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DMYTRO BLAŽEJOVSKYJ

**UKRAINIAN AND ARMENIAN PONTIFICAL
SEMINARIES OF LVIV
(1665-1784)**

ROME 1975

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« ANALECTA ORDINIS SANCTI BASILII MAGNI »
“ANNALS OF THE ORDER OF SAINT BASIL THE GREAT”

Sectio I SECTION

OPERA - WORKS

1. WOJNAR M., OSBM, *De regimine Basilianorum Ruthenorum a Metropolita Josepho Velamin Rutskyj instauratorum*, Romae 1949, pp. XX+218.
2. SOLOWIJ M., OSBM, *De reformatione liturgica Heraclii Lisowskyj (1784-1809)*, Romae 1950, pp. XII+128.
3. WOJNAR M., OSBM, *De Capitulis Basilianorum*, Romae 1954, pp. XVI+204.
4. НАЗАРКО Ір., ЧСБВ, *Святий Володимир Великий - Володар і Христитель Русь-України*, Рим 1954, стор. XXXII+228.
5. НАГАЄВСЬКИЙ Іс., *Кирило-Методіївське Християнство в Русь-Україні*, Рим 1954, стор. XVIII+178.
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8. HOLOWACKYJ R., OSBM, *Seminarium Vilnense SS. Trinitatis*, Romae 1957, pp. XIV+158.
9. WOJNAR M., OSBM, *De Protoarchimandrita Basilianorum (1617-1804)*, Romae 1958, pp. XXVI+298.
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**ЗАПИСКИ ЧИНА СВ. ВАСИЛІЯ ВЕЛИКОГО (ЧСВВ)
ANNALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT (OSBM)**

СЕКЦІЯ - I - SECTION

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Секція - I - Section

ПРАЦІ - WORKS

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(1665-1784)

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- With Ecclesiastical Permission -

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

In the first series of the "Analecta OSBM" (1924-1948), and in the second enlarged series (1949-...), were gladly included articles and monographs dealing with the history of the education of the Ukrainian clergy. In the first series were articles about the Seminary of Žyrovyci (III, 1-2, 214), about the Basilian students at the Seminary of Braunsberg (III, 1-2, 247), about Basilian students at the Academy of Vilno (IV, 1-2, 211), about Ukrainian students in the cities of Germany — Rostock and Kiel (IV, 1-2, 326), about the history of the schools at Bučač (IV, 3-4), and about the school in Lavriv (V, 1-4). This tradition was followed in the second series, according place to shorter articles about the Pontifical Ukrainian Seminary in Rome (I, 116), about the Seminary of Rutskyj (III, 375), about the philosophical-theological studies of the Basilians in the eighteenth century (VII, 85), about the reopening of the Seminary of Lviv in the twenties (VII, 291), about seminaries, colleges and schools in general (IX, 48), and about the Ukrainian and Bielorrussian students in the College of the Propaganda Fide (IX, 202). In the second series are also monographs in the section entitled "Opera", about the Vilno Seminary of Holy Trinity (t. 8), about the Kulemborg Seminary in exile (t. 32) and now is being added this present monograph about the Ukrainian and Armenian Seminaries of Lviv.

Although the Pontifical Seminary of Lviv was not one of the central educational institutions of the Ukrainian clergy, the author considered it of sufficient importance to dedicate an entire monograph to it. Ukrainian students were accepted in pontifical colleges in neighboring regions (Vilno and Braunsberg), in more distant Slavic regions (Prague and Olomouc), in German regions (Vienna and Gratz) and especially in Rome (Greek College, College of the Propaganda Fide and Ukrainian Seminary). Thus was Rome's preoccupation with the education of Ukrainian students shown in colleges outside of Ukraine. In this monograph about the Seminary of Lviv, the author has shown this preoccupation on Ukrainian soil itself.

Thirty years have passed since the first sketch of this work was done in the Italian language, but the delay in publication has worked out to

its advantage. The author not only revised the sketch in the light of new publications and further research, but also made considerable modifications and additions, and is publishing it in the more widely read English language

This monograph should prove to be useful in the further study of the history of the education of the Ukrainian clergy. It is hoped that the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Greek College (1576-1976) will awaken interest in such works about the role and significance of pontifical seminaries and their influence on the educational system of the Ukrainian clergy and its character. The "Analecta OSBM" hopes to publish on this occasion a complete list of Ukrainian and Bielorrussian students at the Greek College, and articles related to other similar institutions, to clarify the sources of spiritual culture of the Ukrainian People and Church. The "Analecta" will continue to be open to receive for publication articles on such topics in the second half century of its existence. No effort should be spared for this purpose, and no sacrifice considered too heavy. The author spared neither time, effort nor expense for this present monograph, and for that the publishers of the "Analecta" and the Ukrainian People, especially the clergy should be grateful to him. His work gives a chance to know better the spiritual past, and those who carried the torch of Ukrainian spiritual culture, bearing on their shoulders the responsibility of this spiritual culture which they learned in the known and famous institutions of the East and West, making the East and West one unity in the Ukrainian soul for the good of both Church and People.

THE PUBLISHERS OF "ANALECTA OSBM"

PREFACE

This present work was begun during the second World War when I was living in Rome. It was based chiefly on the archives of the S. Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, of the Vatican and of the Theatines. For various reasons it was not possible to publish it at that time. In the meantime, many of the documents and several works related to the subject have been published. Now, when the opportunity presented itself to publish the work, it was not only necessary to revise and enlarge the second through the fifth chapters, but completely to rewrite the first chapter. I also thought it useful to add a sixth chapter, listing the students and professors.

There is always some problem concerning eastern European historical terminology of the past centuries. "Ruthenians", until recent times, meant Ukrainians and Bielorussians. "Lithuanians", when used in the documents referring to people from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, meant Ukrainians and Bielorussians, because the Bielorussian and some of the Ukrainian territories in the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom were part of an administrative unit called Lithuania. For the Moscow state the term "Moscovia" was constantly used in the documents, and its people were called "Moscovites", and never "Russians". To avoid misunderstanding, I use the modern terminology for these names, except when quoting the documents. I also use the term "metropolitanate of Kyjiv", which included not only Ukraine, but Bielorussia and Russia until the Union of Florence. After the Union of Florence, or rather after the decisions of Rome in 1458, the jurisdiction of the metropolitanate was limited to Ukrainian and Bielorussian dioceses. A difficulty also arises with the spelling or transliteration of names of persons and localities. Because the territory was, at times, under both Polish and Russian domination, there are three types of spelling, Ukrainian, Polish and Russian. For Ukrainian names I use the present Ukrainian spelling, for Bielorussian names either as they are found in the documents or as spelled in Ukrainian, for Armenian names as the Armenians themselves spelled them, which is usually as in Polish. For the names of students,

I give the spelling as found in the registers, to facilitate their location in other documents. For all other names, I spell them as I found them. There are two well known transliterations from the Ukrainian and Russian alphabets, that of the National Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and that of the Paris Institute for Slavic Studies. The second is more internationally recognized, and I use it, except for the names of authors, which I usually leave as the authors transliterated them in their western language publications.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all those who helped to make it possible for me to finish this work and to publish it.

AUTHOR

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACG	= Archivum Collegii Graecorum de Urbe
AGT	= Archivio Generale Teatino
ANALECTA OSBM	= Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni (Lviv-Rome)
APF	= Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
APF, Acta	= Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
APF, Colleg. Leop.	= Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Collegio Armeno e Ruteno di Leopoli
APF, Congr. Gen.	= Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali
APF, Congressi	= Scritture riferite nei Congressi
APF, Congr. Part.	= Congregazioni Particolari della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide
APF, Lettere	= Lettere della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide (latine, volgari, di Mons. Segretario)
APF, Udienze	= Udienze del Nostro Signore
ASV	= Archivum Secretum Vaticanum
ASV, Nunz. Varz.	= Archivio della Nunziatura di Varsavia
ASV, Nunz. Vien.	= Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna
AZR	= Akty otnojaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii
MUH	= Monumenta Ucrainae Historica
OCA	= Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	= Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODZM	= Opisanije dokumentov Archiva Zapadnoruskich Uniatskich Mitropolitov
Opera GCAT	= Opera Greco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae (Lviv-Rome)

Opera TSSU	= Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientifical Ucrainorum (Lviv-Rome)
Prop. Fide	= Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide
Prop. Fide MR	= Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum
REA	= Revue des Études Arméniennes (Paris)
WAP	= WELYKYJ A.G., Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielorussiae spectantia
WAS	= WELYKYJ A.G., Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bielorussiae (1658-1850)
WCP	= WELYKYJ A.G., Congregationes Particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielorussiae spectantes
WDPR	= WELYKYJ A.G., Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia
WDUB	= WELYKYJ A.G., Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)
WEM	= WELYKYJ A.G., Epistolae Metropolitanorum
WLE	= WELYKYJ A.G., Litterae Episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1900)
WLN	= WELYKYJ A.G., Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes
WLP	= WELYKYJ A.G., Litterae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielorussiae spectantes
WSEU	= WELYKYJ A.G., Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielorussiae
WSJ	= WELYKYJ A.G., S. Josaphat Hieromartyr. Documenta Romana Beatificationis et Canonizationis
Vat. Lat.	= Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani Latini
ZNTŠ	= Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenko

UKRAINIAN AND ARMENIAN PONTIFICAL SEMINARIES OF LVIV (1665-1784)

CHAPTER I

GENERAL HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PONTIFICAL UKRAINIAN AND ARMENIAN SEMINARIES IN LVIV

ART. I

UKRAINIANS

§ 1. - *Historical background of the Metropolitanate of Kyjiv*

The Ukrainians were converted to the Christian faith in 988. With the erection of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, schools were established in Kyjiv and in other cities, but what character these schools had cannot be said with certainty, because invasions and wars destroyed the archives and libraries. Practically everything was destroyed during the Tartar invasions. Invasions and wars were continuous, and neighboring nations profited from the misfortune of Ukraine.

After the destruction of Kyjiv by the Tartars in 1240, western Ukraine remained an independent state, but with Lviv fell into the hands of the Polish in 1340. Three nations contended for the occupation of Ukraine, at first the Tartars, Polish and Lithuanians, and later the Polish and Muscovites. Ukraine was not able to rise again for centuries.

Vae victis — this phrase in two words contains the harsh reality repeated so often in history, and Ukraine had the misfortune to learn what it meant in all its ramifications. The cities obtained autonomy, but rights were reserved primarily to those of Latin rite. Not being Latin, the Ukrainians in the cities were reduced to a state more or less as was found in the Jewish ghetto. At meetings of the different nationalities, the Ukrainian representatives from Lviv, the cultural and political capital of the western provinces of Ukraine, were assigned fifth place in precedence, even after the Tartars, who were a very small

minority¹. The rural Ukrainians were half-slaves, being *glebae adscripti*, or bound to the land. Only the church remained to a certain degree independent, but even she was not free from suffering.

The metropolitanate of Kyjiv consisted of seven dioceses at that time, Kyjiv, Lviv, Peremyśl, Luck, Volodymyr, Cholm and Pinsk, on Ukrainian territories. In Bielorrussia was an eighth diocese, Polock, and the northern part of the diocese of Kyjiv including Vilno, which was then the cultural and political capital of the Lithuanian, Bielorrussian and some Ukrainian territories. A ninth diocese, that of Smolensk in Bielorrussia, belonged for a time to Kyjiv. When Smolensk was occupied by the Russians in 1667, the title of bishop of Smolensk continued to exist among the bishops of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. This nominal bishop did not reside in Smolensk or have any jurisdiction there, since Smolensk was subordinated by the Russians to the patriarch of Moscow. For his support, he was given the title and the income from an abbey in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. All these dioceses remained without change until the end of the eighteenth century, that is, until the partition of the kingdom of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795. With these partitions, the greater part of the metropolitanate was taken over by Moscow, and the Catholic Church and metropolitanate was gradually suppressed, and the faithful subordinated to the Holy Synod of Moscow. Austria took the southwestern dioceses of Lviv, Peremyśl and part of Cholm, re-established the medieval metropolitanate of Halyč in Lviv, and created the new diocese of Stanyslaviv. Here the Catholic Church in part of the former metropolitanate of Kyjiv continued to exist until after World War II, when Lviv became part of the Soviet Union.

When the Kyjivan State was converted to Christianity in 988, there was no question about union with Rome, since there was no real split in the Church until 1054. The terms "catholic" and "orthodox" were general, and had not yet taken on the meaning later given to them of representing opposing divisions of the Church. As Kyjiv was dependent upon Constantinople, which belonged to the universal Church, it was in union with Rome. Therefore, in the modern sense of the word Kyjiv was "catholic", and was also "orthodox" in the ancient general sense. At the time of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the term "orthodox" was applied to the "Chalcedonians" or those who believed

¹ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański w Polsce*, Lviv 1929, p. 15; BALZER O., *Sądowictwo ormiańskie w średniowiecznym Lwowie*, Lviv 1909, p. 8.

in the two natures of Christ in one divine Person, as opposed to the Monophysites who held that there was only one nature in Christ. During the Iconoclastic controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries, "Orthodox" meant those who upheld the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and supported the veneration of images, as opposed to the Iconoclasts. The "Feast of Orthodoxy" was introduced at the Council of Santa Sophia in 843 to celebrate the final restoration of image veneration. Gradually, after the break with Rome, the feast began to take on an additional meaning for those opposed to Roman union. They now claim that the term "orthodox" excludes Rome. This additional meaning is not accepted by those of Eastern rite in union with Rome, and the term in its original meaning is used still today in Eastern Catholic liturgical books and services.

After the definite break in relations between Constantinople and Rome in 1054, Kyjiv did not immediately sever communion with Rome. In fact, after Cardinal Humbert di Silva Candida left Constantinople, he visited Kyjiv before returning to Rome, and there is no recorded mention of any disagreement at this time. The feast of the translation of the body of St. Nicholas to Bari, which was established in 1089 by Pope Urban II (1088-1099) is included in the liturgical books of Kyjiv, proving that in this year relations between Rome and Kyjiv were good. Estrangement came about only gradually, and no official act of separation is known. Certain indisputable facts indicate that communion with Rome was not permanently broken. King Danylo of Halyč (1205-1264) was crowned by the delegate of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) in 1253 at Dorohyčyn. The Council of Lyons in 1245 was attended by Metropolitan Peter Akerovyč of Kyjiv (1242-1246), and the Council of Constance in 1418 by Metropolitan Gregory Camblak (1416-1419). Formal relations were established at the Council of Florence in 1439 by Metropolitan Isidore of Kyjiv (1437-1458), who became the first cardinal of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv.

From its beginning until the time of Metropolitan Isidore, the metropolitanate of Kyjiv had included all the dioceses in Ukrainian, Bielorussian and Muscovite territories. In 1448, in opposition to the Council of Florence and to Isidore, Jona was elected in Moscow, under the influence of the Muscovite prince, Basil II. Jona was able to take jurisdiction only in territories dependent upon Moscow, beginning an autocephalous church in Moscow, independent of any higher authority, including Constantinople. Isidore resigned in 1458 in Rome, and Pope Pius II (1458-1464) appointed Gregory Bolharyn (1458-1472) in his place as metropolitan of Kyjiv, specifically enumerating ten dioceses

to be under his jurisdiction, nine of which were in Ukrainian and Bielo-russian territories, at that time dominated by Poland and Lithuania. In this way the ancient metropolitanate of "Kyjiv and All Rus' " was split into "Kyjiv and All Rus' " and "Moscow and All Rus' ". It is easy to follow the metropolitan of Moscow's line of thinking in the usurpation of the title "and All Rus' ". In his ambition for Moscow to replace Constantinople as the head of the Eastern Church — the "Third Rome" — the claim had to be based on that of an ancient metropolitan see of importance. Not having any such heritage for Moscow, he had somehow to include the venerable see of Kyjiv in its title. By claiming a direct line of succession from Kyjiv, the metropolitan of Moscow would be able to claim Kyjiv's ancient heritage as Moscow's own. To do this, he had only to append "and All Rus' " to Moscow's title and relegate Kyjiv to a subordinate place. In time, this attempt was successful, because it was backed by the political and military power of Moscow. By the end of the fifteenth century, Kyjiv had resumed communion with Constantinople.

The sixteenth century was a time of great internal debility in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. Metropolitan Michael Rahoza (1588-1599) with his bishops accepted the jurisdiction of Rome for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv at the Synod of Berestja in 1596. This communion is still in effect today for Catholic Ukrainians all over the world.

By union with Rome, the hierarchy of Kyjiv had expected to obtain internal strengthening of the church, and equality of political rights with the Latin rite in the kingdom of Poland, under whose domination their territories were. Internal strength was slow in coming, being impeded by opposition to union with Rome from within the metropolitanate itself. This opposition found considerable support from Constantinople and Moscow. In spite of all difficulties, the metropolitanate of Kyjiv not only survived, but developed in strength. The Synod of Zamostja in 1720 made numerous reforms considered necessary to internal strength which are still in use by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. By the second part of the eighteenth century, the metropolitanate had grown to several million people, which was a considerable number for that time. It was the largest in number of the Eastern rite Catholic Churches.

In the seventeenth century there were efforts to raise Kyjiv to a patriarchal see, but for several reasons this was not realized. It was a mistake not to do so, because a patriarchate would have been harder to suppress than a metropolitanate. Also, it would have been a central rallying point for the faithful, as it was for those Eastern rite Churches,

both Catholic and Orthodox, under Arab and Turkish domination, which helped them to survive over many centuries.

Union with Rome contributed to the growth of monasteries which numbered one hundred and forty four by the second part of the eighteenth century². In 1617 they were reorganized according to western forms by Metropolitan Joseph Velamyn Rutskyj (1613-1637), and all were centralized as the Basilian Order, under one superior general called the protoarchimandrite. This order had extensive influence on the metropolitanate of Kyjiv and on its canonical and liturgical development, because after 1617 all bishops were Basilians until the time of the partition of Poland. The bishops' curias were predominantly staffed by Basilians. Thanks to the efforts of Metropolitan Rutskyj, to the active leadership of the Basilians, and to the continuous support of the hierarchy, the monks received higher education, comparable to that obtained by the Latin rite clergy in their own and in various pontifical seminaries. Monasteries for women were never reorganized or centralized. They remained insignificant in numbers and influence.

The effort to achieve equality of political rights with the Latin rite, and to improve the condition and position of the church, clergy and faithful of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv in the kingdom of Poland remained without success. Notwithstanding strong insistence in numerous papal letters, the metropolitan of Kyjiv and his bishops were not admitted to the senate of Warsaw, the instrument of all major political and social decisions, mainly through the opposition of the Latin rite bishops³. The Eastern rite Catholic bishops were thus unable to defend the rights and interests of their Church, clergy and faithful.

This inability on the part of the bishops was sorely felt by the clergy and faithful. The people were, for the most part, rural and *glebae adscripti*, and the position of their pastors was not much better. Their situation can be compared in many respects to that of the American Negroes, their clergy and their churches, in the southern states until just recently. The sons of priests were often made *glebae adscripti* by the landlords or patrons of the church, and forced to work on their farms with the other half-slaves. Those who resisted were flogged.

² BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce*, in « Kościół Polski » 2 (1970), 1106-1108; BŁAŻEJOVSKYJ D., *De potestate Metropolitaram Kio-censium in clerum regularem (1596-1805)*, in « Analecta OSBM », Opera 27 (1973), 142-179.

³ LIKOWSKI E., *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1906, t. I, p. 271-274.

This practice began under King Jan Kazimierz of Poland (1648-1668) and was officially legalized by the *Sejm*, the highest lawmaking body of Poland, in 1764. The law was passed that the sons of priests who were not attending school or studying a trade by the age of fifteen became the *glebae adscripti* of the landlord⁴. How such a law could be even considered, much less passed, by the Warsaw *Sejm*, which was Catholic by overwhelming majority and in which so many Catholic bishops took part, notwithstanding all the solemn promises and declarations of equality, is beyond explanation. No honest person would even attempt to justify this law. It without doubt shows the deplorable situation of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and the helplessness of its leadership which could not defend its Catholic clergy in a Catholic country.

§ 2. Metropolitan Seminaries

One of the main weaknesses of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, which hindered its growth and considerably contributed to its downfall, was the lack of educated secular clergy. The secular clergy of Kyjiv, as elsewhere, was taking care of the overwhelming majority of the faithful of the metropolitanate, and an uneducated clergy could not be expected to educate the people. The necessity of having their own schools, and especially their own seminaries was felt continuously by the Catholic hierarchy. Right from the beginning of their definite connection with Rome, Bishops Ipatij Potij (1593-1613) of Volodymyr and Kyrylo Terleckyj (1585-1607) of Luck, who went to Rome in 1595 for negotiation of the union, asked for someone from Rome to help them organize a seminary. Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) assigned Father Peter Arcudio (1562-1633), a learned Greek who had been among the first students of the Greek College of Rome and who had received his doctorate in theology and philosophy in Rome in 1591. Father Arcudio was already known to the hierarchy of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and understood the circumstances there, for he had been there earlier in 1592-1594, and had discussed the question of union with Bishop Potij. Lviv was the proposed city for the new seminary. In the spring of 1596, Father Arcudio went to the metropolitanate and took part in

⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 38: Instruction to Nuncio Joseph Garampi (1772); ZAŁĘSKI S., *Kilka uwag nad książką ks. Pralata Likowskiego: Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku*, Poznań 1880, p. 46-47.

the Synod of Berestja. Because Bishop Balaban (1568-1607) of Lviv joined those who opposed the union, it was impossible to open the seminary at Lviv, and it was decided to move the chosen site to Berestja. In 1597, King Sigismund III Waza (1587-1632) approved the decision of Metropolitan Rahoza to give the villages of Torokany and Lisna for the support of the seminary. When the plans for the seminary were not realized, Torokany was given in 1599 to Father Arcudio for his personal use and support ⁵, but in 1601 the archimandrija (abbey) of Lavryšiv was given to him, since he was not able to take possession of the village on account of the opposition of Bishop Balaban of Lviv, who was the archimandrite of Žydyčyn, to which Torokany belonged ⁶.

When Metropolitan Rahoza died in 1599, his successor, Ipatij Potij, decided that the best place for the seminary was Vilno, the capital of Lithuania, which was in the northern part of the metropolitan diocese of Kyjiv. On January 21, 1601, the property of Pečersk and the villages of Cvyrkiv, Borsuky and Tarasovyči were assigned for the support of the seminary by Metropolitan Potij, and were officially transferred on August 15, 1601 to the rector of the seminary, Father Peter Teodorovyč Suromjatnyk ⁷. Historians of this period have accepted the existence of this seminary, even connecting it with that of the monastery of Holy Trinity at Vilno, basing their knowledge on only the two above mentioned documents and on a statement made by Father Gennadius Chmelnickyj, OSBM, in 1637. Father Chmelnickyj stated in the beatification acts of St. Josaphat Kuncevyč that he had known Josaphat Kuncevyč, and that, when he was studying at the "Seminario Rutheno" in Vilno under the direction of Father Arcudio, he had gone to services at the Monastery of Holy Trinity with Josaphat, who was still a layman ⁸. Father R. Holowackyj is the only author who has furnished details

⁵ HOLOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense SS. Trinitatis (1601-1621)*, in « *Analecta OSBM* », Opera 8 (1957), 34-42; AZR, t. 4, p. 196, no. 142 (1599, August 21); MYKOLIŲ G., *Petrus Arcudius-Auctor "Antirrhesis"*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 4 (1963), 79 sqq.

⁶ WEM, t. 1, p. 523, no. 124: Metr. Rutskyj to Prop. Fide (1632, Feb. 1); AZR, t. 4, p. 241, no. 155 (1601, May 4).

⁷ *Opisanie dokumentov Archiva Zapadnorusskich Unijatskich Mitropolitov*, St. Petersburg 1897, t. 1, p. 111, no. 249; CHARLAMPOVIČ K., *Zapadnorusskija Pravoslavnyja školy XVI i načala XVII veka*, Kazan 1898, p. 491-494; SAVVČ A., *Narysy z istoriji kulturnych ruchiv na Ukrajinі ta Bilorusi v XVI-XVII v.*, Kyjiv 1929, p. 237-240.

⁸ WSJ, t. 2, p. 222.

concerning the name of the seminary and the years of its existence, names of supposed rectors, students, course of studies, means of support and reasons for its termination⁹. His proofs for the supposition that the seminary founded in 1601 for the instruction of the secular clergy was one and the same as that Basilian seminary at the monastery of Holy Trinity are unconvincing, however. Father B. Pidrutchnyj published an article in 1973 in which he cites letters of Father Arcudio which he recently discovered in the Roman Archives, stating that a "Seminario Rutheno" really was started. However, it is clear from these letters that this seminary was not at the monastery of Holy Trinity as Potij wished, but in a wooden house bought in 1601 by the Latin Bishop Benedict Wojna (1600-1615) of Vilno, and that there were only twelve students. The bishop promised to purchase a brick house for them, but because of extraordinary war expenses had still not done so in 1602¹⁰. In neither the letters of Father Arcudio nor the previously mentioned statement by Father Chmelnyskyj is there any connection made between this seminary and that of Holy Trinity monastery. Both sources use the term "Seminario Rutheno" and not "Holy Trinity Seminary", as given by Father Holowackyj.

The duration of this seminary was short and its contribution insignificant. This can be concluded from the silence of Metropolitan Potij and Metropolitan Rutskyj concerning its existence and influence, and from the silence even of Father Arcudio himself and of the nuncios of Warsaw.

On April 17, 1606, Metropolitan Potij sent a letter to Pope Paul V (1605-1621), personally delivered by his future successor, Joseph Rutskyj, asking the pope to erect a seminary¹¹. On June 15, 1607, he again sent the same request to Pope Paul¹². Nuncio Anthony Caetano wrote to Cardinal Borghese on August 3, 1609, asking him to discuss with Bishop Wojna of Vilno and with Metropolitan Potij the erection of a seminary¹³. The conclusion drawn from these letters is that before the year 1606, the "Seminario Rutheno" was already defunct. The last mention of it is made by Metropolitan Potij on August 5,

⁹ HOLOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense...*, p. 25-144.

¹⁰ ODZM, t. 1, p. 111, no. 249 (1601, August 15); PIDRUTCHNYJ P.B., *Pietro Arcudio - Promotore dell'Unione*, in "Analecta OSBM" 8 (1973), 262-263.

¹¹ WLE, t. 1, p. 31, no. 25.

¹² WLE, t. 1, p. 36, no. 28.

¹³ WLN, t. 3, p. 24, no. 966.

1603 in his letter to Prince Leo Sapieha¹⁴. It had probably lasted less than two years, and had died from lack of rectors, teachers and adequate funds. From the documents we know definitely of only one rector, Suromjatnyk, who died in 1602¹⁵, and who may have been succeeded by Father Arcudio. In the spring of 1603, Father Arcudio, Abbot of Kobryn since March 3, 1603, was sent to Warsaw by Metropolitan Potij to defend the interests of the Church at the Polish Diet¹⁶, and on October 28 of the same year he left for Rome. He did not return to the metropolitanate until the middle of 1605¹⁷ and remained until 1609, but no mention is made anywhere that he taught during this period. There exist no known records of who actually did the teaching. That Father Arcudio taught can be surmised from Father Chmelnyckyj's statement that he had studied under his direction, and also from the fact that Father Arcudio had been sent by Pope Clement in 1596 to help start the seminary.

The seminary could not have continued to exist much longer after Father Arcudio's departure for Warsaw in the spring of 1603, especially since Father Suromjatnyk had died the year before. The only man who has been proposed as the one who possibly succeeded him as rector and teacher is John (later Joseph) Velamyn Rutskyj. However, certain facts of his life are against this supposition. He had been a Calvinist in his youth, had been converted to the Latin rite, had just completed his studies in 1603 and had been denied ordination by Metropolitan Potij, possibly on account of his Calvinistic origin and because he was unknown to the metropolitan. On April 17, 1606, he was sent to Rome to discuss the erection of a seminary with Pope Paul V, without any mention that he was or had been rector or teacher, or even that a seminary existed. It is incredible that a man, a newcomer, who had been denied ordination and who in 1606 was not referred to as either rector or teacher by Metropolitan Potij in his letter to the pope, could have taken over the seminary after Father Arcudio. Even after he became metropolitan in 1613, Rutskyj made no reference to the existence of this seminary in the several hundred letters known to have been written by him. It is impossible to think that he would so completely have avoided all men-

¹⁴ PROCHASKA A., *Archiwum Domu Sapiehów*, Lviv 1892, t. 1, p. 367, no. 417 toć i seminarium owo nasze ubogie Ruskie co ledwie jako kokosze grochowe rano dostało się i to w niwecz się obróci.

¹⁵ HOŁOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense...*, p. 88.

¹⁶ WL.N, t. 2, p. 186, no. 731.

¹⁷ PIDRUTCHNYJ P.B., *Pietro Arcudio...*, p. 264-266.

tion of the seminary if he had ever been rector. He had extensive correspondence covering all fields of activity in the Church, having been appointed archimandrite of Holy Trinity monastery in 1608, coadjutor of the metropolitan in 1611 and having been metropolitan of Kyjiv from 1614-1637.

Besides lack of rectors and teachers, the seminary had no solid economic foundation on which to base its development. According to Father Arcudio, the Latin Bishop Wojna of Vilno in 1601 had given, besides the wooden house, food and clothing for twelve students, and had done so out of the goodness of his heart, since he was of Ruthenian origin. It is improbable that he would have been able to continue this support, in view of the fact that he was not even able to provide the brick house that he had promised at first. In a letter directed to Nuncio Claudius Rangoni on April 5, 1602¹⁸, Father Arcudio mentions also that Metropolitan Potij was giving 300 florins per year, but this sum seems not to have been based on steady income from any property. If times were hard for Bishop Wojna, they were even worse for Metropolitan Potij, who was having continuous court litigations over possession of church properties with those who opposed union with Rome. He seems to have discontinued this donation after the first year, in spite of his good intentions. He possibly felt responsible for the closing of the seminary, and this might explain his reluctance to mention its existence in letters to the pope. The revenue from the properties at Pečersk and from the villages of Cvyrkiv, Borsuky and Tarasovyči were tied up in court litigation for many years.

Affairs at Holy Trinity monastery were not in good shape at this time. Archimandrite Samuel Sinčylo was removed for bad administration and for ruining the property, and was even excommunicated in 1608. In all probability this was not the type of man to care much about the training of future priests or about the existence of any seminary.

Historians, such as Charlampovič, Savyč, Pelesz and others refer to the seminary which began in 1601 as a long continuing institution. Father Holowackyj even tries to prove its existence from 1601 up to 1621. This mistake probably stems from the fact that the transfer of the known property of Pečersk to the prospective seminary, with mention of the name of the rector, is clear in a document of 1601¹⁹, indicating the birth of a seminary at Vilno. Two other references,

¹⁸ PIDRUTCHNYJ P.B., *Pietro Arcudio...*, p. 262-263.

¹⁹ See note 7.

one by Metropolitan Potij in 1603 and another by Father Chmelnycykj referring to 1604, give indication of the existence of this seminary. There are no known records of its termination, possibly on account of its small size, insignificance and short life.

A new seminary founded at Holy Trinity in 1608 by Rutskyj for the education of the monks had no specific name in the beginning. It began insignificantly and had no clear birth certificate. Since it was the only one in existence, the superiors of Holy Trinity monastery at Vilno tried to get the property of Pečersk. In the above mentioned document of 1601, Metropolitan Potij, the archimandrite of Pečerska Lavra, had given this property to the now defunct first seminary. Because the possession of this property even by the first seminary was being strongly protested by the monks of Pečerska Lavra as illegal, it would have been extremely difficult to obtain court approval for its transfer to Holy Trinity monastery. It was therefore necessary to consider the seminary at Holy Trinity as the continuation of the earlier seminary so that the claim to the property would have a basis. The property was never definitely acknowledged as belonging to Holy Trinity seminary²⁰, actually only the temporary income becoming the property of Holy Trinity monastery. The villa Torokany was also applied toward the support of Holy Trinity seminary. Torokany had been assigned by Metropolitan Rahoza in 1597 to the seminary in Berestja which had never materialized. Metropolitan Rutskyj kept the property at Torokany in the possession of the metropolitanate, applying only the income toward Holy Trinity seminary. He applied it to Holy Trinity "because there was no other seminary in existence" as he himself stated and in 1632 he wanted to transfer it to the planned seminary for the secular clergy at Minsk²¹. The Minsk seminary was

²⁰ *Archeografičeskij Sbornik*, Vilno 1871, t. 4, p. 78-89, no. 48; HOLOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense...*, p. 119.

²¹ WEM, t. 1, p. 253, no. 124: Metr. Rutskyj to Prop. Fide (1632, Feb. 1): «Interim illa Villa erat sub patrocinio Metropolitae, et redditus illius applicati erant pro Monasterio Vilnen. Unitorum, quia aliud Seminarium non erat; ibi autem iuvenes Religiosi instituebantur in studiis tam inferioribus quam altioribus, et possidebatur pacifice per totum hoc tempus; sola confirmatio Sedis Apostolicae deerat, quam non procurabat Antecessor meus, nec ego, quia Seminarium nondum erectum est; nunc quia erigitur, et hoc anno, Deo favente, initium fiet, confirmationem ad intercessionem Eminentissimarum Reverendissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum a sua Sanctitate, Domino Nostro Clementissimo, ut obtineat Seminarium Minscense etiam atque etiam rogo».

slow in starting, and meanwhile Rutskyj died in 1637. Torokany later became the headquarters of the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order.

That this new seminary at Holy Trinity was not for the training of secular clergy is clear from a letter of Metropolitan Rutskyj and all his bishops to the Holy See in 1622, requesting financial help for the foundation of such a seminary²². That it was meant for a monastic order, on the other hand, is indicated in a letter from the Latin bishop of Vilno, Eustachius Wollowicz (1615-1630), to Rome on August 12, 1622, stating that the metropolitan of Kyjiv had seminaries scattered throughout the kingdom, and that the principal one was in Vilno at Holy Trinity monastery in which not a few of the Basilian Order were educated²³.

It could well be that Metropolitan Potij intended for the seminary of 1601 to serve jointly for both the secular and the monastic clergy. He had previously been a senator, and had been promoted from layman to bishop, and so had received no seminary training, either secular or religious. He therefore may not clearly have realized the great distinction made between the two types of training, especially since the secular clergy was married. On account of the purchase of a house by Bishop Wojna and his initial support, the secular seminary was organized separately. Bishop Wojna was fully aware of the difference in training of secular priests and monks. In the Latin Church there was to be a clearly distinct education for the secular clergy, as ordered by the Council of Trent, and Bishop Wojna himself had a diocesan seminary for the secular clergy in Vilno.

In the metropolitanate of Kyjiv both types of seminaries were needed. It was necessary for a seminary to have a rector, professors and economical foundation. The secular seminary, lacking these elements, had to die, whereas the monastic seminary had better chances for survival. Rutskyj was trained in Prague and Rome by the Jesuits. Therefore, when he entered Holy Trinity monastery in 1607, became superior in 1608, and started a seminary there, this seminary had in him a rector and professor. After the removal of Archimandrite Sinčylo, it had firm financial basis in the properties of the monastery, and for a while in the income from Pečersk and Torokany.

That this seminary began in 1608 is evident from a letter of Rutskyj

²² WSEU, t. 1, p. 6, no. 2.

²³ WLE, t. 1, p. 82, no. 54.

dated October 20, 1608, in which he states, "he (Sinčylo) cares nothing about where the brothers get their education... if he remains in the monastery... the seminary of noble youth which has now begun to increase our religion will be dissolved"²⁴. The word "now", written on October 20, 1608, could hardly mean earlier than that year. Besides, Rutskyj had only just entered in September of 1607, and could not reasonably have started the seminary immediately.

From the above statement, it can also be concluded that the seminary was for the education of the brothers of the monastery, and was to increase the religious community. Since Rutskyj stresses the nobility of the youth, this excludes the secular clergy, which almost without exception did not belong to that class. He specifies the nobility of the students because at that time it was hard for any but the nobility to be promoted to higher church positions, especially to the episcopacy, which Rutskyj later in 1617 was to reserve exclusively to monks.

Considering the plea of Metropolitan Potij in 1609 and that of Metropolitan Rutskyj and the hierarchy in 1622 for a seminary, Bishop Wollowicz's letter of 1622 referring to seminaries, the fact that there is no record of any secular priest ever having been educated at that time at Holy Trinity seminary, and the great improbability that Rutskyj, being the reformer of monasticism, would even consider one common seminary for monks and married clergy, there is only one possible conclusion. That is that Holy Trinity seminary, begun in 1608, was for the purpose of educating the new type of monks, well trained and reorganized and known by the name of the Order of St. Basil the Great.

Having taken care of the education of members of the only religious order then existing in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, Metropolitan Rutskyj turned his attention to the education of the secular clergy. Whatever his success was, he had at least good intentions to do something about this matter. Nuncio Lancellotti of Warsaw wrote to Rome on November 10, 1623, that Rutskyj wanted his seminary in Vilno, near his church, with about one hundred students, reckoning the cost at approximately 100 florins per student per year, or, according to the nuncio, about 25 unghari. He said that Rutskyj had no money to start, but only hope that he could obtain help from the Holy Father²⁵. In the meantime, Rutskyj wanted to get some contribution from his bishops.

²⁴ *Archeografičeskij Sbornik...*, t. 6, p. 119, no. 54; HOLOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense...*, p. 124.

²⁵ WLN, t. 4, p. 99, no. 1654.

On January 1, 1624, he wrote to Cardinal Bandini, the "Protector Russiae", requesting Rome to tell the nuncio to call the bishops and require from each a contribution towards the seminary. He said that if the request came from the nuncio, some would give gladly and others would give out of respect²⁶. It seems that Rutskyj thought that the bishops would not contribute if he asked them himself. He was probably right, for once a bishop had obtained his nomination from Warsaw and through the king had taken possession of the properties of the diocese, there was no means by which he could be induced to make any contribution except persuasion. For such permanently expensive matters as a seminary, persuasion by the metropolitan was not of much force. Metropolitan Rutskyj acknowledged this difficulty in a letter to the nuncio dated September 9, 1625. In reference to the nomination of a new bishop for Cholm, Rutskyj wanted the nuncio to obtain a promise from the candidate, if he were not a Basilian, that he would contribute some part of his income. He was not sure that he would be able to press his own nomination of a Basilian, but if he could, he hoped to be able to get half of the income at his own request²⁷. The decision of the Basilian congregation in 1617 that in the future their religious order would have exclusive right to nominations to the episcopal sees was not yet a firmly set practice. Rutskyj, an idealist, thought that bishops taken from the monastic ranks would be more generous towards the needs of the Church and could more easily be pressed into making contributions. The history of the next two centuries reconfirms that human nature is only human, and that it is easier to take than to give.

To move the question of the seminary ahead, Rutskyj called his bishops and representatives of the Basilians to Kobryn for a synod in September of 1626, and asked the pope to encourage the bishops to contribute²⁸. Rome had given all encouragement, contributing 1000 scudi itself²⁹. All together, 15,000 scudi was promised at the synod of Kobryn³⁰, but is hard to say how many of these promises were fulfilled³¹.

²⁶ WEM, t. 1, p. 99, no. 42.

²⁷ WLN, t. 1, p. 174, no. 72.

²⁸ WEM, t. 2, p. 41-43, no. 6.

²⁹ WLN, t. 4, p. 198, no. 1822; WEM, t. 1, p. 179, no. 79; WEM, t. 1, p. 201, no. 98.

³⁰ WEM, t. 1, p. 189, no. 84.

³¹ WLN, t. 5, p. 50, no. 2117; WEM, t. 1, p. 189, no. 84, note 287.

In 1623 Metropolitan Rutskyj had wanted the seminary at Vilno, but in 1624 he changed his mind in favor of Minsk. The reasons for this were 1) in Minsk there was no Jesuit college, and 2) he had opened a school for secular youth in Minsk run by the Basilians, and he figured that the same teachers could be used in the seminary³². Nuncio Lancellotti was also in favor of Minsk, since there was property available in Minsk for purchase for 15,000 scudi³³. This was the property of Usiaz which was bought by Rutskyj later in 1632 for the seminary³⁴.

