



The Muslims in Medieval Lviv: linguistic, historical contexts

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Abstract

The existence of Muslim communities in the medieval cities of Europe is an actual issue. Information of some medieval narrative texts demonstrated the presence of Muslims as a separate urban stratum. A striking example is Ruthenian (old Ukrainian) Lviv, which in the fourteenth century became part of the Kingdom of Poland. King Casimir III of Poland, in confirmation of the Magdeburg right granted to the city in 1356, identified the “Sarracenorum” group of people as a separate category of citizens. The purpose of the article is to analyze medieval and early modern sources (historical records and literary works) about Muslim community in Lviv from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The research is based on the use of special linguistic, historical and other theoretical research methods. Using the comparative historical method, we compared mentions about Muslims in early modern historical works. The typological method of language research made it possible to trace the linguistic evolution of the word “Sarracenorum”, its transformation in the Ruthenian manner. The conclusions indicate that during the fourteenth to seventeenth century representatives of the Muslim community could well live in Lviv. Their number or ethnic origins are difficult to establish because of lack of sources. At the same time, early modern tradition (historical records and literary works) dating back to the sixteenth century does not mention them. Obviously, the area of Muslim settlement in the city and their activities are the subject of further discussion.

Keywords: Lviv, Muslim community, Medieval Europe, narrative sources, Early Modern literature.

Introduction

The existence of Muslim communities in the medieval and early modern cities of Central and Eastern Europe is an actual problem. Since the Middle Ages, the Christian community has been hostile to foreigners, especially those from the East (Constable, 2000, p. 635). Kyivan (Kievan) Rus’ was a product of the Byzantine diversity of Christian civilization, its people had certain specificity in relation to non-Christian. Founded in the thirteenth

century Lviv became a model of a multicultural city, which was originally planned as the prince's capital. It is obvious that it was inhabited by Ruthenians (old Ukrainians), Poles, Germans, Armenians (Parshyn, 2018, pp. 47-50). In the juridical acts we also find mentions about a separate community of Muslims. More information about them is almost not preserved in historical sources. At the same time, some fragments of ancient stories and legends about the beginnings of Lviv are available in the historical and literary works of the Early Modern period. These notes can be called narrative matrices.

The European medieval and early modern authors (for example, Matthew of Paris) were prejudiced against Muslims (Daniel, 2011, p. 128). This trend was also relevant for Lviv, because from the fourteenth century the city was under the Polish rule. Accordingly, all non-Catholics (including Ruthenians) were restricted. At the same time, the convenient location of the city made it a powerful trade and transit center, which was inhabited and visited by people from the East. So, the purpose of the article is to analyze medieval and early modern sources (historical records and literary works) about Muslim community of Lviv from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Methodology

In order to highlight the problem, we have used general scientific research methods, including analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction. Special attention is paid to particular literary research methods, including functional-historical, comparative-historical systemic methods. At the heart of the historical-functional method lays the perception of the work (medieval in our case) by readers. Using the comparative-historical method, we compared the features of the imagery of Muslims in early modern historical texts. At the same time, using the system-integral method, we analyzed some literary works (for example, "Leopolis Triplex" by B. Zimorovicz) related to Muslims in medieval Lviv and texts of Rus' and gathered them around the organizing center.

We also have used special linguistic research methods: typological and structural. The typological method of language research gave us a possibility to trace the linguistic evolution of the word "Sarracenorum", its transformation in the Rus' manner. In addition, on the basis of transformational analysis – an experimental method of determining syntactic and semantic similarities and differences between language objects, we investigated the etymological features of the words "саракынъ" ("sarakyn") and "бесуорманин" ("besormanin"). Meanwhile, considerable attention was paid to retrospective and chronological research methods, which are widely used in modern historical science. The article is built on a chronological basis, in particular from the first mentions of Muslims in Ruthenian historical sources.

