The article is devoted to the history of the discovery of and research into medieval monuments of sacred architecture and their complexes from the princely Halych and Volhynian territory, carried out during the 19th and early 20th centuries. It reflects the circumstances and conditions for researching the territory, which, due to historical events, were part of different empires (namely, the Russian and Habsburg). It is noted which scientists and institutions were engaged in the study of antiquities and under whose control such study took place. The article presents the main results of archaeological and architectural studies of sacred architecture, the complex of remains of wooden and brick temples held in Volhynia and Podillia, namely in Lutsk, Volodymyr and the surrounding area, Bakota on the Dniester, as well as in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna, namely Halych and its environs, and Vasyliv. In this context, the discovery of burials within or outside churches and in church cemeteries was noted. Emphasis was made on the discoveries of the remains of the princes in the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr.

KEY WORDS: Rus’, temples, burials, spiritual culture, history of archaeology

INTRODUCTION

The scientific, historical, and archaeological studies conducted in the princely Halych-Volhynian lands when that territory was ruled by different empires were characterized by various intensities and approaches. As a result of the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the territory of Halych lands became the basis of Galicia (officially, the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria), which in 1772-1918 was a province of the Habsburg monarchy.

Later, the Duchy of Bukovyna (1849-1918) became a separate crown region. Thereafter, the territory of Volhynia and part of Podillya became part of the Russian Empire as separate governorates.

In the 19th century, when archaeology became an independent science, active research began at many sites. This was regulated by law, scientific principles, as well as the priorities of each of the relevant empires. Initially, these works were random and sporadic. Significant progress was however made, including a thematic approach to the study of sites, allowing the expansion of the source base and the emergence of specialists who understood the importance of excavations. In particular, this concerns medieval sacred architecture and the search of Rus’ elite burials.

Archaeological excavations in the territories that were part of the Austrian Empire (from 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Empire) at the beginning of the 19th century centred around Lviv. The interests of the two main nationalities inhabiting the territories of Eastern
Galicia – Polish and Ukrainian – were closely intertwined in Lviv. Indeed, the development of archaeology at this time in Lviv clearly shows the formation of two archaeological milieux. The Ukrainian archaeology of Lviv is represented by the activities of the Narodny dim, the Stauropegion Institute, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the National Museum – while the Polish, the Ossolineum, the Dzieduszycki Museum, the Lviv University, and the National Archaeological Society. The preservation of cultural heritage was supervised by protectors of archaeological monuments, united within an Institution of Conservators and correspondents of Eastern Galicia. Their origin and scientific activity illustrate the separate scientific life of both national communities (Bulyk 2006; 2014, 74-179; 2020, 539-542, 544-548).

Of course, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, archaeology became the subject of interest of aristocrats and intellectual elites throughout Europe. With the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Europe, the formation of private collections began. The accumulation of artefacts, issues regarding their preservation and scientific interpretation, and growing interest in the past among the local population contributed to the creation of museums. The formation of archaeological collections was not a phenomenon of one city. Examples include the collections of Kostka Potocki in Wilanów near Warsaw (1804), Józef Ossoliński in Warsaw (1814), and of the Lubomirskis in Lviv (1823). Collections of antiquities were an element to express national identity (Sklenář 1983, 78). Several decrees of the Austrian emperor, issued between 1818 and 1827, were aimed at preserving antiquities (Demetrykiewicz 1886, 48-51). In Volhynia, which was part of the Russian Empire, large collections of antiquities were owned by the Kremyanets Lyceum, founded in 1805 by Tadeusz Chatski (Czacki in Polish, 1765-1813). Adam Czarnocki, a folklorist, ethnologist, and amateur archaeologist, better known under the pseudonym Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski (1784-1825), graduated from this lyceum and conducted one of the first excavations of mounds in Volhynia. After 1848, in these areas that were part of the Russian Empire, all the scientific institutions in which archaeology was formed were liquidated. In particular, the Kremyanets Lyceum ceased to exist (Abramowicz 1991, 15).

Historical, local lore, and heritage preservation activities, including the care of archaeological monuments in Volhynia, were entrusted to the Volhynia Provincial Statistical Committee, established in 1836, which was personally headed by the governor. The first archaeological researches of sacred monuments of the princely era, including funerary ones, are connected with the activity of scientists of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr (founded in 1834), the Kyiv Archaeographic Commission (founded in 1843), and several other contributing organizations. The activities of the Archaeological Congresses which were convened by the Moscow Archaeological Society from 1869 were very important in the Russian Empire (Kakovkina 1998; Ters’kij 2010a, 16-49; Kazmirčuk 2013; Penák 2008).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Research in Volhynia

In the middle of the 19th century interest in medieval Christian antiquities was growing rapidly. The main role was played by excavations within the famous Orthodox temples and their relics. They were connected with the state occupation policy of the Russian Empire. The latter provided a scientific justification for the accession of these lands to the Russian Empire. This is best illustrated by the introduction to the book “Volhynia. Historical Destinies of the South-Western Territory” edited by Pompey Batiushkov: “At present, one of the most important tasks of the Russian state and society in relation to Volhynia applies and to the fundamental principles of the Russian people and Orthodoxy that developed in Volhynia in the first period of its history, designated by third-party and external layers on the root layer of the local Russian population. This most concerns Lithuanian and especially Polish dominion, which weakened their effect. Finally the mission was to carry into the minds of various strata of the local population the idea of the need and inevitability of the complete unification of this outskirt of Russia with other indigenous parts of it” (Volyn… 1888, 3-4).

