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A SWORD SCABBARD CHAPE FROM EXCAVATIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF CHERNIHIV'S "DYTYNETS" (FORTRESS)¹

Abstract: The article discusses a sword scabbard chape found during the 2017 excavations at the Chernihiv Fortress. The stratigraphic dating of the find is determined within the broad framework of the last quarter of the 11th – early 14th centuries, however, the nature of the accompanying materials allows us to narrow this date down to the 12th–13th centuries. The chape belongs to Type V:2c after Peter Paulsen's typology. This type is traditionally regarded as characteristic of the territories inhabited in the Early Middle Ages by the Balts, first of all, the Curonians, where such chapes were produced. At the same time, it is obvious that similar chapes (all variants of Type V2 after Paulsen) were quite widespread in the territory of Old Rus'. Moreover, there are some reasons to suppose that in Rus' such chapes were not only actively used, but may have also been produced by local craftsmen.

Keywords: Old Rus', Chernihiv, sword scabbard chape, Balts, local production.

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Introduction

Chernihiv was one of the main centres of medieval Rus' (Fig. 1a). As evidenced by archaeological materials, the stronghold emerged no later than the 10th century. It had a complex spatial layout (Fig. 1b), which included several defensive lines (Chernenko 2022, 48). During several centuries its area dynamically increased and by the beginning of the 13th century it exceeded 300 ha (Sytyi 2013, 16).

Numerous military incidents related to the medieval period of Chernihiv's history are quite well covered in written sources. According to chronicles, from the beginning of the 11th century it was the centre of a large administrative-territorial unit – the Chernihiv Principality, which consolidated most of the lands along the left bank of the Dnieper River (within the boundaries of the present-day Chernihiv and Kyiv regions of Ukraine; the Homel' region of Belarus; the Briansk, Kursk, Riazan and Moscow regions of the Russian Federation). The rulers of the principality belonged to the senior branch of Rurikid family (representatives of the

Davydovich and Olgovich families). They struggled for primacy in Rus' with variable success, initiating numerous military conflicts (Gorskiĭ 1996, 7–9, 23–25; Zaitsev 2009, 60–71, 117–127). During this struggle, Chernihiv was repeatedly subjected to attacks resulting in massacres of its population, but retained its capital status and importance. The power of the local rulers was undermined only in the early 13th century as a result of failures in the struggle with Danylo Romanovich. This led to the disintegration of the Chernihiv Principality and the decline of its capital. Consequently, references to Chernihiv practically disappeared from written sources (Rusyna 1998a, 10–11). Apparently, in the 1240s it came under the power of the Mongols, and from the 15th century it was included in the sphere of influence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Gorskiĭ 1996, 30–31, 35; Rusyna 1998a, 53–54; 1998b, 30–32).

Archaeological research in Chernihiv started in the late 19th century. By now, systematic excavations in different parts of the city have