In the same year we have notice that the erection of the seminary building was in progress. It was under the direction of a Basilian father, superior of the monastery at Minsk, but construction ran into difficulty when he died on April 15, 1632³⁵. When the seminary was finished, whether it opened, and if so how it functioned, is hard to say. Bishop Korsak, while he was in Rome in 1634, gave a description of Minsk, its churches and monasteries, but not a word about a seminary³⁶, which he hardly would have omitted if it had existed. In 1632, Metropolitan Rutskyj makes mention of a "future seminary"³⁷, whereas in 1635 he states that the seminary with great expense had been erected³⁸. His successor, Metropolitan Korsak (1637-1640), in his will of August 18, 1640, says that the recently constructed seminary, built with the money from the pope, had been destroyed in a general fire of the city³⁹. The seminary must have opened around the year 1635; it was burned in 1640 or before. In this short period, there was no time to graduate students or to have much effect on the secular clergy of the metropolitanate, if indeed it even functioned at all⁴⁰. In 1646, in a letter to the Prop. Fide, Metropolitan Sielava reports, "the rebuilding of the seminary has just been completed"⁴¹. There is no record that it opened immediately. Possibly it did not, on account of the Cossack wars which began under Hetman Chmelnyckyj in the spring of 1648 and lasted a number of years. The first notice that it was opened dates

³² WLN, t. 4, p. 184, no. 1797.

³³ WLN, t. 4, p. 141, no. 1731.

³⁴ ODZM, t. 1, p. 232, no. 605 (1632, June 27).

³⁵ WEM, t. 2, p. 87, no. 26.

³⁶ WEM, t. 2, p. 121, no. 38.

³⁷ WEM, t. 1, p. 255, no. 126.

³⁸ WEM, t. 1, p. 320-321, no. 175.

³⁹ WEM, t. 2, p. 165, no. 70.

⁴⁰ WLN, t. 5, p. 59, no. 2137, note 86.

⁴¹ WEM, t. 2, p. 195, no. 13 (1646, September 3).

from 1653. It was under the direction of the Basilians, and lasted for only two and a half years. In 1655, in the war between the Polish and Russians, the Russians took Minsk and the seminary was burned, never to be rebuilt. The details of this last phase (1653-1655) of the Minsk seminary have been extensively treated by I. Praszko ⁴². No serious attempt was made from that time on to rebuild or organize a metropolitan seminary by the metropolitan or by the hierarchy. The property of Usiaz was taken over by the metropolitans. When Rome made inquiry about the property in 1678, the metropolitan answered that it had been so devastated that the profit did not exceed 10 scudi per year ⁴³.

§ 3. - Diocesan Seminaries

Archbishop Leo Kreuza of Smolensk (1625-1639) was one of the few bishops of this time who thought it was a good idea to have a seminary in his own diocese. In a letter to Rome in 1628, he considered the foundation of a seminary in Smolensk to be much needed for the propagation of the Catholic faith, the priests being without knowledge of even the essentials of theology. He hoped to be able to obtain from the metropolitan some of the better educated monks as teachers and directors, and expected to get financial support from the Polish king ⁴⁴. The matter of the Smolensk seminary never got past the talking stage, and nothing was ever done about it, by the archbishop or anyone else.

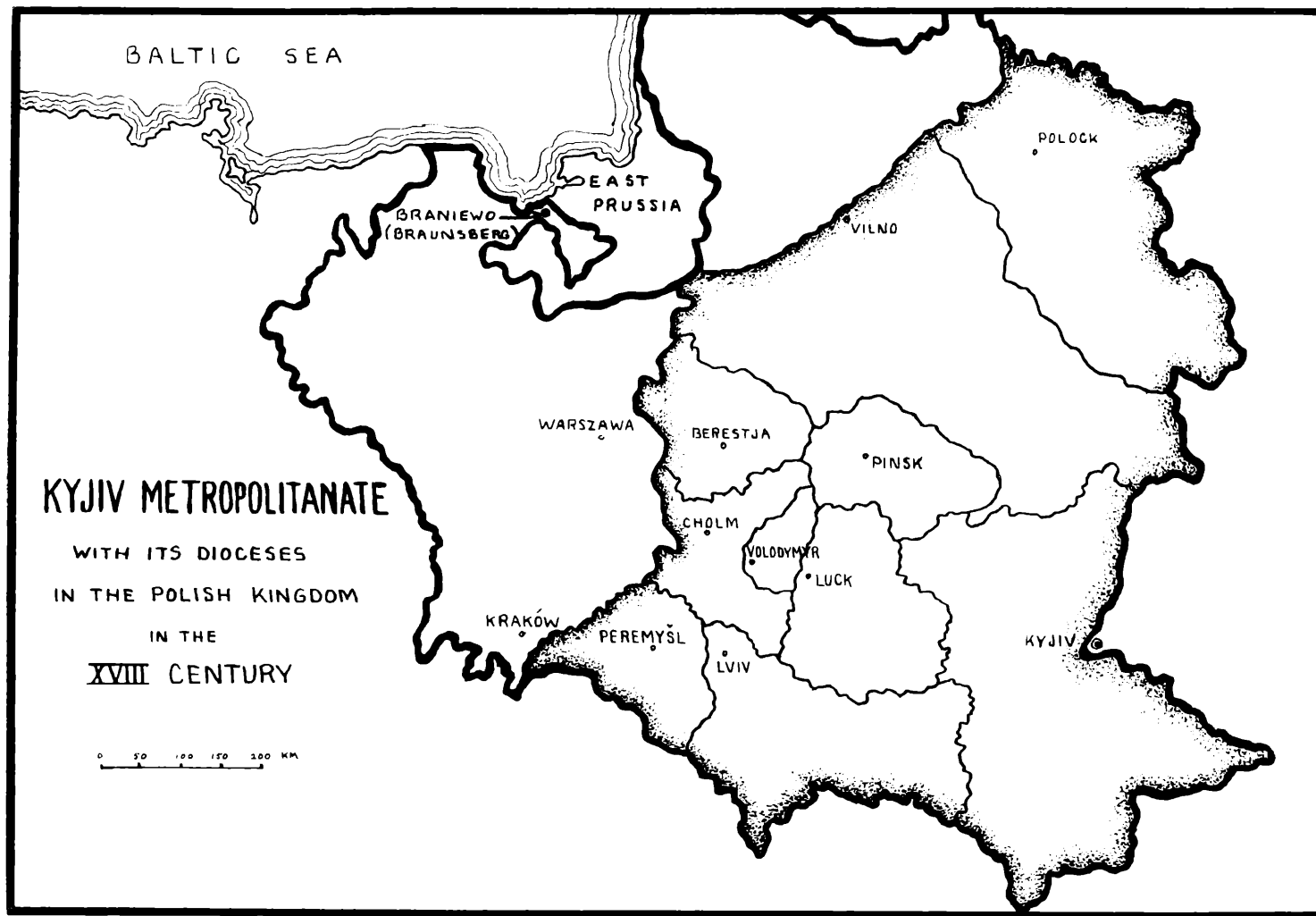
There were also efforts by the bishops of Peremyśl to erect a diocesan seminary. Bishop John Malachovskyj (1669-1691) tried to found a seminary in Jaroslav in 1687-1688, and Bishops Innocent Vynnyckyj (1680-1700) and George Vynnyckyj (1700-1713) tried in Peremyśl (see Chapter IV, art. 1).

In 1719, Metropolitan Leo Kiška (1714-1729), who at the same time was also bishop of Volodymyr and Berestja, started a seminary at Volodymyr. He guaranteed 90,000 florins from his hereditary possess-

⁴² PRASZKO I., *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665*, Rome 1944, p. 32-36; HOLOWACKYJ R., *Mytropolyča Seminarija Rutskoho*, in "Analecta OSBM" 3 (1958), 384-391.

⁴³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 29, p. 630-631 (1687, April 8); WCP, t. 1, p. 96, no. 51.

⁴⁴ WLE, t. 1, pp. 156, 160, no. 84.



KYJIVAN METROPOLITANATE (XVIII century)
 (based on L. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Organizacja...*, map no. 15)

ions at Mečyci ⁴⁵ and possibly other minor sums. He joined the seminary to the college of Volodymyr, and placed it under the direction of the Basilians. In his will on April 8, 1728, he added still more property to the support of the seminary ⁴⁶. After the Synod of Zamostja, the bishops of Lviv, Peremyśl and Luck gave as endowment to the pontifical seminary of Lviv 10,000 florins per student. Based on this figure, the sum guaranteed by Metropolitan Kiška to the seminary at Volodymyr should have supported nine students. However, the secular clergy complained to the pope in 1757 that the seminary admitted only one or two students, and could not really be said to be a seminary at all ⁴⁷. It seems to have existed almost unnoticed, died a slow death and disappeared leaving little trace.

Bishop Theophilus Godebskyj of Volodymyr (1730-1756) had the intention to erect a seminary at Berestja. He left a considerable sum for this purpose, and construction was begun. Unfortunately, in 1772, it was still unfinished ⁴⁸. There is no record as to whether or not it was ever completed.

Other efforts to erect diocesan seminaries were made by Bishop Maximilian Rylo of Cholm (1759-1785) and of Peremyśl (1785-1793) and by Bishop Silvester Rudnyckyj of Luck (1752-1777). Bishop Rudnyckyj in 1763 opened a seminary in Luck with a foundation of 30,000 florins for four students, but it burned down in 1779, and was not reopened by his successors. Bishop Rylo in 1760 opened a seminary in Cholm, with the secular clergy in charge. In 1769, Rylo transferred the direction to the Basilians, and in 1771 made a foundation for three Basilians and six students. In 1780, Rylo wrote to Rome for papal confirmation of the seminary, and requested that it be permanently under the direction of the Basilians. He also asked for a decree from Rome that the sum of 100,000 florins collected by him would always be for the support of the seminary, without the possibility of its ever being converted by his successors to their own use. The seminary was confirmed by Pius VI on January 19, 1780. From 1783

⁴⁵ WEM, t. 4, p. 66, no. 49: Metr. Kiška to Prop. Fide (1720, May 1).

⁴⁶ WEM, t. 4, p. 148-149, no. 113.

⁴⁷ WSEU, t. 3, p. 143-144, no. 1019: «...non si ammettano, che uno o due alunni, neppur si può dir, che sussista ».

⁴⁸ WEM, t. 5, p. 252, no. 153: « Ill.mo Młodowski injungatur, ut Ecclesiam et Seminarium Dioecesanum terminaret, vel summam acceptam restituat, et per alium terminari faciat ».

to 1786 there was an average of eight to eleven students⁴⁹. When Cholm was taken over by Austria in 1795, the students went to Lviv and Vienna, and the seminary ceased to function. During the Napoleonic wars, Austria lost Cholm, which ended up under the domination of Russia. The seminary was then revived by Bishop Ferdynand Cichanovskyj (1810-1828)⁵⁰. With the suppression of the diocese of Cholm in 1875, the seminary ceased to exist.

In 1772, when the dioceses of Lviv and Peremyśl passed over to Austria, the education of the clergy made great progress in the changed political and religious conditions, thanks to the determined efforts of the Ukrainian hierarchy and clergy on the one hand, and the effective help of Vienna, the empress, Maria Theresa (1765-1780) and her successors on the other. In 1775, Maria Theresa opened in Vienna a special seminary, called the Barbareum, for students of the Eastern rite clergy in her empire, to which she admitted forty six students, six of whom were from Lviv, and six from Peremyśl. The others were nine from Mukačiv, nine from Fogaras, six from Great Varadin, now Oradea Mare, six from Križevci and four Basilians. Later, two students from the Eastern rite deanery belonging to the Latin rite diocese of Spiš were added, making the total number forty eight students and four superiors. The seminary was closed in 1784 by Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), who in 1783 in Lviv, had opened a General Caesarean (imperial) Seminary. All seminarians of the Eastern rite, including the students of the Barbareum, the pontifical Ukrainian and Armenian seminaries of Lviv and the diocesan seminaries of Peremyśl, Lviv and Halyč, were ordered to go there by the emperor⁵¹. The diocesan seminary of Peremyśl had been founded by Bishop Athanasius Šeptyckyj (1762-1779) about the year 1775, and those of Lviv in Lviv, Halyč, Kamjanec and Bar around the year 1780 by Bishop Peter Biljanskyj (1780-1798). The seminaries at Kamjanec and Bar, outside of Austrian territory, lasted a few years and then faded away. Within a short time the idea of a general seminary was found to be impractical, and

⁴⁹ BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła...*, p. 977-978; CHOMA I., *Maximilianus Rylo*, Rome 1951 - manuscript, p. 98-99.

⁵⁰ PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, Vienna 1880, t. 2, p. 833.

⁵¹ ANDRUCHOVYČ A., *Videnske Barbareum*, in *Opera Gr. Cath. Academiae Theologicae Leopoli* 1/2 (1935), 62-64, 74, 83-87; PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union...*, t. 2, p. 636-639; SENYCIA P., *Svitylnyk Istyny*, Toronto 1973, p. 27-28.

it became necessary to open seminaries in other provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire, so in 1790 the General Caesarean Seminary of Lviv, as such, ceased to exist. What remained there was made into a seminary for Lviv and Peremyśl. In 1807, Lviv was raised to an archdiocese, and its archbishop was made metropolitan of the renewed metropolitanate of Halyč. The seminary of Lviv in practice became a metropolitan seminary⁵². For better education, students were sent to the "Kaiserliches Convict" in Vienna, founded in 1803 by Emperor Franz I (1792-1835) for Latin and Eastern rite clerics, and after 1819 also to the Weltpriesterbildungs-Institut by St. Augustine's. In the latter were accepted students preparing doctoral degrees. At the insistence of the metropolitan of Halyč and the bishop of Peremyśl, Emperor Franz Joseph (1848-1916) opened in Vienna the Greek Catholic Central Seminary in 1852 for the Eastern rite Catholic dioceses of the Austro-Hungarian empire. In this seminary, in the beginning, there were forty one and later, forty six places, of which nine were assigned to Lviv, nine to Peremyśl and three to the Basilians. In 1873, the number of places for Lviv and Peremyśl was raised to ten for each. Spiridon Lytvynovyč, later metropolitan of Halyč (1864-1869) was appointed as first rector of this seminary, and the first prefect was Joseph Sembratovyč, who was also later metropolitan of Halyč (1870-1882)⁵³.

There had evidently been some intention to found a seminary in the territory dominated by the Russians when it was still under Polish rule.

Mention is made that the Polish magnates, Stephen Potocki in Bučač in 1712, and Nicholas Potocki in Uman in 1766, had intended to start schools for the priests who were supposed to take care of the *glebae adscripti* on their estates, and the Radziwills started such a school in Svyržen in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There is also mention made that the clergy of Polock during the years 1762-1774 collected 9,748 rubles for the foundation of a seminary in their diocese, that Father Prymovyč donated 200,000 florins for the foundation of a seminary at Žytomyr in 1776, that Metropolitan Smogorzewskij began a seminary in Radomyśl in 1781, and that the Basilians had

⁵² SLIPYJ J., *Istoryčnyj ohljad vychovannja duchovenstva v katolyckij cerkvi zahalom i zokrema na Ukrajinі*, in Opera Gr. Cath. Academiae Theologicae Leopoli 1/2 (1935), 32-39; SENYCIA P., *Svitylnyk...*, p. 28-30.

⁵³ PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union...*, t. 2, pp. 641-643, 939, note 164, 992-995.

one in Lavryšiv about this same time^{53a}. If any of these so-called seminaries ever actually functioned, they must have been for only a few students, been short-lived and totally insufficient to care for the ever present need of educating the secular clergy.

At a meeting in Žyrovyci of the clergy of Berestja, on October 25, 1819, the accusation was made that Metropolitan Smogorzevskij (1780-1786) had badly invested the capital of 142,139 Polish florins which had been contributed by the clergy for the foundation of a seminary, and that he had had to be forced to change the investment by the tribunal. Metropolitan Rostockij (1787-1805) was also accused of keeping another capital collected for the seminary in his own hands without interest, and that at the time of his death, only 28,000 florins were found remaining in this fund.

Under czarist rule, the persecutions which had taken place during the reign of Catherine II (1762-1796) were stopped under her son, Paul I (1796-1801) and her grandson, Alexander I (1801-1825). Seminaries were then begun in Polock by the archdiocese of Polock, in Lavryšiv and Svyržen by the diocese of Berestja, and in Žytomyr, Volodymyr, Radomyśl and Luck by the diocese of Luck. All of these seminaries were rather small and soon had to be closed on account of lack of funds, with the exception of Počajiv with some few students who lived in town and had to support themselves. In Polock, in place of the seminary, the archbishop at his own expense kept a teacher who taught catechism and something of theology to those who applied for ordination. It was only in the reign of Alexander I that a seminary for twenty students was opened in Berestja, but it was soon closed by Nicholas I (1825-1855).

In Vilno in 1803 there had been organized a central seminary, supported by the government, which, although mainly for Latin rite students, also had places for twelve Eastern rite students. These places were suppressed in 1830 by the order of the czarist government.

In 1828, at the proposition of Joseph Semaško, an undercover agent of the czarist government, two government supported seminaries were begun in Polock and Žyrovyci, where the Russian language was spoken, Russian Orthodox textbooks were used and the direction was under the control of czarist agents. The purpose of these semi-

^{53a} ODZM, t. 2, p. 307-310, no. 2127 (1774, June 23); BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła...*, p. 977-978.

naries was to facilitate the liquidation of the union, an aim which was accomplished in 1839 in all Russian territories except Cholm ⁵⁴.

The diocese of Cholm, partly at the first partition of Poland in 1772, and partly at the third partition in 1791, came under the jurisdiction of Austria. In 1815, it became part of the Kingdom of Poland, which had been created in Vienna that year, with the Russian czar as king. Under the Austrian rule, the Cholm students had gone to Vienna and to Lviv to study, but with the change of government, Bishop Cichanovskij (1810-1828) opened his own seminary in Cholm, and also sent some students to the seminary in Warsaw, where some places had been obtained. The places in Warsaw were cut off by the czarist government in 1840 because Bishop Šumborskyj (1828-1851) had refused to send students to the Moscow Orthodox Academy. The order to send students was repeated to the next bishop, John Teraskevych (1851-1863), and he sent two students to Moscow in 1852. In the next year and from then on, he was forced to send four students each year. If any student refused to go, he was inducted into military service. In 1860, new regulations were introduced into the Cholm seminary, taking it in practice away from the immediate jurisdiction of the bishop and making it dependent upon the czarist government, with Russian language and Russian Orthodox textbooks, for the purpose of speeding up the subordination of the Cholm diocese to the Holy Synod. In 1875, with military help, Alexander II (1856-1881) effected the complete subordination ⁵⁵.

The Catholic Church of the former Kyjiv metropolitanate continued to exist only in Austrian territories, with its seminary at Lviv. In 1845, Peremyśl organized its own seminary, but only for fourth year students. The first three years the students studied at Lviv. In 1885, the Stanyslaviv diocese was created by splitting the diocese of Lviv. The new diocese began its own seminary in 1907, and Peremyśl expanded to include all four years of study in 1921 ⁵⁶. In 1929, the Greek Catholic Theological Academy was founded by Metropolitan Andrew Šeptyckyj

⁵⁴ LIKOWSKI E., *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego...*, t. 2, pp. 34-41, 56-57, 67-68; LENCYK W., *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I*, Rome 1966, p. 46-50; AMMANN A.M., *Storia della Chiesa Russa*, Torino 1948, p. 409.

⁵⁵ PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union...*, t. 2, p. 833-849; LIKOWSKI E., *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego...*, t. 2, pp. 138-145, 156-160; J.P.B., *Czasy Nerona w XIX wieku pod rządem moskiewskim, czyli Ostatnie chwile Unii w Diecezyi Chełmskiej*, Lviv 1878, *passim*.

⁵⁶ SENYCIA *Svitblynyk Istyny*, Toronto 1973, p. 36-37; *Almanach Ukrainських Bohosloviv*, Peremyśl 1937, p. 100-116.

of Halyč (1900-1944) with Joseph Slipyj as its first rector. The seminary of Lviv was incorporated into this academy⁵⁷.

The Greek Catholic Theological Academy, together with the seminaries of Stanyslaviv and Peremyśl, were suppressed when, after World War II, Lviv and Stanyslaviv came under Soviet domination and Peremyśl under the domination of the Polish People's Republic. The Catholics of the Union of Berestja were then dispersed and the Church continues to exist openly only in diaspora with two minor seminaries in Stamford, Connecticut and in Rome, two major seminaries: the metropolitan seminary in Washington, D.C. and the pontifical seminary in Rome, and fifteen dioceses and exarchates throughout the free world.

§ 4. - *Basilian Seminaries*

After the Union of Berestja in 1596, the organization of monasteries and the higher education of the monks became a pressing necessity. There appeared at this time a man eminently suited to be the reformer of monastic life in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, John (later Joseph) Velamin Rutskyj. He received his training at the Pontifical Greek College in Rome, which was then under the direction of the Jesuits. He could not have helped but see the efficiency of the organization and teaching method of the Jesuits, their rapid expansion and powerful impact on the people and countries with whom they came into contact. It was only natural for him to initiate a reform on this model when he entered Holy Trinity monastery at Vilno in 1607 and became superior in 1608. He immediately founded a school, as can be concluded from a mention made in a letter of October 20, 1608, in which he refers to "the seminary of noble youth which now has begun to increase our religion"⁵⁸. This seminary could not have been started before 1608, as there were no teachers available. The only possible teacher would have been Josaphat Kuncevyč, who had entered in 1604, but he was a self-taught man with no formal seminary training, and it is highly unlikely that he would have been able to organize a seminary. Besides, he had as superior Samuel Sinčylo, who was of dubious faith and a poor administrator, and who certainly would not have encouraged any monastic reform, much less have supported the idea of a seminary. It seems as though Rutskyj, with all his background and education

⁵⁷ SENYCIA P., *Svitylnyk...*, p. 41-79.

⁵⁸ *Archeograficheskiy Sbornik...*, t. 6, p. 119, no. 54.

must have been the founder of the seminary at Holy Trinity monastery.

From the first, Rutskyj realized that without good administration and solid financial backing, it would be building a house on sand to found a seminary. He therefore asked Metropolitan Potij (1600-1613) to remove Sinčylo, stating "if he remains, the seminary will be dissolved"⁵⁹. Sinčylo was removed and Rutskyj became the new superior. Now the way was clear for the school and for reform of monastic life. As for the financial aspect, the seminary possessed property at Pečersk with three villages, which the seminary kept although its ownership was contested several times in court by Pečerska Lavra⁶⁰. In addition, the seminary had the village of Torokany⁶¹.

In 1613, Rutskyj became metropolitan of Kyjiv. He probably continued as rector of the seminary, as he had a special interest in the reform of monastic life and needed well educated monks to help him in his project. We do not hear of any other rector until 1616, when Josaphat Kuncevyč is mentioned as rector of the Vilno seminary in the quarrel over the Pečersk property. It is possible that Rutskyj turned over the rectorship to him in 1615 when he went to Rome, because in all eight of the court actions over the property before 1616, Rutskyj is consistently mentioned, although neither he nor anyone else is referred to as rector.

There is absolutely no documentary evidence that this seminary, begun by Rutskyj in 1608 and of which Josaphat Kuncevyč was rector in 1616, was ever anything but a seminary for the training of Basilian monks, as concluded earlier in the section on metropolitan seminaries. It could be called a house of study, but Rutskyj in 1608 and Josaphat Kuncevyč in 1616 both called it seminary⁶², and it was so called by Bishop Wojna in 1622⁶³. Bishop Wojna writes about Basilian seminaries scattered throughout the kingdom. These could not have been seminaries in the modern sense; rather they were houses of study. So it was with Vilno. There seems to be no distinction between the two terms at this time, so Vilno and all the other seminaries where Basilians were trained could be called either way.

⁵⁹ IBIDEM.

⁶⁰ IBIDEM, t. 4, p. 78-89, no. 48 (1616, October 13); ODZM, t. 1, p. 241-242, no. 656 (1635, March 14).

⁶¹ See note 21.

⁶² *Archeografičeskij Sbornik...*, t. 6, p. 119-120, no. 54 (1608, October 20); IBIDEM, t. 4, p. 78-89, no. 48 (1616, October 13); ODZM, t. 1, p. 158, no. 390 (1616, January 14).

⁶³ WLE, t. 1, p. 82, no. 54.

In 1617, Rutskyj was able, no doubt with the help of his students, to organize a congregation of Basilians, giving them a new revised structure which was centralized and based in many points on the new approach to monastic life and goals of the recently founded western religious congregations. That Rutskyj could succeed in bringing the reform to life in 1617 was undoubtedly the fruit of his work at the first Basilian seminary at Holy Trinity in Vilno. Father Holowackyj states that this seminary ceased to exist in 1621⁶⁴, but offers no substantial proof for this claim. It seems more reasonable to suppose that 1617 marked the beginning of the end, and the seminary slowly faded away after that. In 1617 Josaphat Kuncevyč was ordained auxiliary bishop of Polock with right of succession, and during the next few years other capable men from Holy Trinity were promoted to the hierarchy, thus depleting the seminary of its teachers. Another reason for the decline of Holy Trinity was the spreading of the reform of 1617. The Basilians were in dire need of educated men whom they could send to implement the reform and to care for the direction of other monasteries which had joined the reform, and Vilno had to supply these men. As a monastery, Vilno kept its importance for a time, but students went to several other monasteries to be trained under the leadership of professors who had been stationed in these monasteries as superiors or spiritual fathers. The Latin bishop of Vilno, Bishop Wojna, in the above mentioned report of August 12, 1622 to Rome, writes that the metropolitan of Kyjiv had seminaries "sparsa per regnum", and mentions in the same letter that in Vilno was still an active seminary in which not a few religious were getting their education.

Evidently the seminary or house of studies in Vilno ceased to exist before 1632. Rutskyj, in a letter to the Prop. Fide of February 1, 1632, asked to assign the village of Torokany to the projected seminary for the secular clergy a Minsk. The income of Torokany had previously been assigned to the seminary of Vilno, and it is most unlikely that he would have asked to transfer it to Minsk if the seminary of Vilno had still been in existence. Furthermore, he wrote about the Vilno seminary in the past tense⁶⁵. In 1635, the monastery of Holy Trinity lost possession of the property at Pečersk. The new Polish king, Władysław IV (1632-1648), gave it to Pečerska Lavra⁶⁶. After the loss

⁶⁴ HOLOWACKYJ R., *Seminarium Vilnense...*, p. 131-144.

⁶⁵ See note 21.

⁶⁶ ODZM, t. 1, p. 241-242, no. 656.

of Pečersk, Vilno for a long time had no financial means with which to reopen the seminary. The main promoter of the seminary, Rutskyj, died in 1637. Furthermore, the monastery itself declined in importance with the rise of new monastic centers, especially that of Byten, where the central novitiate had been located after the reform of 1617, and Žyrovyci, with its famous miraculous icon which became a popular place of pilgrimage.

The need for permanent, well organized seminaries became apparent with the growth of the Basilian Order. At the Chapter of 1703⁶⁷, the problem was discussed, and somewhat later a seminary was actually started in Žyrovyci, but only for the study of philosophy. In a few years, because of lack of funds, it was transferred to Polock. There it continued, with some interruptions, but it could not take care of more than ten students. In 1742, a few students were again sent to Žyrovyci for philosophy⁶⁸.

The number of reformed Basilians was increased in 1743 by a union with the southern monasteries of the dioceses of Lviv, Peremyšl and Luck, which around 1700 had accepted union with Rome. In 1720, at the Synod of Zamostja, the southern monasteries had been ordered

⁶⁷ *Archeografickij Sbornik...*, t. 12, p. 147, session III.

⁶⁸ *Vat. Lat.* 8684/2, f. 469: report of Heraclius Lisanskyj, provincial of Holy Trinity Province (1748, September 13): «Provincia nostra ab initiis pauperrima successive ex accedentibus monasteriis coalescens nulla studia usque ad annum 1700 habere potuit, eo quod nullum monasterium pro hisce studiis erigendis fuerit, monasteria ipsa per se spectatis exiguis redditibus, nusquam fuerint capacia alendorum Professorum, et Scholasticorum, solumque Provincia his gloriabatur subiectis, quae ex speciali gratia Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae in Alumnatibus studiis Philosophicis et Theologicis operam navabant. Donec tandem circa annum 1703 expendens una ex parte magnam necessitatem subiectorum, parte vero ex altera paucitatem horum qui in Alumnatibus erudiebantur, instituit Studium Philosophicum in monasterio Zyrovicensi. Sed hocce studium diu inibi subsistere nequevit ex eo quod in praefato monasterio, bonis admodum exiguis praedito, penes Thaumaturgam Iconam ex sola fere eleemosina vivitur, ubi Patres ad celebranda pro eleemosinis Sacra, non juvenes monachi Studiis Philosophicis vacaturi requirebantur... solum aliquot annis, translata est ad monasterium Polocense, in quo licet equidem aliquoties ob defectum requisitae sufficientiae, interrompebatur ad usque tamen... perseverat, nihilominus etiam in hoc monasterio ultra decem Philosophi sustentari nequeunt. Jam vero in monasterio Zyrovicensi abolitur Philosophia et per annos circiter 18 vacante, cum ibidem ad legendam saecularibus Philosophiam professor sustentatur propter exercitium Saecularium correpetitionemque, etiam nostri Scholastici pauci ante sexennium introducti sunt ».

to organize with the northern monasteries into one congregation⁶⁹. The southern monasteries organized a separate congregation in 1739. In 1743, a Chapter was called at Dubno, at the order of Rome, in which all monasteries old and new formed one congregation made up of two provinces, Holy Trinity which included all of the northern and some of the southern monasteries, and Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary which included only southern monasteries⁷⁰. At Dubno, it was decided to share the places for students at pontifical colleges⁷¹. Pope Benedict XIV, on February 5, 1744 ordered that the number of places be equally divided between the two provinces⁷².

In 1748, the Basilians were asked to give a report on theological and philosophical seminaries — how many there were and where they were located. In the official report, it was stated that the province of the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary had only one house of studies for philosophy at St. George monastery in Lviv recently opened, and that there had been one before in Lavriv, but it no longer existed. The province of Holy Trinity had a house for philosophy in Polock and another in Žyrovyci, and a house of studies for theology in Vilno, which had opened in 1743. To open the house for theology in Vilno, the novitiate had had to be closed⁷³.

Seeing this state of affairs, Pope Benedict XIV ordered in 1750 that each province would have four houses of study, two for philosophy and two for theology. This order seems to have helped, for in the report of 1754 from the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary province, we learn that there were assigned two monasteries for philosophy,

⁶⁹ *Synodus Provincialis Ruthenorum habita in Civitate Zamosciae, anno 1720*, Rome 1724, p. 107-108, titulus XI; BILANYCH J., *Synodus Zamostiana, an. 1720*, in « *Analecta OSBM* », Opera 11 (1960), 89-90.

⁷⁰ WCP, t. 2, p. 48-75, no. 84 (1742, May 1), p. 75-102, no. 85 (1744, March 30).

⁷¹ *Vat. Lat.* 8684/1, f. 121: Capitulum generale, sessio 6.

⁷² *Vat. Lat.* 8684/1, f. 186.

⁷³ *Vat. Lat.* 8684/1, f. 367; *Vat. Lat.* 8684/2, f. 469-470: report of Heraclius Lisanskyj (1748, September 13): « Quod autem attinet ad Studium Theologicum hoc similiter nequaquam habuimus ob rationes superius expressas, tantumque in Alumnatibus nostri Theologi studuerunt. Quandoquidem vero placuit S.mo D.no N.ro gratiam concessorum nobis Alumnatum, in utramque Provinciam partire ac proinde Provinciae nostrae Alumnorum numerus diminutus est adeo, ut tantum ad aliquot personas redigeretur, adacta est Provincia nostra hac paucitate studentium ad querendos quosque modos erigendi Studii Theologici in aliquo monasterio, dum igitur alius non suppeteret modus, Vilnae novitiatum sustulit, et in locum Novitiorum Scholasticos posuit. Praeterea ex allis monasteriis pro alendis hisce Theologis designavit charitativum dari subsidium ».

one in Lavriv and another in Luck, and for theology, one in Lviv and another in Dobromyl⁷⁴. There is no report from Holy Trinity province at this time, but from the statistics of 1774, it is seen that in that year there were philosophical studies in Cholm with five students, in Vitebsk with sixteen, and in Volodymyr with two. There were theological studies in Polock for twenty students and in Vilno for nine. According to the same statistics, the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary province had increased the houses of study to three for philosophy, in Terebovla with five students, in Zahajci with six and in Zamostja with six, and three houses for theology, in Kamjanec with three students, in Lavriv with nine and in Lviv at St. George with three.

The above mentioned statistics show the Basilian Order in its greatest development, with one hundred and forty four monasteries, seventy two in each province, six seminaries for philosophical studies with forty two students, and five seminaries for theological studies with forty four students⁷⁵. Political circumstances very soon put an end to the development of the Basilian seminary system and were detrimental to the order itself. In 1783, the Basilian seminaries which had recently come under Austrian rule with the first partition of Poland, were ordered closed by Emperor Joseph II. In the territories which came under Russian rule with the second and third partitions of Poland, it was only a matter of time before the czars had completely suppressed schools, monasteries, and the Catholic Church itself. This complete suppression took place in 1839 under Nicholas I, except for the diocese of Cholm, which was suppressed in 1875. The Basilian Order remained only in the territory under Austria, but it declined in numbers and importance.

Several historians, writing about seventeenth and eighteenth century Basilian schools, mention numerous monasteries in which theology or philosophy was taught. A recent writer, Savyč, an Orthodox, gives the names of eighteen monasteries in which was taught either theology alone, or theology in combination with philosophy or rhetoric⁷⁶. The most impressive list is given by Lukan, a Basilian. He presents alphabetically seventy eight monasteries of both provinces, giving

⁷⁴ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 200-201.

⁷⁵ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *De potestate...*, p. 170-177.

⁷⁶ SAVYČ A., *Narysy z istoriji kulturnych ruchiv na Ukrajinі v XVI-XVIII v.*, Kyjiv 1929, p. 237-258.

what was taught in each, when and where⁷⁷. The most recent writers, after World War II, are Wawryk⁷⁸ and Wojnar⁷⁹, both Basilians. The former does not enumerate the schools, and although the latter gives names and some history of the different schools, based mainly on Savyč and Lukan, he adds nothing specific to the lists.

In examining these and other lists, it becomes apparent that a distinction needs to be made between schools for the education of Basilian clerics (major and minor seminaries), schools for the laity, and schools of theology for secular priests. Taking these in inverse order, we shall begin with the schools of theology for secular priests.

In the most extensive of the lists, that of Lukan, there are mentioned seven cities in which the secular clergy was taught theological courses by the Basilians. Lukan also gives the year in which he found the first reference of their being taught in each city. The seven cities were Bilylivka (1739), Pohonja (1739), Stryj (1739/42), Krylos (1741), Zahvizdja (1741), Šarhorod (1771/72) and Peremyšl (1780). Three of these have the year 1739 and two the year 1741. The province of the Protection of the BVM, in whose territories these studies of theology supposedly existed, in the year 1739 had seven hundred religious, but only twenty hieromonks, who had finished a complete course of theological studies⁸⁰. In 1748, there was only one school for philosophy in Lviv with ten students, and no school for theology in the whole province⁸¹. It is therefore more than questionable that the Basilians would have been able to start or keep a theological school for the secular clergy at that time, lacking people and means for the training of their own subjects. The year given for Šarhorod is 1771/72, but even if it did exist in those years, it must have been closed before 1774, since

⁷⁷ FYLYPČAK I.-LUKAN R., *C.K. Okružna Holovna Škola v Lavrovi 1788-1911*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 5 (1967), 1-4.

⁷⁸ WAWRYK M., *De studiis philosophico-theologicis in Provincia Rutheno-Ucraina Ord. Basiliani s. XVIII eorumque manualibus*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 7 (1971), 85-113.

⁷⁹ WOJNAR M., *Basilian Seminaries, Colleges and Schools (XVII-XVIII)*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 9 (1974), 48-63.

⁸⁰ WAWRYK M., *De studiis...*, p. 89.

⁸¹ *Vat. Lat. 8684/2, f. 485-486*: Sylvester Koblanskyj, provincial of Protection of the BVM, to Bishop Lascaris (1748, August 31): « In hac Provincia Ruthena... unicum nunc studium philosophicum ante aliquod annos in monasterio Leopoliensi ad aedes S. Georgii erectum est... pro... sustentione... satis tenui... proventus habentur... difficili modo Religiosi providentur... nullam Villulam nullumque praedium ».

there is no mention of it in the statistics of that year⁸². In these statistics, only one Basilian cleric is mentioned as being in Šarhorod. There would undoubtedly have been more clerics in Šarhorod if theological studies had been available there at that time. Besides, the sources indicate only a middle school for the laity in Šarhorod in 1774⁸³. The year given by Father Lukan for Peremyśl is 1780. A seminary had been opened at Peremyśl a few years before this date, but it was a diocesan seminary, although there may have been some Basilians among the professors. However, it was of short duration and soon, before 1792, it was closed⁸⁴.

Next will be examined the second group of schools, those for the laity. The Basilians very early felt the need for these schools, but there were difficulties from the very beginning, mainly of a financial nature. They opened their first two schools for the laity in 1616 at Novhorodok and Minsk, with the financial help of Metropolitan Rutskyj. Later, they opened schools in Cholm, Volodymyr and Žyrovyci. The Polish historian, Bieńkowski, recently affirmed that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Basilians had only two schools for the laity, in Volodymyr and Žyrovyci. Real progress was made by the Basilians only after 1743, when the two provinces were united. In 1773, they had nine schools, of which seven were on Ukrainian and two on Bielorussian territories. Ten years later, they had twelve schools, of which ten were on Ukrainian and two on Bielorussian territories. In 1795, at the third partition of Poland, they had sixteen schools⁸⁵. This marked the peak of the Basilians' activity in the education of the laity.

The growth of Basilian schools for the laity had been partly the effect of the Jesuit suppression, with even some of their buildings being turned over to the Basilians⁸⁶. This inheritance was much more than a few buildings, however. There was an influx of former students of the Jesuits into the Basilian schools, and thus these schools came to be of dubious advantage to the Kyjivan Church, to Ukrainian culture and to the Basilians themselves. The Basilians, instead of working for their own people, found themselves tied down to teaching predomi-

⁸² BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *De potestate...*, p. 170-177.

⁸³ See statistics 2c at the end of this article, on pag. 75.

⁸⁴ ANDRUCHOVYČ A., *Lvovske «Studium Ruthenum»*, in «Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Tarasa Ševčenko» 131 (1921), 186.

⁸⁵ BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła...*, pp. 1015-1019, 1191. See statistics 2c, on p. 75.

⁸⁶ SLIPYJ J., *Istoryčnyj ohljad vychovannja...*, p. 31.

nantly Latin rite nobility. The Jesuit inheritance became a Trojan horse blessing for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv and for the Basilian lay school system. It is enough to take a cursory look at the statistics of two schools — not on the borderlands, but in the heart of Ukraine on the territory where so many bloody uprisings of the Ukrainian people had taken place, the land of the Cossack wars — Bar and Uman⁸⁷. The conclusion is clear for anyone who knows the times and can read between the lines of the statistics.

Lastly will be considered the first and strongest group of schools, those of the Basilians for their own clerics. The impressive lists of Lukan, Savyč and Wojnar here again become questionable when one compares them with the report of 1748, the decision of Benedict XIV in 1750 and the statistics of 1774. According to the report of 1748, the province of Protection of the BVM had only one school for philosophy, and the province of Holy Trinity had two schools for philosophy and one for theology. After examining this report, Benedict XIV commissioned Bishop Lascaris of Zenopol, a Theatine and former rector of the pontifical seminary of Lviv, to investigate the situation and to propose four monasteries in each province where it would be possible to open for each province two schools of philosophy and two of theology⁸⁸. Based on Lascaris' answer, the pope ordered the province of Protection of the BVM to open two schools of theology in Lviv and Lavriv, and one of philosophy in Počajiv. He ordered Holy Trinity province to open two schools of theology in Vilno and Berezveč, and two of philosophy in Polock and Žyrovyci⁸⁹. These localities were only partially accepted by the Basilians. The province of Protection of the BVM assigned for theology in 1754 Lviv and Dobromyl in place of Lviv and Lavriv, and for philosophy Lavriv and Luck in place of Počajiv. In the Marefoschi notes of 1760, the observation is made that there is no information as to whether or how the pope's decree of 1750 was carried out in the province of Holy Trinity⁹⁰. Later, other changes were made in the province of Protection of the BVM, as is indicated in the statistics of 1774, where schools of theology are found in Lviv, Lavriv and Kamjanec, and of philosophy in Terebovla, Zahajci and Zamostja. In

⁸⁷ See statistics 2d at the end of this article, on p. 75.

⁸⁸ WCP, t. 2, p. 120-121, no. 88 (1748, February 12).