The beginning of this research, according to the secretary of the Kyiv Archaeographic Commission Orest Levyskyi (1848-1922) dates to 1852 and was associated with the accidental discovery of a tomb at the Church of Saint John the Divine (12th century)
in the Upper Castle in Lutsk, which according to the researcher belonged to Bishop Kyrylo Terlets'kyi (1540/1550-1607)\(^1\) (Levickij 1903, 83; Ters'kij 2006, 11; BaĂuk 2010, 123; 2015, 75). Apparently, O. Levytskyi made this conclusion based on information heard from one of his colleagues. It was based on an article which was published that year in the newspaper “Dziennik Warszawski. № 337”\(^2\), but, as he noted, “it could not be found in Kyiv” (Levickij 1903, 83). As it turned out, the issue indeed referred to the discovery of a tombstone at the burial place of K. Terlets'kyi, but not in Lutsk. The corresponding finding was discovered in the field of the Monastery strip Place, near the village Kupiatytsya and Pochapiv, Pinsk district, Brest region\(^2\) (Malyszewicz 1852, 4; Lutsyk 2020).

Given this, we can argue that the first studies of the Church of Saint John the Divine took place, not in 1852, but instead in 1854, when the Kyivan archaeologist Potapov\(^3\) worked on the monument, trying to find prince Liubart’s grave. According to the deputy of the Volhynian provincial statistical committee Volodymyr Rogge’s (1843-1906) data, which he recorded from the testimony of local residents, the archaeologist Potapov succeeded, but detailed data on these excavations are missing (Rogge 1879, 162).

In 1855, an expedition led by Mykola Ivanyshev (1811-1874), financed by the Kyiv Archaeographic Commission, continued these researches in order to open the prince’s burials. As a result of these excavations, a vault with burial niches was discovered on the east side of the church altar, to the left of the apse, it seems, near the Bishop’s Tower. It was considered the burial place of K. Terlets’kyi (Levickij 1903, 84). In 1856, these excavations were completed by the head of the Kyiv Museum of Antiquities of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr – Jakiv Voloshynskyi (1821-1875). The researcher found a large number of bones not in anatomical order and the remains of coffins, probably from early modern times. After that, the excavations were moved to study the basement of the temple: north, east, and south. A brick tomb covered with a stone slab was excavated in the central part of the temple. An anatomically preserved skeleton was found without accompanying inventory. The researcher interpreted the small pieces of wood in the hands of the deceased as the remains of a wooden cross. Both researchers suggested that the discovered burial belonged to prince Liubart. However, M. Ivanyshev later noted that “nothing remarkable was found”. In the absence of sufficient funding and time, these studies were discontinued. The location of the brick tomb inside the temple was marked by a pillar, and the excavation was filled up. With the permission of the Governor-General, a monument was placed under the protection of the local police until further investigations (Levickij 1903, 84-87).

In the second half of the 19th century, the premises of Lutsk Castle were subordinated to the military department. In October 1859, soldiers who were digging a pit opened a brick tomb behind the east wall of the church, where they found a golden church casket consisting of several fragments and a golden “plate” with crosses on it. According to the representative of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission Serhii Stroganov (1794-1882), this find was interpreted as a church revetment and dated to the 11th-12th centuries. It was handed over to Volhynia Governor M. Drutsky-Sokolynskyi for storage until the court ordered the right of ownership over it. What later became of it is unknown (Levickij 1903, 88-90).

According to Luka Orda, on May 11, 1892, on the day of the 900th anniversary of the Volhynia Orthodox Diocese, a cross with a plaque was erected on the site of the Church of Saint John the Divine. It read: “The place of the Church of Saint John the Divine and buried here: Liubart Gedeminovych 1324-1386, son of Liubart Dmytriy Liubartovych in 1383 and Svydrygailo Olgerdovych in 1452” (Kotis 2015).

The results of the research of 1855-1856 were published in brief by O. Levytskyi, who also noted that the report on the excavations carried out by M. Ivanyshev was outlined in the “«Short Report of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr» for 1857, pp. 14–17” (Levickij 1903). Our attempts to find this document were unsuccessful. The case with the above name is missing in the State Archives of Kyiv in the fund № 16 – “Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr”. There is also no necessary information (on these pages) in the cases № 115 – “University Report for 1857”

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\(^1\) According to all three known Bishop Terlets’kyi testaments, the place of burial should be the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine in Lutsk (Tymoshenko 2008).

\(^2\) This information is confirmed by a report published in 1864 in the publication “Historical and Statistical Description of the Diocese of Minsk” (Arhimandrit Nikolaj 1864, 54). Another slab was in the Holy Assumption Church in Perkovychi, where the bishop’s body according to assumptions was transported (Episkop Iośif 1899, 180-181; Tymoshenko 2008, 476).

\(^3\) The name of the researcher is unknown.
The largest research in Volhynia at the end of the 19th century came during the several years of archaeological and architectural research on the restoration of the Volodymyr Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (12th century). According to chronicles, at least five members of the prince’s family were buried in the Cathedral: its builder – Mstyslav Izyaslavovych, as well as Vsevolod Mstyslavovych, Vasylko Romanovych, his wife Olena, and Volodymyr Vasylkovych (PSRL 1908, 559, 682-683, 869, 863, 918, 927).

Throughout its existence, the Cathedral was repeatedly destroyed (1241, 1490-1491, 1560, 1683, 1715, 1728, 1782). As is known, from the beginning of the 16th century until the Brest Union (1596) the Cathedral continued to be faithful to Orthodoxy. There were nonetheless several exceptions – namely, the

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4 From the answer to the request of I. Lutsyk to the State Archives of Kyiv – № request 068-068/Л-1062-1760.

5 Full-scale excavations of the temple during 1984-1986 were carried out by M. Malevska (Malevskaă 1999). Two burials of the 12th – 13th centuries, in particular one in a brick tomb near the church, were discovered by Borys Saichuk in 1988-1990 (Sajčuk 1988-1990, 3-4, 16-17).
short-term subordination of the Volodymyr bishopric to the “Lithuanian-Polish” archiereus Hryhoriy Tsambablak (1415-1419/20) after the Novgorod Cathedral of 1415 and the entry of the Volhynian territories into the newly formed Western Rus’ (Lithuanian) metropolitanate and the next few decades, when the Volodymyr Eparchy was in communion with both Rome and Constantinople. However, the temple underwent significant reconstruction at the end of the 16th century, and later in 1753 it completely lost its original appearance and acquired Renaissance and Baroque features. In 1782 it ceased to function as a sacred building. Unsuccessful attempts to restore it were made in 1803. For some time, the Assumption Cathedral was used as a warehouse or barn. The situation changed in 1885 after a visit to the city by the newly appointed governor of Volyn – Viktor von Val (1840-1915). The approaching date of the 900th anniversary of the Baptism of Rus’, which was loudly celebrated throughout the Russian Empire in 1888 contributed to the future research and restoration of the temple (Ters’kij 2010b, 118-126; Ričkov 2007; Ėil’, Skočilâs 2013, 17-19; 32-37).

