

700th
Anniversary of the City of
LVIV

by

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THE 700th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CITY OF LVIV

(1252—1952)

By NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

In 1937 a group of Ukrainians from Lviv took part in an international congress in Paris. We were presented to the aged Cardinal Beaudriaire, a member of the French Academy of Immortals. The spokesman for our Ukrainian delegation began in fluent French: "Your Eminence, we Ukrainians from Leopold . . ." — "Ah, Leopold is a well-known city," interrupted the Cardinal. "It is also called Lemberg, Lwów, and in Ukrainian—Lviv," added our leader.

"Your Eminence," I added, "historians know it also by several other names, over 10 in number, as Leopoldis, Leoburg, Lemburgia, Lvof, Leovios, Leontopolis, Ilof, Ili . . . and there are probably others." — "It is a unique thing," — said the cardinal with a broad smile, "that one city should have so many names."

The very form of the names shows that Lviv was a city where various cultures met and where the political and economic interests of several peoples came together. Lviv was and probably will definitely remain in Ukraine. Formally, it now belongs to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but we hear more and more that Lviv is now a Russian city, Lvof, instead of Polish "Lwów," although it is historically Ukrainian and lies deep in Ukrainian ethnic territory, now more than 70 miles from the ethnic Polish territory and more than 1000 miles from the Russian territory.

Next to Kiev, Lviv was in the Middle Ages the most important centre of communications and trade in Eastern Europe. After the Tatar invasion it became the most important. Here met the two great trade routes of southeastern Europe; the so-called Black Trail from Kiev along the northern slopes of the Podillyan Plateau between the steppe and the forest, and the so-called Golden Trail from Akerman on the Black Sea through Jasi, Chernivtsi, Kolomyia, and Halych to Lviv. There the two joined and went further to the west, to the valley of the Vistula, to Kraków and Gdansk and also to Bohemia and Germany.

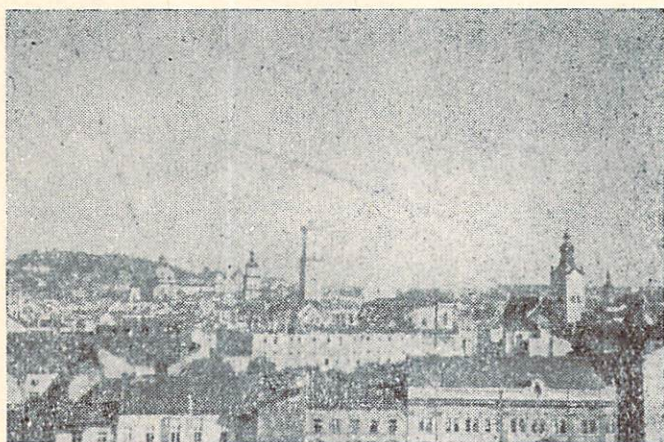
The geographical situation of Lviv enabled it to develop in the 16th and 17th centuries into an important centre of trade with the east, an

Emporium mercium orientalium celeberrimum, as the Italian Passaroti called it.

Lviv was founded 700 years ago, about 1252, that is, in the Tatar period, in the secure western part of Ukraine by the West Ukrainian King Daniel (Danylo). It was then only 100 miles from the boundary line between the Latin Christian and Greek Christian civilizations, that is the spheres of influence of Rome and Byzantium, a line which crosses Europe from north to south. Lviv thus became a centre of exchange of the two cultures, Eastern and Western Christian. Hence, it is not surprising that until 1939, Lviv was the seat of three archbishoprics — Greek Catholic for the Ukrainians, Roman Catholic for the Poles, and Armenian Catholic for the Armenians. In the city Ukrainian culture was in contact with the cultures of the Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Italians, Germans and even the Armenians and Tatars.

LVIV "SEMPER FIDELIS"

From the earliest days of its foundation by the West Ukrainian King Danylo, Lviv became the exact antithesis of Moscow in spite of the fact that both shared the Byzantine Christian civilization and the



General view of the City of Lviv.

Eastern Christian religion. Moscow bent its head before the Tatars and by humbly cooperating with the barbarians tried to recover and add to its strength. Lviv was founded to resist the Tatars and check their aggression to the west. In accordance with the old tradition of Ukraine to shield Europe against the pressure from the east, Lviv was always "Semper Fidelis" to Europe.