⁸⁹ WCP, t. 2, p. 221-222, no. 94: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Archinto (1750, September 26).

⁹⁰ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 200-201.

the province of Holy Trinity are found schools of theology in Vilno and Polock, and of philosophy in Cholm, Vitebsk and Volodymyr.

Judging from the statistics of 1774, the Basilian schools for the training of their own clerics were very small and unimpressive. Lukan gives the names of a number of monasteries around the year 1774 and later, where theology and/or philosophy were taught. These schools were evidently for only a few students, and of short duration. Considering that in the statistics of 1774, in Holy Trinity province there were twenty five monasteries with a total of thirty seven clerics, and in Protection of the BVM province ten monasteries with a total of ten students⁹¹, it seems that some of the monasteries were called schools of theology, of philosophy, or of both, when there were only one or two clerics studying there. After the closing of the Basilian seminaries in Austria in 1783 and after the czars took over the rest of the Ukrainian and Bielorussian territories in 1793 and 1795, the Basilians had no chance to organize anything of importance; it was just a constant struggle for survival against the encroaching total suppression.

One could wonder why, notwithstanding the influential position of the Basilians in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, several anything but poor monasteries, and a number of men well educated in pontifical colleges, they were never able to develop any significant scientific center or seminary of any great impact to compare with the Mohylanska Akademija, which the opposers of the Union had set up in Kyjiv. There were several reasons for this, and it would be worthwhile to examine them.

The Basilians acquired their influential position by the decision of their first Chapter in 1617, which reserved all episcopal sees to members of their Order. This decision was solemnly sanctioned at the Synod of Zamostja in 1720, all of the bishops being by that time Basilians, and it became official when the acts of the synod were approved by Rome⁹². The occupation of all the bishops' sees gave the Basilian Order a dominant position, but at the same time, it was detrimental to the Basilians as a whole, since many of the most able subjects were taken away from the monasteries to be bishops. As bishops, these monks further depleted the monasteries by staffing their curias from

⁹¹ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *De potestate...*, p. 170-177.

⁹² *Synodus Provincialis Ruthenorum...*, titulus V; BILANYCH J., *Synodus Zamostiana...*, p. 84; FEDORIV J., *Zamojskyj Synod 1720 r.*, in « Bohoslovija » 35 (1971), 47-48.

the ranks of the Basilians. The order was thus continuously drained of the very men it needed to excel in the organization of seminaries and scientific centers. It was only natural that many able religious would dream of becoming a bishop or member of a bishop's curia, and that they would have little interest in the more obscure work of founding or teaching at a seminary.

The wealth of some of the monasteries turned out to be their curse, and was eventually a thorn in the side of the order. Nearly all the richer monasteries became abbeys with mitred superiors called archimandrites, who kept their offices for life and were irremovable. The archimandrites were nominated, not by the Basilians themselves, but by the foreign civil authority, which had little or no knowledge or interest in eastern monastic life. The candidates for office were frequently not those best qualified, but those who had found favor in the eyes of the civil authority for some reason, or those who were recommended by their friends⁹³. The system of abbeys or *archimandriji* had developed in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv even before the Union of Berestja, when the metropolitanate came under Lithuanian-Polish domination. It was the western Latin rite "ius patronatus", or patronage over monasteries, introduced by the Lithuanian princes, Polish kings and Latin rite nobility. After the Union of Berestja it was the cancer of the Basilian Order. Until the downfall of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, the Basilians never succeeded in ridding themselves of these superiors of the noble Eastern rite title of archimandrite, with all the abuses and exploitation of the western prerogatives that went with the title. The rich monasteries became the prey of greedy men who spoiled them, who gave an account to no one, who diminished the number of monks, and sometimes kept their own relatives, including women and children, in the place of the monks⁹⁴. Naturally these archimandrites would

⁹³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 312-313: Metr. Leo Kiška to Prop. Fide (1728, July 27): «Quod autem id perfecit... magnatum suffragiis fecit... cum aliter Privilegia Regis extradi non soleant, nisi media magnatum interpositione, ita ut nemo alia via illa nequeat neque possit obtinere».

⁹⁴ KAMINSKYJ P., *V oboronu Potijevoji Uniji*, ed. Vasyl Ščurat, Lviv 1929, p. 40-46; APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 304: Basilian procurator Žyravskyj to Prop. Fide (1728): «P. Joannes Frackiewicz, archimandrita Czerejensis... pretendit iniustissime per potentiam magnatorum occupare duo monasteria non Abbatialia, sed pure pro Religiosis sub simplici superiore manentibus fundata... Pustinense et Onuphriense quae monasteria si occuparet in extremam ruinam praecipitantur, cum et Archimandria eius Czerejensis, quam possidet a multis annis,

not be overly anxious to divert part of their income from themselves or their relatives to organize seminaries in their own monasteries, or to contribute to a seminary in another monastery. In the documents of the Basilians, the blame for the continuation of this system is laid on the metropolitans who collected fees for the installation of the archimandrites, and who often proposed their own candidates for the office, as favors to their relatives and friends or kept the abbey for themselves⁹⁵. However, it seems that certain members of the Basilian Order were not free from guilt, wanting to continue the system so that they could become archimandrites themselves, although the order on the whole was against the system⁹⁶. Since the metropolitans were all Basilians and knew what damage the abbey system was doing to the order, it is impossible to exonerate them from the main guilt for the continuation of the system, which was in turn diminishing the chances to organize or develop strong seminaries by diverting the income of the wealthier monasteries to the private benefit of the archimandrites or their relatives.

A third factor hindering the development of a strong seminary system for the Basilians was that the students most able, or with better family or financial backgrounds were sent to pontifical colleges. Those who

intantum est desolata sub regimine eius, ut vix unus Religiosus in illa maneat cum scandalo populi et injuria fundatorum »; ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 102: Istruzioni al Nunzio Archetti (1775): « Non essendo ne' monasteri divisa la mensa Conventuale dall'Abbatiale, l'Abbate possiede tutte le rendite del monastero, et è superiore locale di esso di maniera... si riducano i monasteri all'estrema miseria ».

⁹⁵ KAMINSKYJ P., *V oboroni Potijevoji Uniji...*, p. 40: reference to the fact that Metropolitan Zochowskyj was himself holding in 1685 four abbeys, Derman, Dubno, Berezveč, and Sts. Borys and Hlib; MUH, t. 5, p. 175, no. 102 (1711, March 11): « Winnicki retiene vesc. di Premisla, è Metropolitan, tiene Archimandria Derman, Dubno, bona Pieczarensia (che abbraccia 18 villaggi), anche Archimandria Zydicinense »; APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 55: « Kiszka... Metropolitanus... episcopus Vlodimirensis et Brestensis, Kyovopieczarensis ac Suprasliensis Abbas »; ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 41-42: « Li 25 giugno, 1768, si scrisse al Nuncio, che... Metr.no... avesse procurato di convertire in Abbazie cinque monasteri semplici contro il disposto del S.M. Benedetto XIV e con sommo danno di quella provincia, ed i monasteri erano i seg. il Vilnense ove è lo studio della teologia, quale sarebbe cessato, ridotto che fosse in Abbazia. Il Torokanense dove doveva residere il Protoarchimandrita, che non avesse... residenza; Minscense, Lauryszovienne... ».

⁹⁶ *Vat. Lat.* 8684/2, f. 654-660; *Archeografickij Sbornik...*, t. 12, p. 145; WOJNAR M., *De Archimandritis Basilianis in Metropolia Kioviensi (1617-1882)*, in « *Ius Populi Dei* » 1 (1972), 373-375, 386.

remained were often just leftovers⁹⁷ who were trained here and there in different monasteries, wherever there was an available teacher, and temporary means for their support.

A fourth detriment, not only for the Basilians, but for the whole Church of the Union of Berestja, was the rapid and disastrous loss of the nobility to the Latin rite, depriving the metropolitanate of Kyjiv of its leadership and of potential benefactors of the dioceses, monasteries and seminaries. The older, better endowed monasteries became abbeys, under the above mentioned patronage system, and were monopolized by greedy people. The newer ones, founded in Polish-Lithuanian times, were under constant financial stress. Even Žyrovyci, with its famous icon, Madonna del Pascolo, had no generous donors for financial stability, and had to live and run the school from the uncertain income of mass stipends⁹⁸. The loss of the nobility hurt the Basilian Order because it drew off possible candidates with social and financial standing, who could have defended them and their enterprises in those troubled times, and who, with their social and family connections could have given both the prestige of their family name and financial help in the form of new endowments to their monasteries, seminaries and schools.

A fifth point to consider is the infiltration of Latins into the Basilian Order. These were, for the most part, sons of the lower Polish nobility, or descendents of those who had, for various reasons, been "converted" to the Latin rite. It is possible that some of the latter, group had come back to the church of their forefathers for sincere reasons, but for the majority of them it is hard to believe that their love of the Eastern rite and the Ukrainian or Bielorussian religious and national culture, which their ancestors had deserted, was the main attraction or reason for their entering the Basilian Order. It is even harder to believe that the majority of the former group entered the order from a passionate desire to build up the Eastern rite Church and Ukrainian or Bielorussian traditions and seminaries, on the lands their ancestors had occupied or subdued by military force. For a considerable number of both groups, the main attraction seems to have been bishoprics and abbeys. Having connections at court or with influential magnates, they were easily able to secure these positions⁹⁹ over the other monks, who were for the most part, of lower

⁹⁷ KAMINSKYJ P., *V oboroni Potijevoji Uniji...*, p. 78-81.

⁹⁸ See note 68.

⁹⁹ See note 93; APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, ff. 29-142, 214-255. On f. 33: «Wiet-

social or economic backgrounds. In the latter half of the eighteenth century at one time, the majority of the bishops of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv were formerly of Latin rite¹⁰⁰.

This Latin infiltration is undoubtedly one of the causes of the "latinizations" and "hybridisations" of the Kyjivan Church, so often the object of accusation and disdain by present day Latin rite historians, and liturgists. It is only natural that incoming Latins would personally retain as much as they could of the Latin traditions and customs they were used to from their childhood, and that, in occupying higher positions such as bishops, curia officials or abbots, they would introduce or impose them in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv.

After the suppression of the order on Russian occupied territories, only those Basilians in Austria had remained, but by 1880 had declined to such an extent that there were only fourteen monasteries with sixty eight monks¹⁰¹. In 1882, a reform was started in the monastery of Dobromyl, and the order again began to grow in the metropolitanate of Halyč, with houses of study in Lavriv and Krystynopil. In 1904,

rzynski ex Parentibus de stirpe Catholica Romani Ritus... professus 1706... destinatus est 1709 ad superioratum Vitebs... auditor generalis Metropoliæ... Protoarchimandrita [1717]... electus ad Abbatiam Trocensem [1718]... Cobrinensem... superior Berezevecensis ». He was deposed by Metropolitan Kiška in 1719, but reinstated by a decree of the Prop. Fide on March 1, 1723. In 1724, he absconded with the treasures of the order to Switzerland, became a Calvinist and married the daughter of a Protestant minister (Cfr. WCP, t. 1, p. 224-225, no. 71); WEM, t. 5, p. xi-xii: « Felicianus Philippus Wolodkowicz natus... 1697... parentibus nobilibus: Dominico et Theresia, sanguine cum opulentissima et potentissima familia lithuana Radziwill iuncta... missus est... Brunsbergam ad studia ecclesiastica... 1722... 1730 promotionem accepit in Archimandritam Dubnensem, Dermanensem et S. Crucis in Volhinia, a Metropolita Kioviensi benedictus. Anno tamen 1731... in Episcopum Chelmensem consecratus fuit iure metropolitico ». With these acquisitions behind him, this amazing young convert from the Latin rite, fixed his eyes on even greater service to the Church, that is, to office of metropolitan. Finally his efforts were rewarded in 1752, when he was nominated coadjutor of Metropolitan Hrebnyckyj with right of succession. It seems that this promotion was not without its price, however. In the archives of the metropolitans have been found receipts for very large sums, in eleven installments, dated between 1753 and 1759, marked as received by Hrebnyckyj from Volodkovyč "on the agreement". (Cfr. ODZM, t. 2, p. 156-157, no. 1604). In 1758, he received a richer diocese than Cholm, Volodymyr. In 1762, he became metropolitan, naturally keeping Volodymyr and his abbeys. The church of Kyjiv was blessed with his rule until 1778.

¹⁰⁰ LIKOWSKI E., *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego...*, t. 1, p. 266.

¹⁰¹ PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union...*, t. 2, p. 1095.

the Basilians took the direction of the Pontifical Ukrainian Seminary of St. Josaphat for the secular clergy in Rome¹⁰². In 1920, they moved over the Carpathian mountains to reform the Basilians in the Mukačiv and Prjašiv dioceses¹⁰³, and spread overseas to Canada, Brazil, the United States, Argentina and England, for the Ukrainians of the diaspora. In 1932, they transferred their headquarters to Rome, to the building at Piazza Madonna dei Monti 3, which had been donated in 1639 by Cardinal Barberini, and where for over two centuries the procurators of the Basilians and of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv had lived. After World War II, in 1946, the Basilians on Ukrainian national territory were suppressed by the Soviet Union government, but they survived in diaspora, with their general curia in Rome. In 1960, they relocated their headquarters in a new building at via S. Giosafat 8 on the Aventine hill. In Brazil, they now have a minor seminary in Prudentopolis and humanistic and philosophical studies in Curitiba. They have a central major seminary at their headquarters in Rome.

§ 5. - *The Metropolitanate of Kyjiv and Pontifical Seminaries and Colleges*

A. *General Conspectus*

There are popes about whom very little is known; their names are in the uninterrupted series of popes, with few facts reported about them in history. There are popes who, because they had some influence on the history of their time, cannot be ignored by those who write or study history. Then there are popes who made such an impact on history, lasting for centuries, that even people of elementary education have heard, or should have heard their names. To this third category belongs Gregory XIII (1572-1585). Who has not heard of the Gregorian calendar? It was Gregory XIII who introduced it in 1582 in place of the old Julian calendar. This calendar reform was discussed for nearly one and a half centuries by the Protestants before it was finally generally accepted by them, and is still a subject of controversy within some Eastern rite Churches. Another impact made by Gregory XIII was that he founded and subsidized many pontifical

¹⁰² HALUSCZYNSKYJ T., *Il Pontificio Collegio di S. Giosafat*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 1 (1949), 116-127; *Almanach...*, p. 135-146.

¹⁰³ PEKAR A., *Basilian Reform in Trascarpathia*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 7 (1971), 166-169, 224-225.

colleges and seminaries throughout the Catholic world, that he reanimated the pontifical college "Germanicum-Hungaricum", giving it a rule in 1583 which he extended in 1584 to all pontifical colleges¹⁰⁴.

Of significant influence on the history of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv was Gregory's assigning places for Ukrainian, Bielorrussian and Russian students at the pontifical colleges of Braunsberg and Olomouc in 1578, and his foundation at Vilno in 1582 of a special pontifical college for students of these nationalities. The Greek College in Rome, also founded by Gregory, likewise had a great influence on the history of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, although at first there is no mention of places being assigned to students from that metropolitanate until 1615. Eight of the sixteen Catholic metropolitans of Kyjiv studied there, Rutskyj, Korsak, Selava, Kolenda, Žochovskyj, Zalenskyj, Smogorzevskyj and Rostockyj. The Russian Church also felt the effect of students from this college. Theofan Prokopovyč, the author of the famous statutes of the Holy Synod, the ruling body of the Russian Orthodox Church (1721-1917), and the guiding spirit of Russian theological and canonical thought in his time, imbibed knowledge within its walls. There are also three other pontifical colleges founded by Gregory XIII where for a short time students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv studied, Prague, Vienna and Gratz.

In the very early days of the four pontifical colleges of Vilno, Braunsberg, Olomouc and Prague, even in the time of Gregory XIII, long before the Union of Berestja, we find several names marked "Ruthenus" in the lists of students¹⁰⁵, which indicates that some students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv must have studied there. One would expect that in 1596 at least some of these students would have come to the Synod of Berestja, and later would have worked in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv to promote the Union. For some strange reason all "Ruthenians" who studied in these colleges until 1609 are conspicuously absent in the records. Wherever the blame lay, the metropolitanate and the Catholic Church suffered from this unbelievable attitude toward the Union of Berestja. In 1609, conditions finally improved when Rutskyj, then superior of Holy Trinity monastery in Vilno, stepped in. Students who enrolled from that time on were working for the metropolitanate. In 1609, Rutskyj sent two students to

¹⁰⁴ STEINHUBER A., *Geschichte des Kollegium Germanikum Hungarikum in Rom*, 2nd ed., Freiburg 1906, t. 1, p. 157-163.

¹⁰⁵ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité na Rusi*, Prague 1941, pp. 48, 56, 68.

Braunsberg¹⁰⁶, and in 1610, one to Vilno¹⁰⁷. From then on, all students accepted at these two colleges were appointed either by the metropolitan or by the Basilians. In other pontifical colleges in 1609 and in the next few years we do not find any students from the metropolitanate listed.

When he made his first official visit to Rome as metropolitan in 1615, Rutskyj brought up the question of places in pontifical colleges with Pope Paul V (1605-1621). On December 2, 1615, he obtained a pontifical brief, assigning four places "in perpetuum" in the Greek College for students from his metropolitanate¹⁰⁸. During the same visit, he also obtained from the pope eighteen places in other pontifical colleges — six in Vilno, six in Braunsberg, two in Vienna, two in Prague and two in Olomouc — thus making a total of twenty two places. Rutskyj wanted this promise confirmed in writing, but Cardinal Justinianus, who handled the matters of Kyjiv, said that it was superfluous to bother the cancelleria, and that it would be enough for him, the cardinal, to inform Father Acquaviva, the general of the Jesuits. He promised to do so, and must have done so immediately, for some students began to be received at once¹⁰⁹.

Rutskyj obtained another two places in the Greek College by a decree of the Prop. Fide of May 23, 1623¹¹⁰. Since he had already gotten four places from Paul V, this should have raised the number of places to six at the Greek College, as Rutskyj himself writes¹¹¹. In 1626, Nuncio Carafa of Vienna tried to get one or two places at the pontifical college of Gratz for students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹¹². He evidently succeeded, for in 1630, the metropolitan mentions two places recently obtained in Gratz¹¹³. The total number of places at pontifical colleges by 1630 was twenty six. The situation seems to have been quite rosy, and has been so described by some historians, without their having gone into any detail. However, all

¹⁰⁶ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel des päpstlichen Seminars zu Braunsberg 1578-1798*, Braunsberg 1925, p. 64.

¹⁰⁷ POPLATEK J., *Wykaz alumnów Seminarjum Papieskiego w Wilnie 1582-1773*, in «Ateneum Wileńskie» 11 (1936), 48.

¹⁰⁸ WDPR, t. 1, p. 356-357, no. 252.

¹⁰⁹ WEM, t. 1, p. 170-171, no. 69.

¹¹⁰ WSEU, t. 1, p. 276-277.

¹¹¹ WEM, t. 1, p. 95, no. 39: Rutskyj to Pidbereskyj (1623, October 17).

¹¹² WLN, t. 4, p. 259, no. 1925.

¹¹³ WEM, t. 1, p. 246, no. 120.

of the places were uncertain, even in Rutskyj's time. Since he was held in high respect in Rome, being called by Pope Urban VIII "the Atlas of the Union", "the Athanasius of Russia" and "Pillar of the Church"¹¹⁴, he was able at times to gain admittance for his students into the pontifical colleges. There were difficulties from the beginning, however. In a letter to Rome on July 19, 1625, Rutskyj complained about trouble in getting students admitted in Vilno and Braunsberg, and that Olomouc had not as yet accepted any students¹¹⁵. In answer to a request for information from Nuncio Lancellotti of Warsaw, the Jesuit provincial of the Lithuanian province, under whose jurisdiction were Vilno and Braunsberg, replied that there were no places assigned in these colleges to the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹¹⁶. As for Olomouc, the rector of that college answered Nuncio Carafa that he had never heard about these places for Kyjiv, and that neither he nor his predecessor had ever received any instruction or order from Rome concerning them¹¹⁷. In 1630, Rutskyj complained that Prague was refusing to accept students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹¹⁸. The Prop. Fide ordered the rector to admit two students in the first available places, but it was for this one time only¹¹⁹.

After Rutskyj's death, his immediate successors had difficulty in saving any places in the pontifical colleges, for there was a tendency to cut them off. Metropolitan Kolenda (1665-1674) wrote to the Prop. Fide on September 20, 1668 that the seminaries in Germania (Vienna, Prague, Gratz and Olomouc) had not accepted students from his metropolitanate for many years, and that recently none had been accepted in Vilno and Braunsberg. He further complained that, when formerly students had been accepted, it was only with great difficulty, and that the students had been treated as inferiors¹²⁰. To make matters worse,

¹¹⁴ WEM, t. 1, p. xii.

¹¹⁵ WEM, t. 1, p. 170-171, no. 69.

¹¹⁶ WLN, t. 4, p. 213, no. 1843 (1626, March 2).

¹¹⁷ WLE, t. 1, p. 221, no. 107.

¹¹⁸ WEM, t. 1, p. 246, no. 120: Metr. Rutskyj to Prop. Fide (1630, December 1).

¹¹⁹ WLE, t. 1, p. 225, no. 111.

¹²⁰ WEM, t. 2, p. 271, no. 51: «Conqueri cogor contra RR.PP. Societatis Jesu, eo quod per tot annos currente annuatim provisione per Collegia Pontificia in Germania, Bohemia, Bransbergae, Vilnae, pro Ruthenis nostris, nulum hactenus receperint; et, si receperunt, id cum summa difficultate fecerunt, tractaruntque illos adeo inhumaniter (alioquin hoc in Regno nobilitate conspicuos), ut mancipia vilia tractari solent. Scribitur non semel ex Collegio Graeco

the six places formerly assigned at the Greek College were not ever all available¹²¹. Pressed by the need, Kolenda asked that students from his metropolitanate be admitted in Germania¹²², but nothing was done. In 1678, his successor, Metropolitan Žochovskyj, again complained that once there had been places in Germania, but that now the rectors did not accept students¹²³.

From all this it appears that the colleges were not overly enthusiastic about the success of the Union of Berestja. On the contrary, it seems as though they did not want the Union to survive, but thanks to the internal strength of the Union and some of its leaders, and to the help of the popes and of the Prop. Fide, the Union did survive. Due to the persistence of Metropolitans Kolenda, Žochovskyj and Zalenskyj, the battle with the pontifical colleges was not an absolute defeat. To obtain a clear picture, it would now be well to examine each of the concerned colleges separately.

B. Pontifical Colleges and Places in Them for Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students

1. GREEK COLLEGE

The Greek College was opened on November 3, 1576, with six students. The official foundation by Gregory XIII had been effected on January 13, 1576¹²⁴. Its main promoter and protector was Cardinal Santori. During the first years, it was not yet certain who would have the direction of the college, and the rectorship was changed from one person to the other. Santori was against the direction going to the Jesuits, but on September 29, 1591 they were invited to take it over. This they did, and reorganized the college in their own way, with thirty students and some boarders. In 1604, the Jesuits had to leave, but

Romano: Opprimimur per Deum Rutheni a Patribus Societatis, nec hiscere audemus propter potentiam, quam plurimum Romae pollent ».

¹²¹ WEM, t. 2, p. 270, no. 50: Metr. Kolenda to Prop. Fide (1668, March 2): «Seminaria Pontificia per Germaniam necdum patent Ruthenis. In Collegio Graeco et coarctamur, et ad parvum reducimur numerum ».

¹²² WSEU, t. 1, p. 232, no. 320.

¹²³ WSEU, t. 1, p. 245, no. 341.

¹²⁴ KOROLEVSKIJ C., *Les premiers temps de l'histoire du college grec de Rome (1575-1622)*, in «Studion» 4 (1927), 138; KRAJCAR J., *The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time 1591-1604*, in OCP 3 (1965), 85.

they returned in 1622 and remained in charge of the college until 1773. In 1803, the college had to be closed. There was an attempt to reopen in 1835, but it did not officially open until 1845, with eight students, six of whom came from Ukrainian territories, Lviv and Peremyśl. It was at this time that the direction of the college changed hands. In 1897 it was taken over by the Belgian Benedictines, and in the same year the Ukrainians moved to their own college at Piazza Madonna dei Monti 3¹²⁵.

The first student from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv who studied at the Greek College was Mamonyč, the older son of Kosmas Mamonyč, consul of Vilno. He was brought to Rome by Possevino¹²⁶ in 1578. The younger son, John, was sent by Possevino to Olomouc in 1582¹²⁷. The second student was possibly Peter Potij. His father, who had become a widower and then bishop of Volodymyr, when he went to Rome with Bishop Terleckyj in 1595, took Peter and left him in Rome to study until 1601¹²⁸. The early records of the college are missing, so it is hard to prove that Mamonyč and Potij studied there. However, Possevino was recruiting students from eastern Europe for the Greek College, and since he was the one who brought Mamonyč to Rome¹²⁹, he could not but have put him in the Greek College. As for Peter Potij, he must have been at the Greek College too, as two other students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, Morochovskyj and Rutskyj were to study there during the same period.

Peter Arcudio, a Greek, was the first graduate from the Greek College to work temporarily for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹³⁰. The first students who came from the territories of the Kyjivan Church, and who later dedicated their lives to religious work in the metropolitanate were Elias Morochovskyj who entered in 1596, and John Vellamyn Rutskyj who entered in 1598. Both terminated their studies

¹²⁵ KOROLEVSKIJ C., *Les premiers temps...*, in « Studion » 6 (1929), 40-75; ORTIZ DE URBINA I., *Collegi Ecclesiastici*, in « Enciclopedia Cattolica » 3 (1949), 1953-1960.

¹²⁶ MUH, t. 9/10, p. 128, no. 73 (1584, February 4): Possevino to Nuncio Bolognetti.

¹²⁷ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, p. 51-52.

¹²⁸ MUH, t. 9/10, p. 247, no. 173 (1601, June 30): Clement VIII to Sigismund III.

¹²⁹ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, p. 51-52.

¹³⁰ PIDRUTCHNYJ P.B., *Pietro Arcudio, Promotore dell'Unione*, in « Analecta OSBM » 8 (1973), 254-277; MYKOLIV G., *Petrus Arcudius - Auctor « Antirrhesis »*, in « Analecta OSBM » 4 (1963), 79-94.

in 1603. Morochovskij entered the Basilian Order in 1612, and subsequently became the bishop of Volodymyr (1613-1631). Rutskij entered the Basilians in 1607, where he took the name of Joseph. In 1611, he became the bishop of Halyč, and in 1613 the metropolitan of Kyjiv (1613-1637).

When Rutskij became metropolitan, having been a student at the Greek College, he tried to send as many students as possible to his alma mater, not just occasionally, but on a regular permanent basis. Through his efforts, four places for his students at the Greek College were assigned by Paul V, and two more added by the Prop. Fide. The decree of Paul V assigning these four places is very clear¹³¹, Rutskij clearly asked the Prop. Fide for an additional two¹³², and the Prop. Fide clearly decided on May 23, 1623 to give these two places¹³³. The intention of the rectors of the college however, seems to have been deliberately to misinterpret these orders, so as to limit the number of places for Kyjiv. They consistently kept the number below the six places assigned, always searching for some pretext or other not to accept students, and where there is a will there is a way.

There had been difficulties with places at the Greek College nearly from the beginning. The rector required that the students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv had to have completed the study of philosophy before their acceptance, a requirement which imposed a great hardship on Rutskij¹³⁴. Moreover, there is no evidence that this condition was placed on the other students. Another impediment was raised by the rector in 1623, when he demanded that the students' *viaticum* (money to return home: 50 aurei each) be deposited before the beginning of their studies. For six students, the round trip would have cost

¹³¹ WDPR, t. 1, p. 357, no. 252 (1615, December 2): « quod de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus quatuor dictae Nationis, ex iis scilicet qui ad praedictam unitatem redierunt adolescentes in Collegio Graecorum de Urbe ad instar aliorum dicti Collegii Alumnorum ali, et teneri, ac in discendentium loca alii eiusdem Nationis substitui debeant, Apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus... ».

¹³² MUH, t. 9/10, p. 359, no. 291: Memoriale Metropolitae Russiae (1622): « supplica umilmente il detto Metropolita, accioché oltra di quelli quatro, li quali nel Collegio greco mantiene... potesse havere ancora luocho pei altri duoi ».

¹³³ MUH, t. 9/10, p. 365, no. 298: « SS.mus... numerum alumnorum Ruthenorum in Collegio Graeco Romano ad alios duos augere jussit »; *IBIDEM*, p. 366, no. 299: Prop. Fide to Rutskij (1623, May 27): « SS.mus Ruthenae nationi duo alia loca in Collegio Graeco eius alumnis concessit ».

¹³⁴ WEM, t. 1, p. 96, no. 40 (1623, October 17).

600 aurei, or 3,000 Polish florins, with which sum the metropolitan could have supported about thirty students in his own country. Complaint was made to the Prop. Fide on behalf of the metropolitanate¹³⁵. The number of places, notwithstanding the papal brief for four places and the decision of the Prop. Fide for another two, was disregarded even in Rutskyj's time. Going through the lists of students at the Greek College in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries¹³⁶, one is amazed to find that there were never six at one time, except possibly in 1636-1638. Certainly this was not from lack of students willing and eligible for the places. Josaphat Michnevych, procurator of the Basilians and of the metropolitanate, in 1669 asked the Prop. Fide that, if a fourth student could not be taken at the Greek College, perhaps he could be placed at the College of the Propaganda Fide¹³⁷, which implies he was having trouble in getting even four students accepted. In fact, the students who were admitted were so badly treated that Metropolitan Kolenda asked if they could be transferred to the College of the Propaganda Fide¹³⁸. In 1678, Metropolitan Žochovskyj wrote to the Prop. Fide, and his letter indicates that it was no longer a question of keeping six places, but rather it seems to be a petition that a fourth place be given¹³⁹. The rectors of the college began the practice of not accepting even four Ukrainian or Bielorrussian students, although at times there were plenty of places to be refilled¹⁴⁰. It is sad that the metropolitans of Kyjiv did not obtain better cooperation from the rectors and other forces which moved behind the scene.

¹³⁵ WLE, t. 1, p. 111, no. 63 (1626, March 8).

¹³⁶ A list of Greek College students is in preparation, and hopefully will be published in a forthcoming issue of «Analecta OSBM».

¹³⁷ WSEU, t. 1, p. 232, no. 320.

¹³⁸ WAP, t. 1, p. 27, no. 572 (1671, January 12): «i Padri Gesuiti con i loro modi di trattare, de quali non crede sia informata ne la Santa Sede, ne la S. Congregatione, gl'hanno fatto aborrire in guisa quel Collegio, che quelli, che di colà sono tornati, hanno dissuaso l'altri dall'andarvi... Supplica l'EE.VV. o à moderare lo stile, che tengono i suddetti Padri, o far ammettere i Rutheni in questo Collegio de Propaganda».

¹³⁹ WSEU, t. 1, p. 245, no. 341.

¹⁴⁰ ACG, t. 6, f. 435 (1738, May 22): Procurator OSBM to Pope: «vacando moltissimi posti... a nome anche di tutta sua Religione supplica voler aggraziare d'un di detti posti»; Rector to Prop. Fide: «Presentemente vi sono in Collegio 3 Monaci Basiliani Ruteni... stimo che l'Oratore posse esaudirsi nelle circostanze presenti in cui v'è poco numero. Ma che la grazia non transeat in exemplum, mentre da gran tempo sogliono essere in Collegio tre soli Monaci Ruteni e non quatro».

To both Paul V and Urban VIII, as well as to the Prop. Fide, the gratitude of the Ukrainians and Bielorussians is due for their generosity. The Greek College was the cradle of the hierarchy of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and its influence was felt throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its influence would have been even greater, and its fruits more evident, if the superiors of the college had not constantly made the admittance of students a problem.

The Greek parishes were stabilized and not in the state of expansion, or under pressure of impending persecution, and therefore not in dire need of great numbers of well trained leaders. The metropolitanate of Kyjiv, on the other hand, was in constant religious and political turbulence, and continuously growing, especially when joined by Peremyśl, Lviv and Luck. It suffered opposition first from the Ukrainian cossacks, and later from the religious, political and military machinery of the "Third Rome", and was in extreme, urgent need of well educated leaders — as many and as quickly as possible. In view of this, the attitude of the rectors is incomprehensible. It is hard to fathom what their goals really were. If they had primarily had at heart the good of the Eastern Catholic Church, their actions would have had to be considerably different. There were sometimes many empty places, but even the four original places, solemnly assigned by Paul V, were never fully recognized by the rectors.

Hard times came for both the metropolitanate of Kyjiv and the Greek College. In 1803 the Greek College was closed, and two years later in 1805, the last official Catholic metropolitan of Kyjiv, Theodosius Rostockyj (1787-1805), died. In 1807, the metropolitanate of Halyč, part of the Kyjiv metropolitanate, was reestablished, and students from there helped to reopen the Greek College in 1845. At this time, the college was frequently referred to as the "Collegio Greco-Ruteno". Thanks to Leo XIII (1878-1903), the Ukrainian Pontifical College was founded in Rome at Piazza Madonna dei Monti 3, next to and including the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, former generous gift of the brother of Urban VIII, Cardinal of St. Onofrio. After so many years, the Ukrainian students were at last able to leave the Greek College and move into one of their own in 1897.

2. COLLEGE OF THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

The second college at which Ukrainian and Bielorussian students were received in Rome was the Pontifical College of the Propaganda Fide, referred to as the Collegio Urbano today. Although there was

never a definite place assigned for them, thanks to the efforts of the bishops of Cholm, to Metropolitan Zалenskyj and to the Basilian Order, students began to be admitted, sporadically at first, but from the mid eighteenth century fairly regularly, two at a time¹⁴¹. The students usually went for the last two years of theology and returned home with a laureate in theology. The first students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv seem to have been Albertus Petoskyj and Albertus Samborskyj (or Sborskyj), the first applying for admission to the study of logic, and the second to the study of theology. They were both admitted in 1643¹⁴², but dismissed the following year, the first because of his refusal to observe the rules, and the second because of his refusal to take the oath¹⁴³. Since Bishop Terleckyj is supposed to have been in Rome in 1643, it is possible that they were received at his request.

Bishop Methodius Terleckyj (1629-1649) of Cholm, in about 1643 or 1644, requested places for his diocese in the College of the Prop. Fide. He had opened a school in 1639, and needed people to teach in it. He petitioned the Prop. Fide and received two places in 1644, subsidized by Cardinal Barberini¹⁴⁴. Two students were admitted in 1645¹⁴⁵. Bishop Terleckyj had received a letter from Cardinal Barberini promising two or three places for students from his diocese. The bishops of Cholm several times referred to this letter. Bishop Jacob Suša did so in 1659¹⁴⁶, asking for a place, which he received, but for one time only. In 1664, Bishop Suša asked for two, but was answered that no places were available¹⁴⁷.

The bishops of Cholm did not give up. In 1682, Bishop Suša sent, by way of the nuncio of Warsaw, a copy of the letter from Cardinal Barberini of St. Onofrio, dated November 1644, in which the cardinal not only solicited two students from the bishop of Cholm, but added that Cholm could always send two or three students. Suša therefore

¹⁴¹ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorrussian Students in the Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide (1627-1846)*, in « *Analecta OSBM* » 9 (1974), 202-222.

¹⁴² WAP, t. 1, p. 195, no. 336.

¹⁴³ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorrussian Students...*, p. 205-206; WAP, t. 1, p. 205, nos. 356 and 357.

¹⁴⁴ WAP, t. 1, p. 220, no. 379.

¹⁴⁵ WAP, t. 1, p. 220, no. 268; BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorrussian Students...*, p. 206.

¹⁴⁶ WAP, t. 1, p. 274, no. 482 (1659, December 16).

¹⁴⁷ WAP, t. 1, p. 305, no. 518, and p. 316, no. 523.

asked for two or three students to be admitted, and the College of the Prop. Fide consented to accept two¹⁴⁸. In 1686, the metropolitan asked through Joseph de Camillis, the procurator of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv and of the Basilians, to send two candidates as replacements, in case Cholm did not send any. The response was in the affirmative¹⁴⁹. In 1693 and again in 1696, it was the bishop of Cholm who got one of his students admitted¹⁵⁰. In 1698, 1699, 1700 and 1703, it was Metropolitan Zalenskyj who asked for admissions¹⁵¹. In 1705, the metropolitan and the protoarchimandrite of the Basilians asked through their common procurator in Rome to be able to send replacements¹⁵² and two students were accepted in 1706¹⁵³. In 1709, it was only the procurator of the Basilians, in the name of the archimandrite, who asked¹⁵⁴, because both of the students who had been admitted in 1706 were leaving the college in 1709, but no students were accepted. Students were admitted again in 1714¹⁵⁵.

In 1710, the question of the *viaticum* was discussed, and the Prop. Fide applied to the "Padre Generale de Monachi Rutheni di S. Basilio" for payment¹⁵⁶, implying that the selection of students was handled by the archimandrite through the procurator of the order. After 1744, of the two students who were sent, one was from the province of the Protection of the BVM, and the other was from the province of Holy Trinity. Usually two students continued to be sent until the college was closed on account of the Napoleonic Wars. At that time also, the metropolitanate of Kyjiv was suppressed. There was an attempt to send a student to the College of the Prop. Fide in 1846, but the stu-

¹⁴⁸ WAP, t. 2, p. 76-77, no. 630 (1682, March 16) and p. 78, no. 632 (1682, November 10).

¹⁴⁹ WAP, t. 2, p. 91, no. 649, and notes 108, 109; BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 208.

¹⁵⁰ WAP, t. 1, p. 133-134, no. 698 (1696, January 30); BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 208-209.

¹⁵¹ WAP, t. 2, p. 145, no. 715 (1698, August 18); p. 146, no. 716 (1699, January 1); p. 161, no. 728 (1700, April 26); p. 162, no. 730 (1700, May 24); p. 193, no. 754 (1703, December 1).

¹⁵² WAP, t. 2, p. 201, no. 764 (1705, August 11); p. 203, no. 766 (1705, November 24).

¹⁵³ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁴ WAP, t. 2, p. 260, no. 804 (1709, March 11): Il Padre Procuratore Generale [Sylvester Peškevyč] de Monachi [1696-1709] per parte del Generale [Leo Kiška] del suo Ordine [1703-1713].

¹⁵⁵ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁶ WAP, t. 2, p. 289, no. 827 (1710, June 23).

dent, a transfer from the Greek College, did not stay¹⁵⁷. Of the sixty eight students who attended the College of the Prop. Fide, only fifty four were Basilians. The others either promised in the oath not to enter a religious order, or, if records of their oaths are failing, they have no designation by their names that they were Basilians.

3. STS. SERGIUS AND BACCHUS

Pope Urban VIII and his brother, Cardinal Barberini of St. Onofrio, had intended to do something for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv by erecting a special college for it in Rome. For this purpose they donated in 1639 the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus with a small adjoining apartment, but on account of the wars and the death of Cardinal Barberini, it was not put into use¹⁵⁸. Occasionally there may have been a student for a short time, but as a rule there was not; the place was too small and there was no foundation for his support¹⁵⁹. A Basilian, Martinianus Vynnyckyj, was there in 1696, supported by the Prop. Fide¹⁶⁰.

In time, the living quarters were enlarged and additional property was bought by the Basilian Order. In 1895-1897, it was remodelled, and the Pontifical Ukrainian College, founded in 1897 by Leo XIII was located there. When, in 1932, the seminary was moved to the new building at Passeggiata del Gianicolo 7, the general curia of the Basilian Order was housed there, as well as a central seminary of the order. The Basilians bought more additional property and added another floor to the building. In 1960, when the Basilians moved to their new headquarters on the Aventine, the building was sold. In 1970, it was repurchased by Joseph Cardinal Slipyj and restored. During the course of excavations made under the church, in search for the casket of Metropolitan Korsak (1637-1640), who had died in the building and was buried there, the remains of an old Roman house were found.

There seems to be some question as to whom the church and building had actually belonged, to the metropolitanate of Kyjiv or to the Basilian Order. According to Benedict XIV, the property had been

¹⁵⁷ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorrussian Students...*, p. 221.

¹⁵⁸ WLE, t. 1, p. 300, no. 155 (1639, June 15); WLPF, t. 2, p. 108, no. 654: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Martellio (1677, December 14).

¹⁵⁹ WSEU, t. 1, p. 210, no. 304 (1660); p. 232, no. 320 (1669); WAP, t. 2, p. 7, no. 552 (1668, March 13).