The methodological bases of the article are narrative medieval sources of Kyivan Rus'. Anonymous author of the "Tale of Bygone Years" (in original "Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ") was the first who mentioned the ethnonym "Saracens" in Rus'. The main medieval source of the thirteenth century was "Chronica Romanoviciana" (Dąbrowski, 2017, pp. 1-641), in which described multicultural nature of Rus' cities. The juridical documents of the fourteenth – seventeenth centuries were important sources for researching information about the Muslims in medieval Lviv. Furthermore, Ioannes Alembek (†1636) (the author of "Topographia civitatis Leopolitanae") also described the population of early modern Lviv (Osipyanyan, 2010, pp. 193-195). The Polish poet and chronicler Józef-Bartholomew Zimorowicz (1597–1677) left a valuable narrative text ("Leopolis Triplex"), in which he wrote about different communities of Lviv in fourteenth – seventeenth centuries (Zimorowicz, 2002, p. 249).

Literature Review

The Ukrainian researchers of literature did not directly study the community of Muslims in Lviv, which shows the novelty of our work. Mostly, the analysis of the Muslims residence in Ruthenian lands was done by historians, who, however, covered this topic only in historical contexts (Berend, 2014, pp. 201-206). Dashkevych (2009) highlighted the peculiarities of the Muslim community in medieval Lviv. The researcher noted that the only city in Rus' where the "Saracens" (Muslims by religion) formed their own community was Lviv (Dashkevych, 2009, pp. 16-35.). Osipyanyan (2010) analyzed the narrative matrixes of several early modern literary works dedicated to the ethnic composition of the population of Lviv. Parshyn (2016) analyzed the territorial and social features of the Galician-Volhynian state (another name of Rus' in the thirteenth century).

European scholars extensively researched the activities of medieval Muslims in the West. For example, Kagay (1999) described the imaginary of Muslims in the literature of the medieval kingdom of Aragon. He notes that in Aragonese literature, Muslims appeared as enemies, so the author tried to trace the evolution of this negative attitude towards them (Kagay, 1999). Frassetto (1999) described the image of the Saracens based on the analysis of Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes. Constable (2000) studied the peculiarities of Muslim trade in the Mediterranean. Kettani (2017) analyzed the development of the Muslim society in Western Europe. His analysis included countries such as France, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and others. Thus, researchers paid close attention to the image of Muslims based on analysis of Western European literary sources. Unfortunately, they ignored the Ruthenian lands.

Muslims and Rus': Linguistic Context

Attitude toward infidels was biased in the medieval Christian states (Kagay, 1999, pp. 119-120). Rus' wasn't an exception to the rule, although belonged to Orthodox Christian world. The Byzantine Commonwealth made its adjustments which affected the perception of Muslims as well. Evidently, the existing literary traditions edited, in particular, under the influence of European or Byzantine canons. It entailed forming a pretty specific perception of oriental folks.

In many medieval works Muslims were called "Saracens" (Kettani, 2016, p.1740). For example we investigated a medieval romance "The king of Tars", an Old French heroic poem "The song of Roland" and different stories of the Old French Crusade Cycle etc. By the twelve century these medieval authors used the term "Saracen" as ethnic and religious marker. In the Old French Crusade Cycle were a lot of stories about "Saracen" wealth, their gold, silks and other goods. Examining the etymology of this ethnonym, we can identify the semantic meaning of this concept. In modern linguistics, it is believed that the source of this term is the Arabic word "*šark*", which means – "East", "*šerkin*" – "eastern". Although they have not survived in modern Arabic, the words "*šark*" – "East", "*šarkli*" – "eastern" still exist in Turkish. The equivalent of the Latin word "*saracenus*" ("saraceni" in plural) is the Greek "*σαρακενοί*". The appearance of such ethnonyms in Latin and Greek languages belongs to the first – third centuries. From Greece that word passed to the East Slavic languages around the eighth century. In Rus', it existed in several forms, for example: "*саракинъ*" (sarakyn), "*саракининъ*" (sarakynyn), "*саринъ*" (saryn) and so on. Despite the fact that the etymology outlined above from the Arabic word "*šark*" is recognized in Ukrainian science, but there are other versions. In particular, there is a hypothesis about the origin of the "Saracens" from the Turkic word "*sari*", which means "pale" (Dashkevych, 2010, pp. 13-14).

