

Grzegorz
Myśliwski

Człowiek średniowiecza wobec czasu i przestrzeni



Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka

Grzegorz Myśliwski

Człowiek średniowiecza
wobec czasu i przestrzeni
(Mazowsze od XII do poł. XVI wieku)

Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka

Na okładce
Obraz Henryka Wańka *Mgła*

Projekt graficzny
Janusz Gaworski

Korekta
Wacława Myśliwska

Copyright by © Grzegorz Myśliwski 1998
Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka 1998

Wydanie pierwsze
Warszawa 1999

Książka dofinansowana
przez Komitet Badań Naukowych

Druk
Zakłady Graficzne ATEXT Gdańsk

ISBN 83-86117-24-9

Spis treści

Wstęp / II

Rozdział 1 · Przestrzeń – zagadnienia wstępne / 15

- 1.1. Kategoria przestrzeni i jej klasyfikacje / 15
- 1.2. Typologia działań ludzkich wobec przestrzeni i jej definicja / 17

Rozdział 2 · Granice / 23

- 2.1. Pojęcie granicy i jej typologie / 23
- 2.2. Granice zewnętrzne Mazowsza / 25
- 2.3. Granice lokalne / 40

Rozdział 3 · Miary przestrzeni / 68

- 3.1. Miary długości / 68
 - 3.1.1. MIARY ZALEŻNE I POCHODNE OD ROZMIARÓW LUDZKIEGO CIAŁA / 68
 - 3.1.2. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD SIŁY MIĘŚNI LUDZKICH I ZWIERZĘCYCH ORAZ PARAMETRÓW I TECHNICZNYCH MOŻLIWOŚCI WYKORZYSTYWANYCH NARZĘDZI / 73
 - 3.1.3. MIARY POCHODNE OD PRZYRZĄDÓW MIERNICZYCH / 81
 - 3.1.4. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD CZASU POKONYWANIA OKREŚLONEJ DROGI / 83
 - 3.1.5. SPOSOBY OKREŚLANIA DŁUGOŚCI ZALEŻNE OD LOKALNEJ TOPOGRAFII / 84
- 3.2. Miary powierzchni / 85
 - 3.2.1. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD ZDOLNOŚCI WYTWÓRCZYCH RODZINY ROLNICZEJ / 85

- 3.2.2. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD OBJĘTOŚCI / 89
- 3.2.3. MIARY POCHODNE OD CZASU PRACY / 93
- 3.2.4. MIARY NIEJEDNORODNE / 95
- 3.2.5. ŁAN / 95
- 3.3. Pomiar i miernicy w społeczeństwie mazowieckim / 100

Rozdział 4 · Wartościowanie przestrzeni / 105

- 4.1. Główne typy miejsc w lokalnej przestrzeni Mazowsza / 105
 - 4.1.1. MIEJSCA WŁADZY / 107
 - 4.1.2. MIEJSCA PUBLICZNE / 116
 - 4.1.3. MIEJSCA PRYWATNE / 140
- 4.2. Hierarchie miejsc–typów wedle wartości prawnej i znaczenia społecznego / 151

Rozdział 5 · Świadomość przestrzeni / 159

- 5.1. Przestrzeń lokalna i jej postrzeganie w mazowieckich społecznościach miejscowych / 159
- 5.2. Horyzonty geograficzne Mazowszan i czynniki poznawania przestrzeni ponadlokalnej / 172
 - 5.2.1. PRZESTRZEŃ POZNANA BEZPOŚREDNIO (DOŚWIADCZONA) / 173
 - 5.2.2. PRZESTRZEŃ POZNANA POŚREDNIO / 185
- 5.3. Pojmowanie przestrzeni i jej terminologia / 193

Rozdział 6 · Czas – zagadnienia wstępne / 197

Rozdział 7 · Rytm czasu / 205

- 7.1. Rytm astronomiczno-przyrodniczy / 205
- 7.2. Rytm gospodarczo-skarbowy / 206
 - 7.2.1. OKRES XII – OK. POŁ. XIV W. (OKRES PRAWA KSIĄŻĘCEGO I IMMUNITETU) / 209
 - 7.2.1.1. Daniny o stałym czasie składania / 209
 - 7.2.1.1.1. Daniny w bydło / 209, – 7.2.1.1.2. Daniny w miodzie / 211, – 7.2.1.1.3. Daniny w zbożu / 213, – 7.2.1.1.4. Obrząz / 215, – 7.2.1.1.5. Godne / 215, – 7.2.1.1.6. Inne świadczenia / 217
 - 7.2.1.2. Posługi o stałym czasie wykonywania / 219
 - 7.2.1.2.1. Sezonowa renowacja umocnień grodowych / 219, – 7.2.1.2.2. Opieka nad sokołami i bobrami / 220
 - 7.2.1.3. Obowiązki o nieprzewidywalnym czasie realizacji / 220
 - 7.2.1.3.1. Posługi i świadczenia na rzecz podróżującego księcia i towarzyszących mu służb / 220, – 7.2.1.3.2. Posługi na rzecz pozostałych służb książęcych / 223,
 - 7.2.1.3.3. Nieregularne posługi typu militarne / 224

