PRINCELY HALYCH: INTRIGUING PROSPECTS FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Ihór Koval

Abstract. According to statistical data, permanent and local archaeological researches have covered only about ten per cent of the territory of Princely Halych, which opens up endless possibilities for research at the site of the ancient city. The chapter highlights the importance of the scientific and popular works by Antin Petrushevych, Lev Lavretskyi and Izydor Sharanevych, who in 1882 initiated the archaeological research on the mighty Principality of Halych (Galicia) and its capital, and the excavation of the first Christian church in Halych – the Church of the Holy Saviour mentioned in the Kyivan Chronicle. The little-known works of these scientists, which were published in Lviv newspapers in the 1880s, clearly show that Lavretskyi and Sharanevych’s findings received international acclaim and were a significant factor in rousing national consciousness and stimulating social activity of the Galician Ukrainians. It is difficult to explain the lack of interest in carrying out excavations outside the perimeter of the foundations of the Church, which could have enhanced the social, historical, topographical analysis of the monument and its surroundings. A particular fact that proves the importance of such research is the discovery of pendant seals, which modern sphragistics attributes to Prince Volodymyrko Volodarevych (1141-1153). This conclusion is in good agreement with the Kyivan Chronicle and the findings of the archaeologists who excavated the Church of the Holy Saviour. All these facts provide grounds for the hypothesis concerning the location of the State Chancellery and the mysterious Palace of the 12th century Lords of Galicia.

Keywords: archaeology, Halych, the Zalukva Heights, Antin Petrushevych, Izydor Sharanevych, Lev Lavterskyi, the Church of the Holy Saviour, sphragistics, seals.

One of the most important sources of information on the history of excavations of the Church of the Holy Saviour (the Holy Spas) is a series of articles published by Lev Lavretskyi, the parish priest of the village of Zalukva, in Lviv newspaper ‘Зоря’ (‘The Zoria’) in 1882-1883. The author expressed his full support of the hypothesis put forward by Professor Izydor Sharanevych of Lviv University, who suggested that the capital of the Principality of Halych was located far from modern Halych, between the mouths of the Limnytsia and the Lukva, which flow into the main-stem Dniester River. Having conducted his own research, Professor W. Łuszczkiewicz of Krakow came to the same conclusion. In 1879, he studied a unique monument – St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church the Holy Mountain; in his paper published in 1880, he described it as an ancient Ruthenian church in the distinctive Romanesque style and suggested that the court of the Princes of Galicia was situated in the vicinity.

A. Petrushevych, a leading church historian of Galicia, started investigating the artefacts of the Principality of Halych in the mid-19th century. In 1857 the newspaper ‘Зоря Галицкая’ (‘The Zoria
Halytskaia’) published his work ‘О соборной Богородичной церкви и святителях в Галичы’ (‘On the Cathedral Church of Holy Mary and the Saints in Halych’), its central issues being the etymology of the name and the date of the foundation of Halych [17, p. 159]. At that time, the historians of Lviv were engaged in a scientific debate on the location and the political status of the Principality of Halych. The discussion was provoked by August Bielowski (1806-1876), who came up with the idea that there existed two Halyches, one being the centre of the Kingdom of Galicia on the territory of modern Slovakia (the 11th-12th centuries); the other, the centre of the Principality of Halych in the Precarpathian region of Ukraine (the mid-12th-13th centuries). The idea was strongly criticized by A. Petrushevych, who was convinced that there had been only one Halych, the city on the bank of the Dniester River, the capital of the Principality of Halych in the 12th-13th centuries [21, p. 92].

In his response article ‘А дяло ли два Галичы?’ (‘Were There Two Halyches?’), 1865, A. Petrushevych suggested that etymologically speaking, the name of the city was related to the Ukrainian words ‘галка’, ‘галун’ (‘jackdaw’). The bird might be used as the emblem of the land of Galicia like the lion was the emblem of the land of Lviv.

In the 1850s, A. Petrushevych examined the then existing ruins of the churches dating back to the Princely epoch, ramparts, the walls and towers of the Polish Starostyn Castle in Halych. He published the results of his research in ‘Вестник народного дома’ (‘The People’s House Newsletter’), Lviv [27, p. 26]; the main aim of the research was to examine the sites of the ancient settlements and to locate Princely Halych and its Holy Assumption Cathedral.

The very first results of A. Petrushevych’s archaeological investigations in the suburbs of Halych gave him grounds for valid conclusions. In 1850, he examined a rectangular area between the ruins of the Castle of Halych and St. Stanislaus from the east, between the villages of Krylos and Sokil from the west. Assisted by a local resident, he climbed one of the downs of the Zalukva Heights and discovered the remains of an ancient church. Debris of white hewn stone lying around in abundance indicated that it might be the site of the Church of the Holy Saviour [27, p. 8].

In the archives of Lviv, A. Petrushevych discovered a 1627 government act, which stated that in the 15th century, there were two villages – Hryhoriv and Perevozy – not far from the Limnytsia, the river which then was called the Chechva, or Chva. Judging by the description of the locality, the Church of the Holy Saviour stood on the mountain, opposite Kaminnyi Descent and beside Spas main road. It belonged to the villages of Hryhoriv and Perevozy, which were burnt by the Tatars in the 15th century [27, p. 78].