Medieval authors resorted to other interpretations. Due to the authority of the Bible, speculations based on the Old Testament were popular in medieval texts (Dashkevych, 2010,

pp. 13-14). In particular, the French philologist-encyclopedist Charles Ducange drew attention to these motives in the seventeenth century (Merenuik, 2021a, pp. 57-59). His fundamental study, the “Glossarium”, a dictionary of Medieval Latin terms, stated: “*Populi notissimi, qui a Sara Abrahami uxore legilima id nominis sibi assumpserunt*” (“Well known peoples who took their name from Sarah Abraham’s lawful wife”) (D’Arnis, 1866, p. 1988). The Book of Genesis tells that Sarah, Abram’s wife, gave him an Egyptian slave girl Hagar. They had a son Ismail. Accordingly, such names as “Hagarians”, “Ismaelites” began to be used as identical with the “Saracens”. This triple ethnonym was primarily used in Latin, partly Byzantine literature. Under the influence of these literary works, this idea was also rooted in Ruthenian medieval texts. In part, this name was borrowed from Greek literature (for example “Life of St. George of Amastris”).

Later “saracens” mentioned under the equal words “*сараџини*” (“sratsin”) and “*сарыни*” (“saryn”). For example, in the message of the “Tale of Bygone Years” in 1096 it is said that “*сраџини от Измаила творятся сарыни*” (“Sratsins came from Saryns in the days of Ismail”) (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 13). In Rus’ literary tradition, the names “Hagarians” and “Ismaelites” as synonyms for the word “Saracens” are used quite often (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 13). Charles Ducange gave another version of the etymology of “Saracens”. He noted that the word had derived from the Hebrew word “*sarak*”, meant “empty” (D’Arnis, 1866, pp. 1988-1989). This name was given to people who lived simple and harsh lives.

Historians also proposed the version that the “Saracens” was their own name – the name of some unique peoples. For example, in the “Tale of Bygone Years” in 1096 it is said that the Saracens called their own name as “*сараџине*” (“sarakyne”) or “*сарини*” (“sariny”). An unknown author of medieval “The Tale about the Latins when they separated from the Greeks” (written in the eleventh or the thirteenth centuries) also indicated that the word “Saracens” was a proper name (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 12). So, after analyzing some etymological versions of the origin of the “Saracen” ethnonym, we believe that the most reliable and scientifically thought is the interpretation of the origin of this word from the Arabic “šark”. Due to the wide contacts of the representatives of the Arab world with the Europeans, this word could be used in writing historical works. Chroniclers perceived it because it fitted the religious account of events. At the same time, Muslims were mentioned in Rus’ historical sources not only under the word “sarakyn” and its derivatives (for example in Laurentian Codex: “*Сраџини ... прозваша имена собѣ Сараџине рекше Сарини есмѣ*”, “Sratsins ... chose their name as Sarakyns or became Sariny”) (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 12). Thus, the term “Sariny” in medieval sources of Rus’ meant Muslims. Another common name is “*бесоурменин*” (“bessermanin”), which appeared in the twelfth century. According to Etymological Dictionary of Ukrainian Language (Rudnyckyj, 1972), this word was formed from the Arabic “muslim”. Another possible source of this term is Persian “*muslimān*”. This word underwent a phonetic transformation and took the form of “*бесоурменин*”. Thus, through other languages, the initial sound [m] was transformed into [b].

In particular, in Rus’ Chronicle the word “*бесоурменин*” is found in 1184. It is mentioned when the Cumanian khan Konchak went to Rus’ with Muslim engineer in his army. That unknown warrior created a machine, which was able to shoot fire bolts (perhaps it was a Greek fire). Thus, the term was originally mentioned in some negative militarized context. In addition, it had meant “non-Christian”, “person of another faith”. The Rus’ chronicler emphasized the courage and dexterity of the unknown “*бесоурменин*”. In other literature texts these people were also mentioned in militarized contexts. For example, in “Zadonshchina” (the fourteenth century), which tells of the victory over the Mongols in 1380 in Kulikovo field, author mentioned strong armor of “bessermans”.

