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POLAND'S ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE IN EARLY PIAST TIMES *Castra* Ruled by *Comites* as Centres of Provinces and Territorial Administration

During the past thirty years the notion about a two-level system of state administration in early-medieval Poland in the times preceding the division into several dukedoms took firmly root in the Polish science of history.¹ The first rung of the system

¹ T. Lalik, *Organizacja grodowo-prowincjonalna w Polsce XI i początków XII w.* [Castrum-Provincial Organisation in the 11th and early-12th c. in Poland], "Studia z Dziejów Osadnictwa", Vol. V, 1967, pp. 5-51; idem, *Sandomierskie we wcześniejszym średniowieczu. Prowincja, księstwo, województwo* [Sandomierz Region in the Early Middle Ages, Province, Duchy Voivodship], in: *Studia sandomierskie*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 41-104, A. Gąsiorowski, *Uwagi o mniejszych kasztelaniami wielkopolskich XII-XV wieku* [Remarks on Minor Castellannies in Great Poland of the 12th-15th c.], "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", Vol. XIX, 1967, No. 1, pp. 77-108; K. Buczek, *Z badań nad organizacją grodową w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej. Problem terytorialności grodów kasztelańskich* [Studies on Castrum Organisation in Early-Feudal Poland. The Question of Territoriality of Castellan Castra], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", Vol. LXXVII, 1970, No. 1, pp. 3-29; idem, *Z badań nad strukturą terytorialną Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej. O tzw. ziemiach czyli rzekomych terytoriach plemiennych* [Studies on the Territorial Structure of Early-Medieval Poland. About So-called Lands or Allegedly Tribal Territories], "Studia Historyczne", Vol. XIII, 1870, No. 1, p. 3; K. Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego. X-XIII wiek* [Economic Organisation of the Piast State. 10th-13th c.], Wrocław 1975, pp. 92-135; K. Buczek, *Gospodarcze funkcje organizacji grodowej w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej (wiek X-XIII)* [Economic Functions of Castrum Organisation in Early-Feudal Poland (10th-13th c.)], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", Vol. LXXXVI 1979, No. 2, pp. 363-384.

was supposed to be the division of the state into seven or nine big provinces headed by *comites* of provinces who resided in the *sedes regni principales*. The second, basic, rung of the territorial management was the *castrum* territories headed by rather vague lords of the *castrum*, most often called *comites of castra*; thus their title was the same as that of their superiors who ruled the provinces.² In about the year 1100,³ there were, according to Tadeusz Lalik, some one-hundred such territories. The provinces were supposed to have become, after 1138, dukedoms, and the *castrum* territories were turned into castellanies ruled by castellans.⁴ The 11th century *castrum* territories have been called castellanies by the scholars Tadeusz Lalik, Antoni Gąsiorowski, Karol Buczek and Karol Modzelewski,⁵ who assumed that they exercised juridical and military functions as well as (except K. Buczek) economic administration.

This reconstruction of the administrative pattern of Poland in early Piast times was the result of a wrong application of the retrogressive method, moving back in time the state structure of 13th century Poland with its duchies which Kadłubek had called provinces,⁶ and castellanies. Lalik even maintained that the duchies were the continuation of the earlier provinces and quoted the example of Sandomierz as proof of it.⁷

If we take the earlier relations as the starting point for the reconstruction and go back to the period when the big Slav states

² About the comes as head of *castrum* territory see J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski [History of the State and Law of Poland]*, Vol. I, Warszawa 1964, pp. 129 - 130; A. Gąsiorowski, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

³ T. Lalik (*Organizacja...*, pp. 5 - 51) considered that the Polish state at the end of the 11th century was divided into at least eight provinces and six dioceses, and some one hundred castellanies. According to Lalik, the number of these 11th-century "castellanies" dwindled in the course of the 12th century while the areas of castellanies increased through the annexations of the *castra* territories which were being wound up (*op.cit.*, p. 25).

⁴ In the article quoted above Lalik gave the name of castellany to *castrum* centres of early-Piast Poland, which existed in the 11th century (*op.cit.*, p. 18), and also called castellany the *castrum* of Żnin with its adjoining territory at the turn of the 11th century (*ibidem*, p. 21).

⁵ See articles quoted in Note 1.

⁶ "*Lestco, Masoviensem et Cuiaviensem provincias... hereditat'*". (*Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum*, ed. A. Bielowski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. II, Lwów 1872, henceforth called *Vincenti Chronicon Polonorum*, MPH, lib. III, cap. 30, p. 376).

⁷ T. Lalik, *Sandomierskie...*, pp. 41 f.

were emerging in the 9th and early 10th centuries, then we shall see that there existed a three-level system of political and administrative divisions made up first of big tribes, then small tribes, and finally units of the Anonymus Geographus Bavarus' *civitates* type, identified with *castrum* territories or *opola* i.e. vicinities.⁸ This structure survived the rise of a state organisation as shown on the example of Silesia in the chronicle written by Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, a unique source of information about the administrative divisions of Poland under Bolesław the Brave. He mentioned the "*Diadesi pagus*" bordering on the region of the Milczanie as well as the neighbouring territories of the Silesians and Diades (Dziadoszans)⁹ Thietmar twice gave the name of "*urbs Glogua*"¹⁰ to Głogów, the main centre of the Dziadoszans, while other castle-towns were described by him as "*locus qui Cidini (Ilva, Krosna) vocatur (dicitur)*".¹¹ He gave the name of *urbs* or *civitas* to *castra* which functioned as centres of Polish dioceses: to Wrocław called "*Wratizlava civitas*" in Silesia, and to Niemcza which lay "*in pago Silensi*".¹²

So now the question arises what were the castle-towns which Thietmar termed *urbs-civitas*. The examples of Cedzyna, Ilwa and Krosno, mentioned by him, which he called *loci*, mean that he gave that name to secondary *castra*. On the other hand, and still according to Thietmar, the *castra* called *urbs-civitas* constituted centres of *pagi*; Głogów was certainly such a centre for the *pagus* of the Dziadoszans, and Wrocław for the Silesian *pagus*. However, this aspect was not the only reason for his calling a given centre *urbs-civitas* because he gave that name also to the border castle-town of Niemcza laying on the edge of the territory of the tribe (*pagus* in Thietmar's terminology) of the Ślężanie (Silesians).

⁸ Cf. lately H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski. Z dziejów Słowian w I Tysiącleciu n.e.* [Poland's Beginnings. From the History of Slavs in the First Millennium A.D.], Vol. IV, Warszawa 1970, pp. 33-73, particularly pp. 42-46.

⁹ *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. by V. R. Holtzmann, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, nova series, Vol. IX, Berlin 1935 (henceforth called *Thietmari Chronicon* MGH SS n.s.), lib. VII, cap. 20 ("*ad pagum qui Diadesi dicitur*") lib. VI, cap. 57 (... "*Cilensi et Diadesi vastarent!*").

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, lib. VI, cap. 58; lib. VII, cap. 59-60, 63.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, lib. II, cap. 29; lib. IV, cap. 45; lib. VII, cap. 17.

¹² *Ibidem*, lib. VII, cap. 64; lib. VII, cap. 59.

Looking closer at castra called *urbs-civitas* by Thietmar we see that they were, according to the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, the headquarters of the comites of provinces.¹⁸ So this was probably the other reason determining Thietmar's giving that name to a castrum. In order to explain more clearly the rules observed by Thietmar in naming a given centre *urbs-civitas* rather than *locus* or *castellum*, let us take a closer look at his chronicle.

In the neighbouring state of Bohemia he gave the name of *urbs* or *civitas* to Pilzno,¹⁴ Vyšehrad¹⁵ and Žatec,¹⁶ and the name of *castellum* to Gněvin.¹⁷ Like the Polish *urbes-civitates* in Thietmar's chronicle, so the Bohemian ones, according to the Bohemian chronicler Kosmas and Bohemian documents, were the headquarters of comites.¹⁸ On the territory of Germany and Polabia the name of *urbs-civitas* was given by Thietmar to centres of duchies, marches and counties such as Luneburg, Meissen and Walbeck,¹⁹ as well as to seats of the abbeys of Lorsch, Kalbe and Niemburg.²⁰ In Polabia, Zwiękowo, now Zwenkau on the river White Elster, the seat of the Slav senior duke of the tribe of the Chudzici,²¹ was called *civitas*. The centres of nine territories handed over to the Magdeburg archdiocese were called *urbes*; they were either the centres of the Slav tribal pagi (Scudici, Duben on the Mulde, centre of the tribe of Susli) or castrum territories of the burgward type.²² Finally, another category of castle-towns which gained the name of *urbs-civitas* was, according to Thietmar, strongholds with large garrisons commanded by comites or prominent knights. Among them were an *urbs* on the Danish frontier manned by a strong

¹⁸ According to Thietmar, Poznań was also a town (*urbs*) (*ibidem*, lib. VI, cap. 27).

