

The 12th Century Arch-gabled Churches in the Southern Region of Old Rus (Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi) Based on the Materials of the Archaeological Excavations¹

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Abstract: *The article deals with the churches of the 12th century found out by the materials of the archaeological excavations in Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, and Chernihiv. The study of these materials made it possible to specify the development of the arch-gabled church in the 12th century. Finding out the porches that complemented the main volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv by the archaeological excavations in the 1990s allows to consider this cathedral not only a complete model of the arch-gabled church, but also the initial stage of the development of pillar-shaped church. The peculiarities of Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi churches of the second quarter of the 12th century illustrate the initial stage of spreading Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church and thus transforming it from local to interregional. In addition, it is established the emergence of a new variant in the second quarter of the 12th century in Kyiv on the basis of Chernihiv one. It was Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which in the second half of the 12th century became interregional. The characteristic features of the planning solution of Kyiv and Chernihiv churches in the second half of the 12th century allow the fact that the pillar-shaped church gradually emerged on the basis of the arch-gabled church.*

Keywords: architecture, Kyivan Rus, 12th century, arch-gabled church, pillar-shaped church, materials of the archaeological excavations.

The arch-gabled church is the most widespread type of church architecture in Old Rus of pre-Mongol period. The defining feature of the arch-gabled church is the continuous rows of arch gables located above all the façades, which complete not only the wall parts corresponding to the ends of the ramen of the spatial cross, but also the small bays of all the corner compartments, regardless of the nature of their overlap. So, in such churches, only one part of the arch gables is constructive, that is, they fill the ends of

¹ The research was carried out within the framework of a Research Scholarship of the German Archaeological Institute (01.07.2023–31.12.2023).

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the cylindrical vaults that overlook the façades, and the other part of the arch gables is decorative, as their semicircles are located next to the slopes of the vaults. Therefore, the arch-gabled completion of the façades should be considered as an aesthetic principle independent of the structural design of the vaults.

Since the end of the 19th century, in the Russian Empire, the opinion has prevailed in science that the arch-gabled church was borrowed from Byzantium in its completed forms. The highest stage of arch-gabled church development was considered to be the cathedrals of Moscow Kremlin (15th century), which testified the hereditary connection between the Byzantine empire and Moscovia, and later the Russian empire². The features of the local originality of pre-Mongol architecture began to be determined only in the Soviet period in the churches of pillar-shaped compositions, which were first noticed in the 1930s³. During that period, features of originality were also found in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv (chronicles give two dates of its foundation: 1017 or 1037), such as its multi-domed and pyramidal composition, which has no analogues in Byzantine architecture⁴. A concept emerged that built the line of development of the local Old Rus architectural tradition from the pyramidal St. Sophia in Kyiv to the pillar-shaped churches of the 12th century, and from them to the Russian tent churches of the 16th and 17th centuries⁵. The arch-gabled church fell out of the development line as a Byzantine borrowing that had no local specificity.

Although back in the 1930s, Aleksey Nekrasov first drew attention to the fact that decorative arch gables were unknown in Byzantine architecture. From the context of his thoughts, it is implied that the arch-gabled church was formed in Byzantium due to the use of cross vaults. But in the Kyiv of the 11th century, cross vaults were not known, as a result, decorative arch

² Андрей Павлинов, *История русской архитектуры*, Типо-литогр. Т-ва И.Н. Кушнерев К°, Москва, 1894, с. 1–96, 130–137. Алексей Новицкий, *История русского искусства с древнейших времен: в 2 т., Том I*, Изд. В. Н. Линд, Москва, 1903, с. 34–50, 69–88, 158–177, 184–200. Игорь Грабарь, *История Русского Искусства, Том I. Архитектура. История архитектуры. До-Петровская эпоха*, Изд-во. И. Кнебель, Москва, 1910, с. 145–254, 303–330.

³ Николай Брунов, *К вопросу о самостоятельных чертах русской архитектуры X–XII вв.* in the edition *Русская архитектура. Доклады, прочитанные в связи с декадником по русской архитектуре в Москве в апреле 1939 г.*, Гос. архитектур. изд-во Акад. архитектуры СССР, Москва, 1940, с. 123–126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, с. 121–123.

⁵ *Ibid.*, с. 126. Later, similar views were expressed by Nikolay Voronin (Николай Воронин, “У истоков русского национального зодчества” in “Архитектура СССР”, 5/1944, с. 32–37. Николай Воронин, *У истоков русского национального зодчества (Из истории зодчества периода феодальной раздробленности XI–XV вв.)* in the edition *Ежегодник Института истории искусств: Живопись. Архитектура*, Изд-во Академии наук СССР, Москва, 1952, с. 257–316).

gables emerged there⁶. However, in the 1930s, the ideas of Aleksey Nekrasov were not developed. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that Aleksey Komech determined that the arch-gabled church had not been borrowed from Byzantium, but was formed in Kyiv in the second half of the 11th century on the basis of transplanted Byzantine forms. Thus, the arch-gabled church is one of the first innovations of the Kyivan Rus architectural tradition⁷. However, the researches by Aleksey Komech are chronologically limited in the early 12th century, when regional variants of the arch-gabled church were only beginning to be formed. After his researches being published, the problems of the development of arch-gabled church were not dealt with in detail.

In recent years, we have identified in our researches several regional variants of the arch-gabled church of the 12th century⁸. The main materials for these studies were mostly preserved churches, including measurement of those that were destroyed in the 20th century. The churches known from the archaeological excavations have hardly been considered. However, without taking into account the archaeological monuments, the picture of the arch-gabled church development in the 12th century cannot be considered complete. In this article, we have analyzed the churches of the 12th century known from the archaeological researches in the southern regions of Old Rus (Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi).

To begin with, the stages of the arch-gabled church development put forward in my researches, determined mainly by the preserved monuments, are to be considered.

• From the late 10th to the first half of the 11th century

During the archaeological excavations in 1948 (led by Mikhail Karger) of the first stone church of Old Rus, the Tithe (Desiatynna) Church (989–996, almost completely destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1240) in Kyiv, a masonry block with a fragment of the arch gable and the remains of the dogtooth cornice along its semicircle was found. The dogtooth cornice was covered in plaster and painted with a decorative fresco. The remains of a tile covering (the size of one tile being 60x30 cm)⁹ have been preserved on the arch gable, which proves that the arch gable dated back to the original period

⁶ Алексей Некрасов, *Византийское и русское искусство*, Изд-во Гос. универсал. магазина, Москва, 1924, с. 55–56.

⁷ The final monography Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. Византийское наследие и становление самостоятельной традиции*, Наука, Москва, 1987, с. 260–285.

⁸ Катерина Міхєєнко, *Закомарний храм. Регіональні традиції* in the edition *Українська академія мистецтва. Дослідницькі та науково-методичні праці*, Вип. 27, Київ, 2018, с. 33–43.

⁹ Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1961, с. 51–54, рис. 14–16.

of the church construction (end of the 10th century), in the 11th century Kyiv churches were covered with lead sheets. The location of the arch gable indicates that it was a fragment of the façade of the second floor of the western gallery, its side bay adjacent to the central one from the north. Therefore, this arch gable belongs to the western part of the church (the western gallery), so it does not provide information if there could have been a continuous arch-gabled completion of all the church façades.

In the preserved Kyivan Rus churches of the first half of the 11th century, arch gables *in situ* are known only in the Transfiguration Cathedral (founded before 1036) in Chernihiv. Here, the arch gables are only located at the ends of the spatial cross. They are all constructive and are connected to the typically Byzantine horizontal cornices above all bays of other compartments, which have retained the horizontal ending brought under the cornices¹⁰. In St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv (chronicles give two dates of its foundation: 1017 and 1037), semicircular arch gables have been preserved at the arms of the transept ends (the western one has been completely lost), and the shape of the five-naves core corner part edges under the small dome drums have not been clarified. None of the inner galleries has preserved either the overlap or the façade walls of the second floor, so it is unknown what the original completion of the façades of St. Sophia of Kyiv looked like¹¹.

The history of the formation of the arch-gabled church began with St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod (1045–1050/52), that preserved the earliest known arch gables over the small bays of the façade walls of the main core, including one decorative arch gable. In addition, the western gallery of the cathedral ends with constructive arch gables (similar to the narthex of Byzantine churches). Analysing the composition of St. Sophia of Novgorod, Aleksey Komech notes that a system of arch-gabled completion has not been developed here yet, as arch gables were combined with horizontal cornices, triangular gables, and quarter circle completion¹². Nevertheless, the process of forming the arch-gabled completion in St. Sophia of Novgorod has already begun, so it may be considered a “proto-arch-gabled” church. It is possible that the process of the emergence of arch gables over small bays of the façade walls, similar to those in St. Sophia of Novgorod, might also take place in Kyiv in the middle of the 11th century in St. Iryna’s Church, St. George’s Church and the Church in the Manor of the Metropolitan House. But these

¹⁰ Николай Холостенко, *Исследования Спасского собора в Чернигове* in the edition *Реставрация и исследования памятников культуры*, Вып. 3, Стройиздат, Москва, 1990, с. 8.