Some authors in Rus’ mainly emphasized the religious differences between Christians and Muslims. Interestingly, in the Scriptures of St. Theodosius of Pechersk writer condemned

both Latin Christians and Muslims. For this author, there are no great differences between these peoples. Thus, St. Theodosius, abbot of Pechersk, noted: “If you see naked or hungry... if there is a Jew, or a Saracen, or a Bulgarian, or a heretic, or a Latin, have mercy on everything and save him from troubles” (St. Theodosius, abbot of Pechersk) (Dashkevych, 2010, pp. 29-30). So, Ruthenian medieval authors mentioned Muslims mainly in neutral or negative (religious) senses.

Medieval Ruthenian authors rewrote the legend about Ismail and his mother. At the same time, in “Emerald” (text of the thirteenth century) we saw unique special details. In particular, a boar was a symbol of the “Saracens” in this work. However, an unknown author did not explain why (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 13).

The Muslims community in Lviv: historical context

Medieval European authors did not focus on state changes in the fragmented country of the Rurikids in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Therefore, almost every prince of Rus’ was referred as “rex Russiae” in European medieval sources. Galician and Volhynian principalities were elements of “whole country”. In 1253 ruler Danylo (1201–1264) received the royal crown, so in Ukrainian historiography these lands called the Kingdom of Rus’ (Voloshchuk, 2021, p. 38). Although, the term “Galicia-Volhynian state” is still common.

The formation of this medieval state became an essential page in Ukrainian history. Around 1199 Prince Roman Mstyslavovych (c. 1152–1205) of Vladimir (Volhynia) captured Galich (Halych), the capital of the Galician principality, and became the suzerain of two principalities. As a result, his descendants (in historiography, they are called the Romanids: king of Rus’ Danylo, his son Lev (c.1228–c.1301) etc.) organized a long struggle with other contenders for the Galician throne. The new formation was one of the largest among other principalities of Rurikids. The state had a convenient location at the intersection of several trade routes (Voloshchuk, 2021 p. 38). Local rulers were active participants of the political life of Central and Eastern Europe in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The main historical source of the Kingdom of Rus’ was the third part of the Hypatian Chronicle (or the “Chronica Romanoviciana”), which described events only of the thirteenth century (from 1205 to 1292) (Dąbrowski, 2017, pp.1, 641).

The first note about Lviv dated back to 1256 (Dąbrowski, 2017, p. 191). After that about city life the chronicler informed only once in 1286. The Mongolian khan Telebuga († 1291) with his army returned from an unsuccessful campaign against the Polish principalities and laid siege the city for several weeks. The campaign held in the winter. The Mongols undressed all the people caught behind the walls, and they unfortunate froze to death. As a result, 13 thousand of people died (Dąbrowski, 2017, p. 537). Probably, according to medieval tradition, only adult men took into account.

Only by using the method of comparison, we assumed the growth of the urban population in Galicia-Volhynian state. Similar trials took place in the capital of King Danylo Romanovych. At that time, according to the chronicler, many artisans and merchants settled in “Холмъ” (“Kholm”, modern Chełm in Poland). They came not only from Rus’, but also from neighboring and distant countries. Lviv arose within the possessions of Prince Lev Danylovych. Despite considerable discussion in historiography, this prince was the real founder of the city. The location of a big settlement on the navigable Poltva River at that time made it an important trading center, a kind of logistics center on the way to the river Western Bug and, accordingly, the Baltic Sea. Such location attracted medieval merchants (Constable, 2000, p. 633). We can compare Lviv with the much older Volhynian princely capital Volodymyr (Vladimir), which is located on another confluent of the Western Bug. There is little information about this city in the thirteenth century in narrative sources. As an exception chronicler once pointed out Germans, Jews and “Surozhans” (in original: “нѣмци,

и сѣрожьци, иновгорвдѣци, ижидове”) (Dąbrowski, 2017, pp. 604-605). Historians identified the “Surozhans” with the Crimean people, who either lived in Volodymyr (Vladimir) or visited it as merchants (Dąbrowski, 2017, p. 605).