¹⁴ *Thietmari Chronicon*, lib. III, cap. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, cap. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, cap. 11.

¹⁷ *Loc.,cit.*

¹⁸ Among the witnesses listed in a Bohemian document of 1160 were: *Drisislaus prefectus urbis Pelzenne, Jarogneus, prefectus Satcensis* and *Henricus prefectus Wissengradensis* (*Codex diplomaticus Bohemiae*, ed. J. Fridrich, vol. I, No 208). The same (probably) Drisislaus was c. 1147, styled comes (*ibidem*, No 157).

¹⁹ *Thietmari Chronicon*, lib. VI, cap. 91; lib. IV, cap. 5; lib. V, cap. 0; lib. IV, cap. 17.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, lib. V, cap. 11; lib. III, cap. 18; lib. IV, cap. 60.

²¹ *Ibidem*, lib. II, cap. 38; lib. III, cap. 1.

²² *Ibidem*, cap. 16, cf. cap. 64 ("*Iuxta Vurcin civitatem*").

garrison,²³ *civitas* Boussu in Hennegavia,²⁴ in Polabia *urbs* Jarina now Gehren, at the entrance to the Lusitia *pagus*,²⁵ and *urbs Belegori*, now Alt-Belgern, on the Elbe.²⁶ All other localities, including *castra*, Thietmar described as *locus* or, less often, *castellum*. In Germany he gave the name of *locus* to Rohr near Meiningen²⁷ and Soemmering near Glindenberg,²⁸ and in Polabia to Zribenz (Schrenz near Halle),²⁹ while Medeburu (Magdeborn) in the *pagus* of Chudzici he called *castellum*.³⁰

Thus we see that Thietmar distinguished the category of *castra* described as *urbes-civitates* according to administrative and military criteria, and also depending on church authorities. In Slav lands such *castra* were the seats of *comites*, their lords, who either ruled the territories termed *pagi* by Thietmar or commanded strongholds such as Niemcza in Poland or Višehraard in Bohemia. Among the *castra* ruled by *comites* which served as administrative centres were, according to Thietmar, Wrocław and Głogów, as well as Poznań and Gniezno, both of which he described as *urbes*. Thus, I am introducing the term of *castrum comitis* (or castle-town ruled by a comes) noting, however, that it did not always mean the centre of a large administrative district, because *comites* could also rule over big border castle-towns endowed with lands lying well back inside the country.

Much more varied than Thietmar's administrative terminology is that of the Polish chronicler Gallus Anonymus and the Bohemian Kosmas and his continuators as well as the vocabulary in documentary sources compiled in Poland and Bohemia. There, *castra* ruled by *comites* are fairly uniformly called not only *urbes-civitates* but also *oppida* or *sedes regni*. But the terms *castrum*, *castellum* or *arx*, used in those sources, are considered of a weakening nature though not excluding the possibility that they may mean castle-towns ruled by a comes.

²³ *Ibidem*, cap. 24.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, cap. 6.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, lib. VI, cap. 56.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, lib. VII, cap. 61.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, lib. IV, cap. 4.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, lib. III, cap. 8.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, lib. VI, cap. 69.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, lib. II, cap. 37.

Let us begin our survey with the south of Poland, with the well known passage in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus about the *sedes regni principales* which he located there. Duke Władysław Herman decided that his son Bolesław the Wrymouth, who had already received Silesia and Little Poland, "*in Wratislaw et in Cracow et in Sodomir sedes regni principales obtineat*".³¹ The chronicler then goes on to say that Bolesław possessed Wrocław even before his father's death after which he extended his rule only to Cracow and Sandomierz.³² These three principal capital castra were not the only ones ruled by comites in Bolesław the Wrymouth's province, because the chronicler Gallus wrote that the palatine Sieciech "*aut sui generis aut inferioris, quibus dominaretur, comites vel pristaldes proponebat*" for castella situated in the provinces ruled by junior dukes.³³ Thus, in Little Poland at least one castrum, apart from Cracow, was the seat of a comes and also probably the residence and ruling centre of a young prince. We presume that it was Wiślica which had a magnificent stone palatium built prior to 1135. The entry for 1135 in the *Annales Cracovienses Priores*³⁴ noted its burning down. Another comes-ruled castrum watching over the boundary in the eastern part could have been Lublin.³⁵ The passage in Gallus Anonymus, quoted earlier, is valuable for yet another reason: it supposes the existence of two categories of castle-towns, the bigger ruled by a comes, and the smaller by lower officials whom the chronicler termed pristaldes.

The *Annales Altahenses Maiores* mention the existence in 1041 in Silesia of two districts called *regiones* ruled by Břetislav of Bohemia.³⁶ These were the districts of Wrocław and Opole-Raci-

³¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta ducum sive principum Poloniae*, ed. C. Maleczyński, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth as MPH) nova series, vol. II, Kraków 1962, lib. III, cap. 7, pp. 75, 9 - 10. (henceforth quoted as *Galli Cronica*).

³² *Ibidem*, cap. 16, pp. 81, 1 - 3, 83, 10 - 13, 89, 1 - 2.

³³ *Ibidem*, cap. 16, pp. 79, 17 - 18.

³⁴ Ed. S. Kozłowska-Budkowa, MPH, s.n. vol. V, Warszawa 1978, p. 57. Vincentius Kadlubek in his chronicle (ed. A. Bielowski, MPH, lib. III, cap. 22), calls Wiślica "*gloriosa Wiślicensium urbs*" and mentions Bolesław the Wrymouth as its appointed head.

³⁵ See below.

³⁶ MGH SS XX, 795 - 796.

bórz, even then separated by the Silesian forest barrier,³⁷ or rather only those of Opole-Racibórz and Grodziec (Gołęzyce).³⁸ To the north of Opole (Racibórz ?) and Wrocław was the large administrative district of Głogów which Kosmas described as "*primum oppidum Poloniae*" on this side of the Saxon frontier.³⁹ He thus ranked it as a centre superior to the border castra located in the basin of the rivers Bóbr and Kwisa and mentioned in the Wrocław Bull of 1155 in a note which originated in the 11th century.⁴⁰ In 1109, according to the same Kosmas, the Silesian lands were pillaged "*a castro Recen usque ad urbem Glogou praeter solum Nemci oppidum*".⁴¹ The distinction between the castle-town of Ryczyna and the superior *urbs* of Głogów and even the *oppidum* of Niemcza is quite clear. In 1124, comes Stefan, sent by Sobieslav, duke of Bohemia, on a mission to Poland, was set upon by brigands, when crossing "*silvam quae est inter Saxoniam et Poloniam*". A priest in the retinue of the comes managed to escape and "*nuntiavit*" the attack "*in urbe Glogou*" which was then ruled by "*praefectus Woyslaus*". Wojsław went to the spot and found comes Stefan half-dead in the river Bóbr; he died of his wounds on June 1 after being transported to Głogów.⁴² This Wojsław was either the former *comes dapifer* and tutor of Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth or his son, also Wojsław. Ten years after the prefect Wojsław, in 1134, the province of Głogów was headed by "*Henricus marchio of Glogow*".⁴³ Gallus Anonymus, in his description of

³⁷ S. Kętrzyński thought so (*Kazimierz Odnowiciel [Casimir the Restorer]*, in: *idem, Polska X - XI wieku [Poland in the 10th - 11th c.]*, Warszawa 1961, pp. 457 - 460 and 476).

³⁸ Gallus Anonymus described Grodziec (Hradec) as castrum (*Galli Cronica*, lib. III, cap. 22, p. 48), but it was the principal centre of the separate tribal pagus of Gołęzyce.

³⁹ *Kosmae Chronicon*, lib. III, cap. XXVII.

⁴⁰ Zpini (Swinia near Bolkowice), Valan (Wleń), Godivici and Szobolezke (unidentified), *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, ed. C. Maleczyński, Vol. 1, Wrocław 1951 - 1956, No 35, p. 88 (henceforth quoted as *Cod.Sil.* ed. Maleczyński); cf. Z. Wojciechowski, *Najstarszy ustrój plemienny-szczepowy i administracja do roku 1139 [The Oldest Tribal System and administration up to 1139]*, in: *Historia Śląska*, vol. I, Kraków 1933, p. 144.

⁴¹ *Kosmae Chronicon*, lib. III, cap. 27.