Then in 1886, it was decided to establish a committee for the study and restoration of the Assumption Cathedral which included: prof. St. Petersburg University and Imperial University of St. Volodymyr Adrian Prakhov (1846-1916), prof. all the same Imperial University Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908), O. Levitskyi, Archimandrite of the Volodymyr Monastery Fr. Oleksandr, priest of St. Basil’s Church Daniyl Levitskyi (1816-1888), the mayor of justices of the peace Omelyan Dvernytskyi (1834-1906), chairman of the county nobility G. Borovykov and others. The initiated studies intensified monument protection activities in Volhynia and became the driving force for the creation of the Brotherhood of St. Volodymyr and with it the Ancient Repository (founded in 1887) – the prototype of the Volodymyr-Volynskyi Historical Museum. The results of archaeological research attracted the considerable attention of both scientists and the general public and were widely published in the jour-
Fig. 3. Measuring drawing of the western facade of the Assumption Cathedral. Developed by A. Prakhov – 1886-1890. Photo from the collection of the Volyn Museum of Local Lore. № Г-895
Fig. 4. Measurement plan of the foundations of the Assumption Cathedral at the time of the study. Developed by A. Prakhov – 1886-1890. Photo from the collection of the Volyn Museum of Local Lore. № Г-891
Fig. 5. Measuring plan of the ancient foundation of the Assumption Cathedral with the remains of the ancient floor. Developed by A. Prakhov – 1886-1890. Photo from the collection of the Volyn Museum of Local Lore. № Г-896
During several years of research, archaeological and architectural measurements (fig. 1-5), photofixation (fig. 6-11) of the cathedral were carried out, and as a result the cathedral’s chronology beginning in the 12th century was confirmed. Significant were the discoveries of six arcosolia: in the southern (A, Д), northern (Б, В, Г) and western (to the left of the entrance) walls of the temple. Most of them were looted or destroyed by later rebuilding and used to bury the local nobility in later periods. Thus, after removing the upper layers of bricks over the burial of Anna Sangushko-Koshyrska, a space measuring 1.1×0.45 m in the “Г” arcosolia was found. It contained the remains of five (four adults and one adolescent) or four (two men, one woman and one child) (Levickij 1892, 114; Dvernickij 1887, 43; Mstislav” hram” 1900 a, 12). According to the conclusions of prof. Hryhoriy Minkh (1835-1896) of the Department of Pathological Anatomy, University of St. Volodymyr – the skull of one of them belonged to prince Volodymyr Vasylovych. The latter, according to the conclusions of the anthropologist, had cancer of the lower jaw, the symptoms of which are well described in the chronicle. It should be noted that the results of this analysis were only briefly published in the article by O. Levytskyi (Levickij 1892, 115; PSRL 1908, 914, 916-917). Recently, scientists have proposed a hypothesis that the cause of death of the prince was not cancer, but leprosy or odontogenic osteomyelitis (Androšuk, Čel’strem 2007; Vasilik 2015).

Sometime after the anthropologist studied the skulls of Volodymyr Vasylovych and, as the researchers suggested, of Vasylovko Romanovych, they were kept in the private collection of A. Prakhov, and
Fig. 7. View of the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volynskyi from the north. Photo by A. Prakhov 1986. Photo provided in Album… 1889

Fig. 8. Frescoes in the main altar of the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Photo by A. Prakhov 1986. Photo provided in Album… 1889
later they were transported by O. Dvernitsky to Volodymyr-Volynskyi, where together (NA ІА NANU F. 65. Op. 99, 101) with the bones found with them, were placed in a wooden box and sealed up in the wall, which served as the basis of the arcosolium near which they were found. After that, the remains were opened twice more. During the last inspection it was clarified that one of the skulls was damaged, and next to the prince’s remains lay bones of unknown origin. Volodymyr Vasylkovych’s skull remained intact and, together with the contents of the box, was walled up again (Uvarov 1898, 292-293). It is noteworthy that a little later countess Paraskevia Uvarova, in pointing to the problems of preservation of antiquities, noted: “There will be an opportunity, opening the ancient graves of the temple-builders, not to ravage them, not to mix and not to take out the bones, not to plunder them irrevocably, as it was done in the Mstyslav’s Church when the graves of the princes were opened” (Uvarov 1901, 63). Whether this means that the remains were once again removed from the wall of the temple and whether they were lost is not known for sure.

Among the proposed projects for the restoration of the Cathedral, including the authorship of A. Prakhov (fig. 12), which he presented at a meeting of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission in 1890 (only to meet with rejection) the Commission togeth-

![Fig. 9. Interior of the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Photo by A. Prakhov 1986. Photo provided in Album... 1889](image-url)
er with representatives of the Russian Academy of Arts, the technical building committee of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs (a leading specialist in architectural affairs) in 1896 the project of Hryhorii Kotov was approved, which involved the destruction of all architectural elements associated with the Greek Catholic period. Construction work was completed in 1900 and at the same time the temple was consecrated (Ričkov 2007, 308) (fig. 13).