Crimea in thirteenth century was a specific contact zone, where many nationalities coexisted. In particular, according to Venetian documents, dozens of people with the ethnonyms “Sorianus”, “Syrianus”, “Sirianus” or “de Syria” and “de Levante” lived there. Modern European historians established that notaries from the Apennines recorded only those people from the East who were Christians of the Orthodox rite; although in everyday life, they continued to communicate in Arabic. According to the Ukrainian researcher Y. Dashkevych, such views are too categorical, and the ethnonyms “Sorianus”, “Syrianus”, “Sirianus”, etc. were understood as Syrians, regardless of their Christian faith and Muslims were also referred to in the same way (Dashkevych, 1994, p. 30-33). It is possible that the natives of the Crimea were in Volodymyr (Vladimir) in Volhynia. At least some more detailed information about the presence of Arabs in Rus’ survived. Using the methods of onomastics, we can assume that the well-known in chronicles town “Халѣнь” (“Khalep”) near Kyiv has a Syrian etymology (possibly founded by a native of Aleppo). At the beginning of the twelve century Petro “сурянинъ” (“Syrian”) worked at the court of one of the Volhynian princes (in Lutsk). Orthodox Metropolitan Petro Akerovych was close to King Danylo Romanovych. From a linguistic point of view, according to Y. Dashkevych, it is possible to transfer the Arabic name “Haikār” as “Akir” or “Aker” (Dashkevych, 1994, pp. 32-33). At the ecclesiastical council of Lyons in 1245, this metropolitan, at the behest of his secular patron, acquainted the highest hierarchs of the Roman Church with the society of the Mongols, who invaded Europe in the early 1240s. On the other hand, all these peoples belonged to the Christian faith. So, people from the East were interested in the basin of the Western Bug for commercial interests. Probably, their presence regulated by legal documents (Mereniuk, 2021, p. 53). Thus, Kingdom of Rus’ was a multicultural state. Lviv, as a part of Kingdom of Rus’, developed the same way.

In 1340 Polish King Casimir III (1310–1370) captured Lviv. According to Polish sources the war for the city began, because local nobles (boyars) rebelled. They did not like the dominance of foreign Catholics at the prince’s court, so they revolted and killed their ruler Yuriy II († 1340) (Parshyn, 2016, pp.7-9). He was a relative of Casimir III, and King of Poland decided to capture Lviv. He robbed the treasury and took away many trophies (including crown, which may belonged to Danylo Romanovych). Polish chroniclers noted that in the city existed two powerful groups of citizens – Orthodox and Catholic Christians. When King Casimir III confirmed the Magdeburg right to Lviv in 1356, the list of local communities increased. The king legally confirmed the existence of Catholics, Armenians, Jews, Muslims, Tatars, Ruthenians and “others” (in Latin: “*naciones Ormenorum, Iudeorum, Saracenorum, Thartarorum, Ruthenorum et aliorum quarumcumque*”) (Parshyn, 2018, pp. 71-72). The listed “naciones” had the opportunity to choose their juridical subordination. Thus, the Muslim community received legal status in Lviv.

Actually, the Lviv “Saracens” mentioned in the legal documents of Polish kings more ten times through fourteenth – seventeenth centuries. Twice in 1387 and in 1424 they retained all their rights on an equal abreast with other communities. A charter of 1444 stipulated that all Greeks, Armenians, Saracens, and Jews who came to Lviv with goods, should be tried exclusively in the city court under German law. Their overseas cargo should be sold in Lviv. In 1460, the old Magdeburg privileges of Casimir III were restored (hence, a separate trial was restored too). From the first half of the sixteenth century the city rights of the Saracens and other non-Catholic “naciones” were under systemic pressure. A charter of 1509 restricted trade rights of Tatars, Saracens and Jews, and a royal decree of 1547 abolished separate courts. In several documents of the seventeenth century it was forbidden to admit Turks,

Saracens and Armenians to the city law (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 8). Such a list of royal decisions generally reflected the stages of Polish rule in Lviv and the treatment of people who did not belong to the Catholic faith. Thus, in the fourteenth century there was still a danger of losing Lviv and other Rus' lands, so the rulers held moderate positions. In the next century the trade role of the city increased significantly, so restricting commercial freedoms in favor of German and Polish patricians was also a logical solution of local administrators. Later, attitudes toward the Saracens, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Ruthenians changed to outright disapproval.