⁴² *Ibidem*, lib. III, cap. 56; cf. W. Semkowicz, *Ród Powatów [The Powata Family]*, "Sprawozdania Akademii Umiejętności", 1914, No. 3, and remarks by Karol Maleczyński in *Galli Cronica*, pp. 78 - 79, note 4.

⁴³ *Diplomata Lotharii*, in *MGH Diplomata III*, No. 66.

the Polish-German war in 1109, presented Głogów as a comes-ruled castle-town calling it *civitas* (three times), *oppidum* (four times) and *castrum*, the latter name being spoken by Emperor Henry V. At the time, it was headed by a comes appointed by Bolesław the Wrymouth, to whom castellans, at least some of them belonging to *nobiliiores*, were subordinated.⁴⁴ Thus, at the beginning of the 12th century, Głogów was the centre of a large province which embraced the border castle-towns on the Bóbr, which probably had their own *castrum* territories and were endowed with lands and people as stated in the Wrocław Bull of 1155.⁴⁵ This province was the continuation of the former *pagus Diadesi* in Thietmar's time.

In Silesia, the former *pagus Silensis* continued as the separate province of Wrocław headed in 1093 by *Magnus comes wratislaviensis*.⁴⁶ Probably, the region under him was territorially equal to the province ruled by the comes of Głogów. But we cannot rule out a certain superiority of the Wrocław comes over that of Głogów, which seems to be confirmed by Gallus Anonymus calling Wrocław "*sedes regni principalis*". Thus Głogów could have been only just a *sedes regni* given to Bolesław the Wrymouth together with Silesia in that short period of time when the senior duke, Władysław Herman, retained Wrocław for himself. Karol Maleczyński assumed that as early as 1093, Wojśław, tutor of Bolesław the Wrymouth, became *comes castrum* of the province of Silesia.⁴⁷ Although it is difficult to suppose that the same Wojśław ruled Głogów from 1093 to 1124 without break, yet his family connection with that *castrum* could have been maintained which would explain his son's fulfilling the office of comes of the Głogów province in 1124.

In northern Poland there were at least ten centres ranking as *castra* ruled by *comites*, the majority of which were the main provincial centres. Among them was Gniezno in Great Poland

⁴⁴ *Galli Cronica*, lib. III, cap. 8, p. 135, and according to index. The same chronicler gave only the name of *castrum* to Bytom on the Odra (*ibidem*, pp. 131, 12).

⁴⁵ See above note 4.

⁴⁶ *Galli Cronica*, lib. II, dap. 4, pp. 69 - 70.

⁴⁷ K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty* [Bolesław III the Wrymouth], Wrocław, 1975, p. 20.

for in 1106 or 1107 Bolesław the Wrymouth "*suum comitem in Gneznensi civitate constituit*",⁴⁸ and Poznań, the bishop's see, which, according to Gallus Anonymus, supplied 1,300 armoured soldiers and 4,000 shielded warriors in the times of Bolesław the Brave.⁴⁹ Somewhat less was provided by Giecz, only 300 armoured men and 2000 shielded ones,⁵⁰ but Giecz had lost its importance after 1038. At the turn of the 11th century Kalisz was a *castrum* ruled by a comes and in 1106/1107 was an important centre of resistance on the part of the supporters of Duke Zbigniew; Gallus Anonymus considered it a *castrum* hostile to Duke Bolesław.⁵¹

In western Kuyavia, Kruszwica was an important administrative and military centre which in 1096 had sent into battle "*VII acies Crusviciensium*"⁵² (a number probably exaggerated by the chronicler). Possibly, Włocławek was also a *castrum comitis*: it provided 800 armoured and 2000 shielded warriors in the times of Bolesław the Brave.⁵³ It was the centre of a territory called "Cuiavia"⁵⁴ in the Gniezno Bull of 1136, separated from the western Kruszwica by a boundary defended by felled timber barriers reflected even today in place-names of the region. Two separate bishoprics, established there in 1123 - 1125 corresponded to the two Kuyavian provinces. Of the smaller castra in this region only the border town of Santok had a lieutenant-general with the title of Santok comes.⁵⁵

In 1106 - 1107, in the territory of Łęczyca and Sieradz, Spycymierz was a castle-town ruled by a comes; Bolesław the Wrymouth transferred the "*sedes [regni]*" from there "*ad Lucic*" that is to Łęczyca.⁵⁶ It may be assumed that besides Spycymierz which,

⁴⁸ *Galli Cronica*, lib. III, cap. 16, p. 79.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, lib. I, cap. 8, p. 25.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, lib. III, cap. 38.

⁵² *Ibidem*, cap. 5, p. 72.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, lib. I, cap. 8, pp. 24 - 25.

⁵⁴ *Monumenta Poloniae Palaeographica*, table 2, Kraków 1908; on the location of five villages sited "*per Cuiaviam*" see J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic Polski najstarszej* [Outline of Boundaries of Earliest Poland], Wrocław 1953, p. 119.

⁵⁵ *Paulus comes Zutochanus, S. Ottonis episcopi babenbergensis, Vita Prieflingensis*, lib. II, cap. 2, ed. J. Wikarjak, MPH, n.s. vol. VII, 1, Warszawa 1966, p. 30.

⁵⁶ *Galli Cronica*, lib. II, cap. 38, p. 108.

it seems, did not lose its position as a *castrum comitis*, and Łęczyca, Sieradz also enjoyed similar importance.

In Mazovia, Płock was the centre of the province ; there was there in 1109, a comes "*nomine Magnus, qui tunc Mazoviam regebat*".⁵⁷ Southern Mazovia formed a separate territory belonging to Poznań diocese with a *castrum comitis* in Czersk or the nearby Grodziec-Grójec, centre of the archdeaconate for this territory.

As concerns the early Piast administration in Gdańsk Pomerania we have only a note by Gallus Anonymus about the establishment there in 1090 *in locis principalioribus* of lieutenants-general described as *vastaldiones et comites*. Thus, the Gdańsk Pomerania, conquered briefly in 1090, was subordinated to several comites which means that it was divided into several provinces. Gallus Anonymus distinguished there *loca principaliora* or *civitates* from castle-towns of lower rank called *municipia*.⁵⁸ This division was probably restored by Bolesław the Wrymouth when he reconquered the region. The later seemed to indicate that the comites of other eastern Pomeranian castle-towns were subordinated to the lord-lieutenant residing in Gdańsk.

The information about the castle-towns ruled by comites and the provinces as units of state administration can be supplemented with the general information about the administrative make-up of Piast Poland provided by Gallus Anonymus. In describing the travels across the country undertaken by Bolesław the Brave, our chronicler noted that during the tours of districts called *civitates et castella* the king, when reaching the boundary of every *civitas*, would send back the accompanying officials and surround himself with officers proper to the new *civitas* and described as *vicedomini* and *villici*.⁵⁹ Thus, Anonymus presented *civitates* as the basic districts of the economic administration of the Piast state, because it is assumed that *villici* became later the duke's stewards called *procuratores*. The fact that he surrounded himself with officers belonging to the administration of the province indi-

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, lib. II, cap. 49, p. 118.

⁵⁸ *Galli Cronica*, lib. III, cap. 1, p. 65, cf. K. Buczek, *Problem organizacji terytorialnej Pomorza Gdańskiego w XII i XIII w.* [The Question of Territorial Organisation of Gdańsk Pomerania in the 12th and 13th c.], "Zapiski Historyczne", II, vol. XXXV, No. 3/4, pp. 140 ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, lib. I, cap. 15, pp. 34 - 35.

cates that they performed some office at the person of the king and, doubtless, had at their disposal the service population of the province. It would seem then that the centres of those *civitates* i.e. the castra administered by comites, were surrounded by a service population.

These same units, called *civitates* in that record, are also referred to by Gallus Anonymus as provinces. The chronicler used that term twice. In the note about the dismissal from office of the palatine Sieciech he wrote that Duke Władysław Herman had not appointed in his place a new palatine but entrusted the office "*cuilibet comiti cuius provintiam visitabat*".⁶⁰ He again mentioned the division of *regnum Poloniae* into provinces when describing the battle on the river Trutina fought against the Bohemians in 1110. The Polish troops camped and fought divided into provinces. Each province had sent a detachment called *cohors armata*⁶¹ that is a troop of armoured horse.⁶² In the late empire and early Byzantium the name of *cohors* was given nearly always to a mounted detachment of 300 to 700 men, sometimes also known as legion. Let us recall here Gallus Anonymus' mention of seven *acies* probably forming the province-cohort of Kruszwica made up of 700 men.⁶³ But, according to the chronicler, Kruszwica sent an exceptionally large contingent, so we assume that the average provincial cohort numbered 300 warriors, in accordance with the ternary system of the early Piast army. The Polish 15 - 20 provinces would then provide some 4,500 - 6,000 mounted warriors which corresponds to the mobilisation potential of the state. Out Gallus Anonymus mentions the territorial set-up of the army again when he notes that Emperor Otto III was welcomed at Gniezno by *acies principum* standing separately.⁶⁴ They most certainly got their name from *principes* that is *comites terrae* heading castletowns and provinces.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, lib. II, cap. 21, p. 88.