¹¹ The analysis of different variants of reconstructing the original appearance of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv is presented in the publication by Yuri Korniuk (Юрій Коренюк, “Проблеми дослідження Софійського собору: історія та сучасність” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, Спецвип. 1/2013, с. 10–17).

¹² Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ...* с. 248.

monuments are known only from the materials of the archaeological researches, which do not give any idea of the nature of the completion of their façade walls.

• ***The second half of the 11th century***

The Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery in Kyiv (1073–1087) is considered to be the first arch-gabled church. Its main volume is an elongated west-east parallelepiped, topped by a single dome. During the dismantling of the cathedral ruins (after the explosion in 1941), a fragment of the composition of a window and two niches from the plane of the arch gable was found, which became the basis for the reconstruction of the arch-gabled completion (Mykola Kholostenko)¹³. The three-dimensional composition of the Dormition Cathedral is characterised by the lowering of side apses, so the arch gables of the eastern corner compartments were lowered accordingly (Aleksey Komech)¹⁴.

St. Michael's Church (1070–1088) of Vydubtskyi Monastery in Kyiv, built almost simultaneously with the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery, has preserved only the western part. The narthex of St. Michael's Church was completed with arch gables, it is proved that the remains of the lower parts of windows or niches that have been preserved in the semicircles that were supposed to complete the southern bay of its western wall and the southern end wall. The existence of the arch gables above the small bays of the naos is demonstrated by the preserved remains of double ledges on the lesenes, that are the lower parts of the profiling of the arch gable semicircles starting from the level of the springers of the small arches of the vaults over the choirs¹⁵.

• ***The first decade of the 12th century***

Built in 1108–1113, St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral represents the completed form of the arch-gabled church with a narthex. The volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is the same as that of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery, an elongated horizontal parallelepiped topped with a single dome (Fig. 1). St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is

¹³ Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря* in the edition *Стародавній Київ*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1975, с. 151–153.

¹⁴ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ... с. 272*. According to the reconstruction proposed by Mykola Kholostenko, all the vaults of the corner compartments of the Dormition Cathedral were lowered, and the small arch gables were lowered accordingly, their crowns were located at the level of the springers of the large arched gables in the ends of the arms of the spatial cross (Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря ... с. 153*. Микола Холостенко, *Нові дослідження Іоанно-Предтеченської церкви та реконструкція Успенського собору Києво-Печерської лаври* in the edition *Археологічні дослідження стародавнього Києва*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1976, с. 144, рис. 14, 15). However, in reality, such a lowering of the vaults was fixed only in the eastern part of the church (Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря ... с. 151–154*).

¹⁵ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ... с. 265*.

sometimes called a smaller copy of the Dormition Cathedral. However, in St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, according to measurements and photographs by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy, when the side apses were lowered, the springers of all arch gables were on the same level¹⁶, unlike the Dormition Cathedral, that had lowered eastern arch gables. Nevertheless, the niches on the eastern arch gables were noticeably lower than those of the other small arch gables, which approximately corresponded to the level of the lowered eastern corner vaults. Thus, the rise of the eastern bays by the addition of decorative arch gables was obviously due to new tastes, while the preservation of lower niches was in line with the old tradition. Emphasising this, Aleksey Komech calls the niches on the eastern arch gables of the side façades of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral a "double decoration"¹⁷. The horizontal static volume with a narthex characteristic of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral would later become the most widespread compositional variant of the arch-gabled church.

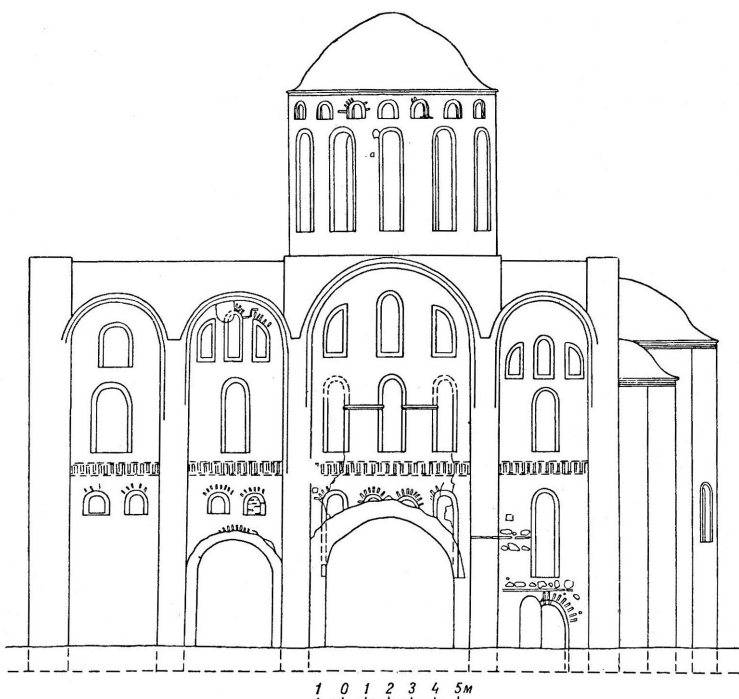


Fig. 1: Golden Domed

¹⁶ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-875, Н-884, Н-1807. Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 279, табл. XLVII.

¹⁷ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ...* с. 280.

At the same time with St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, the arch-gabled church without a narthex emerged. The Trinity Gate Church (after 1106) of Pechersk Monastery was the first to represent that variant of church¹⁸. The Trinity Gate Church has a square plan and its façades have the same centrally symmetrical build, creating a new composition with a vertical orientation of the church volume, in contrast to the elongated parallelepiped of the churches with narthex (Fig. 2). In the three-dimensional solution of the Trinity Gate Church, the composition of the newly formed arch-gabled church undergoes certain transformations, which may be interpreted as the initial stage of the development of churches with a vertical composition. This stage is limited to increasing the height of the main volume of the church and the vertical orientation of the decorative elements of the façades.

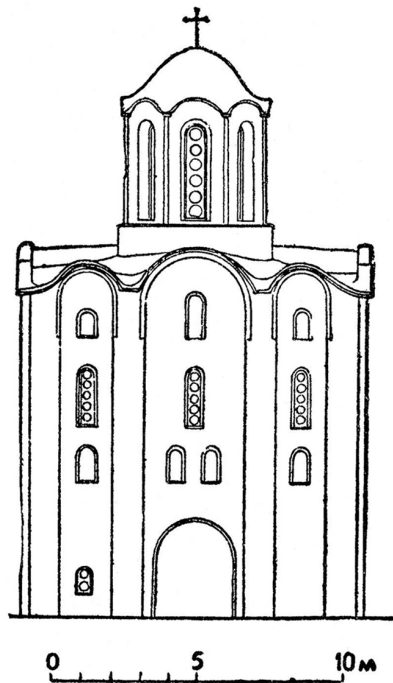


Fig. 2: Trinity Gate Church

¹⁸ The earliest known four-pillared church without a narthex is the Church of St. John the Baptist (late 11th century), which was adjacent to the northern end of the narthex of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery. But the Church of St. John the Baptist was not a separate church. The baptistery adjacent to the southern end of narthex of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral had a similar planning solution. The first known separate church, not an addition to the cathedral, was the Trinity Gate Church of Pechersk Monastery, which, probably, followed the planning solution of the church on the Golden Gate, that has not been preserved.

Similar features are inherent in another Kyiv church, the Church of the Saviour on Berestov (1113–1125). Having a narthex, the plan of this church was elongated, but its considerable height gave its three-dimensional composition a certain vertical orientation (Fig. 3). It was emphasized by the composition of windows arranged in vertical tiers between the lesenes. In addition, three porches emerge in the Church of the Saviour on Berestov, which are the elements of a stepped composition. It should be emphasized that a trefoil arch was fixed for the first time in the overlap of those porches (traces of the junction of the vault of the western porch in the form of a trefoil arch have been preserved on the western wall of the narthex). This trefoil form began to be widely used in pillar-shaped churches from the end of the 12th century. It should also be noted that the Church of the Saviour on Berestov was built only of brick with a recessed row (recessed brick technique), unlike other Kyiv monuments of the early 12th century, which used the “opus mixtum” masonry technique of stone and bricks with a recessed row. The “opus mixtum” remained unchanged in Kyiv from the time of the construction of the Tithe Church in the late 10th century to the first decades of the 12th century.