¹⁶⁰ WAP, t. 2, p. 136, no. 701 (1696, September 10); p. 137, no. 704 (1699, December 4).

given to the Basilians¹⁶¹. This problem most likely originated from the fact that the procurator of the metropolitanate and the procurator of the Basilians were one and the same man, a Basilian, and that the metropolitans themselves were always Basilians until the suppression of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv.

4. VIENNA

The Pontifical College of Vienna was opened in 1574 with forty students. The bull of foundation from Gregory XIII somehow was lost, and Urban VIII gave another on June 1, 1627, limiting the number of students to twenty and assigning the provinces from which students were to be taken as well as how many from each province. Seven were to be accepted from upper Austria, seven from lower Austria, two from Valeria, two from Rezia and two from Berna, with the notation that if students from Valeria, Rezia and Berna were not forthcoming, they might be taken from Austria¹⁶². Considering the uncertainty of getting students from these three places, since there were almost no Catholics or missions there, and the fact that Austria was already solidly Catholic, it was only natural that the hierarchy of Kyjiv would turn their attention to this college, hoping to find compassion in the eyes of the rector, who might admit some students from the great missionary territories of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, the "antimurale" of the Catholic Church in eastern Europe. The rectors had the final decision in the selection of students, as is apparent from a letter of the Prop. Fide to the nuncio saying that they were not satisfied with the way the college was being managed. In the rector's report, the expenses had been greater than the income, the number of twenty students was not filled, the students were not from the assigned provinces, but many were from religious orders¹⁶³.

Although two places had been given in the college of Vienna by Paul V in 1615, Metropolitan Rutskyj was only able to get two students accepted in the November of 1626. They were Methodius Terleckyj

¹⁶¹ CHOMA I., *Narys istoriji chramu Žyrovycchoji Bohomateri svv. mučenykiv Serhija i Vakcha v Rymy*, in «Bohoslovja» 35 (1971), 136-140; KULCZYNSKYJ I.-WELYKYJ A.G., *La Casa e la Chiesa dell'Ospizio Ruteno a Roma*, in «Analecta OSBM» 9 (1974), 167-169. W DPR, t. 2, p. 93, no. 704 (1744, May 11): Decretalis «Inter Plures».

¹⁶² APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 228.

¹⁶³ WLP, t. 1, p. 70, no. 105 (1627, November 12).

and Timothy Serejskyj. Both were priests already, and went to Vienna to study philosophy¹⁶⁴. It is not certain what the emperor had to say about the acceptance of students, but the nuncio cleared the matter with him, so that the rector could do nothing but accept them graciously¹⁶⁵. These "Ruthenian" students came to the special attention of the emperor because of their intelligence, and he was impressed by their ability. He sent one of them, Terleckyj, at imperial expense to Monte Felletri in 1628, to examine the possibility of bringing the "Vallachi Montis Felletri in Croatia, Carniola et Slavonia" into union with the Catholic Church. Both the emperor and the Prop. Fide were pleased with Terleckyj's report¹⁶⁶.

When the first two students left, they must have been replaced, for there were two there in 1631¹⁶⁷, and two in 1635¹⁶⁸. Of these, one must have been Gabriel Kolenda, who studied in Vienna between 1633 and 1636¹⁶⁹. In 1637, two Basilians were accepted, but left in 1638, "sua sponte et absque licencia". It is possible that the real cause was the death of Metropolitan Rutskyj, which was used as a pretext by the rectors to send students away. The fact that only one student, Gabriel Kozovyckyj, is known to have been accepted later seems to indicate clearly that they were not wanted¹⁷⁰. When in 1668 Metropolitan Kolenda sent one student, he was turned away¹⁷¹. The metropolitans of Kyjiv later many times wrote to Rome, but the Prop. Fide was unable to do anything for them¹⁷².

The rectors of Vienna were not much interested in the missions of the vast Ukrainian and Bielorrussian territories, where it was a question of life or death for the Catholic Church. They had their provinces on paper — Valeria, Rezia and Berna, and were undoubtedly quite satisfied

¹⁶⁴ WEM, t. 2, p. 65, no. 16, note 104.

¹⁶⁵ WLE, t. 1, p. 118, no. 64.

¹⁶⁶ WAP, t. 1, p. 68, no. 109; p. 73, no. 118 (1629, March 29): «eidem Patri concedendae esse facultates quae P. Rodino Missionario... Albaniae, fuerunt in Congr. Sancti officii concessae die 27 Julii 1628»; WLE, t. 1, p. 174-175, no. 90; p. 181-182, no. 95 (1629, January 30): «havea con viatico dell'Imperatore... con ordine che di là passasse a Roma per informar pienamente la Sacra Congregatione.»; p. 269, no. 142.

¹⁶⁷ WLE, t. 1, p. 221, no. 107.

¹⁶⁸ WLE, t. 1, p. 270, no. 142 (1635, December 10); MUH, t. 2, p. 207, no. 133.

¹⁶⁹ WEM, t. 2, p. 211.

¹⁷⁰ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 27; WAP, t. 1, p. 313, note 414.

¹⁷¹ WAP, t. 2, p. 10, no. 558 (1668, August 7).

¹⁷² WAP, t. 2, p. 56, no. 606 (1676, February 4); WSEU, t. 1, p. 245, no. 341 (1678); WAP, t. 2, p. 161, no. 728 (1700, April 26).

with the fine work they and their pontifical college were doing. Benedict XIV was of a different opinion, however. In 1741, he suspended payments until after an investigation. The rector did not wait for the visitator, but sent all except two students away. The visitator found there only these two, and forty boarders. As far as an account of the administration of the money from Rome was concerned, there was no great trouble about auditing the short report: "so much received — so much spent" ("tanto ricevuto — tanto speso")¹⁷³. The college was understandably closed.

5. GRÄTZ

There were three colleges in Gratz in the seventeenth century. One was the pontifical college founded by Clement VIII (1592-1605). Another was founded by Princess Anna, who later became the wife (1592-1598) of King Sigismund of Poland (1587-1632) and mother of Wladyslaw IV (1632-1648). The third was founded by the mother of Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637). In 1626, Cardinal Carafa, nuncio of Vienna (1621-1628) mentions the pontifical college of Gratz for the first time. It seems that the emperor had the final word in the selection of students for all three colleges, for Nuncio Caraffa in a letter to the Prop. Fide in 1626, said that there would be no difficulty in getting a place in one of them from the emperor¹⁷⁴. The nuncio talked to the emperor, who consented to give two places in Gratz, but only for two students to be replaced only once¹⁷⁵. It seems that, at the moment, places were not available, and it was not determined whether the students should be secular or religious¹⁷⁶. By the end of December, Metropolitan Rutskyj received the information, and sent the students to Gratz right away¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷³ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 228-235.

¹⁷⁴ WLN, t. 4, p. 259, no. 1925 (1626, November 18).

¹⁷⁵ MUH, t. 2, p. 33, no. 26 (1627, July 28): Nuncio Carafa to Cardinal Ludovisi, Prefect of the Prop. Fide (1622-1631).

¹⁷⁶ WEM, t. 2, p. 64, no. 15 (1627, December 1): Bishop Korsak to Prop. Fide: « ...cum desiderio desideremus Graecensia non vacare loca, humillime peto, ut nos docere dignetur tempestive an pro futura studiorum renovatione duos ex Ruthenis ad manum habere debeamus, eosque saeculares ne etiam an tantum religiosos ».

¹⁷⁷ WEM, t. 1, p. 199, no. 96 (1626, December 29): Metr. Rutskyj to Nuncio Santa Croce of Warsaw.

The places in Gratz were short-lived, and there does not seem to have been any continuation of these first admissions. Altogether, there were at most four students who studied there.

6. PRAGUE

There seem to have been three different pontifical colleges in Prague, St. Bartholomew¹⁷⁸, the college for poor students¹⁷⁹, and St. Wenceslaus¹⁸⁰, all three founded by Gregory XIII. The one where the students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv should have been admitted was St. Bartholomew. The students attended courses at the academy. Until 1615, only four students from the territory of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv are registered in the list of matriculations, Adamus Leschk *Polonus Vilmensis* (1580-1584), Joannes Scultetus *Praemisliensis Roxolanus* (1593), Basilius Kamisky *Polotiensis Lituanus* (1597)¹⁸¹, and Ivan Veljamin Rutsky (sometime between 1591 and 1596)¹⁸². In 1615, when Rutskyj obtained places from Paul V for his students in pontifical colleges, two places at Prague were included in the pope's concession. Prague evidently had little interest in the growth of the Catholic Church in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and continuously made all possible difficulty for students from there to be accepted. If the rectors had really wanted to receive them, they could have, for in the bull of erection there were some paper provinces, such as Lusazia, Hassia, in which Rome was not even certain that there were any students to be found¹⁸³.

The first student from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv to be admitted in Prague after 1615 was Raphael Korsak, although for some reason, his name was never entered in the register. He himself did not ever mention his stay in Prague until he made his will on his deathbed¹⁸⁴.

On September 19, 1625, Rutskyj wrote to the Prop. Fide¹⁸⁵ that he had obtained two places in Prague from Paul V, but that no students at all were being taken there. In November, the Prop. Fide

¹⁷⁸ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 237-243.

¹⁷⁹ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, p. 222.

¹⁸⁰ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 67, note 1.

¹⁸¹ IBIDEM, p. 68.

¹⁸² IBIDEM; WEM, t. 1, p. ix.

¹⁸³ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 237.

¹⁸⁴ WEM, t. 2, p. 159, no. 70 (1640, August 18).

¹⁸⁵ WEM, t. 1, p. 170-171, no. 69.

ordered the nuncio of Vienna to write to the rector of the college that he should receive students¹⁸⁶. After the direct intervention of Rome, the rector took two students in 1627, Procopius Chmelovskyj and Benedict Bechoveckyj, but pointed out to the Prop. Fide that, according to the bull of erection, Kyjiv was not one of the provinces from which he was supposed to accept students. On October 5, 1628, the Prop. Fide decided that, until a seminary could be built in "Russia", students from Kyjiv should be accepted in Prague¹⁸⁷. For the time being the question seemed to be solved, but actually it was not. In 1630, Rutskyj sent as replacements, Filippus Borovyk *Vilnensis* and Josaphat Isakovyč *Vilnensis*¹⁸⁸, but the rector responded directly to Rutskyj that his students could not be received any more, as they were not included in the bull of erection, and that there were no free places for them. Rutskyj sent this letter directly to the Prop. Fide¹⁸⁹. The Prop. Fide sent word to the nuncio of Vienna to order the rector to accept two students¹⁹⁰. The nuncio gave the order to the rector¹⁹¹. Unfortunately, this order, unlike the former decision of 1628, was temporary, for one time only. Whatever influence was brought to bear by the rector upon the Prop. Fide to bring about this change, we are not sure, but it was never accepted by the hierarchy of Kyjiv. They had the decision of October 28, 1628 that two students should be accepted until a seminary in Russia was built, and besides, the concession of Paul V of 1615 was never invalidated or annulled. That the metropolitans continuously tried to claim the places given by Paul V is obvious from the fact that in 1638, there were again two students in Prague, although these never finished their studies, and left "senza licenza". It is strange that in Vienna two students left in this same year "senza licenza"¹⁹², and this was immediately after Rutskyj died in 1637. For many years students were not accepted in Prague.

In 1665, the rector was asked for an explanation by the Prop. Fide through the nuncio of Vienna, after Bishop Suša (1652-1685) of Cholm, when he was in Rome, personally presented a complaint that no stu-

¹⁸⁶ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 19 (1625, November 25).

¹⁸⁷ IBIDEM, p. 20.

¹⁸⁸ IBIDEM, p. 70.

¹⁸⁹ WEM, t. 1, p. 246, no. 120 (1630, December 1).

¹⁹⁰ WLP, t. 1, p. 106, no. 1677.

¹⁹¹ MUH, t. 2, p. 131, no. 76 (1631, June 21); WLE, t. 1, p. 225, no. 110.

¹⁹² FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 27.

dents had been taken for years in Prague¹⁹³. The rector showed himself willing to accept students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹⁹⁴, and the Prop. Fide ordered the nuncio to profit by his good disposition, and to tell him to accept two immediately¹⁹⁵. In 1669, two were accepted, Simon Koziol *Russus* and Peter Kamiensky *Ruthenus*, and in 1674 two again, Martianus Kolciczky *Polonus* and Procopius Kolaczinsky *Polonus*¹⁹⁶, but the "good disposition" of the rector was short-lived, and in 1676, he refused to replace them. Metropolitan Žochovskyj complained to the Prop. Fide in 1676¹⁹⁷ that Prague was not accepting students. He again asked the Prop. Fide to do something about getting students into Prague in 1678. On January 17, 1678, the Prop. Fide in general session in the presence of Innocent XI (1676-1689), ordered that the students sent by the Ruthenian bishops should be received, notwithstanding the bull of erection and all other decisions, and that the rector should send an explanation for his actions¹⁹⁸.

After this decision, Metropolitan Žochovskyj sent two students but, as he complained to the Prop. Fide, they were refused admittance. There is some discrepancy in the reports; the rector replied to the Prop. Fide that he never saw the students! He declared that he was most willing to receive them, but would like to know if he should send away other students, as he had no places available. Besides, he added, it was against the bull of erection which specified the provinces from which students were to come, and in addition forbade entrance to those who wished to become religious, and the students were Basilians. Somehow the rectors were able to soothe their troubled consciences as far as accepting religious of Latin rite was concerned¹⁹⁹. The rector also affirmed that the metropolitans of Kyjiv had not the privilege of having their students accepted without the previous approval of

¹⁹³ WAP, t. 1, p. 313, no. 523 (1665, February 25).

¹⁹⁴ WAP, t. 2, p. 10, no. 558 (1668, August 7).

¹⁹⁵ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, p. 29.

¹⁹⁶ IBIDEM, p. 70.

¹⁹⁷ WAP, t. 2, p. 56, no. 606 (1676, February 4): «Che s'ordini à Superiori del Collegio Greco di Roma, di Vienna, di Praga, di Bronsberga, e di Vilna, che non impediscano i luoghi che vi hanno li Ruteni, poichè sempre fanno difficoltà in pigliare li soggetti, che manda il Metropolita, onde le parti della Russia restano prive d'Operarii del proprio rito, che più facilmente inducono gl'altri alla Santa Unione, come s'è veduto per il passato ».

¹⁹⁸ WAP, t. 2, p. 66, no. 615 (1678, January 17); FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, p. 31.

¹⁹⁹ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 240.

the rectors of Prague²⁰⁰. In spite of all these "reasonable" objections, the rector still had to take two students, and two Basilians are listed in 1680, Bonaventura Boksta *Lituanus* and Policarpus Filipowicz *Lituanus*. Boksta left in 1681, and Filipowicz in 1684. In 1684 is found only one student, Abrahamius Boburkiewicz *Lituanus*²⁰¹. In 1685, Metropolitan Žochovskyj again raised the question of getting students admitted, but without result²⁰². Again and again the metropolitans tried to place students; in 1699, in 1700 and in 1703²⁰³. In 1703, the Prop. Fide ordered the nuncio of Vienna to see to it that two students were admitted, but there is no evidence that any were. In 1722, the procurator of the Basilians and of the metropolitanate wrote to the Prop. Fide complaining that Prague had refused for many years to take any students, and asked to refill the "vacant place", which must refer to the place held in the year 1684, as there is no evidence of any students being there in the meantime. This plea²⁰⁴, like that of the hierarchy of Kyjiv two years earlier²⁰⁵, had no effect. Towards Kyjiv, Prague was deaf and blind.

When in 1741, Benedict XIV ordered a visitation of all pontifical colleges, the rector of Prague did not wait for the visitor, but immediately sent away all students except for three religious of St. Paul the Hermit, whose superior had decided to pay their expenses. With only these three students, and the archives burned three times according to the rector, the purpose of the visitation was thwarted. From the little that the visitor could gather, his report shows that the full number of twenty was never accommodated, but only from ten to seventeen, and that the expenses were exceedingly great. The rector, from the funds received from Rome, first took out for his own and the professors' food and expenses, and used what was left for the maintenance of the college and the support of the students. He accepted and removed students without giving an account to anyone, and from some of the assigned provinces he never admitted any stu-

²⁰⁰ WAP, t. 2, p. 69, no. 619 (1678, November 14).

²⁰¹ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 70-71.

²⁰² WAP, t. 2, p. 89, no. 646 (1685, July 16); FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 32.

²⁰³ WAP, t. 2, p. 149, no. 719 (1699, March 23); p. 161, no. 728 (1700, April 26); p. 194, no. 755 (1703, December 18).

²⁰⁴ WAP, t. 3, p. 196, no. 1012 (1722, August 3); WLP, t. 3, p. 205, no. 1294.

²⁰⁵ WEM, t. 4, p. 90, no. 62 (1720, September 27).

dents. There were three priests altogether, and nine servants²⁰⁶. Rome was not much impressed by the efficiency of the Prague college and its service to the Catholic Church, and did not send any more payments; in 1741 the pontifical college of St. Bartholomew in Prague ceased to exist.

7. OLOMOUC

The pontifical college of Olomouc was founded in 1578 by Gregory XIII at the proposition of Anthony Possevino. It had the same rules as Braunsberg, which was founded at the same time, and covered the same provinces of "Svezia, Gothia, Vandalia, Norvegia, Dacia, Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, Moscovia, Russia seu Lithuania, et Hungaria"²⁰⁷. There was no prescribed number of students for each province or nation, and the rector could therefore use his own judgement in the selection of students. To a certain degree it is surprising that in the early stage up until 1609, it was not Vilno, Braunsberg or Prague, but Olomouc which has the greatest number of students' names hinting at Ukrainian or Bielorrussian origin. Some of the students began their studies at Braunsberg and then transferred to Olomouc, such as Jacobus Boxa *Ruthenus* (later a Jesuit), Petrus Veleysius *Ruthenus* (later a Jesuit), Sebastianus Koschinsky *Moschus*, Stephanus Koschinsky *Moschus*, Sebastianus Glodisichius *Rutenus*, Joannes Momonowitz *Lithvanus*, Stanislaus *Leopolitanus Rutenus*, Albertus Wechoslawius *Ruthenus*, Nicolaus Siwiczki *Rutenus* (later a Capuchin). All of these students, except for Boxa, are in the lists of both Braunsberg and Olomouc. Boxa, listed only at Braunsberg, has the notation by his name, "sent to Olomouc for the continuation of his studies". Stephanus Koschinsky is registered at Braunsberg as Stephanus Gossinsky *Ruthenus*²⁰⁸. The following students came directly to Olomouc: Petrus Wildussius *Rhutenus* (1579), Sebastianus Praemischen *Rhutenus* (1579), Lucas Doctorius *Rhutenus* (1579), Theophilus Rapski *Nobilis Rhutenus* (1590), Lucas Koraneczky *Rhutenus* (1595), Christophorus Casparus Wasziczinsky de Wasziczin *Nobilis Rutenus* (1597), Valentinus Bargelus *Novo Samborensis Roxolanus* (1602) and Ionnes Lachowicz *Potelicensis Rhutenus* (1604). For some reason, after 1604 the coming of students who might be from

²⁰⁶ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 38-43.

²⁰⁷ THEINER A., *La Suede...*, p. 415; LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 8-11.

²⁰⁸ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 48-52.

the territories of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv stopped. Only at the end of the second decade came Zacharius Furs, who later entered the Basilian Order²⁰⁹. His name is not Ruthenian, and is not marked so in the register, but he may have become a naturalized Ruthenian after he entered the Basilians.

Having studied in Prague, Rutskyj could not but have heard about Olomouc, and he got two places from Paul V in 1615 to Olomouc for his students. These places were conceded only by the pope, however, and not by the rector. At the insistence of Metropolitan Rutskyj, the Prop. Fide wrote to Nuncio Carafa of Vienna (1621-1628) on May 7, 1625 to secure at least two places in Olomouc for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, since this territory was clearly included in the bull of foundation for this college²¹⁰. On November 29, 1625, the Prop. Fide again wrote to the nuncio to treat with Olomouc²¹¹. Again a third time the Prop. Fide wrote on March 26, 1627²¹². On November 22, 1630 the Prop. Fide ordered the nuncio to inquire for what reason Olomouc had refused to follow the orders²¹³. Finally, in 1631, sixteen years after the places had been conceded by Paul V, and after seven years of bombardment of Rome by Rutskyj, of the nuncio by Rome, and of the rector by the nuncio, the rector replied to the Prop. Fide that he had never heard anything about the matter²¹⁴. Astonished, on March 27, 1631, the Prop. Fide sent through Nuncio Rocci of Vienna duplicates of all the orders, with a new order to accept the students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv²¹⁵. On April 4, 1631, the Prop. Fide again wrote that "Alunni Rutheni" be received in Olomouc²¹⁶.

With all excuses now exhausted, the rector could do nothing but take some students. Within the next few years, a total of three students were admitted, Suša, Hrekovyč and Nicon Korsak, the first two transferring from Braunsberg. Then again, after the death of Rutskyj, for many years none were taken. Florovsky, studying the registers, found nine names between 1638 and 1669: Nicodemus Jamnsky *Rutenus* (1638), Lucas Fulanowicz *ex Russia* (1638), Sebastianus Kornitzky

²⁰⁹ IBIDEM, p. 56-57.

²¹⁰ WLP, t. 1, p. 29, no. 39; MUH, t. 9/10, p. 471, no. 376.

²¹¹ WLP, t. 1, p. 35, no. 45.

²¹² WAP, t. 1, p. 51, no. 85; MUH, t. 9/10, p. 597, no. 488.

²¹³ WAP, t. 1, p. 95, no. 164.

²¹⁴ WLE, t. 1, p. 221, no. 107 (1631, February 22).

²¹⁵ WLE, t. 1, p. 222, no. 107; MUH, t. 9/10, p. 809, no. 687.

²¹⁶ WLP, t. 1, p. 105, no. 165.

Sloriensis Roxolanus poeta (1650) — later in 1654 pastor of Nisa in Slesia, Adamus Zgorzelsky *Dobroslaviensis Roxolanus* (1650-1652), Alexander Constantinus Luczewsky *Rutenus* (1654), Blasius Glochinski *Podoliensis Rutenus Nobilis* (1656), Varlaam Jasinskij (1657) — later Orthodox metropolitan of Kyjiv, Gregorius Siniczkiy *Rutenus Pinscensis* (1658), and Hieronymus Latsky *Lituanus Ma(re)schalcus M(agni) D(ucatus) Lituanie*²¹⁷. There is no record that any of these had been sent by the hierarchy of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, or that they ever worked for the metropolitanate after graduation. For those students who had not either transferred from Braunsberg or been sent by the hierarchy of Kyjiv, it is not always clear whether they were supported at the pontifical college, or lived elsewhere at their own expense and studied at the Academy of Olomouc, since the records are incomplete.

In 1665, Bishop Suša of Cholm, in the name of the hierarchy of Kyjiv, presented a complaint to the Prop. Fide that Olomouc was not receiving any students²¹⁸. The Prop. Fide wrote to the nuncio to ask the rector for an explanation²¹⁹. The explanation came in 1666, that the college was not able to receive students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv without additional money from Rome, that if Urban VIII had in 1631 put Ruthenians among the nations to be taken care of at Olomouc it was a burden on the college, and that it was not meant to be a permanent concession, but had been intended for particular persons²²⁰. In view of this attitude, the Prop. Fide decided to talk to the general of the Jesuits. It seems to have been a slow moving affair; one student was admitted on August 22, 1668, and replaced on November 12, 1669. This student was in turn replaced in 1676²²¹. This meagre success did not last for long, and in 1678, Metropolitan Žochovskyj complained that the pontifical colleges were refusing to receive his students, Olomouc included²²². In 1679, he succeeded in getting two students accepted, and these were replaced by another two in 1681 and 1682. After these left, there were again difficulties, and Metropolitan Žochovskyj appealed to Rome for help in 1685²²³. Finally the rector conceded the victory to the Prop. Fide and the metro-

²¹⁷ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, pp. 53, 57-58.

²¹⁸ WAP, t. 1, p. 313, no. 532 (1665, February 25).

²¹⁹ WLP, t. 1, p. 263, no. 396 (1665, March 18).

²²⁰ WAP, t. 1, p. 329, no. 533 (1666, January 12).

²²¹ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Češti Jesuité...*, pp. 53, 58-59.

²²² WSEU, t. 1, p. 245, no. 341.

²²³ WAP, t. 2, p. 89, no. 646 (1685, July 16).

politans, and in 1687 began regularly to accept one or two students²²⁴, and there are no more complaints after that.

In 1741, when Benedict XIV ordered a visitation of all pontifical colleges to evaluate their usefulness to the Catholic Church, and stopped all payments until after the visitation so that the rectors would have to agree to answer the questions put to them, Olomouc did the same thing that Vienna and Prague did. They sent the students home, regardless of the dangers of travel on account of the wars, and the unfinished state of their studies. From the scanty sources available, the visitor was able to find out that there were usually fewer students than prescribed, and that many of the students, before being admitted to studies, had to serve the fathers as servants or valets. Meditation was not practiced. The fathers not only did not eat with the students as was prescribed, but even kept a separate cook for themselves²²⁵. The rector presented an impressive list for the years 1646-1741 of regions and nations served, with the number of students totalling 1,253. First of all, as Florovsky notes, there is a mistake in the addition, and the total really is 1,145²²⁶. It must be said that even the number 1,145 is a fantastic exaggeration. Even figuring that the full number of students had always been accommodated (which they never were according to the visitation report of 1741), and that the average term of studies was four years, for the period of 1646-1741, ninety five years, the total would have been four hundred and seventy five. On this same list, the number of Basilian students is given as one hundred and twenty seven. Florovsky suggests that this may have been even higher, more than one hundred and fifty²²⁷. This statement of Florovsky is incredible, in view of the fact that he himself went through all the lists available, and gives the names of only thirty eight Basilians: 1. Zacharias (Andrej, Afanasij) Furs (end of the second decade of the seventeenth century), 2. Jacobus Susza (1633), 3. Polycarpus Grecowich *Lithuanus* (1633-1640), 4. Nicon Korsak (1639-1640, 1642), 5. Benedictus Michniewitz *Polocensis* (1668-1669), 6. Eustachius Wienczek *Polonus Barzoviensis* (1669-1676), 7. Leo Kalesky *Polonus Brestensis* (1676), 8. Gedeon Wojna Oranskij *Polonus* (1679-1681), 9. Hippolytus Olissewitz *Lithuanus* (1679-1682), 10. Gedeon Odorskij *Lithuanus Sosnorzeisensis* (1681-

²²⁴ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 60-61.

²²⁵ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 245-260.

²²⁶ FLOROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 75.

²²⁷ IBIDEM, p. 76.

1684), 11. Ambrosius Druhovina *Lithvanus Polocensis* (1682-1683), 12. Jacobus Kizikovsky *Polonus ex Palatinatu Volkinensi* (1687-1691), 13. Benedictus Sienkewitz *Polonus ex Volinia* (1688-1694), 14. Palladius Rogovskij *ex Tver* (1690-1693), 15. Jacobus Solukovsky *Ruthenus ex Palatinatu Belzensi* (1691-1695), 16. Germanus Kozaczenko *Lituanus Ulnensis* (1695), 17. Innocentius Bichowicz *Ruthenus Helmensis* (1695), 18. Hilarion Kruszewicz *ex min(ore) Polonia Varsaviensis* (1699-1702), 19. Melchior Losowitz *Litvanus* (1699-1702), 20. Cyrillus Czaplejowsky *Lithuanus ex districtu Wolkoviensi* (1702-1706), 21. Patritius Bielsky *Lithvanus* (1706-1710), 22. Firmianus Wollk *Lithuanus* (1706-1709), 23. Justinus Kozaczenko *Vilnensis* (1709), 24. Prokopius Hodermarski *Hungarus* (1610-1617), 25. Constantinus Czacinsky *Polonus Wladomiriensis* (1710-1711), 26. Serapion Lozowsky *Lithuanus Brestensis* (1711-1714), 27. Lucas Suttovitz *Lithvanus ex districtu Orsensi* (1711-1714), 28. Hieronymus Wojna (1719), 29. Georgius Bulhac *Lituanus Slonimensis* (1720-1721), 30. Eustachius Kovlensky *Polonus Branscensis* (1720-1723), 31. Athanasius Pietrowsky *Lithuanus ex Palatinatu Minscensi* (1721-1728), 32. Germanus Manastyrsky *ex rubra Russia ex terra Przemygliensi* (1725-1729), 33. Nikanor Ulinsky *Polonus Chelmensis* (1728-1732), 34. Joannes Lukianowitz *Polonus Curlandus* (1729-1735), 35. Felicianus Zablocky *Litvanus Minscensis* (1732-1736), 36. Sebastianus Lonkievitz *Lithuanus Votocensis* (Polocensis?) (1736-1738), 37. Marcellus Warzatzky *Lythvanus Slonimensis* (1736-1740), 38. Sylvester Arteczky *Lituanus ex Palatinatu Brestensi* (1738-1742). Besides these there were three lay students registered between the years 1668 and 1741, Felix Tuschinsky *ex Palatinatu Russiae* (1699), Constantinus Tuschinsky *ex Palatinatu Russiae* (1699) and Anthony Vynnyckyj (1710), nephew of Metropolitan George Vynnyckyj (1708-1713). Anthony Vynnyckyj was placed in Olomouc by the Prop. Fide. It is not known who placed Zacharias Furs, Felix Tuschinsky and Constantinus Tuschinsky. The others are all Basilians and were placed by the metropolitan and/or the Basilian Order. The dates after the students' names are those given in the registers²²⁸. No other records indicate that the number would have been much higher than this. From 1688 to 1741, a period of fifty three years, when two Basilians were studying at a time with an average four year term, the total would have been twenty seven. Only four Basilians are known to have studied there during Rutskyj's time, and from 1668 only eight. The total

²²⁸ IBIDEM, pp. 53, 57-66.

number of Basilians therefore could not have been much greater than thirty nine, and both the statement of the rector and that of Florovsky are without foundation.

8. BRAUNSBURG

The pontifical college of Braunsberg was founded by Gregory XIII in 1578, having been proposed by Anthony Possevino, a Jesuit diplomat, former secretary general of the Jesuits, and a good friend of Gregory. The rules for the colleges at Braunsberg and at Olomouc were both given the same day, December 10, 1578, and signed by Bartholomew Cardinal Gallus of Como. The provinces assigned were "Svezia, Gothia, Vandalia, Norvegia, Dacia, Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, Moscovia, Russia seu Lithuania, et Hungaria". There were altogether one hundred places assigned, for which 2,400 nummi avrei were allotted as support²²⁹. Later 1,930.50 scudi were paid to the procurator general of the Jesuit Missions, from the *dataria*. On September 16, 1761, 180 scudi were taken for the seminary at Kreslau, founded to take care of a couple of parishes left in the kingdom of Poland of the former Latin diocese of Smolensk, thus leaving Braunsberg with 1,750.50 scudi²³⁰.

Up until 1609, there are six names on the lists of Braunsberg marked *Ruthenus* and three marked *Moschus*. They are: no. 26 Jacobus Boxa *Ruthenus* (1580-1582), no. 62 Nicolaus Clementis *Moschus* (1581-1585), no. 93 Jacobus *Moschus* (1582-?), no. 109 Stephanus Gossinsky *Ruthenus* (1583-1588), no. 129 Joannes Ivan *Moschus* (1584-1586), no. 153 Paulus Dionisius *Ruthenus* (1587-1590), no. 238 Andreas Rubens *Ruthenus* (1593-1597), no. 239 Basilius Rimiowsky *Ruthenus* (1593-1597), and no. 284 Joannes Nowowoisky *Ruthenus* (1596-factus parrochus 1598)²³¹. For the next ten years there are no entries so marked. One might wonder how Clement VIII, Peter Arcudio and Bishop Potij, later metropolitan of Kyjiv (1600-1613) overlooked Braunsberg in the discussion of seminaries for Ruthenians. Until the time of the Union of Berestja (1596), a few Ruthenian students were being accepted there, but strangely enough, after the union until 1609, Braunsberg seemed to disappear from the face of the map, as far as the Church of the union was concerned.

²²⁹ THEINER A., *La Suede et le Saint-Siège*, Paris 1842, t. 2, p. 415-441; LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 8-11.

²³⁰ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 275.

²³¹ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 30-52.

It was Rutskyj who rediscovered Braunsberg, which was in the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, and under the care of the Jesuits. Rutskyj sent two Basilians there in 1609, and three in 1611, but these did not stay for long. In December of 1615, when he got the six places he asked for from Paul V, there seems to have been no student there at the time. He tried to keep these six places, but was unable to. In 1625, he turned to Rome for help²³². Rome requested an explanation from the Jesuit provincial under whose jurisdiction Braunsberg was, of why students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv were being turned away. The answer was the same as Vilno gave, short and clear: there was no place in Braunsberg for "Rutheni Uniti", according to the bull of erection for the college. He nevertheless magnanimously promised to find place for three²³³, although, as he said, they had no right to be there. Rome, on the contrary, was adamant, that according to the bull of erection there should definitely be place for the "Rutheni Uniti", and in 1636 issued an explicit order to the provincial to observe the foundations and accept the students²³⁴. After that, two were usually received, but not always. Metropolitan Kolenda complained on September 20, 1668 that there was difficulty getting students into Braunsberg, and that when they were taken, they were treated badly²³⁵.

According to the report of the visitation of 1741, in 1740 there were twenty four students in Braunsberg, of whom eighteen were from the local diocese of Warmia, to which Braunsberg belonged. The rector of Braunsberg did not send the students away before the visitation, as Prague, Vienna and Olomouc did. The visitor was the "Administrator Sede Vacante"²³⁶, who would hardly have sent in an unfavorable report, having an overwhelming majority of students from his own Warmia diocese studying at the Holy See's expense.

The college at Braunsberg was closed in 1798 when Rome was proclaimed a republic and there were no funds coming in to support the college²³⁷. During the two hundred and twenty years of its existence, altogether one thousand three hundred and eighty one students studied there²³⁸, of whom one hundred and sixty five were from eastern Europe,

²³² WEM, t. 1, p. 170, no. 69 (1625, July 19).

²³³ WLN, t. 4, p. 213 (1626, March 3).

²³⁴ WAP, t. 1, p. 157, no. 273 (1636, April 14).

²³⁵ WEM, t. 2, p. 271, no. 51.

²³⁶ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 21, f. 277-278.

²³⁷ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 13.

²³⁸ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 19: points out that there is a mistake in the

including the early non-Basilian students, according to Oljančyn²³⁹. Toločko found there only one hundred and thirty six Basilians²⁴⁰.

Many of those hundred and thirty six Basilians did not terminate their studies at Braunsberg. A number transferred to other colleges, Vilno, Olomouc, Vienna, Prague and Rome. Some were there less than a year²⁴¹ or had to pay their own expenses²⁴². Nevertheless, Braunsberg was, after the Greek College in Rome, the most important college for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. It often was the starting place, or maybe the testing place, from which students returned home or were sent to colleges outside of the country.

9. VILNO

The idea to begin a college in Vilno came from Father Possevino, a Jesuit diplomat with missionary spirit, who had been sent to the courts of Warsaw and Moscow to make a treaty of peace between the Poles and the Muscovites. His intention was to begin a seminary in Vilno for the "Ruthenians", (Ukrainians and Bielorussians) and the "Muscovites" (Russians). The bull of erection is dated February 5, 1582, and the sum of 1,200 scudi per year was assigned for its upkeep by Gregory XIII²⁴³. In spite of his usual parsimoniousness in money matters, Sixtus V (1585-1590) confirmed this amount in 1586. The seminary was placed, like most pontifical colleges at that time, under the direction of the Jesuits, and its first rector was George Wonderaut²⁴⁴. Although the foundation had been for Ruthenians and Muscovites, from the very beginning the seminary was turned to other purposes.

numbering of the list of names of students at the college. The last is numbered 1580, but in reality should be 1381.

²³⁹ OLJANČYN D., *Aus dem Kultur -und Geistesleben der Ukraine*, in « Kyrios » 2 (1937), 265-278.

²⁴⁰ TOŁOČKO V., *Braunsberg*, in « Annales OSBM » 2 (1926), 446-448.

²⁴¹ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 65, no. 414.

²⁴² MUH, t. 3, p. 170, no. 87 (1663): Bishop Suša to Prop. Fide: « Itaque unus e nostris religiosus, qui aliquo mansit tempore, non pro alumno, sed pro convictore, suo sumptu et pecunia persolvit pro victu. Alter autem pro eo etiam, quod mansit in convictu, et adhuc non solvit, res suas quasi in pignore locavit, quae non extraduntur ex alumnatu, donec solverit ».

²⁴³ DE MARTINIS R., *Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars 1, t. 3, Rome 1890, p. 222-223, note 1; W DPR, t. 1, p. 225-227, no. 123.

²⁴⁴ POPLATEK J., *Powstanie Seminarjum Papieskiego w Wilnie*, in « Ateneum Wileńskie » 6 (1929), 430 sqq.

In 1585, we find among the first thirteen students only one who could have been of Ukrainian or Bielorrussian origin, *Jacobus Laurentii Ruthenus*. Six others are Swedish, some are from Baltic countries, and one is from Transylvania. The one and only Ruthenian listed that year was put to work later, not for the "Ruthenians", but for the Latin rite church in Orša²⁴⁵. During the years 1582-1596, the seminary had become so far removed from its original purpose, that at the time of the Union of Berestja no mention was made of it. Whether this was the fault of the Jesuits or of the Latin hierarchy is hard to say; perhaps it was both.

One might expect that the "Seminario Rutheno", as it was constantly called in Rome²⁴⁶, at the time of the Synod of Berestja, or at least immediately after, would have come to the assistance of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, which was in such urgent need of educated clergy to promote the union. Something inconceivable happened behind the scenes in that pontifical Ruthenian seminary. Although it was supported by papal funds to educate the Ruthenian clergy, after the Union of Berestja everybody except Ruthenians was being educated there, and students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv were excluded from this seminary. Only in 1610, was one Basilian sent, and another in 1611. Both transferred from Braunsberg²⁴⁷.

In 1615, Metropolitan Rutskyj obtained from Paul V six places in that Ruthenian seminary of Vilno. It seems strange that neither the hierarchy of Kyjiv at the time of the Union of Berestja, nor Metropolitan Potij (1600-1613), nor Metropolitan Rutskyj (1613-1637) both of whom had close connections in Vilno, raised the question of sending students to that seminary. When Rutskyj asked for places in 1615, he asked only for six, and there is no evidence that he ever asked for more, although, strictly speaking, he had the right to insist on all the places, because at that time all the Ukrainian and Bielo-

²⁴⁵ POPLATEK J., *Wykaz alumnów Seminarjum Papieskiego w Wilnie 1582-1773*, in «Ateneum Wileńskie» 11 (1936), 226, no. 28.

²⁴⁶ MUH, t. 9/10, p. 90, no. 30: Cardinal di Como to P. Possevino (1582, June 23): «Si mandano cinquecento scudi per cinque messate del collegio Rutheno da eriger in Vilno...»; p. 132, no. 78: «per il Collegio Ruteno...»; p. 126, no. 69: «Seminario de' Ruteni et Moscoviti»; POPLATEK J., *Zarys dziejów Seminarjum Papieskiego w Wilnie*, in «Ateneum Wileńskie» 7 (1930), 179: «Seminarium papieskie w Wilnie nazywano w Rzymie stale aż do ostatnich dni jego istnienia Collegium Ruthenicum.»

²⁴⁷ LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 64, nos. 411, 414; POPLATEK J., *Wykaz...*, p. 247.

russian territories and even part of the Russian territories were under his jurisdiction. Furthermore, his successors for over a hundred years did not press the matter. The only possible explanation is that the hierarchy of Kyjiv was misinformed about the bull of erection and the original purpose of the seminary. Clement VIII (1592-1605) and his successors until Benedict XIV (1740-1758) were also silent. Krypjakovyč says that it is hard to admit that Clement VIII, who had been in Poland as papal legate before his election, was unaware of the true purpose of the seminary of Vilno²⁴⁸. However, judging from the many letters of Clement VIII, Paul V, Urban VIII and other pontiffs on behalf of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and from their contributions towards the seminaries of Minsk and Lviv, it clearly emerges that they were misinformed. Obviously this misinformation came from those with the interest and possibility to distort the truth in order to prevent the Ukrainian and Bielorrussian clergy from being educated and being able to promote the union. Evidently there were influential people within the Catholic Church who for some reason wanted the union to fail. To exclude Ukrainian and Bielorrussian students from the Ruthenian seminary, especially in those critical times when the metropolitanate of Kyjiv so desperately needed well trained and educated priests to sustain the union, was a crime crying to heaven, and will for centuries incriminate the perpetrators. It was not only a religious crime against the metropolitanate of Kyjiv and against Rome, but a political crime against Poland. The people, deprived of trained leaders, turned elsewhere for leadership, contributing to bloody wars and to the eventual dismemberment of Poland. There were two persons very influential at the time of the foundation of the seminary of Vilno, who definitely knew its true purpose, and who were still living at the time of the Union of Berestja and who could have corrected the injustice. One was Anthony Possevino, the guiding spirit of the foundation, and the other was Peter Skarga, author of a well known book on the unity of God's Church, published in 1578, rector of the Jesuit Academy at Vilno (1574-1584), and later confessor of King Sigismund III and court preacher. Both were silent, before, during and after the Synod of Berestja. Possevino's silence can be explained by the fact that he had been permanently removed from the scene. Skarga however, was constantly on the scene and was personally active at the synod.