⁶¹ "*Tum queque provintia, queque cohors armata, sicut constitutum fuerat in sua statione perstitit* (*ibidem*, lib. III, cap. 2, p. 149).

⁶² W. Majewski has established in an unpublished study that in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus the terms *armati* and *armata* meant armoured men.

⁶³ See above, note 52.

⁶⁴ *Galli Cronica*, lib. I, cap. 6, p. 18, lines 9 - 10.

⁶⁵ See below.

The rest of the sparse written sources which describe the oldest organisation of the Polish state consist of several of the oldest privileges and records made in Polish cathedrals and monasteries. One of them, the principal one, is the bull of Pope Hadrian of 1155 for the diocese of Wrocław, which lists the Silesian frontier castra on the basis of records originating probably in mid-11th century.⁶⁶ Another similar source is the forged document of Mogilno which in its oldest part contains a record dating probably to 1065.⁶⁷ The network of castra, contained in these two sources, does not correspond to the network of castellan castra in the 13th century. The Mogilno document registers the existence in northern Mazovia of numerous small castrum territories of which part only later became castellanies. Yet, the oldest Mazovian castellanies differed from them completely and were much bigger. They formed belts which stretched meridian-wise from the Vistula to the Prussian border. The Wyszogród castellany encompassed two earlier castrum territories of Stopsk and Grzebsk, while the Płock castellany at first comprised Sierpc, Raciąż and Szreńsk.⁶⁸

Both the Wrocław bull of 1155 and the Mogilno document confirm the existence, besides provinces, of small castrum territories situated mainly on the country's frontiers and comparable with the *civitates* of Geographus Bavarus.⁶⁹ This type of network did not uniformly cover the entire area of the state. The majority of *opola* (vicinities), lying in the interior of the country, did not probably have castle-towns on their territories.

⁶⁶ *Cod. Sil.* ed. Maleczyński, I, No. 35, see also note 40.

⁶⁷ The editions of the document are given by Z. Kozłowska-Budkova (*Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* [*Repertory of Polish Documents of the Piast Era*], book 1, Kraków 1937, No. 8, pp. 99 - 101). In the 13th century, among the castle-towns in Northern Mazovia recorded in that note Rypin, Steklin, Sierpc, Kozielek, Szreńsk, Słupsk, Grudusk, Przypust and Serock were not castellanies.

⁶⁸ S. Arnold, *Terytoria plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (w. XII - XIII)* [*Tribal Territories in the Administrative System of Piast Poland (12th - 13th c.)*], in: *idem, Z dziejów średniowiecza. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 339 - 341. The western boundary of the Wyszogród castellany was fixed in the document of Bolesław of Płock, 1349, and that of Ciechanów castellany in a document of 1384 (*ibidem*, p. 340).

⁶⁹ S. Zakrzewski, *Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju czyli tzw. Geograf bawarski* [*Description of Castle-Towns and Territories on the North Bank of the Danube, or the so-called Bavarian Geographer*], Lwów 1917, text on p. 4, and its reproduction.

Some of them, particularly those built in unsettled areas, mostly on the former tribal borderlands, had their administrative and economic centres not in castle-towns but prince's manors. For instance, the Chropy *opole* was organised by a prince as early as the 11th century on a newly settled territory with the prince's manor as its centre ; this was later turned over to Cracow bishops by Judith of the Salic dynasty, Duchess of Poland.⁷⁰

The network of *castra* administered by *comites*, which served as centres of early-Piast provinces can also be reconstructed through the service place-names around those castle-towns, or the names of settlements which had been once inhabited by an ethnically foreign population. Polish historians call them prisoner-of-war settlements but they were really inhabited by people serving in the armed forces of the nearby castle-towns for pay or the right of settlement.⁷¹ Among the place-names revealing the former administrative centres in early-Piast Poland are e.g. Żerniki (*perticalii*) and Zawada (obstacle), names found as a rule near big *castra*.

Without exhausting the question of service names let us dwell for a while on several categories closely connected with administrative and military centres in early-Piast Poland. We shall omit the names of hunting, farming and breeding settlements and of some artisan villages which might have been connected with small castle-towns and a prince's hunting lodge or rural residence. Even if a prince never resided in them they may have been his hunting places or centres of his farming and breeding

⁷⁰ S. Zajączkowski, *Opole chropkie. Przyczynek do genezy dawnych dóbr pabianickich kapituły krakowskiej* [Chropy Vicinity. Remarks on the Origins of the Former Pabianice Estate of the Cracow Chapter], "Rocznik Łódzki", vol. V, 1961, pp. 134 - 136 ; Z. Podwiński, *Zmiany form osadnictwa wiejskiego na ziemiach polskich we wcześniejszym średniowieczu. Zreb, Wieś, Opole* [Changes in the Form of Peasant Settlement on Polish Lands in the Early Middle Ages. Inherited Land, Village, Vicinity], Wrocław 1961, pp. 337 - 340.

⁷¹ They were called prisoner-of-war settlements by H. Modrzevska (*Osadnictwo jenieckie we wcześniejszym średniowieczu polskim* [Prisoner-of-war Settlement in Early Medieval Poland], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", Vol. XVII, 1969, No. 3, pp. 345 - 383) ; also K. Modzelewski (*Organizacja gospodarcza...*, p. 158).

husbandry.⁷² This view is supported by the example of Zagość Kobylniki which were part of the Zagość estate and not of Wiślica castrum.⁷³ We shall start our survey with the service villages making arms called Szczytniki (szczyt=shield), Grotniki (grot= bolt) and Szłomniki (szlem=helmet). There is one instance of the latter, near Cracow. In Little Poland there are Szczytniki near Cracow, Wiślica and Sandomierz.⁷⁴ In Silesia they are found near Wrocław and Głogów,⁷⁵ in Great Poland near Gniezno, Poznań⁷⁶ and Kalisz.⁷⁷ In Mazovia three Szczytnos are near Włocławek,

⁷² Cf. R. Grodecki, *Książęca włość trzebnicka na tle organizacji majątków książęcych w Polsce XII w.* [Trzebnica Princely Estate against the Background of the Organisation of Princely Demesnes in the 12th c. Poland], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", Vol. XXVI, 1912, pp. 433 - 475; vol. XXVII, 1913, pp. 1 - 66.

⁷³ *Monumenta mediae aevi diplomatica ius terrestris Poloniae illustrata*, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1897, No. 21 (henceforth quoted as *Mon. mediae aevi dipl.*, ed. Piekosiński); K. Tymieniecki, *Majątność książęca w Zagościu* [Prince's Estate at Zagość], "Rozprawy AU", Wydział Historii Filozofii, vol. LV, 1912, p. 397 ff.

⁷⁴ Szczytniki in the parish of Brzezine near Bochnia (Joannis Długosz, *Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*, ed. A. Przeździecki, vol. I - III, Kraków [henceforth quoted as Długosz, LB], I, p. 90, II, p. 181). Szczytniki in the commune of Klimontów near Proszowice mentioned in 1370 (*Codex diplomaticus Poloniae Minoris*, ed. F. Piekosiński, vol. I, Kraków 1876, No. 308, p. 372 henceforth quoted as *Cod. Pol. Min.*); in the parish of Janina near Stopnica (Długosz, LB II, pp. 381, 382, 459), and in the vicinity of the parish of Stróżyska near Grotniki (*ibidem*, II, pp. 434, 436). Near Sandomierz in the parish of Góry Wysockie (*ibidem*, II, pp. 312, 313) and in the parish of Gorzyce (*ibidem*, II, p. 356).

⁷⁵ Szczytniki near Wrocław was recorded as early as 1204 (*Cod. Sil.* ed. Maleczyński, I, No. 107, p. 276).

⁷⁶ Szczytniki Czerniejewskie recorded for the first time in 1311, Szczytniki Duchowne (1319) near Gniezno, and Szczytniki (1386) situated between Poznań and Kórnik. K.J. Hładysłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu i rozwój osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX wieku* [Changes in the Landscape and Development of Settlement in Greater Poland from the 14th to 19th c.], Lwów 1932, pp. 116, 193, and *Mapa rozmieszczenia osad służebnych i osad jeńców wojennych w Wielkopolsce (w. XII - XIV)* [Map of the Distribution of Service and Prisoner-of-war Settlements in Greater Poland (12th - 14th c.)].