- 7.2.2. RYTM GOSPODARCZO-SKARBOWY W XII – POŁ. XIV W.: PODSUMOWANIE / 226
- 7.2.3. OKRES OD POŁ. XIV DO POŁ. XVI W. / 233
 - 7.2.3.1. Obciążenia wynikłe z zależności feudalnej / 233
 - 7.2.3.1.1. Opłaty i daniny o ustalonym czasie uiszczania / 233, – 7.2.3.1.2. Posługi o ustalonym, jak i o nieoznaczonym czasie realizacji / 238
 - 7.2.3.2. Obciążenia na rzecz władcy i czas ich realizacji / 243
 - 7.2.3.3. Świadczenia na rzecz Kościoła i czas ich realizacji / 245
- 7.2.4. RYTM GOSPODARCZO-SKARBOWY W POŁ. XIV –
– POŁ. XVI W.: PODSUMOWANIE / 253
- 7.3. Rytm gospodarczo-handlowy / 256
- 7.4. Rytm sądowy / 278

Rozdział 8 · Miary czasu / 301

- 8.1. Początek roku / 301
- 8.2. Cykliczne miary czasu i ich ruchome odmiany / 307
 - 8.2.1. PODZIAŁ PÓŁROCZNY / 307
 - 8.2.2. PODZIAŁY KWARTALNE / 307
 - 8.2.2.1. Pory roku – uwagi wstępne / 307
 - 8.2.2.1.1. Wiosna / 309, – 8.2.2.1.2. Lato / 313, – 8.2.2.1.3. Jesień / 314, – 8.2.2.1.4. Zima / 317
 - 8.2.2.2. Suche Dni / 319
 - 8.2.2.3. Kwartał stały / 319
 - 8.2.2.4. Kwartał ruchomy / 320
 - 8.2.3. PODZIAŁ MIESIĘCZNY / 321
 - 8.2.3.1. Miesiące słowiańskie / 321
 - 8.2.3.2. Miesiące łacińskie i ich podział / 324
 - 8.2.3.3. Miesiąc ruchomy / 325
 - 8.2.4. ODMIANY TYGODNIA I JEJ PODZIAŁ / 325
 - 8.2.4.1. Tydzień kościelny / 326
 - 8.2.4.2. Tydzień słowiański / 327
 - 8.2.4.3. Tydzień rzymski (planetarny) / 328
 - 8.2.4.4. Tydzień ruchomy / 329
 - 8.2.5. DOBA I JEJ PODZIAŁY – UWAGI WSTĘPNE / 329
 - 8.2.5.1. Podziały oparte na zjawiskach przyrodniczych i powtarzalnych działaniach ludzkich / 330
 - 8.2.5.2. Podziały oparte na sztucznych jednostkach systemowych i narzędzia ich odliczania / 334
- 8.3. Zdarzeniowe miary czasu / 339
 - 8.3.1. UWAGI WSTĘPNE / 339
 - 8.3.2. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD FAKTÓW BIOLOGICZNYCH / 340
 - 8.3.3. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD DZIAŁAŃ GOSPODARCZYCH / 341
 - 8.3.4. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD FAKTÓW PRAWNYCH / 342

- 8.3.5. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD FAKTÓW KRYMINALNYCH / 343
- 8.3.6. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD FAKTÓW POLITYCZNO-ADMINISTRACYJNYCH / 344
- 8.3.7. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD FAKTÓW MILITARNYCH / 346
- 8.3.8. MIARY ZALEŻNE OD EPIDEMII, KLĘSK ŻYWIOŁOWYCH I DOTKLIWYCH ANOMALII POGODOWYCH / 347

Rozdział 9 · Wartościowanie czasu / 351

- 9.1. Cykl świąteczno-postny w świetle odgórnych postanowień / 351
- 9.2. Społeczna recepcja kalendarza kościelnego i okresów postnych / 368
- 9.3. Wartościowanie czasu wewnątrzdobowego / 388
 - 9.3.1. DZIEŃ / 388
 - 9.3.2. Noc / 389

Rozdział 10 · Świadomość temporalna / 393

- 10.1. Dawność, nowość i zasięg pamięci / 394
- 10.2. Czas przyszły, jego znaczenie i zasięg / 418
- 10.3. Bezpośrednia refleksja a terminologia temporalna / 426