Another historian, a young scientist Izydor Sharanevych (1829-1901) evinced interest in studying ‘the Galician Iliad’. In 1860, he published his first scientific paper on the artefacts of Princely Halych [40, p. 295-335]; he claimed that the ruins on Zaminova Mountain (Castle Mountain) in modern Halych were not the remains of the Prince’s court in the former capital.

Lev Lavretskyi (1837-1910), a young parish priest of the village of Zalukva, became interested in the dispute sparked off by the articles by A. Petrushevych and I. Sharanevych. Lev Lavretskyi started his career as a priest in Lviv region; on June 2, 1871 he was assigned to the parish of Zalukva, where he served as a priest in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul. According to Ya. Pasternak, ‘As Father Lavretskyi told later (1909), he had noticed that one end of the field on the Zalukva Heights was unfit for usage, scattered with debris of hewn stone, the remains of a ruined building, some fragments showing patterns carved in stone’ [23, p. 44]. According to A. Petrushevych, in 1822 L. Lavretskyi found a rectangular stone, a fragment of cornice of a sacred edifice, at the site of the ancient Church of the Holy Saviour. This fact corroborated the theory advanced by Professor I. Sharanevych [41, p. 37].

From Galician newspapers, L. Lavretskyi learned that while in Krakow, Professor I. Sharanevych discussed the issue with the members of the Polish Academy of Sciences and presented his plan drawing of the ancient Church, its foundations being located in an empty field far away from Halych, between the Lukva and the Limnytsia rivers. The amateur archaeologist of Zalukva was full of enthusiasm, ‘It was Dr. Sharanevych’s triumph, as in his work of 1880 using historical and topographic data, he managed to locate the exact place and almost the very spot where the foundations of the once-famous Church of the Holy Saviour’ [18, p. 143].
Father L. Lavretskyi used his own money to hire a worker, who started excavating an overgrown area of land on Karpytsia Down. The excavation started in April 1882. A few days later, on April 18, it became clear that he found the eastern part of the foundations of the ancient Church. The discovery confirmed the priest in his idea that Princely Halych had been situated between the Lukva and the Limnytsia rivers. L. Lavretskyi believed that he would find there ‘other ruins of the Princely epoch, the boyar palace and the ruins of the residence of the Galician-Ruthenian Princes’ because ‘History presents evidence that the residence was in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Saviour’ [18, p. 143]. L. Lavretskyi was the first researcher to suggest the hypothesis on the location of the earliest known court of the Princes of Galicia. Regrettably, his idea was overlooked.

We have to admit that, though being an amateur, L. Lavretskyi was a talented archaeologist. Guided by his scientific intuition, he developed methods, which could rival modern ones. The plan of the eastern part of the Church with its three apses drawn by L. Lavretskyi is good evidence of his talent [18, p. 143]. After his worker dug one metre deep into the ground at the foundations, which were made of selected river rock and cemented with a mixture of lime and clay, the priest got more peasants from Zalukva to work at the site. On April 18-19, they cleared several metres of the length of the foundations. Most often, they found triangular tiles covered with enamel of different colours and fragments of plaster with frescoes in blue and yellow colours. L. Lavretskyi stayed at the site all the time keeping an eye on the workers, lest they should damage the finds [18, p. 144].

L. Lavretskyi invited A. Petrushevych and I. Sharanevych to visit the archaeological site. Professor I. Sharanevych came to Zalukva on Trinity Monday (‘Green Week’ Monday). Having examined the foundations, he stated that the Church was built in the Romanesque-Byzantine style, approximately in the 11th century. At the same time, the technique of laying the foundations (river rock cemented with a mixture of lime, gypsum, pounded brick and sand) and their design were similar to those of Kyiv churches of the Princely epoch. The researcher was interested mostly in the carved architectural details, small Byzantine crosses made of copper, medieval coins, decorations for an ancient book, a fragment of the porphyry altar-slab [38, p. 176]. I. Sharanevych concluded that judging by the small size of the Church (nine fathoms wide and ten fathoms long), ‘it was the Princely Chapel rather than the House of God for general use’ [38, p. 176].

Much of L. Lavretskyi and I. Sharanevych’s valuable findings were disregarded. Actually, the majority of archaeologists interested in the history of Halych paid attention only to the results of the excavations on the Zalukva Heights. Only in some particular cases, the issue of the impact of the discoveries on the development of historical science in Galicia was highlighted.

At the end of the 19th century, the major institution dealing with preservation of cultural heritage in Western Ukraine was the Board of the Regional Department of the Commission for Heritage Sites (Lviv). I. Sharanevych applied to the Board and received permission for financing the Princely Halych archaeological research project, the total sum of money allocated for it was two thousand zloty [34, p. 3]. The decision had to be approved by the Chief Conservator of Galicia. Since 1880, the position was held by Wojciech Dzieduszycki (1848-1909), a celebrated historian, politician and a man of letters. He did not think the Ukrainian historian had enough expertise in the area of archaeology and suggested that some experts from Krakow should be involved. I. Sharanevych disagreed, with serious financial consequences for the project [5, p. 311].