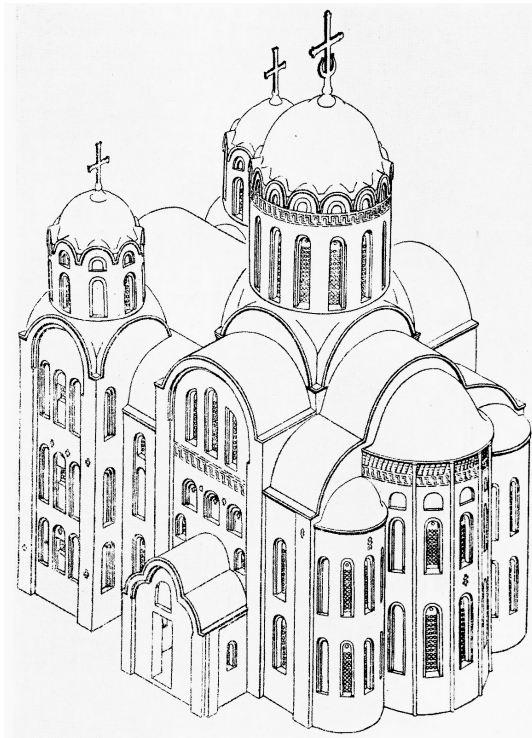


Fig. 3: Berestov

• ***The first quarter of the 12th century***

Almost simultaneously, in the early 12th century in Kyiv, with the emergence of completed forms of the arch-gabled church in two compositional types: with a narthex and without a narthex, the first regional variants of the arch-gabled church were formed in Novgorod and Chernihiv. Both of these regional variants are characterized by the location of the springers of all arch gables at the same level, with no lowering of the eastern part. Novgorod variant is a transformation of the aesthetic model of the arch-gabled church represented in St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral under the influence of St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod. All Novgorod churches of the first quarter of the 12th century have narthex, but compared to Kyiv churches, they are higher, which gives their volumes a vertical orientation. The churches of Novgorod, like those of Kyiv, were built of stone and brick using the "opus mixtum" masonry technique¹⁹. Chernihiv variant very closely follows the horizontally oriented three-dimensional composition of Kyiv St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, but implements this composition in the masonry technique "opus isodos". At the same time, Romanesque constructions (cross vaults) and decorative elements (Lombard band, deeply recessed portals, semi-columns on lesenes) emerged in Chernihiv churches. In addition, in those churches the staircase to the choirs is located in the thickness of one of the walls, unlike Kyiv and Novgorod churches, where the staircase to the choirs is located in a tower attached to partially or completely incorporated into the narthex²⁰.

• ***From the middle of the 1120s to the 1150s***

Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church widespread to the southern and southwestern regions of Old Rus (Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, Smolensk, Volodymyr-Volynskyi, and Staraya Ryazan) and becomes interregional. Accordingly, the masonry technique "opus isodos" is also spreading with it. Along with Chernihiv variant spreading, regional variants of the arch-gabled

¹⁹ The local transformation of the masonry technique "opus mixtum" is associated with using large quantities of limestone in Novgorod (Павел Раппопорт, *Зодчество Древней Руси*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1986, с. 68).

²⁰ The location of the staircase in the tower adjacent to the narthex is typical for Novgorod churches of the first quarter of the 12th century. In the 11th century, this can be seen in the Transfiguration Cathedral in Chernihiv and St. Sophia Cathedral in Polotsk. In other churches of the 11th century, stair towers are located in the narthex or built into galleries, in particular in St. Sophia of Kyiv and St. Sophia of Novgorod. A stair tower is partially included in the volume of the narthex in St. Michael's Church (1070–1088) of Vydubyskyi Monastery in Kyiv. And in Kyiv St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113), the stair tower is completely included in the volume of the narthex, its shape is not visible from the outside. It is not known how the staircase to the choirs in the Dormition Cathedral (1073–1087) of Pechersk Monastery looked like and where it was situated, according to which different opinions have been expressed (Павел Раппопорт, *Русская архитектура X–XIII вв.: каталог памятников*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1982, с. 24).

church without a narthex emerged in the second half of the 1120s. At that time, one of the first variants probably emerged in Halych land. It was distinguished from all the others by its building materials: instead of brick it is limestone, carefully squared and laid on very thin mortar joints. But all the monuments of this variant are known only from archaeological excavations.

From the end of the 1120s, a deliberate search for a vertical composition was carried out within the churches of the arch-gabled type, the centre of which was Polotsk. There emerged several variants of “proto-pillar-shaped” churches, which are known mainly from the archaeological excavations²¹. A characteristic feature of Polotsk churches is that they were built of brick using the recessed brick technique, as in Kyiv Church of the Saviour on Berestov.

• *From the 1160s to the end of the 12th century*

The construction of the arch-gabled churches with a narthex is almost completely stopped. Instead, the arch-gabled churches without a narthex have become widespread, with several regional variants emerging. The churches that have the features of Chernihiv variant but do not have a narthex were built in Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Smolensk. The earliest preserved monuments of this variant are known in Smolensk and can be considered interregional in the second half of the 12th century, replacing Chernihiv variant, which used to be interregional from the middle of the 1120s to the 1160s.

In addition to the interregional variant of the second half of the 12th century, local variants of the arch-gabled church without a narthex also emerged. In Novgorod land, this is Staraya Ladoga variant, which has been developed from Novgorod one of the early 12th century, where the lack of a narthex differs Staraya Ladoga variant from Novgorod one. Another local variant of the arch-gabled church without a narthex, that did not go beyond the region of its formation, emerged in the middle of the 12th century in Vladimir-Suzdal land. Its characteristic features are the using of carefully squared limestone as building material and Romanesque decoration (a band of blind arcading supporting on ornamental colonettes, deeply recessed portals and archivolt of windows, and the introduction of exterior sculpture). It can be assumed that the basis for Vladimir-Suzdal variant of the arch-gabled church was Halych one, which emerged in the second quarter of the 12th century and was also characterized by using carefully squared limestone as building material. So, in science it is widely believed that in the middle of the 12th century craftsmen from Halych land came to Vladimir-Suzdal land²².

²¹ For more details, see Катерина Міхєєнко, “З історії храмобудування Київської Русі” in “Український історичний журнал”, 4 (565)/2022, с. 214–230.

²² Николай Воронин, *Зодчество Северо-Восточной Руси XII–XV веков: в 2 т., Том I. XII столетие*, Изд-во АН СССР, Москва, 1961, с. 107–110. Олег Иоаннисян, *Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в.* in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т., Том 2/1. Искусство 20–60-х годов XII века*, Государственный институт искусствознания, Москва, 2012, с. 143–144.

In the 1180s–1190s, churches with a set of typical features of pillar-shaped compositions emerged in different cultural centres (Smolensk, Kyiv, Ovruch, and Bilgorod), including a vertical volume with a trefoil walls completion, as well as vertically oriented elements of façade decoration, primarily figurine-shaped lesenes. During that period, there was the standardisation of the pillar-shaped type, which at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries almost completely replaced the arch-gabled type and became interregional until 1240, when the development of architecture was interrupted by the Mongol invasion.

Focusing on the defined stages of the development of the arch-gabled church, we turn to the churches of Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, and Chernihiv, known from the archaeological materials, to detail the process of development of the arch-gabled church in the 12th century.

• ***The first decade of the 12th century***

St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv, founded by Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych in 1108 (he was buried in this church in 1113), was apparently completely preserved after the Mongol invasion of 1240. During the 17th and 18th centuries, additions were made to the Old Rus building and the cathedral got a Baroque look. The church existed in this form until 1937, when it was destroyed by the order of the Soviet authorities. In the 1970s and 1980s, Aleksey Komech determined that St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral represented the complete form of the arch-gabled type of church, because springers of all arch gables were located on the same level²³. Such an aesthetic model would become the basis for the development of regional variants of arch-gabled church during the 12th century.

The materials for the study of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral during the 20th century was based on the researches by Ipolyt Morhilevskyi, made before the destruction of the church in 1937²⁴. Based on those materials, Aleksey Komech defined the role of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral as the key stage in the development of the arch-gabled church. However, new important materials for specifying the role of St. Michael's

²³ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в.* ... с. 280.

²⁴ The materials by Ipolyt Morhilevskyi (photos taken before and during the destruction of the cathedral, and photos of his measurement drawings) are kept in the National Conservation Area "St. Sophia of Kyiv" (Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-320, Н-387, Н-436, Н-437, Н-549–Н-551, Н-759–Н-765, Н-781–Н-792, Н-808–Н-838, Н-870–Н-873, Н-875–Н-878, Н-880–Н-893, Н-958, Н-1115, Н-1508, Н-1807, Н-1925, Н-4242, Н-4250–Н-4255, Н-4258, Н-4260, Н-4284, Н-4305, Н-4306, Н-4310–Н-4313, Н-4315, Н-4333–Н-4342, Н-4355–Н-4359). Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города*.... с. 276–277, 279, 281–282, табл. XLVII–L).