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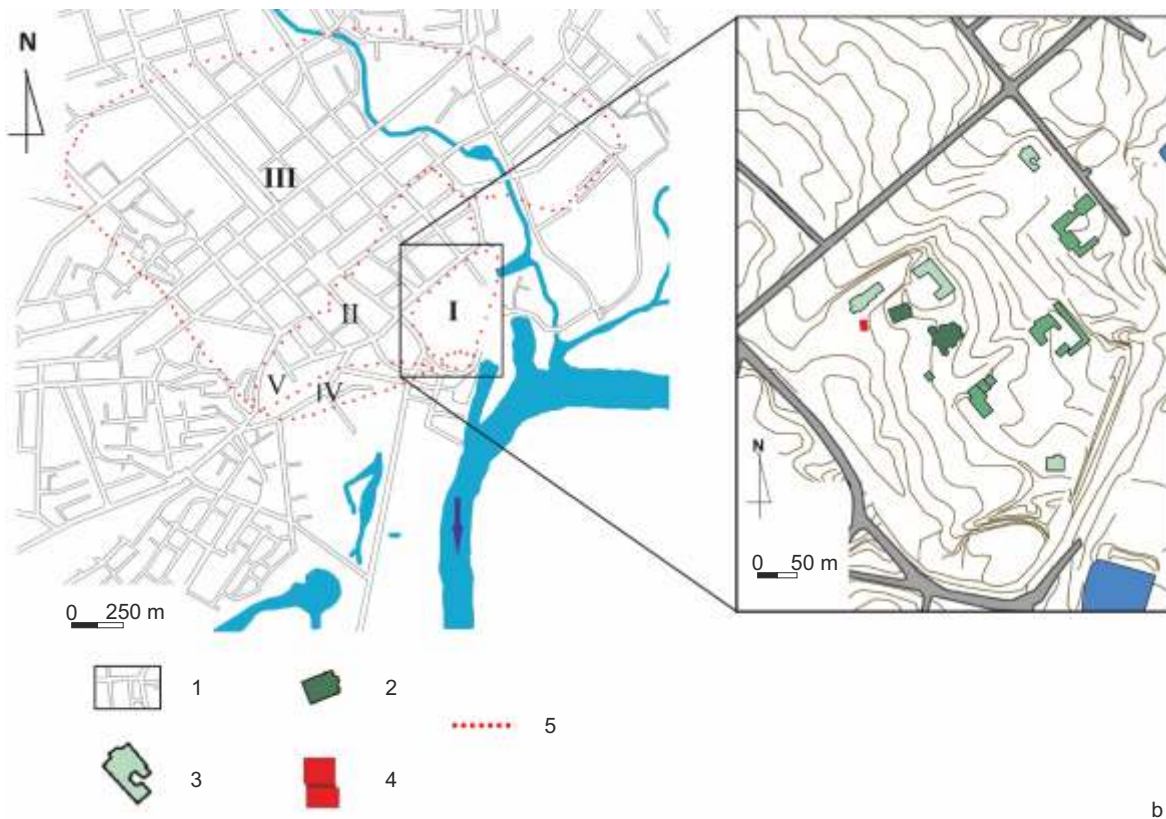


Fig. 1. Chernihiv: a – on the map of Eastern Europe; b – plan of medieval town with 10th–13th century stronghold sectors (I – Dytynets [Fortress]; II – Okolny Hrad; III – Predgorodye; IV – Podil; V – Yelitsa mound; 1 – present-day streets; 2 – uncovered buildings from the 11th–12th centuries; 3 – buildings from the 18th–20th centuries; 4 – location of trenches from 2017; 5 – ramparts and ditches from the 11th–13th centuries) (a – processing V. Makouskaya; b – drawing O. Chernenko)

Ryc. 1. Czernihów: a – na mapie Europy Wschodniej; b – plan średniowiecznego Czernihowa z podziałem na części grodu w X–XIII w. (I – Dytyniec; II – Okolny Hrad; III – Przedgródzie; IV – Padół; V – Jelecka góra; 1 – współczesne ulice; 2 – odkryte budynki z XI–XII w.; 3 – budynki z XVIII–XX w.; 4 – miejsca wykopów w 2017 r.; 5 – wały i rowy z XI–XIII w.) (a – oprac. V. Makouskaya; b – ryc. O. Chernenko)

uncovered at least 30 000 m² of territory (including up to 13 000 m² in the area of the stronghold) and more than 250 burial mounds of the 10th–11th centuries (Chernenko 2022, 48–49). This exceeds by far the extent of investigations in most other strongholds of Eastern Europe. However, the results of this research are only partially published and lack an in-depth discussion.