The Chief Conservator assigned I. Sharanevych the task to work out a plan for the research; it was produced without any delay. According to the plan, a number of objects and locations were to be examined: the foundations of the ancient Ruthenian churches, tombs in Dibrova Forest and Karpovyi Hai, the bank of the Dniester River between the mouths of the Limnytsia and the Lukva, the villages of Zalukva, Krylos and their suburbs [2, p. 14]. Knowing that I. Sharanevych was an uncompromising professional, W. Dzieduszycki attached an unacceptable condition – all discovered artefacts had to be sent to the ‘regional museums’ [35, p. 77], i.e. to German and Polish historical and cultural institutions.

According to a modern researcher Natalia Bilas, ‘On behalf of the Ukrainian community, the Council of the Ruthenian People’s House appealed to I. Sharanevych to ensure that the archaeological finds from Halych were sent to the People’s House Museum in Lviv, where they belonged; the
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Museum guaranteed their preservation and safety. The researcher, who used his own money to continue excavations along the Limnytsia, conceived a new project and attached his own conditions; he approached the Chief Conservator about it and his suggestion was accepted. I. Sharanevych was appointed curator of the archaeological finds from Halych' [18, p. 142].

On the one hand, Count Dzieduszycki was an outstanding European scientist of the 19th century. He played a role in many archaeological discoveries in Galicia, rescued from oblivion and popularized the works of Ukrainian sacred art. His attitude towards the excavations in Zalukva might be the result of personal misunderstanding between him and Professor I. Sharanevych. On the other hand, one can hardly justify Dzieduszycki’s attempt to stop Galician scientists from holding their Congress on July 13, 1883, which was to be attended by distinguished Galician archaeologists I. Sharanevych, A. Petrushevych, Yu. Zakhariievych, L. Tsviklinskyi and some famous researchers of Krakow [5, p. 311]. W. Dzieduszycki made his best to prevent the Galician archaeologists from presenting the results of their work before the international audience. Most fortunately, his attempts failed; the sensational Galician finds became known in Great Ukraine. The historian Volodymyr Antovnoych (1834-1908), Professor of Kyiv University, accepted the invitation of Lviv Stavropigial Institute and came to Halych to examine the monuments of sacred architecture.

The nationally conscious Ukrainian nobility attempted to resolve the conflict between Professor I. Sharanevych and the Polish administration. Vladyslav Ohinskyi, a Podillian landlord, the owner of estates in the villages of Vikno, Tovste and Chernihivtsi, became the patron of the excavation in Halych [3, p. 145]. As a sign of gratitude and respect, I. Sharanevych dedicated his paper 'Три історичні описи міста Галича з року 1860, 1880 і 1882' ('Three Historical Descriptions of Halych of 1860, 1880 and 1882') (Lviv, 1883) to V. Ohinskyi.

The scientific community and general public of Galicia evinced interest in L. Lavretskyi’s archaeological findings. Kostiantyn Bobykevych (1855-1884), an undeservedly forgotten writer, a teacher of Stanislaw grammar school, left a wonderful description of a trip the intelligentsia of Stanislaw made to Lavretskyi’s archaeological site in 1882. Evidently, it became known that I. Sharanevych had arrived in Halych. On Trinity Week Holidays (‘Green Week’ Holidays), a group of people set off from Stanislaw to Halych. First they took the main road, then turned to the forest road and got to the village of Viktoriv; from there they followed a road paved with stone in a small valley along the Lukva and got to the village of Zalukva. Local residents showed them the way to the archaeological site in Yezhov field. The locals were interested in Lavretskyi’s work too, they told the visitors they were ready to help the archaeologists any time. At the site, the visitors saw a large canvas supported by poles; there were quite a lot of village boys and girls there. In his newspaper article, K. Bobykevych wrote, ‘Under the canvas, on a narrow bench sat our famous professor Sharanevych talking to Father Lavretskyi and watching the eager workers with a beady eye. He was radiant with happiness, he felt that high inner pleasure only a victory can bring, the victory over one’s opponents that comes after years of research, conscientious and ceaseless work. Truly, joyous is that victory!’ [4, p. 191].

Professor Sharanevych told the visitors about the historical topography of Halych. He believed that the excavated ruins of the Church of the Holy Saviour dated back to the epoch of the Rostyslavyches; St. Panteleimon’s Church, to the period of Roman Mstyslavych; modern Halych developed in the time of Polish rule; and Krylos is the product of the Lithuanian period in the history of Ukraine. ‘You had once been glorious, city; now you are poor,’ [4, p. 191] were the final words of K. Bobykevych’s story. His article was published in the Lviv newspaper ‘Зоря’ (‘The Zoria’). A German historian A. Sauer seemed to think along the same lines, ‘Today the town is small, full of Jews and filth; a traveler who knows about its ancient might and glory feels sad coming to the most sacred place of the once-mighty Rus’. Those interested in the history of Austria-Hungary might find Sauer’s article quite an interesting piece of reading. I. Sharanevych’s translation of the article and his comments to it were published in ‘The Zoria’ [No 36, August 24, 25, 27].