Golden-Domed Cathedral in the development of Old Rus architecture was provided by the archaeological researches in the 1990s (1992–1994 led by Viktor Kharlamov²⁵, and 1996–1997 by Hleb Ivakin²⁶). At that time, the entire area of the church plan was excavated. One of the most important results of which was the finding out of the additions to the main Old Rus church volume, that was a four-pillared with a narthex (Fig. 4). The Church of the Entry of the Lord into Jerusalem (often called the baptistery in the scientific literature) was added to the southern end of the narthex. In addition, porches were built next to the western and northern portals. While the baptistery was known in the scientific literature (the remains of its foundations were firstly recorded by Petr Lashkarev in 1888²⁷), the porches were firstly found out during excavations in 1996–1997. Based on the masonry technique and building materials, the additions (baptistery and porches) were built shortly after the construction of the main volume of the church²⁸.

²⁵ Віктор Харламов, Володимир Гончар, Геннадій Трофименко, Звіт про розкопки пам'ятки архітектури XII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1992 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1992/1, 74 арк. Віктор Харламов, Володимир Гончар, Звіт про архітектурно-археологічні розкопки пам'ятки архітектури XII–XVIII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1993 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1993/13, 39 арк.

²⁶ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, 201 арк. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том III. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, табл. 1–88. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IIIб. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, табл. 89–163. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IV. Кресленки до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, 82 кресленки. Some materials were published in the article by Hleb Ivakin (Гліб Івакін, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” in “Пам'ятки України: історія та культура”, 1/1999, с. 52–59).

²⁷ Петр Лашкарев, *Церковно-археологические очерки, исследования и рефераты*, Тип. И. И. Чоколова, Киев, 1898, с. 238–239.

²⁸ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 8.

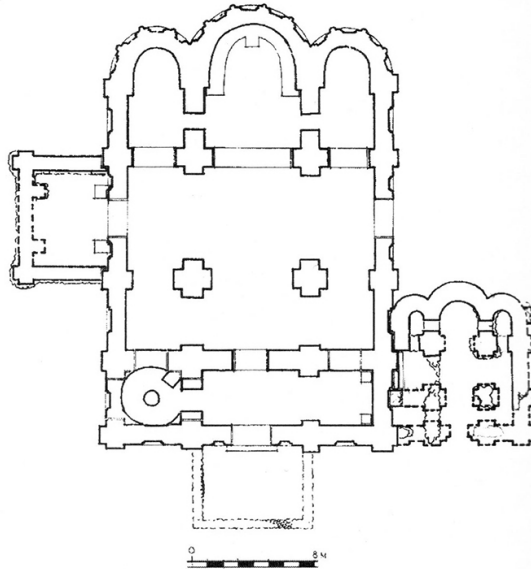


Fig. 4: Golden Domed plan

The foundation remains of Church of the Entry of the Lord into Jerusalem (baptistery), which was added to the southern end of the cathedral narthex after its final completion and plastering facade walls, have hardly ever been preserved. The baptistery was small three-apsed and four-pillared (about 10.8 m long and about 8.6 m wide)²⁹. Its altar pillars were cross-shaped (only one row of wall bricks has been preserved)³⁰. The western pair of pillars were not preserved, but the outline of the southwestern pillar was fixed from the brick prints on the mortar layer. It turned out that this pillar was not cross-shaped, but octagonal in shape. The only trace of the northwestern side, the size of which was approximately 70 cm, has been completely preserved. Obviously, the northwestern pillar was of the same shape³¹. The octagonal pillars fixed in the baptistery indicate that it is one of the earliest examples of sub-domed pillars of this form in Old Rus architecture. Before that, it was believed that octagonal pillars firstly emerged in the Nativity of the Virgin Cathedral (1117–1122) in St. Antony's monastery in Novgorod. Another important feature of the southern wall of the baptistery of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is the lack of an inner lesene in front of the western pair of pillars. From the point of view of the scientists who took part in the excavations, this indicates the specific features of the monument overlap³², and the façades possibly had trefoil completion³³.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, арк. 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, арк. 28.

³¹ *Ibid.*, арк. 30.

³² *Ibid.*, арк. 29.

However, according to Aleksey Komech, the baptistery was completed with arch gables, similar to those of the Church of St. John the Baptist of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery³⁴.

The previously unknown porches to the northern and western portals (located in the central bays of the facades), found out in the archaeological excavations in 1997, were rectangular in shape in the plan. The northern porch (internal dimensions: 6.37 m in the east-west direction and 4.98 m in the north-south direction) has been better preserved. Its eastern and western walls have been preserved to the height from 3 to 4 rows of brick masonry, and only the foundation of rubble stone with signinum mortar remains from the northern wall. Inside the porch there are two pillars, which are square in the plan. The foundation of the northern wall of the porch, opposite these pillars, has internal and external lesenes of the appropriate width³⁵. The additional pillars near the northern cathedral wall, as well as the corresponding lesenes on the northern wall of the porch, testify the peculiarities of the porch overlap. The small distance between the pillars and the side (eastern and western) walls of the porch allowed the scientists of the researches led by Hleb Ivakin to assume that it had been covered with a trefoil vault, similar to the western porch of the Church of the Savior on Berestov³⁶. However, Aleksey Komech considers this assumption about the trefoil completion of the porch to be controversial³⁷. In addition, it should be noted that the drawings of the porch plan show that its corners have crosses³⁸, which is typical for Kyiv monuments built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique and is chronologically mostly limited to the first quarter of the 12th century.

Another argument in favour of the fact that the main volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral and its northern porch were built by the same craftsmen is that in the corner between the partly ruined northern lesene of the western façade and the western lesene of the northern façade a

³³ Михайло Дегтярьов, Андрій Реутов, *Михайлівський Золотоверхий монастир*, Техніка, Київ, 1997, с. 149. Гліб Івакін, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” ... с. 54.

³⁴ Алексей Комеч, *Архитектура второй половины XI – первой четверти XII века* in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т. Том I. Искусство Киевской Руси IX – первая четверть XII века*, Северный паломник, Москва, 2007, с. 385.

³⁵ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 31–33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, арк. 33.

³⁷ Алексей Комеч, *Архитектура второй половины XI – первой четверти XII века* ... с. 385.

³⁸ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IV. Кресленики до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. ... кресленик 20.

diagonally placed brick has been traced³⁹. The same method was traced in the main volume of the church, in particular, between the lesenes of the two western pillars and on the lesenes of the narthex walls. The researchers, who participated in the excavations, note that such a method of the diagonally placed bricks of the corners of the walls and pillars at certain intervals (every 4–8 rows of bricks) was a unique feature of the masonry of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral⁴⁰.

Next to the central bay of the cathedral western façade (narthex), among the masonry of different periods, the remains of the foundations of the rectangular western porch were found. The western porch has hardly ever been preserved. Only the foundations of the northern and western walls have been partially preserved, significantly damaged by some reconstructions in the 17th–19th centuries. This porch had a width (north-south) of about 6.8 m and a length (west-east) of about 4.7 m⁴¹.

The additions, which were found, significantly change the idea of the general composition of the volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in pre-Mongol period (Fig. 5) and give grounds to consider this cathedral not only the first completed church of the arch-gabled type, but also the initial stage of the formation of a stepped composition (the availability of porches that gave impetus to the development of pillar-shaped type of church).

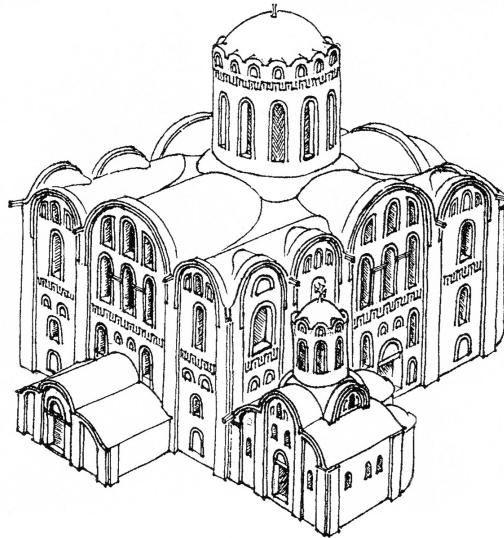


Fig. 5: Golden Domed Reutov

³⁹ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 32–33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, арк. 13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, арк. 33–34.

• *From the middle of the 1120s to the 1150s*

It is fundamentally important to understand the development of the arch-gabled church to study the process of spreading Chernihiv variant, which from the second quarter of the 12th century began to emerge in other regions, in particular, Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi. Firstly, it is reasonable to consider the emergence of Chernihiv variant in Kyiv. The preserved monument of this variant in Kyiv is St. Cyril's Church (built after 1140, first chronicle mention in 1171), and in Kyiv land is St. George's Church in Kaniv (founded in 1144). In addition to them, Kyiv churches of the late 1120s and 1130s known from the archaeological researches can also be referred to Chernihiv variant. These are the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church in Kyiv.