The history of Chernihiv, rich in military incidents (sieges, assaults and massacres), allows us to expect numerous finds of medieval weapons. However, in reality they are extremely rare in archaeological layers of the stronghold. The following example is illustrative. During the research of Olena Chernenko and Andriy Kazakov in 2005–2006 in the territory of the Chernihiv fortress in trenches with the total area of 1500 m², weapons were represented by only 15 arrowheads of the 10th–13th centuries (Chernenko, Kazakov 2006a, 11, 12, 33; 2006b, 11, 19, 25, 39; 2006c, 5, 25; 2006d, 4). In one case remains of defensive armour (armour plate and fragments of mail) of the late 12th – mid-13th centuries were found (Chernenko, Kazakov 2006b, 25). This is despite the fact that horizons of the 10th–13th centuries in the area of research were quite well preserved and their total thickness reached 1.5 m. Such a rare occurrence of weapons in cultural layers of medieval Chernihiv can be explained by the fact that after hostilities, life in the stronghold continued and the weapons left at the place of combat were collected and reused.

It should also be noted that the few items of medieval weaponry discovered in Chernihiv are still only partially published. An exception are finds from the excavations of Chernihiv barrows (Chorna Mohyla, the barrows on the Boldyna Hora hill and others: Rybakov 1949, 23–28, 35–36; Kirpichnikov 1966a, 29, 33; 1971, 24–25; Androshchuk, Zotsenko 2012, 285–288; Kainov 2022). However, their chronology does not go further than the second half of the 10th – early 11th century. In this regard, the sword scabbard chape discovered during the 2017 research is of particular interest.

Circumstances of discovery and stratigraphic date

The sword scabbard chape was discovered during the research by one of the authors of this paper in the territory of the Chernigov fortress (Fig. 1b:I). In medieval written sources it was called "dnesny grad" ("днешний град") (*Polnoe...* 2001a, 140) or "detinets" ("детинец") (*Polnoe...* 2001b, 315). In modern historiography in the context of studies of the medieval period of the city's history the name "Dytynets" is traditionally used.

The Chernihiv fortress occupied a ledge of the high (up to 15 m) terrace of the Desna River, bounded to the east by its tributary, the Stryzhen River. Its spatial layout was close to a triangle with sides of 500 m (from the east), 450 m (from the north-west) and 400 (from the south-west) respectively. The territory of the fortress was surrounded by wood and earth fortifications in the second half of the 10th – beginning of the 11th centuries (Chernenko 2022, 81–85). The fortifications of the fortress were repeatedly reconstructed, but their general layout remained unchanged until their liquidation in the early 19th century. At that time, when they lost their military significance, the ramparts were pulled down and the ditches were filled (Bondar 2014, 42–51). As a result, only a small remnant of the rampart has been preserved in the present-day land relief.

In 2017, the research was conducted in the western part of the fortress (Fig. 1b:4), in the area adjacent to the ensemble of monumental buildings of the 11th–12th centuries (Transfiguration and Saints Borys & Hlib Cathedrals, palace-type buildings and gates). This ensemble, partially surviving to our time, is interpreted by researchers as a complex of princely (Bogusevich, Kholostenko 1952) or Episcopal (Kovalenko 1990, 19–20) court. From the 1620s (the time of Chernihiv's incorporation into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) the monastery of Saints Borys and Hlib was located here, and it existed until the liquidation of the Chernihiv fortress. In the 19th – early 20th centuries this was the territory of the city's Cathedral Square (Chernenko, Bondar' 2015). Currently, it is a park area. The latter circumstance resulted in good preservation of cultural layers, as the horizons of the Middle Ages and Modern Times were not damaged by 20th – early 21th century development works.

Two trenches with a total area of 50 m² were excavated during the 2017 research. The thickness of the cultural layers here reached 2 m. On the basis of observations on the stratigraphy of the pits it was possible to identify four horizons associated with the successive stages of construction of this section of the fortress during the 11th–18th centuries.

The sword scabbard chape comes from Trench 1. Its discovery was connected with the research of the horizon that limited from above by deposits containing fragments of pottery (including amphorae) dated to the 10th–15th centuries, plinth bricks, pieces of slate slabs for architectural works, knives, stone spindle whorls, fragments of glass bracelets and rings and other small artefacts typical of the second half of the 14th–15th centuries towns layers of South Rus'. The initial moment of formation of these

deposits was marked by a building with a cubic heating oven made of reused plinth bricks dated to the late 12th – early 13th centuries (Chernenko, Novyk 2019a, 363–364).