Yulian Zakhariievych (1837-1889), Professor of Lviv Polytechnic University, gave a detailed description of all the artefacts discovered by I. Sharanevych and L. Lavretskyi at the archaeological site
of the Church of the Holy Saviour. Yu. Zakhariievych sorted the finds into several groups. To the first one belonged ceramic tiles of different form covered with light yellow, green, brown, almost black, grey and whitish enamel [12, p. 153]. Iron objects belonged to the second group. Those were mostly short nails with flat heads, which might be used for holding ceramic tiles together.

Encolpion crosses, containers for relics, constituted the third group of the finds. Two crosses cast in bronze were classified as embossed and inlaid relics. One of them was a forked cross; on the back of it, in the centre, there was a six-pointed inlaid cross with silver rays. On the ends of both bars of the encolpion there were medallions with shortened inscriptions: ‘НИ’, ‘КА’ on the horizontal bar and ‘ІС ХС’ on the vertical one. The cross, inscriptions, contours of the medallions were inlaid. In the grooves, there remained some black with blue gleam enamel. Traces of gold vermeil remained on the crosses. G. Korzukhina dates this type of encolpions to the second half of the 12th century [27, p. 133].

Having examined another reliquary, Yu. Zakhariievych arrived at a reasonable conclusion that, ‘this way of depicting the Crucifixion – Christ dressed in His garments stands on a cushion – is evidence of its antiquity’ [12, p. 153]. In terms of composition and iconography, the reliquary belonged to the Crucifixion and three Saints pictured in the medallions’ type. The crucifixion tree was just sketched, only the top and the bottom being outlined. Christ’s body was almost erect. Most of the researchers date this type of encolpions to the second half of the 12th century [16, p. 61].

Details of the decoration - fragments of small convoluted and faceted columns, a block with stepped decoration – belonged to the fifth group of the finds [12, p. 153]. The sixth group was the objects of the inner infrastructure of the Church. They were fragments of a stone font, of a green marble slab, and of a corona lucis (a large church chandelier). A. Petrushevych completed the list of objects found at the site of the Church of the Holy Saviour. From among the things made of precious metals, he singled out a gold plate for the frame of a small icon, medieval Polish coins and a fragment of the chandelier with an inscription ‘СНІСІА ІЦРІКІА’. He failed to decode the first word, and interpreted the second one as ‘гаркўсі’ (that [those] of the tsar) [27, p. 9]. At the site of the Church they also found a tin seal of Kosma, Bishop of Galicia. ‘These small fragments can give an expert an idea of educational and cultural standards of the past times,’ concluded Professor Yu. Zakhariievych [12, p. 153]. Later, having compared the plans of the Church of the Holy Saviour and the Church of St. Panteleimon, he made a final judgment that ‘this building was older’ [11, p. 388].

The second excavation of the foundations carried out by O. Ioannisyan (1980) gave us a clear idea of the Galician architectural monument. The foundations indicated that it was a four-pillar, three-apse church, which rested on square foundations, each side being 17 metres long. The total length of the Church, including apses, was 19.60 metres [14, p. 252-253].

According to the archaeologist Yu. Luokomykhi (Lviv), the distinguishing feature of the Church was solid inner beams of the foundations, which divided the building lengthwise into three naves. Such a base for the dome supporting pillars indicated that the Church was much older than other sacred buildings of the Principality of Halych. According to the scientist, the Church dated back to the first half of the 12th century [20, p. 6]. Thus the whole complex of archaeological finds discovered at the site of the Church of the Holy Saviour dated back to the mid- or the second half of the 12th century.

Another important artefact was discovered at site of the Church of the Holy Saviour. According to a historian S. Borchuk, a stone coffin was found in the rampart running around the ancient Church. It was buried at a depth of a metre and a half. When the lid was raised, it became evident that the remains had been desecrated because the bones lay in disorder. A broken cup, a fragment of fabric and a metal buckle were found in the coffin [3, p. 145]. According to Yu. Luokomykhi, Volodymyrko Volodarevych was buried in a white stone sarcophagus [20, p. 6]. Presumably, both scientists meant the sarcophagus discovered near the foundations of the Church of the Holy Saviour in 1883. I. Sharaneyvych described the stone coffin as similar to those of the Princes of Kyivan Rus, to the sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise in particular. The Princes of Kyiv were buried in marble sarcophagi, the Princes of Galicia, in the sarcophagi made of granular sandstone [37, p. 2].

In his novel ‘Галицька брама’ (‘The Gate of Halych’), S. Pushyk blamed I. Sharaneyvych and L. Lavretskeyi for ‘their irreparable mistake’ because they ‘left the find unattended and let the thieves
dug the sarcophagus out, crush it or sink it in the Limnytsia’ [29, p. 193]. I did not find evidence to corroborate this claim in any of the works by I. Sharanevych, L. Lavretskyi or A. Petrushevych.