The Church of St. Theodore's Monastery, according to the chronicle, was founded by Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych in 1128, and in 1132 he was buried in the church. Researchers believe that the church, which was the central building of the monastery, was probably preserved after Mongol invasion of 1240 in Kyiv. But in the middle of the 17th century, it was already in ruins, as evidenced by the drawings made by Abraham van Westerfeld of 1651⁴². Later, the church was dismantled and its building materials were used for the construction and restoration of other Kyiv churches⁴³. Based on a comparison of the archaeological excavation materials on Starokyivska Hill and the chronicle reports, in the early 1980s, Petro Tolochko proposed the location of St. Theodore's Monastery⁴⁴. But the place where the church was situated remained uncertain until 1983, when Viktor Kharlamov and Yaroslav Borovskiy found out the masonry foundation of the northwestern corner of the church in an exploratory pit. In the same year, a significant part of the foundations of the church western and northern walls were researched⁴⁵.

⁴² Яков Смирнов, *Рисунки Киева 1651 года по копиям их конца XVIII века* in the edition *Труды XIII Археологического съезда в Екатеринославе, Том II*, Товарищество типографии А.И. Мамонтова, Москва, 1908, с. 484–487, табл. VII, рис. 2, табл. VIII, рис. 1, 2. Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 431–433. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве* in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 186–187.

⁴³ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України. Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, арк. 2. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 187.

⁴⁴ Петр Толочко, *Древний Киев*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1983, с. 195–196.

⁴⁵ Виктор Харламов, Отчет начальника архитектурно-археологического отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции ИА АН УССР Харламова В. А. о разведке и раскопках Федоровского Вотча монастыря в Киеве за 1983 г. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 4 арк.

During 1984–1985, the entire area of the church plan was excavated under the supervision of Stefaniia Kiliievych and Viktor Kharlamov⁴⁶. The foundations and fragments of masonry walls of the church have been preserved.

The Church of St. Theodore's Monastery was four-pillared with a narthex. The gallery with an apse in the east, dating the late 12th – early 13th centuries, was adjacent to the southern wall of the church (Fig. 6). While conducting the excavations, several blocks of brick masonry with opus signinum mortar were found. Some of these blocks have preserved their front surface. This made it possible to determine that the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery had been built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique⁴⁷. In addition, it is important to state that the corner lesenes did not form right angles, but created crosses, and that all the lesenes lacked semi-columns⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, 14 арк. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках храма Федоровского монастыря в Киеве за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, 22 табл. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 10 арк. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 31 табл. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Чертежи и рисунки к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 16 арк.

⁴⁷ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9) ... арк 6–7. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 185.

⁴⁸ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Чертежи и рисунки к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9) ... арк. 2, 4–6.

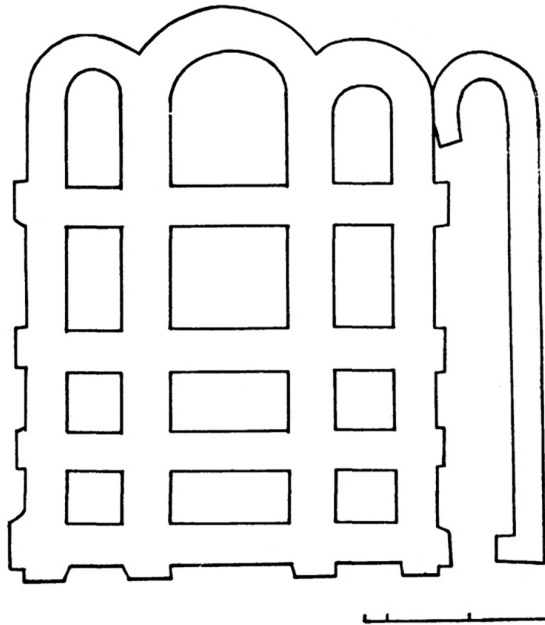


Fig. 6: St. Theodor Monastery

Thus, the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery was the first Kyiv monument built using the "opus isidos" masonry technique. Stefaniia Kiliievych and Viktor Kharlamov believed that a new stylistic trend was beginning to emerge with the construction of the church of St. Theodore's Monastery in Kyiv⁴⁹. However, based on the stages of development of the arch-gabled church, this was not a new trend, but a transfer to Kyiv of the completed variant of the arch-gabled church that had been developed in Chernihiv in the first quarter of the 12th century. Therefore, the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery can be considered as one of the first examples of the transformation of Chernihiv variant of arch-gabled church from local to interregional. But the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery still retains the features typical for Kyiv architecture of the 11th – early 12th centuries. These are the crosses at the corners and the lack of semi-columns on the lesenes, which may indicate a rather strong Kyiv tradition, and therefore there was no immediate transition to Chernihiv variant with all the features, but certain traits of Kyiv architecture were preserved.

The next monument that illustrates the process of transferring Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church to Kyiv is the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. The church was founded in 1131 by Prince Mstyslav

⁴⁹ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 184–185.

Volodymyrovych, and its construction was completed in 1135. The church was preserved after Mongol invasion of Batu Khan in 1240. It was reconstructed during the 17th–19th centuries. In 1935, the church was demolished by the Soviet authorities, but before its destruction, Ipolyt Morhilevskiy took some photos that give an idea of the church, measured the church plan, and proposed the reconstruction of the plan⁵⁰. However, a detailed study of the church was not carried out at that time. The archaeological excavations of the remains of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church were conducted in 1976–1979 under the supervision of Kostiantyn Hupalo and Hleb Ivakin⁵¹. The walls of the church have been preserved to a height of about 2 m.

The church was four-pillared with a narthex (16.94x24.69 m). The pillars of the church were cross-shaped. The staircase to the choirs were located in the thickness of the western wall (Fig 7). The Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church was built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique. According to the plan made by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy in the 1930s before the church destruction, its corner lesenes formed right angles⁵². The Dormition

⁵⁰ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-358, Н-359, Н-561, Н-1058–Н-1068. Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города...* с. 441, табл. LXXII.

⁵¹ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 42 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к Отчету архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 36 табл. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том I. Обмер. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 31 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 1. Натурные исследования (шурфы). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 37 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 60 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 36 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 59 табл. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том III. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи, шурфы) по второму этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 65 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том IV. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи) по третьему этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 42 арк.

⁵² Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-358, Н-359, Н-561. Based on the results of the archaeological excavations in 1976–1979, a plan of the

(Pyrohoshcha) Church, unlike the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery has already semi-columns on lesenes. Unlike Chernihiv monuments of the first quarter of the 12th century, these semi-columns are not made of specially moulded radial bricks, but of ordinary rectangular ones that were trimmed⁵³.

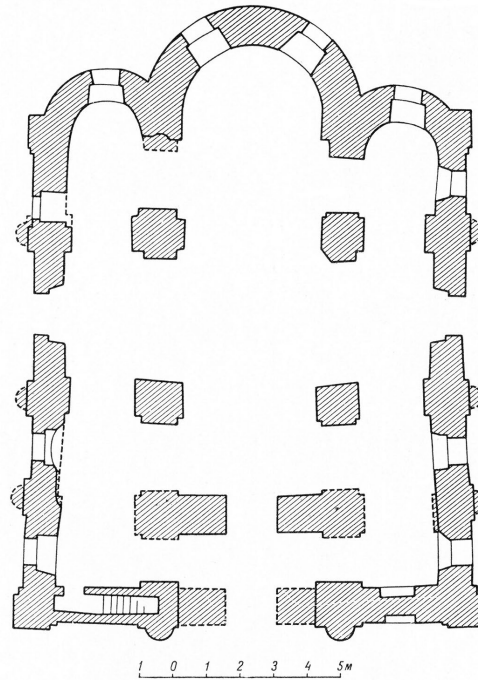


Fig. 7: Pyrohoscha

Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church was published, on which the western corner lesenes have crosses (Глеб Ивакин, *О церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощей* in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 169, рис. 1). However, the western corners have hardly ever been preserved, which makes it impossible to unambiguously reconstruct them (Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том I. Обмер ... арк. 5. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к Отчету архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... табл. XXXVI. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи) ... арк. 16–18. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том IV. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи) по третьему этапу раскопок ... арк. 5).

⁵³ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... арк. 20–22. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи) ... арк. 5–7. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. ... арк. 7, 9. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том III. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи, шурфы) по второму этапу раскопок ... арк. 37–39.

During the excavations, it was found out that while constructing the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church a significant amount of building remains of an older monument, which had been built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique, was used. Those were rubble stones, bricks, and masonry blocks covered with plaster with graffiti residues⁵⁴.

The Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church demonstrates the complete displacement of the local tradition in Kyiv by Chernihiv one, which took place starting from the middle of the 1130s. The church has all the characteristic features of Chernihiv variant, including corner lesenes, which form right angles without crosses and semi-columns on lesenes.