⁷⁷ Szczytniki recorded for the first time in 1409, situated 18 km to the south-east of Kalisz (K.J. Hładysłowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 224). On service villages of this region see also J. Nalepa, *Studia nad wczesnośredniowiecznym nazewnictwem i osadnictwem ziemi kaliskiej. Wsie służebne Wielkopolski południowo-wschodniej* [Studies on Early-Medieval Place-Names and Settlement in Kalisz Land. Service Villages in South-Eastern Greater Poland], "Rocznik Kaliski", Vol. I, 1968, pp. 292 - 347; and the review by K. Buczek, *O wsiach służebnych w ziemi kaliskiej* [On Service Villages in Kalisz Land], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", Vol. LXXVI, 1969, No. 3, pp. 695 - 698.

Płock and Płońsk.⁷⁸ This is certainly the Mazovian form of the earlier name of Szczytniki, because a settlement of that name borders on Szczytno near Płońsk.⁷⁹ But there is some doubt about the early-Piast origin of Szczytniki lying to the north of Brześć on the river Bug.⁸⁰ The different locations of the name Grotniki are found on the Nida near Wiślica and in Wschowa region; it may have belonged once to Głogów; but the origin of the name of Grotkowice near Gniezno, recorded in 1238, is doubtful.⁸¹ Thus, service villages producing arms have been found near fourteen castle-towns. All of them, except the ruins near Szczaworyż and Płońsk, belonged to the comes-ruled castra. Płońsk, on the other hand, is the only castellan castrum near which rose the settlement of Szczytniki.

Let us now present the distribution of place-names denoting the services of cooks (Kuchary) and bakers (Piekary). In Little Poland they are found near Cracow as Kuchary near Brzesko Stare belonged to the Cracow castrum rather than to the castellan town of Brzesko.⁸² There are also Kuchary near Wiślica and Szczaworyż next to Szczytniki, which may have belonged to the princely residence at Stopnica; Piekary is found near Sandomierz.⁸³ An-

⁷⁸ *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* [Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom and other Slav Countries], vol. XI, Warszawa 1890, pp. 880 - 881 (henceforth quoted as *Sl. Geogr.*).

⁷⁹ Next to Szczytno near Mińsk Mazowiecki there was the village of Szczytnik as early as 1576 (*Polska XVI wieku...*, vol. V; *Mazowsze*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1892, p. 223).

⁸⁰ "Imene Ščitnickoe", the property of Ivan Hornostaii, near Brześć, was recorded c. 1518 ("Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka", Vol. XX, Petersburg 1903, p. 1263).

⁸¹ Długosz, LB II, p. 438. Grotniki in Wschowa Land recorded as early as 1401, J. Nalepa (*op.cit.*, p. 336) connected it with castellan Przemęt. On Grotkowice see K.J. Hładylowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

⁸² Piekary on the Śreniawa near Kościelec (Długosz, LB, II, p. 166). Piekary in the parish of Liszki mentioned as the property of Tynec in the forged document of 1286 (*Codex Diplomaticus Monasterii Tynecensis*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, S. Smolka, Lwów 1875, No. 32, p. 64, henceforth quoted as *Cod.Mon. Tyn.*); Kuchary in the parish of Brzesko Stare (Długosz, LB. I, p. 76, II, p. 162).

⁸³ Kuchary on the Nida, parish of Wiślica, (Długosz, LB I, pp. 404 - 411, 415 - 417), and in the parish of Stopnica (*ibidem*, II, pp. 442, 459); Piekary, parish of Obrazów, mentioned as Peccare in 1257 (*Cod. Pol. Min.* I, No. 44, p. 53).

other Kuchary is near Mstów,⁸⁴ and there is a Piekary near Bytom which used to be part of Little Poland.⁸⁵ In Silesia Kuchary and Piekary are to be found north of Strzegom at a fairly long distance from Wrocław to which they probably belonged, because there are no such place-names near that town.⁸⁶ There are also Piekary near Legnica⁸⁷ and Trzebnica.⁸⁸ In Great Poland there are Piekary near Gniezno and Poznań, while Kalisz had a Kuchary.⁸⁹ Another Kuchary lies near Konin, and Kucharki near Ołobok which had been given by the prince in endowment to the monasteries in Łąd and Ołobok.⁹⁰ In central Poland, we have Piekary near Spycymierz,⁹¹ and together with Kuchary near Łęczycza⁹² as well as near Radomsko,⁹³ Piekary near Chropy used to be the property of the monastery in Witów.⁹⁴ In Mazovia two settlements of the name of Piekary are in the vicinity of Grójec and Czersk,⁹⁵ while Kuchary

⁸⁴ In the parish of Mstów (*St. Geogr.*, vol. IV, Warszawa 1883), p. 836, and Długosz LB III, p. 152.

⁸⁵ Piekary near Bytom, mentioned in 1332 as *Peccari theutonice* (*St. Geogr.*, vol. VIII, Warszawa 1887, p. 80).

⁸⁶ Piekary (Beckern) mentioned 1254, Grunhagen, Reg. 886.

⁸⁷ German Bekar, mentioned 1292, *St. Geogr.* vol. VIII, p. 76.

⁸⁸ German Beckern, parish of Scyberowo, *St. Geogr.*, vol. VIII, p. 76.

⁸⁹ Piekary close by Gniezno, recorded in 1418; Piekary between Poznań and Drużyn, mentioned only in 1502; Kuchary Podłężne on the Proсна, c. 1200 (K.J. Hładylowicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 119, 170); and Piekarzew mentioned 1368 (J. Nalepa, *op.cit.*, p. 309).

⁹⁰ Kuchary Kościelne and Kuchary Borowe to the south-west of Konin, given to the Cistercians of Łąd in 1261 (J. Nalepa, *op.cit.*, p. 308); and Kucharski (three hamlets) near Sobótka and Biniewo in the deaconate of Ołobok, from 1253 of the Cistercian Sisters (*loc.cit.*, and J. Łaski, *Liber Beneficiorum archidioecesis gnesnensis*, ed. J. Łukowski, vol. II, Gniezno 1881, p. 39 henceforth quoted as Łaski LB I - II).

⁹¹ Piekary on the Warta in the parish of Skęczniew, some 30 km from Turek, mentioned in 1399 (S.M. Zajączkowski, *O tzw. osadach służebnych na dawnych ziemiach łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej* [About the so-called Service Settlements on the Former Łęczycza and Sieradz Lands], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne, Series I, No. 5, 1957, p. 9).

⁹² Kuchary in the parish of Topola, probably mentioned in the Gniezno Bull, 1131, as *coci*, was recorded as a hamlet in 1358 (S.M. Zajączkowski, *op.cit.*, p. 8); Piekary in the parish of Piątek, mentioned in 1136 as *pistores*, the hamlet was recorded in 1302 (*ibidem*, p. 9).

⁹³ Kuchary in the parish of Dmenin (Łaski, LB I, pp. 506 - 507) and Piekary in the parish of Sulmierzyce recorded in 1367 (S.M. Zajączkowski, *op.cit.* p. 9).

⁹⁴ Kuchary in the parish of Bogdanów, the property of the monastery in Vilna (Łaski, LB II, pp. 219 - 220).

⁹⁵ Piekary in the parish of Goszczyn and in the parish of Osuchów (*St. Geogr.*, vol. VIII, p. 76).

are to be found near Plock⁹⁶ between Wyszogród and Płońsk,⁹⁷ and finally, near Ciechanów. There are no such place-names in Kuyavia.⁹⁸

Villages whose place-names recorded in medieval sources indicated that their inhabitants had been once ethnic foreigners were grouped almost exclusively round the same comes-ruled castle-towns. Among the villages surrounding Cracow are Czechy (Czechs), three Sarbia (Serbs), Ruszca (Rus), Prusy (Prussia), two Węgrzce (Hungarians) lying on both the banks of the Vistula, as well as Węgrzynowice, Pieczenięgi (Pechenegs), and slightly further on, near Olkusz, Pomorzany (Pomeranians). Near Wiślica there were Prusy, Morawiany (Moravians) and two Pieczonogi, while near Sandomierz we find Prusy and Prusinowice, two Ruszcza and two villages named Węgrzce. In Silesia, not far from Wrocław, there are Prusice, Rusinowice, Rusko, Czechy and Węgry, and near Opole is another Węgry. In Greater Poland, near Gniezno, we find the name Pomorzany and Pomorzanowice, as well as Czechy and Sarbia; Ruszcza, Sarbia, Pomorzanowice and Węgierskie near Poznań; Węgry near Giecz; and Węgry, Prusy, Rusin and Rusów near Kalisz. In central Poland we come across Prusinowice near Łęczyca and Czechy and Sarbicko near Spycymierz.⁹⁹ We do not know much about the organisation to which the ethnically alien population was subordinated. We can only surmise from the location of the villages that their inhabitants came under the comes of the province and his deputies. At least one category of these people fulfilled some special duties, unknown to us, since there was a separate office in the province of Cracow, which prior to 1254 was turned into *beneficium Cracoviae Ungari dicitur*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *Polska XVI wieku...*, vol. V: *Mazowsze, op.cit.*, pp. 18, 19, 21, 29, (1578); *Sł. Geogr.*, vol. IV, p. 837.