²⁴⁸ KRYPJAKEYVYČ I., *Z dijalnasty Possevina*, in ZNTŠ 112 (1912), 28.

His silence can in no way be justified. It puts into question his sincerity and his real motives concerning the union, and incriminates him.

One would suppose that at least the six places Rutskyj had gotten from Paul V would be secure, according to the famous expression "Roma locuta, causa finita", but such was not the case. In 1625, he had to appeal to the Prop. Fide for help²⁴⁹. The Prop. Fide wrote to the nuncio, who wrote to the Jesuit provincial of Lithuania. The provincial, after examining the question, replied to the nuncio that "Rutheni Uniti" had no right at all to be at the college²⁵⁰.

During Rutskyj's time, it had been hard to deny him places completely, because of his good connections in Rome, who could through the nuncio, order the rectors of Vilno to accept his students. After his death, however, the rectors stopped receiving the students, and by 1668 there is evidence that none were being received²⁵¹. Later, at the insistence of Metropolitans Kolenda and Žochovskyj, and with the help of the Prop. Fide, some were admitted. How many is hard to determine. Father Poplatek, S.J. writes that it was only after 1686, on orders from Rome, that four Basilians were being taken. He also states that in the period of the Jesuits' direction from 1686 to 1773, only seventy nine Basilians had received their degrees there²⁵². Considering that there are very few Basilians recorded as having received degrees before this date, for nearly two hundred years, the number is hardly outstanding. To all effects, the pontifical Ruthenian seminary had been converted into another diocesan seminary for the Latin bishop of Vilno.

One might wonder how the seminary of Vilno survived the visitation of 1741, when most of the other pontifical colleges, including Vienna, Prague and Olomouc, were closed, and how it escaped discovery that the pontifical Ruthenian seminary was not educating Ruthenians. It must be noted, however, that the visitor appointed by the nuncio was the auxiliary bishop of the Latin diocese of Vilno, who had a personal interest in the continuation of the seminary, and in its unchanged policies. It was only in 1753, towards the end of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, one hundred and seventy years after the foundation of the seminary, that Rome investigated and was surprised to find that the

²⁴⁹ WEM, t. 1, p. 170-171, no. 69 (1625, July 19).

²⁵⁰ WLN, t. 4, p. 213, no. 1843.

²⁵¹ WEM, t. 2, p. 271, no. 51.

²⁵² POPLATEK J., *Zarys...*, p. 212-214.

seminary, founded "per li Ruteni e per li Moscoviti" was, with the exception of four Basilians, occupied by Latin rite students, mostly from the diocese of Vilno, "which has its own diocesan seminary"²⁵³. Pope Benedict XIV reprimanded the superiors for changing the original purpose for which the college had been founded²⁵⁴, and ordered that, in the future, all twenty places in the seminary would be for students from the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, sixteen for the secular clergy and four for the Basilians. He prescribed the number of students from each diocese and from each region. Six places were assigned for the archdiocese of Kyjiv, of which three were for the southern (Ukrainian) part and three for the northern (Bielorussian) part, that is, one each for the palatinates of Vilno, Novogrodek and Minsk. There were two places for the diocese of Cholm, one for the territory of Cholm and another for the palatinate of Belz. There were two for the diocese of Volodymyr, one for the territory of Volodymyr and another for the palatinate of Berestja. There were two for the diocese of Pinsk, and two for the archdiocese of Polock, one for the palatinate of Polock and another for the palatinate of Vitebsk. There were two for the archdiocese of Smolensk. The Latin rite students who were there already were to be allowed to finish their studies, but as they graduated or left, the empty places were to be filled by Ukrainian and Bielorusian students as prescribed above. The southwestern dioceses of Peremyśl, Lviv and Luck were not included, as there had been a seminary in Lviv since 1709 which was supposed to take care of these dioceses²⁵⁵.

There were only eleven Latin rite students at the college at this time. Rome wanted them to finish their studies and to do missionary work, in Poland of course, since the oath required them to work for the nation or province from which they came. The students refused, never having heard about the missionary obligation. They wrote that they had taken the oath, but that it had not been explained to them correctly, and was considered a mere formality. The Prop. Fide, after reviewing the wording of the oath, declared that the students

²⁵³ WSEU, t. 3, p. 113-115, no. 986; WLP, t. 4, p. 257-258, no. 1863.

²⁵⁴ WDPR, t. 2, p. 130, no. 725 (1753, April 5): «*expresse tanti Pontificis fundatoris voluntati praescriptaeque legi Superiores memorati Collegii sive Seminarii pro suo arbitrio abrogantes...*».

²⁵⁵ DE MARTINIS R., *Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars 1, t. 3, p. 522-526, no. 147; WDPR, t. 2, p. 129-132, no. 725: papal brief (1753, April 5).

were obliged by it²⁵⁶. Hearing this, the students did not wish to continue their studies, and one after the other applied for dispensations, not only from the oath, but also from the obligation to repay their expenses if they left the seminary before finishing. By the July of 1753, the seminary was empty²⁵⁷.

Having failed to enkindle missionary spirit and priestly zeal in the Latin rite students, the same administration was left at the seminary, but had no better result with the Ruthenian students, who showed no improvement over their Latin rite predecessors. In 1782, the impact felt from these students was so insignificant that the Prop. Fide, not knowing whom to blame, complained to Nuncio Archetti of Warsaw that either they were admitting incapable students, or were not using the necessary diligence in educating them²⁵⁸. It is true that the Basilians took over the direction of the seminary in 1773, but by 1782, there would hardly have been enough time for their students to prove themselves, and this criticism is directed toward students educated by the Jesuits.

The foundation of the seminary and the hundred and ninety years of its Jesuit direction (1582-1773) were described by the Polish Jesuit Jan Poplatek, in two articles published in Vilno in 1929 and 1930. In 1936, he also published a list of students from the Jesuit period of the seminary. Having all the material and information at his disposal, it is unfortunate that he did not describe the results of the seminary and the later accomplishments of the students. He must have been aware of the fact that one of the best Russian Church historians, Metropolitan Macarius, doubted that this seminary had even existed in Vilno²⁵⁹.

From 1773 the direction of the seminary was confided by Rome to the Basilians, and they were in charge until its closing in 1798. In 1774, the students ceased going to the Jesuit Academy, and were taught only at the seminary by two Basilian professors. This might seem to have been to the advantage of the Basilians, but it actually was not. Not only did they have to supply the rector and the two professors, but they lost two of the four places for Basilian students, these being assigned for the support of the professors. When Rome was occupied by the French during the time of the Napoleonic wars, and funds from Rome were cut off, the rector, Paschazij Lešynskyj, tried to keep the

²⁵⁶ WLP, t. 4, p. 258-259, no. 1864 (1753, February 24).

²⁵⁷ WLP, t. 4, p. 269, no. 1876; p. 272, no. 1880.

²⁵⁸ WLP, t. 6, p. 144, no. 2813.

²⁵⁹ CHARLAMPOVIČ K., *Zapadnorusskija Pravoslavnyja školy XVI i načala XVII veka*, Kazan 1898, p. 488.

seminary going on borrowed money for a while. The situation not being alleviated, he had to close it in the July of 1798. To pay the debts, Nuncio Litta of St. Petersburg gave permission to sell the building. It was sold, but the right to sell it and the need for selling was questioned. It was not certain whether or not the nuncio had had the authority to give the permission to sell it, and the inaccurate bookkeeping of the rector was questioned by the court. Father Leščynskyj was not cleared by the court until 1821, the year after his death. The closing of the seminary has been described in an article by Charkiewicz²⁶⁰. The history of the time under Basilian direction (1773-1798) has never been written. Before World War II, it would have been difficult because many documents were destroyed or transferred when the czars suppressed the Church. At present it is impossible to write the history, because whatever documents escaped destruction or removal are now inaccessible. Whatever other results the seminary had, one is certain; it contributed to the education of the secular clergy which for different reasons had been sorely neglected.

C. *The Right to Send and to Be Sent*

The first period (1578-1609) could be called the Jesuit period. It was Jesuits who did, according to all probability, the recruiting and sending of students from the territory of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, or the receiving of those who applied on their own initiative. Of all the students from this period, we know of only one, Peter Potij, who was received in 1596 directly by the pope, and of only two, Rutskyj and Morochovskyj, who worked later for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. The first known student recruited by the Jesuits was Mamonyč of Vilno, who was brought to Rome by Father Possevino in 1578. His younger brother, John, was placed by Possevino in Olomouc in 1582²⁶¹. We know that Rutskyj was sent to the Greek College by the Jesuits. About the others, we know only that they were studying at pontifical colleges run by the Jesuits, or were at Jesuit academies. There is no documentation that they had any recommendation from the metropolitan or from the hierarchy of Kyjiv.

The year 1609 was the turning point. From then on until 1637,

²⁶⁰ CHARKIEWICZ W., *Ostatnie lata Alumnatu Papieskiego w Wilnie*, in « Ate-neum Wileńskie » 6 (1929), 109-132.

²⁶¹ See notes 126, 127.

it was Rutskyj who did the sending of the students, not because he was archimandrite of Holy Trinity monastery, the reformer of the Basilian Order, and metropolitan of Kyjiv, but because he was "Rutskyj", an unquestionable authority of his time, and greatly respected in Rome. After his death in 1637, his successors, Korsak, Sielava and Kolenda, being simultaneously metropolitans and protoarchimandrites, had the uncontested right to send students. When the question of separation of the offices of metropolitan and protoarchimandrite arose in the time of Metropolitan Žochovskyj²⁶², there was a dispute about who had the right to send students. Because the students were all Basilians, the order wanted to have the right, and Metropolitan Žochovskyj, as metropolitan and a Basilian, wanted the right for himself and for his successors. In the year 1684, the Greek College was really the only place where students (also the largest number, three) were certain of being accepted without difficulty, and it was here that the Basilians contested the right of the metropolitan to select and send students. Žochovskyj, to prove his claim, referred to the decrees of the Prop. Fide of May 23, 1623 and May 7, 1624. Neither of these decrees was clear, however. In the first, the Prop. Fide acknowledged to Metropolitan Rutskyj an additional two places, and in the second, permission to send two seculars for these two places. The Basilian procurator Joseph de Camillis (1674-1689), in opposition to the metropolitan, explained that, at the time the decrees were given, the Basilians still had not been well organized, and that after they were organized, it had always been the order, and not the metropolitan, who sent the students. The decision of the Prop. Fide was to conserve the existing practice²⁶³, which meant that, juridically, the question was not solved. In actual practice, when in 1686 the office of protoarchimandrite was definitely transferred to simple Basilians²⁶⁴, it was the superiors of the order who did the selecting and sending of the students. Although there are several instances in which the metropolitans appealed to the Prop. Fide about places in the pontifical colleges, or gave letters of recommendation for students, it was undoubtedly because they were asked by the order to do so.

That the right to send students to pontifical colleges did not belong

²⁶² WSEU, t. 1, p. 257-275, nos. 356-362, 364-365; p. 282-283, no. 375.

²⁶³ WAP, t. 2, p. 81, no. 637 (1684, November 14); p. 84, no. 641 (1685, January 8); WSEU, t. 1, p. 276-277, no. 367.

²⁶⁴ *Archeografičeskij Sbornik...*, t. 12, p. 128: Chapter XXI, session 4.

exclusively to either the metropolitan or to the Basilian Order is shown from the fact that the bishops of Cholm: Terleckyj (1629-1649), Suša (1652-1685) and Orianskyj (1693-1709) were able to obtain places for their students at the College of the Propaganda Fide²⁶⁵. Also, throughout the seventeenth century, it seems that several students (about eleven) were received directly by the Jesuits into the pontifical college or academy of Olomouc, as there is no record that they were recommended by the hierarchy of Kyjiv or by the Basilian Order. It is likewise not clear on whose recommendation two students were received at the College of the Prop. Fide in 1643.

When the southwestern dioceses of Peremyśl, Lviv and Luck joined the union, and the pontifical college of Lviv was founded (1709), it was the bishops of these three dioceses who selected and sent students from their own dioceses, since it was they who contributed to the support of the students. In 1753, the other bishops of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv obtained places in the pontifical college of Vilno by the decree of Benedict XIV²⁶⁶, and began selecting and sending students for these assigned places. For both the colleges at Lviv and at Vilno, this arrangement continued until the colleges were suppressed.

In the pontifical colleges of Olomouc (until its suppression in 1741), Greek, Propaganda Fide, Braunsberg and Vilno (until 1744), the students were selected and sent exclusively by the northern (Holy Trinity) province of the Basilian Order, and were predominantly Bielorussians. At the Chapter of Dubno in 1743, the two provinces agreed to share the places. Benedict XIV, approving the acts of the Chapter, ordered them to divide the places equally²⁶⁷. Later, the places for Basilians in Vilno were reduced to two, and the agreement was reached between the two provinces that the northern province would take Vilno and the southern province Braunsberg.²⁶⁸ The places in the Greek College and in the College of the Propaganda Fide were equally divided until the partition of Poland. After this we find that in 1775, 1780 and 1786, the archbishop of Polock sent students to the College of the Propaganda Fide, and in 1795, the bishop of Cholm sent a student there²⁶⁹. The bishops of Peremyśl and Lviv began sending students to the Greek College in 1845.

²⁶⁵ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 206-209.

²⁶⁶ See note 255.

²⁶⁷ W DPR, t. 2, p. 93, no. 704 (1744, May 11) Decretalis: « Inter plures ».

²⁶⁸ WAP, t. 5, p. 144, no. 1385 (1787, January 30).

²⁶⁹ BLAŽEJOVSKYJ D., *Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students...*, p. 218-221.

In the beginning, in the Jesuit period, there was probably no restriction as to who could be sent or received. Whoever had some connection with the Jesuits or their friends, or whoever had enough money to pay the expenses and applied to the rector had the chance of being enrolled. The students were all seculars, without any connection with the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. The rectors accepted them, but whatever missionary work was imposed on them by the oath is hard to say.

In Rutskyj's time, anyone who was willing to work for the metropolitanate and had the ability to study was eligible to be sent to the pontifical colleges. Rutskyj had a hard time finding suitable subjects even among the Basilians²⁷⁰, who were already dedicated to work in the metropolitanate, wherever they were sent, and received in the monasteries a better preparation for college study than anyone else. He had no choice but to send Basilians. He tried to send members of the laity; Kreuza and Korsak, for example, were sent as laymen, but both later entered the Basilians²⁷¹. Rutksyj obtained two places at the Greek College which were supposed to be for the laity²⁷², but there is no evidence that he ever found anyone to fill these places.

Because the cities were unfriendly to the union on account of the brotherhoods, because the aristocracy was defecting to the Latin rite on account of the training they received at the Jesuit schools, and because the secular clergy was poverty stricken and kept by patrons in a state of half-slavery, Rutskyj was unable to draw candidates for the secular clergy. The parishes cared for by the secular clergy were too poor to hold any attraction for the youth who had the means and ability to acquire enough education to attend the pontifical colleges²⁷³. The only candidates for the secular clergy were the sons of parish priests, whose fathers were too poor and unable to give them anything beyond what they themselves could teach them in the way of reading, writing and rudimentary preparation for the priesthood. Under Rutskyj's successors, the conditions did not improve, and therefore only Basilians were sent to the pontifical colleges throughout the seventeenth century and, except to Lviv, Vilno (from 1753), and occasionally to the College of the Propaganda Fide, throughout the eighteenth century. To attend distant pontifical colleges was expensive,

²⁷⁰ WEM, t. 1, p. 95, no. 39 (1623, October 17).

²⁷¹ ACG, t. 1, f. 38, no. 193; LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel...*, p. 44, no. 494; FLO-ROVSKY A.V., *Čeští Jesuité...*, p. 86.

²⁷² WAP, t. 1, p. 315, no. 525; WSEU, t. 1, p. 277, no. 367.

²⁷³ LIKOWSKI E., *Dzieje Kościoła...*, t. 1, p. 259.

and the round trip *viaticum* had to be paid at the offset. Only the monasteries could afford to send candidates, and even they found it a great financial burden. As a contemporary Basilian writes in 1685, in his time only those were sent to the pontifical colleges whose family or friends paid the trip²⁷⁴.

In Lviv were accepted exclusively secular clergy, and in Vilno, sixteen of the twenty places were reserved for the secular clergy. There are a few cases in which candidates for the secular clergy were sent to the College of the Propaganda Fide from Polock and Cholm. From 1845 on, only secular clergy was sent to the Greek College.

§ 6. - *Statistics of the Metropolitanate of Kyjiv in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century*

1. *Kyjiv Metropolitanate*²⁷⁵

a) *Kyjiv Metropolitan Diocese around 1772*

	square kilometers	% of national territory	no. of parishes	no. of faithful	average no. of faithful per parish
Northern part	162,400	30.7	588	588,000	1,000
Southern part	101,800	19.2	1,902	1,216,388	639
total	264,200	49.9	2,490	1,804,388	725

²⁷⁴ KAMINSKYJ P., *V oboroni Potijevoji Uniji...*, p. 81.

²⁷⁵ BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce*, in « Kościół w Polsce » 2 (1970), 864, 937.

b) General Statistics of the Metropolitanate

Diocese	square kilometers	% of national territory	no. of parishes	no. of faithful	average no. of faithful per parish
Kyjiv	264,200	49.9	2,490	1,804,388	725
Lviv	47,100	8.9	2,504	800,000	320
Peremyśl	24,900	4.7	1,258	300,220	240
Luck	35,300	6.7	1,236	495,930	403
Volodymyr	28,100	5.3	475	243,600	513
Cholm	22,100	4.2	538	158,880	295
Pinsk	25,200	4.8	238	85,103	358
Polock	82,100	15.5	598	765,154	1,280
total	529,000	100.0	9,337	4,654,275	498

2. Basilian Order

a) General Statistics of 1774 ²⁷⁶

Province	category of monks				number of monasteries with:			
	priests	clerics	brothers	total	2-5 monks	6-11 monks	over 12 monks	total
Protection BVM	419	67	74	560	23	36	13	72
Holy Trinity	480	117	17	614	28	32	12	72
total	899	184	91	1174	51	68	25	144

²⁷⁶ BLAŽEJOVSKÝJ D., *De Potestate...*, p. 170-177.

b) Clerical Studies of 1774²⁷⁷

Province	Monasteries	number of students				
		specified studies			unspecified studies	total
		theol.	phil.	rhet.		
Protection BVM	Kamjanec	3	—	—	—	3
	Lavriv	9	—	—	—	9
	Lviv	3	—	—	—	3
	Terebovla	—	5	—	—	5
	Zahajci	—	6	—	—	6
	Zamostja	—	6	—	—	6
	Bilostok	—	—	6	—	6
	Mylče	—	—	6	—	6
	Sataniv	—	—	7	—	7
	Počajiv	—	—	—	6	6
	10 various	—	—	—	10	10
	sub-total	15	17	19	16	67
Holy Trinity	Polock	20	—	—	—	20
	Vilno	9	—	—	—	9
	Cholm	—	5	—	—	5
	Vitebsk	—	16	—	—	16
	Volodymyr	—	—	2	—	2
	Žyrovyci	—	—	12	—	12
	Antopil	—	—	—	11	11
	Lavryšiv	—	—	—	5	5
	25 various	—	—	—	37	37
	sub-total	29	21	14	53	117
Independent	Suprasl	—	—	—	9	9
	total	44	38	33	78	193

²⁷⁷ IBIDEM.

c) Basilian Middle Schools 1774-1803 ²⁷⁸

	first mention		smallest mentioned enrollment		largest mentioned enrollment	
	year	no. of students	year	no. of students	year	no. of students
Bar	1782	400	1789	350	1803	849
Berezveč	1800	189	1803	131	1800	189
Boruny	1774	300	1803	109	1774	300
Berestja	1800	153	1803	151	1800	153
Bučač	1774	300	1774	300	1774	300
Jakobstat	1774	200	1774	200	1774	200
Kaniv	1786	150	1789	139	1803	167
Lubar	1774	300	1786	303	1782	450
Ostrih	1774	300	1789	155	1786	313
Ovruč	1786	184	1786	184	1803	204
Podubis	1800	148	1800	148	1803	184
Šarhorod	1774	400	1786	291	1782	600
Toločyn	1800	85	1803	36	1800	85
Uman	1774	300	1803	291	1789	400
Volodymyr	1774	500	1800	52	1774	500
Žydyčyn	1800	30	1803	30	1803	30
Žyrovyci	1774	300	1803	181	1774	300

d) Bar and Uman Middle Schools 1800-1802 ²⁷⁹

	total	social origin: sons of				religious affiliation			
		nobility	priests	mi- ščan	other	latin	byz. cath.	orth.	other
Bar	664	576	56	32	—	584	75	5	—
Uman	324	286	31	7	—	271	53	—	—
total	988	862	87	39	—	855	128	5	—
%	100%	87%	9%	4%	—	86.5%	13%	.5%	—

²⁷⁸ BIEŃKOWSKI L., *Organizacja Kościoła...*, p. 1020. Bučač and Iakobstat are mentioned only in 1774; Ostrih and Šarhorod are last mentioned in 1789.

²⁷⁹ IBIDEM, p. 1021-1022. The term *miščan* refers to a special class of people, neither nobility nor peasants, who lived in the cities.

3. Latin Rite

a) Jesuit Schools on Ukrainian and Bielorussian Territories²⁸⁰

city	categories	year of opening	city	categories	year of opening
1 Vilno	1,2,3,4	1570	20 Novhorod Siv.	1,2	1636
2 Jaroslav	1,2	1575	21 Perejaslav	1	1636
3 Polock	1,2,3	1580	22 Vitebsk	1,2	1637
4 Nesviž	1,2	1584	23 Kyjiv	1,2	1647
5 Luck	1,2,3	1608	24 Ovruč	1,2	1647
6 Lviv	1,2,3	1608	25 Novhorodok	1,2	1649
7 Kamjanec	1,2	1610	26 Jaroslav	1,2	1662
8 Orša	1,2	1616	27 Drohyčyn	1,2,3	1667
9 Berestja	1,2,3	1623	28 Minsk	1,2	1682
10 Smolensk	1,2	1623	29 Mohyliv	1	1682
11 Grodno	1,2,3	1625	30 Krasnostav	1,2	1688
12 Ostrih	1,2	1626	31 Mstyslav	1	1691
13 Chvastiv	1,2	1627	32 Sambir	1,2	1698
14 Peremyśl	1,2,3	1628	33 Sluck	1,2	1701
15 Vinnycja	1	1630	34 Slonim	1	1709
16 Pinsk	1,2,3	1632	35 Žodziška	1,2	1710
17 Bobrujsk	½	1634	36 Kremjanec	1,2	1713
18 Ksaveriv	1,2	1634	37 Stanyslaviv	1,2	1716
19 Bar	1,2	1636	38 Mereč	½	1726
			39 Žytomyr	1	1751

²⁸⁰ Załęski S., *Jezuici w Polsce*, t. 4, Kraków 1905, passim; SLIPYJ J., *Istoričnyj ohljad vychovannja...*, p. 23; OLJAČYN D., *Aus dem Kultur -und Geistesleben der Ukraine*, in «Kyrios» 2 (1937), 58-59. ½ = lower college classes, 1 = full college, 2 = philosophy, 3 = theology, 4 = university degrees. The years given are the years in which actual teaching began, according to Załęski, and not the one in which the document of foundation was given, which was sometimes considerably earlier. Załęski, a Polish Jesuit, had available all the documents concerning the Jesuit schools in Poland, and dedicated to this subject the fourth volume of his five volume work on the Jesuits in Poland. A few of the colleges ceased to exist in the middle of the seventeenth century, Kyjiv, Perejaslav, Chvastiv, Ksaveriv, Novhorod Siverskyj, and Smolensk. The rest terminated in 1773 with the suppression of the Jesuits. In Jaroslav, there was the college of St. John, which began in 1575, and another, the college of the Blessed Virgin Mary "Na polu", which began in 1662. Altogether, the Jesuits had sixty eight schools in Poland, of which thirty nine were on Ukrainian and Bielorussian territories.

b) Latin Monasteries in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom ²⁸¹

number of monasteries in each territory				numbers in three important cities in 1772			
territory	in 1600	in 1700	in 1772	city	no. of orders	no. of houses	no. of monks
Polska (Polish)	172	345	397	Warszawa	18	24	613
Rus' Koronna (Ukrainian)	36	156	237	Lviv	15	22	490
Litwa (Biel. Lith. Ukr.)	19	173	250	Vilno	13	22	744

c) Relation of the Density of Latin Parishes to Ukrainian and Bielorussian Catholic Parishes in Latin Dioceses Located on Ukrainian and Bielorussian Territories around the Year 1772 ²⁸²

Latin diocese	no. of Latin parishes	no. of Ukrainian and Bielorussian parishes	no. of Ukrainian and Bielorussian parishes to one Latin parish
Vilno	450	1,300	3
Cholm	84	500	6
Peremyśl	181	1,100	6
Lviv	151	1,700	11
Luck	211	2,700	12
Kamjanec	65	920	14
Kyjiv	30	1,000	33
total	1,172	9,220	85

²⁸¹ Kłoczowski J., *Zakony Męskie w Polsce w XVI-XVIII wieku*, in « Kościół w Polsce » 2 (1970), 604, 608-609.

²⁸² Bieńkowski L., *Organizacja Kościoła...*, p. 947.

d) "Catalogo Generale de Collegi di Missioni" 1741²⁸³*Collegi Pontifici Oltramontani*

- 1) Di Vienna in Austria
- 2) Di Praga in Boemia
- 3) Dei poveri studenti in Boemia
- 4) D'Olmitz in Moravia
- 5) Di Fulda in Buchovia, o Franconia
- 6) Di Brunsberga in Prussia
- 7) Di Dilinga in Svevia
- 8) Di Vilna in Lituania
- 9) Inglese in Dovay
- 10) Casa Salda in Colonia
- 11) Ibernese in Lovanio
- 12) Armeno, e Ruteno in Leopoli
- 13) S. Niccolò d'Annesi, e della Rovere in Avignone Uniti
- 14) Di Como detto di S. Maria di Rondinetto

Collegi Pontifici intra Montes

- 15) Urbano di Propaganda Fide in Roma
- 16) Ibernese in Roma
- 17) Scozzese in Roma
- 18) Greco in Roma
- 19) Germanico, e Ungarico in Roma
- 20) Maronitico in Roma
- 21) Inglese in Roma
- 22) Illirico in Loreto

Collegi non numerati tra i Pontifici, mà dipendenti dalla S. Congregazione

- 23) Ibernese in Lilla
- 24) » » Dovay
- 25) » » Anversa
- 26) » » Tornai
- 27) Scozzese in Parigi
- 28) » » Dovay
- 29) » » Madrid
- 30) Inglese in Lisbona

²⁸³ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 222-224.

- 31) » » Siviglia
- 32) » » Alcalà
- 33) Greco di Cottanio in Padova
- 34) Elvetico in Milano
- 35) Arcivescovile di Praga
- 36) Di S. Norberto de Premonstratensi di Praga
- 37) Della S. Famiglia di Gesù Cristo in Napoli
- 38) Degl'Italo-Greci Albanesi nella terra d'Ullano dioc. Bisignano
- 39) Degl'Italo-Greci Albanesi in Palermo
- 40) Vescovile di Craslau dioc. d'Smolensco in Polonia

Collegi dei Regolari in Roma dipendenti dalla S. Congregazione

- 41) S. Pancrazio de Carmelitani Scalzi
- 42) S. Pietro in Montorio de Missionari Osservanti Riformati
- 43) S. Bartolomeo all'Isola de Minori Osservanti
- 44) Madonna delle Fornaci de Trinitari Scalzi
- 45) Monte Mario de Domenicani della Congregazione di Firenze
- 46) S. Antonio, olim S. Efrem de Minori Conventuali

Collegi de' Missioni de Regolari in Roma ed altrove sotto la cura de Superiori Regolari

- 47) S. Isidori in Roma dei Minori Osservanti Ibernesi
- 48) Dell'Immacolata Concezione in Praga
- 49) » » » Lovanio
- 50) » » » Boulaggio
- 51) De Minori Osservanti Spagnoli per le Missioni all'Indie di Spagna, e di Portogallo
- 52) S. Antonio di Barabazzo nella Provincia d'Algarbis
- 53) Di S. Croce di Queretero nella Provincia di Mechoacan nell'Indie
- 54) In Varatojo
- 55) In Bracmanes
- 56) In Guatimala nell'Indie Occidentali
- 57) In Guadalupe » » »
- 58) In Battispona dei Benedettini Scozzesi
- 59) In Dovay » » Inglese
- 60) In Gante dei Gesuiti Inglese
- 61) In Liege » » »
- 62) In Watten » » »
- 63) In San Omer dei Gesuiti Inglese
- 64) In Lovanio de Domenicani Ibernesi

ART. 2

ARMENIANS

§ 1. - *Historical Background of the Armenian Church*

The Armenians were converted in the second half of the third century by St. Gregory the Illuminator, who was educated in Caesarea of Cappadocia. He won over the Armenian king, Tiridate, to the Christian faith, and then with his help gained his nation. St. Gregory was ordained as the first bishop of the Armenians about the year 295 by Leontius, the Greek bishop of Caesarea. The new bishop obtained from Caesarea the title of *Catholicos*, which meant that he was the delegate of the bishop of Caesarea. The Armenian Church formed part of the Church of Caesarea, and thus had the same roots as the Byzantine Church.

At this time there was not an alphabet for the Armenian language. The clergy, helped by Greek and Syrian missionaries, were instructed in the Greek and Syrian languages. Over a period of time, the Armenian rite was developed, which contained both Byzantine and Syrian (Antiochene) elements. St. Mesrob, a missionary monk, in the first part of the fifth century, formed a phonetic Armenian alphabet, composed of thirty six letters, which is retained until the present day. The liturgical books were translated into Armenian from Greek and Syriac, and in this way an Armenian literary language was formed.

In the beginning, the Armenian Church had been part of the Church of Caesarea, but the Catholicos Nersette, who had been ordained by the bishop of Caesarea had organized his church with that of Caesarea as its model, and his successor, Husik, in 374 separated the Church definitely from Caesarea. The Armenians had taken part in the Council of Nicaea in 325, but not in the Councils of Ephesus in 431 or Chalcedon in 451. Because of faulty translations of the proceedings in their still insufficiently developed language, they went over to the Monophysites. The creed accepted by the Armenian Church in the sixth century was one derived from pseudo-Athanasius. At first the bishops and even the catholicos were married, but the Synod of Šahapivan in 444 decreed celibacy for bishops and denied a second marriage to the clergy after the death of their first wives.

The see of the catholicos had been established at Aštišat, but on account of political circumstances it was transferred to Sis in Cilicia around the year 1080. In time, another catholicate was formed when

the bishop of Agthamar on the island of Lake Van in 1133 declared himself an independent catholicos. In 1441, in Ečmiadzin in Old Armenia, a catholicos was elected who became principal catholicos over the two others of Sis and Agthamar and over the two patriarchs. One of the patriarchates was formed in 1311 at the monastery of St. James in Jerusalem, and the other in Constantinople in 1461 by Sultan Mohammed II, the conqueror of that city. The patriarch of Constantinople had civil jurisdiction over his people, similar to that of the Greek patriarch of that city over the Greeks under Turkish domination. The Armenian Church ended up with three catholicates and two patriarchates for the non-Catholics and one patriarch for the Catholics. This last was established in 1740 first in Kraim and then in Bromman in Lebanon, and was subsequently moved to Constantinople and then to Beirut in 1928. The catholicate of Agthamar ceased to exist after World War I, and the see of Sis was moved to Antelias in Lebanon²⁸⁵.

§ 2. - *Armenian Diaspora in Lviv*

Exactly when the Armenians came to Ukrainian territories is not sure. It is only certain that they came during the time of the Ukrainian princes. According to some authors, a large number came from Crimea in 1062, invited by Prince Izjaslav of Kyjiv. A second group is supposed to have come to Lviv around the year 1280, in the time of Prince Lev of Halyč, who gave them the northern part of the city, which was to become the capital of western Ukrainian territories. The Armenians also settled in Luck, Volodymyr, Cholm, Kamjanec and Halyč in western Ukraine. There they undertook commerce with the Middle East, from whence they had come when driven out by Mongol, Turk and Tartar pressures on their homeland and other habitations.

When they settled in the Ukrainian cities, they organized themselves into autonomous groups of a civic, social, religious nature, with their own council of elders, their own priests and their own churches. They were judged by their own courts according to their own laws²⁸⁶. By

²⁸⁵ KOROLEVSKIJ C., *Chiesa Armena*, in «Enciclopedia Italiana» 4 (1949), 423-429; *Oriente Cattolico*, Città del Vaticano 1974, p. 421-441.

²⁸⁶ DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskije svjazi v XVII veke*, Kyjiv 1969, p. 5; *Istoričeskie svjazi i družba ukrainskogo i armjanskogo narodov*, Kyjiv 1971, p. 185; PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, Roma 1971, p. 9; LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański w Polsce*, Lviv 1929, p. 10 ff.; ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach w Polsce*, Lviv 1842, pp. 17, 65.

1340, when the western Ukrainian territories were occupied by Poland, they were established in Lviv, and King Casimir confirmed Armenian self-government in 1356, and their religious independence in 1367. Both of these rights were reconfirmed by King Jagiello in 1417²⁸⁷. These privileges were later to be limited and curtailed on several occasions. On April 7, 1620, the Armenians were forbidden to live at the forum, and their technical occupations and their right to sell silk and liqueurs were limited. In the first part of the sixteenth century they were prohibited from teaching technical crafts to their own youth, and in 1635 they were forced to sign a statement that in the future they would teach these crafts and trades only to Polish youth²⁸⁸.

The Armenians as a community had their own laws from oriental Armenia, collected around the year 1184 in a book called *Todastana Kirk* by Mechitar Gosce. The Armenians of Lviv based their autonomy on documents dating from 1062 from the Ukrainian prince of Kyjiv, and given to the first Armenians who settled in Ukrainian territories. The Armenians had always tried to maintain their own legal autonomy, religious and national group independence, and freedom in the exercise of the trades of merchants and artisans. They were able to maintain their own laws up until the end of the eighteenth century. According to this law, they were judged by their own consuls, called judges of the Armenian nation. At Lviv there were twelve consuls. The consuls elected their own head, who held the title of director. In lesser localities, the number of consuls did not exceed six. There was no central organization for the Armenians of diverse cities, but only the ecclesiastical hierarchy which held them together. The consuls, as elders of the nation, often presupposed that they had the right to judge even ecclesiastical questions. Sometimes they were able to win over part of the clergy, and in this way impose their will on the archbishop²⁸⁹.

²⁸⁷ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 13; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Sede Apostolica*, in OCA 135 (1950), 12.

²⁸⁸ BALZER O., *Sądownictwo Ormiańskie w średnowiecznym Lwowie*, Lviv 1909, p. 140; *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1965, p. 79-80; LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 14; *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1965, pp. 89, 137-139; *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1971, p. 244; DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskie svjazi...*, pp. 12, 15, 25, 33-35, 104-105; BARĄCZ S., *Rys dziejów Ormiańskich*, Ternopil 1869, p. 117.

²⁸⁹ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 14; DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskie svjazi...*, p. 105, no. 3 (1654, Aug. 1); PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 3; *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1965, p. 145-150.

For being a small minority, the Armenians stood better in those times and circumstances than other nationalities, especially in Lviv which had become a cosmopolitan city and center of Polish and Latin politics. It is hard to understand the lack of vision of those politics, which accorded only fifth place to Ukrainians in their own former western capital, whereas the Armenians were accorded second place, the Jews third place and the Tartars fourth place²⁹⁰. The autonomy of the Armenians was recognized by the Polish government, but not that of the Ukrainians. Thanks to this autonomy and these privileges, and to their church organization and efforts to keep their people together against assimilation, they were able to survive for about seven hundred years in Lviv and other Ukrainian cities until our own times. They did not have schools of higher learning, such as the Ukrainians tried to maintain, but they were expert in commerce, and had excellent connections in Turkey, Greece, Persia and Arabia²⁹¹ with those of their own nationality in those countries, much in the same way as the Jewish people have connections now. To defend themselves against denationalization, they avoided mixed marriages with other nationalities, and excluded those who married outside the community so that alien customs would not be introduced into their family life²⁹². They opened their own printing shop in 1616, but it was a short-lived venture. The man who started it had been born in Armenia, and after the shop closed the same year it had opened, he first became a priest and then auxiliary bishop of Lviv in 1659.²⁹³

Being good businessmen, the Armenians tried to keep their relations with the political powers good. Culturally they became polonized, some of them even attaining Polish nobility²⁹⁴. Since they were on Ukrainian territory, they also tried to keep commerce with the Ukrainians, who were trying to liberate themselves from Polish domination. There are Armenian names included in the lists of Ukrainian cossacks²⁹⁵. When, after the treaty of Perejaslav in 1654, the Rus-

²⁹⁰ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 15, BALZER O., *Sądownictwo Ormiańskie...*, p. 8.

²⁹¹ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 3.

²⁹² PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 198.

²⁹³ DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Armjanskije kolonii na Ukraine v istočnikach i literature XV-XIX vekov*, Erevan 1962, p. 13, no. 5; BARĄCZ S., *Rys dziejów...*, p. 190; *Isto-ričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1971, p. 318-320.

²⁹⁴ DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskije svjazi...*, p. 7.

²⁹⁵ DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskije svjazi...*, p. 108-111, no. 32; *Isto-*

sians took over the eastern provinces of Ukraine, which included Kyjiv, the Armenians were expelled from Kyjiv²⁹⁶, but they remained in Lviv and other Ukrainian cities which for a time escaped czarist control or "liberation", as the Russians termed it. When, after the treaty of Yalta, the Soviets took over Lviv and western Ukrainian territories, the Armenian churches, which had been the backbone of their national survival for centuries, disappeared. After this, they seem to have ceased to exist as a distinct national, religious, cultural and social group in Lviv and in Ukraine.

The Armenians built their first wooden churches in Lviv in 1183, according to tradition. In 1363, thanks to the generosity of two rich Armenian merchants, on the site of the old wooden church, was erected a cathedral dedicated to the Mother of God and to St. Gregory the Illuminator²⁹⁷. In 1364, the Armenians obtained their own archbishop, Gregory, from the catholicos of Sis, Mesrob²⁹⁸. Lviv was under the jurisdiction of the catholicos of Sis until 1445, when it passed over to Eĉmiadzin, which had recently been established and was acknowledged by the Armenians in Lviv as principal catholicate of the Armenian Church²⁹⁹.

Archbishop Gregory and his successors were elected, consecrated and sent from Sis, and after 1445 from Eĉmiadzin; the Armenian people and their elders had nothing to say but to accept them³⁰⁰. It is possible that the Armenians had had bishops in Lviv and the Ukrainian territories long before, during the time of the Ukrainian princes, since they had their own *arkabed*, or civil heads, and autonomy at that time³⁰¹. Since they were under the jurisdiction of Sis or Eĉmiadzin, their relations with Rome depended upon the state of relations of these sees. Sometimes the catholicos was in good relations with Rome and sometimes not; Lviv followed their policies. Therefore, the Council of Florence in 1439 had no real consequence for the Armenians of Lviv, although delegates from Archbishop Gregory had taken part in the Council³⁰².

riĉeskie svjazi..., Kyjiv 1965, pp. 83-87, 93-99; *Istoriĉeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1971, p. 240; DAŠKEVYĆ J.R., *Armjanskije kolonii...*, p. 68-69.

²⁹⁶ DAŠKEVYĆ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskije svjazi...*, p. 24.

²⁹⁷ ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach...*, p. 18; PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 17.

²⁹⁸ PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 19-20.

²⁹⁹ *IBIDEM*, pp. 18, 195.

³⁰⁰ *IBIDEM*, p. 42.

³⁰¹ *IBIDEM*, p. 10.

³⁰² PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 4; PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 51-61.