In addition to Kyiv churches, the Church of St. Theodore’s Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church, which have chronicle dates, another church of the 12th century, known from the archaeological excavations, can be referred to Chernihiv variant. This is the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi. It was firstly found and studied in 1953 by Mikhail Karger⁵⁵. For the second time, the archaeological excavation of the Church of the Resurrection was carried out in 1989 under the direction of Viktor Kharlamov, in connection with planning its reconstruction⁵⁶. The

⁵⁴ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... арк. 32. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. ... арк. 19–20. The existence in the foundations of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church of reused masonry blocks made in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique gave Pavel Rappoport grounds to express doubts that the monument found out by excavations in the 1970s was not the church mentioned in the chronicle of 1131–1135. He believed that the chronicle information referred to an earlier church (built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique), which was destroyed for unknown reasons in the 12th century. From his point of view, the building, found out by the excavations in the 1970s, had been built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique and dated back to the 1170s–1180s (Павел Раппопорт, *Русская архитектура X–XIII вв.: каталог памятников* ... с. 19. Павел Раппопорт, *Зодчество Древней Руси* ... с. 52). However, Hleb Ivakin gave a number of arguments that the building found out by the excavations dated back to the time specified in the chronicle (1131–1135) (Глеб Ивакин, *О церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощей* ... с. 174–176. Глеб Ивакин, *Еще раз о датировке церкви Успения Пирогощей* in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 51–53). This point of view is now generally accepted, although some researchers support the version of a later date for the building of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church found out by the archaeological excavations of 1976–1979 (Віталій Козюба, *Про датування двох подільських церков XII ст. у Києві* in the edition *Археологічні студії*, Вип. 4, Зелена Буковина, Київ–Чернівці, 2010, с. 238–248).

⁵⁵ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.* in the edition *Археологія, Том IX*, Вид-во Академії наук Української РСР, Київ, 1954, с. 19–28.

⁵⁶ Виктор Харламов, Отчет об архитектурно-археологических исследованиях памятника архитектуры XII в. Воскресенской церкви в г. Переяславе-Хмельницком Киевской области, проведенных Архитектурно-археологической экспедицией ИА АН УССР в 1989 г. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1989/29а,

masonry of the walls and pillars of the church has been preserved to a height of 1 m above the level of the original floor.

The Church of the Resurrection was four-pillared with a narthex (14.3x24.2 m) (Fig. 8). The walls and pillars of the church were built of brick using the “opus isodos” masonry technique. The corner lesenes in the Church of the Resurrection did not form right angles, but created crosses, and all the lesenes lacked semi-columns. All three pairs of pillars have a different configuration in the plan. The pillars of the narthex are cross-shaped, the western pair of sub-dome pillars is octagonal on a square base, and the eastern pair of sub-dome pillars is cross-shaped, but with additional narrow lesenes on the eastern side, corresponding to the lesenes of the ends of the semicircular apses⁵⁷.

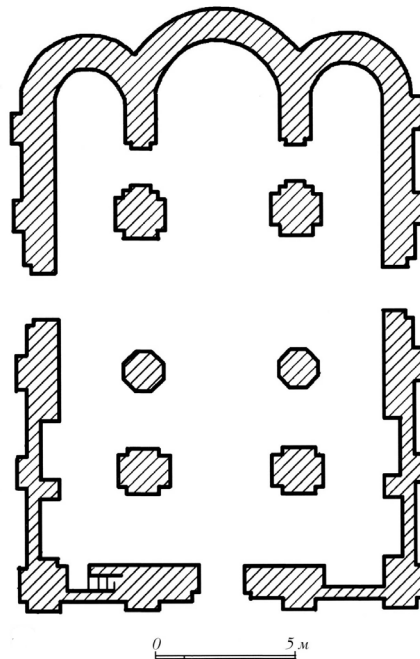


Fig. 8: Pereiaslav

During the excavations, it was found out that constructive materials from a building of the 11th century were reused to fill the foundation ditch of the

81 арк. Віктор Харламов, Геннадій Трофименко, “Нові дослідження Воскресенської церкви у Переяславі-Хмельницькому” in “Археологія”, 3/1992, с. 133–138.

⁵⁷ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.* ... с. 24. Віктор Харламов, Отчет об архитектурно-археологических исследований памятника архитектуры XII в. Воскресенской церкви в г. Переяславе-Хмельницком Киевской области ... арк. 24, 44, 66, 70.

Church of the Resurrection. They included fragments of bricks and pieces of smoothed plaster of the exterior walls⁵⁸. Two of the three portals of the church, the northern and southern ones, were laid with bricks made of clay mortar. These bricks also come from a building of the 11th century, as they have different dimensions and ceramic properties in comparison with the bricks of the Church of the Resurrection. In addition to the bricks, fragments of stone plates were used in the laying of the portals⁵⁹. According to Oleksandr Kolybenko, the reused materials of the 11th century came from St. Michael's Cathedral in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, which was consecrated in 1089 and damaged in a minor earthquake from 1124⁶⁰.

The Church of the Resurrection is not mentioned in written sources and its dedication is not known in pre-Mongol time. Until 1935, a wooden Church of the Resurrection, which dated back to the 18th century, was placed on that site, so the open remains of the Old Rus church were dedicated in the same way⁶¹. The researchers have proposed different variants for dating the Church of the Resurrection of pre-Mongol period. Mikhail Karger, who was the first to research the church, dated it to the middle – second half of the 12th century⁶². The Church of the Resurrection was dated by other researchers, mostly to the second quarter of the 12th century⁶³. The earliest dating of the Church of the Resurrection was proposed by Oleksandr Kolybenko. He believed that this church was built from 1124/1125 to

⁵⁸ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр. ...* с. 23.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, с. 24–25.

⁶⁰ Олександр Колибенко, *Церква Воскресіння в Переяславі: Ізяслав Мстиславич, Андрій Володимирович, Всеволод Мстиславич чи Ярополк Володимирович?* in the edition *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, Вип. 2, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, Львів, 2008, с. 195–196.

⁶¹ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр. ...* с. 28.

⁶² *Ibid.*, с. 27–28.

⁶³ Vitalii Koziuba believed that the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi was built in the 1140s–1150s, most likely, in 1148–1149 or 1151–1154 (Віталій Козюба, *Давньоруські храми «окольного града» Переяслава (датування, стильові особливості, інтерпретації)* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 15, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2004, с. 30). Viktor Kharlamov and Hennadii Trofymenko stick to the point of view that it happened in the 1140s. (Виктор Харламов, Геннадій Трофименко, *Архитектура Переяславля Русского XI – первой половины XII века* in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 47–51). Nikolay Novoselov and Oleg Ioannisyian believed the church was built in the 1130s. Nikolay Novoselov considered that the Church of the Resurrection was built in the late 1130s (Николай Новоселов, *Церковь Воскресения в Переяславле и новгородская архитектура 30–40-х годов XII в.* in the edition *Миграции и оседлость от Дуная до Ладоги в I тысячелетии христианской эры*, Санкт-Петербург 2001, с. 127–131), while Oleg Ioannisyian in the first half of the 1130s (Олег Иоаннисян, *О двух памятниках переяславского зодчества и об их месте в общей картине развития архитектуры Руси конца XI – первой трети XII века (Киев, Чернигов, Переяславль, Новгород и Псков в их архитектурном взаимодействии)* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 16, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 172–173.

1127/1128. The argument for this dating was that St. Michael's Cathedral in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi damaged in an earthquake in 1124, and the reused materials in the foundations of the Church of the Resurrection belonged to this cathedral. According to Oleksandr Kolybenko, after the construction of the Church of the Resurrection, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi craftsmen moved to Kyiv, where in 1128 they began to build the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery (1128–1132)⁶⁴.

Viewing the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi in the context of the spreading of Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church, it can be noted that it has common stylistic features with the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery in Kyiv. These are crosses at the corners and lesenes without semi-columns. Based on this, we can generally agree with the dating proposed by Oleksandr Kolybenko, considering the construction of the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi to be the second half of the 1120s. But in my opinion, in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, two developed cultural centres, the churches of Chernihiv variant emerged simultaneously and were associated with the activities of different craftsmen, because both centres had powerful local building traditions in the 1120s. Chernihiv variant in both Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi and strong local building traditions initially overlapped.

According to the archaeological excavations, there is one more known church dating back to the second quarter of the 12th century. This is the Church in Yurkivska Street in Kyiv, which was firstly found during the archaeological excavations in 2003 under the supervision of Mykhailo Sahadak and Maryna Serhieieva⁶⁵. The walls of the church have been preserved to a height of 1 m.