In addition to the above research, in 1886 A. Prakhov carried out excavations at the legendary burial place of prince Voishelk in Mykhailivshchyna Place, where he discovered a brick tomb with remains that did not lie in anatomical order. The skull of the deceased was pierced with a large nail (Arheologičeskіâ 1886, 1009-1010)6. The same burial the scientist excavated in one of the brick tombs (there were seven

\[\text{Fig. 10. Interior of the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Photo by A. Prakhov 1986. Photo provided in Album… 1889}\]

\[\text{6 In 1955, M. Karger carried out excavations in Mykhailivshchyna Place where he found the remains of a poorly preserved building of the 12th-13th centuries, which was probably part of the St. Michael’s Church or was located nearby (Karger 1958, 22).}\]
in total\(^7\), which were located under the floor of the narthex of the newly opened six-pillar three-apsed

\(^7\) As a result of repeated research on the monument in 1975 led by P. Rappoport, only 5 brick tombs were discovered under the narthex floor in its northern (2) and central divisions (3). The tombs were covered with wooden overlap. The remains of a tree from it are preserved in the eastern part of the tomb of the northern division of the narthex. The overlap was common to both tombs. In the southern tomb of the northern division of the narthex were found 8, in the middle tomb of the central division – the remains of 6 or 7 dead, the rest were empty. All tombs date from the second half of the 12th century. An inhumation burial
temple of the second half of the 12th century – “Old Cathedral” (“Stara Katedra”) on the outskirts of Volodymyr-Volynskyi in the village Fedorivka (fig. 14, 15)\(^8\). At the time of the opening, the walls of the temple were preserved at the level of 2 m above the floor.

\(^8\) Skulls pierced by nails, according to reports, were found in other areas of Volhynia: in different parts of Volodymyr-Volynskyi, in Zymno, Ustyluh, Dubnyky, Mykylychi, Vuykovychi, Bilychi, Zhytani and Lubomyl. One of those skulls is kept in the funds of the Lviv Historical
Fig. 12. A. Prakhov’s project of restoration of the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. Photo from the collection of the Volyn Museum of Local Lore. № Г-889
The walls, as well as 6 arcosolia, were decorated with frescoes. Remains of the foundations of a smaller, older sacred building were discovered under the foundations of the temple (Arheologіcskiā 1886, 1008; Dvernіcкij 1887, 44-49; Rappoport 1976, 384-385; 1977; Lutsyk 2017).

**Research in Podillia**

Since the 1870s, locals have repeatedly surveyed the Dniester Caves near Bakota and conducted unauthorized excavations in an attempt to find some treasures that they thought were in the backfilled galleries. In 1883, on the instructions of the Administrative Committee of the VI Archaeological Congress, V. Antonovych and Kateryna Melnyk (1859-1942) surveyed the left bank of the Middle Dnister. At the time, the cave on the top of the White Mountain in Bakota was first scientifically surveyed, and attention was also paid to the megaliths below the main Museum. However, the anthropological examination did not confirm the presence of such an injury (Lutsyk 2017). Complex of the monastery, which will be opened later. Two cave galleries, burial niches in Bakota in 1889 were opened by locals. According to the order of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, these excavations were prohibited until the arrival of specialists. After that, in 1891-1892, the site was explored by V. Antonovych with the participation of the priest and historian Yūkhym Sitsinsky (1859-1937). As a result, in the area of three open galleries, which were decorated with frescoes and graffiti, 17 hollowed-out burial niches in the walls and 19 rectangular grave pits were found in the floor. In some of them, at the time of the study, human bones were not in anatomical order. Grooves were fixed in the niches, which were used to close burials with slabs or boards. On the sides above the niches were holes from nails or hooks, which may have been used to hang lamps. Near one of the burial niches, there was an inscription: “Christ bless Gregory the abbot who gave strength to St. Michael”, which is dated to the end of the 11th/beginning of the 12th century and “Gregory erected this place” the end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th century, which indicates the burial place of the founder of this monastery (Antonovič 1891, 108-116; 1886, 101-102; Secinskij
Fig. 14. The foundations of the church – “Old Cathedral”. Photo by A. Prakhov 1986. Photo provided in Album… 1889

Fig. 15. Plan of the temple “Old Cathedral” for excavations: 1 – A. Prakhov; 2 – P. Rappoport. Plans provided in Rappoport 1977
Fig. 16. Bakota cave monastery. Photo of the end of the 19th century. Photo provided in Babiuk 2015

Fig. 17. Bakota cave monastery. View of the fresco. Photo of the end of the 19th century. Photo provided in Babiuk 2015
IRyna LuTSyk, NATALIA BuLYk

1891; Vinokur, Gorišnj 1994, 198-201; Maârčak 2009, 263-264). A photo of the Bakota monastery of the end of the 19th century recently became available. The authorship of the photo is not known for sure, but it is assumed that it is the work of the famous photographer Mykhailo Hreim (1828-1911) (fig. 16, 17).

As we can see, the purposeful study of medieval sacred architecture, as well as the search for princely burials in the former Halych-Volhynian lands, which at the time of the study was part of the Russian Empire, began in the middle 19th century. Such thematic searches, for obvious reasons, were limited to the capital cities: Volodymyr and Lutsk and accidentally found the Bakota monastery. The research of Petro Pokryshkin (1870-1922) and Fedor Korolov during 1910–1912 on High Hill Place (Wysoka Góra) in Kholm (Chełm), where Danylo Romanovych’s residence was located, was no exception. It was there that researchers excavated several buildings, one of which was interpreted as the church of St. John Chrysostom. These conclusions were subsequently revised (Dąbrowski 2019, 41-53). It is worth noting that despite the participation of well-known scientists and the significant research results obtained, they were published in a very generalized manner, and some of the artefacts and documentation were lost.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

Research in East Galicia

The first discoveries of medieval temples on the territory of Halych lands are connected with the search for the princely capital – Halych. It took about a century to locate it and find the metropolitan cathedral. During the works, each of the researchers of Halych came across the foundations of the churches of the medieval times and tried to link them to the mentions in chronicles.