⁹⁷ *Polska XVI wieku...*, vol. V: *Mazowsze*, p. 350 (1567). *Sł. Geogr.*, vol. IV, p. 837.

⁹⁸ *Polska XVI wieku...*, vol. V: *Mazowsze, op.cit.*, pp. 324, 350, (1567), *Sł. Geogr.*, vol. IV, p. 837.

⁹⁹ The toponomastic material was compiled by H. Modrzewska (Jeńcy i ich osady w Polsce wcześniejszego średniowiecza [*Prisoners-of-war and Their Settlements in Early-Medieval Poland*], Warszawa 1977 (typescript of doctoral thesis)); cf. also note 71.

¹⁰⁰ K. Buczek, *Podstolice, Pstrońce, Węgiersze*, "Onomastica", vol. IV, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1-26. W. Lubaś, *Nazwy miejscowe południowej części*

To end this partial review of toponomastic sources we shall analyse the name of Żerniki-Żyrdniki because of its evident link with centres of state administration.¹⁰¹ Settlements bearing that name could be found in Little Poland near Szczaworyż or Stopnica,¹⁰² twice near Gniezno and Poznań in Great Poland as well as near Giecz,¹⁰³ finally, near Kalisz¹⁰⁴ and in Sieradz region.¹⁰⁵ In Kuyavia the name was recorded twice between Kruszwica and Inowrocław,¹⁰⁶ and once in the vicinity of Płock.¹⁰⁷

This review of service and place-names has helped to establish a very essential feature which distinguished the castra administered by a comes and which constituted the centres of provinces, from secondary castle-towns or the later castellan castra. Round them were grouped service villages and ethnic aliens who served in the army or in the guard. Jerzy Nalepa has concluded from the groups of service villages surrounding Gniezno, Poznań, Kalisz and Kruszwica, Płock and Łęczyca that these castle-towns were also *sedes regni principales*. According to him, Kalisz was the capital of an early-medieval province.¹⁰⁸ The service villages near Włocławek confirm Gallus Anonymus' statement about the important role of Włocławek as the centre of a province in the Piast state. The same criteria applied to the other Polish lands indicate that Grójec or Czersk, Spicymierz, Wiślica and its presumed predecessor, the ruins in Szczaworyż in Little Poland, as well as Opole in Silesia were also centres of provinces. Interestingly,

dawnego województwa krakowskiego [Place-names in the Southern Part of the Former Cracow Voivodship], "Prace onomastyczne", No. 9, Wrocław 1968, p. 158.

¹⁰¹ *Idem, Kto to byli żyrdnicy (żerdnicy)? [Who Were the Perticarii?]*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 1957, No. 3/4, p. 459 ff.

¹⁰² Długosz, LB.

¹⁰³ Żerniki near Gniezno recorded 1295; to the north on the Welna in the direction of Znin mentioned in the Bull of 1136; the property of the Poznań castle-town recorded near Tulce 1427; Żerniki Gieckie near Łuków 1424 (K.J. Hładyłowicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 111, 128, 119, 122).

¹⁰⁴ Near Kalisz in the parish of Bizanów on the Prosna, 15 km from Kalisz, recorded 1348; in the parish of Kretków on the left bank of the lower Prosna, recorded 1486 (J. Nalepa, *op.cit.*, p. 316).

¹⁰⁵ Żerniki in the parish of Baldrzychów near Szadek, recorded 1398 (S.M. Zajączkowski, *op.cit.*, p. 12).

¹⁰⁶ *St. Geogr.*, *sub loco*.

¹⁰⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, ed. L. Ryzyszczewski, A. Muczkowski, vol. I, Warszawa 1847, p. 201, year 1349.

¹⁰⁸ J. Nalepa, *op.cit.* pp. 327-328.

there are no place-names of this type around the comes-ruled castra such as Niemcza and Santok which lay near settled areas and state boundaries.

Among the hamlets bearing service place-names, only Piekary and Kuchary have been found in places unconnected by their location with the castle-towns where comites heading the early-Piast provinces resided; they existed near Radomsko, perhaps also by Chełm, Mstów and Chropy, Bytom in Upper Silesia, Ołobok and Konin in Great Poland, and finally near Wyszogród and Ciechanów in Mazovia. Only Bytom, Wyszogród and Ciechanów later became castellan centres, but Piekary near Bytom seemed to be connected rather with mining which developed there, than the castellany. The connection between those place-names and princely residences and estate centres is very clear, as well as the links with monasteries thanks to princely endowments.

In order to outline at least briefly the question of the status of a province in the organisation of the early-Piast state, let us dwell for a while on early-Piast officials called in Latin *supanus* and later *dominus*, in Polish *żupan* and later *pan*. To this name were added adjectives, explaining special functions of the official: *pan wojski* (*dominus tribunus*), *pan łowczy* (*dominus venator*), *pan konarski* (*dominus agazo*), *pan bobrowy* (*dominus castorum*).¹⁰⁹ In the 13th century *supans-tribuni* were found in all the castle-towns administered by a comes and in provincial centres. Among the comes-ruled castra, which were not centres of provinces, *tribuni* operated in Niemcza and Santok. They were also active from the beginning of the 13th century in Bardo, Otmuchów, Bytom on the Odra and in Krosno that is on the line of the Odra; in Lublin, in Little Poland and, as concerns Mazovia in Dobrzyń on the Vistula, Płońsk and Nasielsk;¹¹⁰ and in the castle-towns described as administered by comites. There were no *tribuni* in castellan castra.

¹⁰⁹ A. Zajda, *Nazwy urzędników staropolskich (do roku 1600)* [Names of Old-Polish Officials up to 1600], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", 237, No. 31, Prace językoznawcze.

¹¹⁰ T. Wasilewski, *Panowie wojscy we wcześniejszym średniowieczu i ich miejsce w organizacji terytorialnej państwa polskiego* [Tribuni in the Early Middle Ages and Their Place in the Territorial Organisation of the Polish State]. (Article to be published).

In some of those castle-towns, other officials operated besides the *tribuni*. The masters of the hunt and of the horse, under whom served lower officials of the hunt and of the horse functioned in some comes-administered castra and early-Piast provinces which neither then nor earlier constituted duchies.¹¹¹ So they were not court offices but part of the administration of early-Piast provinces. In 1230, masters of the hunt functioned in Lublin,¹¹² in 1208 in Bytom on the Odra,¹¹³ in 1228 in Łęczyca.¹¹⁴ Masters of the beaver were found only in Cracow duchy which was the continuation of the former Cracow province.¹¹⁵ Among the early-Piast provinces' administrative officers were masters of varied centuria and a rather obscure dignitary who possessed the *beneficium Cracoviae Ungari*.¹¹⁶ The names of exclusively court offices did not have the old-Polish adjectival form and up to 1138 were each filled by a single holder. It was only during the division of the country into duchies that the offices of the provincial administration resembled those of the court in the castle-towns where princely manors were installed; they gradually disappeared in the others.

Thus we see that comes-administered castra had officers of the military and economic administration who ruled it over the inhabitants of the surrounding "ethnically foreign" villages performing military service, and over servants obliged to pay certain services and produce arms. Probably, a similar organisation

¹¹¹ The origin of those offices has not been elucidated by A. Gieysztor (*Owies w duninach łowieckich w Polsce średniowiecznej* [*Oats in Hunting Tributes in Medieval Poland*], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. XI, 1963, pp. 213 - 234); nor by Z. Kaczmarczyk (*Kasztelanowie konarscy* [*Castellans Masters of the Horse*], "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", Vol. II, 1949, pp. 1 - 23). K. Buczek, on the other hand, considered that there existed the office of provincial Masters of the Hunt prior to 1138 (K. Buczek, *Książęca ludność służebna w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej* [*Prince's Service Population in Early-Feudal Poland*], Wrocław 1958, p. 50).