The Church in Yurkivska Street was four-pillared without a narthex (13.6–14.77x19.53 m), built in the “opus isodos” masonry technique (Fig 9). The church pillars are cross-shaped. The corner lesenes of the Church in Yurkivska Street form right angles, but all lesenes lack semi-columns. The western wall was thicker because of the location of the staircase to the choirs in its thickness⁶⁶. In addition, fragments of decor were found that supposed the church had Lombard band⁶⁷. Mykhailo Sahadak and Maryna Serhieieva believed that the Church in Yurkivska Street had been built a little earlier

⁶⁴ Олександр Колибенко, *Церква Воскресіння в Переяславі: Ізяслав Мстиславич, Андрій Володимирович, Всеволод Мстиславич чи Ярополк Володимирович?* ... с. 208–210.

⁶⁵ Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, *Звіт Подільської постійнодіючої експедиції ІА НАНУ про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження у Києві по вул. Юрківська, 3. Частина 1. Дослідження 2003 р. Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій, 2003/126, 128 арк.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, арк. 20–22.

⁶⁷ Михайло Сагайдак, *Про деякі спірні питання історичної топографії ранньосередньовічного Києва* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 16, Переслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 95.

than the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church (1131–1135). The researchers justified that chronology by the fact that lesenes of the Church in Yurkivska Street lacked semi-columns, which were available in the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. At the same time, they noted the similar techniques of the foundations constructing of those two churches⁶⁸. But Oleg Ioannisyian dated the Church in Yurkivska Street to the late 1130s – early 1140s because, in his point of view, the church had semi-columns on the lesenes, which had been made of special moulded bricks⁶⁹. However, the study of the reports and publications by those who conducted the archaeological researches of the Church in Yurkivska Street refute the existence of semi-columns on its lesenes⁷⁰. Vilalii Koziuba dates the Church in Yurkivska Street to a later period. He believes that the church was built in the third quarter of the 12th century, to be more exact in the 1160s–1170s⁷¹.



Fig. 9: Yurkivska

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, с. 96–97. Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, “Невідомий давньоруський храм на Юрківській” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, 5–6/2015, с. 41.

⁶⁹ Олег Иоаннисян, *Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в. ...* с. 64.

⁷⁰ Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, Звіт Подільської постійнодіючої експедиції ІА НАНУ про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження у Києві по вул. Юрківська, 3. Частина 1. Дослідження 2003 р. ... 128 арк.

⁷¹ Віталій Козюба, *Про датування двох подільських церков XII ст. у Києві ...* с. 251–252.

In the context of considering the emergence process of Chernihiv variant in Kyiv, the Church in Yurkivska Street should take an intermediate position between the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. On this basis, one can agree with the dating proposed by Mikhailo Sahaidak and Maryna Serhieieva and limit it to the period of the late 1120s – early 1130s. In addition to the fact that the Church in Yurkivska Street can be seen as a link in spreading Chernihiv variant in Kyiv, it represents a new variant of the arch-gabled church that has been developed on the basis of Chernihiv variant. This is Kyiv-Chernihiv variant as it emerges in Kyiv. It has the stylistic features of Chernihiv variant, but differs from it in lacking a narthex. The Church in Yurkivska Street is considered the first church of Kyiv-Chernihiv variant.

• ***From the 1160s to the end of the 12th century***

Within that period, Kyiv-Chernihiv variant became interregional. St. Basil's Church in Kyiv can be referred to this variant. The church, according to the chronicle, was founded by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich and consecrated in 1183. During Mongol invasion in 1240, the church was damaged and fixed in the 16th–18th centuries. In 1935–1936, St. Basil's Church was dismantled by order of the Soviet authorities⁷². At that time, a detailed architectural and archaeological study of the church was not conducted. Nevertheless, Ipolyt Morhilevskyi took photos before the destruction of the church and while it was being destroyed. These photos provide important materials for determining the place of St. Basil's Church in the development of the arch-gabled church⁷³.

St. Basil's Church was four-pillared without a narthex (approximately 12x17 m) (Fig 10). The pillars were cross-shaped. There were no lesenes in the interior or perhaps they had been destroyed in the 17th century⁷⁴. The corner lesenes formed right angles without crosses. All lesenes, except for the corner ones, had semi-columns⁷⁵. In St. Basil's Church, the pillars are spaced wider than in the churches of the first half – middle of the 12th century, and the ratio of the width of the side to the central nave is bigger.

⁷² Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 456–459.

⁷³ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-880, Н-1021–Н-1045, Н-1069, Н-4318. Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 460–461, табл. LXXV).

⁷⁴ Петр Лашкарев, *Церковно-археологические очерки, исследования и рефераты ...* с. 131–132.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, с. 131.

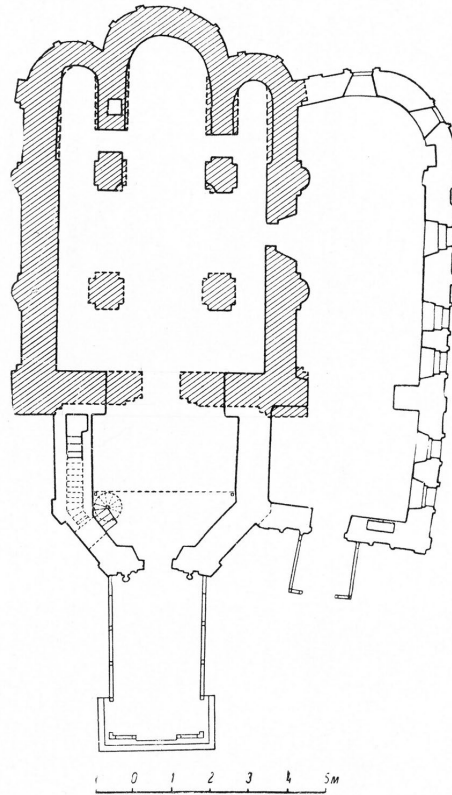


Fig. 10: St. Basil

One more church that may have been referred to Kyiv-Chernihiv variant is St. Michael's Church in Chernihiv (founded in 1174 by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych). The remains of this church were found by chance during the laying of a water supply system in 1955. In 1956, the monument was explored by the archaeological expedition led by Boris Rybakov⁷⁶. The church has hardly ever been preserved. The foundations of the western part of the building are severely damaged, whereas its eastern part is almost completely destroyed⁷⁷. These data allow to make only a very schematic reconstruction of St. Michael's Church plan as four-pillared without a narthex (the width of the church is approximately 15 m) (Fig. 11)⁷⁸. During

⁷⁶ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24, арк. 1–16. Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24, рис. 1–24.

⁷⁷ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Текст ... арк. 7–10. Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом ... рис. 14, 22.

⁷⁸ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом ... рис. 23. Леонид Беляев, *Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела*

the archaeological excavations, no decorative details of the building were found⁷⁹.

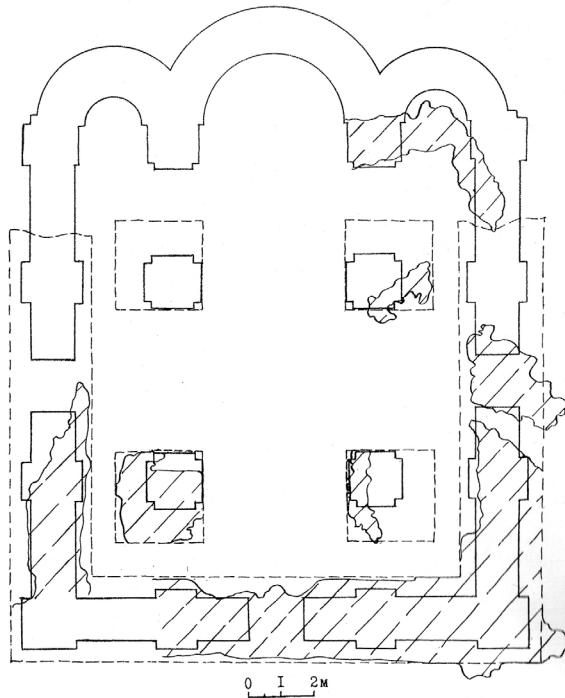


Fig. 11: St. Michael

There exists another church in Chernihiv that dates back to the last quarter of the 12th century. It was the Annunciation Church (founded by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich, its construction completed in 1186). According to historiography, the church was damaged during Mongol invasion in Chernihiv of 1239, although there is no evidence about this from the sources. The archaeological excavations proved the building to have been destroyed between the 15th and 17th centuries. It is a well-known fact that a wooden Annunciation Church was built in that place in the 17th century and it was burned down in a fire in 1750⁸⁰. The remains of the Old Rus church were found for the first time after the demolition of the Stryzhen River bank in 1876. Almost the entire area of the Annunciation Church plan was found by

1174 г.) in the edition *Проблемы истории СССР, Вып. 4*, Изд-во Московского университета, Москва, 1974, с. 11–17.

