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# The Mystery of Lviv's Name

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## Abstract

The aim of the presented essay was to find an answer to the question whether, when and who first gave the name to the defensive settlement founded in the mid-thirteenth century on the banks of the Poltva River, which today is one of the most famous cities of Ukraine - inscribed on the UNESCO list of cult girls - which is the city bearing the name: "Lviv" or "Lion's Castle"

The author, completely negating the views of Ukrainian historians regarding both the origin of the name of this city and its coat of arms, so far considered to be fully credible, proves that its creation is closely related to the action initiated by Prince Daniel of Galicia, to build new defensive strongholds after the destruction that the troops of the descendants of Dzingis-Han made in Galicia and Volhynia in the years 1240-1241 on their way to the conquest of Western Europe.

Based on the preserved sources, the author associates the creation of the first settlement, which in later years became the basis for the development of Lviv as one of the most important cities in Western Ukraine, directly with the arrival of German settlers from Silesia. It proves that it was THEY, not the Ruthenians, who gave this first settlement the name "Lion Mountain", both in order to preserve in the new place of their settlement the name of the place from which it approximates, but also consistent with the local landscape.

Lwów would also owe its original coat of arms identical with the former coat of arms of **Lowenberg** created in 1217 in Lower Silesia (today known under the Polish name "Lwówek Śląski"), which over time became the coat of arms of the entire territory of the so-called "Lwów Land".

In the presented publication, the author tries to meticulously reconstruct the most probable events that took place in both the former March of Meissen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the development of German settlement in Silesia in the first years of the thirteenth century and the action undertaken by Prince Daniel Romanowicz-Halych to build new defensive strongholds in the areas of former Kievan Rus after the Mongol invasions in 1240-1241.

The main basis of the proof remains both (here) the unusual (excluding chance) similarity of the existing local coats of arms successively given by the author and the similarity of the naming confirmed by the documents. Verification of the findings was supported by numerous footnotes using German, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian literature on both general history, sfragistics and etymology.

The presented text is one of the chapters of the prepared monograph entitled "*Lviv re-read: the mystery of the origin of its coat of arms, the name and history of princely seals*" covering a comprehensive picture of the real history of the city in its initial period of existence: including the reasons for its creation, the choice of the place of foundation of the hillfort and its development until the end of the fourteenth century and the legend of the existence of the "*Ruthenian kingdom*" closely associated with it. ...

**A.M. Szymski**

## THE MYSTERY OF LVIV'S NAME

(name of the city hidden in its name and coat of arms<sup>1</sup>)

### Part I

In the light of existing hypotheses

#### 1. Introduction

Apart from the still open question about the origins of the town on the Poltva River<sup>2</sup> and the no less intriguing question, for both Ukrainian and Polish historians, about the time when the town finally became a fully-fledged urban centre - according to the rules considered standard in Europe at the time - there still seems to be an intriguing question, although one which seems to be completely ignored, both in academic and public discussions, about the origin of its name and, more specifically, about *its authenticity*.

For - rightly or wrongly - in the opinion of some of those who analyse **the** problem of the emergence and perpetuation of **toponyms in the** public consciousness Lwów in fact remains the only example of a city (of those which for over 400 years remained in close connection with the Polish Kingdom) which does not in fact have its "founding legend"...<sup>3</sup> Is this really the case? Or is it possible to find a clue to this legend, lost in the memory of past generations, in the fragments of the town's history which have survived, and with it to restore the town's original name to human memory, thus making the actual date of its birth more realistic - only that it must have taken place during the lifetime of Daniel Romanowicz-Halicki and before the fire - by his will and order - of Chełm, which took place in 1256.

This is not an idle question. In the history of human civilisation we have experienced too often that what seemed to be an obvious fact, an unquestionable dogma, with the passing of time turned out to be only one of the subsequent illusions,

thus destroying the intricately woven by many scientists and seemingly completely logical further - based exclusively on this illusion - story about its special features and influence on the further development of this civilisation, only to then - without a shadow of self-criticism - completely withdraw from these essentially erroneous conclusions and all-embracing truths.

Every human community, every human seat, every house, every rural settlement and every city cannot exist without its history, which is generally written in its name... Is it at all possible for Lwów to rise like a *phoenix* from the ashes in the total absence of human memory? Is it possible that the image of the "*lion*", which is undeniably linked to its (the city's) existence and enshrined in the city's coat of arms and in the coat of arms of the Lviv region, still conceals the secret of the city's name? Does such a question make any sense at all?

After all, anyone who has read ( or ever heard) anything about Lviv knows full well that Lviv was founded by the will of its founder, who - by a stroke of fate - was the eldest of the LIVING sons of Daniel Halytsky - Lev. <sup>4</sup> It is so obvious that no one notices, in the apparent simplicity of this statement, that this lack (?) of THIS legend has been replaced by the **myth of the "founding prince"**, cultivated throughout the entire period of the city's development from the late 14th century to the present day, despite the fact that in none of the surviving historical accounts is there any mention of the "*founding prince*" and the presumption of his real role is based solely on apocryphal accounts of later centuries.

Despite this - especially since the creation of the independent Ukrainian state (in 1991) - the figure of Lev Danilovich has become a political weapon designed to emphasise the supposedly native (READ:UKRAINIAN) identity of Lviv supposedly "enslaved" by the force of Polish arms and lasting in the "Polish occupation" as if against (HIS) will and in spite of its inhabitants<sup>5</sup> until the time of the final collapse of both the first (1772r) and the second Polish Republic (1939r) of which not only home-grown collectors of historical curiosities (both in Polish and foreign language internet forums) but also Ukrainian children (already) in primary school are informed. <sup>6</sup>

Thus any attempt to undermine the historical claim to the name of Lviv as "Львов" <sup>7</sup> or *Lion's Castle* (Львів Хород ), together with the canonical connection of its origin and existence to the name of Leo Danilovich - the ONLY truly Ruthenian prince ,who made this castle his main residence<sup>8</sup> - and from whom this name is to be directly derived, are unacceptable - and indeed are treated directly - almost - as an attack on the sovereignty of today's independent, contemporary Ukraine.

Even drawing attention to this MITU's dubious foundations becomes not only a sign of the doubter's lack of professional knowledge, but also a sign of (his) lack of logical thinking skills, for whom the word "*it has always been known in Lvoŭ*" is an irrefutable argument in scientific discourse. <sup>9</sup>

This also allows the apologists of this prince to maintain the strength of this myth, deeply rooted in the social consciousness, with a supposedly authentic (!) image of the prince - using for this purpose a *pseudo-portrait of him* in the image of an 18th century painter. The fact that the alleged figure of the prince (who died in 1301) is presented against the background of a city panorama from the 17th century(!), wearing his coronation robe and bearing the insignia of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, with the "old" Lithuanian insignia, is of no significance in this - purely psychological - procedure.

Lithuanian, with an "Old Ruthenian" (Fig. 1 a-b) or Latin inscription, or (in another version) with the coat of arms of the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the background, having nothing in common with Leo Danilovich (Fig. 1 c-d)<sup>10</sup>

Others - on the basis of this "founding" MIT - place supposedly AUTHENTIC "symbols" closely related to the real and allegedly already existing (?) coat of arms of the city of Lviv on the official websites of the present-day Lviv city authorities, in occasional propaganda publications and on mass-issued stamps and postcards.) coat of arms of the city of<sup>11</sup> and the lands once within the borders of the Duchy of Halicko-Vlodzimiersk - from the time of the First Partition of Poland officially called "*Galicia and Lodomeria*" - and in modern Ukrainian historiography: "Russian Kingdom". - as evidence of the enduring continuity of the "RUSSIAN" tradition of these SYMBOLS, including the alteration or "adaptation" of the Coat of Arms SIGNS which still remain on the facades and portals of numerous LLviv official buildings and tenement houses to the patterns in force today in the Ukrainian Republic (Fig.2 )<sup>12,13</sup>



**Fig.1 a (left), b (right).** The mythical figure of Prince Lev Danilovich as depicted by Lukasz Dolinski <sup>14</sup> ( oil on canvas, ca. 1771)<sup>15</sup> and its replica with an altered (at the top of the painting) inscription <sup>16,17,18</sup>



**Fig.1 c-d.** Two more examples of the "popularisation" of the alleged image of Lev Danilovich: c) the knykh Lev as "founder of Mogilev"<sup>19</sup>, d) the portrait of "knykh Leo I" displayed in the užgorod castle<sup>20</sup>.

However, this does not prevent subsequent "researchers" from illustrating (also) the history of the creation of the "Duchy of Halych" (Галицьке князівство) with the same "*Ruthenian lion*" as an allegedly proven family sign of the Rościśławicz dynasty, "postponing" the creation of the image of the "*Lviv lion*" (already) to the second half of the 11th century.<sup>21</sup> thereby negating the historical continuity of the symbol of the "black" - Halytic - "jackdaw"- (Fig.3).

But what do these coats of arms - both real and alleged - that are so closely associated with Lviv tell us? What do we really know about them? What secrets do they really contain?



Галицько-волинський дружинник

**Fig.2 a (left), b (right).** Alleged image of Daniel Romanovich- Halychy with his alleged family coat of arms placed on the royal ensign ("postage stamp block" of the Ukrainian state post office in general circulation) (a) and artistic vision of a "Galician-Volyn knight" with an "almond" shield with an image of a "climbed" lion with an upturned tail (here without a crown) as the (alleged) territorial sign of the "kingdom of Russia"(b). <sup>22,23</sup>

## 2. Status of research

In the context of these purely political decisions, particularly regarding the role of Lviv in contemporary Ukrainian historiography and culture, the actual place (and time) of its first location, as well as the date of its foundation as a defensive stronghold (Figure 3), it remains an intriguing mystery to any researcher of the history of Lviv's foundation and its functioning in "*princely times*", not only the image of its **coat of arms and the** significance in it of the figure of Lvov, but also the actual time and place of its birth. <sup>24</sup>



**Fig.3.** Rosislavich brothers - founders of the Halych principality with a banner with an image of a lion according to : *Рисунок Петра Андрусіва (1942)*<sup>25</sup>.

From the point of view of the well-established and universally (to this day) accepted version, both among Polish and Russian historians, and since 1991 also among Ukrainian historians, Lviv owes its toponym to the NAME of its founder - Prince **Lev (Leo) Danilovich**.<sup>26</sup> Despite the fact that there is no human figure or coat-of-arms sign in the city's gate, which might seem a little strange, the silhouette of the LION is treated as **a synonym for the human figure**. Despite this, perhaps purely formal, 'absence', is this really the case? (Fig.4)



**Fig.4.** Comparison of different symbolism in the content of medieval city seals : 1) city council seal of Lviv -1359r. , 2) first city seal of Kraków - 1303, 3) city seal of Blankenberg -1459, 4) city seal of Bergstadt=Freiberg -1227.

Can a town which has "lost" even the memory of the original name of the mountains in the surroundings of which it has put down its roots for centuries<sup>27</sup> is it able to reread its past by uncovering layers of generational "oblivion", deliberate or unintentional misrepresentations, history written "to gladden hearts", the creation of a political mythology which has nothing in common with the times to which it refers? Is it worth trying to reread the history of its origins - contrary to established beliefs and supposedly "*thoroughly researched*" sources? Can the mystery of the "Lviv" or, as others prefer to write (and speak) the "**Russian Lion**" be finally explained, while at the same time restoring the city's IDENTITY, contrary to the stereotypes ingrained in people's consciousness and despite the power of established MYTH?

Also: in spite of the still unprovable, *ad hoc* formulated hypotheses, overt or covert forgeries, which do not really contribute anything to the understanding of the history of Western Ukraine and Lviv (which in fact has become its peculiar SYNONYM). ?

Is this ONLY a rhetorical question?

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In fact, the answer to such a question seems to be relatively simple if we believe, for example, Alexander Gwagin's statements in his work "European Sarmacy", published in Latin in 1578 and translated into Polish as early as 1611. "European Sarmacy" published in Latin in **1578** and in Polish translation already in 1611<sup>28</sup> that:

*"The city of Lvov uses as a perpetual memorial the coat of arms of the Lion irblack on a golden field with a crown, as the Lion prince used it and gave it to their ancestors together with them.<sup>29</sup> and that this "lion" in yellow on the flag of the Lviv region: "...on a rock he is climbing , in a laurel field"<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 5)*





**Fig.5.** "Lion on a rock" in the heraldic sign of the "Ensign of the Lviv Region" at the Battle of Grunwald - 1410 in a contemporary painting by: Artur Orłonov<sup>31,32</sup>

But - as K.Saraniwicz writes - *"The answer to the question of the origin of the image of the lion in the coat of arms of Lwów (despite the existence of the above-cited testimony of Gwagin) is not easy. In view of the fact that we do not possess any source data on this subject before 1359, which should not come as a surprise. There is a dearth of sources for the history of medieval Lviv from the earliest times, especially from before 1382, as all the oldest books on the history of Piast Lwów were irretrievably lost during the great fire of 1381. According to Zimorowicz, the citizens of Lwów "archivum civitatis cum tabulis publicis am iserunt". But the material from the 14th century has not been preserved in its entirety. What we have of documents from before 1382 are only remnants. Among them is a document from 10 January 1359 issued by Lviv aldermen, bearing the oldest known seal of the city of Lviv, which is also the oldest (known) depiction of the coat of arms of the city of Lviv."*<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6)

Since Gwagin unfortunately did not describe the detailed appearance of this **black lion**<sup>34</sup> city seal, we must only rely on what we can find in the preserved images of the city and town seals of "Kazimierz" Lviv and - only indirectly - on two images of the ducal seals: the alleged one of Yuri Lvovich and Lev II Yurevich. This THIRD seal, which is believed to date from the time of Lev Danilovich, if it existed at all, and whose appearance was known to Gwagin (?), has unfortunately not been preserved to date.<sup>35</sup>

More fortunate was the (already known since the 11th century) image of the "black jackdaw", which - according to

Gvagin's account - as the coat of arms of the Halych principality was identical to the Halych coat of arms and also remained the coat of arms of the Halych Land as we see it on its banner at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 already as : "*a crowned jackdaw with extended wings in a red field...*".<sup>36</sup> (Fig.7) although there are polemical voices on this issue as well.<sup>37</sup>

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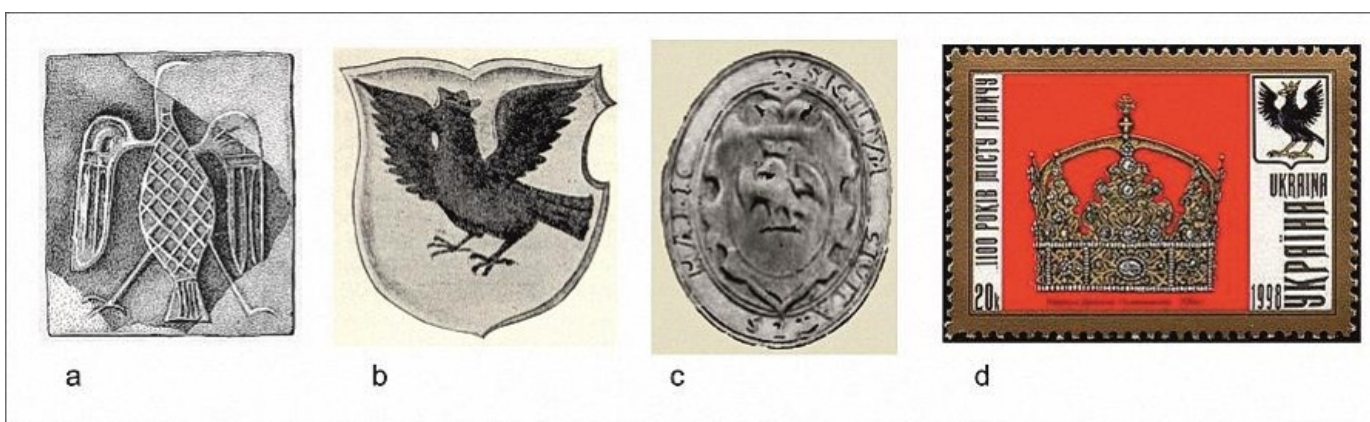
The figure of the lion as a symbol of "strength and righteousness", which has existed from the very beginnings of knightly heraldry in Europe since the end of the 12th century, appears in the 13th century both as an individual, territorial and national emblem in countless forms of presentation. It is therefore impossible not to notice numerous borrowings or even - to use our contemporary language - obvious plagiarism.<sup>38</sup>

Thanks also to the German merchant factories in Novgorod and the direct contacts of Andrey Bogolubsky, the ruler of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality, with Frederick I Barbarossa, the heraldic lion arrived in north-eastern Rus' already in the first half of the 12th century, to survive there in its original form fixed on the contemporary image of the Vladimir coat of arms.<sup>39</sup> as well as becoming the informal coat of arms of the Novgorod principality and the coat of arms of Pskov<sup>40</sup> (Fig.8a-b)

Could this have been experienced by the "Lvov" Lion and, if so, what image of the Lion might have been its prototype - thus attesting to the actual and not just the assumed time of its creation in Gvagin's perfunctory description? Or was it, in its image, an INDEPENDENT LION?



**Fig.6 a-b.** appearance of the oldest TWO seals of the city of Lviv known to historians: a) Seal of the City Council from 1359, b) Seal of the (Alderman? ) City Jurors - end of the 14th century?<sup>41,42</sup>



**Fig.7.** "Black jackdaw" in the coat of arms of the Halich lands and on the municipal seal : a) image of a jackdaw (?) preserved on a ceramic plate from ca. XII century b) as a sign of 'Halych lands', c) \*SIGILIVM CIVITATIS HALIC: oval seal of the city council from the XVII century with the image of a crowned jackdaw on a renaissance shield, d) contemporary image of a jackdaw on a stamp of the Ukrainian post issued on the occasion of the 1100th anniversary of the foundation of the Halych (Galicz) castle and settlement, together with an alleged appearance of the royal crown of Daniel Romanovich

In European heraldry, *the lion* as the main element of a coat of arms is no less popular than *the eagle* or another mythical animal such as the *griffin* in the Middle Ages. There are also numerous variants of its image. (Fig.9) The "Lvov" lion, however, turns out to be INDEPENDENT. Not because of the drawing of the silhouette itself (preserved in a dozen or so variants), but because of the fact of its CONTINUOUS connection with the element of the mountain (rock) - **remaining a**

**lion climbing or supported on its edge** . From this point of view, it seems to represent a SPECIAL case in the whole known history of European heraldry being (in its notation) a "*two-headed*" coat of arms. (Fig.10)

This "peculiarity" is in fact not without significance for the entire history of Ukrainian heraldry if we consider that J. B. Zimorowicz, uncritically regarded as an authority not only on the history of the founding of the city, but also on the possible origin of its coat of arms, stated that the primary sign closely related to Lviv was a lion which at the same time - according to Zimorowicz - MAY have been a lion. B. Zimorowicz, on the basis of a source known only to himself (?), stated that the primary sign closely associated with Lviv was the figure of a lion, which at the same time - according to Zimorowicz - MAY have also been **the heraldic sign of Lev Danilovich...**<sup>43</sup>

This is probably also what the authors of a contemporary Ukrainian history textbook for the 7th grade of primary schools<sup>44</sup> have followed, as indicated by the 17th century chronicler, who have unknowingly (?) made the "Prague penny" of Václav II, i.e. from the time corresponding to the reign of Lev Danilovich, into an alleged "heraldic sign" of his son George (Yuri) Lvovich (Fig.15)<sup>45</sup>.

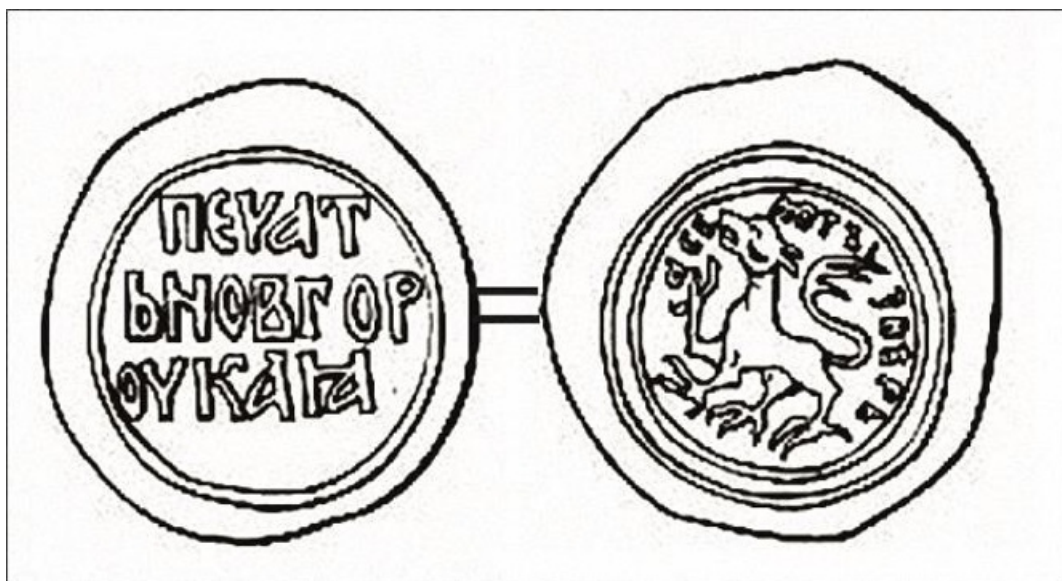


Fig.8a. "PIECZAT NOWGORODSKAYA": seal of the Novgorod principality (republic) from the 14th century



**Fig.8b.** The coat of arms of Vladimir n. Klazma with the silhouette of a lion on an image from 1672.

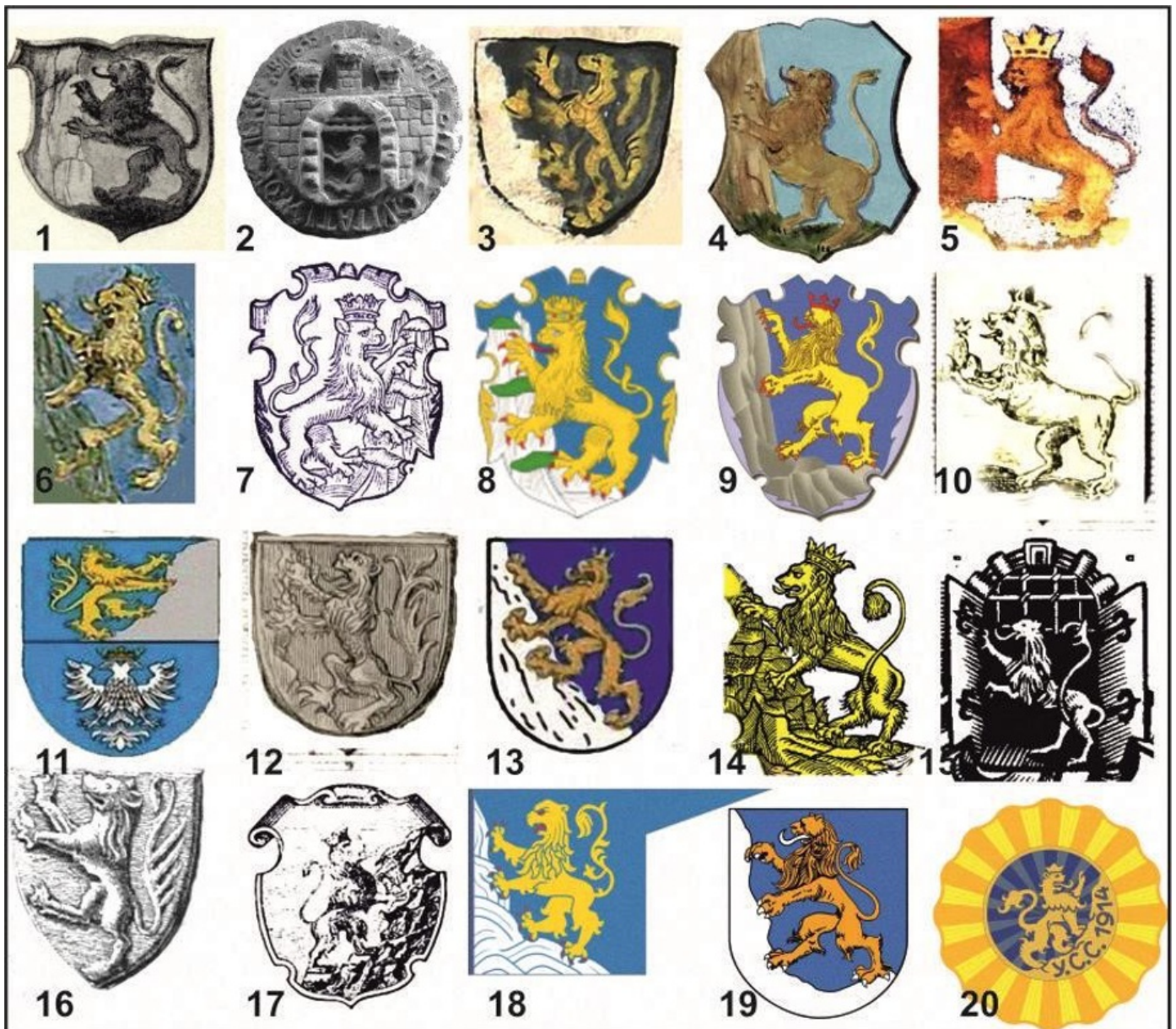
Furthermore - with a brief description of the "achievements" of Lev Danilovich himself, the supposedly proven fact that he **first** used the image of a lion as a "*historical symbol of Halych-Volyn Rus*".<sup>46,47</sup>



**Fig.8c.** Silhouette of a lion (?) on the preserved fragments of the reverse part of the 'prince's' seal on the letter of Andrew and Leo Jurewicz to the Teutonic Order from 1316 according to von Siegel's engraving

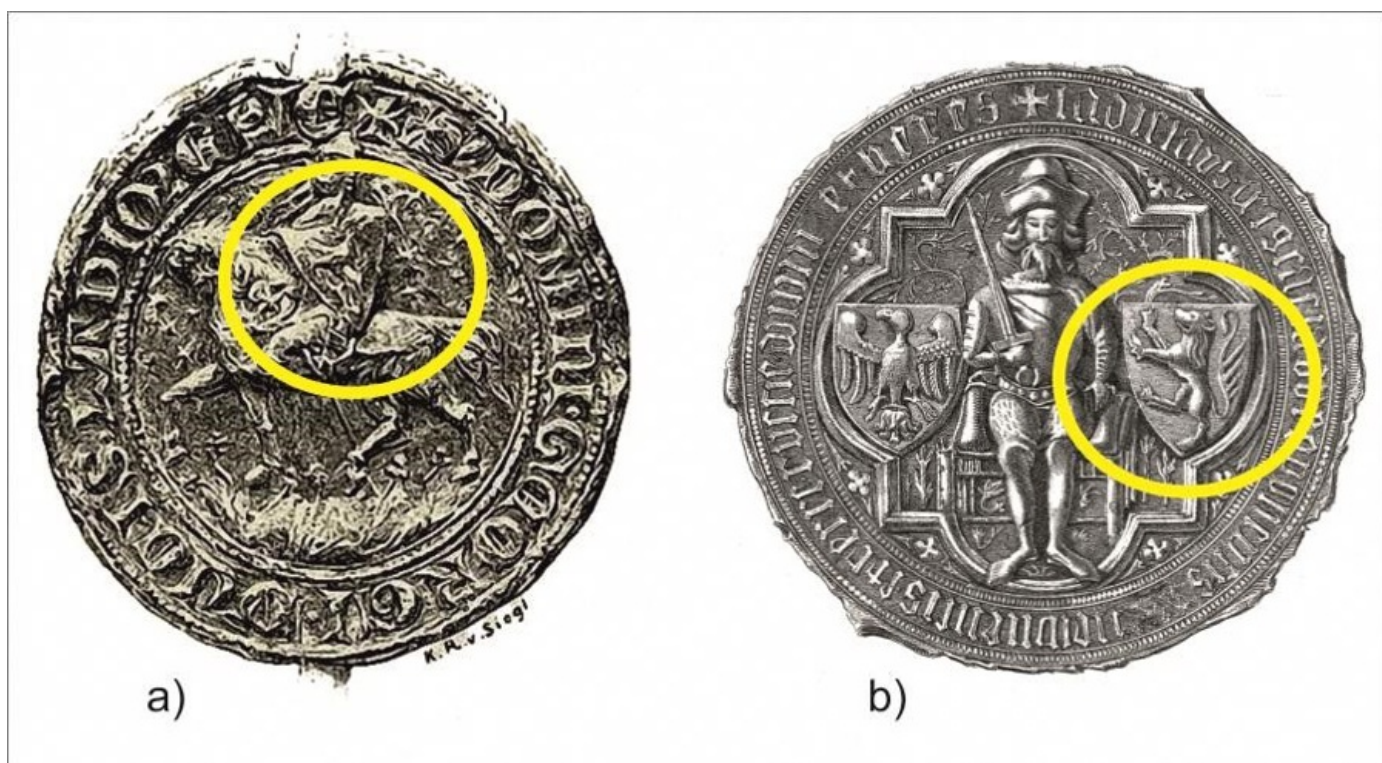


Fig.9. Examples of various depictions of the 'ascended lion' in coats of arms , on seals and coins <sup>48</sup>.



**Fig.10.** Various interpretations of the coat of arms with the " *Ruthenian lion*" ascended both as a sign= symbol of the territory (of the Lviv region) and of the city of Lviv itself known (and occasionally used) in the literature since 1359<sup>49</sup>.





**Fig.11 a-b.** a) the reverse of an alleged seal of Yuri Lvovich (George I) affixed to a document issued by Yuri (George II) Trojdenovic in 1335 and: b) the obverse of the seal of Wladyslaw Opolczyk of 1379<sup>50</sup>

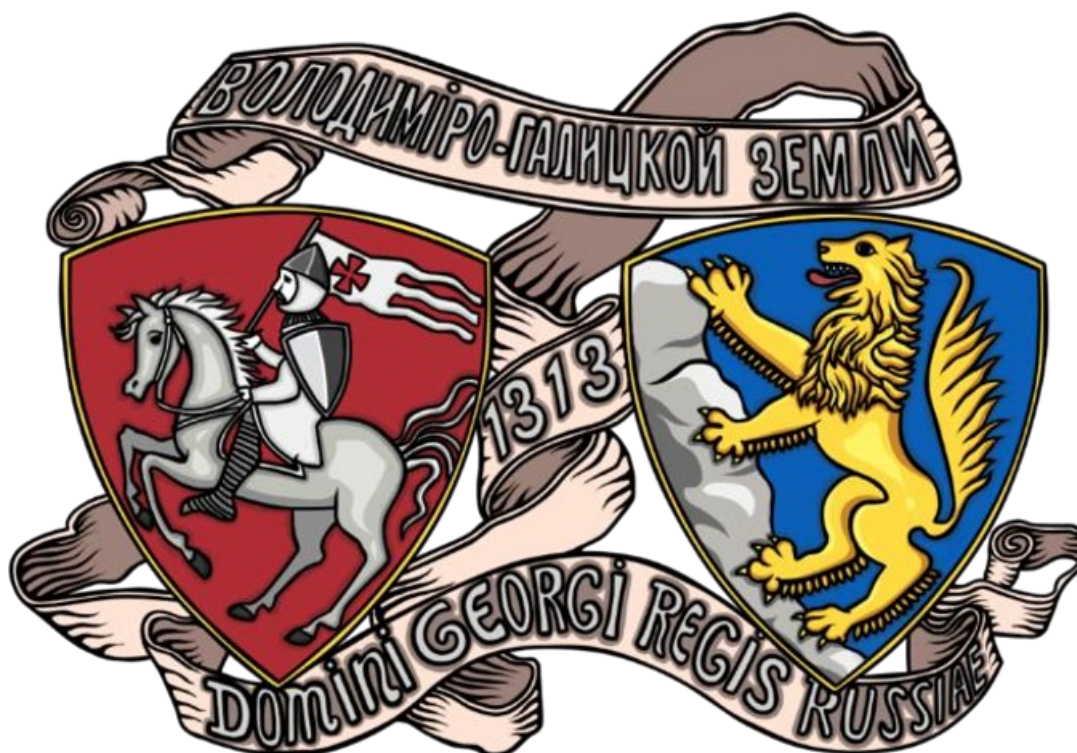


Fig.12a.