Direct dependence of the Armenians of Lviv on Rome came about under Archbishop Nicholas Torosowicz (1627-1681), who had been ordained archbishop by Patriarch Melchisedech of Eĉmiadzin (1593-1624), who had abdicated his see several years before. Because the people were opposed to his nomination, which they affirmed had been bought, Torosowicz was consecrated, not in the cathedral, but in Holy Cross Church, outside the walls of Lviv, in the night, with only few people present. Either willingly, or through necessity, the new archbishop probably professed the Catholic faith before the patriarch. The people, angry over the appointment of Torosowicz, had tried to stop his consecration, and then afterwards, they wanted to remove him at any price. For nearly fifty years, there was continuous struggle among the people against the archbishop. Although he had professed the Catholic faith, it was purely a personal profession and probably not too seriously taken afterwards, especially since Patriarch Melchisedech died soon after³⁰³. To gain the support of the Polish authorities, who could have removed him at the insistence of the people, in 1629, and again on October 14, 1630, he made a public personal profession of the Catholic faith, with the understanding that he would strive to teach the opposing Armenians to follow him. This the people did not do, however, and made all possible efforts to remove him, as they had done earlier with Bishop Gregory in 1578 and Bishop Barsamas Bogdanowicz in 1582³⁰⁴. Since the Polish authorities supported him after his public profession of faith, and could not be swayed from this support in spite of all the efforts of the Armenians³⁰⁵, and since he could not be removed without the approval of the authorities, the Armenians turned to Rome for help in his removal. In Rome they were also unable to obtain results³⁰⁶, in spite of the archbishop's mismanagement of finances, and a personal life not above just reproach³⁰⁷, because in 1635, he had been to Rome, and made a new profession of Catholic faith, and so obtained the archepiscopal pallium and jurisdiction from Rome over the Lviv archdiocese³⁰⁸. The clergy for the most part avoided getting

³⁰³ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 7-19. Although Melchisedech was actually Catholicos, he is referred to in the documents as patriarch.

³⁰⁴ IBIDEM, p. 39.

³⁰⁵ IBIDEM, p. 46-47.

³⁰⁶ IBIDEM, pp. 104, 106.

³⁰⁷ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, pp. 79, 86, 124, 131, 142, 217, 307; *Compendiosa relatio unionis nationis Armeno-Poloniae cum S. Ecclesia Romana ad annum Christi 1676*. Translated into Polish and published by A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1876, pp. 136, 162-163.

³⁰⁸ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, pp. 75, 81.

mixed into the controversy. They depended on the people for their livelihood, but the archbishop could remove them or split the congregations. Most of the clergy had families to support. Seeing this state of affairs, Rome began to realize the necessity of educating the Armenian clergy, who could in turn instruct the people, and thus the idea of the Armenian seminary began to take shape³⁰⁹. In 1665 the Armenian seminary of Lviv was opened by Rome, and priests formed in this seminary slowly took over the parishes of the archdiocese and made Catholics of the Armenians in the Ukrainian territories.

Several authors, in writing about the Armenians in the archdiocese of Lviv, refer to them as Polish Armenians or Armenians in Poland. However, the Armenians actually settled in Ukrainian territories, which only came under Polish domination after the loss of independence in 1340. For some unexplained reason, the Armenians seem to have preferred not to settle on Polish territories.

In the bull of Catholicos Mesrob of 1361 are mentioned only Lviv, Luck and Volodymyr³¹⁰. In 1662, Nuncio Pignatelli, in his report to Rome, stated that there were eighteen priests and two monks in the archdiocese of Lviv. There were six priests in Lviv, six in Kamjanec, three in Zamostja, two in Jazlovec, and one each in Luck, Snjatyn and Kyjiv. According to the nuncio, there were altogether fifteen churches, four in Lviv, five in Kamjanec, two in Jazlovec and one each in Zamostja, Luck, Snjatyn and Kyjiv³¹¹. In Father Galano's report to Rome in 1665, there were only two monks, and the total number of the Armenian people was about three thousand. In 1671, Father Pidou gave a report that the Armenians lived in nine cities, Lviv, Kamjanec, Luck, Jazlovec, Žvanec, Horodenka, Snjatyn, Stanyslaviv and Zamostja and had in these cities eighteen churches, of which four were in the hands of the Latin rite clergy for lack of Armenian priests, and four were parishes without pastors, through lack of provisions. The ecclesiastics numbered thirty seven, including two bishops, twenty six priests, and nine seminarians³¹². There did not exist a monastery for men, but only one for women, founded in 1683, and approved by the Supreme Pontiff in 1690 under the Rule of St. Benedict³¹³. In 1665 there had been three religious

³⁰⁹ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 149-154.

³¹⁰ PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 19.

³¹¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 33, f. 149 (1664, Oct. 7); PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 173.

³¹² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 92: Sommario delle riflessioni del P. Pidou (1671/72).

³¹³ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 88-89.

men, but without common life. Father Galano wrote to the Prop. Fide that for the complete conversion of the Armenians it would be useful to introduce a reform of the Armenian religious, who could strive for perfection in their own rite, study and form schools. He proposed that places in the seminary could be increased to make room for students and for these religious. Food could be found for them if effort were made, he continued, and it would be necessary to spend only about 150 unghari to add a room. Then, after the reform had acquired some stability, thought could be given to the purchase of a house, for it would be useless, he wrote, to think that the Armenians would buy one. The Prop. Fide answered that the introduction of religious reform would have to be postponed³¹⁴. After Father Galano, no one pushed the cause, and so the Armenians remained without their own monasteries for men, and those who wished to dedicate themselves to the monastic life had to change rite and enter monasteries either of the Latin or Byzantine rite.

In time, the number of Armenians diminished. Nuncio Franciscus Martellio (1675-1680) in 1678, after a two month stay in Lviv, wrote to Rome that there were only six hundred Armenians in the archdiocese of Lviv, and that the number of families had been reduced to sixty four in Lviv, fourteen in Zamostja, twelve in Brody, a few in Stanyslaviv, two in Luck and a few in Warsaw who had fled from Jazlovec³¹⁵.

At the time of the partition of Poland in 1772, the Armenians had parish churches in Lviv, Horodenka, Kutu, Lysec, Snjatyn, Stanyslaviv, Tysmenycja, Kamjanec, Zoločiv, Zamostja and Jazlovec. The last three were suppressed by the Austrian government. There were only fourteen priests. At Lviv, where the Armenians in addition to the cathedral had still three churches, St. Anna, St. James and Holy Cross, the government left the cathedral and suppressed the others, because there were only two hundred and twelve faithful there, and the government considered the cathedral sufficient for their needs. St. Anna and St. James were demolished and the grounds sold, and Holy Cross was transformed into a chapel for prisoners³¹⁶.

After the second partition of Poland in 1793, the archdiocese of

³¹⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 50 (1665, March 23) and f. 149 (July 13).

³¹⁵ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Nuncio Martelli to Prop. Fide (1678, Aug. 3).

³¹⁶ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański...*, p. 109-110.

Lviv lost Kamjanec and Luck, which passed under Russian domination, but gained Černivci and Sučava under Austrian domination³¹⁷.

The Armenians were merchants, and not a poor community, generally speaking. When King Władysław IV of Poland (1632-1648) asked for a loan of 100,000 ducats from Krzysztof Bernatowicz, an Armenian of Lviv, he got it. In 1648, to liberate Lviv from the siege of the Cossack army of Bohdan Chmelnickij who had surrounded the city, Bernatowicz and Waszko Torosowicz contributed 12,626 zlotys³¹⁸. About the year 1665, Gabriel Bernatowicz, together with Krzysztof Zadykiewicz, gave 93,197 zlotys for the upkeep of the Polish army. For a reception of the Polish King Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki in 1671 the Armenians gave 200 zlotys, and in 1676 they gave 2,000 zlotys for the coronation of the new king, Jan Sobieski³¹⁹. Zacharias Krzysztofowicz left a legacy of 7,313 zlotys for the upkeep of the cannons used in defense of Lviv. In 1704, the Armenians paid a required contribution of 30,000 talers to the Swedish, who had occupied the city of Lviv³²⁰.

There were Armenian religious societies with money, such as the Society of the Immaculate Conception in Jazlovec, which during the eighteenth century collected a total of 19,935 zlotys. In Lviv, the Society of St. Gregory between 1666 and 1783 collected a total of 94,144 zlotys, the Society of Holy Trinity between 1728 and 1768 collected 71, 237 zlotys, and the Society of the Immaculate Conception between 1675 and 1783 collected 48,235 zlotys³²¹. Considering all this, it is hard to understand why Rome had to support the Armenian archbishop with 200 scudi per year from 1643 until Austria took over Lviv in the first partition of Poland in 1772³²².

It is also hard to understand why they were not willing to help their only institution of higher learning, the seminary of Lviv, in which all their priests and archbishops had been formed since 1665. Rome was continuously expected to pay for every expense incurred by the seminary. This parsimonious attitude towards the archbishop and the seminary in no way indicates that the Armenians did not love

³¹⁷ ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach...*, p. 74.

³¹⁸ BARĄCZ S., *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce*, Lviv 1856, p. 71-72.

³¹⁹ BARĄCZ S., *Rys dziejów...*, p. 124-128; DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-armjanskie svjazi...*, p. 124, no. 51.

³²⁰ BARĄCZ S., *Rys dziejów...*, pp. 96, 134.

³²¹ IBIDEM, p. 145-151.

³²² PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 112; ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach...*, p. 64; BARĄCZ S., *Rys dziejów...*, p. 139.

their Church. They were attached to their own rite, and helped and loved their Church, but in their own way. They were businessmen and merchants, somewhat similar to the Venetians, who often had little esteem for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and often were but little preoccupied with the spirit of the Church, at times even making little account of excommunication, but at the same time always very involved in the affairs of San Marco Cathedral and their Venetian churches. The Church, for the Armenians, was something of their own precious past, which kept them together as a people, a center of their own language and culture.

In spite of the fact that the ancient literary classical Armenian language was not in common use anymore, it was still used for services in all the churches in the Archdiocese of Lviv as elsewhere. Even the common Armenian language does not seem to have been used by the Armenians in Lviv. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Simon of Armenia observed in his memoirs after a visit to Lviv: "The Armenians of Lviv do not know Armenian, but speak Polish and Kipčak, which is a Tartar language"³²³. It seems that the Armenians of Kamjanec did not speak or understand Armenian. Father Pidou mentions that Archbishop Torosowicz had ordered a letter from a delegate of the catholicos of Ečmiadzin to the people to be translated into the Tartar language, and publicly read in that language in the church in Kamjanec. He also mentions that the archbishops was greeted there by the people in Tartar and Polish³²⁴. In Lviv, the book of statutes by which the Armenians were judged was written in Tartar³²⁵. At the Armenian seminary, under Father Pidou, the students were obliged to speak Italian, Latin, Turkish and common Armenian on certain days of the week, according to the custom in schools of that time of making one guilty of not speaking the prescribed language wear a wooden disc around his neck and be subject to punishment in the evening³²⁶. This is strong evidence that common Armenian was not spoken by the students at home, since it had to be taught in the manner of a foreign

³²³ TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich*, in "Rocznik Orientalistyczny", 23 (1960) 2, p. 9.

³²⁴ TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, p. 22; PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione dello stato, principi e progressi della missione apostolica agli Armeni di Polonia e Valachia...* Translated into Polish and published by A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1876, pp. 77, 111.

³²⁵ BALZER O., *Sądownictwo Ormiańskie...*, p. 47.

³²⁶ *Obszerna wiadomość...*, p. 209.

language. Among the foreign languages is also mentioned Turkish. The reader may question why Kipčak and Tartar are synonymous and Turkish is different, since the Tartars, coming from Mongolia should have had a Mongolian language, and the Kipčaks, a Turkish tribe should have the Turkish language. The explanation lies in the fact that the Tartars in coming to the Volga region and occupying Kipčak territories were in the minority and so lost their original language, accepting Kipčak. This language from then on began to be called Kipčak by some, Kipčak or Tartar by some and only Tartar by others, since the Tartars were better known and the Kipčaks had practically disappeared as a tribe. Kipčak, although belonging to the Turkish group of languages, is not called Turkish. This name is applied only to the language of the Osman Turks who occupied Constantinople³²⁷.

According to Gromnicki, there were mainly two groups of Armenians who settled in the archdiocese of Lviv. The earlier group came from Crimea to Kyjiv, Volodymyr, Luck, Lviv, Kamjanec, Snjatyn and Halyč. The later group came from Vallachia to Jazlovec, Pidhajci, Brody, Zvanec, Horodenka, Stanyslaviv and Zamostja. Tryjarski throws doubt on the theory that this last group all came from Vallachia, and quotes from the list of families given at the foundation of the church at Zamostja in 1585. This list gives the origin of the various families, and they were not from Vallachia, but mostly from major and minor Armenia, and some from Crimea. If they came from Vallachia, they had been there only a short while³²⁸.

The earlier group, coming from Crimea, undoubtedly spoke Kipčak and wrote Kipčak with the Armenian alphabet, whereas the later group, consisting mostly of people from other places, did not speak Kipčak, but common Armenian, a mixture of classical Armenian, later literary Armenian words, words common to different western languages, and Polish words. Although Kipčak was the spoken language, common Armenian was used by the Armenians of Lviv in several various official and semi-official writings and in private correspondence, where it had replaced classical Armenian³²⁹. There are conserved court records

³²⁷ TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, pp. 16, 21-23.

³²⁸ PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 22: documents of the year 1367; GROMNICKI T., *Ormianie w Polsce*, Warsaw 1889, p. 10; TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, p. 19.

³²⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 25: Ristretto della visita... fatta da Mons. Stanislao Hosio, Vescovo di Caminietz: «non avendo altro maestro, che uno de'

of the Armenian Council of Lviv from 1137 to 1783. These are mostly in Latin, but some are in Polish and some are in Kipčak³³⁰.

Schools made a considerable contribution towards keeping alive the Armenian culture and, to a certain extent, the Armenian language. There were no institutions of higher learning for the Armenians before the seminary of Lviv, but there were parish schools. In these schools were taught religion, reading, mathematics and church services. Nuncio Pignatelli mentions that there were only three such schools, in Lviv, Kamjanec and Zamostja, with a total of over two hundred students³³¹. Father Pidou mentions that there had been a school in Jazlovec in the monastery taught by monks, but that there were no monks there anymore and the school had been closed, but was reopened by his students from the seminary. Thanks to the seminary students, another school had been opened in Lviv³³². Due to the necessity of teaching the Armenian people how to read and understand the church services, schools had to be opened wherever there was an Armenian community. There is no doubt that the students from the seminary recognized this need and promoted the opening and maintaining of these schools, and that they were staffed by graduates of the seminary, since they were the best prepared to teach. Hence it was that the seminary made a sizeable contribution towards keeping alive the common Armenian language and diminishing the use of Kipčak. When the Austrians took over Lviv and closed the seminary and the parish schools, the Armenian language began to decline and was practically extinguished³³³.

Under the first three rectors of the seminary of Lviv until the removal of Father Pidou in 1678, thirteen new priests were ordained³³⁴. In view of the fact that the Armenians had only fifteen parishes at that time, these new priests had an immediate influence on the total religious and national life of the Armenians in the archdiocese of Lviv. All of the older priests, except for three who were monks, were married³³⁵, but

medesimi alunni... non imparano altro che un idioma assai rozzo »; WCP, t. 1, p. 209-210, no. 69 (1724, April 27); TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, p. 26.

³³⁰ *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, Kyjiv 1965, p. 80-81.

³³¹ APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 225, f. 77; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 151-152.

³³² PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 110; TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, p. 49-50.

³³³ ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach...*, p. 71.

³³⁴ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 308.

³³⁵ *IBIDEM*, p. 173.

the new ones were unmarried³³⁶. What persuasions were used to induce this celibacy are not registered. Since there was no school for priests previous to the pontifical seminary, most of the priests of the older generation were not highly instructed. Parishes were hereditary, and priests had received only whatever instruction could be provided by their own fathers, whom they succeeded as pastors. For any further instruction they had to go to Constantinople, Ečmiadzin, etc.³³⁷, and very few could afford to do this. Whereas the older priests followed the eastern pattern for the clergy, those instructed at the seminary were formed according to western rules, and so followed the western pattern. Except for Fathers Galano, Caraccioli, Peverati and Pidou, the Theatines had no real knowledge of Eastern rites, culture and languages, including Armenian. They taught at the seminary as they themselves had been taught, and this training was completely western. The clergy educated by them quite naturally introduced into their parishes what they had learned at the seminary. In the beginning, classes were held in both Latin and Armenian. Father Galano had acquired fluent use of Armenian during his early days in Armenia, and had taught the language to both Fathers Caraccioli and Pidou in Rome. Father Peverati had learned it in Lviv from Father Pidou³³⁸, but all the new teachers coming to the seminary after 1666 could speak only Latin. The Armenian people complained of this lack of knowledge on the part of the professors, but with no result³³⁹. Since after the departure of Father Pidou there was no Theatine capable of teaching the Armenian language, the teachers had to appoint some student or graduate whom they considered able to teach it. These could teach common Armenian, but not classical Armenian. The problem was presented to the Prop. Fide and the request made to improve the situation, but nothing was done about it³⁴⁰.

Besides the culture, language and attitude towards celibacy, the Armenian rite itself underwent considerable changes introduced by the Theatines at the seminary. Several liturgical ceremonies and even liturgical texts were altered by Galano and Pidou, causing heated controversy, hard feelings and protests from the local Armenian people³⁴¹.

³³⁶ *Compendiosa relatio...*, p. 203.

³³⁷ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 3.

³³⁸ PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, pp. 90, 112.

³³⁹ *Compendiosa relatio...*, pp. 161, 172, 201-202.

³⁴⁰ WCP, t. 1, p. 209-210, no. 69 (1724, April 27).

³⁴¹ PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, pp. 7-11, 34-39, 64-65; *Compendiosa re-*

This acted not as a bridge, but as an additional stone block between east and west for the Armenian Church in Armenia and elsewhere. The question of latinizing the rite was not invented by the Theatines. The mixing of water with the wine, and changing the wording of their Trisagion had been discussed several centuries earlier; both were brought up in a letter by Pope Gregory VII to Catholicos Gregory II Vgaisser (1065-1105)³⁴². Complete latinization of the Armenian rite was attempted in the fourteenth century by two religious communities, who translated the Latin rite into Armenian and tried to introduce it into Armenia, and after moving to Lviv tried to introduce it there. These communities were the *Fratres Unitores*, part of the Dominican missions to the Orient, and the so-called "*Fratres Armeni de Ordine Sancti Basili*". Their activity created only enmity towards the Catholic Church, identifying "Catholic" with "Latin" in the minds of the Armenians, and failed completely³⁴³.

The changes introduced by the Theatines were multiplied to such extremes by graduates of the seminary that they scandalized even the Theatines themselves. Archbishop Vartan Hunanian (1681-1715), one of the first students of the seminary, started using Latin vestments, translated the Latin Pontifical into Armenian and used it even in the ordination of his priests, and introduced new songs, composed in imitation of Latin hymns, to be sung during the mass. Following his example, the priests began to use Latin vestments, and each priest had his own missal, which included the latinisms he personally found the most attractive. The archbishop introduced a new calendar, changing holidays and fast days, moving saints from one month to another, and introducing many Latin saints in place of the Armenian ones. He made the practice of fasting follow the Latin usage as much as possible³⁴⁴. These "improvements" of the Armenian rite, begun in good faith by the Theatines, and similar changes in other oriental rites are now called "ritual

latio..., p. 122-129; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, pp. 173-175, 178-189, 199-214, 234, 291-294; SERPOS G., *Compendio storico di memorie cronologiche concernenti la religione e la morale della nazione armena*, Venice 1786, t. 3, p. 138; MONFORTE G.M., *Il Padre D. Clemente Galano Chierico Regolare difeso dalle accuse del Signor Marchese Serpos*, Naples 1818, pp. 17-18, 89-90.

³⁴² PETROWICZ G., *I Fratres Unitores nella Chiesa Armena (1330-1360)*, in "Euntes docete" 22 (1969), 310-311.

³⁴³ PETROWICZ G., *La Chiesa Armena...*, p. 12-17.

³⁴⁴ WSEU, t. 2, p. 89-90, no. 531: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1712, Feb. 2).

hybridisms" and "uniatisms". They seem ridiculous now, but they were made according to the spirit of the time when the preeminence of the Latin rite was affirmed and propagated. The idea was, that in making the oriental rites as much like the Latin rite as possible, the people were made better Catholics and the rites were vastly improved.

ART. 3

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF RELATED ROMAN INSTITUTIONS

§ 1. - *Pontifical Colleges and Seminaries*

The foundation of pontifical colleges and seminaries was first realized in the second half of the sixteenth century. The first was the German Pontifical College founded in Rome in 1552. These institutions were later developed by Gregory XIII (1572-1585) and were definitively systematized when the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide was set up under Gregory XV (1621-1623) and assumed their final shape under Urban VIII (1623-1644), Innocent X (1644-1655) and Alexander VII (1655-1667). The words "collegio" and "seminario" were used interchangeably, with the word "collegio" predominating, in official and unofficial papers and in common usage, as is still frequently done today. In the beginning, pontifical colleges were really colleges for theological and/or lay students, with courses taught by their own professors in their own buildings, or in other schools by other teachers. Seminaries, on the other hand, technically speaking, are only for students preparing for the priesthood, with classes taught in their own buildings by their own professors. Several of the pontifical colleges had been from the beginning for both lay and theological students, following the model of the Roman College founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1551. In 1584, they were limited to theological students, either with classes conducted in other schools, as at Prague and Olomouc, or in their own buildings, as at Braunsberg and Lviv. These last could properly be defined as "seminaries".

The purpose of the pontifical colleges was to take youth from countries infested by heresy, schism or paganism, and to educate them and send them back to those countries as apostles for the promotion of the Catholic faith³⁴⁵. With Protestantism spreading in Germany,

³⁴⁵ APF, *Miscellanea Varie*, t. 21, f. 221: Marefoschi Notes. Mario Cardinal Marefoschi was for long years (1759-1770) secretary of the Prop. Fide, and he left his private notes based on the archive documents.

England, the Scandinavian countries and elsewhere, something had to be done to impede it, and possibly to regain these losses for the Church. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) and the Jesuits saw the foremost remedy for the situation in the higher instruction of the laity through colleges, academies and universities. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) saw it in stricter discipline in the Church, and in the instruction of the clergy through diocesan seminaries. Papal approbation and blessing was given to both remedies. Pontifical colleges were founded by the popes to speed the process of educating apostles for the endangered regions. Later, this scope was expanded to include the separated eastern countries and pagan lands.

Seeing the success of the Jesuit Roman College, Julius III (1550-1555) one year after its foundation, in 1552, at the advice of Ignatius Loyola, founded the German College in imitation of it, and gave its direction to the Jesuits.

St. Charles Borromeo (1538-1584) was the first to follow the decree of the Council of Trent that seminaries be established in each diocese. In 1564 he founded the diocesan seminary of Milan and placed it under the direction of the Jesuits, despite the opposition of his clergy. Pius IV (1559-1565) followed the example of his nephew Charles, and founded the Roman Seminary, a diocesan seminary for Rome, in 1565³⁴⁶. The Roman College, the Pontifical German College, the Milan Seminary and the Roman Seminary became prototypes for the further development of pontifical colleges and seminaries.

The real father, founder and promoter of many pontifical colleges and seminaries was Gregory XIII (1572-1585). First of all, he paid off the debt of 24,000 scudi on the Roman College, and rebuilt and remodelled it. In gratitude, the Jesuits renamed it Gregorian University after him. In 1573, he reorganized the German College, which had remained insignificant up until that time, assigning 10,000 scudi per year from Vatican funds (*dataria*) for one hundred students. Thanks to him the following colleges were also founded and received support: Vienna (1574), Gratz (1574), Douai (begun in 1568 by Father William Allen, and in 1575 receiving pontifical approval and financial support), Prague (1575), Greek College of Rome (1576), Olomouc (1578), Braunsberg (1578), English College of Rome (1578), Hungarian College (begun in 1579 as a separate college, and in 1580 united to the German Col-

³⁴⁶ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed in charge of Pontifical Colleges*, in « Prop. Fide MR » 1 (1971) 1, 483-484.

lege), Swiss College of Milan (1579), Prague for poor students (1580), Vilno (1582), Diligen (1582), Como in Lombardy (1583), Fulda (1584) and Maronite College of Rome (1584). He had already begun preparations to found an Armenian College, but his plans were interrupted by his death and not realized until three hundred years later in 1883. He assigned from dataria ample funds for the support of these colleges, for example, 1,200 scudi per year for the Greek College, 3,000 for the English, 200 for the Maronite, 1,200 for Fulda, 2,000 for Diligen, 1,200 for Olomouc and 1,200 for Vilno. With time some of these amounts were modified³⁴⁷.

Under Sixtus V (1585-1590) further foundations were not continued and under Clement VIII (1592-1605) only the Scotch College was founded in 1600. When Gregory XV (1621-1623) founded the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622, he placed all pontifical colleges and seminaries under its direction and jurisdiction. From that time on, all new foundations were made through the Prop. Fide. By the early eighteenth century, there were altogether twenty two pontifical colleges supported by the pope, either through dataria or through the Prop. Fide. Of these, eight were in Rome or its vicinity, and fourteen were so-called "ultramontani" and were scattered throughout Europe. Besides these, there were twenty four non-pontifical colleges, belonging to religious orders, but depending on the Prop. Fide, of which six were in Rome and eighteen in other places. A third group included eighteen missionary colleges belonging to and depending on only religious orders. Thus, altogether there were sixty four colleges and seminaries preparing clergy for missionary work among fallen-away Catholics, both Protestant and Dissident, and people in un-Christian countries³⁴⁸. Pontifical colleges and seminaries were mostly in the hands of the Jesuits. Of the nine colleges outside of Rome, which are listed in 1646 by Innocent X (1644-1655) as being supported by Rome, all were under the direction of the Jesuits with the exception of Douai³⁴⁹.

The sad story about these pontifical colleges is that only too often Rome had no idea what was going on in them. This is incomprehensible, and throws a dark light on the efficiency of papal administration, possibly a sign of a power struggle which was to have many negative

³⁴⁷ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, pp. 484-485, 495; MORONI G.R., *Collegi*, in « Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica » 14 (1842), 140-172.

³⁴⁸ See statistics 3d, p. 78.

³⁴⁹ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, p. 498.

consequences, undermining Church authority and the Church itself. Notwithstanding the fact that Rome supported them with scudi d'oro and put on them the obligation of a general annual report, several of these institutions repeatedly ignored, purely and simply, the orders of Rome³⁵⁰. This situation became so flagrant that Alexander VII (1655-1667) ordered the Dataria not to make any further payments to Vilno, Braunsberg and Olomouc, unless each time they presented proof of their continued existence³⁵¹.

It seems that in Rome the Jesuits themselves were in the dark about the state of affairs in these colleges. When in 1741 Benedict XIV (1740-1758) ordered a visitation of all pontifical colleges, the college in Cologne, "Casa Salda", could not be found. The pope, to say the least, became curious and ordered a special investigation. It was discovered that such a college was completely unheard of in Cologne, and that no such institution had ever existed, much less received any funds from Rome. However, the records of the Prop. Fide showed that a subsidy had been received regularly for the support of this non-existent college by the procurator general of the Jesuits³⁵².

§ 2. - Oaths in Pontifical Colleges and Seminaries

A special section in the history of pontifical colleges and seminaries should be devoted to the question of the oaths which students were obliged to take after their entrance, in order to continue their studies. Since the purpose of pontifical colleges and seminaries was to train candidates for missionary work among heretics, schismatics and infidels, mainly in their own homelands, the students were obliged to take an oath to work in the missionary field when they left the college or seminary. As many of the colleges were under the direction of religious orders, the problem arose that a number of students, either on their own initiative, or under persuasion by their directors, were entering religious orders and being assigned by their religious superiors to some other non-missionary work. This problem of candidates for the secular clergy, whether or not they had finished their studies, enter-

³⁵⁰ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 234: «Vienna... tanto ricevuto - tanto speso»; *IBIDEM*, f. 296: «Olmitz... non essendo trasmessi ne conti ne elenco ne alcuna altra notizia. Si trovano solo 2 giuramenti 1708 e 1709, e i conti 1705».

³⁵¹ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, p. 498.

³⁵² WILTGEN R., *Supervision of Pontifical Colleges by the Evangelization Congregation*, in «Prop. Fide MR» 2 (1973), 238.

ing religious orders was not a new one. Even as early as 1564, when St. Charles Borromeo had founded the seminary at Milan and given it to the direction of the Jesuits, he had, after fifteen years, to take it away from them, because they were not keeping the condition laid on them not to try to attract students away from the secular clergy into their own society³⁵³. Gregory XIII considered it necessary to prescribe the oath in 1584, but did not at that time include the clause by which the student promised never to enter a religious order³⁵⁴.

Since in practice, the taking of the oath was not generally mandatory at all colleges, and does not seem to have been taken too seriously even when it was, the Prop. Fide brought the matter up for discussion on April 17, 1624, and Urban VIII (1623-1644) definitely prescribed the oath for all students in 1625. From that time on, the students were required to promise under oath not to enter any religious community during the time of their studies or within a three year period after they left the college, and after that, only with the permission of the Holy See, the Prop. Fide, their respective protector or their nuncio. Another point of the oath was that the students bound themselves to take holy orders, if they were found fit by the protector of the college, the nuncio or the Prop. Fide. Finally they promised to go, on orders of the protector, nuncio or Prop. Fide, back to their own countries, and there to work for the salvation of souls, even if they were to enter some religious order³⁵⁵. Innocent X (1644-1655) corrected the oath, deleting "protector" and "nuncio" and stressing the obligation of the students to work for the missions all their lives, even if they were to enter some religious order.

There were complaints about an erroneous explanation of the prescription of Urban VIII, which said that the obligation not to enter a religious order lasted only for three years after the students had left the college. Complaints were also made that the colleges were being used as novitiates for the religious orders, especially for the Jesuits, who were in charge of most of them. In several of the colleges the religious superiors were accepting students into their communities after only two and a half years, without any permission; they were

³⁵³ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, p. 489.

³⁵⁴ THEINER A., *La Suede et le Saint-Siège*, Paris 1842, t. 2, p. 416-418, no. 98: Rules for Braunsberg and Olomouc; LUEHR G., *Die Matrikel des päpstlichen Seminars zu Brunsberg 1578-1798*, Braunsberg 1925, p. 14.

³⁵⁵ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 224-225; WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, pp. 489, 498.

not counting the six month probation period as belonging to the order. Altogether there were fifteen different interpretations of the oath. The Prop. Fide therefore restudied the question, and on their recommendation Alexander VII (1655-1667) gave the following decree on July 20, 1660.

- 1) The students are forever obliged for missionary work, as was declared by Innocent X.
- 2) Leaving the college of his own will for any legitimate reason or being expelled for any reason, the students are not absolved from their oath.
- 3) Even after three years after leaving the college, the students may not enter religious orders or societies without the explicit permission of the pope or of the Prop. Fide.
- 4) Even on entering religious orders, the students are not absolved from the oath to do missionary work.
- 5) After leaving the college, the students are obliged to report every year to the Prop. Fide as to where they are and what they are doing.
- 6) The superiors or prefects of the missions who receive the students should notify the Prop. Fide as to their whereabouts and their work.
- 7) The rectors of the colleges, under penalty of suspension, must frequently send to the Prop. Fide records of which students have been admitted, dismissed or graduated, indicating their countries, studies, ordinations, abilities, places of assignment and the dates of their oaths, which could not be postponed any later than their fourteenth year, as prescribed by Urban VIII ³⁵⁶.

In 1668, the Prop. Fide authorized the nuncios and protectors to give permission to the students to enter religious orders after three years had passed since they had left the colleges, and abolished the obligation for students to write to Rome every one or two years. Later, in 1692, the obligation to write to Rome was reimposed.

Notwithstanding such strict regulations, Rome was helpless to

³⁵⁶ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 225-226.

enforce them, because the excuse was made that "no oath can keep anyone from a greater good", and to be a member of a religious community with vows was considered a greater good than to be a missionary. The injunctions of Rome continued to be ignored by both religious superiors and students³⁵⁷. Not only did the students not bother to write to the Prop. Fide, but even the rectors did not bother to send in reports. This ignoring of the authority of Rome was so flagrant that it was found, for example, in 1697 that in Vilno the students did not take any oaths at all³⁵⁸.

§ 3. - *Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*

The need for such an organization as the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) was felt as early as the reign of Pius V (1566-1572). On July 23, 1568, Pope Pius V created two commissions of cardinals, one for Germany and other European countries where Protestantism had taken hold, and another for the development of missions in Asia and America. The first commission never really functioned, and the other died an early death in 1659 on account of the opposition of Madrid, which did not want Rome interfering in the handling of religious matters in the Spanish colonies.

The next attempt to form such an organization was made by Gregory XIII (1572-1585), who, at the suggestion of Julius Anthony Cardinal Santori, created a commission of cardinals on June 10, 1583, for Germany and the Italo-Greeks. This commission ended up under Clement VIII (1592-1605) as a simple commission to deal with certain matters of rite among the Italo-Greeks. At the advice of the same cardinal, Pope Clement VIII created a commission of cardinals to deal with matters of faith and religion. This commission included such well known cardinals as Julius Anthony Santori, Caesar Baronio, Robert Bellarmine and Frederick Borromeo. After the death of Cardinal Santori, its promoter, in 1602, it died before it could develop, on account of lack of solid internal organization and firm economical basis. Shortly afterwards, in 1604, Pope Clement VIII instituted a Secretariat for the Missions which continued under Leo XI (1605) and Paul V (1605-1621), but never grew to any importance.

³⁵⁷ APF, *Misc. Varie*, t. 21, f. 224-227; WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, p. 498.

³⁵⁸ WILTGEN R., *Propaganda is placed...*, p. 503.

Aware of the failure of these attempts, after restudying the question, Gregory XV (1621-1623), on January 6, 1622 created the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which exists until today. On June 22, 1622, he gave it a well defined constitution for its internal organization, and the explicit goal of bringing to unity Protestants and separated Oriental Churches, and of promoting and organizing missions in pagan countries. Besides a solid internal organization, he gave it financial stability by assigning to it a steady income, enabling it to function efficiently toward the accomplishment of its goals. The Congregation consisted of a cardinal Prefect, twelve cardinal members and a prelate Secretary. Gregory XV added two prelates to the membership, but this addition was not continued. Under the supervision of the Prop. Fide were placed all territories where the Catholic faith was in danger, or needed to be propagated. It had jurisdiction in all matters except those of doctrine, rite or matrimony, which were reserved to other dicasteries of the Roman curia. The territories were divided into thirteen groups, each under the supervision of one of the cardinals. Alexander VII (1655-1667) redivided the territories into ten groups in 1655, more in line with political and geographical connections, and this was the division which was retained. To each group he assigned four cardinals, which meant that each cardinal was co-responsible for several groups, to study and present the causes of these groups at the general sessions of the Prop. Fide³⁵⁹. The ten groups were as follows:

- 1) Part of Italy with its islands, France with Navarre and Lotharingia
- 2) Spain with its islands and colonies
- 3) Portugal with its colonies in America, Africa and Asia, and Laos, Cambodia, China and Japan
- 4) Belgium, Netherlands, England, Ireland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and northwestern Germany
- 5) Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Roumania and southeastern Germany

³⁵⁹ METZLER J., *Vorbereiter und Vorläufer der Kongregation*, in « Prop. Fide MR » 1 (1971) 1, 77-78; METZLER J., *Foundation of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"* by Gregory XV, in « Prop. Fide MR » 1 (1971) 1, 86-87, 110-111; BERTINI H., *Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide*, in « Enciclopedia Cattolica » 4 (1950), 330.

- 6) Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Bielorrussia, Russia, Sweden, Finland, Baltic countries and northeastern Germany
- 7) Switzerland and southwestern Germany
- 8) Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece with its islands, Crimea and Asia Minor
- 9) Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Armenia, Georgia, Arabia and Persia
- 10) Egypt, Morocco, Mauretania, Ethiopia, and the remainder of Africa³⁶⁰.

In the beginning, the Prop. Fide had no permanent place. Secretary Francis Ingoli had an inconvenient temporary office in the Cancelleria. Meetings were originally held twice monthly in houses of the senior cardinals. In 1629, Msgr. Juan Bautista Vives, a Spanish prelate, and member of the Prop. Fide, donated a palace close to the Piazza di Spagna which had formerly belonged to Cardinal Ferratini, for the foundation of the pontifical college of the Prop. Fide. The college was founded in 1627, and in 1633 the Prop. Fide established their headquarters there, and since this time all their meetings have been held there. In 1646, Secretary Ingoli moved his offices to this palace, and in 1651, all of the archives of the Prop. Fide, which had formerly been kept in his private residence and at the Vatican, were moved there also. The Prop. Fide purchased the adjoining properties, and employed Bernini and then Borromini to rebuild the area. The college was transferred to the Janiculum in 1927, but the headquarters of the Prop. Fide are still located at this site.

At first, besides the two ordinary semi-monthly meetings of the Prop. Fide, there was a third meeting in the presence of the pope, at his residence, during the summer at the Quirinal and during the winter at the Vatican. Later on, meetings in the presence of the pope were limited to those in which matters of special importance were to be discussed. The regular meetings were called "congregationes generales". At such meetings sometimes up to fifty matters were presented for discussion. These matters were presented according to the rank of the cardinals originally, but after 1698 according to the importance of the subject. If all matters were not covered in one day,

³⁶⁰ METZLER J., *Die Kongregation in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in « Prop. Fide MR » 1 (1971) 1, 275-276.

the meeting was extended to a second day. The secretary was always present, but had no vote. For more intricate questions, special sessions, or "congregationes particulares" were called. Minor matters were taken care of at weekly meetings of the prefect, secretary, sub-secretary and whatever minutants were involved. These meetings were called "congressi". The decisions of the Prop. Fide were given in the form of instructions and not decrees, so that they could be changed more easily, if the times and circumstances should require it. Decisions which had to have papal approval were presented to the pope in special audiences by the secretary or the prefect. A special section of the Prop. Fide was established in 1862 to handle questions related to the Eastern Churches, and in 1917 this section was elevated to the separate "Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church". After Vatican II, its name was changed to "Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches", and the name of the Prop. Fide to "Sacred Congregation for Evangelization"³⁶¹.

In the years of its infancy, the Prop. Fide in great part owed its success and efficient running to its first secretary, Francis Ingoli (1622-1649)³⁶². He was dedicated, indefatigable, the spirit mover of all matters for many years, and had a keen understanding of the many problems afflicting the Church.

Gregory XV had given financial stability to the Prop. Fide by granting to it the tax for cardinals' rings. Each newly created cardinal was taxed 500 scudi for his ring. This tax was not paid immediately, but after the death of the cardinal, by the inheritors of his estate. After the decision was made to grant this tax to the Prop. Fide, several cardinals paid it off at once. Within a few months, by January 14, 1623, thirty four cardinals had done so. Within ten years, the collected tax amounted to 66,067.68 scudi, and by 1672, two hundred and forty four cardinals had paid altogether 132,900 scudi.

Besides the ring tax, the Prop. Fide received in its early years several donations, inheritances and collected contributions. The donations from Gregory XV himself totaled 24,679.44 scudi. Msgr. Vives donated the Ferratini palace worth 14,500 scudi, plus 30,480 in cash and a yearly interest of 814 scudi on 16,200 scudi capital. Anthony

³⁶¹ METZLER J., *Die Kongregation in der zweiten Hälfte...*, pp. 273-277, 285, 296; COSTANTINI C., *Missioni*, in « *Enciclopedia Cattolica* » 8 (1952), 1115-1116.

³⁶² METZLER J., *Francesco Ingoli, der erste Secretär der Kongregation*, in « *Prop. Fide MR* » 1 (1971) 1, 197-244.

Cardinal Barberini of St. Onofrius made the Prop. Fide heir to his estate, valued at 207,494.21 scudi. Fra Domingo, a Carmelite, collected 22,647.40 in Rome and elsewhere for the Prop. Fide. By 1629, the dioceses of Italy had contributed 1,932.05 scudi. In 1633, the yearly earned income of the Prop. Fide was 6,467.45 scudi, and by 1638 this had increased to 11,840.85 on a principal capital of 261,549.08 scudi. During its first six years, the Prop. Fide spent 124,992 scudi. In 1662 the principal capital was 562,522.76 on which the yearly income was 22,246.66. In 1674 the principal had grown to 610,301.44 scudi, in 1680 to 628,919.34, and in 1693 to 733, 042.70³⁶³.