Zakończenie / 433

Wykaz skrótów / 437

Bibliografia / 441

Summary / 459

SUMMARY

Medieval Man toward Time and Space (The Masovia Region from the 12th till the mid-16th centuries)

The present work considers space and time not only as objects of research but also as analytical categories which enable the complex study of the mentalities and culture in past societies. This study relates to Masovia, the peripheral region of medieval and early modern Poland. The province lies in the basin of the middle Vistula River. In the Middle Ages Masovia bordered in the north on areas inhabited by pagan Prussian and Jadzwing tribes (which were subjugated by Teutonic Order in the middle of the thirteenth cent.); by the Lithuanian and Russian principalities in the northwest and east; on Little Poland (*Małopolska*) in the South; and, finally, on the provinces of Łęczyca, Great Poland (*Wielkopolska*) and Cuiavia in the Southwest and West. The region under study is an attractive field of research because of some distinctive features of its history within Poland as a whole. Masovia experienced a long period of political independence (1138-1526) and a low degree of socio-economic development between the mid-thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries; hence a strong degree of continuity in its social structures, law, culture and mentalities. Furthermore, the province was composed of two main parts that were very different from each other with regard to socio-economic and cultural development: western Masovia had been colonized much earlier, and was therefore relatively densely populated and urbanized; eastern Masovia (characteristically called «forested») was colonized as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The sources examined include: charters; compilations of customary law; ecclesiastical and ducal statutes; records of noble, town and church courts; acts of the beekeepers' court; records of chapter sessions; descriptions of ducal as well as ecclesiastical demesnes; selected books of the ducal chancery register; the book of a town council (Old Warsaw); calendars and mnemonic systems of reckoning dates called *cizjo-*

jans; two manuals of metrology and estate management; selected poems, and one hagiographic work (concerning Werner, a bishop of Płock). The Masovian evidence is supplemented by comparable details from other regions of Poland (including results of ethnographic investigations) as well as from Western Europe and from traditional societies of Asia and Africa.

The structure of the work follows the main assumption that changes in the organization and comprehension of time among the lay population of Masovia were conditioned not only by psycho-cultural transition but also by a prior transformation of the material world. Hence, the work is divided into two parallel parts that explore several interrelated questions concerning space and time among the Masovians: (a) their measurement (metrology and chronology) (chapters 3, 8); (b) the valuation of space and time, including the question of reception of the ecclesiastical calendar (chapters 4, 9); (c) the view of space (both in terms of local territory and of geographical horizons) and of time (that is, the attitude toward the past and the future), including also more detailed issues of terminology, and of direct reflection about time (chapters 5, 10). Chapters 1 and 6, respectively, provide my basic working definitions of categories of space and time. Chapters 2 and 7 raise two subjects that are centrally important for the study of the categories of space and time – the boundary, and the rhythm of time.

The changes in the categories of time and space in medieval and early modern Masovia were multidimensional. Having lived within a natural environment, and within a natural rhythm of time, medieval Masovians worked out a new order of time and space. During the period under study the Masovian territory was reshaped: it was cleared, settled, organized into villages and towns, and brought under cultivation. From the twelfth century onward, the process of privatization of land began, and was accelerated by the colonization under German law since the second half of fourteenth century. As a result, the first man-made boundaries began to be placed as early as the first half of the twelfth century. Their number increased immensely in the late Middle Ages as a consequence of settlement movements that ran across each other, the breakup of undivided family estates, the expansion of land trade, and the like. The early framework of stellar and natural time became diversified by new rhythms of the annual cycle of payment of rent and labor, of weekly fairs and of annual markets; and was further complicated by a new rhythm – the judicial sessions of the courts of the nobles, which were held every few weeks. The natural temporal reference points that depended on annual anomalies in the weather were replaced by exact and constant dates. Among them St. Martin's Day (November 11) gained the highest importance.

In the course of the late Middle Ages the land survey enabled increasing precision in the measurement of space. An expanding list of kinds of objects were measured: not only distance and area in general, but also town and church walls, bridges, peasant huts and adjoining pantries, single pieces of timber, grain of various cereals, hay, nets, strings of pearls, lines, and roads. Land surface was increasingly measured in terms of an abstract unit of *tan* (*mansus*), introduced by colonization under German law. Analogous changes took place in the measurement of time. Time began to be divided into shorter and more numerous units, which included: the week in its

quantitative version (i.e. without any fixed outset); the new Christian holidays; and the practice of marking constant beginnings of the seasons. Furthermore, periods of prescription began to be expressed in years, rather than in numbers of generations.