The lower boundary of the horizon in which the chape was found was determined by the deposits of construction waste and lime, formed as a result of levelling of a lime kiln datable to the 1070s. It functioned during the reconstruction of the annexes of the Transfiguration Cathedral and by the time of excavations it was partially preserved (Chernenko 2018).

The deposits of the horizon to which the sword scabbard chape belonged, reached a thickness of 0.8 m. It was formed by layers of grey loam of different shades with lenses of wood decay and clay. The lower boundary of this layer was marked by the remains of a large (1.9 m in diameter; preserved to a height of 0.4 m) clay oven. Finds of artefacts related to glass production testify to its possible manufacturing function. These finds included fragments of miniature open-form ceramic crucibles (their inner surfaces are covered with glass-like mass); fragments of ingots of transparent homogeneous (without air bubbles and internal impurities) light-yellow glass; large spring scissors with sickle-shaped protrusions in the upper part of their blades (intended for shaping glass products in the process of manufacture) (Chernenko, Novyk 2019a, 364–365). Based on this, we can assume that there was a glassmaking workshop with an incomplete production cycle here – workshop of Type 2 after Roy Newton (1980).

It can be assumed that the oven was levelled and covered with a mound of soil, which can be associated with a new stage of construction works in this part of the Chernihiv fortress. The layer of the mound was saturated with various archaeological materials (Chernenko, Novyk 2019a; 2019b).

These are, first of all, fragments of the 11th – early 13th centuries wheeled/wheel-made? pottery, including fragments of amphorae of types which, according to Vladimir Koval', are represented at Eastern European sites in the period from the 12th to the 15th centuries (Koval' 2010, 155–157), various iron artefacts, including an axe of the 10th – first half of the 13th century, belonging to Type V after Anatoliĭ Kirpichnikov's classification (Kirpichnikov 1966b, 36–37), glass (beads, fragments of bracelets, rings and vessels for lampadophores, as well as blue glass goblets with painting), items made of bone (a knife grip scale, see Diadechko 2018) and stone (spindle whorls). A special group of finds consists of fragments of imported tableware (at least five forms of dishes and plates) made of faience and semi-faience (kashin) from Iran and

the Middle East. By shape and decoration, they belong to artefacts produced in the 12th–13th centuries (Chernenko 2021, 99–101). This period was also the time of vivid importation of these luxury artefacts into the territory of Eastern Europe (Koval' 2010, 52, 54, 64, 66–67, 69). Thus, among the archaeological finds that are present in the deposits of this horizon, there are also artefacts associated with the life of the stronghold's elite. It is very likely that these finds can be associated with the territory of the "princely court" located in the immediate vicinity of the 2017 research area.

Unfortunately, the chronology of the deposits of this horizon can be determined only approximately within rather wide limits. Stratigraphically, it is the period between the last quarter of the 11th century (the time of formation of the underlying horizon) and the beginning of the 14th century (the time of formation of the horizon above). The nature of the discovered materials allows us to narrow this date down to the 12th–13th centuries. It should be noted that among the forms of ceramic vessels represented in the deposits of this horizon, there are no forms of pottery whose appearance in the territory of Southern Rus' falls within the second half of the 13th – and the 14th century (Beliaeva 1982, 76). However, this testifies rather to the time of formation of the levelling layer than to the time of levelling itself.

Description, typology and possible analogies

At the moment of discovery, the sword scabbard chape was covered with a thick layer of corrosion (Fig. 2:a). In order to prevent its further destruction, immediately after its removal from the ground it was transferred to the conservation laboratory of the National Architecture-Historical Reserve "Ancient Chernihiv". The conservation of the chape was carried out by the artist-restorer Pavlo Solobai. The conservation process included mechanical and chemical cleaning of the artefact, with subsequent stabilisation in an alkaline solution and application of a protective coating. The process revealed that the metal core of the sword chape was well preserved, but the surface loss of metal (including cast decoration) as a result of degradation was significant.