The popes were usually among the most generous of contributors. Innocent XII (1691-1700) donated 100,000 scudi in 1696, and Clement XI (1700-1721) gave 30,000 scudi in 1713. In 1733, when the Prop. Fide was pressed by a debt of 47,079 scudi, Clement XII (1730-1740) helped them out with 40,000 scudi³⁶⁴.

Notwithstanding the appearance of growing wealth, the Prop. Fide was continuously in straitened financial circumstances because of the ever increasing demands for its help. According to the custom of that time, most of its capital was invested in real estate. When Napoleon occupied Rome in 1798, and a republic was proclaimed, the properties of the Prop. Fide were confiscated and sold at public auction. After peace was restored, the Prop. Fide reassumed its activities, but empty-handed.

§ 4. - *Theatines*

Father Clement Galano, a Theatine, was a well known Armenologist. To him and to the Theatines was confided the direction of the pontifical seminary of Lviv. For unclear reasons, the Theatines did not make any known efforts to establish themselves in Polish, Lithuanian or Ukrainian territories. The Theatines were sent to Lviv from Italy, and after a term of four years usually returned to Italy. No attempt was made to form a branch house from Lviv into the surrounding area. A hundred years later, they founded a school for the nobility at Warsaw, which also was run completely by people from abroad. Both of the Theatine schools ceased to exist at the time of the partitions of Poland.

³⁶³ METZLER J., *Foundation of the Congregation...*, p. 99-103; METZLER J., *Die Kongregation in der zweiten Hälfte...*, p. 288-289.

³⁶⁴ WILTGEN R., *Supervision...*, t. 2, p. 66-74.

The cradle of the Theatines was in Rome. During the decadent period under Alexander VI (1492-1503) it had become apparent to the clergy and laity that there was a great need for renewal of the Church. In Rome and elsewhere sprang up confraternities called "Oratories of Divine Love", which in 1517 received the approbation of Leo X (1513-1521). This movement was also furthered by the reformatory influence of the Ecumenical Council, Lateran IV (1514-1517).

One of the most active workers of the movement was Cajetan of the noble family of Thiene (1480-1547). He was born in Vicenza in northern Italy, studied law at Genoa and Padua, came to Rome and there was apostolic protonotary under Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521). He was ordained a priest in 1516, and was assigned to the church of Sts. Silvester and Dorothea in Rome, where he promoted an Oratory of Divine Love. These oratories spread all over Italy, and their activities included, besides the spiritual perfection of its members, hospitals, care of the incurably sick, and fallen, repentant women. Its membership fluctuated continuously. It lacked efficiency in organization, had no constitutions and did not require vows, which would have given it stability, direction and a permanent membership³⁶⁵.

In 1523, Cajetan presented to the community of Sts. Silvester and Dorothea the idea of giving the movement an organized form with vows, and at first thirty eight members were willing to join. However, after he explained the extreme austerity he was proposing for the vow of poverty, only three were still willing, Archbishop John Peter Carafa (1476-1559), Boniface Colle (†1558) and Paul Consiglieri (†1557)³⁶⁶.

Cajetan was reluctant to accept Carafa, who begged him on his knees to take him in. Carafa held two dioceses Brindisi and Chieti, and was occasionally in the diplomatic services of the Vatican, to King Henry VIII of England in 1513, and as nuncio to Spain from 1513 to 1520. In 1523 he had been appointed by Hadrian VI (1522-1523) to reform the clergy of Rome³⁶⁷.

Both Cajetan and Carafa were determined, and born leaders; they pushed things forward. Although Clement VII (1523-1534) was hesitant to give his approval, because Lateran IV had forbidden the

³⁶⁵ KUNKEL P., *The Theatines in the History of Catholic Reform before the Establishment of Lutheranism*, Washington, D.C. 1941, p. 12-17; MORONI G., *Teatini*, in « Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica » 57 (1855), 73, 110.

³⁶⁶ KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, p. 33.

³⁶⁷ KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, pp. 38, 40.

formation of new orders, after discussions and explanations before a special congregation of cardinals and prelates in his presence, the pope on June 24, 1524 finally not only approved the new congregation, but made it from the beginning exempt from dependence on bishops and cardinal protectors and subordinate directly to the Holy See, under the name "Clerici Regulares". On September 14, 1524, feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross, the four men made solemn profession of vows in St. Peter's Basilica, put on their black robes, elected Carafa as their superior, and went to the house in Campo Marzio donated to them by Boniface Colle. In 1526, they moved to a new location on the Pincio. In 1527, when Rome was sacked by the imperial troops of Charles V, at which time not a house was left unrobbed or unransacked and the papal chapel was made into a stable for military horses, they were forced to move. They went to Venice. From here, in 1533 under papal orders, they opened a new house in Naples, with Cajetan as superior³⁶⁸. In 1536, Carafa was made cardinal, and in 1555 was elected to the papacy, taking the name of Paul IV (1555-1559). The congregation spread rapidly, both in numbers and houses, especially in Latin countries. At the time of Cajetan's death in 1547 they had only three houses, in Venice, Naples and Verona. In 1555 they received from Paul IV San Silvestro al Quirinale. At the end of the seventeenth century they had over fifty houses. They had opened a house in Spain in 1622, in Paris in 1647, in Lisbon in 1648, in Munich in Bavaria in 1662 and in Prague in 1662³⁶⁹.

The congregation used the name "Clerici Regulares" because they considered themselves as secular clergy, although they took vows. They took a fourth vow not to possess funds or stable income, and not to ask for alms under pain of sin, but to live only on spontaneous offerings. They were the first group of this type, and were later imitated by other groups who called themselves "Clerici Regulares" plus some other name for identification, e.g. "Clerici Regulares Barnabites", "Somaschi", "Jesuits", "Piarists", etc. Because Carafa, their first superior, was the former bishop of Chieti, in Latin *Theate*, they were unofficially given the name "Theatines" by the people, although in official documents they continued to be called simply "Clerici Regulares"³⁷⁰.

³⁶⁸ IBIDEM, p. 43-51.

³⁶⁹ ANDREU F., *Teatini*, in « Enciclopedia Cattolica » 11 (1953), 1814-1817.

³⁷⁰ MORONI G., *Teatini...*, pp. 110, 117.

In the beginning, it does not seem that the Theatines had written rules. Carafa had only put a few simple regulations in writing. Their superiors were called "praepositi" and there was no "general praepositus", until 1588 when Sixtus V (1585-1590) ordered them to elect one. They, at this time, elected Father Giambattista Milani. Until then, the supreme directive organ had been the yearly general chapter. After the election, the congregation became strictly centralized. The general praepositus was elected by the general chapter for three years, and could be reelected for another three years. Also elected by the general chapter were four consultors of whom only one could be reelected. The consultors could, if necessary, call a general chapter for the purpose of removing the general praepositus. Two visitators were appointed for one year for each province at the time of the general chapter. The general praepositus and his consultors could reconfirm them for the next year or appoint new ones. These visitators were to check on matters in the houses of their province. The praepositus of each house was appointed by the general praepositus for one year. He ran the house with the help of two consultors, called "vocals" who were elected by the general chapter. One of these two vocals was chosen to take part in the next general chapter. Later the general praepositus was elected for six years, and provincial and local praepositi were appointed for three years. The novices and their parents were not permitted to give anything to the congregation, which was obliged to live from free alms. The members were forbidden to own watches or jewelry, and their garb was black, according to the custom of the secular clergy in whatever place they were stationed³⁷¹.

The Theatines had started as part of the Catholic reformation movement, being the first religious society to promote the idea of the reform of the clergy, hierarchy, and even of the papal court of that time³⁷². They proposed for themselves a triple goal: 1) to remove faults and abuses in the Catholic Church, 2) to restore church discipline, and 3) to fight heresies³⁷³. To accomplish this, they intended

- 1) to become a pattern for imitation by the secular clergy
- 2) to practice poverty in imitation of the apostles

³⁷¹ KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, pp. 79, 89-90, 97-103; ANDREU F., *Teatini...*, p. 1814-1817.

³⁷² KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, p. 5.

³⁷³ MONFORTE G.M., *Vantaggi recati alla religione ed alla società dai CC.RR. detti volgarmente Teatini*, Naples 1824, p. 111.

- 3) to promote the divine cult and frequent reception of the sacraments
- 4) to help parish priests in pastoral work
- 5) to foster preaching, which had been neglected
- 6) to assist and care for the sick and dying, and to give spiritual help to those condemned to death
- 7) to protect the Church against the attacks of heretics³⁷⁴.

In addition, Carafa presented to Clement VII (1523-1534) the idea of reforming the breviary, and the Theatines were given the job "to correct, reform or change, in whole or in part, the missal and the breviary, and to edit them after receiving apostolic approbation". After the death of Clement VII, they ran into competition with Cardinal Quignones, who it seems, had been given a similar commission. Because the question had been pressed by the Council of Trent and by Paul IV, Pius V (1566-1572) was able in 1568 to publish the Roman Breviary, in which he gave credit to Paul IV (Carafa) and the Theatines. The Theatines contributed also to the revision of the Vulgate and of the Roman Martyrology³⁷⁵.

The Theatines made a considerable impact on the Catholic Church. Their influence can be seen from the fact that, within two centuries after their foundation, from the ranks of their membership came a pope, seven cardinals, fifty archbishops, one hundred and eighty bishops and fourteen coadjutors³⁷⁶. They also contributed their share towards education. They were responsible for the opening and running of the Ukrainian and Armenian seminaries of Lviv, and the Urban College of the Prop. Fide owes them for its foundation and first leadership³⁷⁷.

At the present time, the Theatines are recovering from a decline they suffered during the nineteenth century, and now have houses in Italy, the United States, Spain, Argentina, Mexico and Brazil.

³⁷⁴ KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, p. 122-123.

³⁷⁵ ANDREU F., *Teatini...*, p. 1815-1816; KUNKEL P., *The Theatines...*, p. 147-149.

³⁷⁶ *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica Theatina*, Brescia 1745, p. 1-42.

³⁷⁷ *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica Theatina...*, p. 66; MONFORTE G.M., *Vantaggi...*, p. 26.

CHAPTER II

PONTIFICAL ARMENIAN SEMINARY:
FOUNDATION AND FIRST PERIOD (1665-1678)

ART. I

FOUNDATION OF THE SEMINARY

The first idea to erect a seminary for the Armenians came from the nuncio of Warsaw, Marius Filonardi, who wrote to the secretary of the Prop. Fide, Francis Ingoli, on November 12, 1636, that a seminary in Lviv for the Armenians was a necessity, but no action was taken at that time. Meanwhile, in 1637, the nuncio proposed to the Armenian archbishop of Lviv, Nicholas Torosowicz, to send four students to the pontifical colleges of Vilno and Braunsberg, but without result. The question of the seminary progressed when, in 1660, and possibly even sooner, Father Galano, a Theatine missionary, wrote several letters to Archbishop Torosowicz, requesting him to send some students to Rome, or else to erect a seminary himself in Lviv¹. Father Galano probably also brought the matter before the Prop. Fide, as he was at this time involved in the short-lived foundation of an Armenian seminary in Rome, of which he became rector. The matter of the foundation of a seminary in Lviv began to move ahead when Marius Alberici, secretary of the Prop. Fide, ordered Nuncio Anthony Pignatelli (later Pope Innocent XII) on April 15, 1662 to investigate the possibility of erecting a seminary in Lviv, during his forthcoming visit there. When the nuncio visited Lviv in the autumn of 1662², he discussed the question of the seminary with Archbishop Torosowicz and the Armenian consuls, and afterwards wrote to the Prop. Fide that there

¹ WLN, t. 5, p. 253, no. 2397 (1637, July 4); WLN, t. 6, p. 160, no. 2693 (1642, Dec. 19); PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede*, Rome 1950, p. 149-151.

² APF, *Acta*, t. 33, f. 150 (1664, Oct. 7).

was no impediment to the erection of the seminary. He also wrote that the archbishop, as well as the Armenians themselves, having great respect for Father Clement Galano, would like to have him in Lviv to begin the seminary. The archbishop, in his discussion with the nuncio, was very much in favor of the foundation of the seminary. He wanted its location to be in Lviv, and said that if in time twenty students could be provided with clothing and lodging, it would suffice for the needs of the Church. The archbishop was dissatisfied that the Armenians studied with the Jesuit fathers, because along with the sciences they learned nothing but the Latin rite, and usually entered Latin religious orders, often going to the Jesuits themselves. In this way the Armenian Church was losing people who would be able to contribute to its continuation³.

To the new seminary the archbishop and the Armenians did not promise anything more than the use of certain houses belonging to the archiepiscopal see, situated inside the cemetery of the Armenian cathedral, which were sufficient for this purpose. For the maintenance of the seminary, the archbishop proposed to utilize two legacies which had been left for the purpose of erecting an Armenian seminary. One was that of a certain Armenian bishop who had died in Spain, and the other that of a cardinal whose name the archbishop did not know. He wanted these two legacies to be sent from Rome to Lviv to be invested there in property, but the nuncio wrote to Rome that if such legacies did in reality exist, they should not be invested in Lviv, not only because of the danger of frequent Tartar invasions, but also because, if the seminary were dependent upon funds from the Prop. Fide, it and its administrators would be more likely to be devoted and obedient to the Apostolic See⁴.

When the letters of the nuncio were received in Rome, the question of the seminary was discussed by the cardinals at a general session of the Prop. Fide on April 2, 1663, and the secretary gave an explanation of the two legacies under question. One was that of Archbishop Cittadini of Naxinan, which amounted to 12,000 scudi, which was not able to be disposed of, since it was made up of donations collected for the Armenians, but which was applied to the Collegio Urbano in

³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 150: Nuncio Pignatelli to Prop. Fide (1662, Oct. 10); WLN, t. 10, p. 273, no. 5144.

⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 151 (1662, Dec. 24); WLN, t. 10, p. 290-293, no. 5184.

Rome for the benefit of that nation. The other was that of Cardinal Barberini, who had set up a foundation for students. In the absence of applicants from the prescribed nations, applicants from other nations, especially Armenians from Poland, could be substituted.

The cardinals decided to send Father Clement Galano to Lviv, if he so desired and if his poor state of health would permit, and to apply the income of the Cittadini legacy to the seminary. They saw the wisdom of the nuncio's advice not to send the principal amount to Lviv ⁵.

Father Galano declared that he was ready to go to Lviv, and the Prop. Fide consented to his request that he take as his companion Father Louis Maria Pidou, a Frenchman ⁶. On September 11, 1663 they received their orders to set out on the journey ⁷. Soon after, Father Galano, Father Pidou and a laybrother, Bonaventure Acostacci, left Rome for Lviv. Since the season was late they remained in Munich throughout the winter, and in the spring of 1664, by way of Prague and Warsaw, they arrived in Lviv on May 1st ⁸.

In Lviv, they did not find a very favorable situation for the new

⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 32, f. 68-69 (1663, Apr. 2). Concerning the legacy of Archbishop Cittadini, the donations were collected in the West Indies. With the money collected, one hundred and seventeen places in Monti were bought in the years 1632, 1640 and 1645. Cfr. APF, *Acta*, t. 79, f. 244 (1709, May 7). Archbishop Cittadini is probably Paul Maria Cittadini, O.P., archbishop of Naxinan (1621-1627) in Armenia, which was at that time under Persian domination. GAMS P.B., *Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbonae 1873, p. 455. In GAMS is added: (ep. de Myra). In one place in the sources, instead of Naxinan, Myrra is written. He died in 1627. The archiepiscopal see of Naxinan was a Dominican mission. The Dominican archbishops resided in the Dominican convent of Naxinan, which had an annual income of 600 scudi, as says a report of 1654. This income was called an "elemosine della Patria", which would be Spain, or a country dependent upon Spain, because the scudi are indicated as Spanish, with a notation that they differ from the Roman. Cfr. APF, *Congressi, Armeni*, t. 1, f. 13-18, Vera relazione dello stato presente della diocesi di Naxinan (1654).

The diocese of Naxinan is otherwise known as: Naxivan, Nakhdjavan, Nakhitalevan. Archbishop Cittadini was from Bologna. In 1615 he was sent from the Holy See to the Shah of Persia. He made the collection of money in 1616-1618. Cfr. TOURNEBIZE F., *Les frères unitéurs ou Dominicains Arméniens*, in « Revue de l'Orient Chrétien » 22 (1920/21), 253.

⁶ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio I, Prop. Fide to the Theatine Curia (1663, Aug. 11).

⁷ IBIDEM, portfolio I, (1663, Sept. 11).

⁸ VEZZOSI A.F., *I scrittori de' Chierici Regolari detti Teatini*, Roma 1780, t. 1, p. 378-383; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, pp. 155, 163-165.

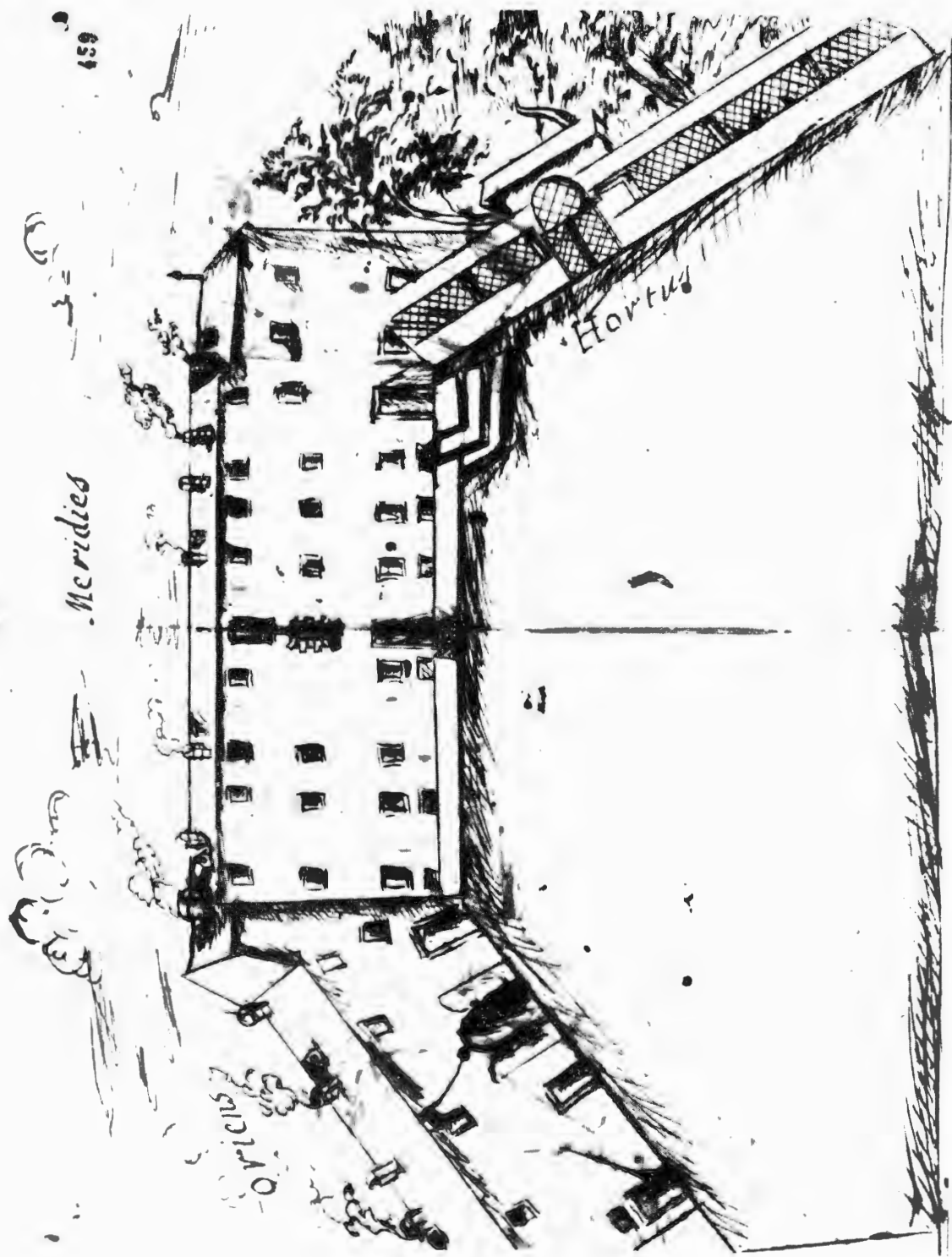
seminary. The archbishop, already nearly sixty years of age, and who had directed the church there for close to forty years, did not make a good impression on Father Galano. Father Galano found that he spent his income liberally, but only for himself and his friends; he maintained fifteen servants, two valets, a carriage and horses. He supported a woman outside of the city who, as it was later discovered, was married, and another woman in his house whom he dressed as a cardinal, with a berrettino like the pope's on her head. He also spent much on correspondence with high personages of the kingdom, and taxed the people heavily, because he did not have enough income to support his extravagances. The people would have liked to have him removed from Lviv, and complained that the pope maintained him there. They were afraid of him, considering him Roman Catholic, and as such he proclaimed himself publicly, although generally it was believed that he was but little concerned for the faith, either Roman or Armenian, and thought only of how to further his own interests⁹.

In the Armenian diocese of Lviv, according to Father Galano, there were only about thirty persons who could be called Catholics, because they partially knew the Catholic faith and desired union with the Roman Church. Of these, fifteen actually lived in Lviv, among these being three consuls, one of whom was Gabriel Caprati. This man was considerably learned, and had made a translation of the first volume of the *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, which he intended to publish. These three consuls, according to Father Galano, were the same ones who, with the consent of several of the other consuls, had requested the nuncio to send him to Lviv, and wanted him to erect the seminary. The archbishop had consented, if only to seem in no way less zealous than the consuls for the union, or because he hoped to facilitate some gain from Rome to continue his expensive living. Perhaps he believed that it would never happen, since he had shown himself to be displeased when the Theatines actually arrived¹⁰.

Both the archbishop and the people regretted having called Father Galano¹¹. The people blamed the archbishop, and the archbishop blamed the people; meanwhile no lodging was provided for the priests, nor place for the seminary. Father Galano insisted that they keep their word to the Prop. Fide, or he threatened to go to Warsaw and complain to the king of Poland. The intimidated archbishop and consuls

⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 33, f. 152 (1664, Oct. 7).

¹⁰ IBIDEM, t. 33, f. 150.



UKR.-ARM. SEMINARIES OF LVIV: FRONT VIEW (before 1740)
(from APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, fol. 459)

assigned him a large room, but in very poor condition, ordered straw to be placed on the floor on which Father Pidou and his companion were to sleep, and straw on a table for Father Galano. The excuse was that there were no other facilities. After some weeks, the archbishop assigned for the seminary four rooms in his house near the cathedral, two of which were underground and were to be used as kitchen and refectory, and two above which were heated. One of the upper rooms was large and had three windows; this was divided by curtains into three sections for Father Galano and his two companions. The other upper room was divided in like manner into ten cells for the students. Beds and other necessary items were purchased by Father Galano with the money remaining from his voyage¹².

A discussion arose immediately between the archbishop and the consuls concerning the nomination of students. The difference was resolved when the archbishop referred the matter to the nuncio and to the Prop. Fide. Meanwhile, Father Galano opened a temporary school, teaching the boys the Armenian and Latin languages. In September, there were twelve young men who sought admission to the seminary, and went there so that Father Galano could test their ability and admit those who wished to become priests. There could have been many outsiders, if there had been any way to accommodate them.

For the first year, Father Galano wanted several hundred more scudi to be sent to buy items necessary at the outset. He proposed to take lay students into the seminary, so that the Prop. Fide would have less expense to bear. To be financial administrator of the seminary and to assist in the examination of the students, Father Galano proposed to the Prop. Fide the Latin archbishop of Lviv, or in his absence, his coadjutor or one of the religious superiors in the company of the Armenian archbishop. Besides funds for the seminary, he asked for something to be sent separately for himself and his companions, saying that they could not live on what the seminary received. He did not know if that amount would be sufficient for the maintenance of ten students and themselves¹³.

The requests of Father Galano were examined by the Prop. Fide

¹¹ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 166.

¹² APF, *Acta*, t. 33, f. 153 (1664, Oct. 7); APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 207: Report of Fr. Peverati (1670); PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione dello stato, principi e progressi della missione apostolica agli Armeni di Polonia e Valachia...* Trans. into Polish and pub. by A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1876, p. 29-31.

¹³ APF, *Acta*, t. 33, f. 153-154 (1664, Oct. 7).

in general session on October 7, 1664, at which time it was decided to send the amount of 400 scudi to the nuncio, to provide for the students and to purchase items necessary for the new seminary. The nuncio was to take additional money from his own funds if needed, and to write to Rome for reimbursement. The Prop. Fide ordered the nuncio to take from this 400 scudi whatever was necessary for the sustenance of Father Galano and his companions. He was also to send to Rome a projected annual budget for the maintenance of the students and of the professors, with an indication of the number of students each year. The Prop. Fide decided that the nuncio and the Latin archbishop should be in charge of the direction and administration of the seminary, as well as of the examination of the students¹⁴. The nuncio advised that all administration should be turned over to the Latin archbishop and also to the Armenian archbishop, so that the latter should not be offended, and thus destroy all that had been accomplished until now¹⁵. The matter remained undecided, and neither the one nor the other took part in the administration of the seminary, nor even in the examination of the students.

In December of the same year, the nuncio sent to the seminary 400 scudi received from the Prop. Fide, and added 70 scudi of his own to be repaid by the Prop. Fide for the maintenance, food, clothing, books, furniture for the house, kitchen utensils, supplies for the infirmary and other necessary expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the teachers, students and servants of the seminary, for the whole of the year 1665¹⁶.

Soon after, on January 24, 1665 the seminary was opened with the admission of the first three students. On April 10th two more students were admitted and another on July 9th¹⁷. In the June of 1665, the Prop. Fide received the report of Father Galano in which he stated that so far he had taken five students, two from Lviv, two from Zaslavyci and one from Lublin. One more student was expected from Kamjanec¹⁸. Among the first five students were included Gabriel Zachnowicz, nephew of the former chairman of the Armenian consuls,

¹⁴ IBIDEM, t. 33, f. 156.

¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 50 (1665, March 23).

¹⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 2-23: Introito ed esito dall'anno 1664 all'anno 1671.

¹⁷ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Fathers Galano and Pidou to Prop. Fide (1665, Oct. 16); Pidou L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 98-102.

¹⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 147 (1665, July 13).

Simon Buzanowski, nephew of an Armenian noble, and Deodat Nersewicz, son of the Armenian pastor of Jazlovec¹⁹. Father Galano calculated that the annual expenses for one student would be about 45 scudi, although the nuncio believed that 40 scudi would be sufficient.

In the general session of April 20, 1665, the Prop. Fide discussed the number of the students and personnel of the seminary, the age of the students, and also whether or not the students should be required to bind themselves by oath to become ecclesiastics. The opinion of Father Ga no was approved, that the seminary should be only for ecclesiastics, who should study Armenian ecclesiastical singing and the ceremonies of their rite, and that they should be obliged to serve the Church after they finished their studies. Otherwise, if they received young men who would later go into business, as most of the Armenians did, their training would be wasted as far as the Church was concerned. The Prop Fide established at the same session that the number of students should not surpass eight, and assigned the sum of 40 scudi for each one. They also said that the students should be required to elect the ecclesiastical life. It was decided that the question of the oath would be taken care of later, and that decisions regarding provisions for personnel would be left to the judgement of the nuncio²⁰.

Father Galano informed the Prop. Fide that whether there were six or twelve students the same expenses would be incurred for maintaining three teachers and two workers. Therefore, he asked for 600 scudi to be sent annually to the seminary with which ten or maybe more students could be maintained, if the country would return to its former peace and abundance. The Prop. Fide consented to this proposition on July 13, 1665. The number of students was set at ten, and the sum of 600 scudi was assigned annually²¹.

In October of the same year, the number of students increased to eight, of whom two finished logic and began physics. The others studied Armenian and Latin grammar, in preparation for the study of philosophy within a few months²². In December of the first year, the number of students was raised to nine²³.

¹⁹ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 176, fn. 2.

²⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 50 (1665, March 23); f. 78-79 (1665, Apr. 20).

²¹ IBIDEM, t. 34, f. 149 (1665, July 13).

²² AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio I: Fathers Galano and Pidou to Prop. Fide (1665, Oct. 16).

²³ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 273 (1665, Dec. 14).

ART. 2

RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

Every new work, like every new idea, requires people who are willing to sacrifice themselves. The men who make this sacrifice realize the idea and accomplish the proposed work. The first rector of the seminary, Father Galano, was without doubt a man who sacrificed himself for the pontifical seminary of Lviv. He was born at Sorrento, in the kingdom of Naples, and was professed in the year 1628, at the church of the Holy Apostles in Naples. In 1636, as soon as he finished his course of studies, he was sent to the missions. He arrived in Aleppo in the November of that year, and in the May of 1637 reached Gori, the establishment of the Theatine Missionaries in Georgia. There he dedicated himself to the study of the Armenian language. From Georgia, he was sent to Colchide to a Theatine house called Cippurias, twenty days walking distance from Gori, and remained there for three years. Early in the November of 1640, by order of his superiors, so as to make use of his singular ability in the language and rite of the Armenians, he embarked for Constantinople, for while there were few Armenians in Colchide, there were many in Constantinople. He arrived there in the April of 1641, and set out to instruct the Armenian youth. He composed a grammar and a book of logic in both Armenian and Latin. In 1643, a persecut'ion of the Armenians began, and he was imprisoned. He was freed thanks to the intervention of the French Ambassador, after paying a considerable sum of money. In 1644 he went with some Armenian students to Rome.

The Armenian students were accepted in the Collegio Urbano of the Prop. Fide, and Father Galano with them as their lecturer in Armenian theology. Father Galano lived at S. Silvestro di Monte Cavallo, where he filled the position of master of novices²⁴. In 1650, he began to print his work "*Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae*" and continued it the following year.

In 1660, the Prop. Fide attempted the establishment of a seminary for the Armenians in Rome, and assigned a subsidy of 4 1/2 scudi per person monthly. The direction of the seminary was given to Father Galano. In the following year there were six students, of whom

²⁴ VEZZOSI A.F., *I scrittori de' Chierici Regolari...*, t. 2, p. 375-376; FERRO B., *Istoria delle Missioni de Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Rome 1704, t. 1, p. 436-453; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 152.

four were Basilian monks. Father Galano was rector, and with him was another Theatine who helped him, a servant and a cook. In 1663, when the erection of the seminary at Lviv was being discussed, no mention of such a seminary in Rome was made in the Acts of the Prop. Fide. What is known for sure is the fact that the Prop. Fide was not very satisfied with the seminary in Rome, because the students immediately began to be discontented, complained of the food, of the double fasting regulations, of maltreatment, and asked that Father Galano be removed from the directorship of the seminary. To settle matters, the secretary of the Prop. Fide, Marius Alberici, went to the seminary. He tried to persuade the students to approach Father Galano, who had spent all his life in the service of their nation, and was the promotor of their present seminary, and ask his forgiveness, but they refused to do so. Not long afterwards, growing in insolence, the students opened the pantry, threw the plates on the floor and the food in the face of the custodian, saying that they wanted nothing more to do with Father Galano.

It is hard to say who was to blame, Father Galano or the students. The secretary, in presenting the cause to the general session of the Prop. Fide, made the observation that Father Galano did not possess a completely appropriate manner for governing; he was a very ardent man, who would in one minute raise matters to the stars, and in the next minute drop them. Nevertheless, the secretary held him in the highest esteem, saying that he was a very zealous man, and that the students, if they were less barbarian, ought to kiss his feet, if he would let them²⁵.

When, in the autumn of 1662, the Armenians asked for Father Galano as rector of their new seminary, the Prop. Fide answered that it would be up to him whether or not he went, considering his poor health. When he consented, he was given the order to go in the summer of 1663, and with him was sent Father Louis Maria Pidou and a laybrother, Bonaventure Acostacci. It is known that the laybrother could not stand the climate in Lviv, and left to return to Italy, but after arriving in Krakow, took sick and died after a few days²⁶.

Father Louis Maria Pidou was French, born in Paris on September 8, 1637. He came to Rome where he entered the Theatine Order, and made profession at S. Silvestro di Monte Cavallo in 1659²⁷. Father

²⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 30, f. 93-99 (1661, July 12).

²⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 148 (1665, July 13).

²⁷ AGT, *Memorie storiche*, p. 106-107.

Galano, who lived in the same monastery, instructed him in the Armenian language²⁸.

The missionary zeal which characterized Father Galano was not lacking in his disciple, Father Pidou. Sent together to Lviv, they opened the seminary there and set to work to educate in a short time the greatest possible number of new Armenian priests. Although the Prop. Fide had indicated that the number of students should not be more than ten, Fathers Galano and Pidou were willing to receive even twelve or more, if they could be accommodated. Their thought was not to exclude any student of good habits and intellectual ability who presented himself, and wished to become a priest. According to Father Galano, there was a great need for such students, because nearly all of the Armenians went into business, since they could not hope to make a decent living from the ecclesiastical state, which was discredited and miserable among this people. The situation would improve, he believed, when priests were found not to be drunkards and ignorant men, but persons instructed, serious, and able to preach in church. In the whole Armenian archdiocese of Lviv, reported the two fathers, there were no Armenian Catholic priests in whom they could have any confidence, except for Father James, a monk, who was chosen for temporal and spiritual help in the seminary, and another who was the pastor of Zamostja. The students were "Catholics to be". The remaining ecclesiastics were consummately ignorant, or were covert schismatics, or did not care for any faith but only for their own interests, and showed themselves as catholic to some and as schismatic to others. The greater part of the clergy were given over to drunkenness and dissolution, not to mention other things.

As the seminary grew, the need for another Theatine was felt. This need was even more urgent as the health of Father Galano did not enable him to endure the hard climate of Lviv for very long. Both the fathers wrote to the Prop. Fide requesting that another Theatine be sent, who should be young enough to learn the Armenian and Polish languages, should have a theological mind, quick and clear, and should be a person of apostolic spirit and devotion. He should not come to Lviv with diversion in mind, but to suffer, and to do all types of work, including that of buying and dispensing, and not only to teach. They asked that this person be sent soon, not only because of the present need, but so that, in the event of Father Galano's death, he would

²⁸ VEZZOSI A.F., *I scrittori de' Chierici Regolari...*, t. 1, p. 378-383.

already be well instructed in the Armenian language and familiar with the affairs of the seminary. Otherwise, disorder would be the outcome.

To have two Theatines come would actually be better, wrote the two fathers, but it would have a bad effect on the Armenians to see two other Latin religious introduced into their church. They would tolerate only one to come in place of the deceased laybrother, since in the beginning there had been three. The fathers asked for a priest, if there was one available, or at least for a cleric who could be ordained at Lviv. If he had not yet finished all his courses in theology, it would not matter, because Father Galano could teach him privately²⁹.

The Prop. Fide tried to satisfy Father Galano and Father Pidou, but it was difficult to find subjects qualified for this mission³⁰. Meanwhile, after a brief sickness of four days, Father Galano passed to the other life on May 14, 1666³¹. The Armenian archbishop with his clergy and the Armenian people assisted at his funeral, along with the Latin archbishop, John Tarnowski and the Latin clergy. Father Pidou, the vice-rector, still only twenty eight years of age, assumed the direction of the seminary. To insure himself against the possibility of any aggression, Father Pidou asked the Latin archbishop to take the seminary under his patronage. The archbishop consented, and even made a visit to the seminary to make clear to all that whoever did something against the seminary would have to deal not with Father Pidou, but with him, archbishop and senator of the state³². While waiting for orders from Rome, Father Pidou continued to direct the seminary. Father James De Gregoris, an Armenian priest and former student of the Prop. Fide helped him with the work. During the months of July, August, September and October, Father Pidou remained away from Lviv, being in Kamjanec for the negotiation of the union of this Church with the Catholic Church. At this time the seminary was under the direction of Father De Gregoris.

Having received the notice of Father Galano's death, the Prop. Fide, after long research of subjects, approved Father Angelo Peverati of Ferrara and Father Francis Dario of Venice for Lviv. These promptly

²⁹ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio I: Fathers Galano and Pidou to Prop. Fide (1665, Oct. 16).

³⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 224 (1665, Nov. 9).

³¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 35, f. 186 (1666, July 19).

³² AGT, *Memorie storiche*, p. 106-107; AGT, *Auctarium Historiarum*, p. 222-223.

set out on the journey, and arrived in Lviv on December 4, 1666³³. Meanwhile at Lviv, the Armenians, hearing that two Theatines were coming to replace Father Galano, began to quarrel with Father Pidou, saying that one was enough. They tried to force him to write to Rome to impede the coming priests, threatening not only to diminish the allotted space, but to throw them out of the quarters entirely, because they could not tolerate the presence of Theatines at Lviv. The main reason for this was distrust, for seeing the Theatines always present at Armenian ecclesiastical functions, they held them to be spies who reported all things to the Polish king or to the nuncio at Warsaw³⁴.

Since Father Pidou was still very young, and also because he was of French nationality which might not have been to the liking of the Armenians, the Prop. Fide decided to send a new rector from Rome, and found a candidate in Father Joseph Caraccioli, superior of the Theatine house in Madrid. He placed himself at the disposition of the Prop. Fide³⁵, who in turn placed the matter before the pope, who gave orders that he be sent to Lviv and assigned money for the trip³⁶.

The new rector was born at Partanope on October 28, 1628, made his religious profession in 1645 and was appointed prefect of the house in Madrid in 1658. Perhaps he was proposed as rector of the seminary in Lviv because of his knowledge of the Armenian language, which he had studied under Father Galano. He set out from Madrid and passing through Genoa, Prague and Warsaw arriving at Lviv on October 19, 1667, but died on December 30th of the same year of the plague at the age of thirty nine years³⁷, and was buried in the Armenian cathedral near the Holy Trinity altar³⁸.

The superior general of the Theatines then proposed Father Charles Mary Danese of Naples as rector, aged forty five years. The Prop.

³³ APF, *Acta*, t. 35, f. 246 (1666, September 20); PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 106.

³⁴ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: I frammenti della storia, cap. XII.

³⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 35, f. 302-303 (1666, November 29).

³⁶ IBIDEM, t. 35, f. 329 (1666, December 20).

³⁷ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: I frammenti della storia, cap. XII; AGT, *Auctarium Historiarum*, p. 247-249; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 231; PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 107. There is a discrepancy as to the day of Father Caraccioli's death, December 20, 30 or 31. I follow Father Pidou, who also gives the exact date of Father Caraccioli's arrival in Lviv.

³⁸ *Compendiosa relatio unionis nationis Armeno-Poloniae cum S. Ecclesia Romana ad annum Christi 1676*. Translated into Polish and published by A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1878, p. 167.

Fide objected that he was incapable of administration, did not know the Armenian language, and had once been sent to the missions in India, but had returned to Naples from Lisbon. Then the superior general proposed Father Pidou, and the Prop. Fide approved him on September 10, 1669³⁹. Father Pidou remained as rector until 1678, with only a brief interruption from 1672 to 1673.

Instructors changed rather often. The time prescribed for instructors to teach at the seminary was four years. Generally many remained longer than that, but some, because of health had to leave, with the consent of the Prop. Fide or in urgent case of the nuncio, before the time had expired.

Besides the Theatines, the second instructor was Father James De Gregoris, an Armenian priest, who was brought in by Father Galano and who remained after Father Galano's death to help Father Pidou. In 1667, Father De Gregoris went to Rome to ask that he be given some recompense for his labor, since he was receiving only food at the seminary, and to say that the Prop. Fide could dispose of him as they wished. He was assigned 8 scudi with which to pay his debts, 1 scudo per month as salary⁴⁰, and 12 scudi for the voyage. In 1672, during the stay of Father Pidou in Rome, this priest was named rector of the seminary, and the wish was to send him to Lviv on the occasion of the return of the Armenian archbishop, but after having received the promotion, he got the idea to tour the world. The Prop. Fide granted him permission, but revoked the appointment and took away the subsidy⁴¹. After various attempts to reach Armenia, he crossed Turkey to Moscow, returning to Lviv in 1680, where he received food in the seminary as before. He tried to regain the former subsidy from Rome, but received no response⁴².

Of the two instructors who were sent to Lviv in 1666 immediately after Father Galano's death, Father Francis Dario left on October 11, 1668⁴³, and Father Peverati remained in Lviv. In 1670, the latter became ill with tuberculosis, and with the consent of the nuncio, returned that year to Italy. The money for his return trip was given by Father Pidou so as not to aggravate the Prop. Fide⁴⁴.

³⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 38, f. 404 (1669, September 10).

⁴⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 36, f. 247 (1667, November 28).

⁴¹ APF, *Lettere*, t. 61, f. 149: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Francis Bonvisi (1673, October 5).