⁷⁹ Леонид Беляев, *Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела 1174 г.)* ... с. 16.

⁸⁰ Олена Черненко, Олег Ярошенко, *Пам'ятки монументальної архітектури Північного Лівобережжя XI–XIII ст. Каталог*, SCRIPTORIUM, Чернігів, 2019, с. 9–10.

the archaeological excavations led by Boris Rybakov in 1946–1947⁸¹. In 2007–2008, during the archaeological excavations in Chernihiv Citadel conducted by Olena Chernenko, the southern gallery of the church and the area around it were researched⁸². The church foundations and sections of the walls up to 1.5 m high from the level of its floor, partially destroyed by later excavations, have been preserved. Its eastern part (the apses) was not preserved because of several destructions of the Stryzhen River bank at the floods in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Annunciation Church was four-pillared with a narthex. It was surrounded by the galleries on the north, south, and west sides (Fig. 12). According to the conclusions made by Boris Rybakov, the galleries were built simultaneously with the main core of the church⁸³. The church width, including galleries, is approximately 26 m, while without galleries it is 17.2 m. The exact length of the church has not been determined⁸⁴. The Annunciation Church in Chernihiv presents the latest known example of Chernihiv variant, as it was atypical for the second half of the 12th century. In general, churches with narthex were not characteristic of that time. The pillars of the Annunciation Church were probably cross-shaped, but this characteristic feature has not been preserved⁸⁵. The walls of both the main volume of the Annunciation Church and its galleries are made of brick of two colours, red and light yellow, using the “opus isodos” masonry technique⁸⁶. During the excavations of the church remains, in the bank landslide and on the surrounding area, figured bricks and fragments of the Lombard band were found⁸⁷.

⁸¹ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26, 111 арк. Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26, 18 арк. Борис Рыбаков, *Древности Чернигова* in the edition *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, № 11*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1949, с. 60–99. Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок* in the edition *Архітектурні пам'ятники*, Вид-во Академії архітектури УРСР, Київ, 1950, с. 55–63.

⁸² Олена Черненко, Олег Ярошенко, *Пам'ятки монументальної архітектури Північного Лівобережжя XI–XIII ст. Каталог ...* с. 9. Елена Черненко, *К вопросу об истории Благовещенской церкви в Чернигове* in the edition *Труды Государственного Эрмитажа. Том 86. Монументальное зодчество древней Руси и восточной Европы эпохи Средневековья*, Изд-во Гос. Эрмитажа, Санкт-Петербург, 2017, с. 244–256.

⁸³ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. ... арк. 78. Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок ...* с. 60.

⁸⁴ Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок ...* с. 56.

⁸⁵ Борис Рыбаков, *Древности Чернигова ...* с. 77.

⁸⁶ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. ... арк. 22, 81–82.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, арк. 22–23, 80–81.

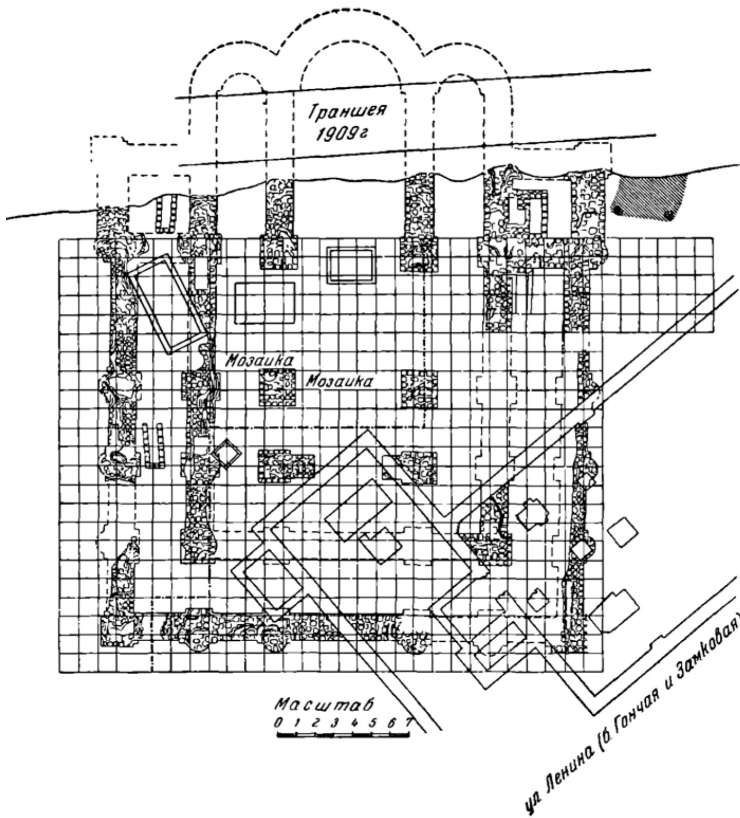


Fig. 12: Annunciation Church

Boris Rybakov noted that the pillars of the Annunciation Church are spaced wider, so the ratio of the width of the side to the central nave is bigger compared to the most churches of the 12th century⁸⁸.

The studied materials of the archaeological researches allow to detail the stages of the arch-gabled church development during the 12th century as well as the initial stage of the aesthetic model of pillar-shaped churches formation:

- The porches to the northern and western portals of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113), found by the archaeological excavations in the 1990s, change the idea of the general composition of its volume and make it possible to reassess the significance of this church in the development of Old Rus architecture. St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, which, according to Aleksey Komech, was the first completely

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, арк. 78.

formed church of the arch-gabled type, had the elements that gave impetus to the development of pillar-shaped churches. Thus, St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral should be considered not only the stage of the final formation of the aesthetic model of the arch-gabled church, but also the initial stage of the pillar-shaped churches development, along with the Church of the Savior on Berestov and the Trinity Gate Church of Pechersk Monastery.

- The churches in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi of the second quarter of the 12th century, known from the archaeological excavations, make it possible to trace the initial process of spreading Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church and its transformation from local to interregional. As distinct from the widespread point of view that in Kyiv in the late 1120s–1130s there was formed a new stylistic trend associated with the emergence of the “opus isodos” masonry technique, Romanesque constructive and decorative elements, the archaeological materials allow to consider that it was transferring Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church to Kyiv. In Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, the emergence of churches in the same “opus isodos” masonry technique is traditionally referred to a later time, in particular, the construction of the Church of the Resurrection mainly to the 1130s–1140s. However, the Church of the Resurrection was also dated to an earlier time (1124–1128, Oleksandr Kolybenko), and its construction was associated with the activities of the craftsmen who worked later in Kyiv starting from 1128. Based on the archaeological researches, the analysis of the planning solution and decoration of the Church of the Resurrection and Kyiv churches makes it possible to suggest that the churches of Chernihiv variant emerged in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi simultaneously, as both cultural centres had developed building traditions. Relying on the fact that the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi shares stylistic features (corner lesenes form crosses, all lesenes without semi-columns) with the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery in Kyiv, the time of its construction can be considered the second half of the 1120s.

In both cultural centres (Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi), in the second quarter of the 12th century, Chernihiv variant was superimposed on strong building traditions (stone construction emerged in Kyiv in the late 10th century, and in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi in the 1080s). As a result, those centres lacked some of the peculiarities of Chernihiv variant. In Kyiv, one could observe a gradual transition to Chernihiv variant with its full set of characteristic features, unlike Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, where this process was not observed.

- The materials of the archaeological research of the Church in Yurkivska Street in Kyiv made it possible to determine its special significance in the development of the arch-gabled church type. On the one hand, this church is an intermediate link in spreading Chernihiv variant, and

on the other hand, it represents the first church of a new variant of the arch-gabled church. It is Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which differs from Chernihiv one in lacking a narthex. Kyiv-Chernihiv variant was one of the first regional variants of the arch-gabled churches without a narthex. The churches of the second half of the 12th century representing this variant were built in Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Smolensk. Therefore, in the second half of the 12th century, Kyiv-Chernihiv variant became interregional, replacing Chernihiv one. Studying the archaeological materials makes it possible to determine the time of the emergence and spreading of Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which occurred on the basis of Chernihiv one in Kyiv in the second quarter of the 12th century. Relying on the preserved monuments, it was thought that the variant without narthex built in the “opus isodos” masonry technique originated not in Kyiv, but in Smolensk in the middle of the 12th century, where the earliest preserved examples of this variant are known.

• The churches of the last quarter of the 12th century, the Annunciation Church in Chernihiv and St. Basil’s Church in Kyiv, illustrate the development of Chernihiv and Kyiv-Chernihiv variants, respectively. The peculiarity of these churches, in comparison with the churches of the first half – middle of the 12th century, is that their pillars are spaced wider, and the ratio between the width of the side and central nave is bigger, which is typical of pillar-shaped churches. This makes it possible to assume that the pillar-shaped churches developed gradually within the framework of the arch-gabled churches and by the end of the 12th century had become a separate type.

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