or still raises much dispute, like for example in the case of the land of Kłodzko of the south-eastern district—the lands of the tribe of *Głupczyce* and *Gołęzyce*—I have tried to present them in line with the available sources. As far as the acts of land endowment are concerned, I have focused on their earliest cases proven by the bulls of the papal protection, with no focus whatsoever on any later developments in this respect.

translated by Katarzyna Hussar

⁹⁹ KDS, I, no. 103, p. 253; SUB, no. 83, p. 56.