I. Sharanevych’s assumption that the discovered ruins were the remains of the court Church of Prince Volodymyrko Volodarevych was based on the fact that the place allows a good view of the village of Bovshiv. It was stated in the Hypatian Codex that Petro Boryslavych, Ambassador of Izyaslav of Kyiv, left Halych and went to Bovshiv to stay a night there [42, p. 163].

A reasoned discussion paves the way to the truth. As to the discussions on the archaeological discoveries in Halych, not all of them were reasoned. Yo. Pelenskyi (1879-1957), an art critic who in the early 20th century studied the history of Halych, rejected I. Sharanevych’s theory and suggested that in Princely Halych there were two Churches of the Holy Saviour [24, p. 73]. Having examined the archaeological site in Krylos in 1909 and 1911, he claimed that the Princes’ Palace was located in Zolotyi Tik [24, p. 103-108].

Another fly in the ointment was a revised edition of the book ‘Про соборну Богородичну церкву в Галиці з першої половини XII століття’ (‘On the Cathedral Church of Holy Mary in Halych Dating from the First Half of the 12th Century’) by A. Petrushevych published in Lviv in 1904. He criticized I. Sharanevych’s hypothesis and stated that Zamkova Mountain in modern Halych was the site of ‘the Prince’s court and the Church of the Holy Saviour, the latter being situated lower than the court; the passages to the Church were the place from which Prince Volodymyrko could conveniently watch Kyiv Ambassador Petro Boryslavych heading for the neighbouring village of Bovshiv on the other side of the Dniester to spend a night there’ [28, p. 34-35]. However A. Petrushevych did not provide any concrete proof of his statement.

Thus convincing and logical arguments got mixed with spurious ones; as a result, new generations of researchers abandoned the search for the Palace. It had to be looked for in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Saviour discovered by L. Lavretskyi. For if there was the Church, there were people who worshiped in it. A researcher has to find out who they were.

It is quite probable that the author of the tale about the death of Volodymyrko, Prince of Galicia, in the Kyivan Chronicle witnessed the events on the Zalukva heights. The negotiations between boyar Petro Boryslavych, Ambassador of Izyaslav of Kyiv, and the Lord of Galicia were a complete fiasco; ‘Petro left the Prince’s court and Volodymyr went to the Holy Saviour for the evening Service. From the passage leading to the Church, he saw Petro riding and mocked at him, “The Ruthenian departed having seized all the volosts*”. He said that and went to the choir loft. Having sung the evening Service, Volodymyr left the Church. At the very place where he had mocked at Petro, he said, “Ouch! Someone has hit me on my shoulder!” And he could not move any further and began falling down’ [19, p. 257]. Then it was told how Petro Boryslavych crossed the Dniester River and stayed a night in Bovshiv. At dawn, the Prince’s servants arrived there and asked the Ambassador to wait. In the afternoon he returned to the Palace and Yaroslav Osmomysl himself told him about the death of his father, Prince Volodymyr Volodarevych [19, p. 258].

This episode in the Kyivan Chronicle clearly indicates the location of the Prince’s court in Halych. Besides, in one of his published papers, I. Sharanevych noted that excavating the site in spring 1882, they ‘discovered the foundations of some man-made stone building between St. Stanislaus and the ruins of the Church of the Holy Saviour, probably, the Princes’ Palace itself’ [39, p. 304].

The archaeological triumph of Yaroslav Pasternak on Krylos Mountain in 1936 – the discovery of the foundations of the Assumption Cathedral – overshadowed the importance of the excavations at the site of the Church of the Holy Saviour. Feeling inspired, the scientist started looking for the site of the Princes’ Palace. Having analyzed the text the Hypatian Codex of 1153, the researcher concluded that, ‘the Prince’s court was somewhere on a high place, from which a road ran down. Quite close to it, there was the Church of the Holy Saviour; passages (a gallery) connected it with the court: stairs (a staircase) and passages led to the choir loft as though the Church was much lower than the Palace. The Prince’s Palace had two storeys; the word ‘горниця’ (archaism – ‘bedroom or private room’) meant ‘a room

*volost – province
upstairs'; private apartments, including a bathroom with a bath tub, were upstairs, downstairs there were the halls in which the 'дума' (Prince’s Council) meetings were held, foreign ambassadors and powerful merchants were received, banquets were given’ [22, p. 7].

Ya. Pasternak’s excavations of 1938-1940 gave him grounds to look for the remains of the Princes’ Palace and the court Church of the Holy Saviour in Zolotyi Tik public square. To the end of his life, he entertained the idea that Zolotyi Tik was the only possible site of ‘the whole Princes’ court; in it [there are] the ruins of the Palace of the Lords of Galicia and the court Church of the Holy Saviour’ [23, p. 211]. In Ya. Khmilevskyi and L. Chachkovskyi’s book ‘Княжий Галич’ (‘Princely Halych’), the site of the Prince’s court is marked with an arrow in the photo of Zolotyi Tik [35, p. 32].