Thus, by now the following damage can be observed: one upper edge bar is completely lost (Fig. 2:b), the other one is partially preserved (its upper part is missing). In addition, a palmette is lost on the end of one of the frontal projections. Finally, there is a hole measuring 0.55 × 0.7 cm in the lower part of the chape. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the artefact does not allow us to determine with certainty whether this hole is

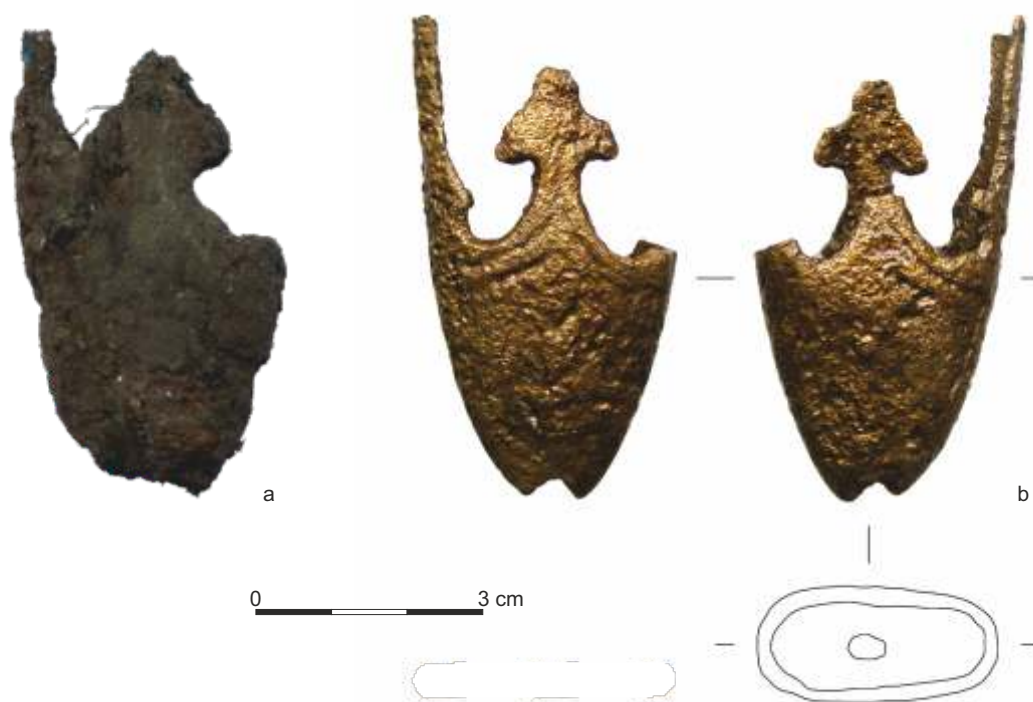


Fig. 2. Sword scabbard chape from excavations in the territory of Chernihiv's Dytynets (Fortress): a – before conservation; b – after conservation (a – photo O. Chernenko; b – photo T. Novik; a–b – processing M. Plavinski)

Ryc. 2. Trzewik pochwy miecza z wykopalisk na terenie Dytynca (Twierdzy) Czernihowa: a – przed konserwacją; b – po konserwacji (a – fot. O. Chernenko; b – fot. T. Novik; a–b – oprac. M. Plawiński)

a result of mechanical damage of the chape or it was formed as a result of poor-quality casting.

The height of the chape in its current state is 6.2 cm. It should be considered that its original height should have been somewhat higher, at least due to the lost upper edges. The height of the central part of the chape together with the palmette is 5.5 cm, its width is 3.2 cm and its thickness is 1.55 cm. The thickness of the chape's sides is about 0.2 cm.