At the same time Lviv was the most stubborn Ukrainian defender against the pressure from the west of Latin-Polish civilization on Ukraine, for this aimed also at wiping out the national identity of the Ukrainian people. In no city in Ukraine was the clash between the Latin Polish and Byzantine Ukrainian camps more dynamic and dramatic than within the walls of Lviv, dominated by the Polish Republic, the great power of Eastern Europe in the 16th century and first half of the 17th.

Dominated by the German-Polish elements, the local city council of Lviv placed sharper restrictions on the Ukrainians than the other peoples. But the Ukrainians, with their cultural and religious institutions located on the one Rus'ka Street, made of Lviv a brilliant centre of Ukrainian religious Orthodoxy and a lively centre of Ukrainian culture which was able through its teachers of the Lviv school to permeate all the cities of Ukraine and White Ruthenia to the east of the Dnieper and even to Wilno in the north. The internal discipline of the Ukrainian elements in the city was so strong that their own private brotherhood courts decided disputes among them and the condemned underwent voluntary imprisonment in the tower of the Brotherhood Church in Rus'ka Street.

The cultural revival of Ukraine along the Dnieper in the first half of the 17th century was carried through mostly by the cultural efforts of the students trained in Lviv and Western Ukraine as a whole. Lviv was the greatest defender of Ukrainian Orthodoxy as long as that defended the national individuality of the Ukrainian nation. It was only after the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, brought under the control of Moscow, ceased to defend the Ukrainian nation that Lviv with its stronghold, the Ukrainian Orthodox Stavropygion became Greek Catholic (1708), so as to continue its work of defending the Ukrainian position on the western boundaries of Ukraine until the fall of Poland, the old (1772) and the new (1939). Lviv was "Semper Fidelis" to its Ukrainian fatherland.

KIEV AND LVIV

Kiev and Lviv were the two cities in all-Ukrainian respect and all-Ukrainian love. Although the Eastern Ukrainians, separated by the Russian-Austrian frontier, were for centuries trained in the Russian school, Russian way of life and the Russian Orthodox Church, each of them looked upon Lviv as an adornment of the Ukrainian spirit, as a well-developed citadel of the Ukrainian nation, as the Piedmont of Ukraine.

In the same way the Western Ukrainians reared for centuries in Western civilization under the Polish-Austrian school and their Greek Catholic Church were proud of the thousand-year-old tradition of Kiev

and its freedom-loving energy. Both groups were ready to die for Ukrainian Kiev and Ukrainian Lviv. For the first the road to free Kiev led through a free Lviv, for the second the road to a free Lviv led through a free Kiev. It is, therefore, not surprising that only three months after the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Republic on the ruins of Austria-Hungary (November 1, 1918) both Ukrainian republics—Eastern and Western — were united in one Ukrainian Republic on January, 22, 1919.

Both, the Ukrainians and their enemies, understand this. During the Yalta Conference, when the question arose of separating Western Ukraine and Lviv from Poland and uniting it with the Ukrainian motherland while the Americans tried to save Lviv for Poland, contrary to the second point of the Atlantic Charter, Stalin insisted that he could not give up Lviv for he had to satisfy his Ukrainians. Kiev is the symbol of Ukrainian ancient traditions and the broad expanse of the future free Ukraine with an outlet on the Black Sea. Lviv is the symbol of Ukrainian patriotism and national endurance.

This is true of Lviv even though this part of Western Ukraine, Galicia, very soon had passed under the hostile Polish rule. The political and economic control by the Poles of Galicia and Lviv lasted for 600 years but despite all their efforts the Poles were never able even for a short period to achieve a Polish majority in this part of Western Ukraine. It was not only the city of Lviv that changed its ethnic composition several times in its history, as does every large city, the centre of the administration of an occupying government. The Ukrainian population constantly remained as an important percentage of the population of Lviv, and Lviv constantly remained the spiritual and religious centre of this part of Ukraine.