In the Soviet period, Ukrainian archaeologists could not refer to the works by Ya. Pasternak; nevertheless, his hypothesis about the location of the Prince’s court in Zolotyi Tik dominated scientific research. For instance, the leading expert of Kyiv Institute of Archaeology V. Honcharov did not hesitate to interpret the results of Ya. Pasternak’s excavations of 1940-1941 as the discovery of the Princes’ Palace in Zolotyi Tik [6, p. 224]. Though in the works on the topography of Ancient Halych by V. Aulikh [1, p. 130-150] and O. Dzhedzhora [10, p. 292-303], we cannot find a direct answer to the question concerning the location of the Prince’s court.

Almost a century after the discovery of the Church of the Holy Saviour, O. Ioannisyan re-excavated the site and provided every evidence of it being the one mentioned in the Chronicle; he insisted that ‘the palace has to be looked for in the vicinity of the Church excavated by him and L. Lavretskyi’ [14, p. 39]. In his opinion, the Church of the Holy Saviour was built near the out-of-town residence of Prince Volodymyr Volodarevych. Such out-of-town residences were typical of Ancient Rus (Kidekska near Suzdal, Bogolyubovo near Vladimir, Rurik’s Settlement near Novgorod, Smyadyn near Smolensk). According to the Russian researcher Mihail Karger, the struggle between the Princes and the local city boyars was an important factor in the historical topography of Halych, in moving the Prince’s residence beyond the city limits, to the heights along the Limnytsia in particular [16, p. 14-21].

Professor M. Fihol (Ivano-Frankivsk) [33, p. 14] and the archaeologist Yu. Lukomskyi (Lviv) [20, p. 2-6] shared the professional judgement of M. Karger and O. Ioannisyan. The archaeologist Bohdan Tomenchuk (Ivano-Frankivsk) carried out his own long-term research and came up with quite a modernistic theory on historical typography of Ancient Halych. According to him, the site of the Church of the Holy Saviour mentioned in the Chronicle might be the court of Prince Volodymyr Volodarevych, probably, even that of Ivan Vasylkovych [31, p. 532].

Now that we have access to archaeological web sources and can get new information on valuable collections and items, Lavretskyi-Sharaneyvych’s theory seems to be worth reconsidering. Until recently, Ukrainian archaeologists knew very little about pendant seals of the Princes of Galicia. They are small tin discs bearing images of saints and inscriptions. These artefacts add to our knowledge of economic and diplomatic relations of the Principality of Halych and are valuable sources for researches on ancient Ruthenian iconography. In his extensive research on sphragistics of the Princes’ epoch, Academician Valentin Yanin mentioned only two seals found on the territory of Galician Rus; both of them might be attributed to a certain historical figure. One of the seals was discovered in Krylos, Ancient Halych; the other, in the village of Zelencha, Princely Terebovlia. They were of the same type, both bearing the images of John the Baptist and St. Basil the Great. V. Yanin suggested that seal 227 might belong to Ivan Vasylkovych, son of Prince Vasylko Rostyslavych of Terebovlia, who is mentioned in the Chronicle in 1140 [44, p. 129]. From the time he was first mentioned till his death in 1141, Ivan Vasylkovych was the Prince of Halych [20, p. 193].

Another seal of a Galician Prince was found in Zvenyhorod at the end of the 19th century. It is of a different sphragistic type. On the reverse side of the seal there is an inscription ‘Господа, помози рабу своєму Василі …’ (‘God, help your servant Vasili …’). On its front side there is the traditional iconographic image of St. Basil the Great. Academician Mykhaiilo Hrushevskyi, who was the first to describe the seal in scientific literature, attributed it to Vasylko of Terebovlia [8, p. 106]. V. Yanin disagreed with his assumption and suggested that the most probable owner of the seal was Volodymyr-Vasyl Vsevolodovich Monomakh [44, p. 70].
In the late 19th century, there were discovered seals with the canonical image of Our Lady of the Sign (Incarnation). Such a molibdobulla was found in Zvenyhorod; in scientific literature it was first described by M. Hrushevskyi [7, p. 21]. On its front side, Holy Mary raises her hands to heaven praying for all Christian people; there is a round medallion on her chest bearing the image of Christ Emmanuel (Child); Evangelist Matthew interpreted the images as ‘God is with us’. On the reverse side of the seal, there is the image of Basil of Caesarea robed in his episcopal vestment.

Later a similar bulla was found at Plisnensk archaeological site in Lviv region. It also bore the iconographic image of Basil the Great and head-and-shoulders image of Holy Mary ‘Unbreakable Wall’ [44, p. 222]. First M. Hrushevskyi and then the Russian scientists M. Likhachov and M. Tikhomirow suggested that the image of St. Basil was used by Vasylko Rostyslavych, Prince of Terebovlia (died in 1124), who was blinded by Davyd Ihorevych, Prince of Volynia, in 1097 in the course of internecine warfare [7, p. 22].