We can conclude that some Muslims lived in Lviv, the others were visiting merchants. Even in the “Catalan Atlas”, compiled around 1375 at the court of King Juan I of Aragon (1350–1396), the trade connection of Lviv with Muslim countries was confirmed: “*Ciutat de Leo. En esta ciutat venan alguns merchaders, losquals venan ves las partides de Levant per esta mar de Lamanya en Flandes*” (“City of the Leo; through this city come merchants who come from the Levant and go to Flemish region through the Alemannic (Baltic) Sea”) (Parshyn, 2016, pp. 4-5). The further descriptions of the “*nacio Saracenorum*” in Lviv were created during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by local burgers. Their texts became important sources, but the historical memory could distort some elements of history.

The Muslim community of Lviv: literary traditions of Early Modern times

The Muslim communities existed in Poland (Narkowicz, & Pędziwiatr, 2016, pp. 441-442). But their presence in Lviv for a long time did not attract any attention of the authors of Early Modern texts. The city was an important centre in Polish political and economic life. The first descriptions were not informative. Jan Długosz (1415–1480), Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), Martin Kromer (1512–1589), and Maciej Strykowski (1547–1582) presented some general stories on the history of Lviv, because their works were primarily devoted to the history of the Polish lands. J. Długosz was the first among the well-known late medieval chroniclers to write that the city was founded by Prince Lev. S. Münster noted that the city was founded “in honor” of the victory of the Galician-Volhynian ruler over the peoples of “this land”. Although M. Strykowski described the confrontation with the Lithuanians: victory over them and the murder of their ruler. Prince Lev was indeed involved in the death of the Lithuanian ruler Vojselk in 1267 (Parshyn, 2018, pp. 49-50). But in our opinion, the remarks of early modern authors attempted to combine legends and reality, to describe and interpret new historical texts that have emerged.

J. Alembek († 1636) in his “*Topographia civitatis Leopolitanae*” (written during 1603–1605) paid much more attention to the history of the city. This work was characterized by Renaissance literary style. J. Alembek was a citizen of Lviv; also he was a member of German community, studied at the University of Padua and became a great fan of ancient authors (it is known from his book collection). As O. Osipyanyan convincingly showed, J. Alembek used the treatise “*Topographia Antiquae Romae*” by Bartolomeo Marliani (1488–1566) as a model for his work (Osipyanyan, 2010, p. 192). For J. Alembek the image of the ideal city was Rome. A comparative analysis of the works of J. Alembek and B. Marliani showed certain literary parallels. In particular, Romulus founded Rome, and Prince Lev was a founder of Lviv. Both cities are named after the founders and were inhabited by people from different countries. Four Italian tribes inhabited Rome, and in the “*Topographia civitatis Leopolitanae*” the basis of citizenship created four “nations”: Catholics, Ruthenians, Jews and Armenians. Even the suburbs of Lviv became the residence of the aristocracy – just as poets, artists and nobles settled around ancient Rome. It is important that J. Alembek wrote about early modern Lviv, pointing out, for example, participation in trade transactions of Turkish merchants who arrived. This mention is quite historic. It is known, for example, that in the middle of the fifteenth century the city court accepted documents from Damascus merchants in Arabic

(“*lettera bessermenica*” – sic!) (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 34). However, J. Alembek did not report on the Muslim community of the city.