LEOPOLIS TRIPLEX

Modern Polish historiography has tried to conceal the truth of the Ukrainian origin of Lviv, despite the fact that V. Zimorovych of Lviv, the first person to write a history of the city, in the first half of the 17th century, emphasized its Ukrainian origin. In his *Chronicle of the City of Lviv*, to which he added the subtitle *Leopolis Triplex*, he divided the history of the city into three periods: the period of Ukrainian Lviv (*Leopolis Ruthenus*), the 13th and 14th centuries; Germanized Lviv (*Leopolis Teutonus*), the 15th and the first half of the 16th century, and the period of Polonized Lviv (*Leopolis Polonus*) up to his own day.

UKRAINIAN PERIOD OF LVIV — LEOPOLIS RUTHENUS

The first mention of Lviv occurs in the Volynian-Galician Chronicle under the year 1255 in a description of the burning of Kholm, another

Ukrainian city founded at the same time. Lviv was founded only a few years after the Tatar invasion shortly after the return of King Danylo from the Tatar Horde to which he had been summoned (1246).

Though he formally accepted the supremacy of the Tatars, the West Ukrainian King Danylo on his return home commenced to organize a political and military defence against them. He began to establish more cities to defend the country against them. In the most strategic place, on the western edge of the Podillyan Plateau and on the Castle Hill, he built the castle of Lviv, around which at a lower level was to develop the new city. To this Danylo gave the name of his son Leo, which in Ukrainian is pronounced Lev, — Lev's-town. Lviv is possessive form of Lev in Ukrainian.

Prince Lev invited to Lviv artisans and merchants from the neighboring lands. These lived in different quarters and enjoyed the right of a special extraterritoriality. During the 100 years of Ukrainian rule, Lviv developed into an important centre for trade and manufacturing. In the city there were 10 Eastern Christian (Ukrainian) churches and two Roman Catholic intended for the German colonists who came in ever-increasing numbers.

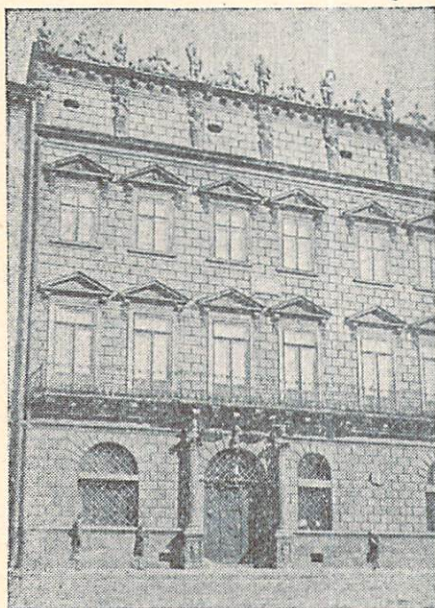
The development of Lviv was interrupted by a tragic episode in Ukrainian history, the dying out of the Western Ukrainian dynasty of the Romanovychi with the death of Prince Yuri II (1340). Then Lviv was attacked by the Polish King Casimir the Great who destroyed the city and plundered the royal castle. Yet the Polish control could not last for a general uprising of the Ukrainian population under the Boyar Dmytro Detko liquidated the Polish rule over Lviv and this part of Ukraine for 9 years. It was only in 1349 that Casimir was able to get control of Lviv and the region. From this oldest period are left only the Church of St. Nicholas and the bell tower of the Cathedral of St. George with the date 1341.

Even after his conquest of Galicia, the Polish King did not attempt to annex this part of Ukraine to Poland. He still considered the Kingdom of Galicia, with its capital of Lviv, as a separate Ruthenian Kingdom, with its own law, administration, coinage and even its old coat of arms, a golden lion on a blue field. After a temporary occupation by the Hungarians, Lviv passed for a longer period under Polish control in 1387 but as a separate administrative unit "Red Rus'" with its own laws and institutions and so continued until 1434. The name of "Red Rus'" (the Polish administrative name being Rus'ke Voyevodstvo) was kept throughout the period of Polish control until the first division of Poland (1772).

THE PERIOD OF GERMANIZED LVIV — LEOPOLIS TEUTONUS

The Poles did not have enough merchants and artisans to serve their own cities, especially in the west. So they began to bring to Lviv German colonists as they did to the other cities including their capital Kraków and with the same results. The German colonists gained the upper hand in Lviv as elsewhere, took over the city administration and were protected by the Magdeburg Law. The city government in the 15th century passed into the hands of the Germans and Lviv began its German period.