Fig.12b.

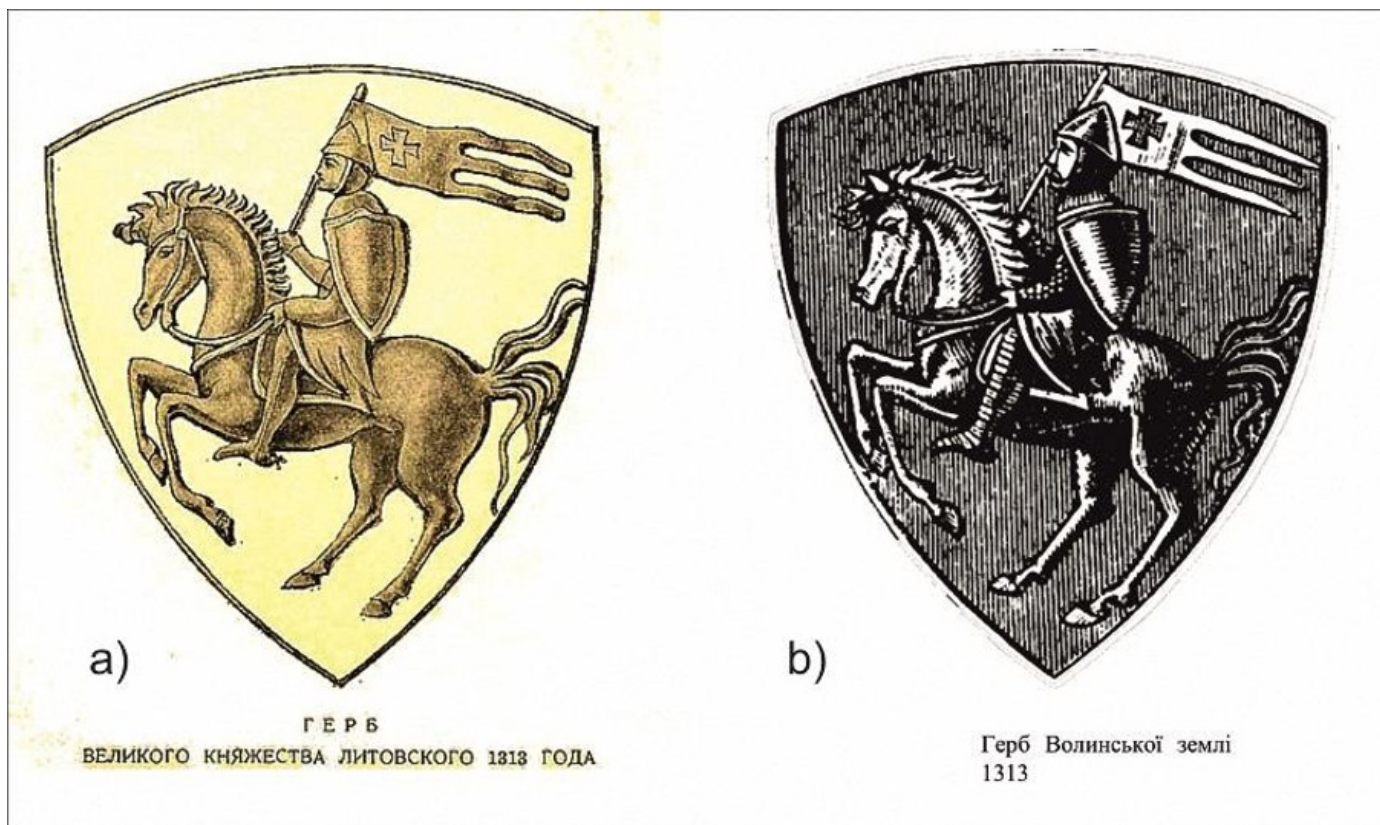


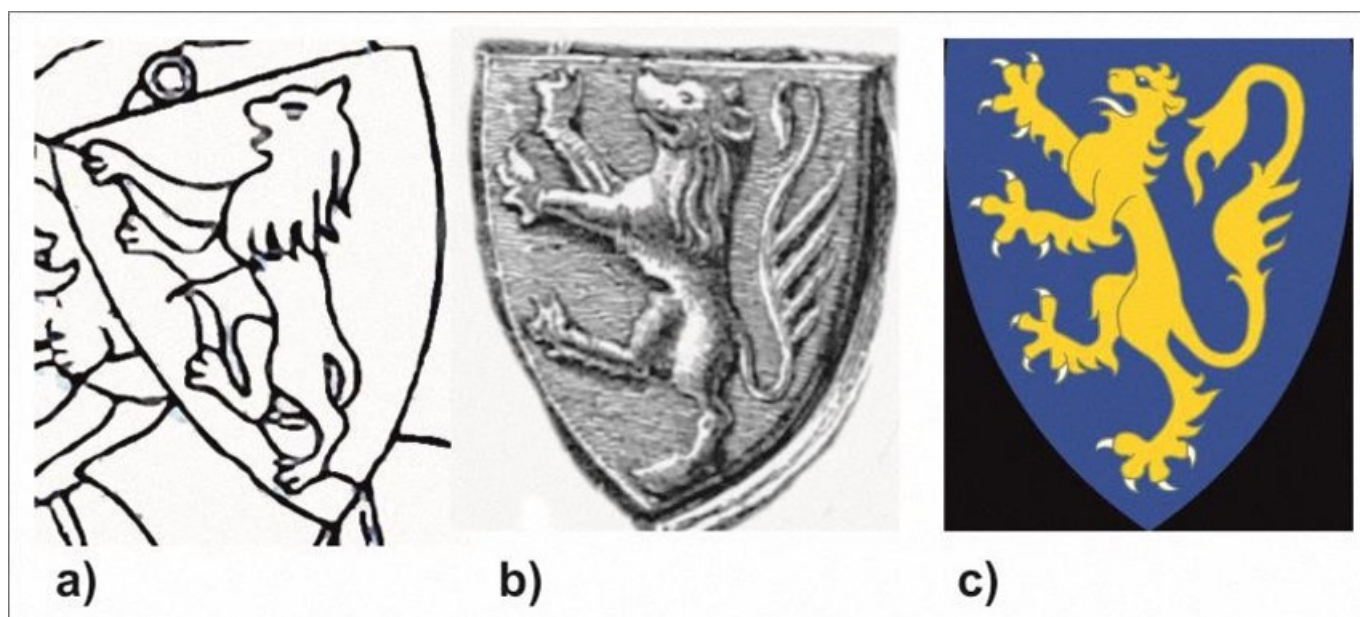
Fig.12c.

Fig.12 a-c. the apotheosis of the 'Kingdom of Rus' in a graphic synthesis from the end of the 19th century with a depiction

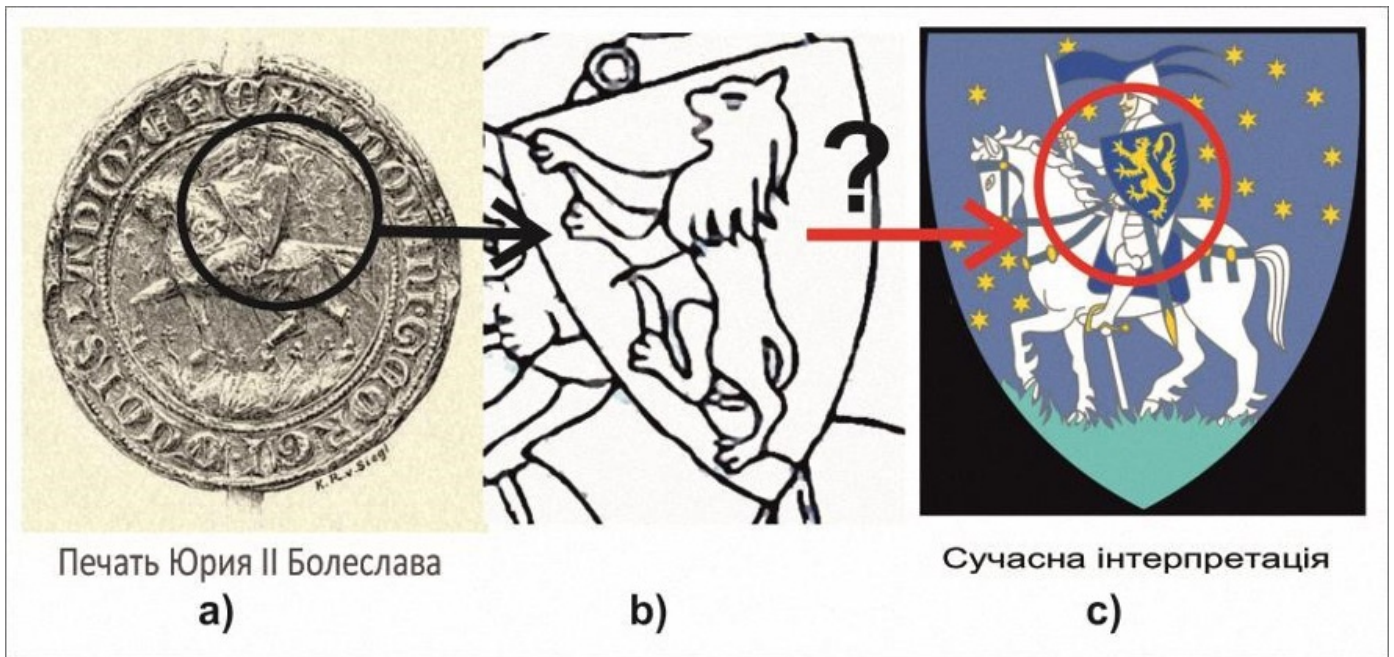
of the alleged combined coats of arms: the lands: "Vladimir" and "Halych" with the date 1313 (!) and Karamzyn's misreading of the Latin inscription directly taken from the obverse part of the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovic: "*Domini Georgi Regis Russiae*".<sup>51,52,53</sup>



**Fig.13 a (left), b (middle), c (right).** a) images of identical (?) silhouettes of lions climbing up: a) on a contemporary Ukrainian postage stamp<sup>54</sup>; b) on the coat of arms of the ducal family von Kleve at the bottom of the shield<sup>55</sup> and c) on the knightly shield of Konrad of Thuringia (circa 1230)<sup>56</sup>.



**Fig.14A a-c.** Contemporary interpretation of the alleged coat of arms of the "Halicko-Volyn" principality (the so-called "Lion of Rus"<sup>57,58</sup>) from the reign of the Romanovichs (c) allegedly derived from the image of the "Rus" Lion read (?) from the reverse of the seal of Yuri Lvovich (a) but in a **form identical to the** lion silhouette from the seal (b) of Wladyslaw Opolczyk .



**Fig.14B a-c.** An example of a "free"(?) interpretation based on the key (so far) image of a lion for determining (deducing) the probable appearance of the alleged heraldic sign of the Romanowicz princes ruling in the Halicko-Vlodzimierski (Volyn) Principality at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries<sup>59,60</sup>.

Other authors, on the other hand, in one text are ready to prove at the same time that this coat of arms could be the *two-headed eagle*" (referring to the authority of A. Petruszewicz) preserved in the coat of arms of the city of Przemyśl<sup>61</sup> or the *"lion"* whose image most probably must have been chosen by Daniel Halicki as his sign on the day of his coronation in 1253.<sup>62</sup> It is also quite unexpected that the undisputed authority for Ukrainian historians to assess whether the seals with the inscription *"King of Rus"* which were attached to the letters of George II Trojdenovich to the WM. Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary are the seals of his grandfather or are they the seals of Yuri Lvovich, not the Russian scholar Leppo-Danilevskiy but, boasting the title of Doctor of Philosophy, Bohdan Barvinskij<sup>63</sup> to argue elsewhere - after Ivan Kripiakevich<sup>64</sup> - that this coat of arms, or just "the sign of the Lion" already existed (on the territory of Kievan Rus') in the 10th century and the very FORM of the Lvov coat of arms "dates from the *period* , when the city was not yet enslaved by foreign invaders, but belonged to the Galician-Volyn Principality and lived in the traditions of Kievan Rus'."<sup>65</sup> (Fig.3)



1 - Юрій Львович (реконструкція з королівської печатки ; 2 - геральдичний лев ; 3 - печатка Юрія Львовича

a) Reproduction of illustrations from a textbook



геральдичний лев (?)



grosz praski Wacława II

b) the alleged "heraldic lion" of the Romanovichs(?) depicted under No.2 in the illustration in the school textbook and the appearance of the original (13th century) coin of Přemysl II with an image of a two-tailed "Bohemian lion".

**Fig.15.a-b.** A deliberate juxtaposition of PURPOSELY (?) selected FOR PRESENTATION artefacts to give credence to the existence of the 'alleged' coat of arms of the Halych principality ( from the date of the coronation of Daniel Romanovich - also called the 'Russian kingdom') - in a Ukrainian school textbook.<sup>66</sup>

Everything, however, seems to be resolved - and in this matter too - by (established in the popular narrative)*tradition*". After all, it is obvious to any contemporary resident of Lviv that the Lwów coat of arms, known from an image dated 1359 and affixed to the city council seal, **must have** already **existed** during the reign of Lev Danilovich (1270-1301), which is only confirmed by the fact of its formal approval by Sigismund Augustus in 1526.

Hence this pattern - a lion in the "leopard" position and not the later "pontifical lion-climbing" is a contemporary symbol of Lviv directly referring to the time of the existence of "princely" Lviv.<sup>67</sup>

However, there is no "*hard evidence*" on this issue either. Comparing the reproductions of the oldest municipal seals in Sochaniewicz's publication with the current municipal coat of arms, it can be seen that the officially binding municipal coat of arms (Fig.16c) also interprets the figure of the lion rather loosely as : walking on THREE feet with one (RIGHT) front leg

raised, WHILE ON THE MODEL SEAL (fig.6a) the lion has its left leg raised, and on the other extant "models" it does not seem to have raised any leg (fig.16 a-c).



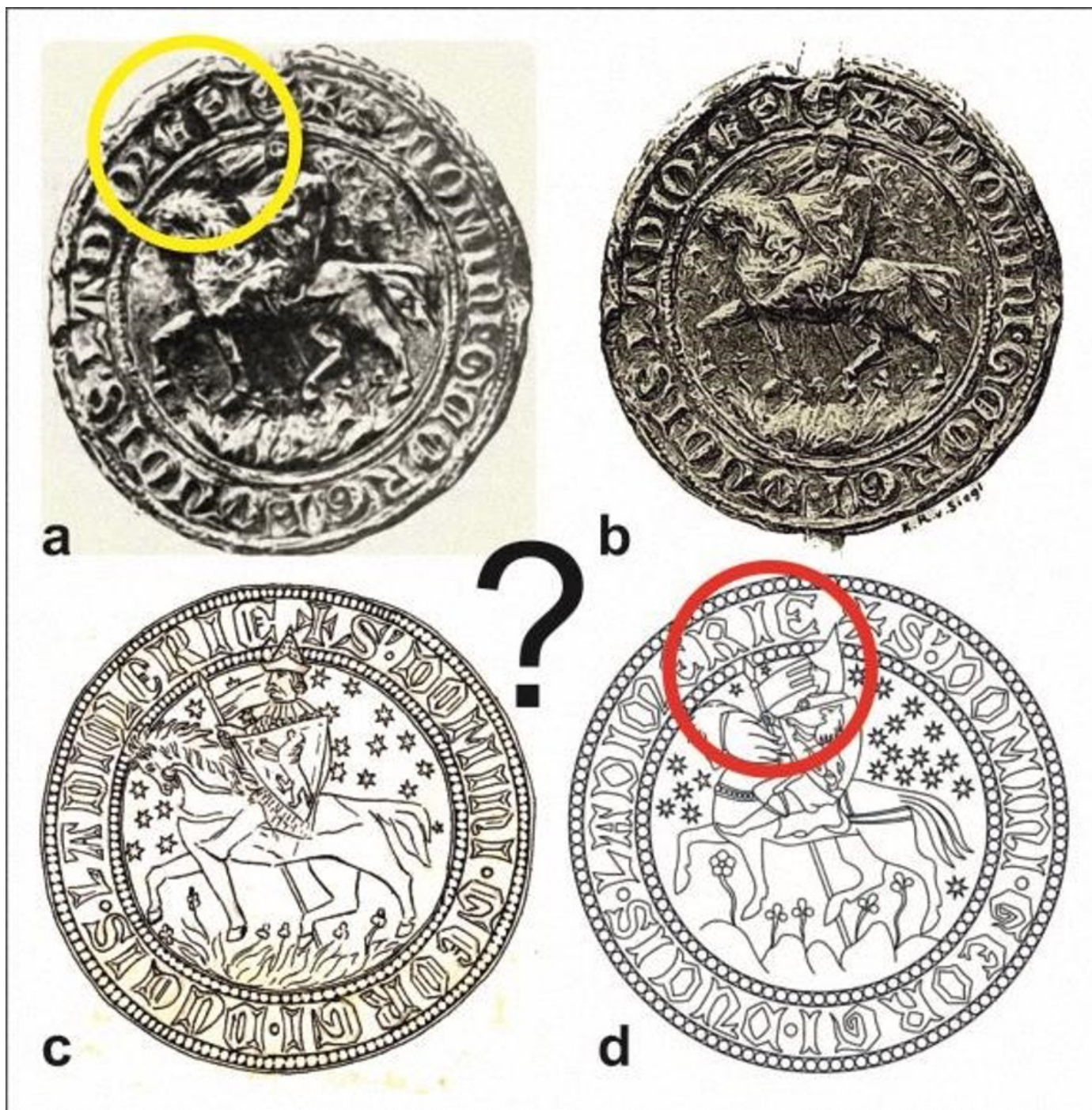
**Fig.16 a-c.** Comparison of the original Soviet seals (a, b) with the contemporary interpretation of the Lviv city coat of arms (c) <sup>68</sup>

In addition to this apparently "ambiguous" interpretation concerning both the image of the lion in the coat of arms and the time of origin of the Romanovich family coat of arms (?), there is another mystery related directly to the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovich, for which it is difficult to find a model in the seals of other princely families in the former Kievan Rus'.<sup>69</sup> There are, however, seals in Europe at that time with an identical ideological message both in the image of the lion on the shield and in the alleged pennant, which seems to indicate either a "pan-European" fashion for "lions" in knightly signs of that time or - which seems to be an unacceptable supposition for Ukrainian historians - a common seal mark of these or a similar one, fixed in the image on the reverse of the seal attributed to Yuri Lvovich, an imitation. (Fig.17a-d)(Fig.18a-d).<sup>70</sup>

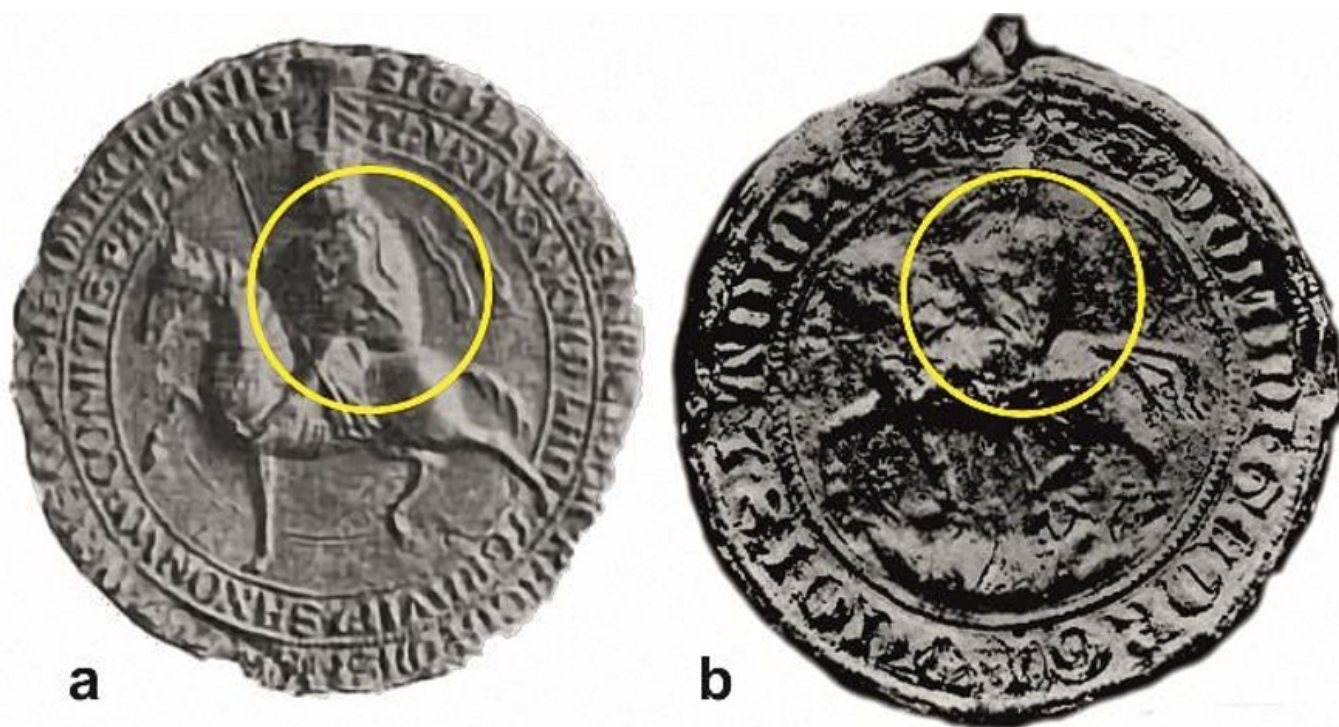
This also seems to refer to the discrepancies among Ukrainian scholars as to the origin of the one-sided seal preserved in a letter from the German municipality of Vladimir Volynsky to the municipal authorities of Straslund from 1324, interpreted - according to some - as the territorial coat of arms of the municipality or - according to others - as the coat of arms of the Volyn principality or the personal coat of arms of the ruling prince. The latter version, however, seems to confirm the presumption that the coat of arms of the so-called "*Russian kingdom*", already in use as an official state emblem (?), in fact refers only to the former Duchy of Halych, i.e. (generally) to the territory commonly identified with the so-called Western Ukraine, Red Russia or the "*Galicia*" already mentioned here.(Fig.19a-b)(Fig.20)<sup>71</sup>

In the established 19th century transmission (Fig.12), this coat-of-arms sign of "*Lodomeria*" is after all (visible on the coloured version of this composition) a knight on horseback with a pennant bearing the sign of a red cross on a white

background, while in the official version of the "reading" of this pennant (from the reverse side of the "royal" seal) this pennant has only a tripartite horizontal division, which seems to suggest possibly only its tricolour(?)<sup>72</sup>.



**Fig17.** Stages of identification of the real(?) appearance of the flag (pennant) on the reverse of the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovich : a) photo of the org. seal, b) seal impression according to R.v.Siegl(?),c) appearance of the seal of the knight with a spear according to the impression of the seal of V.Krichevsky from the Mikhail Grushevskovo museum,d) contemporary (official?) version of the reconstruction of the appearance of the seal according to Odnorozhenko.



**Fig.18A a-b.** a). Seal of Henry III - Duke of Saxony and b) seal identified as the seal of Yuri Lvovich (1301-1308?) commonly known in the original from the imprint next to the document of Yuri(George) - Boleslav Trojdenovich of 1334.<sup>73</sup>.



**Fig.18B a-c.** a). seal of Kazimir prince of Kujawy \_1231, b) seal of Bolesław Konradowicz prince of Mazovia and Sandomierz \_1229, c) seal of "Jerzy prince of Vladimir" \_1335<sup>74</sup>.





Fig.18C a-b. Climbing heraldic lion on shields: a) Equestrian seal of Henry de Percy<sup>75</sup>, b) seal of William III de Dampierre<sup>75</sup>.

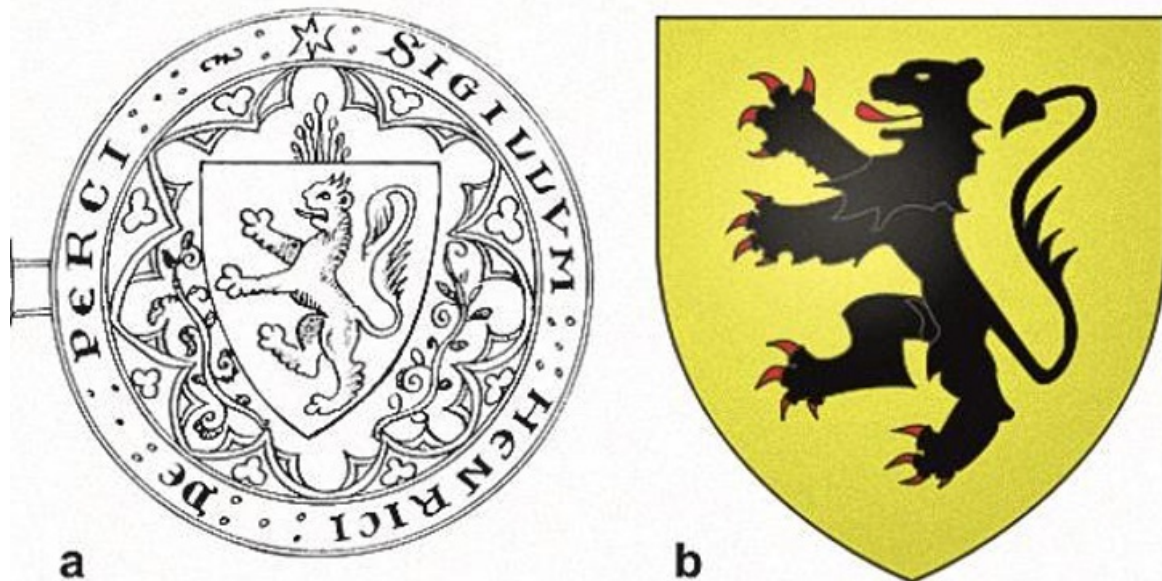


Fig.18D a-b. Climbing heraldic lion: a) on the reverse of the equestrian seal of Henry de Percy<sup>76</sup>, b) in the coat of arms of Margaret III of Flanders - Countess of Flanders, Artois and Burgundy<sup>76</sup>.

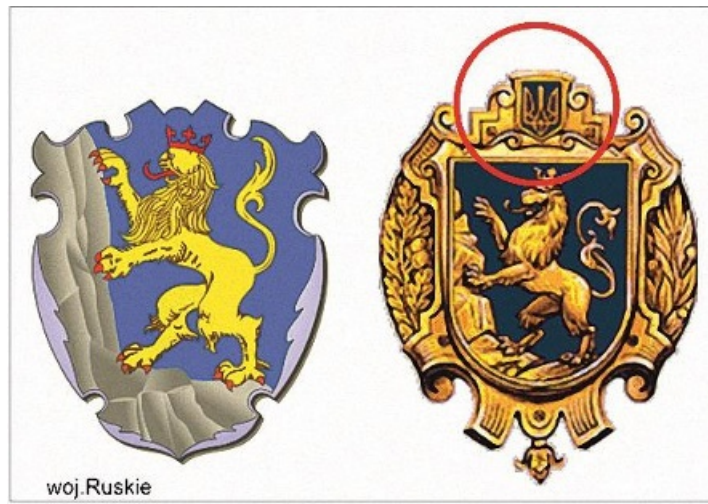
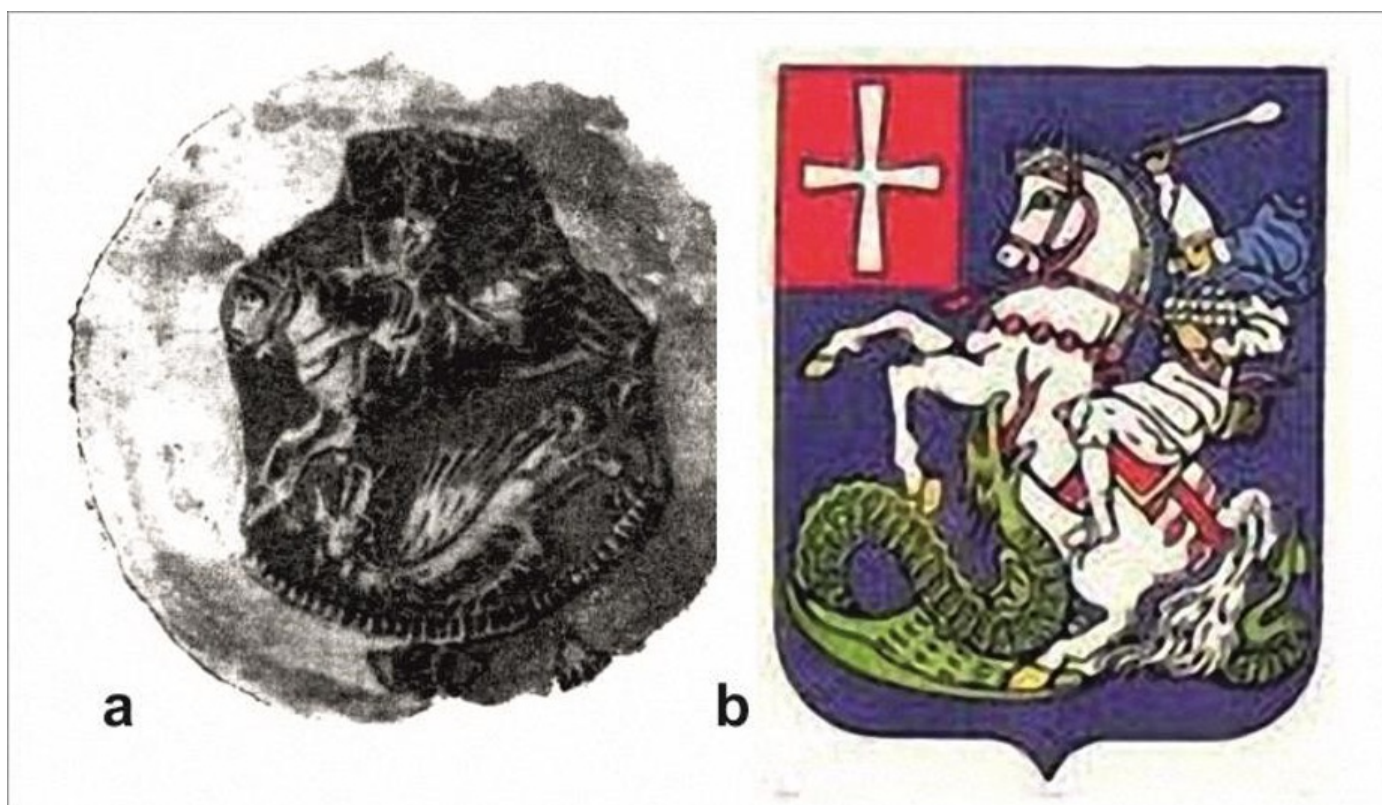


Fig.18D. left: the Polish coat of arms of the "Ruskie voivodship"(from the 15th c.) and the "Lwowska land"<sup>77</sup> and a contemporary modification of this coat of arms (right) - as the coat of arms of the "Lwów oblast" with the added sign of the "trisub" and with a double tail "Czech".<sup>78</sup>



Fig.19. a-b. a) drawing reconstruction of an alleged seal from a letter of the German (?) community in Vladimir Volynsky from 1324 with an image of St. George (?) defeating a dragon in Prof. Linnichenko's interpretation identified as Prince Yuri's "own" seal . (проф. Линниченко), b) the coat of arms of the city of Vladimir Volhynia in a contemporary graphic interpretation with the addition of a shield with an image of the coat of arms of the Volyn principality<sup>79</sup>.