In 1963, the archaeologist V. Shelomentsev-Terskyi (Lviv), found a similar seal in Zvenyhorod; he did not date the artefact, neither did he attribute it to any particular person; describing the seal, he relied on the theories developed by his predecessors [43, p. 163-167]. V. Yanin, an expert on ancient Rus sphragistics, believed that the seals found in Plisnensk and Zvenyhorod belonged either to the Bishop of Volodymyr-Volynskyi eparchy (who was contemporary with Vasyl, Prince of Volodymyr-Volynskyi) or to the Bishop of Halych (who was contemporary with Vasyl, Prince of Halych). Though we do not have sufficient factual information about the Christian names of the 12th century Princes. It is probable that the seals come from one of the southern eparchies, which was under Volodymyr-Vasyl Monomakh (1113-1125). We do not have grounds to date the seals to the reign of Prince Vasylko of Terebovlia because there was no episcopal see in his land [44, p.149].

The general catalogue of ancient Ruthenian seals was published back in 1970. Nowadays various Internet sources provide information on dozens sphragistic artefacts of that period found on the territory of Western Ukraine [30].

In view of this fact, some old hypothesis and theories concerning the seals of Plisnensk and Zvenyhorod have to be reconsidered and attribution of this type of ancient Ruthenian molibdobullae has to be established. Since the already known artefacts with the iconographic image of Our Lady of the Sign are geographically related to the Principality of Halych and most of them were found in Halych, we may reasonably assume that they belonged to some well-known Prince of Galicia. The expert on sphragistics Igor Zhukov (Moscow) attributed them to Prince Vasylko of Terebovlia (1092-1124).

This hypothesis is hardly acceptable; the researcher overlooked the fact that most of these molibdobullae were discovered near the foundations of the Church of the Holy Saviour, at the archaeological site of the court of Volodymyrko Volodarevych, Prince of Galicia. Thus by no means could they belong to Vasylko of Terebovlia since the formation of the Prince’s court there started forming after 1141. There was one more fact disregarded by all the previous researchers: the image of Holy Mary on the seals is identical to that on the bullae of Kosma (Kuzma), first Bishop of Galicia, who was mentioned in the ancient Ruthenian Chronicles between 1157 and 1165.

Professor M. Hrushevskyi, who was the first to study the seals with inscriptions in Greek, which belonged to Bishop Kosma, assumed that the image of Holy Mary and Child Jesus was the patron image of the Holy Assumption Cathedral [9, p. 2]. Ya. Pasternak noted that the patron image was embedded in the middle apse of the Assumption Church in Krylos, which was built in the 16th century from the stones of the ancient Princes’ Cathedral.

The Holy Assumption Cathedral of Princely Halych was ruined by the Tatar Mongols in 1241. In the 16th-17th centuries the residents of Krylos built stone St. Basil’s Chapel at the burial place of Yaroslav Osmomysł (1153-1187), the founder of the Cathedral. V. Petryk (Lviv) found out that in the 18th century the Chapel belonged to St. Basil’s monastic order and in its altar there was a wonder-working icon of Holy Mary from Sokil Monastery. In the stone wall of the Chapel’s apse still visible are the traces of cutting alabaster decorations – the rectangular altar frame with the wonder-working icon of Saint Mary ‘Odighitria’ was inserted there; the icon of Holy Mary was hidden behind the icon of St. Basil the Great, which was made to slide up and down the grooves [26, p. 11]. I suggest that Vasylii was the Christian
name of Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl and the seals with the images of the Holy Father of the Eastern Church and of Holy Mary (the patron image of Halych) belonged to him.

There is another type of ancient Ruthenian seals which needs attribution – two similar molibdobullae of Halych-Krylos and of Terebovlia, which was mentioned in the Chronicle (№ 227); the seals bear the full-length image of Basil of Caesarea on one side and the full-length image of John the Baptist holding a cross in his left hand on the other. V. Yanin attributed them to Ivan Vasylkovych, Prince of Terebovlia, son of Vasylyko Rostyslavych (about 1140-1141) [44, p. 211].

In recent years, due to the ‘activity’ of illegal (the so called ‘black’) archaeologists private collections abroad, mostly in Russia, have been enriched with ancient Ruthenian seals found on the territory of Western Ukraine. These molibdobullae with the images of Basil the Great and John the Baptist (full-length and head-and-shoulders images) may be divided into at least three subtypes. The information is available on the websites of V. Yanin and P. Gaidukov, the Russian researchers in the field of ancient sphragistics (the catalogues of 1997-2001, 2003, 2004, 2005) [45].

Having analysed various types and subtypes of molibdobullae with patron images of St. Basil and St. John the Baptist found recently on territory of Western Ukraine, R. Savvov (Russia) came to the conclusion that they might belong to Volodymyrko Volodarevych, who in 1141 created the united Principality of Halych. (The Christian name of his father, Volodar Rostyslavych, was Ivan; the Prince was buried in the Cathedral of John the Baptist, built by him in Peremyshl.) Like Volodymyr the Great and Volodymyr Monomakh, Volodymyrko Volodarevych received the Christian name of Vasylly (Basil). Nevertheless Andriy Plakhotin (Kyiv) suggested that those seals might belong to the Vasylkovych dynasty of Terebovlia [25, p. 260-267].