The administration began to discriminate against the local non-Catholic Ukrainian element, although the Ukrainian population was large and cultured and able to protect its own rights. A proof of the cultural power of the Ukrainians of Lviv and Galicia can be seen in the fact that when the Pope in 1375 established a Roman Catholic archbishopric



Korniyak Palace.
Renaissance architecture (16th cent.).



Voloska Church.
Renaissance Structure (16th cent.).

for Galicia, he insisted that the first archbishop should be a Ukrainian or at least be able to speak the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian citizens of Lviv organized in the first half of the 15th century church brotherhoods in connection with their churches. These were religious and national organizations. At their head was the central brotherhood at the

Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the later well-known Stavropygion.

The brotherhoods strictly disciplined the Ukrainian population of Lviv which was strong in the merchant guilds and craft associations. It was further strengthened by Greek Christians, usually rich merchants who came from Crete and other parts of Greece. One of these, Konstantyn Kornyakt became famous for his cultural work among the Ukrainians of Lviv.

Quiet allies of the Ukrainian city element were the Armenians, also Eastern non-Catholic Christians. They rapidly took over almost all the local and foreign trade with the countries occupied by the Turks. The Armenians, however, did not mingle like the Greeks with the Ukrainians nor entered the brotherhoods but they organized in their own community around their church organizations.

THE CULTURE OF MEDIAEVAL LVIV

In spite of the fact that the German colonists controlled the city administration, the cultural superiority remained in the hands of the native Ukrainians, the heirs of the great civilization of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Lviv is one of those Eastern European cities which has preserved many archetypes of art, especially of architecture. With a few exceptions, after the end of the 16th century, all the important monuments of Lviv are connected with the Ukrainian element. Here between the 13th and 16th century, were schools of painting in the spirit of the old Ukrainian traditions of painting of old Rus' in the city, outside of it and even on the territory of the ethnic Roman Catholic Poland.

The oldest monument in Lviv of old Ukrainian architecture and painting, the Armenian Church, after the pattern of old St. George Church in Lviv, was built in 1363. The frescoes discovered in 1927 in this church clearly point to Ukrainian authorship.

There has been left in Lviv almost nothing of the Gothic but Renaissance architecture is well represented. The Lviv marketplace, with its old houses chiefly of the 16th or 17th centuries and the buildings on the neighboring Rus'ka Street are a true museum of Ukrainian Renaissance art.

These structures were mostly built by Venetians who worked for their Ukrainian and Venetian clients with which Lviv was filled. The finest pearl of this Renaissance architecture is the group of the Ukrainian Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the so-called Voloska Church, with the beautiful tower of Kornyakt and the Chapel of the Three Saints. The Tower of Kornyakt was built on the model of a Venetian tower by Madonna del Orto and is considered the finest Renais-

sance campanile in Eastern Europe. It was paid for by Konstantyn Kornyakt, a rich dealer in wine, a Greek from Crete, who considered himself a part of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Lviv and was a member of the Stavropygian Brotherhood. He built the beautiful palace of the Kornyakts in the marketplace. This was later acquired by King Jan Sobieski and later changed into a museum. It is the finest house in Lviv.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lviv, which was being built during the entire 15th century, is partly Renaissance and partly Baroque. It was



Lviv City Hall.
(19th cent.).



Diana Fountain.
Lviv Market-place (17th cent.).

the work of the Germans of Lviv. Up to the first half of the 16th century the German language was dominant in all the Roman Catholic Churches of the city and the position of the first Polish preacher in the Roman Catholic Cathedral was established by King Sigismund the Elder only in the first half of the 16th century. This was the first break in German Lviv. Soon the Roman Catholic churches became a powerful factor in the polonization of the urban population of the Roman faith and German origin. That is the reason why in Lviv there are so many Poles with German names. This process went on more rapidly because in the second half of the 16th century the German control in the local administration was replaced by Polish. At the end of the 16th century began the third period of the history of the city, called by Zimorovych, Polish Lviv or Polonized Lviv.