As already noted, superficial metal losses have severely damaged the ornamentation of the chape, however, these damages are not critical, which allows us to determine the general nature of the artefact, at least from one side. The central element of the ornamental composition is the image of a cross, which is supplemented by two spur-like signs at the bottom and plant ornamentation at the sides. This ornamentation, however, cannot be characterised in detail due to the state of preservation of the surface of the find.

Based on morphological and ornamentation features, the sword scabbard chape from the excavations at the Chernihiv Fortress can be classified as Type V:2c after Peter Paulsen's typology (Paulsen 1953, 118–125).

The typological scheme by P. Paulsen, published in 1953, is still widely used by specialists in the

study of the history of early medieval weapons of Northern, Eastern and Central Europe and is the basic tool for the systematisation of sword scabbard chapes of the 9th–13th centuries. In his work, P. Paulsen divided the known sword scabbard chapes into 7 main types, which, in turn, are subdivided into groups and subgroups (Paulsen 1953).

Later researchers dealing with sword scabbard chapes of the 11th–13th centuries were guided by P. Paulsen's typology, in some cases modifying or supplementing it, based on the specific materials under study (Kulakov 1990, 31; 2021; Kazakevičius 1992; 1998; Asaris 1994; Sikora 2001; Janowski 2006; 2007; 2012; Posselt 2016; Tomsons 2018, 140–169).

According to P. Paulsen, sword scabbard chapes of Type V:2c (one of the variants of the "Curonian-Eastern Prussian" group of the type of chapes known as "with a cross and tendrils") were used in the 11th–13th centuries (Paulsen 1953, 118–125). The same opinion was held by Vytautas Kazakevičius (1998, 329), and it is also shared by Andrzej Janowski (2006, 39; 2012, 19). Artūrs Tomsons says that in the territory of Latvia such chapes were used in the second half of the 11th– the 13th centuries, but they could still be in use in

the 14th century (Tomsons 2018, 162, 168). The possibility of using such chapes in the 14th century is also suggested by Roman Shiroukhov (2011, 188). The fact that sword scabbard chapes of Type V:2 after Paulsen (or Type Va after V. Kazakevičius) may have still been used in the 14th century, and not only in the lands of the Balts, is evidenced by a find from the excavations of the Tver Kremlin. In the course of research in 1993–1997, Homestead 6-A, dated on the basis of dendrochronological analysis to 1333–1364, was studied here, and a sword scabbard chape of this type was found in its fill (Lapshin 2010, 437; Plavinskiĭ 2011, 206). A number of Type V:2 type scabbard chapes from excavations of Lithuanian flat cremation burials, including those located in north-western Belarus, are also datable to the 13th–14th centuries (*Kariauti...* 2020, 88, 150–151).

Thus, the stratigraphic dating of the find from the excavations in the territory of the Chernihiv fortress fully corresponds to the time of use of sword scabbard chapes belonging to Type V:2c after P. Paulsen. Moreover, it concerns both the probable narrow dating of the artefact within the 12th–13th centuries and its possible broad chronology encompassing the last quarter of the 11th – early 14th centuries.

The question of the place of production of Type V:2 chapes deserves special attention. In this case it concerns not only specimens of Subgroup “c”, but also two other subgroups – “a” and “b” (Paulsen 1953, 107–125). It is traditionally believed that the place of production of sword scabbard chapes of this type is the South-Eastern Baltic region. P. Paulsen believed that the main center of their production was the territory inhabited by the Curonians in the early Middle Ages (Paulsen 1953, 124). The same view was subsequently held by most other researchers as well (Mugurevich 1965, 53; Kulakov 1990, 31; Asaris 1994, 28; Janowski 2006, 39; 2012, 19; Tomsons 2012, 151).

In turn, V. Kazakevičius noted that the scabbard chapes of this type (Subtype Vb after his typology) are the most numerous and widespread in the territory of settlement of all Balt tribes, although they are most often found in the lands of the Curonians (Kazakevičius 1998, 329). R. Shiroukhov suggested that, apart from the lands of the Curonians, such chapes may have also been made in the territory of the Prussians (Shiroukhov 2011, 186). Gali Korzukhina also considered the South-Eastern

Baltic area to be the homeland of this type of chapes (Korzukhina 1950, 68).