**Fig.20 a-b.** a) a copy of a photograph of the original seal<sup>80</sup>. b) a combination of a serried image (a Russian boyar on horseback striking a dragon with a mace) of the city seal of Vladimir Vol . (depicting St. George fighting the dragon) and the territorial "sign" of the Volhynian principality: a white cross on a red field in the design of the coat of arms of Volhynia from 1911.

However, this belief - based solely on the still alive myth of the "prince founder" - belief<sup>81</sup> testifying to a greater or lesser probability of the existence of the toponymic sign of the lion as an ancestral sign of the Romanovs, seems to be directly contradicted both by the description of the only recognised authentic letter of Lev Danilovich<sup>82</sup> and by the results of the research of Jarosław Knisz.<sup>83</sup>

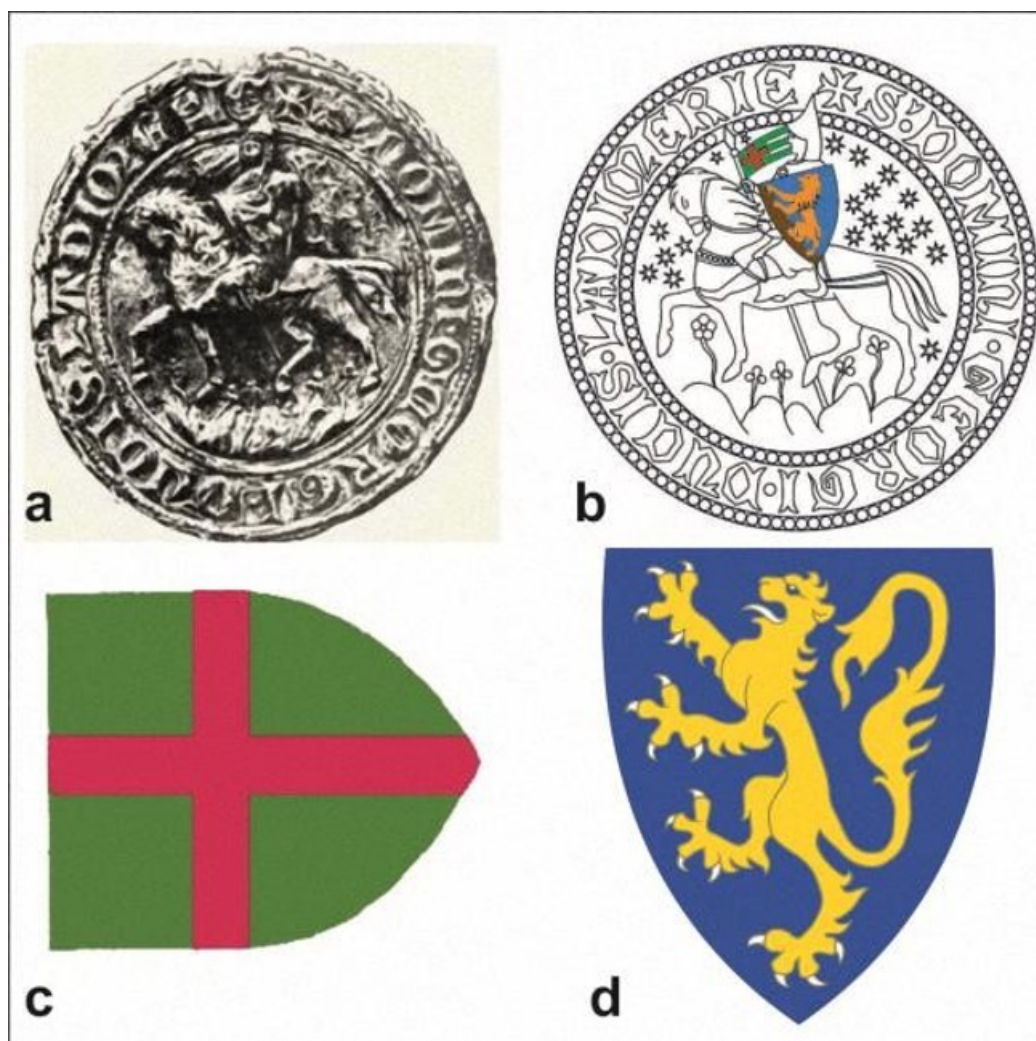
He proves that the heraldic mark of the Romanovs was not an image of a lion, but - derived from the Rurikovichs' "trident" mark - a "bident" with an element of a Christian cross preserved on the image of the house seal which he attributes to the person of Lev Yurevich (Fig.22 a-c)<sup>84,85,86</sup>

If Jaroslav Knisz is right that the ancestral mark of the Romanovs was the *two-horned*<sup>87</sup> then the **image of a lion** known from the 1316 Jurewicz seal and from the knight's shield on the reverse of the seal attributed to George I (fig.18.a-b) would be the FIRST (so far known to us ONLY from the image on the seal of Wl.Jagiello's seal of 1389 and the description of the appearance of the "Land of Lwów" banner which took part in the Battle of Grunwald) would be the FIRST (known to us so far only as the image on the 1389 seal of Vladimir II Jagiello and the description of the appearance of the "Land of Lwów" banner which took part in the Battle of Grunwald) "identification mark" of the settlement (or territory) which, at least until the time of the letter sent by George-Boleslaw Trojdenovic to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in 1334, was called **Lemberg**<sup>88</sup> and the lion placed in the fortress gate on the municipal seal of 1359 (Fig.3.a-b) would

only be a logical consequence of the process of transferring the figure of the lion "climbing the mountain" to the image of the lion as "guardian" of the already - after the location process was completed in 1356 - fully formed city, which became (thus) "Lion Mountain" from "Lion Castle" ie: **Lemburg**.<sup>89,90</sup>

What is the origin of the rump (as it is commonly called) of the *Russian Lion*", which has no equivalent in any other sign known in European heraldry: a lion climbing or ( as others write) "leaning" on a rock? What is the actual origin of this toponym? ....Is it really connected with a specific person - as it is commonly believed after Gruneweg<sup>91</sup> and Zimorowicz or is it a toponym of a place and a CONCRETELY defined place ?

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**Fig.21.** (a-b) hypothetical depiction of the "heraldic sign" and territorial flag from the seal imprint of Yuri Lvovich , (c) pp. appearance of the flag of the Halych principality already under the name of the "Kingdom of Rus" ? and (d) the contemporary version of the alleged appearance of the coat of arms of the Duchy of Halych<sup>92</sup> (already?) since its establishment i.e. since 1199. (cf.fig.7)

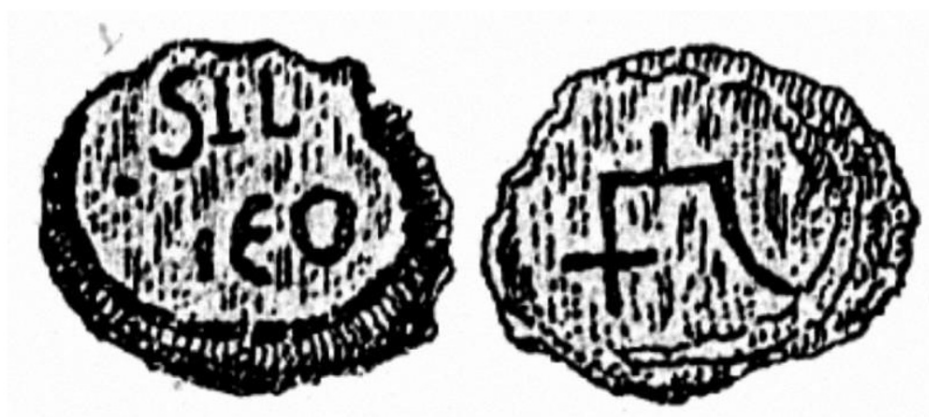
One of the first (?) who made an attempt to unravel this escaping (so far) from the field of interest of professional sfragists<sup>93</sup> seems to be Alexei Filippov<sup>94</sup>. Independently of him, also Andrei Ganzha<sup>95</sup>, and from the Polish side Jacek Gaj, who published the result of his investigations in the first issue of the "Borderland Yearbook" in 2015.<sup>96</sup>



a)



b)



c)

**Fig.22 a-c.** Heraldic mark of the Romanovs: a) "Trizub" of the Rurykovichs on the coin of Yaroslav the Wise , b) Taman brakteat , c) presumed seal of Lev Yurevich with the sign of the "Trizub" with a cross element and the inscription: "*Sigillum Leonis*" = Seal of the Lion.<sup>97</sup>



Fig.23 (1-2). 1) Brakteat of Heinrichs des Löwe<sup>98</sup> 2) Coat of arms of the Lviv City Council from 1359

The key to solving the riddle concerning the origin of the Lvov coat of arms became for Filipov HIS German-language name appearing in royal documents after **1360** in two varieties: "**Lamburg**" or "**Lemburg**"<sup>99</sup>.

Following this line of thought, Filipov - referring to Oskar Iger's work "History of the World", published in St. Petersburg in 1904. "*History of the World*"<sup>100</sup> - concluded that the model for the city coat of arms as we know it from the image of the Lviv city seal of 1359 must have been one of the brakteates of Henry the Lion.(Fig.23.1)

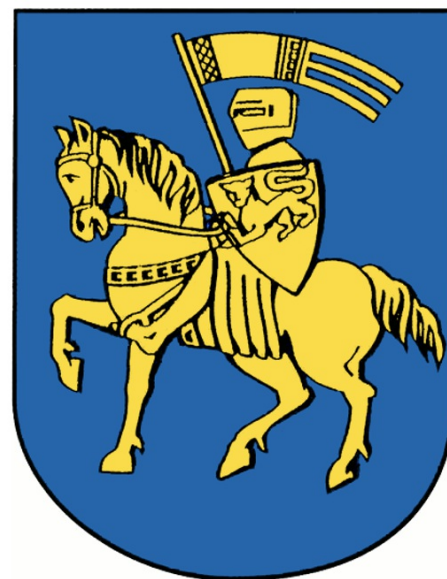
In his opinion, the design of the seal should have been given to the town by German settlers who arrived here around 1360 (i.e. at the invitation of Casimir the Great?) from the **territory of the Duchy of Bavaria**. He further substantiates this claim with well-known cases from both 14th century Poland and the Kingdom of Hungary of German settlers "transferring" (as he puts it) the "symbols" and "signs" of the WPROST known to them from their places of origin to their new places of residence.



Fig.24 (1-2). 1) seal of the city of Braunschweig <sup>101</sup>, 2) seal of the city of Lwów (1359r)



a)



b)

Fig.25. a) One of the three coats of arms in the Illustration showing Henry the Lion in Hermann Bote's book of changes of 1514. <sup>102</sup>, b) Szwerin's coat of arms from 1298.

Although the lack of any illustration in Filipov's published text makes it difficult to assess the value of his hypothesis, certain similarities can be found in this comparison, particularly in the association of the lion's silhouette directly with the

person of Henryk<sup>103</sup> although - according to German historians - the lion on the Braunschweig seal, which is closest in appearance to the city seal of Lvov, is not a symbolic representation of the duke, but is a copy of the "lion of Brunswick", which is the symbol of the entire duchy and at the same time its territorial sign.<sup>104</sup> (Fig.24, Fig.25).

Following this line of thought, one can only add - according to the author's thesis - that the "model" for both the image of the lion as the alleged family sign of the Romanowicz family and the lion silhouette on the seal of the Lviv jurors (Fig. 3.b) could also be (also?) the coat of arms of **Henryk Lion**<sup>105</sup> (Fig.25a) or - modelled on his seal - the coat of arms of Szwerin from 1298<sup>106,107</sup> (fig.23b), or a lion silhouette from another bracelet minted by him, the existence of which, however, is not mentioned by Filipov (fig.9.5)<sup>108</sup>.

Supplemented here with additional illustrations, this hypothesis does, however, have one weakness. **It is the date of origin of the coat of arms as we know it from the seal of the Town Council of 1359.** Deriving it directly from the German-language name of the town in the wording as given on royal documents only from the second half of the 14th century precludes the existence of a GO on a heraldic sign which could have been the actual origin of the coat of arms recorded in the image of the town seals for the time of the establishment of the first settlement or - as some historians suggest - its location already during the rule of Lev Danilovich.<sup>109</sup> Taking into account - following Leontyi Woytowycz - the fact that: *German settlers arriving in Ruthenia at the invitation of Daniel and Leo I enjoyed full freedom to cultivate their customs and even acceptance of their religion*<sup>110</sup> "Lev Brunschwicki" would have had to - in order to become a "Lion of Lion" - "arrived" on the river Poltva together with the "Bavarians" in the form in which this alleged coat of arms was already established in 1231. This, in turn, is closely linked to the date of its - as a city - location.

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In another version presented by Andrei Ganzhe, the image of a lion climbing a rocky slope (as we know it from the view of the "territorial mark" of the Lviv region) is, according to Ganzhe, only a reproduction of **the coat of arms of Daniel Romanovich-Halitski**, which Daniel must have adopted before his coronation day, i.e. on the day he was knighted. This "Galician lion" coat of arms thus became the family mark of the Romanovichs. However, it is neither the "Przemysl" double-headed eagle fixed on a "pole" near Chelm - as some historians suggest - nor the "Truzub" sign, as Ganzha seeks its origin not in the Germanic lands but in the Kingdom of Sweden. According to Ganzha, the coat of arms of the Swedish royal dynasty of the Folkung family is supposed to be the prototype of Daniel's coat of arms. This is because it is supposed to be a DIRECT expression of the family relationship (!) between Daniel Romanowicz and the Folkung family.

This blood relation in the identity of the "family sign" is in fact due to the fact - as Ganzhe goes on to demonstrate - that Daniel Halitsky (thanks to the former intermarriage of Ruthenian princes) was a fifth-generation descendant of Ingegerda of Sweden - the wife of Jaroslav the Wise, grand duchess of Kiev from 119 to 1024.<sup>111</sup>

Although this does not lead to an explanation of the direct link between Daniel's person and Birger Magnusson, who was



closest to him in time<sup>112</sup>, his family coat of arms would be the very model for the alleged coronation coat of arms of the new King of Rus (Fig.26a)<sup>113</sup>.

Despite also quite similar images of lions in German heraldry (Fig.26b-c) this trope is not explored by Andrei Ganzhe, consistently staying on the "Scandinavian thread" .



a)



b)



c)

**Fig.26 a-b.** a) coat of arms of the Folkung dynasty depicted in contemporary style <sup>114</sup>, b) Habsburg coat of arms <sup>115</sup> c) coat of arms of Baldwin V (from Hainaut\_et de Flandre)

With the 'research' assumption thus made, the only problem left to solve the correctness of the hypothesis adopted was Ganzhe's explanation of the absence of the image of the 'rock' on the Folkung coat of arms.

However, this is where Ganzhe's own powers of imagination come to his aid, and the way in which he solves this dilemma seems to be the most original in the whole construction of Ganzh's hypothesis. For this element of the rock, which is an integral part of the coat of arms of the "Land of Lvov", is - according to Andrei Ganzha - supposed to be **only a "symbolic addition"** (to the figure of the lion) representing the Mongols '*who are attacked with lion-like courage by (Daniel), a descendant of the Swedish kings*'. Thus, too, the lion immortalised on the knight's banner becomes the apotheosis of Daniel himself and all, his subsequent descendants.

Paradoxically - following this line of reasoning - one could also claim that if the hypothesis of the origin of the *Galician lion* coat of arms by Ganzha were true, the whole story of its origin presented by Ganzha could have its - yet another - original ending contained in the statement that this in turn ,(already) ancestral coat of arms of the Romanovichs, at the end became - as it were "*in the wheel of history*"- WPROST from the coat of arms of Daniel the borrowed coat of arms of the Folkung dynasty fixed on the shield of the coat of arms of Eric XII Magnusson(Fig.27).<sup>116</sup>



**Fig.27 a (left) b (right).** (a) Coat of arms shield on the royal seal of Eric XII Magnusson with an image of an ascended Lion. <sup>117</sup>, (b) Seal of Eric XII Magnusson

The acceptance of the hypothesis assuming an EXCLUSIVE origin of the Daniel Halicki coat of arms from that of Birger Magnusson, however, seems to rule out the veracity of the previous one. The lion - which is the main element of the alleged "proof" of the similarity of the city seal of Lviv with the alleged coat of arms of **Henry the Lion** (in the hypothesis of Alexey Filippov) - turns out (according to the hypothesis of Andrei Ganzha) to be the mark not of Lev Danilovich, but of his father Daniel, and thus cannot be identified with his son alone and with the very name of the city, allegedly built in his honour.<sup>118</sup>

Notwithstanding the above comment - Ganzha's original statement on the further fate of the alleged Romanovich coat of arms is worth quoting verbatim here because, knowing the actual history and date of the appearance of the crown on the head of the "Ruthenian lion", it would be impossible to make it up: "... in Galicia, after the removal from power in 1325 of Daniel's great-grandson, Vladimir Lvovich, the royal dynasty died out. The last independent ruler of this land, Yuri Boleslav Trojdenovich, husband of Daniel's great-grandson, referred to himself as "dukes of Minora Russia" (Prince of Minor Russia). This is the origin of the term 'Little Russia', which provokes violent indignation among part of the Ukrainian population. Not at all from the "cursed Muscovites", but from the successors to the Galician crown. Naturally, after his death, **the royal crown disappeared** from the coat of arms of the already dependent territory (from Poland and Lithuania). "- and so : "At first, the **monarch's personal coat of arms, Swedish in its content**, turned into a territorial coat of arms (Lvov land) and in this character went on the banner as a sign of "Lvov land".

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The Polish historian and author of the third hypothesis presented here, Jacek Gaj, who has extensively researched the history of early-medieval settlement in the area known as "Grody Czerwieńskie" (Red Ruthenian strongholds) and the history of Lwów itself, concludes with a dramatic question in the final part of his study, accepting as indisputable the name of *Lwów*, which has been polonised to "Lvov":

*"How, then, was the lion, which was included in the first historical coat of arms of Lviv in the 14th century, known to those who had previously given the city its name? if the animal was not, as Gaj believes, known to the inhabitants and as a species never existed on the territory of Rus.*

Based on this assumption, Gaia searches for the origin of the city's symbol not in Bavaria, as Filippow does, or in Scandinavia, but directly at the source, in Central Asia, specifically in Palestine. Going back to the time of the "Crusades", he finds a "Hungarian trace" in the person of King Andrew II of Hungary, who was to command the fifth expedition that took place between 1217 and 1222.

Quoting the Armenian historian Sadok Baracz, who is known for his rather uncritical use of various types of apocrypha, he claims that "a settlement (which would be located on the site of present-day Lviv) called **"llowe"** had already existed since at least 1183, as evidenced by the date a wooden church was built there that year.

Since "Lwów" in Hungarian is precisely **"llowe"**, **it is** clear to Gaia that Lwów as it then stood must have been founded by settlers coming from Hungary or directly by Hungarian knights after their return from some crusade even earlier than the expedition of Andrew II. Hence the simple conclusion that it must have been obvious to them that their new place of residence or temporary stay should have had the "Jerusalem" symbol of the lion - the "Lion of Judah" (Fig.28).



**Fig.28.** Lion of Judah ('Thesouro de Nobreza', 1675) <sup>119</sup>.

### 3. Summary

#### 3.1.

From the presented state of research it seems that the OFFICIALLY OBVIOUS VERSION in contemporary Ukrainian historiography concerning both the time of origin and the shape of the territorial coat of arms not only of the "Lviv region" but also of the "Ruthenian kingdom" is the version based on the hypothesis assuming that (preserved until 1944 in the archives of Königsberg) at the documents of Lev I and Andrew Jurewicz from 1316 and at the documents of George II from 1325, 1334 and 1335 are the seals of George Lvovich<sup>120</sup> and the very image of the Lion on the rider's shield of arms is directly derived from the family coat of arms of the Romanovichs from the alleged coronation seal of Daniel Halicki. (Fig. 29a-b)



**Fig. 29 a-b.** An example of propaganda manipulation having nothing to do with history: a compilation of the alleged coat of arms of the Romanovics from the seal of George I 'transferred' to the shield of his grandfather Danil Halitsky (кіннотнік даніла галицького XIII ст. ) on another (of those published here) Ukrainian postage stamp from 2004,

This is by no means a new belief, as evidenced by numerous publications from the turn of the 20th century and no less numerous occasional postcards and badges honouring (overtly) nationalist military and paramilitary organisations from 1902-1943 (Fig.30 )( Fig. 31 a-b).

Although there is no direct connection between the two coats of arms (territorial and municipal) in the literature, it can also be assumed that the fact of the establishment of the coat of arms with the figure of the lion (as the family coat of arms of the Romanowicz family) had (or may have had) an indirect influence on its connection with the coat of arms of the city of Lviv.<sup>121,122</sup>

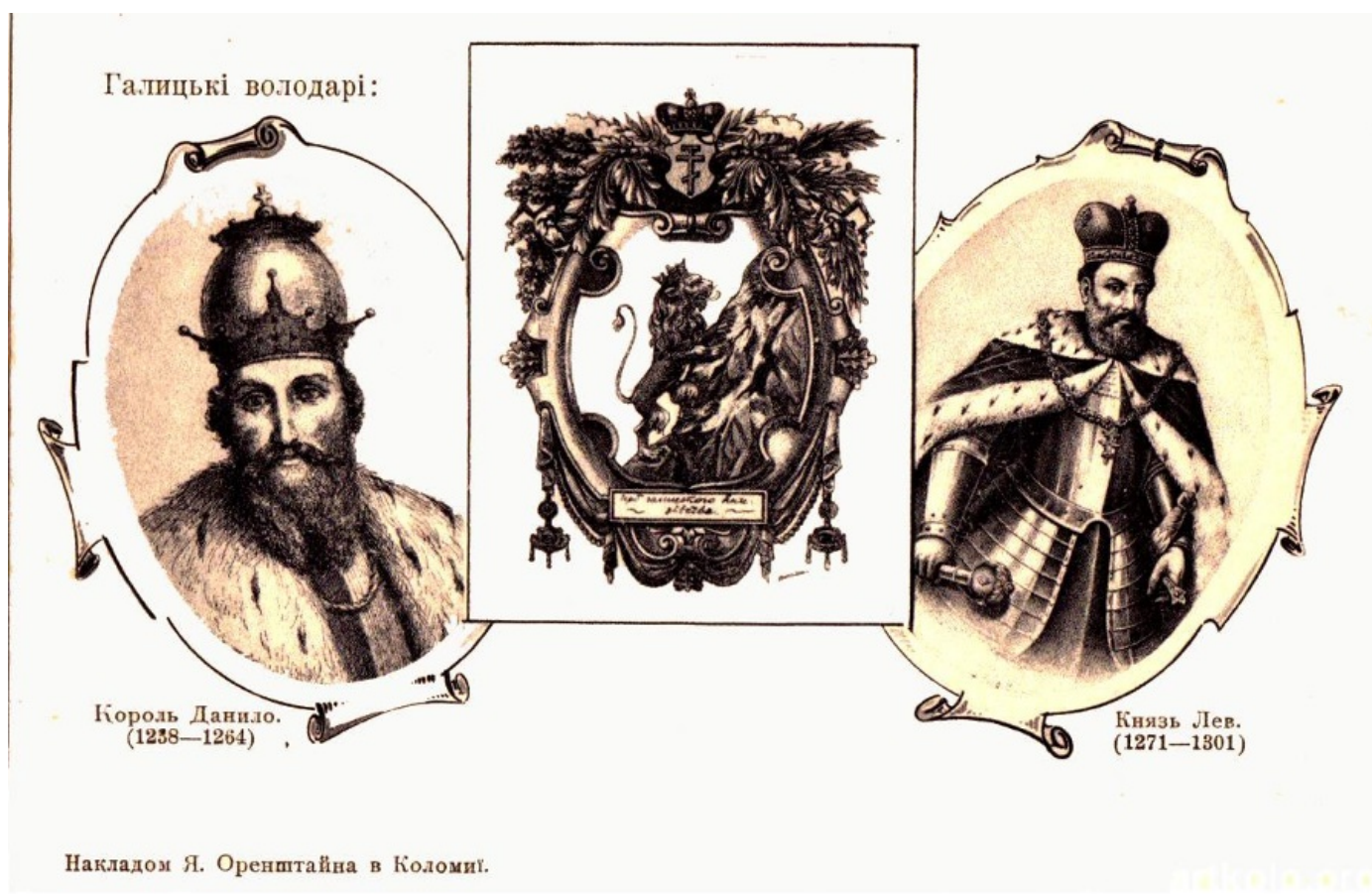
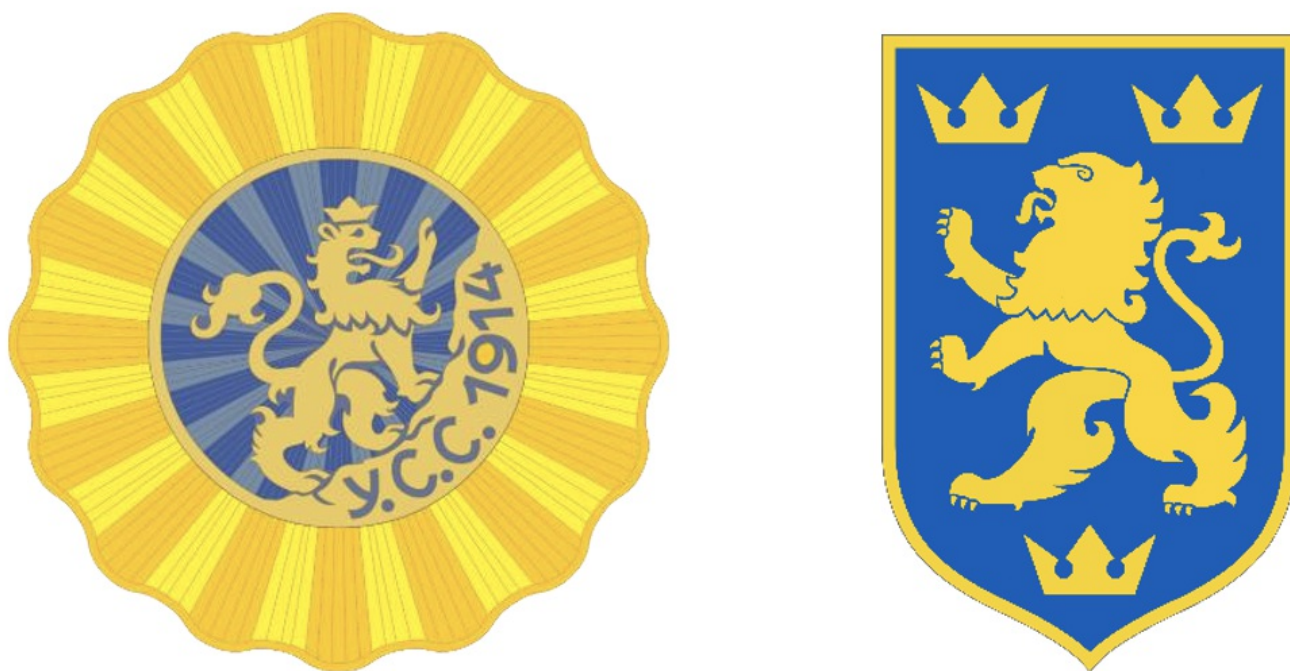


Fig.30. occasional postcard issued in Kolomyia in 1902<sup>123</sup>.

However, the lack of consistency in this matter also led to a situation in which:

a) the symbol of the Russian kingdom, being an image of a lion with its tail turned upwards, which **contradicts the lion's engraving on the alleged seal of George (Yuri) Lvovich<sup>124</sup>** and therefore suggests a copy of one of the images of lions known in European heraldry and, together with the removal of the image of the rock - must give rise to the suspicion that we are dealing here with a PROPAGANDA - a coat of arms - for purely political purposes - completely fabricated". must give rise to the suspicion that we are dealing here with a PROPAGANDA coat of arms - a coat of arms - FOR CLEARLY POLITICAL PURPOSES - completely fabricated",

b) IN FOLLOWING, the coat of arms with a lion supported by a rock, adopted in the form known from the coat of arms of the "Ruthenian Voivodeship" for the purpose of symbolising the (now) Ukrainian "Lviv region", has - as yet - no ideological or, even less, iconographic connection with any previously established compositional model in Kievan Rus', remaining - as it may be assumed - a local and wholly original creation.



**Fig. 31 a-b.** (a) Ukrainian Sich Riflemen's Cocard <sup>125</sup>; (b) shoulder shield worn on the left sleeve of the uniform of a soldier of the 14th SS Grenadier Division ("Галичина")<sup>126</sup>.

c) the coat of arms in a copy from the seal of the City Council is the official coat of arms of Lviv<sup>127</sup> while at the same time denying the coat of arms of Lviv with the image of the canted lion, considered - by Ukrainian historians - as a coat of arms incompatible with Ukrainian tradition in the context of their *ad hoc* thesis of the probable (?) existence of this (or with a similar image) seal already in the reign of Lev Danilevich.

There are even claims in academic forums that the introduction of the "cantilevered lion" into the city coat of arms was a deliberate "polonisation" of this original - indigenously Ukrainian - design. At the same time - in a straightforward accusation of an INTENTIONAL forgery by the Poles - Ukrainian historians are not bothered by the fact that "both" of these seals seem to be linked by a common temporal inscription (which is, after all, in their surroundings) in German or in "Germanised" Latin.

d) The problem of the connection between the two (both territorial and municipal) coats of arms and the origin of the city's name is not debatable from the CLEAR fact that - in Ukrainian historiography - it is stated that (according to established tradition) the city's name comes directly from the name of King Daniel's son Lev Danilovich.