According to I. Zhukov, a numerous group of pendant seals bearing the full-length images of St. Basil and St. John the Baptist may be attributed to Volodymyrko Volodarevych, Prince of Galicia, second son of Volodar Rostyslavych. 23-26 mm in diameter. This sphragistics group has many types and subtypes. Their topography covers the whole territory of Western Ukraine; the number of the already registered seals may equal that of the seals of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh of Kyiv. This is a powerful argument against the hypothesis put forward by V. Yanin who attributed seals 227 to Ihor (Ivan) Vasylkovych, Prince of Terebovlia. A minor, appanaged prince could not have forged such a wealth of seals with a great number of the dies, some matrices being 30 mm large and some seals being a true work of art. It is obvious that this type of seals could belong only to Volodymyrko Volodarevych (1104-1153), Prince of Zvenyhorod, Peremyshl, Halych, who united the principalities of Galicia and actually became independent from Kyiv.

It should be mentioned that more than 30 seals bearing the images of Basil the Great and John the Baptist were found at the sight of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Halych. It indicates that the ruins of the State Chancellery of the mid-12th century Galicia are buried under a thick layer of earth there. The fact that archaeologists keep finding similar molibdobullae on the north-eastern boundaries of the Principality of Halych corroborates this hypothesis [46]; according to the Chronicle, in the mid-12th century it was the site of the struggle between Volodymyrko Volodarevych and Iziaslav Mstyslavych, the Great Prince of Kyiv (1141-1154), for the so called ‘Pohoryn Lands’ (the lands along the Horyn River).

I have deciphered the iconographic content of a seal from the collection of Krylos Historical Museum of ‘Ancient Halych’ and proved that it used to belong to Iziaslav-Panteleimon Mstyslavych-Fedorovych. The seal was found at the archaeological site of the Church of the Holy Saviour, which was mentioned in the Chronicle. In the Chronicle, the court of Prince Volodymyrko was referred to but once – in the context of the tale about the embassy of Kyiv Lord Iziaslav Mstyslavych. Archaeologist B. Tomenchuk made a shrewd comment on the event, ‘Volodymyrko Volodarevych and Iziaslav-Panteleimon; it was one epoch that brought together, closer than ever, the two Princes of the great Ukrainian lands – alas, as enemies’ [32, p. 27]. Thus sphragistic sources made it possible to find out that two Princes of Galicia – Volodymyrko Volodarevych and Yaroslav Osmomysl, – following the tradition of the Great Princes of Kyiv, received the Christian name of Vasyl.
The concentration of seals in particular areas of Princely Halych may be a deciding factor in selecting archaeological research sites. In this context, the search for the State Chancellery and the Palace of Prince Volodymyrko Volodarevych in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Saviour is a worthwhile idea.

Thus I may conclude that the materials published in Lviv newspapers in the 1880s are an important source for the archaeological researches on Princely Halych; the results obtained by modern Ukrainian historians prove their great value. The archive materials on the excavations of the Church of the Holy Saviour on the Zalukva Heights may provide a useful clue as to the location of the Prince’s court of Volodymyrko Volodarevych, the founder of the Principality of Halych.

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Якщо взяти як наближений еталон статистичні висновки, що археологічна територія княжого Галича вивчена стаціонарними розкопами й локальними розвідковими дослідженнями на неповних десять відсотків, то можна собі уявити справжні перспективи археологічного майбутнього загиблої міста. Автор статті взявся за нове прочитання наукових праць і науково-популярних публікацій Антона Петрушевича, Льва Лаврецького та Ізидора Шараневича. Бо саме завдяки їхній науковій діяльності в останній декаді квітня 1882 року розпочалися археологічні дослідження столиці могутнього Галицького князівства, причому на місці спорудження першого християнського храму в місті – літописної Спаської церкви. Дослідник приходить до висновків на основі залучення до наукового обігу маловідомих публікацій, уміщених у львівській періодиці 80-х років XIX ст., про міжнародне наукове визнання розкопок Лаврецького-Шараневича та їх вплив тоді на пробудження національного й культурного життя українців Галичини. Саме тому не можна зрозуміти, чому жоден з наступних представників майбутніх поколінь археологів Галича не намагався вийти з широкомасштабними розкопками за межі фундаментів Спаської церкви і, таким чином, встановити природу суспільно-історичного й топографічного середовища прилеглої до пам’ятки території. А тим більше, що всі привівні печатки, знайдені нещодавно тут різними археологами-любителями, сучасні вчені-сфрагістологи ідентифікують з особою галицького князя Володимирка Володаревича (1141 – 1153).

Висновки вчених не тільки узгоджуються з повідомленнями Київського літопису та гіпотезами перших безпосередніх дослідників Спаської церкви, але й дають підстави до відкриття тут державної канцелярії галицьких володарів XII ст. та таємничого літописного палацу. Поки що цього не вдавалося зробити жодному з археологів у княжому Галичі, хоча тут правила представники різних княжих династій, маючи свої резиденції.

Ключові слова: Антін Петрушевич, археологія, Галич, Залуківська височина, Ізидор Шараневич, Лев Лаврецький, Спаська церква, сфрагістика, печатки.