THE PERIOD OF POLONIZED LVIV — LEOPOLIS POLONUS

In the 17th century the administration of the city of Lviv was in the hands of the Polonized German population and an intrusive Polish ele-

ment from Western Poland. The position of the Orthodox Ukrainians became unspeakably difficult. Relations became more tense between the Polish administration and the Orthodox Ukrainians represented by the brotherhoods. The object of the Polish administration was to force the Ukrainians from the city into the suburbs but this only partially succeeded. Actually the suburbs of Lviv were inhabited almost exclusively by a Ukrainian population and within the walled city itself there were many Ukrainian artisans and merchants. They were forbidden to build churches anywhere in the city except on the Rus'ka Street. Thus the entire Ukrainian life in Lviv was concentrated in this one place around their citadel, the Stavropygion, where they had their higher school and printing press.

The Stavropygion was almost constantly in lawsuits with the city administration which continued to adopt discriminatory legislation against the Ukrainians. The Orthodox were forbidden in church processions to leave the Rus'ka Street, or to have funeral processions through the city with lighted candles. The city also forbade the teaching of Latin in the Stavropygian school, for it was claimed there would be competition with the city Latin school. The Dominicans had a long suit with the Stavropygion, trying to forbid the ringing of bells in the Tower of Kornyakt for they claimed that it disturbed their religious services. Archbishop Solikovsky insisted upon the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, for he claimed that King Stepan Batory had accepted the Gregorian calendar for the Republic and this bound the Orthodox who were not free to celebrate their holy days according to the old calendar. The Archbishop tried to introduce the new Gregorian calendar in Ukrainian churches by force.

The Stavropygion stubbornly defended its rights and usually carried the lawsuits to the highest royal court in Warsaw, where the Lviv Ukrainians usually found justice. It was secured by heavy bribes at the royal court.

The Lviv Ukrainians had to suffer still more when the national movement of liberation broke out along the Dnieper in 1648 under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. They were constantly watched and suspected of sympathies with and even active cooperation with the Kozak movement, since Khmelnytsky in his victorious march to the west on approaching Lviv declared the Polish government of the city responsible for the wrong done to the Lviv Ukrainians. This could of course only bring a short respite, for when the Kozak forces moved from Lviv to the east, the protection they had given only increased the persecution of the Ukrainians of the city.

The passage of Ukraine under the protectorate of Moscow in 1654, and later the enslavement of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, which the Lviv Ukrainians had been so zealously defending, took away the confidence of the Lviv Ukrainians that Orthodoxy in this situation could be a defence for the Ukrainian nationality. So they cooperated with their bishop Shumlyansky in bringing Galicia and its citadel of Orthodoxy, the Lviv Stavropygion, under the Apostolic See (1700 and 1708) whereby as Catholics of the Eastern Rite they could defend the remains of Ukrainian Lviv menaced by the Polish intolerance of the 18th-20th centuries aimed at both Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholics.



St. George Cathedral.
Ukrainian Rococo (18th cent.).

A still-existing monument to the zeal of the Lviv Ukrainians for their nationality is the monumental Cathedral Church of St. George erected in the middle of the 18th century according to the plans of the Italian architect Meretini, at an enormous expense, so that the people of Lviv could give to their city, under the Polish administration, the character of the Ukrainian city of Prince Lev. The Cathedral truly dominates Lviv even now regardless of the administration of the city.

The art produced in Lviv by the Poles during the period of Polonized Lviv is best illustrated by the Baroque Churches of the Jesuits, the Bernardines (17th century) and the Dominicans (18th century).

During the periods of Germanized and Polonized Lviv, the city flourished as an important centre for the crafts and applied art. There flourished jewelry making, engraving, carving, bell-casting and gun-making and within the city were painters of a high rank. The quality of the crafts fell in the 18th century and with them the prosperity of the city.

LIV A CENTRE OF UKRAINIAN SPIRITUAL CULTURE

When Constantinople fell in 1453 into the hands of the Turks, Ukraine finally lost the chief source from which culture came to it. The second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries were periods of cultural decline. Ukraine lost contact with the fallen centre in the east and had not yet created contacts with the west. Therefore, as the capital of the western part of Ukraine, Lviv assumed the task of

being the link between the Europe of the Renaissance and Ukraine. Its many great monuments of Renaissance architecture in the city show how well it performed its task.