In the same way, it could also be argued that the city seals of **Göttingen** or **Biedenkopf**, similar to but much earlier than the Lviv city seal, with the image of a lion walking in the gate, should also have their toponyms directly associated with this animal or even derive from them the MODEL of the Lviv city seal (Fig. 32a-c).



Fig.32 a-c. a) Biedenkopf town seal from 1250, b) Göttingen town seal from 1278<sup>128</sup>, c) Lviv town seal from 1359.

### 3.2.

Variant to the officially valid version of the origin of coats of arms, the three successive hypotheses presented are united by a common thread: the borrowing or **transfer of a pattern** from another country or person in a narrower (municipal coat of arms only) or broader (territorial mark) sense.

This alone puts them in stark opposition to the current message in Ukrainian historiography, behind which are important authorities in the study of Ukrainian history.<sup>129</sup>

In spite of their obvious naivety, these hypotheses did not even become the subject of any assessment or polemics, remaining completely ignored by "professional" scientists, not mindful of the fact that they themselves, in their still-open hypotheses, still readily refer to the self-taught 18th century dilettantes who, writing their first "scientific" papers, mainly relied on common knowledge stored in the fleeting and often "perverse" human memory, relying on their "findings" as dogmas not subject to any verification.

But irrespective of their varying degrees of probability, the version presented by Andrei Ganzhe appears to be a straightforward attempt to complement the official version when the other two are its obvious NEGATION.

While the version by Alexey Filippov attempts to answer the question of both the origin and possible time of creation of the Lwów city seals known from the images of 1359, the other - by Jacek Gaia - seeks to answer the question of their (both the image of the territorial and the city coat of arms) predecessor.

After all, none of them - apart from Ganzhe's poetic reading of the image of the rock as a "symbolic way" of depicting the attacking Lion (in this interpretation it is not Leo Danilovich but **Daniel** Halitsky) of the Mongols - attempts to explain the intrinsic ORIGINALITY of the "double" sign contained in the alleged coat of arms of the Romanovichs: the image of the "*lion clinging to the rock*" in a rationally justifiable manner....



While the first of these focuses on the name of the town as recorded on the town seal of 1359, the second focuses on both real and presumed family ties. The third refers explicitly to unspecified Hungarian knights, unknown why, after returning from an expedition to Jerusalem, wandering in the wilderness of Ruthenia from the time of Kievan Rus'...

If the official version regarding the existence of an alleged Romanovich family coat of arms in the form of a "lion-climbing" on the basis of which there are contemporary state symbols in the Ukrainian Republic does not say anything about the possibility of its origin on the basis of patterns COMPLETED directly from Western Europe (and, on the contrary, its "*Ruthenian*" or "national" origin is emphasised)<sup>130</sup> then in the case of all the three remaining coats of arms they are united by the will to find these similarities in other European coats of arms containing the silhouette of a lion and - as we can see - both : the lion in the position of the ascending **lion and** the "walking" lion (called in heraldry: leopard).

In the light of the above-mentioned **hypotheses**, therefore, the question still remains open: which one seems to be the closest to the still - after all, only - in the absence of any sources known to us today - presumed truth about the REAL origin of BOTH coats of arms and - last but not least - the specific (real) time of their creation.

#### 4. Basis for the verification of existing hypotheses

Everything that has so far been written about both the territorial and municipal coat of arms of Lviv - regardless of the scientific stature of the authors of these publications - has been based on their "analyses" of material evidence from three sources:

- appearance of the coat of arms on the flag of the "land of Lwów" known since 1410 - confirmed by the description of J. Długosz. (lion climbing a rock )
- set of seals next to documents preserved in the Königsberg archive<sup>131</sup> and described in detail by Lappo-Danielewski in : A. S. Ł a p p o - D a n i e l e w s k i j , Pieczęci ostatnich galicyjsko-włodzimierskich książąt i ich sędziów, [in] Bolesław Yuri II książę całej Małej Rusi. Zbiór materiałów i badań, Petersburg 1907rok and B. B a r w i n s k i , Seals of the Halicko-Vłodzimierski princes from the first half of the 10th IV century, "Numismatic-Archaeological News" vol. I, 1909, z. 6, pp. 103-104; z. 7 s. 127-129
- image of two forms of the seal of the Lviv city authorities (council and bench) from the second half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries<sup>132</sup>

All other images of both municipal and territorial coats of arms remain secondary to the above-mentioned and therefore cannot constitute a basis for verification of the above-mentioned.

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In order to clarify their genesis and the real source of their origin, it seems necessary to find answers to four - in this respect - key questions for the further argument:

- a. When could the seal with the family mark of the Romanovichs or its original have been created if the seals known to us from those preserved in Königsberg are ONLY "copies" of the seal actually attributed to Daniel Halicki?
- b. Is the image of a lion leaning against a rock a completely original local creation (as claimed by most Ukrainian historians) or is there a similar or identical coat of arms of another territory, city or person that predates the "Lviv" coat of arms and, if so, what could the two coats of arms have in common?
- c. whether the name of the town, recorded on the municipal seal of 1359 as **Lemberg**" - is this town's original name - "directly" recorded in the content of this coat of arms - or is the image of a lion "supported" or "climbing" a rock in the territorial coat of arms here a "purely coincidental" connection (relationship). (Fig.6) (Fig.18d)

**A.M.Szymiski**

30-03-2022/27-11-2022//07-XII-2022

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## THE MYSTERY OF LVIV'S NAME

(name of the city hidden in its coat of arms<sup>133</sup>)

## Part II

The origin of the name and coat of arms as recorded in the legend?



Fig.33a. 'Lion Mountain' with handwritten description in Russian (as): "the mountain of *Prince Lev. Lviv*", ( 1930s - 1931)



Fig.33b. view of "Lion Mountain" from the side of the church of St. Adalbert (original description: " Вид на Лису гору і костел св. Войцеха,

фото поч. ХХ століття)<sup>134</sup>.



**Fig.33c.** "Lion Mountain" called in the 19th century : "Sand Mountain". -view from the late 1920s -in operation now as a "sand mine": a forgotten symbol of Lviv

### Легенда стародавнього Лемберга<sup>135,136,137</sup>

Давним-давно на місці майбутнього Львова, у високих гір тулилися маленькі села. Гори покривали великі ліси, де селяни могли успішно ховатися від набігів ворогів. Густі ліси навколо завжди допомагали селянам - тут можна було і полювати, і прогулятися чудовими теплими деньками, і заховатись від періодичних набігів.... Тож ніхто й гадки не мав, що у лісі є чого боятись.

Але одного разу відвернулася від них удача - стали пропадати люди. З'ясувалося, що їх краде цар звірів - лев. Він підстерігає тих, хто наслідуються поодиноці ходити по лісі, ударом могутньої лапи глушить and з'їдає у своїй печері. Паніка охопила всі села в окрузі.Одного разу в корчмі з'явився хоробрий лицар, який пообіцяв убити хижака. Він попросив скувати йому меч і лати такої міцності, щоб жодна сила не змогла зламати або зігнути їх.

День і ніч безперервно працювали сільські ковалі, але марно. Здавалося, що зла доля невідворотня. Про цю біду дізався якийсь мандрівник, який заблукав і зайшов підкріпитися в корчму біля кузні.Він сказав, що знає, як

перемогти звіра. Нехай всі юні дівчата вколють голками мізинець і крапнуть по дві-три краплі крові до загального чану, куди потрібно буде занурити зброю і лати. Селянки так і зробили. І левові ікла й пазурі нічого не змогли зробити зачарованими обладунками. Тоді лицар відрубав чарівним мечем голову лютому а кровожерному леву, а потім посадив її на меч а показав людям кажучи: "Ви вільні!"

З тих пір гору, де сталася ця історія, прозвали горою Лева, а місто, що виріс під горою - Лемберг<sup>138</sup>, інакше - Львів.

## Part III

### Settlers of the West

As we know from the Volyn chronicle, when Daniel decided to establish his new capital Chełm "on a hill", he invited all those who could be of help to its construction: "*Seeing therefore that God was patronising this place Danilo began to draw Germans and Ruthenians and speakers of another language and Lachs. And they came day after day, all kinds of journeymen and masters...*"<sup>139,140</sup>

Therefore, building also other "numerous" new "towns It is impossible to deny that he also invited new settlers to these "cities" in order to strengthen the state and defend it against the next Mongol invasion. All the information recorded in various chronicles of neighbouring countries seems to indicate that they came mainly from Saxony or Silesia... Could they also have brought with them the coat of arms of the "land of Lwów" already known to us from the description of J. Długosz? (fig.34)

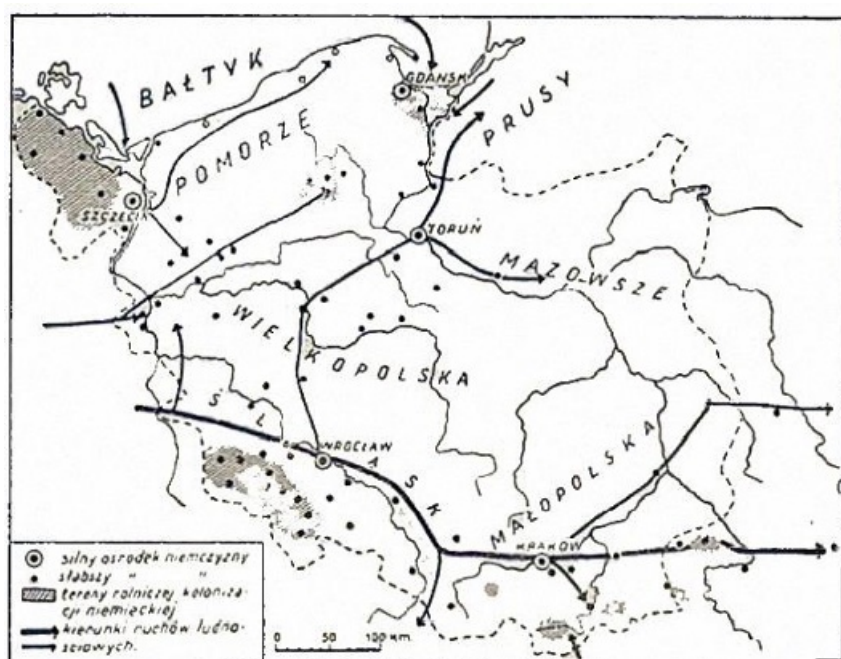


Fig. 34 directions of medieval German colonisation according to Zdzisław Kaczmarek

Fig. 34. directions of medieval German colonisation according to Zdzisław Kaczmarek  
(see footnote 41)

There has been an open debate for years as to the exact date of the founding of Lviv's city.<sup>141</sup> No one doubts that Lwow owes its foundation to the disappearance from the pages of history of the nearby site of the later (?) location of Lwow and the Dzvinoigród that existed until 1241.<sup>142</sup> It is possible that by Daniel's decision the "new *Dzvinogród*" was built in a safer and more defensible location than the previous one, through the joint efforts of those who survived the hecatomb of Dzvinoigród's total destruction by the Mongol invasion and those who came from the west at Daniel's call....<sup>143</sup>

So where could these new settlers have come from. Could they have been the same Chełm builders who moved over the Poltva River after the completion of Daniel's new capital, which could have been around 1249, or were they completely newcomers?

According to Hungarian sources, Bela IV, who barely survived this Mongol invasion himself: "*introduced radical reforms to prepare his kingdom for a second Mongol invasion. He allowed barons and prelates to build stone fortresses and create private armed forces. He promoted the development of fortified cities. During his reign, **thousands of colonists came from the Holy Roman Empire, including Poland and other neighbouring regions, to settle in the depopulated lands. Béla's efforts to rebuild his destroyed country earned him the nickname "the second founder of the state" ( Hungarian . második honalapító ).***"<sup>144</sup>.

Mindful of the enormity of his losses, he also formed a defensive alliance against the Mongols with Daniel Romanowicz and Bolesław the Chaste.

It should come as no surprise that Beregovo, relatively close to the later location of Lviv in the Transcarpathian valley, has become the focus of interest for some Ukrainian historians, who have drawn attention to its coat of arms in the seizure of the so-called "Berego deposits" by Lev Danilovich around 1283 and their incorporation into the Duchy of Halych.<sup>145,146,147</sup>

In fact, however, this borrowing - if it were to take place at all - would have to be in the opposite direction, given that the city's coat of arms (since 1945



**Fig. 35.** different forms of the coat of arms of the town of Berechovo (Beregsass=Beregszasz) preserved in documents, on the seals of the town council and a 19th century relief (a) the coat of arms of the town of Beregszasz in the "Hungarian Catholic lexicon"., (b) the contemporary official town coat of arms, (c) the coat of arms cartouche on one of the town buildings in Berechov, (d) the appearance of the coat of arms according to <http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr/Berehove/fr-fr/>, (e) the town seal of the 13th century,(f) the town seal of the 14th-15th centuries.

(Fig.35), again within the borders of the Ukrainian People's Republic (URL) and since 1991 within the territory of independent Ukraine), has existed from the time of the first settlement founded here by the Hungarian Prince Lampert, i.e. since the last decade of the 11th century. (Fig.35) being in fact the personal coat of arms (?) of the prince<sup>148</sup>

However one may analyse it in the closest approximation to its original appearance on the preserved town seals of the 13th and 14th centuries<sup>149</sup> its appearance should be referred to the time before 1271, when the name of the town was changed from Lapertsass to Bergsass (*Berg-Sass*) or, more precisely, to the time when a new town was built in place of Laperthasa, destroyed by the Mongol army of Batu-han, which was supposed to have taken place in 1247. However, although hypothetically completely plausible, the probability that the Saxons, having built **Laperthasa**, subsequently came to build the "*Lvov castle*" at the invitation of Daniel on the river Poltva, is ruled out by the lack (apart from the intriguing coincidence of dates) of any material evidence. If such evidence existed, it would paradoxically indicate that the Lvov coat

of arms (apart from the absence of the accompanying rock) originated from the coat of arms of Lampertsass.<sup>150</sup>

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More intriguing than any possible connection between Lviv and today's Berehiv is the even more perfunctory information recorded in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church about the arrival of some settlers from Silesia to Lviv at the end of the 13th century (?), specifically that these newcomers would have come from the once existing city (?) called "**Lemberg**" and that they would have given this name to their new place of residence<sup>151</sup>

Although it is impossible to verify this information as to the exact date of its origin, it is known to every Polish and German historian dealing with the history of medieval Europe, that the town existing to this day in Lower Silesia with this name has been known under its Polish name since 1945: "**Lwówek Śląski**".<sup>152</sup>

If this was indeed the case and that the chronicler relied on an earlier source from the records of some Orthodox monk living at the time of the alleged (c.1250) founding of Lviv or shortly after the construction of the defensive stronghold on the Poltva River, at a time when human memory was still relatively fresh (although this record of the "*Silesian city*" which was to become a village might indicate that this information could not have come from the first settlers of the city but perhaps through their descendants in the first or second generation), then the question arises:

Is it possible, therefore, to assume equally legitimately - recalling here in the context of Alexei Filippov's hypothesis described earlier<sup>153</sup> a suggestion - that together with the name of the place from which these settlers came, they may have brought to the place of their new settlement also its remembered coat of arms? (Fig.33 )<sup>154</sup> And if so, what do we really know about today's Lwówek Śląski?

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The history of one of the first new settlements founded in Lower Silesia under the "Magdeburg Law" is closely linked to the extensive settlement campaign undertaken by Duke Henry I the Bearded, based mainly on bringing people from the German border principalities to Silesia.

The action initiated by Henry I the Bearded<sup>155</sup> the action of settling the territory of Silesia, continued by his sons, proved to be an undoubted economic success (completely changing the economic and legal system of the Silesian principalities at that time). Thus, after Goldberg (Z torcja<sup>156</sup> - 1211) and **Lówenberg** (Lw ek kie - 1217?), the following urban centres - already fully formed according to the Magdeburg law - started to appear like mushrooms after the rain: Neumarkt (1223), Breslau (1261), Legnitz (1292) and villages, in areas hitherto uninhabited and in the place of previously existing Slavic



settlements. As Ursula Lewald writes in her analysis of the "history" of Lwówek Śląski<sup>157</sup> "*in full harmony and mutual respect for local customs and language*"<sup>158</sup>...There was no shortage of land and its natural riches...

Although the very act of founding the town - whether it was as early as 1209 or as late as 1217 - is still controversial to this day<sup>159</sup> there is no doubt that at about this time the beginnings of the town already existed - a town operating under Magdeburg law and which was given the name "**Lówenberg**" (Lion Mountain).<sup>160</sup>

Although the fact that it was founded by people who came from Germany at that time is obvious, the tradition of the origin of the name has also acquired its own legendary thread, tinged with local colour, over time.<sup>161</sup> There was also no shortage of analyses bordering on Slavic studies in connection with the visually perceived "*lack of direct connection of the town's name with the surrounding landscape*"., deriving the toponym from the "customary" interchangeable supposed use in the local "dialect?" of the German "*burg*" with the similar-sounding word "*berg*"...<sup>162</sup>.

It is also one of the few towns in the world which, unlike Ztoryja<sup>163</sup> Gryfowa k<sup>164</sup> or Wałbrzych<sup>165</sup> has not yet produced a reliable chronicle (since Sutorius' work was written in 1784), despite the meticulously collected source material<sup>166</sup> which in itself seems surprising.<sup>167</sup>

Nevertheless, some information scattered in the few and only (?) German-language publications which have appeared so far, allow at least in part to solve the mystery of the origin of its name and the existence of its coat of arms at a time corresponding to the puzzling information of this Russian monk about the arrival of some people from this legendary (?) "*Lemburg*" to the place chosen by Daniel Halicki to found Lvov after the Mongol invasion in 1241, the consequences of which were also felt by the inhabitants of Silesia at that time and which, by a strange coincidence of fate, was still called "*Lwow(em)*" or "Lion" by the Polish-speaking population of Silesia in the 18th century. (Fig. 36)



Fig.36. Lvov alliance. **Lewenberg** on the third page of the card of the 'decree of King Frederick II the Great of Prussia on the amount of fees for clerical and ecclesiastical activities' of 1750.<sup>168</sup>

One of the unquestionable attractions of the choice of the location of Silesia **Lówenberg** was the nearby area of the already discovered gold deposits<sup>169</sup> located in the shallow ground layer and thus easy to exploit, and the possibility of locating here - at the crossing of the river Bóbr - one of the many "commercial centres" that were established along the main road leading from west to east in Europe known as the "via Regia" - the royal road - which had existed since Roman times.<sup>170</sup> (Fig.37)



Fig. 37. a fragment of the "Royal Road" ( via Regia) within the medieval German principalities

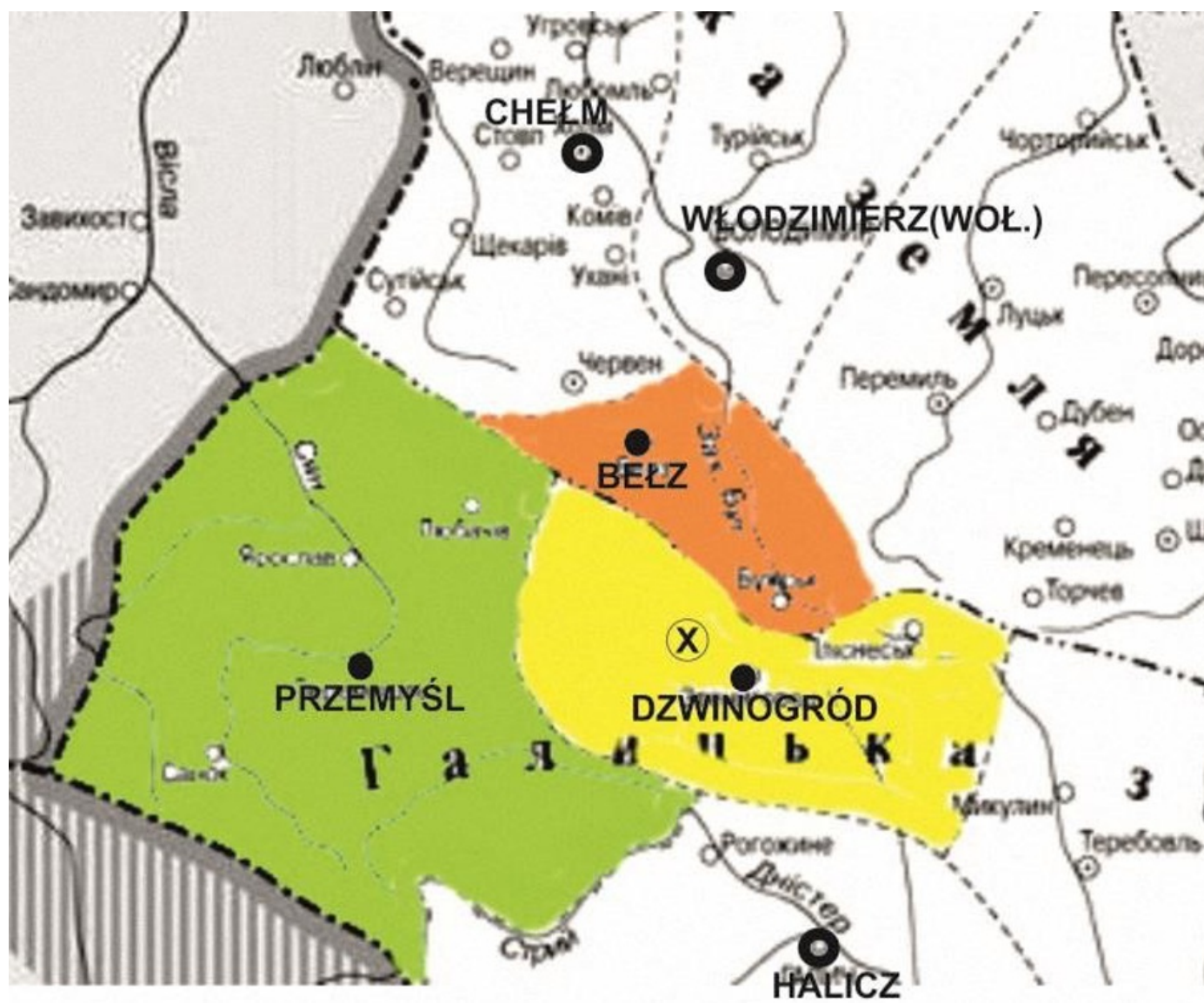
We also know - thanks to this information - that the times of "golden prosperity" in the Silesian Lowenberg ended with the exhaustion of the nearby deposits of gold-bearing sand at the end of the 13th century<sup>171</sup> and that the town, which in 1329 would have numbered almost 11,000 inhabitants<sup>172</sup> based its main existence on the function of a "merchant's house" and the work of clothiers, remaining (at least in the times of the Jawor Principality) one of the two main residence towns of this principality for its ruler.

It is, however, impossible to prove beyond doubt why any part of the population of this town or the surrounding villages should decide to continue their migration to the east, although the fact that the gold-bearing sand was running out may have been one such reason for some of the former miners (who were deprived of their primary source of income), along with increasing overcrowding in the town itself.

But it is also undeniable that, despite the fact that the distance to Kiev was quite considerable<sup>173</sup> (fig.37) (fig.38), the fact of the existence of the main town on the route to Kiev, which until 1241 was **Dzvinogród**, through which countless "caravans" of merchants passed on their way from the Black Sea across the whole of Kievan Rus to the distant countries of Western Europe.<sup>174</sup> The town of Lowenberg could not have been a completely unknown place in the Ruthenia of Daniel Romanovich's time ...<sup>175</sup>, as well as the fact that thanks to the merchant "post office" information about the possibility of settling in the "depopulated" areas (left by the Mongol invasion of 1241 which destroyed everything) of "Daniel's Ruthenia" could have reached the inhabitants of Lowenberg at that time. Nor can it be ruled out that someone in the town simply organised such a trip to Ruthenia by new settlers.

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But the Silesian Lvivenberg itself was founded not by native inhabitants but by newcomers "from the West". Where did those who would later bring these traditions to Lviv come from, specifically to settle here, and what traditions were they continuing?

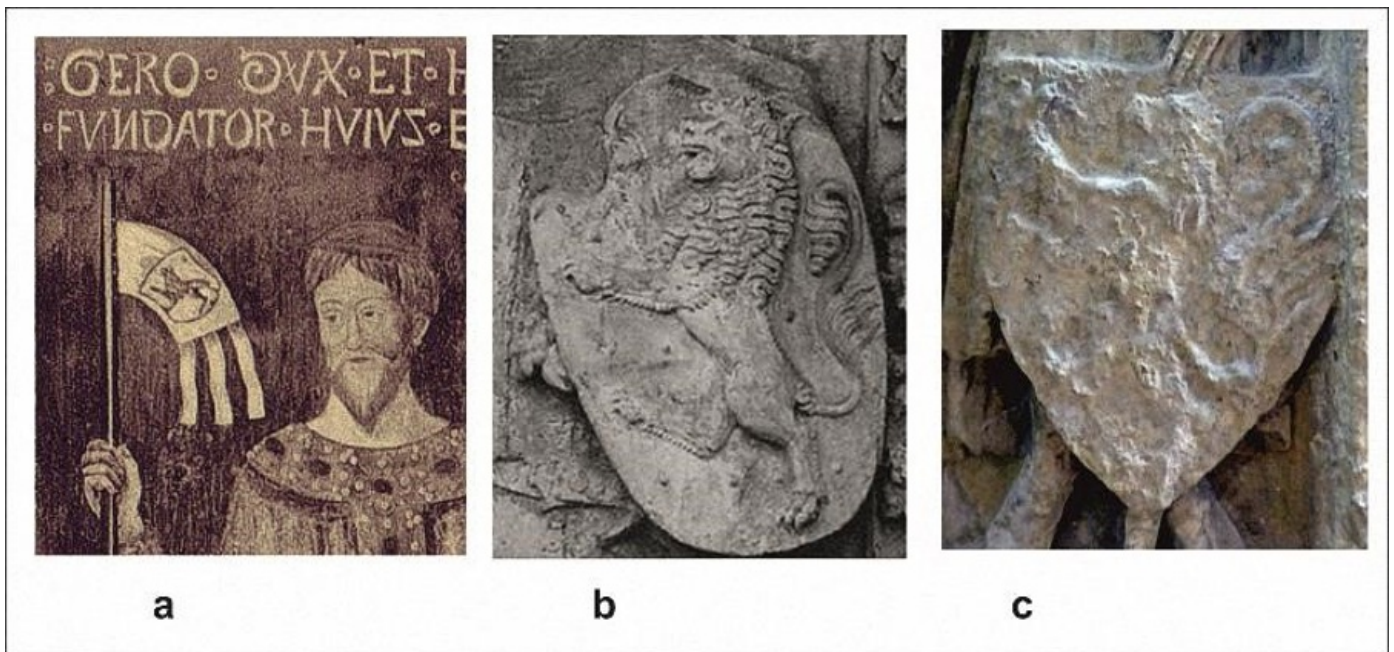


**Fig.38.** Boundaries of the division of the territories of the hereditary principalities(?) existing within the borders of the Halicz-Volyn principality before the Mongol invasion in 1241 and the destruction of the main defensive castles: Halych, Vladimir Volyn and Dzvinograd.<sup>176</sup>

The cited sources<sup>177</sup> point to two possible search leads: **Meissen** and **Freienberg** - both towns located in the then Meissen Marche, which in fact seems to be more indicative of the **territory** itself than the specifically named places, which in the preserved symbolism of their seals seem to be united only by the ancestral sign of the Wettin family<sup>178</sup> who took over the rule of the Marche after 1243 (Fig.39a-b), although the image of the ascending lion seems to have accompanied the history of the Meissen Marche from the very beginning of its foundation (Fig.40 a-c)



**Fig.39 a (left) b (middle) c (right).** a) Seal of Freiberg from 1227 as published in the so-called "Meller Chronicle ; b) Oldest seal of the city of Meissen with the coats of arms of the margrave and burgrave from ca.1200 ; c) Coat of arms of the margrave of Meissen in the Ingeram Codex.



**Fig.40.** the first "lions of Meissen": a) Gero I (born?-died.965),b) Titmar I (born c.920- died.979 ),c)Ludwig IV called Saint (born 1200- died.1227)

Among the villages already existing in the Eastern Ore Mountains at that time, which owed their existence and development mainly to the exploitation of the natural resources found here and discovered as early as the 10th century, in

particular the deposits of silver, tin and iron ore, attention should be drawn to the village called **Lauenstein**, today administratively one of the districts of Altenberg, which at the time corresponding to the date of the foundation of Lowenberg in Silesia was called Lowenstein (together with the castle next to which it was founded), which can be translated as "stone" or "Lion's rock".<sup>179</sup> (Fig.41)



Fig.41. Lauenstein (Löwenstein) on a fragment of a 19th century map of the Eastern Ore Mountains region

Its original symbol - reconstructed (?) years later - was a lion climbing a rocky mountainside, as can be seen, among other things, from a bas-relief in the wall of the railway station building which was renovated in 1938. (Fig.42).<sup>180</sup>

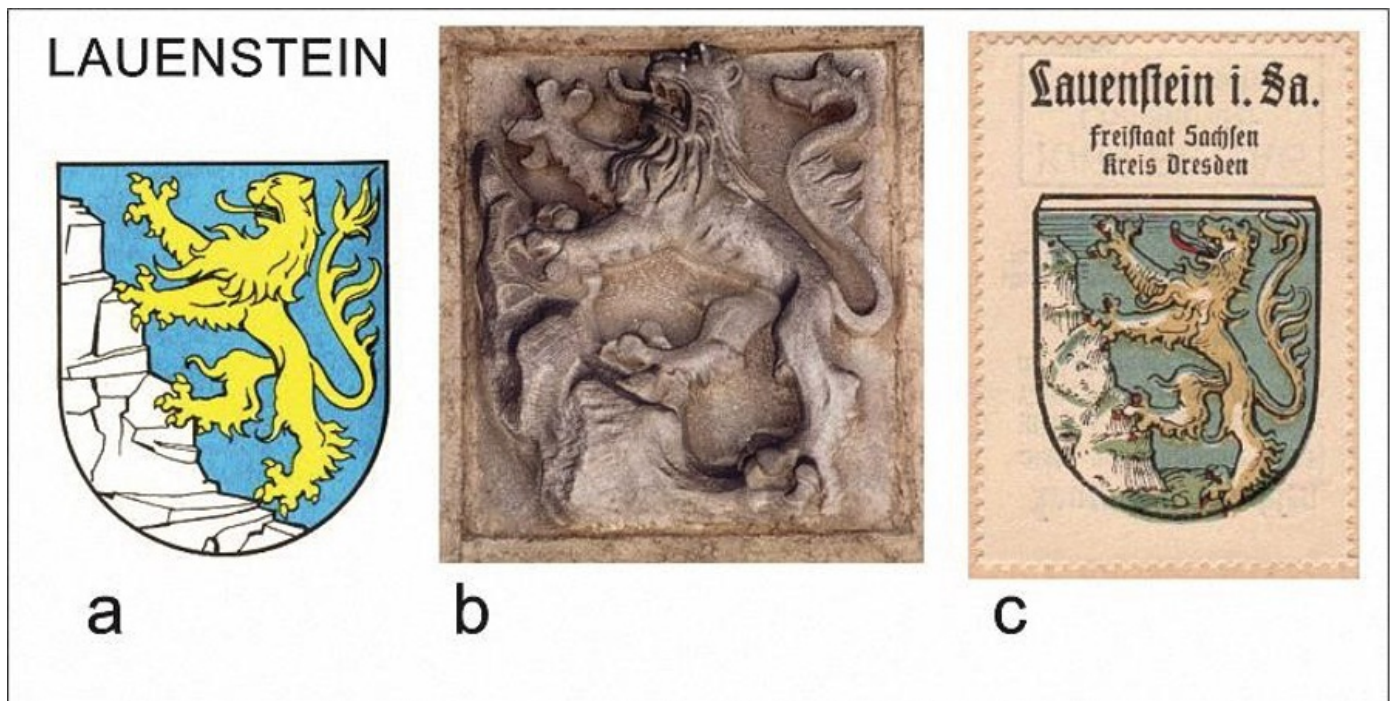


Fig.42. a) Current coat of arms, b) Relief on the Lauenstein railway station, c) Coat of arms on the 'stamp "KAFFEE HAG nr.17.,1925.