The mayor of Lviv B. Zimorovic paid much more attention to “naciones”. His work was not tolerant of “non-believers” (Ruthenians, Jews, Armenians), but he described in detail the historical events of the city’s development, using local archives. B. Zimorovic’s work “*Leopolis Triplex*” became a combination of Renaissance literature with the popular historical tradition (Zimorowic, 2002, p. 16). For example, B. Zimorovic paid considerable attention to the presence of the Muslim community in Lviv. He wrote that after the death of Prince Lev, the struggle for power in Rus’ unfolded. Lithuanians attacked Volhynian lands, while Poles began to capture Galician principality. Only Lviv remained faithful to the true successor of the deceased ruler, Prince Yuriy II. In the original, these events were dated 1327 (Zimorowic, 2002, p. 149). According to the text, the Tatars, Muslims and Armenians recruited by Prince Lev closed the city gates to the invaders and agreed to negotiate with Prince Boleslav (Yuriy II), who allowed local communities to live according to their own customs. The source of this message is unidentified. The circumstances of the beginning of rule of Yuriy II did not mention in other texts, but the approximate time of his appearance in Rus’ B. Zimorovic determined correctly. On the other hand, the early modern author had access to the Lviv archives. He could find information that had disappeared to our time and compose it creatively. Thus, Y. Dashkevych believed that the story of Muslims in the prince’s troops deserves some credibility, although its historical background is not fully understood (Dashkevych, 2010, p. 10).

In our opinion, this plot has literary origins and a very practical direction. As already noted, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries kings of Poland several times had restricted separate judgments for national communities, in particular for Muslims. It is possible that B. Zimorovic aimed to explain to readers the fairness of such a decision. If the privileges were limited, someone once granted them. Prince Lev, in the author’s imagination, “could not” guarantee certain benefits to foreigners. He was the founder of the city and (as we will see below) compared to Charlemagne. Such a step required another literary “hero” of much lesser historical weight. That is why Yuriy II appeared in the work of the Lviv mayor, the cancellation of whose decision no longer looked like an encroachment on the “old glorious order”.

B. Zimorovic’s prejudice against Muslims can be felt in the stories about their expulsion from Lviv. According to “*Leopolis Triplex*”, in 1504 a blaze broke out on Street of “Saracens” (“*plateam Saraceonorum*”), popularly known in the seventeenth century as “*Zarwańska*”. The Ruthenians themselves expelled the Muslims from “*Saraceńska*” (or *Zarwańska*) Street, because they allegedly stole small Christian children and sold them into slavery (Zimorowic, 2002, p. 101). The author’s reports are clearly biased. But the “*platea Zarwańska*” was recorded in the city acts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was located in the southern part of the city, near the Town Hall. However, citizens of Lviv never called it as “*Saraceńska*”. Obviously, we are dealing with a literary plot, which B. Zimorovic used to embellish his story and another accusation for non-Catholic peoples, in particular, Muslims. The residences of the Muslim community cannot be determined at this time.

B. Zimorovic also wrote that Prince Lev fought against the Muslims. In this struggle, he was “an ally” of the famous Frankish emperor Charlemagne (747–814) (Zimorowic, 2002, p. 165). In our opinion, this episode deserves special consideration. It is obvious that the Galician ruler could not help the emperor in the wars with the Muslims – obviously, the Spanish Arabs. Instead, this part of text demonstrated some literary tradition. So, the author noticed that Prince Lev was born five hundred years after the death of Charlemagne and did not receive help against the “Saracens”. In our opinion, this passage had much deeper origins in the historical tradition and was not “the invention” of B. Zimorovic. In particular, using the

historical-functional method, we investigated the proposed plot together with other historical and literary works. A comparison of the texts of B. Zimorovic and Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (1434–1502) showed the origin of such passages.

Figure 1.

Charlemagne and Prince Leo in the literary tradition (We highlighted important concepts for analysis).