One of the first Ukrainian scientists who conducted archaeological works on the territory of Halych was the historian, archaeologist, and guardian of sites Antin Petrushevych (1821-1913). In 1847-1850 he examined in detail the foundations of the churches of the princely period, which were visible on the surface, conducted minor archaeological and architectural surveys, and drew the remains of the ruins of these cult buildings (LNNB Ukrānī. ASP 576/p. 16. Op. IV; Figol’ 1997, 10). We cannot say for sure whether A. Petrushevych conducted these excavations. However, the fact that he visited Halych repeatedly, study archaeological finds and architectural objects, made drawings of sites, is confirmed by documents (LNNB Ukrānī. ASP 576/p.16. Op. IV).

In particular, A. Petrushevych focused on two temples: the Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (for which he mistook the Nativity Church, calling it the capital Assumption Church of the Halych Metropolitans) and the Panteleymon Church.

The researcher dated the first one back to the middle of the 12th century, via reference to the chronicles and architectural style of the building, as well as based on the fact that the church was chosen for the prince’s burial. According to A. Petrushevych, the church was destroyed by the Mongol-Tatars and later rebuilt (Petrusevič 1899, 54-55, 60-61).

A. Petrushevych well knew publications of that time and the results of field research carried out by colleagues – thus, on the pages of his scientific works he argued with opponents, in particular, with Izydor Szaraniewicz (1829-1901) and Aleksander Czołowski (1865-1944). From A. Petrushevych’s note on the illustration to the monograph about the “Theotokos” church we learn that the surveys were conducted by the researcher in 1852 (Petrusevič 1899).

Future research has proved that A. Petrushevych was wrong. In this respect, Yaroslav Pasternak wrote that “this attitude to the case, which he defended passionately until the end of his life, was the reason of a dispute between him and all other researchers of the topography of Ancient Halych” (Pasternak 1944, 24).

In 1850 A. Petrushevych inspected the St. Stanislav Church (St. Panteleymon Church, which is dated to the end of the 12th century) (Fig. 18). He emphasized that at that time, among many names, drawings, and signs, he saw a mason’s sign similar to the letter “з”, which was not found during a re-examination in 1878. He assumed that they were painted over during the reconstruction (Peleński 1914, 36). However, in 1853 A. Petrushevych sketched this inscription when he drew the site (Gavriliv, Pedič 1998, 16). A. Petrushevych was one of the first researchers who studied this
unique site and dedicated a separate work to it. In the work published in 1881, the researcher suggests that the building of the temple can be dated back to the first half of the 13th century and that Danylo Romanovych was involved in its construction (Petruševič 1881, 8-12). Exactly at that time, the Romanesque style was very popular in construction and A. Petrushevych emphasized that the Panteleymon Church was built by a German architect. However, most researchers at the time associated Romanesque influences with the Great Moravian state. In particular, Yo. Pełeński noticed a lot in common in the architecture of the Halych rotundas with the Czech ones of the 9th/beginning of 10th century (Pełeński 1914). Initially, A. Petrushevych correctly compared the Panteleymon Church with the St. Stanislav Church. However, in the article “Archaeological finds near the town of Halych” A. Petrushevych denied this opinion, and considered that the church was built from the remains of the Panteleymon Church (Petruševič 1883, 24-28).

During this period, research was also carried out on another sacral site near Halych. A. Petrushevych mentioned the St. Nicholas Church built of wood at the beginning of the 12th century in which, during its restoration in 1870, “six socketed axes were found under the platform” (Petruševič 1882, 7). Whether A. Petrushevych carried out the excavations or if it was one of the occasional works is not precisely known. These socketed axes were published later by countess P. Uvarova (Uvarov 1910, 32). Evidence of I. Szaraniewicz seems more credible, who writes about the relatively new wooden St. Nicholas Church and the foundations made of gravel, alabaster, and Terebovlya stone were discovered below this sacral building. Finds from the ruins were dated back by the researcher to the 12th and 13th centuries (Szaraniewicz 1888, 69-70). Near the wooden St. Nicholas Church in the village of Viktoriv in 1870-1880, above the entrance to the caves (near the old big oak), the peasants dug up a stone sarcophagus, the cover of which was moved to the village of Komariv, where it served as a threshold to the house of Dmytro Kuzmych (Szaraniewicz 1888, 5, 71; Pasternak 1998, 49).

As for the interpretation of the discovered cave in Viktoriv, differences in opinions between I. Szaraniewicz and L. Lavretsksyi are visible. I. Szaraniewicz considered the cave to be a church, while L. Lavretsksyi tended to think that it was a natural formation. In particular, from letters, we are convinced that L. Lavretsksyi corresponded with other researchers about
these observations. Interesting letters to A. Petrushyevych have been preserved, in which L. Lavretskyi expressed his opinion about the latest research in Halych, mentioning the “cave church”, during the research of which a “bronze fishing hook and a coin of Nero” were found. He criticized I. Szaraniewcz for hasty conclusions, because in two or three days in the field it is possible to make only very superficial conclusions (LNNB Ukraïni. F. 77. Spr. 264/p 7. Op. IV, ark. 3). Probably, the critique of L. Lavretskyi somehow influenced I. Szaraniewcz and to confirm his point of view he consulted with Juljan Zacharie-wicz, but the architect, examining the area, confirmed that he considered the cave to be a natural site and did not see any traces of a church (LNNB Ukraïni. F. 77. Spr. 264/p 7. Op. IV, ark. 4).

Based on the foundations of the Churches of the Holy Savior and St. Elijah, the Annunciation, Resurrection, Na Cvyntaryskakh, Poligon, Pid Dibrovoyu and household buildings discovered by colleagues, A. Petrushyevych made the first, albeit unsuccessful attempt to reconstruct the ancient city of Halych (Petrusevïch 1884, 6). All that, however, does not deny his significant contribution to these studies and the development of productive scientific discussion.

Before World War I, the longest and most effective search for sacral sites on the territory of medieval Halych related to the names of one of the first Ukrai-nian archaeologists, I. Szaraniewicz, and to the parson of the church in the village of Zalukva, archaeologist-amateur Lev Lavretskyi. This archaeological tandem together with the architect Ju. Zachariewicz carried out researches during 1882-1888.