Lviv also became the site of the first printing press in Ukraine. Here, Ivan Fedorovych established one and in 1574 printed the first copy of the Epistles. The Lviv Stavropygian School, granted special privileges by the Patriarch of Constantinople, became a kind of "teacher's college" for the whole Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

Lviv and Galicia furnished Kiev a long list of outstanding educated men who carried on the national and cultural revival in Dnieper Ukraine on a wider field under the protection of the armed Ukrainian Kozaks. We need only mention such names as Sakovych, Pletenetsky, Metropolitan Yov Boretsky and the Kozak Hetman, Petro Konashevych Sahaydachny. In Lviv there worked such scholars as the brothers Tustanovski, Stavrovetzky, Rohatynets and Melety Smotrytsky.

On the Polish side at the end of the 16th century, a college of the Jesuits was founded and later a college of the Piarites and the Teatines. Here were published handbooks on the Magdeburg law which was obligatory in Poland. There were also many writers as V. Zimorovych, the chronicler of the history of Lviv.

In modern times Lviv became the living centre of the spiritual life of Ukraine, especially after the foundation by Emperor Joseph II of a German university in Lviv with a special faculty for the study of Ukrainian culture and church life, the *Studium Ruthenum*. The renewal of the ecclesiastical Galician metropolitanate with its seat in Lviv (1808), and the establishment in Lviv of the centre of the administration for the great Austrian province of Galicia made of Lviv an administrative city and a centre of spiritual culture.

In 1848 the first Ukrainian political organization, the Rus'ka Rada, was established in Lviv. The first Congress of Ukrainian Scholars and a Ukrainian press began to appear. Here too was established through the efforts of Ukrainians from the entire country (whether under Russia or Austria), the *Shevchenko Scientific Society* (1873) which occupied one of the most important positions among the academies of the Slavic peoples. At the same time there grew up such Polish scholarly institutions as the Ossolinski National Foundation.

Lviv became the field of conflict between the Polish and Ukrainian cultures, especially after Galicia obtained autonomy in Austria-Hungary (1861) and Vienna handed over the administration of the province fully to the Polish hands by tricky electoral arrangements very hostile to all the demands — even purely cultural ones — put forward by the Ukrainian people.

Yet by their private funds and especially by the self-sacrificing work of the patriotic intelligentsia, both lay and clerical, the Ukrainians successfully competed with the Polish culture and often surpassed the latter.

The most dramatic episode was the struggle for the national character of the Lviv state university, which the Poles after the abolition of lectures in German, tried to polonize completely. This struggle outlasted Austria and was revived with renewed virulence in the new Polish state. Being unable to secure from the Polish government the right of establishing even a private Ukrainian university supported by their own funds, the Ukrainians organized a *Ukrainian Underground University* in Lviv (1920). This was indeed a unique school in the history of modern European civilization. It existed for four years with about 1500 students and 100 professors despite the constant persecution by the Polish police who not rarely took professor and students from the lecture hall to prison.

In November, 1918, Austria disintegrated and the Ukrainian population of Lviv and Galicia seized the power in the city and that part of Galicia where the majority of the population was Ukrainian. (November 1, 1918). The Polish population of Lviv commenced an armed struggle against the Ukrainian government, established in accordance with President Wilson's theory on the right of self-determination of peoples and they were supported by the Poles from ethnic Poland. The Ukrainian armed forces, fighting on two fronts, on the east against the Bolsheviks and on the west against the Poles, without any outside help, were compelled after eight months of heroic fighting to abandon Lviv and Galicia before the stronger Polish army of General Haller which had been equipped by the Allies. Lviv became externally a Polish city, — "Polish Lwów," but in fact it was the chief centre for those revolutionary Ukrainian forces which disintegrated not only the Polish administration of Lviv but Poland itself.

Lviv was in Polish hands for 20 years and then in 1939 came the final ending of Polish Lviv. The city passed within the boundaries of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. For Lviv this was formally the second Ukrainian period of Lviv rule but in reality there began the period of a Mongolian-Russian Lviv, for that is now the character of this city of the Ukrainian Prince Lev on its 700th anniversary.

The logic of history says that this unnatural period in the 700-year history of Lviv will be short and that Lviv will pass not only formally but really into the hands of its true owner, the Ukrainian people, as an *emporium celeberrimum* of the material and spiritual values of eastern Europe.