Fixed in the city seal of 1683, it is the official coat of arms of Lauenstein, coincidentally (?) preserved (to this day) in the knight's coat of arms on the tower of the city hall in Lwówek Śląski, which, in turn, according to R.Sachsse, was THIS city's FIRST HERBON<sup>181,182</sup> (fig.43)(fig.44)



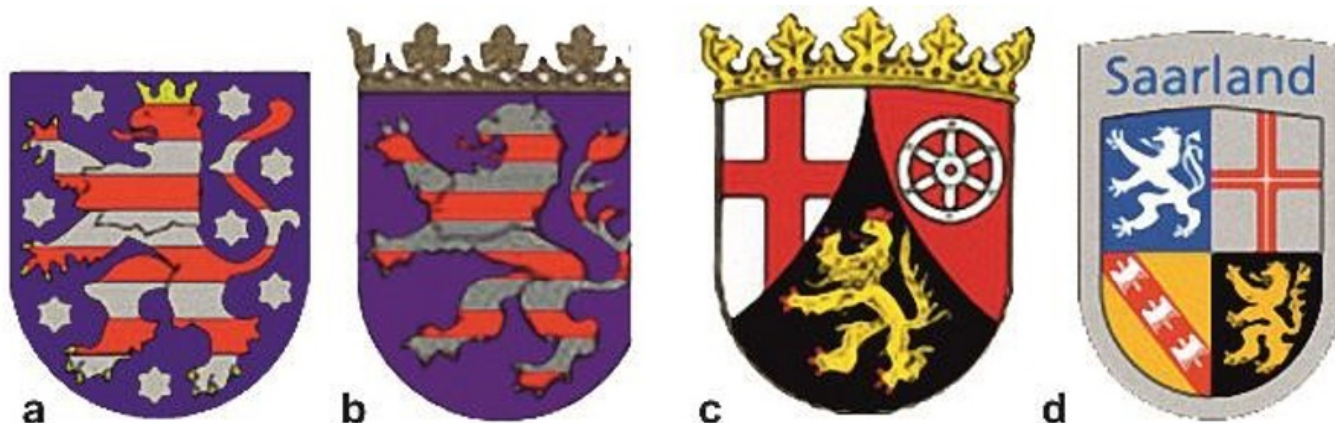
Fig.43. "stone" lions on the tower of the City Hall in Lwówek Śląski: on the left the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bohemia with a "two-tailed" lion, on the right the "forgotten" (?) coat of arms of the city of Löwenberg *nach Bober*<sup>183</sup>.



Fig.44 a-b. "Lion on a rock" from the town hall tower in Lwówek Śląski in a close-up by Szymon Wrzesiński ; as of 2021

Whatever one may think of this "coincidence", there is no doubt that in all of German heraldry it is impossible to find a coat-of-arms sign similar to these two (Lowenstein and Lowenberg). In spite of other towns of the same (or similar) name existing in both modern Germany and the Czech Republic, **none of them** uses a similar image to the Lauenstein coat of arms in their local coat of arms. Also none of the German principalities established in the Middle Ages have such a lion in their coat of arms, although a number of them have coats of arms with only an image of a lion or a lion composed with other heraldic symbols. (Fig.45 a-d )

IT IS ALSO IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND ANY SUCH "two-headed" - HERB (both ancestral and territorial) IN ALL OF MODERN EUROPE.



**Fig.45 a-d.** Coats of arms with the image of an ascending lion in the coat of arms of the Länder: a) Thuringia, b) Hesse, c) Rheinland-Pfalz, d) Saarland.

The presumption of randomness also rules out the coincidence of time and place. The information recorded in the old chronicles forms a logical whole. If it is to be assumed that the miners from the Ore Mountains who were recruited to go to Silesia set off on their journey eastwards from Frajberg or *Meissen* (as the chronicler wishes to say)<sup>184</sup> then, when founding a new settlement on the Silesian Beaver, they chose as their symbol the "*Lówenstein's*" lion, and combined this with the name of their new settlement, which was fully identical with such a coat of arms.<sup>185</sup> And their descendants, who decided to move on, took this name and coat of arms with them as a "sign of their identity". (Fig.46a-b)



ГЕРБЪ, или ЗНАМЯ ГЛАНЦКОИ РЪСКИ;  
ЄТО ЗОЛОТЫЙ ЛЕВЪ ВЪ СИНОМЪ ПО-  
ЛИ ВСИННАЮЧЫИ ЄА НА СКАЛЪ.



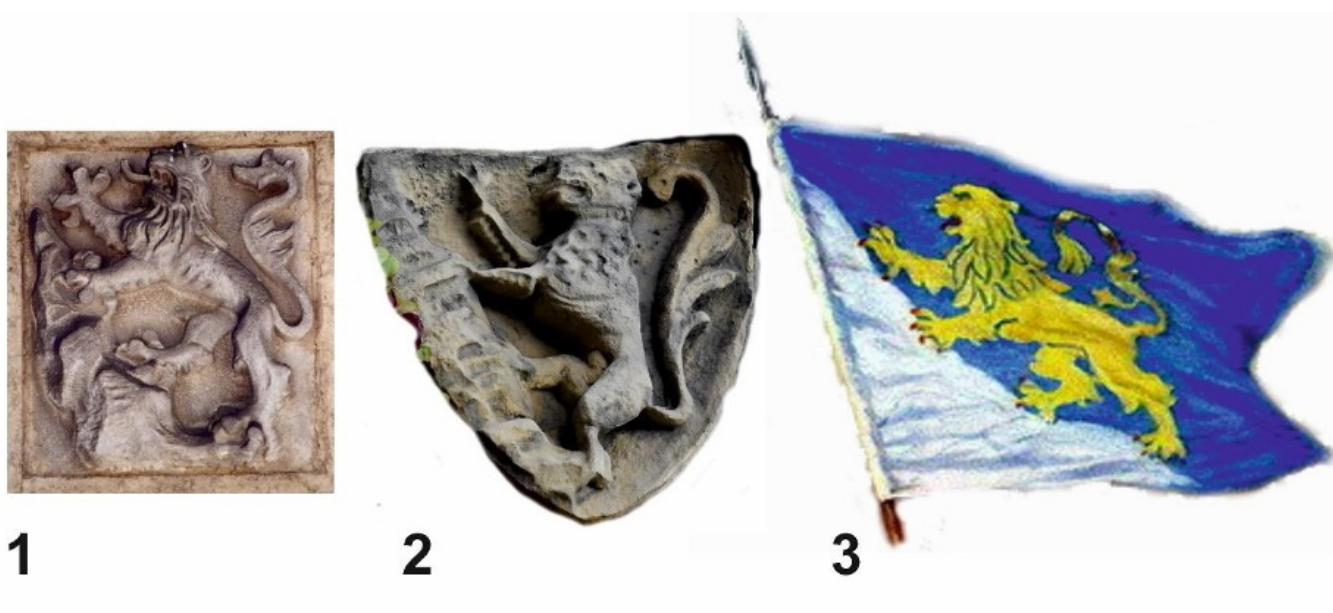
**Fig.46 a-b.** a) a lion supported on a rock in the image of the coat of arms of the "Lvov Land" and the "Ruthenian Voivodeship"<sup>186</sup> and b) the sign of the golden Halych lion on a blue field adopted by the Main Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rada Ruska) as the coat of arms of the (existing from 3 November 1918 to 1 September 1919) Western Ukrainian People's Republic<sup>187,188</sup>.

This "unbelievable" resemblance of the coat of arms of a castle almost 1,300 km from Lviv, located not far from the later city of Dresden, which still stands on one of the hills of the Eastern Ore Mountains, dating back to the 11th or perhaps even the end of the 10th century, together with the adjacent town with the contemporary name of Lauenstein (Lavenstein)<sup>189</sup>, rules out mere coincidence.<sup>190</sup>



The fact that there is no other similar coat of arms linking a lion to a rocky mountainside in all European heraldry known to us today seems only to underline its originality attributed to the place of its birth.<sup>191,192</sup>

The image of a lion leaning against a rock is also a unique SIGN here and for another reason. It has connected (through the identity of its image) **only three places**, marking (also) the paths of the Saxon settlers who migrated successively from the Meissen area and their "ancestral homeland" assigned to it. : from the former **Lowenstein** via **Lewenberg** (in Lower Silesia) leading us to the place of **Lemberg's** birth - **Lowenberg** on the river Poltva.



**Fig.47.** a) Lauenstein (Altenberg) coat of arms, b) Lowenberg (Lwówek Śląski) coat of arms, c) the first coat of arms of Lwów (?)<sup>193</sup> depicted on the "Ensign of the Land of Lwów" at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 (as depicted by a contemporary Ukrainian painter - see Fig. 5., part I)

This sign (here) - depicted on the knight's banner at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 - ennobled by the knight's blood shed in the battle - also became a COMMON sign, identified by all inhabitants of this land - irrespective of their origin, social status or speech - as a FAMILY SIGN. (Fig.46)(Fig.47)

It is also a visible trace - a reminder of the time when Silesian settlers settled in the Peltva valley in the middle of the 13th century, but also of the legend of the former history of the castle founded under the "Lion Mountain". (Fig.33a-c)<sup>194</sup>

## PART IV

### Epilogue

Most specialists involved in the study of the history of the origin of the names of existing human settlements agree on the view that they were most often named either after **specific features of the place** in which they were established or (directly?) after the name of their founder.

Although there are also cases known when owners took (borrowed) the name of their family from a pre-existing name of a village or urban settlement, a toponym directly deriving the name from a feature of the location seems to be the most natural of all names. It was a kind of "signpost" at a time when maps did not yet exist or when their level of detail was more like a "road sketch" drawn up by the cartographers of the time (early medieval cartographers) by "*hearsay*". It was also easy to remember and understand by the inhabitants living there (as well as in the immediate vicinity) - such is the case with the names of Bełz, Chełm, Przemyśl or Sanok .

In turn, there is no doubt that the names of such towns as Vladimir (called Volynsky and the other Vladimir on the Klazma) or Danilov derive their names directly from the founding princes. Another (although also related to the "name") type of toponym is connected with the name of cities such as Krakow, Kiev or, founded only in the 17th century, Kharkov, whose names are derived from legendary characters: Krak , Kiev and Kharko.

What kind of toponym, then, is the name of the city recorded on the pages of numerous documents preserved in various archives from medieval chronicles (latopis) to the present day, and which in the Polish language transmission bears the name "Lvov". - itself untranslatable if one does not take into account the fact that this name is in fact a simple linguistic carbon copy of the Russian "Львов".<sup>195,196</sup>

There seems to be no dispute on this point, at least among Ukrainian historians: "*as is well known*" Lwów takes its name from its founder, Lev Danielevich.

Since it was first formulated by Zimorovich, this view seems to have been one of the main CANONS (leitmotifs) around which the entire "story" of the Halych-Volyn principality and its SYMBOLIC to prove the "Ukrainian identity" of Lviv, supposedly also the ONLY capital of the Russian Kingdom, has been consistently built up in Ukrainian historiography (for over 150 years now).<sup>197</sup>

In this context, it is not so much the coat-of-arms itself (which is a secondary element and a "graphic sign" derived from the name), but above all the NAME of the city that determines its (according to Ukrainian historians) national IDENTITY.<sup>198</sup>

In essence, then, this problem boils down to the question of what does the word "**Lviv**" really express in its semantic layer ?

Apart from the fact that in the entire history of both the Grand Duchy of Kiev and the Russian principalities existing in the Middle Ages, except for Izyslav (rus. Изяславль )founded in 985 and which would be named after Vladimir Svyatoslavovich's son Izyaslav<sup>199</sup>, historians do not know of any case in which a city founded at that time was named after the SON of its founder (which makes the "case" of Lev Danielevich an EXCEPTIONAL case) the identification (nevertheless) of such evidence confirming this fact **in written sources would be an important contribution to the**

**knowledge of the history of Lviv.** So far, however, this evidence (in fact) still remains EXCLUSIVE: "**conjecture**".<sup>200</sup>

The popular version of the thesis of the origin of the city's toponym can be reduced to the succinct statement: "**Lviv** - according to tradition - was founded around 1250 by Prince Daniel I of Halych, descended from the Rurikivich dynasty, who named the city Lviv after his son Leo. This version was presented in the 17th century by two Lviv mayors: Jan Alnpek and Bartholomew Zimorowicz, and this view **was consolidated** in 1894 by Frederick Pape'e in his monograph: *History of the City of Lviv in Outline*"<sup>201</sup>.

The above is supposed to lend credence (among other things) to the famous inscription on the Halytska Tower<sup>202</sup> which, however, as evidence may be just as reliable as the statement by Michał Baliński (whose authority is in turn invoked by the author of the entry "Львів" in the Ukrainian Wikipedia<sup>203</sup>), who bases this view on - as he writes: **common** (in this matter) **opinion**"<sup>204</sup>

If, however, J. Rudnicki<sup>205</sup> that the original name of Lwów was not "Львов" but "Львов**город**", then - irrespective of the author's intentions - this would mean that the name *Lwiv*<sup>206</sup> (both as Russian: "Львов" or Ukrainian: "Львів") is later and that the German **Lemburg** or **Lemberg** is earlier than the name "*Lwiv*", and not only because of the identity of these names (Lev's castle / Lev's mountain) but because of a later (?) transformation of the Ruthenian (Old Slavic) two-word form into a one-word form: recorded by Zimorowicz in its phonetic form as "**Lwihorod**" - **which in itself does not** express (contain) the name of the prince, but the proper name of the "lion" and in the Polish translation means only a synonym of the "lion (resilient, strong, predatory) city".<sup>207</sup>

Despite the lack of in-depth linguistic analysis<sup>208</sup> in generally available publications allowing a reliable verification of Rudnicki's study<sup>209</sup> on which the thesis of the allegedly first name toponym of the name of Lviv in all Ukrainian literature - irrespective of local or temporal transformations - is based, the identification of the name of the city directly with the name of the son of Daniel Halytsky in the Hippat Iatopis<sup>210</sup> precludes this thesis. For **Львов** (L'vov) is not identical with Левь (Levi ?)<sup>211</sup>, which - in the context of the entire paragraph of the text describing the events of 1256-59? involving Lev Danilevich - only further substantiates this contradiction.<sup>212</sup>

Although, apart from the enigmatic information of an unnamed monk, from which it is clear that the first name given to Lvov was a name transferred by German settlers from the city from which they came to the river Poltva, we do not have a direct (other) source of confirmation<sup>213</sup>, there is no doubt that its German, and not Ruthenian, origin is confirmed in as many as four sources including the texts of the surviving letters: Yuri II - Boleslav Trojdenovich to the Teutonic Order of Our Lady of Lwow from 1334 and 1335 /, as well as from a letter of Dimitr Det'ki to merchants of Torun from 1341 and 1335 /, in which the name of the city in Zlatyninsk is confirmed in as many as four sources. Teutonic Order from 1334 and 1335<sup>214</sup> as well as from the letter of Dimitr Det'ki to the merchants of Toruń from 1341<sup>215</sup>, in which the name of the town in the Latinised form is given as: **Lemburg** or **Lemberg** (?) (fig.48):

543. Hz. Georg von [Süd-]Russland mit seinen geistlichen und weltlichen Magnaten wie in n. 459. — 1334 (proxima 6 feria ante dominicam invocavit) Febr. 11. **Lemberg.**

Staatsarchiv zu Königsberg; Or. n. S.  
Gedruckt: daraus Voigt, Cod. dipl. Pruss. 2, n. 145.

Fig.48. Name of Lvov as the place where Yuri II sent a letter to the Teutonic Order from 1334 according to the entry in the 2nd volume of the "Collection of Hansa Documents" published in 1879<sup>216,217</sup>.

Leaving aside the problem of the actual date of the foundation of Lviv and the related use of the word "berg" in the two-part name of the city in George II's letter of 1334, and the word "burg" in Dedka's letter of 1341 - which is the subject of the author's analysis in a separate chapter<sup>218</sup> - the two-part structure of the coat of arms<sup>219</sup> in combination with its earliest known name fully corresponds with each other, thus contradicting the origin of the name from the name of its alleged founder.<sup>220,221</sup>

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The uncritical extraction of knowledge by both home-grown and professional historians "from the depths of human memory" or its extraction from a single (but supposedly reliable) written source led to a situation where, by the end of the 19th century, the amount of true and false information on the history of the city and the key names for understanding its development (closely related to the characteristic elements of its topography at that time) had already reached such a level of incompetence that even the names of the three most characteristic names for spatial orientation of the city at that time reached a level of incompetence. This led to a situation where, by the end of the 19th century, the amount of true and false information on the history of the city and the key names for understanding the specifics of its development (closely related to the characteristic elements of its topography at the time) had reached such a level of incompetence that even the names of the three hills most characteristic for spatial orientation (in the city skyline) (the Ducal Mountain, the Budelnica Mountain and the Lion Mountain) were either completely forgotten or acquired new names. Thus, the "ducal" mountain became "calvary" (Mons Caluus), "budelnica" - "high castle" and "lion" mountain became "sand mountain" (also: "Stefan" (Mons Sephani vulgo Leonis dictus) or together (!) with "duke" interchangeably sharing (?) the name "Lysa".

As a result of this confusion, Szyszko-Bohusz could also write in his introduction to **HANDBUCH FÜR KUNSTLIEBHABER U. REISENDE** to write about Lviv of the time of Kazimierz Wielki (among other things) that:

"The newly built masonry **upper castle**, on today's **Schlossberg**<sup>222</sup> as well as the lower castle protected the new town from hostile troops encroaching from the north. In the middle there were already several monasteries and churches. (A) **The original settlement at the foot of the Kahlenberg**<sup>223</sup> became today's "Krakow Suburb" over time.

The various names of the hills repeated today on numerous community forums for "Lviv lovers", together with the accompanying legends - composed at the discretion of their authors - add to this information noise, thus "moving" the site of the first princely "*dietinca*" from one hill to another or - at the same time - erecting princely castles on three hills at once: "ducal", "budelnica" and "lion" - at his own discretion.<sup>224</sup> This confusion of names was also repeated - without even a hint of reflection - by Stanislav Chernikov<sup>225</sup> in his text entitled "The mysteries of Lysá hora", written on 12 February 2021. "mysteries of Lysá hora".

It is therefore all the more important to restore the place of this (allegedly "*Lysa*" or "*Piaskowa*") and eternally enshrined in legend **Lions' Mountain**<sup>226</sup> so that it can once again become the true symbol of the city, permanently (already ) enshrined in its original name and coat of arms - with the predatory lion remaining its (no longer ONLY mountain, but the entire city) guardian to this day. (Fig.48)

It can thus be said that the question posed by A. Szyszke in 1996: **when did the name Lviv come into being**<sup>227</sup> has finally been answered to some extent.



**Fig.48.** The lion coat of arms from the wall of the town hall in Lwówek Śląski (Lewenberg) and on the shield of a Galician boyar (?) from the presumed seal of Yuri Lvovich of 1335 documenting the continuity of a FORGOTTEN tradition.<sup>228</sup>

## Postscript

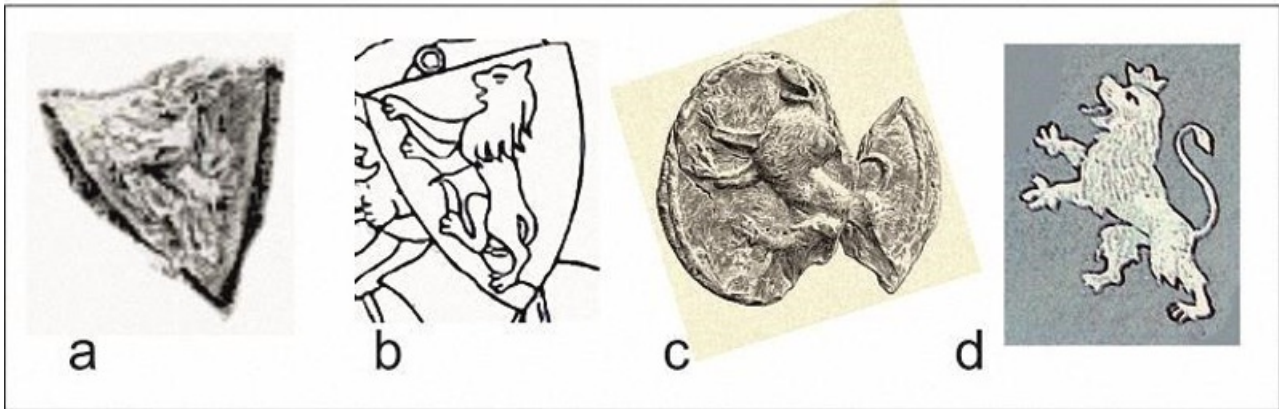
1. On the Polish-language Wikipedia page, under the keyword: "*The coat of arms of the Ruthenian Voivodeship from the 14th century (...) to 1772 was, in a blue field, a golden lion climbing a rock with its front paws. The symbolism of the coat of arms is currently under discussion. According to some hypotheses, it may refer to the Celtic tribe Anart fracti*

(Anart allies) settled in the mountains, which never submitted to domination by the Roman Empire. According to others, it may be related to the fact that on 13 April 1377 Eric of Winsen was appointed Bishop of Przemysl by Pope Gregory XI. " Unfortunately, the author of this text did not provide the sources on the basis of which he formulated these suppositions ....<sup>229</sup>

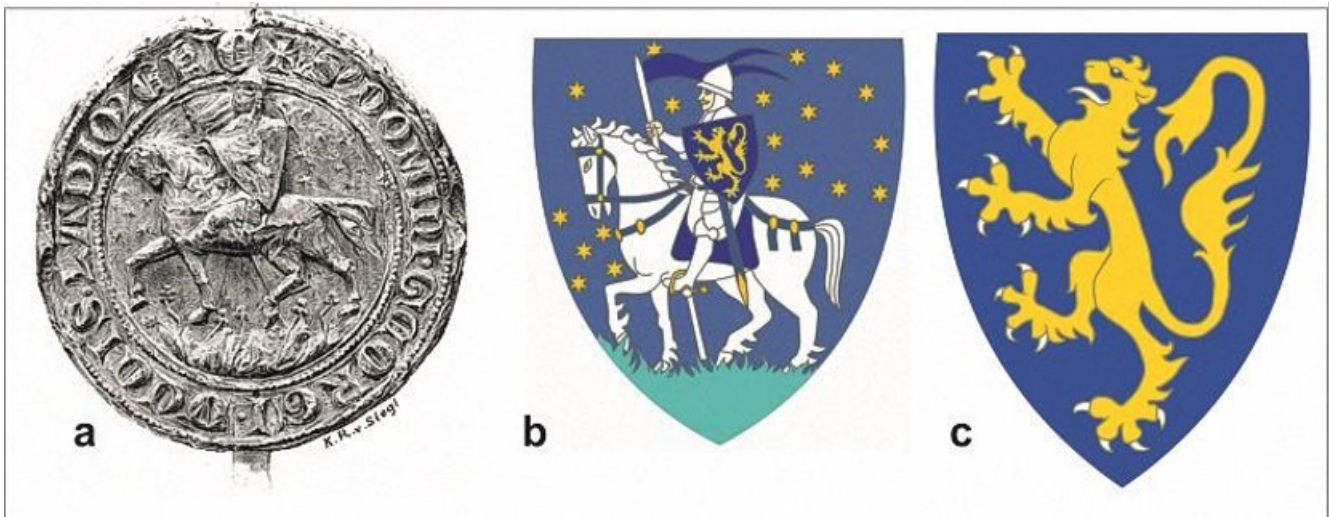


Fig.49. Design of the great coat of arms of Ukraine according to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1917

2. Mykhailo Hrushevsky's reference (see footnote no.87) to the "pattern" of the coat of arms of Lviv as IDENTICAL to the image of the lion on the shield of the coat of arms of the Halytsko-Volynsky knight from the reverse of the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovych (fig.49,fig.50) when confronted with the contemporary interpretation of its appearance, falsifies not only the alleged fact of the existence of the coat of arms of the Halytsko-Volyn principality in the officially presented version (fig.51) but also - without any material basis - (his) claim about the "Ruthenian"<sup>230</sup> origin of the coat of arms, in the literature still referred to as the "**symbol of the Land of Lwów**", shown on the knight's banner at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 in the shape fixed since 1388 on the majestic seal of King Władysław II Jagiełło. (Fig.52)



**Fig.50 a-d.** Interpretation of the image of the lion climbing on the rock (mountain) : a) reading from the preserved alleged seal of Yuri Lvovich according to Siegel , b) reading according to the contemporary Ukrainian version, c) lion(?) on the reverse of the seal of Lev II (Yurevich)<sup>231</sup>, d) alleged view of the lion from the seal of Yuri Lvovich according to Hrushevsky's interpretation (vide fig.49 - in the lower circle)



**Fig.51 a-c.** Hypothetical image of the alleged coat-of-arms marks (b) of the 'kingdom of Rus' (cf. Fig.49 in the upper circle) and (c) of the alleged coat of arms of the Romanovichi from the 14th century deduced from an examination of the reverse of the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovich in a reading according to K.R.von Siegel's casting (a).



One thing, however, remains certain, for as K.Sochaniewicz put it in his description of the history of the Lvov coat of arms back in 1933:

*"The question of when the creation of a coat of arms in this form, based perhaps on Polish patterns, and in any case made according to the rules of western heraldry, took place, is very difficult to answer, as there are no direct indications. (...It seems certain, however, that the very image of the Iwa, as a territorial-dynastic emblem, which may have been an emblem speaking of the "land of the Lion", is older than the city emblem."<sup>233</sup> And in it also remained hidden its original name as the Lion Mountain, from the "German" (and in Hebrew) to this day called **Lemberg**.*

END

A.M.Szymiski

08-XII-2022



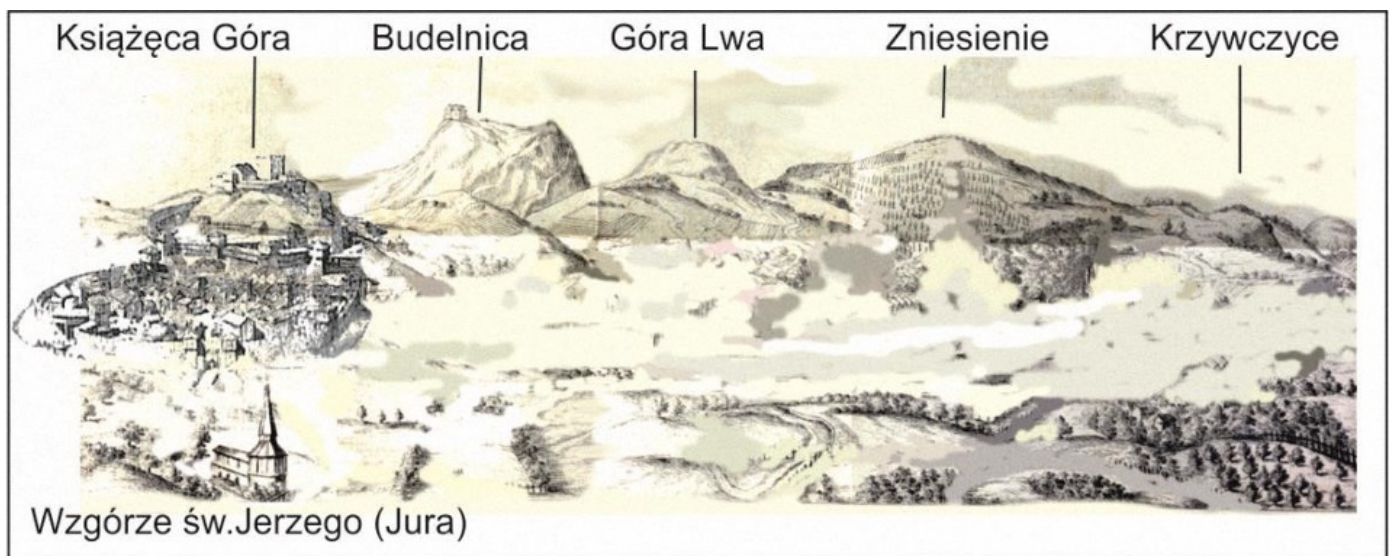
## Appendix 1



1. the royal court of King Danyl (fortified in 1253?); 2. the first royal court of Lev (built in 1247?); 3. the second court of the same prince Lev (built in 1248?)<sup>234</sup>; 4. the court of Prince Yuri, son of Lev (1301-1308)<sup>235</sup>; 5. an unknown princely court(?); 6. the Old Market.