In beginning a description of these scientific re-searches, we must emphasize that during the whole period of the excavations occurred the rather unpleasant conflict between the researchers and the protector of archaeological monuments Wojciech Dzieduszycki, who actively tried to prevent the work in every possible way. The prohibitions had a rather bureaucratic character, were related to the financing of excavations, and had a certain impact on the progress of field works (CDÌAU. F. 146. Op. 51a. Spr. 1030, ark. 132). To go beyond the course of this conflict, we note only that W. Dzieduszycki reached his goal and funding was stopped. The researchers of Halych found a sponsor in the person of Władysław Fedoro-wicz, thanks to whom they proceeded to carry out re-searches.

L. Lavretskyi and I. Szaraniewicz began excavations in the spring of 1882 (Lavrec’kij 1882, 304; Šaranevič, Lavrec’kij 1883, № 89; № 115). Even if L. Lavretskyi was not a professional archaeologist, he intuitively felt the past of his native land. It was he who organized the field works, excavating much himself, and providing appropriate preservation of many finds. In this he could always rely on the advisory assistance of I. Szaraniewicz, who visited Halych quite often. In total, 7 sacral buildings were studied. Excavations of the foundations of the first one – a stone church on Karpytsia Mountain, near the Panteleymon Temple, began on April 19, 1882. According to the assumptions of historians, based on the name of Spaske (in Eng. – Savior) Place, it was the princely court’s Savior Church, which is mentioned in the chronicle of 1152 (fig. 19). The shape of the building was a square measuring 17×17 m with three apses elongated to the east (Fîgolʹ 1997, 34). The church was connected by a gallery with the prince’s palace. In the autumn of 1883, the sarcophagus of a child made of a monolith of sandstone was discovered near the external northern wall. It was sealed with a stone slab. The bottom of the sarcophagus was inclined toward the feet. At the level of the knees was a round hole, probably for the outflow of lymph. During the raising of the cover, the sarcophagus cracked transversely into two parts. In the autumn of 1884, the sarcophagus was joined and a wooden pavilion based on oak pillars was built over it (Szaraniewicz 1888, 4-6).

The next object for L. Lavretskyi was a polygonal rotunda from the middle of the 12th century in Karpytia Hai Place (on the Zalukva Upland). Bearing in mind the complex form of the recorded plan, the name “Poligon” was established in the literature. Excavations of it were carried out in August of the same year. During the previous works on the site conducted two months before the excavations, L. Lavretskyi informed I. Szaraniewicz that the foundations of “additional basilica of the old princely Halych” should be in this place. Based on discovered foundations, Ju. Zachariewicz made a plan of a rotunda which had the shape of a polygon with two rounded corners. In 1882, during the research of the foundations of the rotunda, three burials were excavated (Szaraniewicz 1883, 4; Pasternak 1998, 104; Diba 2005, 12)10.

10 Repeated excavation of the rotunda was carried out in 1979. At the same time, several burials were discovered inside and outside the sacral building. However, according to the conclusions of the author of the excavations - O. Ioannisyan, they all belong to the Late Middle Ages. Bohdan Tomenchuk excavated a few more burials in the
In September 1882, the foundations of a large church (Lavrec’kіj 1882, 304), probably of St. Cyryl, were located near the Metropolitan forest of Dibrova on the Zalukva Upland. Researchers confronted a complete lack of written sources about the ruins “near Dibrova”. Research in the Bidun Place and the barrow cemetery in Dibrova Place, where five graves were discovered, were conducted by I. Szaraniewicz. For reasons unknown the scientist saw the foundations of the annalistic Assumption Church in the discovered building. As the researcher himself emphasized, he would advocate this claim, “until another foundation of a more perfect basilica is discovered in such a convenient defensive place as this one” (Szaraniewicz 1883, 140; Lukoms’kij 1998, 594).

Julian Zachariiewicz (1837-1898) made the first measurements and architectural analysis of the foundations and thereby concluded that the method of their marking corresponded to the Byzantine temples of the 9th-12th centuries (Lukoms’kij 1998, 595). On the example of the excavations of Halych, which were carried out with the participation of an archaeologist-theoretician, archaeologist-practitioner, and architect, we can see one of the first tandems without which modern scientific research of archaeological sites is unthinkable.

Soon the well-known researcher of the architecture of Halych, Yo. Pelenskyi (1879-1957), considered that the main temple of Halych could not be situated in such an unfortified place. And referring to a part of the forest called Cyrylivka, he believed that it was the Cyril and Methodius Church (fig. 20)\(^\text{11}\).

In 1884 in Na Cvyntaryskakh Place one more nameless church of the second half of the 12th century was studied. I. Szaraniewicz and L. Lavret-

\(^{11}\) Repeated excavations of the St. Cyril Church in 1981-1984 were carried out by Yu. Lukoms’kyi, scientist clarified its dating - first half of XIII century (Lukoms’kij 1998).
skyi suggested that it was the St. Anna Monastery. Yo. Pelenskyi challenged this opinion, believing that the St. Anna Monastery was made of wood and was located on the territory of modern Halych (Szaraniewicz 1888, 7-10; Pelenski 1914, 76). During the excavations, fragments of architectural details were found: part of the base under the columns, pieces of hewn stone with ornaments (Pasternak 1998, 105).

Across the road to the east of the temple, a damaged stone sarcophagus and four burials were discovered (Pasternak 1998, 105-106).12

During the Congress of the archaeological commission organized by the Conservator of sites W. Dzieduszycki on July 13, 1883, I. Szaraniewicz and L. Lavretskyi visited Krylos and its outskirts. The researchers used the method of survey drilling in the church of Elijah in Prokaliiv Sad Place. Adam Kirkor was with them (Z’ízd arheologív … 1883). A. Petruševych did not participate in the scientific seminar. However, in one of the earlier publications, he noted that the St. Elijah Church was dismantled in 1800, which ground and under-slab burials of the second half of the 12th-13th centuries were also discovered (Tomenčuk 2006, 42).