The production of sword chapes of Type V:2c after P. Paulsen’s typology in the territory of Latvia does not raise doubts, as unfinished specimens were found here (Tomsons 2012, 151). Moreover, the mass distribution of such chapes in the lands inhabited by the Balts also suggests a possibility of their local production (Kazakevičius 1998, 329). At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the significant number of finds of such chapes in the territory of the Balts is first of all explained by the peculiarities of the funeral rites of the local population. These people furnished burials with numerous grave goods, including weapons, throughout the entire Early Middle Ages. The abundance of finds in the lands of the Balts gives researchers a somewhat deceptive impression of the undoubtedly Balt origin of all sword scabbard chapes of Type V:2, even those found far beyond the Balt lands. To be fair, it has to be noted that in some previous works one of the authors of this text also fell under this “deceptive gloss” of Balt antiquities (Plavinski 2009, 44–46; 2013, 22). However, in the territory of Old Rus’ the sword scabbard chapes of different variants of Paulsen’s Type V:2 are also found quite often. Moreover, these finds come not from burials, but from cultural layers of settlements, which naturally affects the total number of finds in comparison with what can be termed “Klondike” in the lands of the Balts. Thus, in the territory of Belarus the sword chapes of all variants of Type V:2 make up 3/5 of the total number of chape finds (Plavinski 2009, 44). Sviatoslav Ters’kyĭ also analysed the finds of dies from Volhynia and came to the opinion that in this region, too, the chapes of ‘Balt types’ were the most popular during the 12th–13th centuries (Ters’kyĭ 2013, 11–12; Ters’kyĭ, Savyts’kyĭ 2013). Individual finds of chapes of different variants of Type V:2 are also known in the north-west (Sedov 2007, 338–339) and north-east of Rus’ (Lapshin 2010, 437), in Smolensk (Pronin, Sobol’ 2020, 236) and in the Middle Dnieper Region (Kirpichnikov 1966, ris. 3:2; Mezentseva 1968, 126).²

Apart from the actual finds of sword scabbard chapes belonging to Type V:2 after P. Paulsen, there is also certain evidence for their local production in Old Rus’ territory. Among them is a chape found in the territory of the roundabout stronghold of Homel’, in the context of Building 13 (Fig. 3:a), which perished in a fire. Alek Makushnikaŭ who conducted

² Unfortunately, it is not possible to imagine the real statistics of Type V:2 finds, as well as the total number of sword scabbard chapes from the territory of Rus’, because during the last few decades a huge number of chapes have been discovered as a result of illegal activities of “treasure hunters” equipped with metal detectors.



Fig. 3. Sword scabbard chapes: a – Homel; b – Chernihiv Predgorodye (a – photo from the website of the museum “Gomel Palace and Park Ensemble”; b – photo T. Novik; a–b – processing M. Plavinski)

Ryc. 3. Trzewiki pochew mieczy: a – Homel; b – podgrodzie Czernihowa (a – fot. ze strony internetowej muzeum „Homelski Zespół Pałacowo-Parkowy”; b – fot. T. Novik; a–b – oprac. M. Plawiński)

excavations at this site interpreted the premise as a jewellery and casting workshop. Makushnikaŭ dated the building to the end of the 12th – first half of the 13th century (Makushnikov, Lupinenko 2004, 209–210), although it is possible that the time of its destruction can be attributed to the mid-13th century (Makushnikov 2009, 114; Plavinski 2009, 41). In a joint publication, A. Makushnikaŭ and Jury Lupinenka expressed the opinion that the scabbard chape found in the context of the building was a semi-finished product from which the parting lines left after casting had not been removed. In such a form, the chape would be difficult to mount on the scabbard (Makushnikov, Lupinenko 2004, 209–210). One of the authors of this paper later agreed with this opinion (Plavinski 2009, 41). However, A. Makushnikaŭ seems to have later revised his interpretation of the find and no longer regarded it as a semi-finished product (Makushnikov 2009, 113–114). Indeed, the Homel' chape, although it looks like a poor-quality product with its edges not fully processed after casting, but even in such a form it could have been mounted on the wooden base of the scabbard. Thus, at the moment, the interpretation of the chape from Homel' as a semi-finished product still seems to be premature. However, the very fact of its discovery in the context of the jewellery workshop does not fail to raise the question about the possibility of its local manufacture.