¹¹² *Cod. Pol. Min.*, I, pp. 397, 489.

¹¹³ *Cod. Sil.* ed. Maleczyński, II, No. 242, p. 290 (14th century Trzebnica forgery).

¹¹⁴ *Zbiór dokumentów Mogińskich* [*Collection of Mogila Documents*], Kraków 1867, No 6, According to S.M. Zajaczkowski (*Studia nad terytorialnym formowaniem ziemi Łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej* [*Studies on the Territorial Shaping of Łęczyca and Sieradz Lands*], Łódź 1950, p. 45), he was an officer of the Łęczyca castrum.

¹¹⁵ *Cod. Pol. Min.*, II, No. 481, for the year 1275: *dominus castorum dictus vulgo pan bobrovi*; *ibidem*, I, No. 94, for the year 1278.

¹¹⁶ See note 100.

existed in the comes administered castle-towns situated on the borders of the state or along the defence line of the Odra, which never became centres of large provinces. So we surmise that they were endowed with a service population inhabiting the interior of the country. The service organisation was bound up with the provincial organisation level, not with small castle-town districts or *opola* (*vicinities*).

We have often indicated the close similarities between the organisation of the Bohemian and the Polish state in the 11th - 12th centuries. Another country which followed the same pattern in modelling the state was early-medieval Hungary. Its model encompassed also the royal court with the office of palatine comes and court offices described in Bohemia and Poland and partly in Hungary by the same Latin names of an origin which still remains unknown. Among such court officers were *dapifer*, *pincerna*, *agazo*, *camerarius* and *venator*, probably also *ensifer* and *vexillifer*.¹¹⁷

This model rested on the foundations formed by the division of the state territory into districts called provinces and headed by a comes or a prefect of province. *Tribuni* and *centuriones* were among the administrative officers.¹¹⁸ The functioning of this administrative machinery was ensured by the servant population; some persons were obliged to take part in military expeditions or in the defence of castle-towns, others to perform various duties or, in the case of specialised services and crafts, to perform strictly defined specialised services or to supply certain farm produce, farm animals or articles of artisan manufacture.¹¹⁹

This model had been borrowed from the Carolingian state and its structure recalls the early-Carolingian state rather than the organisation of the later Carolingian monarchies. Doubtless the first encounter with it took place somewhere at the meeting point

¹¹⁷ *Kosmae Chronicon*, lib. II, cap. 15, p. 106.

¹¹⁸ The office of tribune is mentioned in Hungary in *Legenda Sancti Stephani, Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum...*, ed. Szentpétery, Budapest 1937, vol. I; in *Bohemia centurions* were mentioned by Kosmas, *Kosmae Chronicon*, Lib. I, cap. 5.

¹¹⁹ See K. Modzelewski, *La division autarchique du travail à l'échelle d'un État. L'organisation "ministériale" en Pologne médiévale*, "Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations", No. 6, November - December 1964, pp. 1125 - 1135.

of the Slav and Carolingian worlds; so the patterns should be looked for in Bavaria and the lands dependent on it i.e. in Carinthia, Sava Pannonia and the Eastern March as well as in Frankish Friuli.¹²⁰ The dependent Slav principalities whose rulers were called *comites* such as Blatno duchy in Pannonia and Croatian in Dalmatia, could be described as Frankish *comitates* of a sort implanted in the Slavic ground in the 9th century. The organisational set-up of the Croatian *comitatus-duchy* featured some of the offices known from the model described earlier, e.g. that of the palace (court) *supan* (*župan*), recorded in 892, and several *supans* who were court dignitaries but had different Latin titles besides *pincenarius* and *camerarius*.¹²¹ The model was also adopted from the Moravian state both by Hungary and Bohemia. The existence of such a model in the state ruled by the House of Moimir is confirmed by the fact that those two states borrowed the office of palace (court) *supan* and the organisation of servants.¹²² Another argument in favour of the existence of such a model of state organisation in Moravia is its reception by the Bulgarian state together with Christianity. Duke Boris divided Bulgaria into provinces ruled by *comites*.¹²³ The pattern of such an organisation could have been borrowed from Moravia as was the case with Slav writings. Early-Frankish in its origin, this model of state organisation in its Moravian version was adopted by the administration of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, but it underwent important changes. The building up of those three states proceeded in the 10th and early 11th centuries at a time, when the old Moravian model was under the influence of the Ottonian model of court organisation and territorial state structure.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ On the economic system of the royal and episcopal demesnes in Bavaria see W. Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. I, 1963.

¹²¹ *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. I, *Diplomata annarum 743 - 1100 continens*, Zagreb 1967, No. 3, pp. 416, No. 20, p. 20.

¹²² This subject has been treated more extensively by A. Gieysztor (*Urząd wojewodziński we wczesnych państwach słowiańskich w IX - XI w.* [*The Office of Voivode in Early Slav States in the 9th - 11th c.*], "Archeologia Polski", vol. XVI, 1971, pp. 317 - 325).

¹²³ T. Wasilewski, *Origine de l'organisation administrative des "comitatus" en Bulgarie médiévale*, "Études Balcaniques", 1978, No. 3, pp. 84 - 88.

¹²⁴ A. Gieysztor has emphasized the adoption in the 10th-11th centuries by Central European monarchies of the model of the Ottonian

These modifications are visible only in the organisation of the royal court. In both the Moravian and Croatian states the title of comes was reserved for the ruler, the court dignitaries being given it in exceptional cases only. Hence the court administrator had the title of court supan. The Slav equivalent of comes was *księdz* (prince, duke) or the approximate title of voivode granted to rulers.¹²⁵ The ruler of Zahumlje was as late as the 12th - 13th century styled comes or *knež* (duke) of Zahumlje.¹²⁶ From the 10th or the early 11th century, under the impact of relations prevailing at the court of the Ottos, the title of comes was given also to court dignitaries of the Hungarian kings and of Bohemian and Polish kings and dukes. Around 1056 the Bohemian duke Spitygniev granted court offices to his brothers: he put Konrad over the huntsmen, and made Otto the Handsome master of the bakers and cooks which meant that he had received the rank of *dapifer*.¹²⁷ The granting of these offices to members of the ruling dynasty, the duke's own brothers, shows that even that early court dignitaries were entitled to the designation of comes, the equivalent of the Slavic *księdz*. In 1156, in Ratisbon, the descendant of one of those princes, Ernest, son of Konrad, received the title of *Moraviensis comes*.¹²⁸ In Poland, in 1097 - 1098, one of the comites was *dapifer* Wojśław, guardian of the young Bolesław the Wrymouth, also styled "*comes Woyslaus*",¹²⁹ while "*comes Wseborius*"¹³⁰ was ca-

state's territorial organisation (*Kasztelanowie flandryjscy i polscy* [*Flemish and Polish Castellans*], in: *Studia historyczne*, Jubilee Book on the occasion of the 70th birth anniversary of Professor S. Arnold, Warszawa 1965, pp. 101 - 107). Cf. *En Pologne médiévale: problèmes du régime politique et de l'organisation administrative du X^e au XIII^e siècle*, "Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa", Vol. I, 1964, pp. 135 - 156. But it was merely the reception of elements modifying the basic Carolingian model which was probably used in the creation of castrum territories within the still Carolingian conception of provinces.

¹²⁵ Cf. H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski* ..., vol. III, p. 470.

¹²⁶ T. Wasilewski, *Miroslav, ks. humski* [*Miroslav, Duke of Hum*], in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. III, Wrocław 1967, pp. 262 - 263; cf. also M. Kos, *Vojvoda in knez u krajevih imena*, "Glasnik muzejskog društva ze Sloveniju" vol. XXIV, 1943, p. 80 f.; J. Šidak, *Knez*, in: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. V, 1962, p. 987.

¹²⁷ *Kosmae Chronicon*, lib. II, cap. XV, p. 106.

¹²⁸ *Cod. Boh.*, I, No. 175.

¹²⁹ *Galli Cronica*, lib. II, cap. 14, 16; cf. A. Bogucki, *Komes w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych* [*Comes in Polish Medieval Sources*], Warszawa 1972 p. 26.