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12 O. Ioannisyan (1985) and B. Tomenchuk (1991-1992) carried out researches on the territory of the site dur-
and bricks from it were used for the construction of new Metropolitan chambers in Krylos (Petrusević 1881, 12).

The following year, I. Szaraniewicz and L. Lavretskiy carried out stationary studies of the St. Elijah Church, which can be dated back to the second half of the 12th/the first half of the 13th century. In plan, it was significantly different from other buildings in that it was a round rotunda to which the apse adjoined from the east and a square narthex – from the west. Researches were continued in 1886 and 1887, and they clarified the results of the work carried out in 1884. In 1884-1885, several burials were excavated near the foundation of the church. A bronze (or silver-copper with gilding?) encolpion was found on one of the skeletons (Szaraniewicz 1888, 73-75; Šaranevič 1886, 3-4, ražl. III/3)\(^\text{13}\).

In Pidhorodda, near the old road in Na Tserkyvka Place in 1884, researchers of Halych excavated the Annunciation Church of the 12th/first half of the 13th century. “L. Lavretskiy said of these foundations that they were carefully made of river stone in a strong masonry mortar” (Pełeński 1914, 79). Besides the foundations, on September 25, 1884, researchers discovered part of a floor paved with glazed tiles, the image of which was published by Yo. Pelenski, who also noted the finds of a bronze lamp (transferred to the Dzieduszycki Museum) and a small cross. Part of these materials was presented at the Archaeological Exhibition in Lviv in 1885. During these researches, one inventoryless burial, cut through by the foundation of a stone church, was also discovered (Szaraniewicz 1888, 68-70). Among the finds that L. Lavretskiy stored in his collection, it is worth mentioning the columns from the portal of the church and the head of a lion, the image of which is given by Yo. Pelenski (Pełeński 1914, 78)\(^\text{14}\).

\footnote{13} Repeated research was carried out by M. Karger in 1955 in the southern part of the narthex of the Elijah Church, where he found fragments of a ruined sarcophagus, which is preserved in the form of thin pieces slabs of red-violet colour at the break. And in 2004 there were discovered several medieval burials near the southern wall of the rotunda (Karger 1960, 70-71; Tomenčuk 2006, 51).

\footnote{14} The characteristic of the mentioned research, as well as professional archaeological excavations of the site, was carried out by Yu. Lukomskiy in 1986-1987, 1990. Besides excavations of the foundations of a wooden and masonry church, the archaeologist discovered a stone sarcophagus and several burials on the church cemetery (Lukoms’kij 2018). In 1992-1993 expedition led by V. Ba-

The last of the cult buildings researched by L. Lavretskiy and I. Szaraniewicz was an octagonal construction in Voskresenske Place in Krylos, discovered in November 1884 by L. Lavretskiy (fig. 21). L. Lavretskiy made survey trenches on the site, without leaving a fixed plan. I. Szaraniewicz, based on the findings of glazed ceramic tiles from the floor, considered it to be the remains of the Resurrection Church (LNNB України. Ф. 77, Спр. 264/p7, оп. IV, арк. 4; Figol’ 1997, 137). In 1885, the Conservator of sites W. Dzieduszycki prohibited I. Szaraniewicz from carrying out researches and demanded the engagement of Kraków archaeologists. Then the Stauropegion Institute invited Kyiv archaeologist V. Antanovych, who inspected the foundations of the octagonal rotunda in the Voskresenske Place in Krylos and suggested that it was the remains of stone towers that protected the entrance to the city (I. I. 1885, 1; Šaranevič 1886, 4).

Jo. Zachariewicz and I. Szaraniewicz presented most of the objects for scientific use. In Halych, research was carried out till 1888, but they did not give considerable materials (Zachariewicz 1882, 139-140, 152-153; Szaraniewicz 1883, Szaraniewicz 1888, 3-9; Šaranevič 1888). During the following years, A. Czołowski and Yo. Pelenskiy worked on the archaeology of Halych (Czołowski 1890, 1-20; Pełeński 1914, 83, 90).

A. Czołowski began his work in Halych as a participant of I. Szaraniewicz’s expedition. Later he worked independently. He took the view that the main and only reason for determining the location of the ancient capital is the localization of the hill-fort using archaeological research, establishing the position of the Assumption Cathedral mentioned in the
chronicles. At the Congress of Historians in 1890, where A. Czołowski presented the report dedicated to Halych, it was decided to carry out further surveys and researches in Halych. A. Czołowski received financing from the Conservator W. Dzieduszycki to carry out archaeological research on the territory of former Halych (Pasternak 1944, 31-32), and in the same year, together with I. Sharanevych, carried out archaeological studies near the church of the 17th century. He failed to find foundations of the church, but he did establish that the materials of the earlier building were used for its construction (Aulij 1980, 136). A. Czołowski did not find any remains of the Assumption Cathedral; however, as a result of trenching, he became convinced that the cathedral of medieval Halych should be sought on Krylos Mountain. This issue remained unsolved and was several times discussed by archaeologists, architects, and conservators (Kronika czynności 1892, 155-159). A. Czołowski was still alive when his intuitive suggestions about the location of the princely capital were confirmed by science16.

From the cohort of Lviv archaeologists who studied the sacral sites of Halych and its outskirts, the person of Yo. Pelenskyi is quite notable. His works chronologically correspond to 1909-1911. At that time he worked as a docent at the Department of History of Art of the Kyiv University (1909-1914) (Lil’o 2000, 242) and was particularly interested in Halych

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16 In 1936, the famous Ukrainian archaeologist Ya. Pasternak discovered the foundations of the Assumption Cathedral, and the next year he excavated a sarcophagus with the burial of Halych prince – Yaroslav Osmomysl inside the church. These events put a full stop to the discussions around the place of the capital.
and its outskirts. It must be noted that when he started studying the sites of Halych, the researcher carefully reviewed the results of the work of his predecessors I. Szaraniewicz and L. Lavretskyi.