Fig.53. Lviv in the 14th century according to Dr.M.Hocij after: Prof. Dr. P. Kurinnyj:**DIE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE VERGANGENHEIT DES FÜRSTLICHEN LEMBERG**" in: "Das Ukrainische Lww -Lemberg"; Duppelnummer VERLAG UKRAINE<<MUNCHEN; **IN VERGANGENHEIT UND GEGENWART, Vierteljahresschrift III. Jahrgang Januar-Juni 1954 Nummer 1/2 (9/10).**,p.17

## Appendix 2:



**Fig.54.** Hypothetical appearance of the panorama of the Peltva river basin (from the west) with Lev Danilovich's defensive castle : Lviv (Lo'wenberg) at the end of the 13th century (op.A.Szymiski)

## Footnotes

### PART I

<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt - as Saraniewicz described it in the only (!) I so far - synthetic study in the Polish language:" that the coat of arms of the city of Lwow originated and developed on the principles of Western heraldry. In the early Middle Ages, the principle was established in the West that the emblems of towns which - according to some - were not coats of arms in the strict sense of the word, as we see them on seals, usually depicted architecture, most often a fortified gate in which or over which an individual emblem was placed (...). In other words, a town's coat of arms was a pictorial representation, a hieroglyph of sorts, or rather an ideogram or symbol, which could often replace the written or spoken name of the town in

graphic or pictorial form. "(K.Sochaniewicz: "The coat of arms of the city of Lwow", Lwow 1933, p.7)

<sup>2</sup> Particularly "meritorious" in this respect seem to be all kinds of chroniclers of clerical origin, for whom every piece of information - regardless of its degree of reliability - seems worthy of immortalisation as long as it serves "God's good". Thus, from the brochure entitled "Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, painted by St. Luke the Evangelist...", published by Leon Ulanowski in 1853 in Lvov, we can read on page 6 that: (along with the painting to which this brochure was dedicated) "Leo, the eldest son of Prince of Rus and Halicz, looking for a place and shelter from the conflagration, murder and Tartar attacks, arrived in the local area, and seeing a steep and high mountain, inaccessible by forests and swamps, he decided to set up his shelter and dwelling here, thinking himself safer from the attacks. He built two wooden castles, one on the very top of the sandy mountain and the other at the foot of it, and cutting down the inaccessible forests to make the way to the castle easier, he built dwellings made up of small huts for his servants and courtiers and for his own safety. - Later on, having moved all his treasures, objects and armour from Halicz, having founded the city which was named Lwów after him as the first founder, he also moved his capital and established a residence for himself and his mother Konstancja here. "In turn, another preacher seems to identify the date of the beginnings of Lvov with an inscription supposedly written on a marble tablet placed on the left side of the main altar of the Dominican church, from which one can read (was?) that: "Leone Danielis regis Haliciae missis anno 1234..."(op.cit.S.Barocz: "Dzieje zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce",t.II.,Lwów 1861.,p.449)

<sup>3</sup> cf. K.Kotyńska: "RECOVERING THE LOST CITY? POLSKI LWÓW Z PERSPEKTYWY UKRAIŃSKIEJ"., WORKS IN PHILOLOGY. SERIA LITERATUROZNAWCZA .,Warsaw 2008 TOM LV.,p.159

<sup>4</sup> cf. Віктор Ідзьо: " Львівське королівство у XIII-XIV століттях", Львів, Видавництво Університету "Львівський Ставропігон", 2015р. [Засновник Львівського королівства, король Русі Лев Данилович в українській та європейській історичній традиції (1228-1301pp.)]

<sup>5</sup> see in "AGZ"\_\_ vol. III., Lwow 1872,p84-85: act of perpetual incorporation of Lwow into the Republic: "In Lwów on 1 October 1389 : "Władysław Jagiełło unites Lwów with the Polish Crown and pledges to keep the land, district and city of Lwów for himself, his wife Jadwiga and his offspring from her as well as for the Polish Crown, without giving the rule to any prince or dignitary..... "

<sup>6</sup> 1)" Ситуацією скористався польський король Казимир III. Ще 1340 р., отримавши звістку про смерть князя Юрія, він напав на Львів. Територіальні суперечки, що точилися протягом багатьох десятиліть між Польщею, Угорщиною та Литвою, закінчилися тим, що Галичина з Белзькою землею й Холмщиною опинилася під владою Польщі, Волинь - під владою князів литовської династії." Op.cit.for: <https://uabooks.top/1206-galicko-volinska-derzhava-za-danila-romanovicha-ta-yogo-naschadkv.html> 2) "На захоплених територіях Казимир III спершу правив на підставі династичної унії, титулюючи себе королем Польщі та Русі. (...) після короткого періоду безвладдя військо польської королеви Ядвіги зайняла головні галицькі міста й остаточно прилучила руські землі до Польщі. Залишки автономних прав Галицької Русі були зліквідовані королем Владиславом Ягайлом" Op.quoted by: Петро ГАЙЛАШ:" Поява міст і містечок на землях Галицької Русі XIV-XV ст" in: <https://zbruc.eu/node/67354>

<sup>7</sup> Рудницький Я. Назва "Львів" та її походження // Наш Львів. Ювілейний збірник 1252-1952. - Нью-Йорк : Червона калина, 1953. - С. 41-44.

<sup>8</sup> Lev Danilevich settled permanently in Lviv in 1270, moving to Lviv from Přemysl where he exercised local authority until

the death of his father Daniel. His son Jurij Lwowicz had already resided in Vladimir Volynskyi since 1301. And it was there that his son Andrey Yurevich had his residence, while his brother resided until the end of his life in Lutsk or (according to other historians) in Halicz. Bolesław Jerzy Trojdenovic also ruled the Halicz-Volhynia principality from Vladimir Vol (Ladimiria), treating Lvov as one of the many gord centres of the state at that time. In fact - and this is completely overlooked by the official Ukrainian and Polish historiography - Lwów was nominally the capital (and only of the Halicz principality) only between 1272 and 1301, and was not given the status of capital city again until the reign of Casimir the Great, and not because of its qualities as a "European commercial centre" (which it practically became only in the 15th century), but because of its strategic importance within the then existing borders of the Polish Kingdom.

<sup>9</sup> For the time being (after all), the only evidence confirming this belief is the foundation inscription of the city in Latin on the now non-existent Halytska Tower. As W.Wujczyk writes: "The construction of the tower above the Halytska gate was completed in 1430 (...) There were historical inscriptions on the tower. One of them informed about the foundation of the city by the son of Duke Daniel - Leo: Dux Leo mihi fundamenta fecit, posteri nomen dedere Leontopolis . The second inscription referred to the siege of Lviv on 13 May 1498 by the Wallachian hospodar Stefan...." Op.cit: Volodymyr Vujtsyk : "The Halytska Gate in Lviv": <https://www.lwow.com.pl/brama/brama.html>

<sup>10</sup> besides the original painting by Lukasz Dolinski, there are at least 4 copies of this painting attached to various "zoroastrian" publications as its original version. The original canvas in a version with an inscription in "Old Russian"(?) was exhibited in the Basilian monastery(?) and from the very beginning became an icon treated as an "authentic" image of the prince. ( Володимир Мороз:" Лука Долинський: начерки до портрету"( [https://risu.ua/luka-dolinskiy-nacherki-do-portretu\\_n37400](https://risu.ua/luka-dolinskiy-nacherki-do-portretu_n37400) ). Another version of the fate of this painting is presented by Sandor Barocz .In "History of the Order of Preachers in Poland". (In "The History of the Order of Preachers in Poland" (vol. II., Lvov 1861) he claims that the painting was in the possession of the Dominican Fathers and that in 1820(?) "a certain "Ruthenian prelate" was supposed to have borrowed it to make a copy of it, and the painting was not returned to the monastery" (in footnote no. 586 p.440).

"Ukrainian portrait of the 16th-18th centuries"( Український портрет XVI - XVIII століть, каталог-альбом. Вид. 2-ге. К., 2006), limiting the presentation of Doliński's work to showing only a portrait of the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Lviv Lev (Leon) Szeptycki. Another (local) version is the information that the painting was originally supposed to be in the meeting room of the Lviv city council (in the building of the city hall), and completely darkened from old age, it was to be given to (Doliński?) for restoration. Of all this information (including the original location of the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Czestochowa, allegedly painted by St Luke himself), the information about the ordering of this painting by the Prior of the Basilian Fathers seems to be the closest to the truth, as the tradition of its origin in Lviv can be traced back to Lev Danilovich, and the painting of its "patron" would be an additional warranty of the tradition existing in this Order....

<sup>11</sup> into this peculiarly understood "convention" also seems to fit Nikita Ganich (in a way ennobling the image of the ascending lion perpetuated on the Lviv bench seal) in justifying L. Woytowycz's conjecture about the alleged "Lvivian" origin of the Beregowa (Berg-sass) coat of arms by stating that: "The golden lion walking on a blue field almost completely coincides with the coat of arms of the Galician-Volyn principality (1119-1349) and the early coat of arms of the city of Lvov" (which he illustrates with the alleged coat of arms of the Halicz-Volyn principality, which already existed(?) since 1199, invented by contemporary Ukrainian heraldists) and that: "According to modern Ukrainian heraldists, the ancient coat of arms of Beregov is one of the few but characteristic examples of the use of motifs of ancient symbols of the

princely Ukraine-Russia in the city emblem. ", which, in his opinion, is to be further authenticated by "... the blue-gold colour scheme, which is in keeping with the national heraldic traditions of Ukraine. " Op.cit. Микита Ганич: "Берегово - давнє місто із слов'янським корінням та угорською душею." [<http://www.mukachevo.net/ua/news/view/313091>]

<sup>12</sup> It is in fact unclear for what specific reason and on the basis of what scientific "research" Ukrainian scholars have established that the historically original (i.e. originating from the times of the princes and only taken over by the Polish authorities after the occupation of Halych Ruthenia) was the coat of arms of Lviv as we know it from the image of the seal of the City Council, while the other - the coat of arms of the jurors - was considered false - regardless of this, This (in turn) contradicts the authenticity of the image of the lion's silhouette "read" both on the reverse of the alleged seal of Yury Lvovich and the seal attributed no longer to Leo II Yurevich but to Leo I (O. A. Однороженко:" "Руські королівські, господарські та князівські печатки XII - XVI ст. " - Харків, 2009r,р.5,р.190) This problem, which was in fact ideological rather than scientific, was solved in a "compromise": the city was assigned the "walking lion" as its main symbol, and the whole of the Halychko-Vlodzimierski principality was given the symbol of the "lion ascended", while in 2003 the 15th-century (!) Polish coat of arms of the Ruthenian Voivodeship was adopted as the official (Ukrainian) coat of arms of the "Lviv region" in the version of the (Polish) royal coat of arms, i.e. the crowned lion.

<sup>13</sup> Шукатка М. С. Геральдичний декор в архітектурі Львова кінця XVI - початку XXI ст. - На правах рукопису. (Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата архітектури за спеціальністю 18.00.01 - Теорія архітектури, реставрація пам'яток архітектури. Національний університет "Львівська політехніка" Міністерство освіти і науки України. Львів, 2018;

<sup>14</sup> Łukasz Doliński (b. 1750-d. 1830) : [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%81ukasz\\_Doli%C5%84ski](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%81ukasz_Doli%C5%84ski)

<sup>15</sup> Luka Dolinskiy (1750-1824?) "Portriet kniazia Liewa Danilovichia".,kin. XVIII st. Polotno, olij. Viddileniya "Palace of mysteries of Antonovichii" Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine named after V. Stiefanika

<sup>16</sup> inscription on original:" Лев Князь Галицкий Основателью Львова Р.В . асу /1270/ "

<sup>17</sup> cf. fig.10 for: Ivan Paselavskiy: "Shto i kolu zasnywannia misto Lviv? -Virogidni i nirevirogidni daty zasnywannia stolici Galichini",Lviv 2010.

<sup>18</sup> cf. also Віктор Ідзьо: "Львівське королівство у XIII-XIV століттях"; Видавництво Університету "Львівський Ставропігон",Львів 2015р.,Fig.1: Лев, князь Львова у 1270р (р.8)

<sup>19</sup> for: <https://welcome-belarus.ru/mogilev-istoricheskoe-rassledovanie-1-chast.html/>

<sup>20</sup> [https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Leo\\_I\\_of\\_Galicia\\_Uzhhorod\\_castle.jpg](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Leo_I_of_Galicia_Uzhhorod_castle.jpg)

<sup>21</sup> Ростиславичі Галицькі , або Перша галицька династі : uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Ростиславичі\_Галицькі : [https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D1%96\\_%D0%93%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%86%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%96](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D1%96_%D0%93%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%86%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%96)

<sup>22</sup> [garmatny.blogspot.com/2021/08/blog-post\\_22.html](http://garmatny.blogspot.com/2021/08/blog-post_22.html)

<sup>23</sup> (cf. "Wiadomości Numizmatii-Archaeiczne", Kraków,no.6/1909,p. 103) and : K. Sochaniewicz : "The coat of arms of the City of Lwów" (cf. "Wiadomości Numizmatii-Archaeiczne", Kraków,no.6/1909,p. 103). (cf. "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne", Cracow, no.6/1909,p.103) and : K. Sochaniewicz: "Herb Miasta Lwowa". Lvov 1933 p.14

<sup>24</sup> "Городское население галицко-волинских земель издревле было пестрым в этническом и религ. отношении: в

Холме со времење его основања жили помио вост. славян немцы и поляки. К кон. XIII в. во Львову сформировалась нем. колонија со своими органами самоуправлења, колонисти били из г. Лемберг (ныне село) в Силезии, и это имя стало нем. названием Львова. С Лембергом связано и посвящение костела колонији (сохранившегося в позднейшей перестройке) Марии Снежной (чудо Богородицы о папе Ливерии, выпавшим снегом обозначившей местонахождение, размеры и абрис храма в Ее честь."(... they came from the town of Lemberg (now a village) in Silesia, and the name became the German name for Lviv. ); op.cit:" Православная энциклопедия" .,vol..10.p.328-340: "ГАЛИЦКАЯ РУСЬ": Б. Н. Флоря:" Г. Р. в составе Польши (сер. XIV в.- 1772) "[also: <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/161541.html> ]

<sup>25</sup> <https://zbruc.eu/node/67354> ;

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/uk/6/69/%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D1%96\\_%D0%B3%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%86%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%96.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/uk/6/69/%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D1%96_%D0%B3%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%86%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%96.jpg)

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<sup>26</sup> Although some historians seem to have serious doubts on this issue as well, the view of Prof. Leontij Wojtowycz - an unquestionable (today) authority among Ukrainian scholars on the issue of research into the history of the former eastern Polish borderlands - seems to be still unquestionable, which is clearly exemplified by the publication (written in 2014) in Polish translation of his comprehensive monograph entitled "Lew Daniłowicz-książe halicko-wołyński", (ed. This can be seen in the publication (written in 2014) in Polish translation of his extensive monograph entitled "Lew Daniłowicz-książe halicko-wołyński", (wyd. Avaon, Kraków, 2021 r.) preceded by an extremely flattering introduction by his Polish friend - professor Dariusz Dąbrowski.

<sup>27</sup> see chapter entitled "Birth of the Lion's Castle"

<sup>28</sup> further quotations after the text "Z kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej Aleksander Gwagin z Verona...", Kraków 1860.

<sup>29</sup> jw.s.202

<sup>30</sup> jw.p.203

<sup>31</sup> for: ІСТОРИЯ УКРАЇНИ В КАРТИНАХ : Орлюнов А. О., "Галицькі хоругви в Грюнвальдській битві 1410 року".- К.: Кріон, 2012. - 26 с., (Серія книг проекту: "Україна: історія великого народу")

<sup>32</sup> the same image is also depicted as "the battle of the Russian army with the Polish army at Zawihost"(!) : " Галицько-Волинське держава - правонаступниця Русі..." ( <https://en.ppt-online.org/236338>

<sup>33</sup> op.cit. K.Sochaniewicz: "The coat of arms of the city of Lwow", Lwow 1933,p.8

<sup>34</sup> perhaps, given the city's large number of inhabitants of German origin, its appearance could have referred to the coat of arms of the Margraviate of Meissen and the Margravates of Meissen, which depicted on a shield precisely the image of an ascending BLACK LION on a golden background as shown in the "Ingeram Codex"

<sup>35</sup> This statement is important here as some Ukrainian historians now seem to be of the opinion that the seal attributed (so far) to Lev II Yurevich is in fact the seal of his grandfather, Lev I Danilovich (!): see footnote 12.

<sup>36</sup> jw.p.203; cf also " Історія галицького герба: галка, лев, чи щось кардинально інше?" in:

<https://varta.com.ua/news/lviv/1206386>

<sup>37</sup> Гречило А. Становлення символів Руського королівства (друга половина XIII - початок XIV ст.): версії, міфи й традиція // Доба короля Данила в науці, мистецтві, літературі. - Львів, 2008. - С. 260-276.

<sup>38</sup> [https://gaz.wiki/wiki/pl/Lion\\_\(heraldry\)](https://gaz.wiki/wiki/pl/Lion_(heraldry))

<sup>39</sup> the image of a lion became the family sign of a prince to become the coat of arms of the then capital Vladimir in the symbolic form of a "prince=lion" with a cross in its front paws. cf. Олег Беспалов: Что означают гербы Владимирской области. Поём герб-арию" [ <https://www.prizyv.ru/2019/07/что-означают-гербы-vladimirskoj-oblasti-poyom-gerb-ariyu/>

<sup>40</sup> cf. Каменцева Е.И., Устюгов Н.В. : "Русская сфрагистика и геральдика", Москва "Высшая школа" 1974., (ch.IV), also: В.Л.Янин, П.Г.Гайдуков: "Актовые печати Древней Руси X-XII вв.", Изд.: М., ИНТРАДА, 1998, Т.3.

<sup>41</sup> with the Latin text on the perimeter of the seal: (a) "S. (sigillum) CIVITATIS LEMBURGENSIS" and (b) "Sigillum Sardinorum Lemburgenzium".

<sup>42</sup> under no.579 ( fig.354) - bench seal: "this seal hangs admittedly in a document of the 15th century (...) its carving indicates, however, still undoubtedly the 14th century.". op. cit. F. Piekosiński: "Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich" (part .I: "Doba Piastowska"), Kraków, 1899r., p.287.

<sup>43</sup> I cannot say (...) whether the ruler himself used this coat-of-arms sign in the form of a severe coeval beast, i.e. he only gave it to the as yet uncompleted town. I would rather consider it an invention of a later age ...". [ J.B. Zimorowic, Leopoldis triplex..., p. 78.]. The problem of using Zimorowic's text as a "source document" for the study of the history of the creation of Lviv does not only concern the problem of the coat of arms and its meaning as a territorial or personal sign of the ruler .It is officially treated in contemporary Ukrainian historiography as OBJECTIVE evidence not subject to verification, as evidenced by its inclusion in the "History of Lviv in Documents and Materials" (collection of documents and materials - Kiev 1986) published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR as "document No.3" This collection lacks a text by Gruneweg, which at the time was probably not known to the publishers of the collection, and which was just as reliable as Zimorowicz's work for the so-called "princely time of Lviv's origin and existence". - an earlier text by Gruneweg ]

<sup>44</sup> Підручник з Історії України. 7 клас. Гупан - Нова програма : § 22. ГАЛИЦЬКО-ВОЛИНСЬКА ДЕРЖАВА ЗА НАСТУПНИКІВ ДАНИЛА РОМАНОВИЧА [ <https://uahistory.co/pidruchniki/gypan-2015-ukraine-history-7-class/22.php> ].

<sup>45</sup> in a history textbook, in the chapter devoted to the discussion of the history of the Halytic - Vladimir principality from the beginning of the rule of Danilo Halytsky - Romanovich, in addition to the well-known seal (Fig.5) and the alleged image of Yuri Lvovich, there is also a RACIAL HERALDIC SIGN of this ruler, using a photograph of a "Prague penny" minted in the Czech mint during the reign of Wenceslas II (1278-1305). [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grosz\\_praski](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grosz_praski)

<sup>46</sup> "Правління князя Лева Даниловича вперше відзначилося використанням печатки з історичним гербом Галицько-Волинської Русі - "руським левом". "za: [ <https://uahistory.co/pidruchniki/gypan-2015-ukraine-history-7-class/22.php> ] Which, in turn, contradicts the claims regarding the alleged image of the seal of Daniel Halicki in the form of a "two-headed eagle" known from the image of the Przemyśl coat of arms.

<sup>47</sup> Hrushevsky, Barvinsky and now Odnorozhenko "identify" one of the seals attached to the letter of the dukes Andrey and Lev Yurevich of 1316 preserved to this day in the secret Prussian archives in Berlin as the seal of Lev Danilovich (+1301r) solely on the basis of the image of the "lion-climbing" on its reverse. According to the aforementioned, this is not contradicted by the discrepancy in dates between the death of this prince and the date of the letter's creation, because - as they interpret it(?) - Lev Yurevich could have used not his "own" seal but the seal of his grandfather (!) .

<sup>48</sup> 1) Coat of arms of Laperthazy ( Bergsass) , 2) "Stemmata Polonica" (ok. 1555 r.)3) Czech lion from the great seal of the city of Kłodzko, 4) Coat of arms of the Přemyslids, 5) Brakteat of Heinrich des Löwe from ca. 1180, 6. Coat of arms of the Czech Republic (on a postage stamp from 2009), 7. Bohemian lion walking to the left\_ on a thaler from 1544. 8. lion on the reverse of the seal of Leo Jurewicz on a document from 1316,9.The lion from the coat of arms of the city of Lvov in Austro-Hungarian times,10. coat of arms of Flanders (1668),11. the Ruthenian penny from 1382,12. the lion in the coat of arms of Lwówek Śląski,13. the coat of arms of the Rhenish Palatinate (1356-1777r),14. the coat of arms of the city of Gera (RFN),15. the Bohemian lion on the map of "Wratlavia" (Wrocław),16. the coat of arms of the West Ukrainian People's Republic 1918-1919.

<sup>49</sup> The lion according to "Stemmata Polonica" (ok. 1555 r.): the coat of arms of the Ruskie Voivodeship.,2. the coat of arms of the city of Lwow on the city hall tower, 3. Codex\_Bergshammar\_-\_page\_60., 4. B .Starzyński: " Herby Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i WX Litewskiego",1875., T. 1, 5. The Coat of Arms of the Ruskie Voivodeship in the Old Chamber of Deputies (Royal Castle, Warsaw),.6. The lion in the coat of arms of the Lvov Region on the XVIII century panorama of Lvov, 7. Bartłomiej Paprocki " Herby rycerstwa polskiego" (1584)... " 8.in Marcin Bielski's Chronicle: Wojsko Ruskie, 9.drawing.by Elias Radzikowski:Wojsko Ruskie,10.papal lion from Zimorowicz's work "Leopolis obsessa" 11. Leopolis obsessa", 11.lion on the project of the new coat of arms of Lviv Voivodship from 1928, 12.lion on the seal of Vladimir Jagiełło from 1388, 13.Voivodship\_ Ruskie\_ coat\_ of\_ arms\_(Kawa\_ Hag), 14.Lvivska\_zemla\_1578, 15.lion in the city coat of arms according to Ivan Fyodorovich on his first book published in Lviv "Apostle" in 1574. "Apostle" in 1574. 16. the lion on the seal of Wl. Opolczyk from 1379,17. the Ruskie Voivodeships - from the coat of arms of Kacper Niesiecki from 1839 ., 18. the contemporary image of the lion on the flag of the "Lvov Land" at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410, 19. the coat of arms of the Ruskie Voivodeships 1918-1939 .,20. as the emblem on the bow of the "Sich Sharpshooters".

<sup>50</sup> from the above juxtaposition of the two preserved seals, it can be assumed (with a high degree of probability) that the image of a lion - however indistinct on seal "a" - was "transferred" in the form of the official (?) territorial mark of the former "Duchy of Halicz" to the seal of Władysław Opolczyk.

<sup>51</sup> A classic example of the deliberate (?A classic example of the conscious (?) creation of a 19th-century (wishful) historical illusion In this graphic representation there are as many as four significant distortions: The first one concerns the change of coats of arms and the use of an image of an equestrian knight (inspired directly by the figure of a rider from the reverse of the alleged seal of Yuri Lvovych) with the addition of a symbol on the pennant corresponding to the alleged flag of Volhynia (a red cross on a white field, while in reality the symbol should have the opposite colours) with simultaneous removal of the image of a lion from the knight's shield, which makes the image thus transformed into the new coat of arms of Volhynia itself. The second is the use of the date 1313, which is supposed to refer to a document issued by Yuri Lvovich, to whom the lower Latin text refers and who died in 1308. The third is the combination of a Ukrainian text with a Latin text (from the obverse of Y. Lvovich's seal) forming the sentence "Yuri Lvovich".Lvovich) forming the phrase "King George of Russia of Volhynia-Galicia" when, since Yuri Lvovich's death, the formally homogeneous "state" (the principality of Halych-Vlodzimiersk) had already ceased to exist: Prince Andrew Yurevich ruled in the years 1308-1323 only in the principality of Vladimir (Volhynia) while at the same time the principality of Halych (as most historians believe) was ruled by his brother Lev II. The fourth is the use of the image of a lion from the seal of Włodzimierz Opolczyk, dated 1379 (with



the addition of a fragment of a rock) as allegedly identical to the image of a lion from the knight's shield on the original reverse of the seal from the document of Bolesław-Jerzy Trojdenowic (Fig.11a).

<sup>52</sup> In original description: "Вона постала в 1199 р. шляхом об'єднання галицьких та волинських земель кн. Романом Мстиславовичем. Цей герб знаходився на грамоті кн. Юрія І. Львовича (внука Данила Романовича), видана гротмайстрові німецького лицарського ордену, з яким він був у союзі в 1313 р. Ця грамота зберігається в Кенігсберзькому музеї, а саме: а) Герб Волині: Срібний їздець на червоному полі з червоним хрестом на хоругві, б) Герб галицький: Жовтий лев на блакитному полі, спертий на посріблену скелю (Батюшков, П.Н. "Холмська Русь", СПб, 1887, стор. 37)." Ор.сit: Олександр Цинкаловський: "Стара Волинь і Волинське Полісся (Краєзнавчий словник - від найдавніших часів до 1914 року).", reprint edition of 1915,: Накладом Товариства "Волинь" ВІННІПЕГ - 1984 - КАНАДА.,p.29.

<sup>53</sup> The original of this - allegedly dating from 1313 - "coat of arms" image was first published in I.N.Batyushkova's publication "Cholmskaya Rus" (Pamiętniki ruszkiej stariny w zachodnich Guberniach - выпуск wasmoj),S\_Pieterburg,1885g. In the caption on the illustration, the coat of arms on the left is called "the coat of arms of Lithuanian Ruthenia", and the coat of arms on the right (with an image of a lion supported by a rock) is called "the coat of arms of Red Ruthenia", which corresponds to the times of the Polish Kingdom after the union of the Crown with the Lithuanian Commonwealth (!).Cf. also: A.Martos: "Belarus v istorichieskoi gosudarstvennoi i chierkownoj žizni", Buenos-Aires, Argentina 1966,

<sup>54</sup> The lion "climbed" on a contemporary Ukrainian stamp issued on the occasion of the 800th anniversary (?) of the Galician-Volyn Principality in 1999, which is supposed to substantiate the existence of such an alleged coat of arms of this principality since at least the 12th century as a crowned "royal lion".

<sup>55</sup> It consists of the coats of arms of the following lands in order: Jülich, Geldern, Kleve, Berg, Mark, Zutphen and Ravensberg <http://pioter.szkołanawigatorow.pl/lekcja-heraldyki-czyli-dlaczego-nawet-lwy-nie-sa-tym-czym-sie-wydaja>

<sup>56</sup> Fig. 13c presents a rare example of a surviving 13th-century knight's shield, depicting a Ludovician lion barry .  
[[https://gaz.wiki/wiki/pl/Lion\\_\(heraldry\)](https://gaz.wiki/wiki/pl/Lion_(heraldry)) ]

<sup>57</sup> herb of Halic-Volyn Ruthenia or the Principality of Halic-Vłodzimiersk (depending on the interpretation of both terms) :  
[https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ksi%C4%99stwo\\_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ksi%C4%99stwo_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie)

<sup>58</sup> interestingly enough, the term "Ruthenian lion" as understood by Polish historians means "lion with a curled tail", while "lion-climbing" with a tail turned upwards is considered to be a typical form of a heraldic lion in Latin European countries. It is probably for this reason that the "lion with tail curled up" was depicted on the alleged appearance of the coat of arms shield we see (?) on the reverse of the "royal" seal preserved in the letters of Bolesław-Jerzy Trojdenowic to the Teutonic Order from 1327, 1334 and 1335 by Odnorożenko.

<sup>59</sup> Źródło dla treści ryc.a:

[https://www.wikiwand.com/ru/%D0%AE%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B9\\_II\\_%D0%91%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2](https://www.wikiwand.com/ru/%D0%AE%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B9_II_%D0%91%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2)

<sup>60</sup> source for the content of fig. c:

[https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B0\\_%D0%AE%D1%80%D1%96%D1%8F\\_%D0%9B%D1%8C%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%B0](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B0_%D0%AE%D1%80%D1%96%D1%8F_%D0%9B%D1%8C%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%B0)

<sup>61</sup> Петрушевич А. О городе Галиче за Луквою // Вестник Народного Дома. -1887. - Ч. 52. - С 467.

<sup>62</sup> Andriy Grechylo: "Герб міста Львова:Генеза, традиція, відродження":<https://map.lviv.ua/statti/grechylo.html>

<sup>63</sup> B. Barwiński B. Seals of the Halicko-Vlodzimierski princes from the first half of the 14th century // Numismatic and Archaeological News. - 1909. - Nr. 6. - S. 99-104; Nr. 7. - S. 127-130

<sup>64</sup> Крип'якевич І. П. До питання про герб Львова // Архіви України. -1968.-№1. - С 44-45.

<sup>65</sup> из Истории Львова. Том первый (1256-1772)

<http://www.lviv4you.com/ru/%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%83%D0%B3-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B5/%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B8%D0%B2/186-%D0%B3%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B1-%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0.html>

<sup>66</sup> similar manipulation was used when describing the alleged act of establishing the office of alderman by Lev I (?) in Przemyśl, illustrating the content of the description with a reproduction of a photograph of Yuri II's letter to the Teutonic Knights from 1325. [ Підручник з Історії України. 7 клас. Гупан - Нова програма : § 22. ГАЛИЦЬКО-ВОЛИНСЬКА ДЕРЖАВА ЗА НАСТУПНИКІВ ДАНИЛА РОМАНОВИЧА; Про продаж вйтівства в Перемишлі (1301 р.) з грамоти Лева Даниловича [ <https://uahistory.co/pidruchniki/gupan-2015-ukraine-history-7-class/24.php>

<sup>67</sup> "26 января 1526 года герб Львова был подтверждён польским королем Сигизмундом. В грамоте Сигизмунда говорилось: "... с незапамятных времен сей город Леополис до нынешнего времени сам по себе использовал. Им вновь этот знак по упомянутой инициативе и уважению мы дали, чтобы эти современные, и что в будущем будут, радники этого города Леополиса, который, наши предки торжественно назвали именем льва, во всех почетных актах, а также на своих знаменах, картинах и памятниках упомянутый знак свободно употребляли". Однако, во Львове живо предание, что герб дарован городу еще князем Львом Даниловичем." Or cited:

<http://www.heraldicum.ru/ukraine/towns/lvov.htm>

<sup>68</sup> cf. K. Sochaniewicz: "Coat of arms of the city of Lwów", Lwów, 1933: a) the seal variant I - p.18, b) the seal variant II - p.19, c) the current coat of arms of Lwów. The marked difference in the shape of the lion's silhouette on both (a-b) seals only seems to prove that until the officially approved coat of arms of the city council there was in fact quite a lot of freedom in the modelling of the lion's silhouette itself while keeping the image of the wall, the gate and the three city towers unchanged.

<sup>69</sup> A.Lappo-Danilevskij: "Pieczatki poslednich Galicko-Vladimirskich Kniaziej i ich Sowtnikov",Pieterburg 1906.