Likewise, categories of space were diversified by the emergence of new types of places: man-made boundaries, churches, taverns, market places, houses, and the like. Masovian law and social practice reflect a hierarchy among these types of places. Churches, graveyards, ducal courts, and the main roads elicited the highest respect. Also notable is the high rank of a private house in the legal system. On the other hand some types of places held surprisingly low position in Masovian law despite their social importance. A tavern was thought very low in spite of its crucial role in socio-economic life of medieval society. Similarly, although the private boundary and the mill became socially and economically important during the period under study, that importance was not reflected in Masovian law. This discrepancy derived from the law-givers' ideological predisposition. They underestimated those places of socio-economic importance, which had no positive religious connotation.

Simultaneously, the organization of time was partly transformed. The introduction of new feast days and fast days diversified the spectrum of time. According to clerical statutes the faithful were to observe about 12 days per year in the twelfth century, but between 86 and 103 days per year (depending on the year and the diocese) in the fifteenth. However, reception of ecclesiastical regulations was slow and superficial. On the average, Masovian townspeople really knew approximately 17 Christian holidays. However, the data vary – for instance, the inhabitants of one town (Old Warsaw) were aware of 44 feast days. The Masovian peasants knew no more than 10 Christian feast days.

Crucial changes in spatial and temporal consciousness occurred among lay members of Masovian society – especially among the nobility and townspeople. In the period under study the perception of space reflects a certain increase in individualism, shown especially by the increasing breakup of undivided family estates, and the resulting rise of boundary litigation. The litigation was an opportunity to express and to experience personal ties to one's ancestors, and to one's inherited plot of land possessed «from time immemorial». The medieval Masovian functioned in a more complicated structure of local territory that influenced his consciousness. Despite the breakup of neighborhood communities, the sense of local ties between the inhabitants of neighboring villages remained. It was supplemented by membership in the parish community that proliferated in eastern Masovia at the turn of Middle Ages and the early modern period. From the twelfth century onward, the geographical lore of the Masovians began to develop, thanks to their own migrations (participation in settlement movements abroad, local wars and the late crusades, pilgrimages, international trade, studies at foreign universities, diplomatic missions), and to the arrival in Masovia of foreigners, and with them of products from several regions of Europe. Prussia, England, Spain, Rome, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as the territories ruled by Ottoman Turks and pagan Mongols, outline the range of expanding horizons in the society of Masovia – though with considerable differences across social rank.

Temporal consciousness developed in the period under study. Like most medieval societies – called «memorial cultures» for good reason – the Masovians respected the past. Custom played a big part in their behavior and view of the world, in their attitude to law and to alienation of land. For example, even at the end of the period under study, time of prescription was sometimes defined in terms of generations rather than years. However, thanks to the economic breakthrough the Masovians directed their interest toward the future without depreciation of past. They became aware of the existence and the passage of time. The time of tax concession given to each group of settlers to enable them to organize their households pressed them to keep their eyes on a future more distant than one or two years and to measure that future with precision. The period of the land gage functioned similarly. Officially, the time of prescription was shortened and defined solely in terms of years. Moreover, the Masovians learned to name time with abstract expressions, above all with the vernacular word for time itself (*czas*). Finally, one Masovian author referred to the variability of custom as something normal, not morally suspect.

The above changes had several causes: socio-economic, including the emergence and development of private land property, the dynamic settlement under German law, and the increase of international trade; psycho-cultural, entailing Christianization, the development of parochial organization, and with it of primary schools and consequently literacy. Almost none of these changes occurred rapidly, or entirely displaced earlier tradition. Quite the contrary, in many fields old ideas and customs coexisted with new inventions. One example is a permanent tendency to base local boundaries on natural features of terrain even in the case of small plots of land. The old significant land measures served well in conjunction with their new, more abstract counterparts. Even some of the supposedly abstract units were used as significant measures. For example, the *tan* sometimes meant the arable (of a variable area) belonging to a single household, not an abstract unit of land surface. Furthermore, land became a commodity only to a limited degree. Numerous references prove the attachment of medieval Masovians to their private plots of land, which were perceived as an inheritance (*hereditas*). Despite the development of international trade, and despite many ecclesiastical and ducal regulations, many markets were held on Sundays. Time continued to be officially marked by events – the beginnings of the seasons were defined by natural and astronomical phenomena (ascertained through a controlled revival of the pagan rite of the spring equinox), rather than by calendar data. Despite development of literacy, old peasants continued to serve as sources of social memory. The power of tradition came from the usefulness of old solutions. There were no ideological obstacles to use them along with new ones.

Thus, society of the medieval and early modern Masovia offers the exceptionally rich field of study also in terms of socio-cultural continuity and change.