Yo. Pelenskyi carried out a detailed survey of the Panteleymon Church. Most importantly, this is the only preserved example of medieval architecture in Galicia. In his scientific research, Yo. Pelenskyi got close to the solution of the question of the localization of the Assumption Cathedral in Krylos. He carried out short excavations near the site, during which he discovered the in situ cultural layer of the medieval period, which was an original ground during the construction of the temple (Lukoms'kij, Romanûk 2002, 315).

Yo. Pelenskýi’s research was rather critically estimated by A. Czołowski and Karol Hadaczek (1873-1914), who had consulted him. Yo. Pelenskyi’s letters to K. Hadaczek relating to the excavations in Krylos, dated October 23 and November 24, 1909, are preserved. In them, the author presented a detailed description of his field research in Halych and asked for advice from a professor of archaeology (LNNB Ukraïni. F. 26. Spr. 13-d., ark. 9-12).

Yo. Pelenskyi summarized the results of his works in Halych in the monograph “Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej”, which was published in Kraków in 1914. There he left very detailed plans and descriptions of the sites of medieval Halych; for a long time these were practically the only source for studying the sacral sites of Halych. The fact that Yo. Pelenskyi’s work was published in Polish in Kraków provoked some insinuations about his person. Researchers mentioned that it resulted from some personal misunderstandings with the head of the Shevchenko scientific society M. Hrushevskyi, who prevented the publication of work in SSS (Gricak 1995, 145).

The researcher did not publish part of the results of his observations, including the location of the Assumption Cathedral, hoping to continue researches later. The archaeologist’s expectations were not met, and in his post-war records, he complained about the discovery of this site by Ya. Pasternak.

The state of development of archaeology in western Ukraine ca. 1900, the contemporaneous level of excavations, and the methodology of research result in misinterpretations and the imprecise dating of sites. For example, the first researchers identified mistakenly such temples as the Nativity of Christ in Halych (A. Petrushevych), St. Cyril (Ju. Zacharie-wicz, I. Szaraniewicz), St. Panteleymon (V. Lushch-kevych) with the annalistic Assumption Cathedral and with the sanctuary of the Savior mentioned in the chronicle – the foundations of the St. Cyril Church (A. Petrushevych) (Lukoms’kij 2005, 6).

It was not until the repeated works carried out in the 20th century by Ya. Pasternak, and later, Oleg Ioannisyan, Vitold Aulikh, Yuriy Lukoms’kyi, and Bohdan Tomenchuk that researchers were allowed to locate and date correctly the sacral sites of Halych and its suburbs.

### Research in Bukovyna

Raimund Kaindl (1866-1930), a professor of the Chernivtsi University studied antiquities in Bukovyna. In 1899 in Khom Place in the annalistic Vasyliv, he discovered fragments of two stone sarcophagi and human bones among the remains of the foundations of a wooden building (8×8 m), probably a church, and also an inhumation cemetery nearby (Kaindl 1901, 47). R. Kaindl also surveyed the Mury Place (also known as Hlynyshe Place) situated nearby, where he recorded the presence of a medieval stone sarcophagus. Despite the promise of further researches, the scientist hesitated to organize excavations there without obtaining special permission from the authorities. It was here that in 1958-1959 expedition led by Borys Tymoshchuk discovered the remains of a white-stone temple that functioned during the 12th-17th centuries and a large cemetery nearby (Il’kiv 2016, 147-148; Pivovarov 2020, 82-93).

### BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

In general, the period of archaeological research here described is distinguished by the institutionalization of science and the formation of principles and approaches to archaeological excavations that were becoming increasingly systematic and thematic. As we can see, from the middle of the 19th century the issue of medieval sacred architecture became very relevant, the greatest research of which took place in the 1880s. Moreover, interest in it was exhibited not only

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17 B. Tymoshchuk inspected mentioned building again in 1964, where he recorded the foundations of a wooden church and an inhumation burial (Timošuk 1969, 77).
by professional scholars, but also by local clergy and authorities. All these studies are more related to the research of one group of scientists who, despite differences in views on the methodology and ultimately the interpretation of the obtained materials, worked closely together and used the results of each other’s research.

In Volhynia, these studies are mainly related to the activities of A. Prakhov, V. Antonovych, and O. Levtskyi. In Galicia, the main excavations were conducted by A. Petrushevych, I. Szaraniewicz together with L. Lavretsksyi and Ju. Zacharievenz, A. Czołowski, and later they were continued by Yo. Pelenskii. At the same time, close scientific contacts between researchers who worked in different empires can be seen in the example of cooperation between I. Szaraniewicz and V. Antonovych. The latter repeatedly visited various archaeological sites in Galician and provided his advice.

Despite the importance of the discoveries and the interest of the press of that time, the resultant works were published only partially and often not by the authors of the research, which, like the practical lack of illustrative material, complicates analysis. Nevertheless, it should be noted that already in this period the first interdisciplinary research was taking place, which is plainly visible in the example of close cooperation between archaeologists, anthropologists, and architects.

In general, the study of Christian monuments in medieval Halych and Volhynian lands corresponded to the historical processes of the development of archaeological science generally, and directly depended on political circumstances and funding. At the same time, the different approaches used in the study of sites, as well as the goals set by the researchers and the different levels of elaboration of the source base, require additional studies.

However, that does not discount the role of pioneers. Even though the lack of experience and the level of development of archaeological science did not allow researchers to identify correctly some of the objects, due to hard survey work and through trial and error they were able to locate some sanctuaries of Halych and Volhynian lands, and most importantly, document and publish their findings. Their scientific heritage is still an important source for studying the problems of topography, architecture, and spiritual culture of Rus’.

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Author’s addresses:

PhD student Iryna Lutsyk
I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies,
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Vynnychenko St., 24, 79008, Lviv, Ukraine
e-mail: irynalutsyk00@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3364-6089

PhD Natalia Bulyk
I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies,
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Vynnychenko St., 24, 79008, Lviv, Ukraine
e-mail: nata_bnm@ukr.net
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9040-2676