B. Zimorovic	“ <i>Leo namque nostras, quingentis post Caroli Magni decessum annis natus, neque contra Sarracenos suppetias ille facere, neque statuum hunc parthenicam loco niceterii ab eo referre potuit, aut, si ex historia saltem Luciani, retulisset, quingentos alios annos recessibus Russiae illam quomodo detinisset...</i> ” (Zimorovic, 2002, p. 165)
A. Bonfini	“ <i>Ultra Peucinos Russie, que Rutenia nunc dicitur, transalpine regio, quam olim Bodini Amaxobii que, nunc Ruteni incolunt: quorum Leopoldis a Leone Imperatore pro parta Barbarorum victoria nominatur, metropolis profecta nobilissima, ubi celeberrimum universae Scythiae celebratur emporium...</i> ” (Parshyn, 2018, p. 47)

A. Bonfini in the style of humanistic literature imitated the ancient classics. He wrote that Rus’ was inhabited by tribes of “Pevkins” and “Amaxobians”. Lviv was founded by “Emperor Lev” in honor of his victory over the barbarian tribes. A. Bonfini’s text is one of the oldest narrative sources, which indicate the origins of the city. This author had lived and worked in Hungary for a long time. It was there that he could get acquainted with the history of medieval Central and Eastern Europe (Parshyn, 2018, p. 47). In particular, the “imperial” title became a reminder of the most famous medieval emperor – Charlemagne. The popularity of his image in medieval Europe is beyond doubt. Some researchers have suggested that the word “king” in Slavic languages (for example, “król” in Poland) came from the name of Charles, as the name Caesar was once called in the Roman Empire.

We believe that the tribes of the ancient barbarians were transformed during the seventeenth century among the Muslims with whom Prince Lev had never actually fought. Probably, B. Zimorovic was an earnest Catholic and biased towards all other “nationes”. So, his personal motives affected this assessment. In fact, these records were not historical evidence, but demonstrated a certain literary tradition that was also popular among other authors.

Thus, the Early Modern literary tradition recorded some episodes from the life of the Muslim community in Lviv. However, the authors of the fifteenth – seventeenth centuries imitated humanistic literature. Their works had a tangible mythological component. Although the presence of merchants from the East in the city is not disputed, they came from Turkey.

At the same time, B. Zimorovic relied on his own prejudices and the existing literary and historical tradition. He accused the Muslims of the slave trade; although he rightly pointed out that they had appeared in the city since the time of Prince Lev. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine which street they lived on. B. Zimorovic’s instructions on the “platea Sarracenorum” (Zarwańska) were not confirmed by other materials. The early modern literary tradition showed that Prince Lev was an ally of the Frankish emperor Charlemagne and became enemy of the Muslims. In our opinion, the origins of this literary context created in the fifteenth century. Analyzing of Muslim “episodes” we indicate that they had their own community in the city.

Conclusions

Prince Lev Danylovych founded Lviv in the middle of the thirteenth century. It was a big center of the Galicia-Volhynian state. We assume that people from different countries inhabited the city, as the prince's capital. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Lviv became the capital of the Kingdom of Rus', which was visited by merchants from the Levant. But it was only in 1356 that the Muslim community was mentioned (Parshyn, 2018, p. 48). The Muslim communities had been known in Rus' for centuries. In the chronicles they were assigned the names "саракинъ", "саркинъ", "саринъ" etc. Obviously, etymologically this ethnonym came from the Arabic "šark". Trade activity and closer acquaintance with the Muslim world led to the fact that this word could be used in historical works. Medieval chroniclers used it to find its connection to biblical events. The Muslims are mentioned mainly in negative (religious) context. Some Ruthenian authors tried to discover the origin of this mysterious people. They are unanimous on this problem. Mostly, the medieval literature of Rus' tells the legends of the ancient biblical Ismail and his mother, which is quite a standard fact for European medieval historical literature

Early Modern literary and historical traditions recorded the "Saracens" community in the city. In particular, the focus on humanistic European literature led to the idealistic image of Lviv. However, B. Zimorovic in his "Leopolis Triplex" gave a more thorough description of the Muslim community. But it is shown that "platea Sarracenorum" (Muslim Street) in the city probably did not exist. Legends about Prince Leo's enmity with Muslims and their expulsion through child abduction can be explained by personal rejection of infidels and borrowings from older literary sources. Early Modern historical writings proved that this community existed in the city.

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