¹³⁰ *Liber Fraternalitatis ac Liber mortuorum Abbatiae Sanctae Mariae Lubinensis*, MPH, s.n., vol. IX, 2, Warszawa 1976, pp. 10, 108.

merarius to Bolesław's son, Casimir. Thus, in Bohemia and Poland there existed a group of the highest officials composed primarily of *comites* of provinces as well as of court dignitaries and probably persons without court titles but operating within the central system of authority because of their membership of the duke's council or in virtue of some vague functions such as, for instance, that of tutor to the young prince, steward-villicus, etc. According to Kosmas, all "*comites Boemie*" belonged to the duke's council.¹⁸¹ Gallus Anonymus recorded that the legendary Siemomysł had summoned "*comitum aliorumque suorum principum*"¹⁸² while Bolesław the Brave had twelve permanent "*consiliarii*";¹⁸³ when listing his closest entourage, Gallus styled them "*duces*" or "*comites ac principes*".¹⁸⁴ In 1149, this ruling group was described as "*comites Polonici*" when listing the donors of endowments for the monastery of SS Mary and Vincent in Wrocław.¹⁸⁵ The palatine Sieciech was called "*comes Poloniae*" by Gallus Anonymus.¹⁸⁶ An identical title was given to Piotr Włostowic.¹⁸⁷ In other cases the same group of lords was called "*principes*". Both the titles can be found in the chronicle by Gallus Anonymus as synonyms or similar terms, both *principes* and *comites* being distinguished from plain *milites*. Bolesław the Brave, when receiving Otto III, drew up separately "*acies militum*" and "*acies principum*",¹⁸⁸ while Bolesław the Wrymouth distributed gifts "*in episcopis suis, in principibus, in cappelanis, in militibus*".¹⁸⁹ The best known source in which *principes terrae (Poloniae)* are shown as a group co-ruling the state is Pope Alexander's Bull of 1181 which approved the resolutions of the Łęczyca assembly.¹⁹⁰ In the document of comes

¹⁸¹ *Kosmae Chronicon*, pp. 29, 30, 170; cf. Bogucki, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁸² *Galli Cronica*, lib. I, cap. 4, p. 13.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, lib. I, cap. 13, p. 32.

¹⁸⁴ *Loc.cit.*

¹⁸⁵ *Cod. Sil.*, I, No. 25.

¹⁸⁶ *Galli Cronica*, lib. II, cap. 30.

¹⁸⁷ *Petrus Magnus comes totius Poloniae et pallaci Wratislaviensis, Cronica*, MPH III, 628. An earlier chronicle which originated in the 13th c. was probably titled *Chronica Petri comitis Poloniae*; see its recast edited by M. Plezia, MPH, n.s. II, 74 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Galli Cronica*, lib. I, cap. 6, p. 18.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, lib. III, cap. 25, p. 160.

¹⁹⁰ A. Gieysztor, *Nad statutem Łęczyckim 1180 r., Odnaleziony oryginal bulli Aleksandra III z 1181 r.* [Remarks on Statute of Łęczyca,

Eustace, approved in 1260 by Duke Bolesław the Pious, the same, certainly, group of dignitaries was described as "*comites terrae*".¹⁴¹ Single members of this class were alternatively called *principes* or *comites*. Piotr Włostowic, who is called "*comes palatinus*" in one document¹⁴² and just "*comes*"¹⁴³ in eight other, had the title of *princeps* in two 12th century chronicles by Wincenty Kadłubek¹⁴⁴ and Ortlieb.¹⁴⁵

The titles of *comes* and *princeps* were thus synonymous as two equivalent translations of one and the same old-Polish title of *księdz-ksiądz-ksiązę* (prince). In the state ruled by the first Piasts, this title was given to bishops and prelates who held a position similar to that of *principes-comites Poloniae*. Both these Latin titles were the counterparts of the Slavic prince throughout the lands of the Slavs. On the other hand, the Polish ruler (*dux Poloniae*) was probably called Grand Duke or perhaps even king as was the case with Mieszko III.

A similar significance of the title of *comes* as the equivalent of the title of prince was recorded by Gallus Anonymus who noted that the *comes* of Wrocław, whose name was Magnus, had "*nomen ducatus*". The title of Magnus was then in the old-Polish language *księdz* of Wrocław, while the province ruled by him was called *księżenie* that is duchy. The administrative unit which Thietmar described as "*pagus Silensis*" must then have been the Silesian duchy towards the end of the 11th century. The whole state, on the other hand, was termed land and, possibly, kingdom (*terra, regnum*).

A trace of the existence of a ruling class which, besides the duke, was described by the same title can be found in medieval sources which record a relatively large number of place-names of

1180. *The Recovered Bull of Alexander III of 1181*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 181 - 207.

¹⁴¹ *Cod. Maioris Pol.*, I, No. 385, No. 387.

¹⁴² *Cod. Sil.*, I, ed. Maleczyński, No. 26 (1149 - 1150).

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, I, No. 10 (1110), No. 17 (1144 - 1153), No. 11 (1145), No. 25 (1149), No. 35 (1155), No. 68 (before 1193), No. 69 (1193), No. 70 (1193).

¹⁴⁴ *Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum*, MPH II, p.

¹⁴⁵ *Ortliebi zwifaltensis ex Chronicon, lib. II: Translatio manus S. Stephani*, ed. A. Bielowski, MPH II, 2-3; and *Die zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliibs und Bertholds*, ed. E. König, K.O. Müller, Stuttgart-Berlin 1941, p. 124.

the possessive type derived from that title such as Książ, Księżę, Księżno, or of patronymic type like Księżenice or Księżinice. Such localities were private property as early as the 12th century. According to the *Great Poland Chronicle*, Książ Wielki in Little Poland was the property of comes Piotr Włostowic of Książ (“comes Petrus Wlostides de Kszansz”).¹⁴⁶ Another Książ was near Strzelno,¹⁴⁷ in the 12th and early 13th centuries it belonged to several successive representatives of principes-comites who were referred to in documents as comites.

The decline of castle-towns administered by comites as centres of principalities-provinces and their replacement by the more numerous castellanies headed by castellans-supans followed by the disappearance of principes-comites Poloniae who had been replaced by dukes of provinces, caused the disappearance of the titles of princeps and książę in relation to lay dignitaries; another consequence was the change in the meaning of the title of comes which became the equivalent of *dominus* as the counterpart of the Slav *župan* (*supan*). But these changes came later than the time scope of the present article which presents the structure of the administrative organisation of the Polish state up to the mid-12th century. The origin of castellan organisation will be the subject of another article.

In summing up the results of research, we see that the basic unit of territorial management of the early-Piast state up to the middle of the 12th century was the district called *pagus*, *provincia*, and in the old-Polish language *księstwo*. When the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus was being written, that is in early 12th century, there were sixteen of them in Poland without the Gdańsk Pomerania. Among the capitals of provinces were Cracow, Wiślica and Sandomierz in Little Poland, Wrocław, Opole and Głogów in Silesia, Gniezno, Poznań and Kalisz in Great Poland, Spycymierz and Łęczyca in central Poland, Kruszwica, Włocławek, Płock and Czersk or Grójec in Kujawy and Mazovia. We have distin-

¹⁴⁶ *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, cap. 28, MPH, s.n. VIII, 40; cf. M. Friedberg, *Ród Łabędziów* [The Łabędź Family], “Rocznik Towarzystwa Historycznego”, vol. VII, 1926, p. 59 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Dlotovo quod nominatur Knase*, next to it Kniaginice is mentioned. *Cod. Maioris Pol.*, I, No. 84 (1215).

gished them on the basis of the term by which the centre of each province was described i.e. *urbs*, *civitas*, *oppidum*, *sedes regni*, rarely *castrum*. It was headed by *comes provinciae* also called *praefectus*, and *książę* in the native language. The capitals of provinces were distinguished by the existence of a whole complex of military settlements, often ethnically foreign, and of service villages as well as the existence of a developed administration of the province headed by the first deputy of *comes provinciae*, called *tribunus*. The survival of the relics of this organisation up to the 13th century and toponomastic evidence make it possible to distinguish comes-ruled castle-towns from the later castellan castra which began to appear in mid-12th century due to the division of provinces into castellanies. Next to capitals of provinces there also existed castle-towns administered by *comites* on the borders and defence lines; they were headed by castle-town *comites* and *tribuni*, and had also other elements of military and economic administration proper to provinces. They encompassed frontier and defensive castra on the line of the Odra in which *tribuni* and, sporadically, standard bearers and masters of the hunt could be found as late as the 13th century. They were Niemcza, Bardo, Otmuchów, Bytom on the Odra, Krosno, Santok, Dobrzyń, Płońsk, Nasielsk and Lublin, and perhaps Nakło and Wizna. The organisation of provinces and comes-administered castra was replaced, beginning with mid-12th century, with the castellan organisation following the emergence of ducal provinces.

(Translated by Krystyna Kęplicz)