<sup>70</sup> See chapter p. t. "The riddle of the princely seals".

<sup>71</sup> which also does not prevent the "lion of the Romanovichs" from being presented in the "pages" of the online Wikipedia as the coat of arms of "Halicko-Volyn Rus", while also indicating the period of its existence from 1199 to 1192(!):

Галицко-Волинське князство ( Regnum Galiciae et Lodomeriae ) ; [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ksi%C4%99stwo\\_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ksi%C4%99stwo_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie).

<sup>72</sup> Vladimir Volynsky had several coats of arms, as evidenced by seals and their imprints that have survived to the present day. The symbols of the city may have been a cross and a trident, which have been found in the form of images on bricks used to build temples. The trident was the ancestral symbol of Vladimir, while the cross was the foundation of the Christian faith, which he spread and strengthened. (...) According to legend, around the year 991, Prince Vladimir, who was on a par with the Apostles, granted the city of Vladimir, located in Volhynia, a coat of arms depicting a rider on a white

horse, who pierces a dragon with a lance. This coat of arms remained unchanged until 1911 [

<http://shtetlroutes.eu/pl/wlodzimierz-wolynski-karta-dziedzictwa-kulturowego/> ].

<sup>73</sup> Hz. Georg von [Süd-] Russland mit seinen geistlichen und weltlichen Magnaten wie in n. 459. - 1334 (próxima 6 feria ante dominicam invocavit) ;Febr. 11. Lemberg.; Staatsarchiv zu Königsberg; Or. m. S.;Gedruckt: daraus Voigt, Cod. dipl. Pruss. 2, n. 115. ( under no.543 in : "HANSISCHES URKUNDENBUCH HERAUSGEBEN VOM VEREIN FÜR HANSISCHE GESCHICHTE" „BAND II...,published by: HALLE, VEULAG DER BUCIHANDUTNG DES WAISENHAUSES.,1879).

<sup>74</sup> in image and description F. Piekosiński: "Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich", cz. I: "Doba piastowska",Kraków,1899r. (p.67,p.73,p.223)

<sup>75</sup> William III de Dampierre (born 1226, died 6 June 1251) - Count of Flanders and Lord de Dampierre, eldest son of William II de Dampierre and Margaret II, Countess of Flanders, daughter of the Latin Emperor Baldwin I

<sup>76</sup> [https://plwiki.pl/Leksykon/Ma%C5%82gorzata\\_III\\_Flandryjska](https://plwiki.pl/Leksykon/Ma%C5%82gorzata_III_Flandryjska)

<sup>77</sup> "The lion as the coat of arms of Rus was inherited by the Ruskie Voivodeship, which was established in 1434. The voivodeship coat of arms depicted a golden, crowned lion climbing the rocks in a blue field. To be more precise, this was the coat of arms of the Lvov region (already known from the coat of arms of this region from the battle of Grunwald, but without the royal crown), the use of which spread to the entire province.(...)In Paprocki's description it depicts "a lion on a golden weapon in a blue field". The accompanying image of this coat of arms shows the crowned Lion facing left, climbing a rock. This coat of arms looks similar on woodcuts in the Statute of Łaski, where, however, this 'harrow' is absent, and the Lion himself is either silver with a golden crown on his head, or all golden..."(op.cit.for: Tomislaw Giergiel, Jan Ptak: "Heraldic interpretation of the genesis and function of the Byzantine-Ruthenian paintings in the presbytery of the Sandomierz collegiate church", with footnotes from nos.38-42)

<sup>78</sup> In the current interpretation of this coat of arms, attention is also drawn to the inconsistency of the Ukrainian authors in the modification of the form of the tail which, on the official depiction of its appearance on the reverse of the Yuriy Lvovich seal, has a tail in the "Russian" style - curled up under the hind foot (!)

<sup>79</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/W%C5%82odzimierz\\_Wo%C5%82y%C5%84ski](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/W%C5%82odzimierz_Wo%C5%82y%C5%84ski)

<sup>80</sup> Мих. Грушевський : "Лист Володимиром громади з 1324 р. (Факсиміле листу и печатки)"., in: Записки товариства імені Шевченка : вид-во, присвяч. науці і письменству укр.-рус. народу. - Львів : Накладом Т-ва імені Шевченка.; Т. 72, кн. 4 . - 1906. (s.5-8)

<sup>81</sup> М. Грушевсьй : "Чи маєм" автентичні грамоти кн. Льва?" (Критично-історична розвідка ) in: ZAPISKI H A Y K O B O Г О Т О В А Р И С Т В Ч Е Н К А ; виходять у Львові що два місяці під редакцией МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО; XI Jahrgang. 1902, I B. B. XLY. /S.1-22/

<sup>82</sup> A.Janeczek: "Ząb kniazia Lwa.W kwestii wiarygoności przemyskiego przywileju wójtowskiego" „in "Miasto i wieś w Średniowiecznej Europie".,Wrocław-Praga.,print Wrocław 2002.,p.177-189

<sup>83</sup> Ярослав Книш:" Sigillum Leonis" (in:...?); Ярослав Книш : " Монети Галицько-Волинської держави " (in: УДК 929.652(477) "130/134)

<sup>84</sup> The symbol of the rulers of the tribes (probably the Vikings called the Varangians and the Rurikivich dynasty derived from them) appeared in what is now Ukraine and was adopted by the Rus, later becoming the coat of arms of the Rus

princes. The coat of arms of Ukraine (ukr. Герб України) is one of the state symbols of Ukraine. The coat of arms is a golden trident (uk. тризуб - [tryzúb]) on a blue shield. It was officially adopted in 1918.

<sup>85</sup> cf.also: S.Bielecki,A.Musin: "Rurykovich signs from Central and Eastern Europe ; a history of research", in : "Swinks of Slavic sfragistics - seals of the "Drohiczyn type" from Czermno on the Eastern European comparative background" (eds. A.Musin and M.Woloszyn), ed. Krakow-Leipzig-Saint Petersburg-Warszawa 2019r.,pp.461-601

<sup>86</sup> cf. also A.Janeczek: "The Tooth of the Lion Prince. On the credibility of the Przemyśl aldermanic privilege"., pp.177-191 in: CIVITAS & VILLA - MIASTO I WIEŚ W ŚREDNIOWIECZNEJ EUROPIE ŚRODKOWEJ; published in WROCŁAW-PRAHA 2002, (INSTYTUT ARCHEOLOGII I ETNOLOGII POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK ARCHEOLOGICKY USTAV AKADEMIE VED ČESKE REPUBLIKY)

<sup>87</sup> / "знак Рюриковичів" у вигляді двозуба прямокутних обрисів, лівий зуб якого завершується хрестом, а правий відігнутий праворуч, натомість середній досить малий. " / Ярослав Книш: "Sigillum Leonis".,p.257/.

<sup>88</sup> see footnote 37

<sup>89</sup> This corresponds to the date of the incorporation of Lviv by Casimir the Great and the granting of Magdeburg Law in 1356. Thus, it was not until after this date that the elected City Council and the Bench Council were allowed to have their own seals.

<sup>90</sup> And, as practice has shown, "traditionally, the coats of arms of cities have (for the most part) symbols associated with the peculiarities of their geographical and political location". The human figure, and even more so its "symbolic" representation in the form of an "animal" -if present at all- belongs to the exceptional (cf. Fig.4)

<sup>91</sup> Martin Gruneweg (Otec Wienchieslav): cleric of Marina Mniszek: "Zapiski o torgowej pojezdkie v Moskwu w 1584-1585r".,Moskwa 2013r.,(opisaniye Lwowa p.118-150); Ярослав Ісаєвич:"Альтана посеред раю": Львів у 1582-1602 ррр" [<https://map.lviv.ua/statti/isaevych2.html> ]

<sup>92</sup> in fact, it already functions in public transmission both as the "ancestral coat of arms of the Romanovichs" also as the coat of arms of the Rus (Russian) kingdom and of the Halicko-Volyn principality (according to the individual discretion of the author of the interpretation of these references ).

<sup>93</sup> Sphragistics (from the Greek sphragís - "seal"), also called sigillography (from the Latin sigillum - seal) - one of the auxiliary sciences of history, dealing with the study of seals as historical sources, as well as their history, formation, etc. The term "sphragistics" first appeared in the 18th century. It was also at that time that efforts began to separate sphragistics as a separate historical science. Sphragistics analyses seals, treating them as special historical sources.

<sup>94</sup> Алексей Филиппов,: " Герб Львова родився в Баварії"., <http://reflexion2005.narod.ru/lemburg.htm>

<sup>95</sup> Андрей Ганжа:" Борьба "Льва" и "Скалы". Об истоках украинского государственного флага. 2".( Часть II. Шведский след) : <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2968850.html>.

<sup>96</sup> J.Gaj: "The pre-history of the creation of Lviv" in "Rocznik Kresowy" nr.1.,2015r.,p.79-99

<sup>97</sup> Болсуновский К." Дрогичинския пломбы". Киев 1894, с. 64, табл. XXI.

<sup>98</sup> undated Heinrichs des Löwen brakteat according to a photograph from the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

<sup>99</sup> as Filipov rightly notes:" In 17 letters from the years 1360-1403 , the contents of which have survived to our times and have been published in the collection "Privileges of the City of Lwów ( XIV-XVIII century ) ", the name of the city is given as " Lemburg " . This is the name of the city that appears in the circular description on the seal of the city council of 1359 -

" S. (sigillum) CIVITATIS LEMBURGENSIS " ("seal of the city of Lemberg" ). "

<sup>100</sup> 15. Оскар Ієгер - "Всемирная исторія въ четырехъ томахъ. Средніе века" - СПб, издание А. Ф. Маркса, 1904; СПб, "Специальная литература", 1997, стр. 318.

<sup>101</sup> [City seal of 1231 with lion statue\\_\(Stadtarchiv\\_Braunschweig\)](#)

<sup>102</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich\\_der\\_L%C3%B6we](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_der_L%C3%B6we)

<sup>103</sup> holding the dignity of Duke of Saxony as Henry III from 142 to 1180 and Duke of Bavaria as Henry XII from 1156 to 1180.

<sup>104</sup> [ ] The Brunswick Lion motif was used repeatedly in iconography both in the Middle Ages (town seals, a world map from Ebstorf from around 1234, Hermann Bote's 'Chronicle of Saxony' (Sachsenchronik) from 1492) and later.

[[https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lew\\_brunszwicki](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lew_brunszwicki) ]

<sup>105</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich\\_II.\\_\(Mecklenburg\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_II._(Mecklenburg))

<sup>106</sup> [https://www.heraldik-wiki.de/wiki/Datei:Schwerin\\_Siegel\\_1298.jpg](https://www.heraldik-wiki.de/wiki/Datei:Schwerin_Siegel_1298.jpg)

<sup>107</sup> The difference is that the lion on the Szwerin coat of arms is lying down and the town of Szwerin itself is situated in the Mecklenburg Lake District, from which one would hardly expect German settlers to come.

<sup>108</sup> <https://sklep.pgnum.pl/pl/niemcy-do-1871/21614-braunschweig-lueneburg-brakteat-bez-daty-henryk-lew-heinrich-der-loewe-1142-1195.html>

<sup>109</sup> L. Wojtowycz : "Lev Danilovich -książe halicko-wołyński", wyd.Avalon,Kraków 2021r.

<sup>110</sup> op.cit: Леонтій ВОЙТОВИЧ : "КАЗИМИРІВСЬКА ЛЕГЕНДА: ПОДОЛАННЯ СТЕРЕОТИПІВ"., УДК 94 (438) , p.102 : "Німецький патриціат у містах був ще від часів князя Данила Романовича. У сім'ях Лева Даниловича та Юрія Львовича не відзначено жодного протистояння з католиками. Донька першого стала черницею в монастирі кларисок."

<sup>111</sup> Ingegerda of Sweden (b. 1001, d. 1050 or 1051) - daughter of King Olaf of Sweden and Astrida, wife of Yaroslav the Wise. In the Orthodox Church she is venerated as Saint Anna of Novgorod. :

[https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingegerda\\_szwedzka](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingegerda_szwedzka)

<sup>112</sup> Birger Magnusson , known as Birger jarl (born c. 1210, died 21 October 1266) - Swedish magnate, jarl from 1248, regent of his minor son King Valdemar from 1250, probably founder of Stockholm. Considered the most prominent statesman of medieval Sweden, the founder of the consolidated kingdom of Sweden[1].(...) As the most significant figure of Swedish statehood in the Middle Ages, he was referred to by the 19th-century Swedish state tradition.

[https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birger\\_jarl](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birger_jarl) ]

<sup>113</sup> <https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%83%D0%BD%D0%B3%D0%B8>

<sup>114</sup> [https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Bielbo\\_Dynasty\\_escutcheon\\_2009.jpg](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Bielbo_Dynasty_escutcheon_2009.jpg)

<sup>115</sup> <https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%93%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%81%D0%B1%D1%83%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%B8>

<sup>116</sup> Eric XII Magnusson ( 1339 - 1359 ) - King of Sweden from 1356 to 1359. He came from the Folkung dynasty .

<sup>117</sup> [https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%95%D1%80%D1%96%D0%BA\\_XII\\_%D0%9C%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%BD%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%BD](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%95%D1%80%D1%96%D0%BA_XII_%D0%9C%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%BD%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%BD)

<sup>118</sup> It is also obvious that the "objective" value not only of these but also of the veracity of the image constituting the alleged sign of the Halicko-Volhynian principality is clearly contradicted by the form of the tail, which on the seal of Yuri Lvovich is folded under the hind leg of this heraldic animal (Fig. 21.b-d)(Fig.14)

<sup>119</sup> Lion of Judah ("Thesouro de Nobreza", 1675) - <https://pl.wikikinhte.com/344810-lion-of-judah-IQLTSM>

<sup>120</sup> A. S. L a p p o-D a n i e l e w s k i j , Pieczati poslednich galiczsko-wladimirskich kniaziej i ich sovtnikov, [in] Boleslav Yuri II kniaz' vsieją Malyja Rus. Sborník matieriatov i issliedowanij, St. Petersburg 1907, p. 242 249; B. B a r w i n s k i , Seals of the Halicko-Vladimir princes from the first half of the 10th IV century, "Numismatic-Archaeological News" vol. I, 1909, z. 6, pp. 103-104; z. 7 s. 127-129.

<sup>121</sup> It would seem that in a situation where not only Ukrainian historians but also the state authorities have officially acknowledged the existence of the Romanovich family sign, it is impossible to deny the existence of an obvious temporal correlation between the "Galician lion" and the appearance of the lion's silhouette on the city seals of Lviv allegedly being a symbolic representation of Leo Danilovich. This is because it is impossible to assume that both "lions" appeared completely independently of each other (in other words: it is impossible that the son of Daniel Halytsky did not know his family sign established after all by his father !)

<sup>122</sup> the attribution of THESE seals to his (of the two) presumed or real owner seems, after all, still to be controversial, which in the elec. leads to the information given (depending on the chosen entry) that these seals are the seals of George I or (at the writer's discretion? ) George II.(!) : [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerzy\\_Lwowic](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerzy_Lwowic) and [https://www.wikizero.com/pl/Ksi%C4%99stwo\\_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie](https://www.wikizero.com/pl/Ksi%C4%99stwo_halicko-wo%C5%82y%C5%84skie)

<sup>123</sup> just as in the case of the compilations (Fig.12 and Fig. 15a-b) created ad hoc - according to the intention of the author - and intended primarily to promote the greatness and significance of the "Duchy of Halych-Volhynia" in the history of Ukraine in the public consciousness, in this case, too, using alleged images of the two rulers, they were linked to the alleged coat of arms of Galicia (Galician Ruthenia?), adding at the top of it the equally alleged (another) coat of arms of the Romanovichs, which is in fact a paraphrase of the Orthodox cross. [ King Danilo and Prince Leo (artist J. Orenstein, 1902); Source: <http://artkolo.org>

<sup>124</sup> published seal engraving by Oleg Odnorozhenko

<sup>125</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legion\\_Ukrai%C5%84skich\\_Strzelc%C3%B3w\\_Siczowych](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legion_Ukrai%C5%84skich_Strzelc%C3%B3w_Siczowych)

<sup>126</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/14\\_Dywizja\\_Grenadier%C3%B3w\\_SS\\_\(1\\_ukrai%C5%84ska\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/14_Dywizja_Grenadier%C3%B3w_SS_(1_ukrai%C5%84ska))

<sup>127</sup> ОПИСИ Герба та Великого Герба м.Львова і хоругви ;

<sup>128</sup> for: <https://www.mein-goettingen.de/tipps/goettinger-wappen-loewe/>

<sup>129</sup> here it is appropriate to mention especially (1) Гречило А. Становлення символів Руського королівства (друга половина XIII - початок XIV ст.): версії, міфи й традиція // Доба короля Данила в науці, мистецтві, літературі. - Львів, 2008. - С. 260-276. ,i (2): Оdnороженко О. ." НАУКА ПРО ПЕЧАТКИ" ., <HTTPS://SIGILLUM.COM.UA/SFRAGISTYKA/MAJSTERNYA-3/>

<sup>130</sup> which also refers to the image of the municipal seal of 1359 as allegedly (?) being only a copy of an already existing such or similar seal from the time of the existence of the Duchy of Halicko-Wlodimierski, or directly from the period of the rule of Lev Danielewicz (1270-1301), while categorically rejecting the version of the municipal coat of arms with the figure of a lion in a standing position.

<sup>131</sup> Codex\_diplomaticus\_Prussicus\_Bd\_2.,Kónigsberg 1842.

<sup>132</sup> (assuming, moreover, that the first one (dated 1359) is not a forgery, as described by K. Sochaniewicz in "Coat of arms of the city of Lwów", Lwów 1933, p.18 and p.24.

## PART II

<sup>133</sup> There is no doubt - as Saraniewicz described it in the only (!) I so far - synthetic study in the Polish language:" that the coat of arms of the city of Lwów originated and developed on the principles of Western heraldry. In the early Middle Ages, the principle was established in the West that the emblems of cities which - according to some - were not coats of arms in the strict sense of the word, as we see them on seals, usually depicted architecture, most often a fortified gate in which or over which an individual emblem was placed (...). In other words, a city's coat of arms was a pictorial representation, a hieroglyph of sorts, or rather an ideogram or symbol, which could often replace the written or spoken name of the city in graphic or pictorial form. "(K.Sochaniewicz: "The coat of arms of the city of Lwow", Lwow 1933, p.7)

<sup>134</sup> <https://photo-lviv.in.ua/lysa-hora-mistse-nechysti-ta-lehend/>

<sup>135</sup> <https://www.livelib.ru/book/1000519595-legendi-lvova-kniga-persha-yurij-vinnichuk>

<sup>136</sup> Як пише у щоденнику М. Грюнеберг, "повсюдно на Русі" було відомо, що князь-засновник міста прийняв ім'я Лев на знак убивства лева, який мав лігво на горі "досі званою Левовою горою". Князь Лев також врятував народ від жахливого змія, а на місці перемоги над ним наказав побудувати церкву Юрія-змієборця. (after: Ярослав Ісаєвич: "Альтана посеред раю": Львів у 1582-1602 pp . [ <https://map.lviv.ua/statti/isaevych2.html> ]

<sup>137</sup> Once upon a time, on the site of the future Lviv, there were numerous small villages in the high mountains. The nearby mountains were covered with dense forests, where peasants could hastily hide from attacking enemies. The dense forests around had always helped the peasants - here they could hunt, walk on wonderfully warm days, hide from periodic invasions... So no one had any idea that there was anything to fear in the forest. But one day their luck deserted them - people started disappearing. It turned out that they were being kidnapped by the king of animals, the lion. He catches those who dare to walk alone in the forest, grabs them in his mighty paws and eats them in his cave on one of the mountains. Panic gripped all the villages in the area. But one day a brave knight appeared at the inn and promised to kill the predator. He asked them to make such a sword for him that no force could break or bend it. The village blacksmiths worked non-stop day and night, but in vain. It seemed that bad luck was inevitable. A traveller who got lost on the road and, hungry, went to get food at an inn near the smithy found out about the problem. He said he knew how to defeat the beast. Let all the young girls prick their little fingers with needles and drop two or three drops of blood into one vessel so that the knight could dip all his armour and sword in that blood. As he said so they did. And the fangs and claws of the lion could no longer do anything to the knight in the enchanted armour. Then the knight went to the lion's cave, cut off the head of the wild and bloodthirsty lion with his magic sword and showed it to the people , saying: "You are free!" Since then, the mountain on which the story took place has been called Lion Mountain, and the town that grew up under the mountain has been called Lemberg, or Lvov.

<sup>138</sup> Lemberg = "Lem-Berg" : Lion Mountain. [cf. also "Lemberg" in : J.G.T. Grasse, F. Benerict, H. Plechl:" Obis latinum - Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzelt" .,Baunschweig.,1972].

## PART III

<sup>139</sup> op cited after: Ипатиевская Летопись ,Полное собрание русских летописей , vol. 2, С.-Петербург 1908.,p.842-843.

<sup>140</sup> "The earliest information about the settlement of Germans in Halich Ruthenia dates back to the times of Prince Danilo, recorded in the Hipparcos latopis under the year 1259 . An even more explicit reference to Germans can be found there under the year 1287, in which the name miestica [msticzi? ] appears for the inhabitants of the towns in place of the previously widespread graždani ...". (op. cit.: Stefan Sochaniewicz: " Wójtowstwa i sołtystwa pod względem prawnym i ekonomicznym w ziemi lwowskiej", STUDYA NAD HISTORIĄ PRAWA POLSKIEGO wydawana pod redakcją Oswald Balzera Tom VII., Lwów 1921.,p.52.

<sup>141</sup> Although most historians are inclined to assume that the city was founded in the middle of the 13th century (between 1245 and 1254), there is no shortage of claims that it existed even before 1241 when:" the very "founding of Lwów" in the middle of the 13th century by Daniel Romanowicz or Lev Danilovich himself was in fact the rebuilding of the city after the Batu-Khan invasion combined with giving it a new, symbolic name" (after: Ł. Walczy, On the origins of Lviv, [in:] Lviv. City, Society, Culture, vol. IV: Studies in the History of Lviv, ed. by K. Karolczak, Krakow 2002, pp. 31-37). In turn, according to Hrushevskiy: "It is likely that Danylo built a garden here, naming it Lviv in honour of his son Lev not on the occasion of his birth , because Danylo had not yet ruled Galicia, but perhaps on the occasion of his sub-statehood, which may have taken place in the 1330s. Situated in the immediate vicinity of Zwenigorod, it quickly assumed its importance as an important defensive and commercial point on the great road to the west." (op.cit. Hrushevskiy: ІСТОРИЯ УКРАЇНИ-РУСИ До року 1340...,vol. III., У ЛЬВОВІ 1900 р., first edition .,op.cit.p86).

<sup>142</sup> Гупало Віра:" ЗВЕНИГОРОД І ЗВЕНИГОРОДСЬКА ЗЕМЛЯ У ХІ-ХІІІ СТОЛІТТЯХ (СОЦІОІСТОРИЧНА РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЯ) ., Львів 2014. ] ; <https://galnet.fm/profilna-komisiya-lvivskoyi-oblrady-pidtrymala-stvorennya-zapovidnyka-drevnij-zvenygorod/>

<sup>143</sup> The destruction and devastation wrought upon Ruthenia, Poland and Hungary by the great Mongol invasion of 1241 provided the impetus for the founding of Lwów. Lwów was founded around 1250 by the Ruthenian Prince Lew with the help of German settlers. " (op. cit. A. MEDYŃSKI: "LWÓW- ILUSTROWANY PRZEWODNIK DLA ZWIEDZAJĄCYCH MIASTO".,II w., Lwów 1937r.,p.37.); "Lwów founded in the middle of the 13th century by Lew, prince of the Przemyśl district, son of Daniel...." (op. cit.: J.Białynia-Cholodecki: "Lwów pastwą pożogi w r.1527 " (wspomnienie w czterechsetną rocznicę katastrofy) .,Lwów 1927r.,p.3)

<sup>144</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%A9la\\_IV\\_of\\_Hungary](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%A9la_IV_of_Hungary)

<sup>145</sup> see: Woytowycz L. : "Lev Danilovich - Prince of Halych-Volhynia (ca.1225-1301)",published by Avalon-Krakow 2021r.p.188

<sup>146</sup> Микита Ганич:" Берегово - давнє місто із слов'янським корінням та угорською душею"[за:

<http://www.mukachevo.net/ua/news/view/313091> ]

<sup>147</sup> cf. also Олексійович М.І.:" СФРАГІСТИКА ТА ГЕРАЛЬДИКА У НАУКОВІЙ СПАДЩИНІ ПРОФЕСОРА ЯКОВА ІСАКОВИЧА ШТЕРНБЕРГА", in: Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету, серія "Історія", вип. 1 (42), 2020r.,p.272-273 ,fig.16-18.



<sup>148</sup> After the death of King Bela I of Hungary, his estates were divided between his three sons: Géza , László and Lampert. The region of the later Beregszász passed into the hands of Duke Lampert, who - near the warm salt springs - built his manor house (or a small castle), next to which the first settlement was probably established soon (in 1063?), taking over the name and the coat of arms from the duke's estate: Lamperthaza ( house of Lampert). Lamperthaza, together with other settlements in Hungarian Transcarpathia, was completely destroyed by the Mongol invasion of Ruthenia and Hungary in 1241. As part of an extensive settlement campaign by Bele IV, which was also completely depopulated by the Mongol invasion, Lamberthaza was replaced in 1247 by a town founded under the Magdeburg (?) law by German settlers coming from Saxony and called Lampertsass (Luprechaza), and from 1248 - according to a document preserved in the archives of Bishop Jaeger - renamed : Beregsass ( Beregzaza ), which was probably related to its new function as (from 1271r) the capital of the county (komitat) of Bereg . In 1342 it was granted the rights of a free royal town and in 1504 the Hungarian-language name Beregszász appeared. W 1945 n the treaty concluded on 29.VI. 1945 between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, Transcarpathia (and with it "Berehovo", which was then within the borders of the Czech Republic) was annexed to the Soviet Union. Since 1991 within the borders of the Ukrainian Republic. During the 2010 municipal elections, a parallel referendum was held (on the initiative of the then mayor Istvan Gaidos) on the restoration of the town's historical name: Beregsass, in which 51% of the population participated, 52% of whom supported the return of the historical name. <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/B/Beregsz%C3%A1sz.html> ; <https://archaeology.com.ua/?p=1745> ; <https://pershij.com.ua/termalni-dzherela-proslavili-berego/>

<sup>149</sup> Валерій Разгулов:" Старовині печатки Берэгасу" in: Портал Археології Закарпаття : <https://archaeology.com.ua/?p=1745>

<sup>150</sup> György Csátáry:" Beregszász történelmi címeréről és zászlajáról" for:<https://karpataljalap.net/2008/05/02/beregszasz-tortenelmi-cimererol-es-zaszlajarol>

<sup>151</sup> see footnote 143

<sup>152</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lw%C3%B3wek\\_%C5%9A%C4%85ski](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lw%C3%B3wek_%C5%9A%C4%85ski) ;

<sup>153</sup> video part I

<sup>154</sup> two possibilities arise in this regard: (a) the settlers came to the already existing settlement at the invitation(?) of Lev Danilovich who settled in Lviv in 1270 and the mayor Berthold would have been a newcomer from this Silesian "Lemburg" who would have managed the newly established "German colony" which would at the same time mean that before that there were no German settlers in Lviv at all or (b): since the name of the city mentioned in the history of the Orthodox Church as "Lemburg" is known (after: U. Lewald) is known only from 1317, this information is "second-hand" and means only that in the 13th century there were already German settlers at the site of Lviv's foundation, in addition to the native population who managed to survive the invasion of 1241 (also?). The earliest date of their settlement would then have been after the Mongol invasion, i.e. in 1243 or later at the earliest..., which in turn coincides with the arrival of German settlers from Saxony in the Bergen mining area. Irrespective of the above, both variants mentioned above exclude the possibility of the image of a lion perched on a rock and depicted (?) on the reverse of Yuri Lvovich's seal before that date and, due to the fact that the "Saxon" coat of arms was copied on the seal, also exclude the hypothesis of the existence of an "alleged Romanovich family coat of arms" which would have appeared after that date(!).

<sup>155</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henryk\\_I\\_Brodaty](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henryk_I_Brodaty)

<sup>156</sup> <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Z%C5%82otoryja>

<sup>157</sup> Lewald. U.: "Geschichte der Stadt Lowenberg", Buckeburg., 1959.

<sup>158</sup> " Die Tatsache, da.13 die deutschen Dorfsiedlungen nicht abseits von den wenigen Slavischen liegen, sondern unmittelbar an diese an schlie.Ben, zeigt, da.13 die Inbesitznahme des Landes durch die Deutschen völlig friedlich vor sich gegangen ist. Die Neuankömmlinge beengten ja nicht den Nahrungsraum der Slavischen Bauern, denn Land gab es damals im Überflu.13 Man darf sogar vermuten, da.13 die Polen die deutschen Siedler gar nicht ungern kommen sahen, wurden doch auch sie dadurch sehr bald der Vorteile des deutschen Rechtes teilhaftig. Diese bestanden nicht nur in der Abschaffung einiger drückender landesherrlicher Abgaben und Dienste." [op cit.jw.p .585].

<sup>159</sup> on this issue cf. inter alia: Paul Kleber : "Löwenberg unter den Piasten".,I. Teil.,Von. Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Realgymnasiums zu Löwenberg i. Schi.,1914r./.,p.24 : "Bedeutsam aber ist, dass die Urkunde von 1407 ausdrücklich das Jahr 1209 als dasjenige bezeichnet, in welchem die Stadt Löwenberg zu deutschem Rechte ausgesetzt und mit allerlei Gnadenerweisungen von Heinrich I. bedacht worden ist. Es liegt nun nicht der geringste Grund vor, diese Angabe in Zweifel zu ziehen, da sie auch mit dem Verlaufe der geschichtlichen Ereignisse, den wir oben besonders nach Schultes Ausführungen dargestellt haben, durchaus übereinstimmt. Löwenberg ist demnach im Jjalire 1209 von Heinrich I. zu deutschem Rechte ausgesetzt worden und somit die älteste deutsche Stadt Schlesiens."