In addition to the Homel' find, another sword scabbard chape of Type V:2a after P. Paulsen (Paulsen 1953, 107–111) is known. What is more, it comes from a jewellery workshop that was discovered in the territory of Chernihiv itself. The fragmented scabbard chape (Fig. 3:bh) was found during excavations in 1998 by Andriy Kazakov in the territory of so-called Predgorodye, a crafts district of

medieval Chernihiv (Fig. 1b:III). The workshop was dated to the mid-13th century (Zharov, Kovalenko, Kazakov 1999, 83–84). The find was initially interpreted by the authors of this publication as a matrix for the production of scabbard chapes (Motsia, Kazakov 2011, 156). This hypothesis was raised prior to the work on the conservation of the find. After conservation, it became quite obvious that it was not a matrix, but a fragmented chape with lost upper edge bars and decorative palmettes. However, the interpretation of the very place of its discovery as a jewellery workshop provokes no doubt. The complex included up to 300 bronze matrices (whole, fragmented, production rejects). They were intended for the manufacture of a wide variety of artefacts, among others, belt fittings (*ibid.*, 128, 151–156). The question of what role the fragmented sword scabbard chape played in the workshop, whether it was a defective product, jewellery scrap or a sample for the production of new items, requires a separate special study.

Conclusion

A brief analysis of the sword scabbard chape found in 2017 during archaeological excavations in the territory of the Chernihiv Fortress allows us to determine its dating, typology and a range of analogies. The circumstances of the discovery of the artefact make it possible to determine its stratigraphic dating only within the broad framework of the last quarter of the 11th – early 14th centuries. At the same time, the most probable date are the 12th–13th centuries.

The chape belongs to Type V:2c after P. Paulsen's typology. This type is traditionally regarded as characteristic of the territories inhabited in the Early Middle Ages by the Balts, first of all, the

Curonians, where such chapes were produced. At the same time, it is obvious that similar chapes (all variants of Type V2 after P. Paulsen) were quite widespread in the territory of Old Rus'. Moreover, there are some reasons to suppose that in Rus' such chapes were not only widely used, but could also be produced by local craftsmen.

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TRZEWIK POCHWY MIECZA Z WYKOPALISK NA TERENIE „DYTYNCA” (MAJDANU) CZERNIHOWA

Streszczenie

W niniejszym tekście przedstawiono trzewik pochwy miecza znaleziony podczas badań archeologicznych na terenie majdanu (Dytyniec) Czernichowa w 2017 r. Datowanie stratygraficzne znaleziska zostało określone w szerokich ramach ostatniego ćwierćwiecza XII – początku XIV w., chociaż charakter materiałów współwystępujących w kontekście stratygraficznym pozwala ograniczyć ten przedział do XII–XIII stulecia.

Trzewik należy do typu V:2c w typologii Petera Paulsena. Typ ten tradycyjnie uznawany jest za charakterystyczny dla terenów zamieszkiwanych we wczes-

nym średniowieczu przez Bałtów, przede wszystkim Kurów, gdzie produkowano takie przedmioty. Jednocześnie nie ulega wątpliwości, że podobne okazy (wszystkich odmian typu V2 według P. Paulsena) były dość rozpowszechnione na terytorium dawnej Rusi. Co więcej, istnieją pewne podstawy by sądzić, że na Rusi takie trzewiki były nie tylko używane, ale niewykluczone, iż mogły być również produkowane przez lokalnych rzemieślników.

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