<sup>160</sup> Paul Kleberg ("Löwenberg unter den Piasten"., Teil.I ) is inclined to assume that the name of the town - like many others established in Silesia in this period - was "imported" directly from the west from the place from which these settlers would have come here. He mentions, for example, Lämberg bei Gabel in Bohemia as one such possible place: "..... sicherlich auch der Name Löwenberg von Westen her eingeführt worden ist. Vielleicht ist er mit dem Namen Lämberg bei Gabel in Böhmen, das ursprünglich Löwenberg liess und einen aufrecht stehenden Löwen in seinem Wappen führte, in Verbindung zu bringen. Und der Löwe ist ja auch das redende Wappensymbol der Stadt Löwenberg." (-op.cit.p.25). A different view is formulated by Sutorius. He believes - citing Svevus' view expressed earlier - that the name of a city is directly related to the nature of its original purpose. : " Er ist der Meinung, dass die Bergleute nach ihrer Gewohnheit einem hiesigen Berge, welchen sie reichhaltig an edlem Erzt gefunden,den Namen,der Löwen= Lowenberg beigelegt, und dadurch, dass sie sich um diesen Berg Wohnungen aufgerichtet hatten, die ersten Erburger der Stadt geworden waren." ( op.cit: Benjamin,Gotlieb Sutorius: "Die Geschichte von Lowenberg....", .p.8)

<sup>161</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lw%C3%B3wek\\_%C5%9A%C4%85ski#cite\\_note-:15-34](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lw%C3%B3wek_%C5%9A%C4%85ski#cite_note-:15-34)

<sup>162</sup> cf. jw.p.584

<sup>163</sup> S.Sturm: "Geschichte der Stadt Goldberg in Schlesien",Goldberg 1888.

<sup>164</sup> J.S.Luge: "Chronik der Stadt Greiffenberg",Greiffenberg 1861,

<sup>165</sup> flug: "Chronik der Stadt Waldenburg".,Waldenburg 1908...,

<sup>166</sup> J .Ennen (ed):" Regesten zur Geschichte der Stadt Lowenberg (Schl.) ", ( Aus dem Nachlass des Prof. Dr. Hermann Wesemann)., Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Reformrealgymnasiums zu Löwenberg i.. Sch.,Lowenberg 1913,

<sup>167</sup> :including especially (1) P. Kleber : "Löwenberg unter den Piasten"., I.Teil., Löwenberg i. Schi.,1914.,(2) B.G. Steige : "Bolkenchänsche Denkwürdikeiten aus Handschriften, Urkunden und Buschern".,ed.Hirschberg 1795.,(3) B.G. Sutorius : "Die Geschichte von Löwenberg aus Urkunden und Handschriften gesammelt. I Theil (1784) und II Theil (1787),ed.Bunzlau - Jauer., and: (4) A.Gross (opr.) : "Heimat-Buch des Kreises Lowenberg in Schlesien"., Lowenberg

i.Schi.,2nd ed.1925,

<sup>168</sup> Ordinance of King Frederick II the Great of Prussia on the amount of fees for clerical and ecclesiastical activities entitled: "Resumed general taxae-stolae compilation, For the self-governing duchy of Silesia, According to which both the Ashpurian Confession and Catholic Farars, Preachers and Curates should behave." Sub Dato of Berlin, d. 8. Augusti 1750 , p.3 On a map of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poloniae Regnum ut et Magni Ducat. Lithuaniae Accuratis s. Delin. opera et studio. M. Seutteri ) the capital of the Ruthenian Voivodship bears the bilingual name of:" Lemberg or Luwow" .

<sup>169</sup> see Jarosław Szymański ORCID: 0000-0002-5434-9385 University of Wrocław <https://doi.org/10.19195/1733-5779.35.21> "The oldest law of gold mining in Silesia"

<sup>170</sup> The "Via Regia" (literally "Royal Road") led from west to east: from Santiago de Compostela, via Frankfurt am Main, Erfurt, Leipzig, Görlitz, Breslau and Cracow, among others, to Kiev. Along the route, towns, monasteries and churches were founded and trade centres were concentrated. The period of its greatest development was between the 13th and 19th centuries. The royal road was not only used by pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, craftsmen and students, but also transported numerous animal species. The transport of animals, plants and microorganisms took place in two directions: from west to east and from east to west. Within the boundaries of the post-Commonwealth Poland it led through: Zgorzelec, Lubań, Lwówek Śląski (Löwenberg) , Złotoryje, Legince, Śróde Śląska, Wrocław, Oława, Brzeg, Opole, Toszek, Tarnowskie Góry, Bytom, Piekary Śl. Czeladz (or) Będzin, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Sosnowiec, Sławków, Olkusz, Ojców, Kraków, Tarnów, Dębice, Rzeszów, Przeworsk, Jarosław, Przemyśl, Sandomierz to Lublin, to continue towards Kiev originally via Włodzimierz Woł., Dzwinoogród (after 1250? Lvov),Łuck, Równe, Żytomierz and Radomyśl. [ [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Via\\_Regia](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Via_Regia)

<sup>171</sup> "Wie bereits bei dem Geschichtlichen von Löwenberg erwähnt ist, wurde im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert bei Löwenberg, Bunzlau, Goldberg, Wahlstatt und Striegau ein seinausgedehnter Bergbau auf goldhaltigen Sand (ähnlich wie jetzt in Californien und Australien) betrieben. Von dem Umfange desselben in hiesiger Gegend liefert das grosse" von den alten Goldgruben wie ein Sieb durchsetzte Zechegebiet zwischen Zobten, Höfel, Lauterseifen, Deutmannsdorf, Ludwigsdorf und Plagwitz, wie die Zechegebiete von Hohlstein, Seitendorf und Bunzlau, einen Beweis. Hier wie in den anderen erwähnten Fundorten soll der Bergbau nach der unglücklichen Mongolenschlacht 1241, bei welcher viele mitkämpfende Bergleute den Tod gefunden haben sollen, sowie später wegen mangelnder Bewältigung der Grubenwässer nach und nach eingegangen sein, bei den Nachgrabungen in der Neuzeit überstiegen die Kosten den Gewinn, so dass diese wieder aufgegeben wurden." (op.cit . R. Sachsse : "Führer durch die Stadt Löwenberg i.Schl. und deren Umgegend".,Verfasst im Auftrage der R.-G.-V.-Ortsgruppe LÖWENBERG.,Löwenberg 1888.,p7-8.)

<sup>172</sup> " In 1329, the population of the "Lion's Castle" reached over 11,000, placing the town among the most populous urban centres in Silesia. As the surrounding gold deposits were depleted, trade, crafts (mainly weaving, cloth making) and building stone processing became the basis of the inhabitants' livelihood." [op cited from: <https://www.hitlwowekslaski.pl/historia/> ]

<sup>173</sup> approx. 700 km - which could amount to between 8 (by horse-drawn cart) and 12 days of travel (on foot)

<sup>174</sup> According to Z. Kaczmarczyk, "Red Ruthenia, although further to the east than Mazovia, had a greater number of Germans in the Middle Ages, sometimes living in dense clusters. It was, however, located along the important trade route

Silesia-Cracow-Lviv-Black Sea, hence there were more opportunities for Silesian or Cracovian Germans to settle in Ruthenia. The first to establish themselves here were the merchant colonies, which of course were few in number. We hear of such factories of German merchants as early as 1149 in Lutsk, and in 1175 in Kiev. In 1237, under Duke Danilah, a colony of Germans was established in Chelm and Halicz. "(op.cit.: ZDZISŁAW KACZMARCZYK: "KOLONIZACJA NIEMIECKA NA WSCHÓD ODRY", WYD. ZACHODNIEGO INSTITUTE (PRACE OF THE ZACHODNIE INSTITUTE No. 4), POZNAŃ, 1945, p.123)

<sup>175</sup> The name of the village Lowenberg (Lion Mountain) - which the German settlers undoubtedly brought with them from their homeland to the west - is given in the earliest documents as: Lewenberc or Lewenberga (1209/17, 1241, 1261), Leoberk (on the seal) or Leuberck (1228) or Lemberg (1317). ( after .U.Lewald..... p.584)

<sup>176</sup> An "X" marks the site of the future location of Lvov and the establishment of a sub-garden settlement by German settlers brought in by Danil Halitsky - as part of his plan to build a new 'chain' of strongholds to defend against Mongol invasions.

<sup>177</sup> (according to H. Saurma-Jeltsch (Wappenbuch der Schlesischen Städte und Städtel., Berlin 1870.p.185) - Meissen,; according to B.G.Satorius ("Die Geschichte von Löwenberg aus Urkunden und Handschriften",vol.1,; Bunzlau 1784 p.10) - Freiberg

<sup>178</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marchia\\_Mi%C5%9Bnie%C5%84ska](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marchia_Mi%C5%9Bnie%C5%84ska)

<sup>179</sup> and what seems to be the closest thing to a Polish name: "Lwia góra". Cf. also: "Lauenstein: Stadt, 16,6 km su'do'stlich von Dippoldiswalde. 1340 Lewinstein, 1372 Leuwenstein, 1388 Lauwenstein, 1389 Lawenstein, 1393 Lawenstein (vergl. u'ber die Entstehung des Names die Zeitschrift "Ueber Berg und Thal" 1880, No.7 und 10), verdankt ihre Entstehung der Burg Lauenstein, in deren Schutze der Anbau erfolgte. Lauenstein erhielt im Jahre 1374 Stadtgerechtigkeit." [op.cit. R.Stoche: "Beschreibende Darstellung der a'lteren Bau- und Kunstdenkma'ler des Ko'nigreiches Sachsen....", Zweites Helf: Amtshauptmannschaft Dippoldiswalde., Dresden., 1883 .,p.53 ]

<sup>180</sup> There is - so far - no complete monograph on the former town of Altenberg, which today is only one of the districts of Altenberg, with the name "Lauenstein", which was established in the 17th century (with the "v" changed to "u") and is also used today. (Practically everything concerning the period before 1289, when the castle had already become the property of the Margraves of Meissen, remains a matter of conjecture and unverifiable hypothesis, and the available information in the public domain concerning the dating of the castle's foundation and its first owners seems to contradict each other. From the information available, also thanks to the internet, it only appears that the settlement of Lauenstein is one of the oldest settlements founded in the Osterzgebirge (Eastern Ore Mountains), which did not receive its full municipal rights until the end of the 15th century (in 1494). In the course of history the spelling of the name of the castle and the town changed several times. However, according to the oldest publication on Lauenstein and the surrounding area by F. A. Brandner from 1841, the first known name of the castle since 933 was the Latinised name "Löwenstein (Leonstein), which can be translated as "Lion Rock" or "Lion Mountain": "castrum Levenstyn" (before 1289), "Lewenstein" (1320), "Leuwenstein" (1372), "Lauwensteyn" (1386), "Lawenstein" (1389), "Lauwinsteyn" (1412), "Lawenstein" (1485) and "Laustein" (1515). In the description of the coat of arms of Gunther von Bunau (1689) found in the church in Geising, the name of the town is double-lettered as : "Lauen Stein". The current spelling (Lauenstein) first appeared as early as 1410, although it was not officially accepted until 1800. The original appearance of the castle itself is described as: a simple

structure (comprising a triangular core without a donjon) with a gate tower (der dreieckige Kern der Burg ohne Bergfried mit Torturm) . However, as Lauenstein is described as a castle already in 1340, it can be assumed that this simple construction of a "knight's manor" had already developed into a typical medieval castle. [cf: (1)

[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lauenstein\\_\(Altenberg\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lauenstein_(Altenberg))., (2) <https://hov.isgv.de/Lauenstein>, (3) <https://www.schloss-lauenstein.de/start/> , (4)F.A. Brandner: "Lauenstein und seine Zugehörungen in geographischer, statistischer und geschichtlicher Beziehung, nebst Anhang, besondere Denkwürdigkeiten enthaltend".,published by Keller., Pirna,1841, (5) F.Boettcher: "Die Geschichte der Alten Bergstadt Lauenstein" .,teil.I.,1958 (typescript unpublished) (6) R. Stech: "Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen".,(part.II).,DRESDEN. Jn Commission bei C. C. Meinhold & Söhne. 1883., (7) F.A.Brandner:" Lauenstein,seine Vorzeit , fruheren Schicksale und jetzige Boschaffenheit".,Lauenstein 1845.(8) G.A.Poenicke: Album der Rittergüter und Schlösser im Königreiche\_Sachsen\_III Section.,no.167., Leipzig 1854-1861.

<sup>181</sup> " Aussen am Thurme bemerkt man auf der Westseite das in Stein gehauene Wappen mit den doppelgeschwänzten böhmischen Löwen und das einfache alte Stadtwappen mit dem Löwen, sowie auf der Südseite das von zwei Männern gehaltene Wappen des Fürstenthums Jauer mit dem schlesischen Adler.": op. cit. R. Sachsse : "Führer durch die Stadt Löwenberg i.Schl. und deren Umgegend".,Verfasst im Auftrage der R.-G.-V.-Ortsgruppe LÖWENBERG., Löwenberg 1888r.,p.6.

<sup>182</sup> It is also characteristic that the coat of arms of neighbouring Ba'renstein has (in its original form) a bear standing on top of a mountain, while the coat of arms of the "neue Geising" in turn, has a griffin perched on a rock in imitation of the Löwenberg coat of arms.

<sup>183</sup> photos of the coat of arms were taken especially for this publication by an employee of the UM. Lwówek Śląski: Mr Szymon Wrzesiński in November 2021

<sup>184</sup> "Svevvus sagt: dass das Lowenbergische Stadtwappen dem Kleinode und Insiegel der Stadt Freiberg in Meissen sehr gleich fer,und dass solches die Bergleute, die von Freiberg nach Löwenberg gekommen und es erbauet haben,mitgebracht hatten."[Svevvus says: that the coat of arms of the town of Lowenberg is very similar to the jewel and seal of the town of Freiberg in Meissen and that the miners who came from Freiberg to Lowenberg and built it brought it with them. Op cit : Benjamin,Gotlieb Sutorius: "Die Geschichte von Lowenberg ..." ,Erster Theil.,Bunslau 1784;p.10.]

<sup>185</sup> (...)Indessen beweiset es doch so viel, dass man die Abstammung des Yamens, welche Svevus von den Bergleuten herleitete und fur eine ausgemachte Wahrheit hielt, nicht allgemein geglaube habe. Er ist der Meinung, dass die Bergleute nach ihrer Gewohnheit einem hiesigen Berge, welchen się reichhaltig an edlem Erzt gefunden,den Namen,der Löwen= Lowenberg beigeleget, und dadurch, dass sie sich um biesen Berg Wohnungen aufgerichtet hatten, die ersten Erburger der Stadt geworden waren." It proves so much, however, that the origin of yam, which Svevus derived from the miners and which was considered an established truth, was not universally believed. He believes that the miners, in accordance with their custom, attributed to the local mountain the name Lowen = Lowenberg, which they recognised as being rich in precious ore, and as they arranged their dwellings around these mountains they also became its first citizens. Dieser Meinung pflichtek auch Henelius bei ,der solche mit vebus eignen Worte ausdrückt (8).Allein ich zweifle daran billig. vebusa [8/ Henelius Silesiograph., renovata Cap. VII. para. 76.p.238 ]. This opinion is also agreed with by Henelius, who expresses it in his own vebus words [8/Henelius Silesiograph., renovata Cap. VII. Paragraph 76.p.238 ]. Op cit :

Banjamin,Gotlieb Sutorius: "Die Geschichte von Lowenberg ..." ,Erster Theil.,Bunslau 1784 .,-s.8-10

<sup>186</sup> Герб Русского воеводства Речи Посполитой by Recueil d'armoiries polonaises [

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Recueil\\_d%27armoiries\\_polonaises\\_-\\_COA\\_of\\_Ruthenian\\_Voivodship.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Recueil_d%27armoiries_polonaises_-_COA_of_Ruthenian_Voivodship.jpg) ].

<sup>187</sup> The inscription above the coat of arms in Ukrainian (in Polish: "HERB, OUR MARK OF THE GALICAN RUSSIA: TO GOLDEN LION ON A BLUE BACKSCAPING ON A ROCK") seems to link it directly and symbolically to its place of original origin in the distant Ore Mountains: Lówen-stein(em).

<sup>188</sup> for: <http://madrosciwojtki.blogspot.com/2017/03/obwod-lwowski.htm>

<sup>189</sup> Today (together with the former towns of Ba'renstein and Geising) one of the districts of the town of Altenberg.

<sup>190</sup> From the hundreds if not thousands of publications of existing coats of arms available today, also thanks to the Internet, it seems that apart from the image of the eagle, the image of the lion - a species of wild cat not found in Europe - is the most frequently used in coats of arms of individuals, principalities, states and cities. However, there is no Lion among them associated with the element of a mountain= rock on which this animal would climb or be supported.

<sup>191</sup> this is also where only the MOUNTAIN becomes the identity element of the SIGN: for next to the Lion on the rock there is also the Griffin (Gesing) and the Bear (Bórenstein) associated with the symbol of the MOUNTAIN.

<sup>192</sup> see also fig.40c

<sup>193</sup> vide fig.52

<sup>194</sup> This local specificity of the "Lviv coat of arms" is paradoxically confirmed by Ukrainian historians themselves who, building their narrative on the alleged "discoveries" of a succession of heraldic signs of the "Kingdom of Rus", agree to recognise the existence of the symbol of the "lion perched on a rock" as far back as the reign of Prince Lev Danilovich in Galicia, despite the fact that in this matter there are NO RECENT written or graphic documents which could at least indirectly confirm these "theses": "The consolidation of the double-headed eagle - once a common heraldic sign for the whole of Galicia-Volyn Rus' - as a local territorial symbol of the Przemyśl land cannot be considered a rarity in history. Apparently, in a similar way, another once common symbol of the Russian kingdom is the lion climbing a rock, known since the reign of Lev Danilovich (1264 - c. 1301), in the 15th century. becomes the local coat of arms of the Lviv land ( Grechilo A. Territorial symbols of the Galician-Volyn state .... P. 256-259; Odnorozhenko O.A.Russian royal, state and princely seals ... S. 6-7). The old common Swedish coat of arms, the crowned lion, underwent a similar transformation in the 15th century. becoming the local historical mark of the Gotland region ("country of the Goths"), while the new all-Swedish coat of arms, the three crowns, in addition to its national significance, also served as the local coat of arms of Svealand ("country of the Swedes" - the central region of the Swedish kingdom). More information: Antonov V.A. Danish Heraldry from the XII-XVII Century M., 2008." [op.cit: A.B. Майоров. "Русь, Византия и Западная Европа: Из истории внешнеполитических и культурных связей XII-XIII вв.",p.153 in footnote no.4.: <http://a-nevsky.ru/library/rus-vizantiya-i-zapadnaya-evropa-iz-istorii-vneshnepoliticheskikh-i-kulturnih-svyazey-xii-xiii-vv153.html>

## PART IV

<sup>195</sup> first recorded in "Kronika Jana z Czarkowa" as "Lwow"(1370) while the earliest : " castrum Lywow vel Lamberg" in "Rocznik Małopolski"(1340),za: Monuments of the history of Poland. Edited by A. Bielowski. Lwów 1872, vol. 2.

<sup>196</sup> por also directly untranslatable: Ko'nigsberg = ( pl. )Königsberg; Marienburg = (pl.) Malborg(do1949?)= Malbork

<sup>197</sup> In the background of this emotionally charged "narrative" there is a clearly perceptible anti-Polish chauvinism, inexplicable in so far as it is not a Ukrainian but a Polish self-taught historian such as Zimorovich who seems to have created the tradition of the "Lion-founder" myth, while Dionizy Zubrzycki, a renowned scholar of Ukrainian history, in his "Chronicle of the City of Lviv" (Lvov, 1844) not only did not accept this view, but even claimed that the "Lion of Lwów" was derived directly from the ancient coats of arms of the Ruthenian dukes "with the only difference that the coat of arms of the Ruthenian dukes was a lion walking, while that of the Ruthenian voivodeship was a lion on a rock spinning ..."  
(op.cit.p7)

<sup>198</sup> " Топонім "Львів" - субстантивований присвійний відмінок на -ов- від руського (давньського) особового імені Левъ, як звався син галицько-волинського князя Данила Романовича, з 1253 року короля Русі. Протягом своєї історії Львів змінював свою назву на Lemberg, під час панування Габсбургів 1772-1914рр."(op.cit: Янко М. П. Топонімічний словник України. - К. : Знання, 1998 - С. 217)

<sup>199</sup> [ Карамзин Н. М. История государства Российского. - СПб., 1830. т. 1. С. 240-242. примечание № 398.

<sup>200</sup> The documents (grammars, latoprints, or any other artifacts (material objects discovered by archaeologists, etc.) from the time of the founding of Lviv and the rule of Lev Danilovich's principality, especially from the period 1270-1301. The publication I. М. Желєзняк, А. П. Корепанова, Л. Т. Масенко, О. С. Стрижак : "Етимологічний словник літописних географічних назв Південної Русі /; АН УРСР, Ін-т мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні. - Київ: Наук. думка, 1985. - 252, [2] с. in the entry on Lvov (pp.84-85), the author (ЛАРИСА ТЕРЕНТЬЕВНА МАСЕНКО) omits the problem of the origin of the first (from the Ipatiev latopis known to us) name of the then-current city regardless of whether it has a "connection" with the male name "Lev" or not. Also cf. vide:". Этимология : Происходит от укр. Львів из др.-русск. Львовъ или Львовъ, согласно одной из наиболее распространённых версий, город Львов был назван князем Даниилом Галицким в честь его сына Льва. [ <https://ru.wiktionary.org/wiki/%D0%9B%D1%8C%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B2> ]

<sup>201</sup> <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lw%C3%B3w>

<sup>202</sup> as stated on page 7 of his "Chronicle of the City of Lviv" - D.Zubrzycki : the inscription about the founding of Lviv by Lev Danilevich was only placed there when the tower was repaired in 1677.

<sup>203</sup> [https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Львів\\_\(назва\)#mw-head](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Львів_(назва)#mw-head)

<sup>204</sup> cf. М . Baliński: "Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeogaficznym i statystycznym opisana", W-wa., 1845r., t.2 p.550

<sup>205</sup> the first and so far only author among Ukrainian scholars who undertook the task of proving both the coincidence (?) of the Polish name of the city and (above all) the secondary nature of the German name as part of a nationwide campaign to "restore" both the city itself and the wider "Ukrainian land" to its Ukrainian identity (see footnote no. 199)

<sup>206</sup> " Ці останні вказують на збереження старого "неіканого" стану в наростках - ов, -ев, відповідно до старої форми Львова: Львов. Коли наступив перехід цієї форми в "ікане" Львів - точно не знаємо."[op.cit.Rudnicki p.41].

<sup>207</sup> Lwów : common in Belorussian(?) Львігород (phonetically: Ёlvihorod) < Льві + Городъ → Lwi (Lion) + town, city. Novgorod: Новгород (phonetic: Novhorod); etymology : russ. Новгород ( Novgorod) <. Russian. Новъ + Городъ → new + town, city, synonyms: (1.1) hist. Novgorod (until 1998)

<sup>208</sup> In all both online and printed sources, various names of Lviv are mentioned, both in the original Russian (vide Rudnicki) and in foreign names, especially Latin. In none of these, unfortunately, are the dates from which the names are

cited in the various earlier sources. As a result, referring to names created later than the date of the name given in the *latopis* (Volyn chronicle), in which the name of the town was mentioned FOR THE FIRST TIME, adds nothing to the origin of the original name of the settlement (or the whole town at that time?). For example, after : J. G. T. Graesse, F. Benedict:" *Orbis latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* ", (ed. Helmut Plechl)., Braunschweig 1972, vol.2.E-M. : Leobergensis -Leopolilis, Lemberga-Leopolis, Lembergensis -Leopolis, Leopoltanus -Leopolis and :Leopoliensis ditio,Lembergensis ditio, Leopolitana ditto: das Gebit um Lvov (Lwow, Lemburg)Teil der ukrainischen SSR and Lemburg: Lemberg bei Nova Cerkew. And for Lwow Slaski : "Leoberga -Leopolis"; Leoberga, Leomons , Leopolis, Leorinum, Leori for Lo'wenberg N-Schlesien.

<sup>209</sup> Yaroslav Rudnickij ("Назва "Львів" та її походження" in:" Наш Львів. Ювілейний збірник 1252-1952",ed. by Red Viburnum,N.York,1953r,pp.41-44.

<sup>210</sup> "Polnoye Sobraniye Ruskich' Latopisiej.".Vol. wtoroj.,III. Ipatievskaya Latopis'.,St. Petersburg,1843

<sup>211</sup> jw.p.191-195

<sup>212</sup> cf. also "Етимологічний словник української мови" : .,t. I, pp.570-571 (keyword: ГОрОД) and vol. III ,p.206 (keyword: лев )

<sup>213</sup> Daniel occupied a long strip of land, parallel to the east. There was no way that Russian settlers could have invaded this area and driven out the Mazurians, because Daniel himself had to bring in settlers, accepting Poles and even Germans from Silesia willingly; he did not have a Russian settler at his disposal. "op.cit: Feliks Koneczny: 'The History of Russia. Volume I to 1449, W-wa 1917, p.262/.

<sup>214</sup> see also: N. Karamzin : "History of Russia"., vol. IV in footnote no. 268 and no. 276

<sup>215</sup> Diploma Prussia III.,p.83,nr.LXI

<sup>216</sup> "HANSISCHES URKUNDENBUCH HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM VEREIN FÜR HANSISCHE GESCHICHTE"., BAND II., HALLE, VEULAG DER BUCIIHANDUTNG DES WAISENHAUSES.,1879

<sup>217</sup> see also C.E. Napiersky: "Index Corporis Historico-Diplomatici Livoniae, Esthoniae, Curoniae; oder Kurzer Auszung aus derjenigen Urkunden-Sammlung, welche fur die Geschichte und das alte Staatsrecht Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland's...".,Erster Theil (1198-1449).,Riga und Dorpat.,1833r.,p.87,No. 330 (Prince George's docket. of 1334 :Lemberg).

<sup>218</sup> section entitled "When and where was Lviv founded?" (in preparation )

<sup>219</sup> From the very structure of the German language in a one-word name, there is in fact a two-part meaning expressed in the symbolism of the coat of arms. The second part of the name "- berg" seems to indicate a direct link to nature, while "- burg" - on the contrary - emphasises its 'urbanness'. -on the contrary, emphasises its "urbanness". As the Slavic languages have a different grammatical structure, when investigating the origin of place names it is important to determine their earliest - traceable - moment of origin in order to assess whether the name is secondary to an earlier German name, or vice versa - the German name is a derivative of an earlier Slavic name (cf. B. Małachowska:" Pieczęcie miast księstw opolsko raciborskiego i cieszyńskiego do roku 1740"- praca doktorzeowa napisana r pod kierunkiem prof. US dr hab. Antoniego Barciaka Katowice 2013r.)

<sup>220</sup> " I left the kingdom of POLONIA and went to the kingdom of LEON which the Germans call LUMBREC in which there are five great cities" (op.cit: "BOOK OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE KINGDOMS, LANDS, AND LORDSHIPS THAT ARE IN THE WORLD"., LONDON : PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY 1912. (TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY



SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY) p.9. [ "Libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos y tierras y señoríos que son por el mundo, et de las señales et armas que han cada tierra y señorío por sy y de los reyes y señores que los of proueen"; c.1385].

<sup>221</sup> "Audiens rex Polonie eximius Kazimirus,quo dita vita decessisset,Russiam circa fastum pasche in parvo numero intrans,christianos et mercatores,auí se in castrum Lywow vel Lamberg receperant...". - op . cit.p 200 : "Lesser Poland Yearbook" in : "Monumenta Poloniae Historica (Monuments of Polish History).",t.III.,Lwow 1878.

<sup>222</sup> castle on a hill (castle hill)

<sup>223</sup> Kahlen Berg= Bald Mountain

<sup>224</sup> <https://photo-lviv.in.ua/lysa-hora-mistse-nechysti-ta-lehend/>;

[https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%93%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0\\_%D0%9B%D0%B5%D0%B2%D0%B0](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%93%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0_%D0%9B%D0%B5%D0%B2%D0%B0) ;

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170725211538/http://poshtivka.com/hora-knyazya-leva-lysa-hora/> ; <https://event-camp.org/articles/mystic-lviv/>; <https://lviv.com/urban/hory-lvova-kudy-pity-u-pokhid-ne-vyizhdzhaiuchy-z-mista/>

<sup>225</sup> <https://leopolis.name/uk/articles-2978-tayemnyczy-lysoyi-gory>

<sup>226</sup> Monumenta Poloniae Historica. T.III p.200.

<sup>227</sup> " In our opinion, anyone wishing to seriously discuss the origins of Lviv should consider the following issues: what are we to understand by the term "Lviv" - whether the settlements that once existed on the territory of the modern city, and which existed as early as the period of the Przeworsk culture (1st century BC - 4th century AD), or a trade and craft settlement of a later period, or a capital city of the period of the Halic-Volhynian principality; when did the name Lviv originate?A.D. - 4th century A.D.), or a trade and craft settlement of a later period, or a capital city from the period of the Halicko-Volyn principality; when did the name Lviv originate; whether the area around the present-day Market Square was settled during the period of the Ruthenian Principality or after Lviv was conquered by Poland. Then, surely, discussions about the earliest period of our city's history will be devoid of emotion and will take on a scientific character. " Op.cit. Aleksander SZYSZKA: "Dawny Lwów" ., Publishing House "Centrum Europy", Lviv, 18 Kościuszki St., (No. 12, February 1996): <https://lwow.home.pl/brama/lwow-dawny.html>

## Postscript

<sup>228</sup> at a meeting of the Provisional Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1917, its chairman Mykhailo Hrushevsky presented his own proposal for a grand coat of arms of Ukraine in which he envisaged the inclusion of both the so-called coat of arms of the Halytsko-Vlodzimierskii Kingdom and the coat of arms of Lviv .: "The coat of arms of Lviv (...) the lion of Lviv in its ancient form as we see it on the shield of the same Halytsko-Vlodzimierskii horseman...". [op cited by:Al.Bąkiem: <http://www.jakiznaktwoj.pl/Aktualnosci2020-2>

<sup>229</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herb\\_wojew%C3%B3dztwa\\_ruskiego](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herb_wojew%C3%B3dztwa_ruskiego) [ read from 07-03-2022 at 10.56 pm ]

<sup>230</sup> If one assumes that this could be the case, then the "Russian lion" on the coat of arms of the duchy would also have to be depicted as in the current version of its appearance (according to Oleg Odnorozhenko's engraving) on the coat of arms (?) of Yuri Lvovich, i.e. with its tail "tucked under its hind legs".

<sup>231</sup> According to Олег Одророженки this is the seal not of Lev Yurevich but of Lev I (Danilovich) -vide: Одророженко О:"

Руські королівські, господарські та князівські печатки XII - XVI ст. ", monumenta rutheniae heraldica volumen 11., ХАРКІВ 2009.

<sup>232</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Piecz%C4%99%C4%87\\_Jagie%C5%82%C5%82y.jpg](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Piecz%C4%99%C4%87_Jagie%C5%82%C5%82y.jpg)

<sup>233</sup> op.cit.K.Sochaniewicz: "Herba miasta Lwowa",Lwow 1933r.,p.15

## Appendix 1

<sup>234</sup> the "high castle" which was built on the site of a stone watchtower on the mountain "Budelnica" in 1356 and the "low castle" which was built as a royal residence and the seat of the Lviv voivode (in the north-western corner of the city walls....

<sup>235</sup> pp. place of residence of prince Yuri (?) until he took over the whole Halyt-Volyn principality after the death of Lev Danilovich (+1301) - prince of Halytsya and Mstislav Danilovich (+1305) - prince of Vladimir, when Yuri Lvovich moved the capital of the merged principalities from Lviv to Vladimir Volynsky....