⁴² APF, *Acta*, t. 50, f. 128 (1680, April 30).

⁴³ Pidou L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 110.

⁴⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 39, f. 182 (1670, Sept. 15).

Father Peverati was loved by the Armenians. Father Pidou, after his departure, wrote to the Prop. Fide that the Armenians would give even their blood for Father Peverati, and that there were few of them who would not write to Rome, clergy and people alike, to have him sent back to Lviv⁴⁵. Father Peverati also wished to return, but the doctors decided that if he returned to Lviv he should certainly lose his life⁴⁶.

Before Father Peverati left Lviv, Father Joseph Bagatta had arrived. Earlier, Father Pidou had requested a new instructor, but when he had received notification of his appointment, had written that he should not set out yet, but should defer his coming so as not to arouse suspicion in the Armenians, who had believed as truth the calumny spread by their archbishop, that the Theatines intended to increase their number and take over the Armenian Church, and for this reason studied the Armenian language at Lviv⁴⁷. It seems that Father Bagatta left before the arrival of Father Pidou's letter. At the end of 1670 he was already at Lviv, and, in the opinion of Father Pidou, had poor health, was strange to the rite, and had little inclination to learn the Armenian language, and from whom therefore, little gain could be expected⁴⁸.

At the same time, Father Pidou was taken ill⁴⁹, and the Prop. Fide was considerably concerned about what to do in case he should die. The secretary of the Prop. Fide, Frederick Ubaldi Baldeschi, recommended that Nuncio Francis Nerli should in this event delegate someone, since the seminary would not be able to remain under the care of one Theatine alone, who was new to the country, and inexperienced in the language, customs and mentality of the people. They warned the nuncio, however, not to turn to the Jesuits, because the Prop. Fide, while highly estimating their virtue, was not happy with their tendency to exclude all others⁵⁰. The secretary complained that the superior general of the Theatines showed little interest in maintaining

⁴⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 65: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1671, May 8).

⁴⁶ APF, *Lettere*, t. 58, f. 25: Prop. Fide to Father Pidou (1671, Jan. 24); APF, *Acta*, t. 41, f. 42 (1671, Feb. 16).

⁴⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 39, f. 92-93 (1670, July 7).

⁴⁸ *IBIDEM*, t. 39, f. 240 (1670, Dec. 1).

⁴⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 143: Nuncio Nerli to Prop. Fide (1670, Dec. 3).

⁵⁰ APF, *Lettere*, t. 58, f. 1: Secretary of the Prop. Fide Baldeschi to Nuncio Nerli (1671, Jan. 3).

the mission at Lviv, and that he had not seen fit to respond to his last letters⁵¹. In a letter to Father Bagatta he wrote that he hoped God would forgive the superior general and his fathers for all the trouble they were causing. If they would take care to provide subjects and would be attentive to the progress of the mission at Lviv, they would not give reason to him, the secretary, to disquiet himself, nor to the Prop. Fide to afflict itself with this extraordinary mode of procedure⁵².

Father Peverati, who because of his health had at first wanted to remain in Rome, now made the request to leave, in order to get away, as he wrote to Father Pidou, from the persecution of his confreres whom "hell kept opposed" to the mission of Lviv so as the more easily to bring on its downfall⁵³. Father Pidou accused the confreres at Rome because of whom the seminary was faltering, and remarked that it would always be faltering as long as subjects were sent who had neither practice in the language nor missionary spirit. Therefore, seeing that all the efforts of the Prop. Fide that the young Theatines would learn the Armenian language had been in vain, he wrote that it would be necessary to allure them with privileges and rewards, if they could not be induced for any other motives⁵⁴. At his request the Prop. Fide obtained from the Supreme Pontiff in 1671 the privilege for all the Theatine missionaries sent by the Prop. Fide, who had served in the missions for ten years, that they would be eligible for election to the office of superior general, of councillor, of visitor, or of procurator general, as if they had been superior for three years in some regular house, or vice-superior in the house of S. Silvestro on Mount Quirinale⁵⁵.

Father Pidou was not content with this. He wished further to obtain that one who had served in Lviv for the space of ten years with edification to the people and to the satisfaction of the nuncio and of the prefects, and had applied himself to the study of the Armenian language, could obtain from the Prop. Fide permission to return to Italy, to be examined there by special examiners in the said language, and as a result of being able to give necessary service to the Prop. Fide, he would be awarded the following privileges:

⁵¹ IBIDEM, t. 58, f. 1: Idem to Father Peverati (1671, Jan. 3).

⁵² IBIDEM, t. 58, f. 81: Idem to Father Bagatta (1671, May 23).

⁵³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 74: Father Pidou to Nuncio Ranuzzi (1671, June 26).

⁵⁴ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 36: Father Pidou to Nuncio Nerli (1671, Jan. 23).

⁵⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 272: The decree (1671, Oct. 17).

1) that he could stay in whatever house of the congregation he chose, even in Rome;

2) that in each house he would have a voice in chapter;

3) that in each house, having the permission of the local ordinary, he could hear the confessions of all, without any other permission of his superiors⁵⁶.

The proposed privileges did not meet with the approval of the Prop. Fide. They replied that the missionaries should be content with the above mentioned privileges of October 17, 1671⁵⁷.

In the meanwhile, there was need of new instructors. Father Bagatta had not made a good impression at Lviv; he showed an aversion for that mission, did not wish to learn or even to hear Armenian, and was in turn hated by the Armenians, by their clergy, by the local population, and by the few Italians of Lviv, who could not suffer him. Father Pidou requested the Prop. Fide to permit him to leave Lviv⁵⁸. Father Bagatta himself did not wish to remain. Without waiting for the permission of the Prop. Fide, he pressured Father Pidou to give him a letter for the Prop. Fide, as if sending him on business of the seminary, and this Father Pidou did after consultation with the Latin chapter of Lviv. The chapter did not want him to leave disgruntled, but just to leave⁵⁹, especially since he was of little use to the mission⁶⁰ and really superfluous since the arrival of Father Augustine Lobelli of Lucca and Father Jerome Bossi of Milan on June 22nd⁶¹. The new instructors, on the very evening of their arrival⁶² declared that they wished to remain only until the holy year, and that they did not want to apply themselves to the study of the Armenian language. According to Father Pidou, they would be of little value without this language. In the following year, when Father Pidou went to Rome, they assumed the direction of the seminary. The Prop. Fide was unhappy, because when in the same year Lviv was sieged by the Turks, Father Lobelli

⁵⁶ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 266: Nota d'alcuni punti (1671).

⁵⁷ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 274 (1674, Sept. 6).

⁵⁸ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 20: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1671, April 16); *Compendiosa relatio...*, p. 174-175.

⁵⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 75: Father Pidou to Nuncio Ranuzzi (1671, July 23).

⁶⁰ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 76: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1671, July 31).

⁶¹ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 74; AGT, *Auctarium Historiarum*, p. 266-267.

⁶² *Compendiosa relatio...*, p. 175.

retired to Warsaw and then to Krakow with some students, and stayed there for more than a year, while Father Bossi remained in a private house in Lviv, both together spending the total income of 600 scudi, without rendering the requested account to Father Pidou⁶³. The Prop. Fide named Father James De Gregoris as rector and assigned him 12 scudi annually as subsidy. Then, because of his idea to tour the world, he asked permission of the Prop. Fide, which they granted, but declared him to be rector no longer⁶⁴.

While in Rome, Father Pidou tried to find new instructors for Lviv, but found only a laybrother, Francis Svizza⁶⁵. Of the two instructors in Lviv, Father Bossi remained in service there until 1678⁶⁶, and Father Lobelli probably left in 1674 after the return of Father Pidou, who on his return urgently requested that new instructors be sent. The procurator of missions proposed Father Francis Bonesana of Milan, who was twenty eight years of age and at that time teaching philosophy at Modena, and two clerics, John Baptist Pezzuoli, aged twenty three, and John Baptist Rubbi, aged twenty one, both of Bergamo. After repeated requests, all three were approved, and in the October of 1675 they were sent to Lviv⁶⁷. During the voyage, John Rubbi became ill, and remained in Vienna. In the following year, he applied to the Prop. Fide for a dispensation because of his age, to be ordained a priest, and for money to pay his obligations and to continue his journey. Not obtaining the dispensation, but receiving the money, he went to Lviv in the autumn of 1676⁶⁸. Father Pezzuoli in the meantime, after coming to Lviv, was sent in 1676 to Constantinople after the peace was made, with a letter from the Polish king, but afterwards returned to Lviv⁶⁹. In the following year, Father Pidou went

⁶³ APF, *Lettere*, t. 61, f. 137: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Francis Bonvisi (1673, Sept. 5); APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 7: Sommario (1673, Sept. 5).

⁶⁴ APF, *Lettere*, t. 61, f. 149: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Bonvisi (1673, Oct. 5).

⁶⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 7: Sommario (1673, Sept. 5); MUH, t. 4, p. 179, no. 92.

⁶⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 162: Nuncio Francis Martelli to Prop. Fide (1678, Sept. 8).

⁶⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 44, f. 247 (1674, Sept. 3), and t. 45, f. 20 (1675, July 30); AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Procurator of the Theatine Missions to the Prop. Fide (1674, Sept. 2 and 1675, July 23); APF, *Lettere*, t. 64, f. 111-112: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Martelli (1675, Oct. 1).

⁶⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 46, f. 79 (1676, April 13); APF, *Lettere*, t. 65, f. 32: Prop. Fide to the Nuncio of Vienna (1676, May 23).

⁶⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 154: Nuncio Martelli to Prop. Fide (1676, Dec. 9).

on his own to Constantinople, accompanying the Armenian coadjutor, Vartan Hunanian. He wrote to the Prop. Fide that much more was able to be done for the Armenians at Lviv than at Constantinople, where there was not much hope of realizing fruitful result⁷⁰.

His going to Constantinople without permission from Rome was not agreeable to the Prop. Fide. Father Pidou excused himself, saying that, foreseeing that the permission would not be granted, he had not asked for it. The Prop. Fide answered that he should strictly avoid any such similar excess in the future, if he wanted assistance from Rome, especially now since there were complaints that he had neglected the administration of the seminary, leaving it open to develop many abuses⁷¹.

The visit of Nuncio Martelli gave the instructors a chance to air their grievances against Father Pidou. They were discontented with their treatment and with his irregular manner of directing the seminary. One of them, Father Bossi, sent a complete report to the superior general, and left Lviv immediately with the nuncio in 1678, returning to Rome⁷². In the same year, Father Rubbi also left for Rome, on account of an infirmity he had developed in Lviv⁷³, and Father Pidou was left with only two instructors, Fathers Bonesana and Pezzuoli. At the end of that same year, Father Pidou was recalled by the superior general⁷⁴, and Father Bonesana was appointed as the new rector⁷⁵.

ART. 3

HOUSE, STUDENTS AND SERVANTS, INCOME AND EXPENSES

A great difficulty for the superiors and for the students, which had revealed itself immediately from the beginning, was the restricted space assigned to the seminary. The seminary had at its disposition two rooms for living quarters, and two for household goods. The fathers slept in one of the rooms for living, with the workers. Vegeta-

⁷⁰ IBIDEM, t. 1, f. 156: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1677, August 14).

⁷¹ APF, *Lettere*, t. 67, f. 6 (1678, Feb. 7) and f. 22 (1678, March 29).

⁷² AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Father Bossi to Superior General (1678, July 27); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 162: Nuncio Martelli to Prop. Fide (1678, Sept. 8).

⁷³ APF, *Acta*, t. 51, f. 178 (1681, June 30).

⁷⁴ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Summaria ex Litteris.

⁷⁵ APF, *Lettere*, t. 67, f. 78: Prop. Fide to Father Pidou (1678, Dec. 8).

bles were also stored there, because the lower rooms, half below the level of the street were too humid and things spoiled. The students slept in the other room, which served also as classroom, refectory and recreation place. The restrictions of space forced some of the students to go to the outhouse in order to be able to study. Both of the fathers begged the Prop. Fide to allow a third room to be added to these two, since there was a space by the side of the students' room large enough to build another room without much expense.

Not waiting for an answer from the Prop. Fide, Archbishop Torosowicz borrowed money and had the room built, one and a half times the size of the students' room, saying that if the Prop. Fide did not take it for the seminary, he could rent it to outsiders. In the meantime, he had the papal coat of arms painted, and promised to arrange ten little cells, separated by partitions, as dormitory and study room for the students. On the outside door of this room he was going to place the papal coat of arms, with the inscription "Collegium Pontificum"⁷⁶.

The total expense incurred by the archbishop amounted to 150 unghari (about 262 scudi). The nuncio interceded to the Prop. Fide for the purchase of the room, and they consented on November 9, 1665⁷⁷. The sum arrived in Lviv on May 14, 1666⁷⁸, and the room was paid for. Ten little cells were constructed in which the students could sleep. Of the two original rooms, one was made into a classroom, meeting room, place for private visits, and also used as refectory and recreation place. The other was divided into two parts of which one became the chapel and the other sleeping quarters for the fathers. To these three rooms was joined a wooden kitchen, where the kitchen men lived in the summer; in winter they slept in the fathers' room⁷⁹.

After this room was added, Father Galano also wanted to take a room below the seminary which was at that time occupied by two Armenian priests, by former permission of the archbishop. Father Galano was sure that the archbishop would let them have the room for 100 scudi, and wrote to the Prop. Fide that the acquisition might be authorized, and the money sent. The nuncio made a visit to the seminary and found that this extra room really was very necessary, and

⁷⁶ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Fathers Galano and Pidou to Prop. Fide (1665, Oct. 16).

⁷⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 224 (1665, Nov. 9).

⁷⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 6v: Introito ed Esito dall'anno 1664 all'anno 1671.

⁷⁹ AGT, *Memorie storiche*, p. 99.

would also make it in good form for enclosure, because then the door to the entrance could be locked. As matters stood, it was used by both the seminary and the two Armenian priests who lived there⁸⁰.

The Prop. Fide granted this request, and sent the 100 scudi which arrived in Lviv on October 18, 1666⁸¹, but the archbishop did not want to let them have the room. Father Pidou wrote to obtain the intercession of the Prop. Fide to influence the archbishop, who was in Rome at the time, to turn over to them this room and also a little garden adjacent to the seminary. The students were suffering visibly from lack of space. The Prop. Fide turned the matter over to Secretary Baldeschi, who dealt with the archbishop.

The secretary made the request of the archbishop, but he not only refused, maintaining that this room was destined for the use of some of his priests, who had no other place to sleep, but in his turn demanded that the rooms he had let them have formerly be returned to him, claiming to have given them for only three years. The secretary expressed at a general session that he had never heard of this, nor was it very likely that it was so, because the Prop. Fide would certainly never in this case have taken on the expense, about 300 scudi, for the renovation of the rooms⁸². In the following year, 1670, Father Pidou implored the Prop. Fide again to alleviate the straitened circumstances of the seminary, and Father Peverati, on his return to Rome, spoke to them in person regarding these needs. Two remedies were proposed. One was to request the archbishop again for the room and little courtyard which was still being used by his priests at the seminary, and that the nuncio be written, so that he might try to obtain his consent. The other was that the Prop. Fide acquire from the archbishop and the Armenian people of Lviv the church of Holy Cross with the house joined to it, where with little expense could be erected a comfortable habitation for the seminary. Here the students could have the use of the church for services in the Armenian rite, and the house where a priest presently lived, which had formerly been occupied by one of the ladies that the archbishop retained to the disgruntlement of the people. The Prop. Fide decided to write the nuncio to find out if there was any hope that the Armenians would concede the room and little garden held by the

⁸⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 35, f. 101 (1666, April 12).

⁸¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 8v: Introito ed Esito dall'anno 1664 all'anno 1671.

⁸² *IBIDEM*, t. 1, f. 72-73 (1669, March 26).

archbishop or else the house and church of Holy Cross, and in the latter case, how much expense would be entailed to make them usable for the seminary. It was added in the letter to the nuncio that he should try to obtain the intercession of the king to get the room and garden from the Armenian consuls, who owned the property even more than the archbishop, or, if he should encounter resistance to this, that he should try at least to procure the house and church of Holy Cross for the seminary⁸³. This decision was presented to Pope Clement X, who praised it⁸⁴.

The efforts of the nuncio with the Armenians were not without results. Father Pidou wrote to the Prop. Fide on January 30, 1671, to give notice of the conclusion reached as to the location of the seminary of the diligence of Nuncio Francis Nerli and of the cooperation of the Latin archbishop, Adalbert Korycinski. The Armenian coadjutor conceded the house to the seminary, and also the courtyard and garden joined to the church of Holy Cross. This caused some disturbance among the people⁸⁵, who feared that the Theatines were taking over their church. As Father Pidou wrote, he had to console them in some way, and promised their coadjutor in the name of his religious order that never would they usurp either the church or the church properties of the Armenians. Finally, Father Pidou supplicated the Prop. Fide for some help in building and transforming the house into a habitable place for the seminary, since it was presently usable for only four or five persons⁸⁶. As for the expense, Father Pidou estimated that for 400 unghari (about 700 scudi) a comfortable and decorous lodging could be arranged, of which peaceable possession could be held by means of an authentic contract of the permanent donation from the archbishop, and confirmation by the king in the best possible form through the mediation of the nuncio⁸⁷.

Before turning over the house, the coadjutor, Bishop John Kieremowicz, fixed some conditions, which Fathers Pidou and Bagatta were required to sign, and which they did in fact sign on January 23, 1671. The conditions were as follows:

⁸³ APF, *Acta*, t. 39, f. 239-240 and f. 243-244 (1670, Dec. 1).

⁸⁴ APF, *Udienze*, t. 1, f. 98 (1670, Dec. 10).

⁸⁵ DAŠKEVYČ J.R., *Ukrainsko-Armiānskie otnošenīa XVII v.*, Kyjiv 1969, p. 118-121.

⁸⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, ff. 13-14 and 40: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1671, Jan. 30).

⁸⁷ *IBIDEM*, t. 22, f. 97.

1) that they would be content to use the above mentioned house and garden for only fifteen years, and would never have any pretension to ownership;

2) that never in any way would they take over the jurisdiction of the church of Holy Cross, or of any church in Poland, nor of the cemetery of field belonging to the church of Holy Cross;

3) that they would leave the room existing over the gate of the cemetery for the greater convenience of the priests;

4) that they would build, at their own expense, a wooden habitation for two priests designated by the ordinary, to whom would be assigned the direction of the church, and with whom the Theatines could never interfere under any pretext whatsoever;

5) that never could their religious be established in that house, or place their coat of arms over the principal door;

6) that never could they appropriate legacies left to the Armenians;

7) that the rooms received up to now for the seminary, plus the brick room and the wooden kitchen built at the expense of the Prop. Fide would be given back;

8) that, if the seminary should be suppressed or transferred to another place, they would never have any pretext to repayment for the expenses made for furnishing, repairs or construction of the new room in the house of the seminary, and that all would be given over into the hands of the Armenian nation;

9) that they would be obliged to ask the archbishop, on his return, to confirm these conditions⁸⁸.

After signing the agreement, Father Pidou, without waiting for the necessary orders from the Prop. Fide, transferred the students and began to make repairs on the house. By the end of April he had spent about 200 scudi for repairs at which twenty three persons worked in April. The Armenian people opposed the conceding of the house and church. In view of this opposition, Father Pidou was obliged to sign a new document in which he was to promise:

⁸⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 77-78: Le condizioni della cessione (1671, Jan. 23).

1) to submit in this affair to the judgement of the Latin archbishop of Lviv;

2) to concede one fourth part of the rooms already built to the Armenian priests, in the wooden house which Father Pidou had constructed at the expense of 50 scudi;

3) to receive the house without the church for only ten years, after which time the whole house and all the improvements would be returned to the properties of the Armenians and of their Church;

4) to prescribe the precise number of students who would be kept at the seminary.

These conditions were not signed, partly because Father Bagatta refused to sign them, and partly because the people wished first to write to the archbishop, who was in Rome at the time⁸⁹.

Father Pidou omitted to give exact information to the Prop. Fide concerning the negotiations, the conditions of the concession, and of repairs which had been made. Secretary Baldeschi of the Prop. Fide objected and wrote to the internuncio, complaining that Father Pidou had not cared about the acquisition of the church of Holy Cross, that he had agreed to various detrimental conditions which he had shown himself disposed to sign, that he had left the house where they had been living and had gone to the new house without considering the stability of the acquisition, that he had begun building without having been told to do so and without giving the first account of the expenses, and finally that he had made a muddle of things without the participation of the nuncio, without informing the Prop. Fide, and without waiting for the approval of anyone. In consideration of all this, the Prop. Fide warned Father Pidou not to make any new arrangements in the affairs of the seminary⁹⁰. The secretary begged Father Bagatta to influence Father Pidou to send information of the conditions under which he had received or intended to receive the house of Holy Cross, and of the form under which it was conceded, so that in Rome they could consider the validity and the obligations of the contract, and to make Father Pidou wary of agreeing to any such conditions before first obtaining the consent of the nuncio or of the

⁸⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 19-20: Father Bagatta to Prop. Fide (1671, April 25).

⁹⁰ APF, *Lettere*, t. 58, f. 86 (1671, June 13).

Prop. Fide, and to try to dissuade Father Pidou from engaging in any construction ⁹¹.

In the meantime, Father Pidou had sent the conditions to the Prop. Fide, adding that he imagined little would be pleasing in the bulk of the enclosed document signed by the seminary and the Armenian coadjutor, but without which it would have been impossible, he wrote, to acquire the house of Holy Cross, except after much time of waiting. He begged the Prop. Fide to consider:

1) that it was a matter of mere formality, and of an expedient measure which served to appease the people and remove the suspicions that the Theatines wanted to take over their Church and usurp their properties;

2) that the coadjutor had given his episcopal word to reform or change the conditions, if the Prop. Fide ordered him to;

3) that on April 8th, the people had been pacified by the Latin archbishop, with the agreement that the document would be annulled, claiming that the coadjutor had not the power to make any such concession without their consent, and that another, shorter one be done for them, but only for ten years. Regarding the ten years, the Armenians said that for him, Father Pidou, they would be content to let him keep the house for even a hundred years, as he knew their nature and customs, but for others of different character who might come to Lviv, they intended to do otherwise. Notwithstanding their opposition, Father Pidou believed that in time he could obtain permanent use of the new house.

In the same letter, he wrote to the Prop. Fide that he predicted that the Armenians would compose a new document which they might or might not send to Rome for approval. If they did not send it, then it would be necessary to wait for some occasion of requesting a favor from the king, or for the coming of the court with the nuncio to Lviv, or for some other opportunity to obtain the end. If they did send it to Rome, then it could be sent to the nuncio for examination, and he could call on the Armenian leaders in Warsaw with the king's cooperation to have the conditions reformed or changed according to the pleasure of the Prop. Fide. It was necessary, he wrote, to assure the Armenians that the Theatines were not taking over their Church, for this was actu-

⁹¹ APF, *Lettere*, t. 58, f. 89 (1671, June 13).

ally the one and only reason for their opposition. They saw clearly that to give the house for ten or fifteen years was to give it forever, and this limitation had to be considered as an obligation to ask for its renewal at the time of expiration, and thus hold the Theatines in some way dependent upon them. Finally, in the letter, Father Pidou requested that money be sent to repair the house of the seminary⁹².

Not having received any funds from Rome, Father Pidou again wrote to the Prop. Fide that if the sending of the money were deferred, the favorable season for building would be lost, and that he would be forced to send some of the students home and refuse others who might present themselves, since he did not know where to lodge them during the coming winter⁹³. Because his letters remained without result, he requested permission from the Prop. Fide to go to Rome in order personally to present the needs of the seminary. Having obtained this permission, he left the seminary to the direction of the instructors, and went to Rome. His stay, originally intended to be for only two months, was protracted into about fourteen months⁹⁴.

The main purpose for his going remained without effect; he did not obtain funds for the repair of the house. The Prop. Fide decided to discuss the matter with the archbishop. Returning to Lviv, Father Pidou requested 50 unghari for repairs, and received the answer that as long as the controversy was going on, it did not seem convenient to repair the house at the expense of the Prop. Fide⁹⁵. They proposed to give the archbishop 300 scudi, 200 for his personal support and 100 in order that the house be conceded permanently, and that the old rooms of the seminary be left in the possession of the Theatines⁹⁶.

The Prop. Fide wanted to obtain possession of the house, and did obtain it in the same year. The archbishop was recalled to Rome on account of his scandalous life, and was not permitted to return to Lviv before subscribing to corrections. Among the points to be signed was included that regarding the seminary. The archbishop promised in writing to give for the benefit of the seminary the irrevocable donation of the house of Holy Cross and in addition to concede to the

⁹² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 64-65 (1671, May 8).

⁹³ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 74 (1671, June 26).

⁹⁴ APF, *Lettere*, t. 57, f. 103 (1671, Aug. 31) and f. 134 (1671, Sept. 1); PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 283.

⁹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 44, f. 122 (1674, April 17).

⁹⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 9: Sommario (1673, Sept. 5).

Theatines or to others assigned by the Prop. Fide the use and the habitation of the rooms previously conceded to the seminary⁹⁷.

The house was repaired in 1675, and the seminary went into debt. Nuncio Francis Bonvisi took the part of Father Pidou and wrote to the Prop. Fide that Father Pidou had no way of maintaining it, and that he, the nuncio, had even given them something on his own, but the need was great. In this letter of July 17, 1675, he begged the Prop. Fide to send additional aid⁹⁸. The Prop. Fide assigned 50 scudi⁹⁹, but with this, the economic condition was not greatly improved. Besides the repairs and maintenance expenses, Father Pidou paid about 500 florins for the Armenian coadjutor, Vartan Hunanian, who lived at the expense of the seminary, having no established income and no assistance from Rome. On March 31, 1676, Father Pidou asked for the help of Nuncio Martelli, and he in turn from the Prop. Fide. At the same time, it was necessary to give a sum to the archbishop, Father Pidou wrote, or else it would be necessary to have a company of soldiers guard the house, since the archbishop intended, as he had many times said and written, to cancel the donation, if Rome did not keep its promise to support him financially¹⁰⁰.

Still not obtaining help at the end of the following year, Father Pidou sent a letter to the cardinal Prefect of the Prop. Fide, complaining that all the letters and reports he had written had not gotten any response, that the seminary had been founded with the designation of 600 scudi to maintain, besides the students, two missionary priests and a laybrother, but that was before the war in a time when the country was in a different state, whereas now he had to maintain five priests without having the subsidy increased. In addition, the seminary was heavily in debt on account of repairs made after it was burned in 1672 during the Turkish siege of Lviv, and was still half uncovered and exposed to the snow and rain. Everything was costly, even writing paper, and no amount of effort had until that time succeeded in improving the economic state of the seminary. Therefore, he implored that he be relieved of this anxiety and that someone else, more capable and energetic, be appointed to direct the seminary¹⁰¹.

⁹⁷ IBIDEM, t. 22, f. 277-278: I punti sottoscritti (1674, Aug. 10).

⁹⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 149v.

⁹⁹ APF, *Udienze*, t. 1, f. 222 (1675, Dec. 16); APF, *Acta*, t. 45, f. 308-309 (1675, Dec. 17).

¹⁰⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 151-152.

¹⁰¹ IBIDEM, t. 1, f. 158 (1677, Nov. 5).

After reviewing the report of Father Pidou, the Prop. Fide thought to suppress the seminary and to use the income with more profit in a place of greater need, and to provide the Armenians simply with some missionaries, or to have the Armenian students received into other seminaries, or to help in some other form suggested by the nuncio¹⁰². In order to get a clear idea of the state of the seminary, the nuncio was given the task of gathering the necessary information during his two months stay at the seminary in Lviv¹⁰³.

The nuncio was satisfied neither with the administration of the seminary nor with the internal life there¹⁰⁴; therefore it was decided to recall Father Pidou from Lviv.

The rector exercised an influence almost without restriction on the selection and admission of the students into the seminary. This was facilitated even more by the lack of a prescribed rule. The Prop. Fide was far away, and the nuncio, being in Warsaw, even if he had wanted to, could not have interfered much in the affairs of the seminary at Lviv. Besides, he was too absorbed in political matters. It was the time of war with the Cossacks, Muscovites, Tartars and Turks. Meanwhile, twice at this period an interregnum occurred, with all the agitation of diverse parties which accompanies a democratic election of a king.

The political situation did not remain without influence on the life of the seminary, first of all on the economic state, and then, in consequence, on the number of students. The war brought famine. The subsidy of 600 scudi did not suffice, and at this time the matter of money was a continuous preoccupation of the rectors, especially of Father Pidou, who had to transfer the seminary to the house of Holy Cross, and who had made repairs without first obtaining the funds necessary to cover the cost.

The number of students was not stable. In the existing sources it can be found how many students were there each year, and that thirteen of them were ordained priests under the first three rectors¹⁰⁵. According to available information, in the December of 1665 there were

¹⁰² APF, *Lettere*, t. 67, f. 22: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Martelli (1678, March 29).

¹⁰³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 160: Nuncio Martelli to Prop. Fide (1678, June 3); AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Summaria ex Litteris.

¹⁰⁴ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Father Jerome Bossi to the Curia of the Theatines (1678, July 27).

¹⁰⁵ PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 308.

nine students¹⁰⁶. In the November of 1666, Father Pidou accompanied the archbishop during his visit to Kamjanec¹⁰⁷, where he found and brought back to Lviv three other students, bringing the number of students up to twelve¹⁰⁸. There were thirteen by the January of 1667. Father Pidou was forced to accept this last, who was the nephew of the archbishop, for he did not want to irritate him.

The first two students were ordained in 1667. Father Pidou obtained permission from the Prop. Fide to ordain them to the title of missionaries¹⁰⁹. These two were still found at the seminary in the November of that year. Father Pidou suggested that the Prop. Fide assign them some provision, so that the others would be stimulated to serve with application and zeal. Although the archbishop was able to give them some place or parish, he had not done so, and all things considered, they could not remain in the seminary, not receiving any support from the Church. The Prop. Fide conceded the subsidy, but with the clause that first the opinion of the nuncio should be asked¹¹⁰. The nuncio answered that 40 scudi each per year should be sufficient to support them¹¹¹. One of these two newly ordained was Gabriel Zachnowicz, who was ordained on June 5, 1668, and was assigned to the cathedral for preaching and hearing confession¹¹², although he was being supported by the Prop. Fide by the above mentioned 40 scudi. He and his companion were probably ordained after only an abbreviated course of study at the seminary.

In 1669, James IV, the Orthodox patriarch of Major Armenia, who maintained contact by letters with the Armenians of Lviv, asked Father Pidou to admit into the seminary of Lviv twelve young men of his patriarchate to instruct them in science and Christian piety. Father Pidou asked the Prop. Fide, who were perplexed as to whether to decide affirmatively or negatively to the matter. On the one hand, they wished to avoid giving the schismatics reason to complain of not being helped in their apparently pious request. On the other hand, they considered the difficulty of the heavy expense which would be placed on the Prop. Fide for supporting a considerable number of stu-

¹⁰⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 34, f. 273 (1665, Dec. 14).

¹⁰⁷ PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 109-110.

¹⁰⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 35, f. 296 (1666, Nov. 15).

¹⁰⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 36, f. 9 (1667, Jan. 10).

¹¹⁰ IBIDEM, t. 36, f. 233 (1667, Nov. 7).

¹¹¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 37, f. 89 (1668, May 28).

¹¹² PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 107.

dents without much hope of realizing any profit for religion, as experience had proved that of the many Armenians educated at the pontifical seminaries, few had abandoned their faulty habits and native errors¹¹³. The lack of space in the seminary also constituted a difficulty, plus the uncertainty of even being able to continue on account of the demands made by the archbishop for restitution. In addition there was doubt as to whether the final outcome might not be dangerous, for if the patriarch and his bishops had really been inspired by the Holy Spirit to reunite with the Holy See, they would have sent a previous, or at least a simultaneous request for some priests to be sent to instruct the Armenian clergy in the true faith. By then, the difficulties had been sent to the nuncio¹¹⁴, who sought information from the Armenian coadjutor of Lviv, John Kieremowicz, and from Father Pidou. The coadjutor said that he was not able to believe in the sincerity and stability of the patriarch, and that more profit could be expected from missionaries sent to Armenia than from instructing their youth at the seminary. Father Pidou also expressed the opinion that to send missionaries might be better, but that the patriarch had not the inclination to call them, for fear of his opposers. If the missionaries were Armenian, he said, little gain would result because of the enmity which reigned among them; if they were Latins of holy life, they might be well received, but communication by letter with them could constitute a great danger.

Father Pidou wished to be informed as to the intentions of the Prop. Fide concerning the seminary. If they intended it to continue as sufficient only for the instruction of that number of young men necessary to provide the Armenian parishes of the diocese of Lviv with priests, then it was superfluous to discuss the request of the patriarch, but rather they should think of closing the seminary, because most Armenian parishes were supplied with capable pastors. If on the other hand, they intended to keep the seminary, he wrote, they needed to grant the request of the patriarch.

Both responses, the Armenian coadjutor's and Father Pidou's, were examined in a general session of the Prop. Fide, and the difficulties were not eliminated. The original doubt as to the sincerity of the patriarch's request was not dispelled, and the suspicions of the Prop. Fide were confirmed by a letter written by the patriarch to the Armenians of Lviv. From the contents of the letter, it was apparent that he had

¹¹³ APF, *Acta*, t. 39, f. 65 (1670, June 17).

¹¹⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 38, f. 411 (1669, Sept. 13).

no intention of moving toward union, but on the contrary, had in mind to disturb the peace which had been established with the Armenians of Lviv. He complained that they had had recourse to the Apostolic See to obtain teachers practiced in the Armenian language to instruct their sons, whereas they could have asked for them from him and obtained them. He reproved them for having changed from the rites and customs of their ancestors, without any real reason, and without having taken any counsel from him. This was contrary to the practice of their forefathers, who had turned to his predecessors in all matters. He said that they had abandoned the faith and the Armenian laws, and now were giving cause for sadness to the whole nation. He exhorted them to remain affectionate and obedient to him, and to recover the good name which they had earlier enjoyed in the nation.

The Prop. Fide also had from Lviv a copy of the responding letter from the consuls and the Armenian people of Lviv to the patriarch. In this response, they not only addressed the patriarch by the title of "Blessed and Holy Father", but offered him obedience and recognition in the name of the clergy and the people. They blamed the archbishop for the request made to Rome for teachers and for the erection of the seminary, and begged the patriarch to watch over them and not to abandon them, but often to write letters of benediction, and to maintain inviolable union with them, that they would not turn from the rite and ceremonies of the Armenian Orthodox faith, but would perpetually conserve them.

The letter of the patriarch and the answer of the Armenians decided the Prop. Fide as to what to do in regard to the matter of his request to admit his clerics into the seminary. They answered that the place would be accessible to young Armenians from the East, but not to those sent by the patriarch, and ordered the nuncio to be vigilant in suppressing any communication by letter between the patriarch and the Armenians of Lviv¹¹⁵. Father Pidou was held responsible for the previous epistolatory communication. The Prop. Fide objected that he had operated without consideration, and had neglected to use all means to suppress this communication. It was discussed in the Prop. Fide if it would not be expedient to remove Father Pidou, in order that in his simplicity he would not cause detriment to religion among the Armenians¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 39, f. 65-67 (1670, June 17).

¹¹⁶ APF, *Lettere*, t. 56, f. 50: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Marescotti (1670, May 3).

So it was that the request of the patriarch for the admission of his young men was refused and was not repeated, and the communication by letter between him and the Armenian people was stopped. At times, some youths from the Armenian diaspora were admitted into the seminary, but none from Armenia. The seminary as such was limited to the Armenian diocese of Lviv.

The number of students in 1668 was thirteen. In the successive years it was thirteen, eleven, twelve, nine, eight, ten, eight and seven. The number of servants in 1665 was two, and in the successive years was three, three, three, three, three, three, five, five, three, three, four and five¹¹⁷. Among the servants was a woman in the kitchen¹¹⁸. Numbers for 1678 are missing. In 1679 there were twelve students¹¹⁹.

ART. 4

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE SEMINARY

A special set of regulations, written and approved by the Prop. Fide, according to which the students of the seminary of Lviv could live, did not exist. Everything depended upon the rector who could easily change or modify all the regulations and manner of living in the seminary. Naturally there was a certain order in the internal life. There is an account of how the seminary and life there was regulated under Father Pidou, given by himself in 1668. At the time in which he wrote, Father Pidou was too young and was still not named as rector, and had not had time to make any change in these regulations. Father Caraccioli was only rector for half a year, so in all probability that which Father Pidou described was that which had been established by the first rector, Father Galano, who, in order to direct the seminary had had to establish rules, and these in the main points were probably not much changed after his death.

According to Father Pidou's account, the students arose in the morning at daybreak, which in the early period was according to the season and when the bell of the Armenian church rang. At the signal of a bell, they met together in chapel and recited vocal prayers in Latin

¹¹⁷ APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 471, f. 326-327: Stato economico del Collegio dal 1665 a 1677.

¹¹⁸ IBIDEM, t. 471, f. 321: Report of the visit of the Nuncio (1678, July 17).

¹¹⁹ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Catalogus Personarum (1679).

composed by Father Galano. After prayers they returned to their rooms, put their beds in order, swept the common rooms and studied a little until the bell which gave the signal for lauds in the church. At the end of lauds, if they were not called upon to serve masses, they returned to their rooms, had breakfast and studied again until time for the high mass. After mass, they studied again. The older students heard each other's recitation of the assigned lesson; the little ones were heard by one more experienced who was assigned as moderator. Then they all came to recite the lessons again for the fathers. They had dinner at about midday. In the refectory they first said grace in the Armenian language, the antiphon *Oculi omnium*, followed by the entire psalm, *Exaltabo te Domine Deus meus*, and then one of the fathers again blessed the meal in Armenian.

During dinner, holy scripture was read, followed by some pious book in Latin, and then by a book in Polish. In 1668 the letters of Saint Paul were read, the Roman catechism, and the lives of saints in Polish. At the end of the meal they said grace in Armenian with special prayers, and in conclusion all prayed in a low voice for a given time. Afterwards, there was recreation for about half an hour, until the end of second table, and then the students studied in their rooms for two or three hours until vespers. In summer, they rested a little after dinner, and then studied.

At the signal of a bell, they went to vespers, which lasted a little more than thirty minutes or three quarters of an hour, and then all returned to study and recite lessons as in the morning. In summer, the verse *Ave Maria* was said, followed by supper and recreation as at noon. After the recreation which followed supper, they went to chapel, made their examination of conscience, recited the litany of the Blessed Mother with other prayers composed by Father Galano. At the finish of these began a rigorous silence among the students until the next morning.

For better enforcement of order in the seminary, officers were assigned from among the students. These were the *sopraintendente*, who wrote down faults in the seminary or in church, and made the accusations to the rector, so that the guilty ones would be punished according to the transgression, the *edile*, who had charge of sweeping and keeping the rooms of the seminary clean, except for the room of the fathers and other places outside, and the *excubitore*, who could not close the door to his room and go to bed in the evening before extinguishing all the candles for fear of fire. Except for the *sopraintendente*, the officers were changed every week.

It was forbidden to the beginning students to speak in any other language but Latin or Armenian; those who did so were immediately punished. They could not enter a companion's room without permission from one of the fathers, and no one could leave church without permission of the fathers, or at least of the *sopraintendente*, if there were no fathers present.

Each week there was a half day of recreation, and if the weather were good, the students were taken out to some park by one of the fathers. Until they were outside of the environs of the city the students always walked two by two.

There were devotions on Wednesdays to Blessed Cajetan, on Thursdays to Saint George, and on Sundays a half hour of meditation. On solemn feasts the students went to confession, and received holy communion public'y at the high mass to give example to the people who were but little inclined to frequent these sacraments. Besides this, they communicated often in honor of the saint whom they had taken to protect them during the year, as well as for other reasons, so that they had more need of restraint than of stimulus. Once however, in the beginning of the seminary, because of not wishing to confess so often, the students rebelled and all went outside, except for one who was sick, and it was hard to make them come back¹²⁰.

As for food, in the documents of some years later it is recorded that the students always had two dishes, with fruit, bread and beer if they wanted it. On days preceding fasts, which occurred eight or more times a year, they were given an extra dish with generous honey drink, and silence was dispensed with at meals. On principal solemnities and on special feasts, they tried to have something extra in the refectory.

The fathers received the same food as the students, except for an additional dish and white bread instead of black. The students observed only the Armenian fasts; the fathers observed both Latin and Armenian fasts, so as to make the meals common and to win the affection of the people.

It was customary for each student to be provided with a cassock and outer garment for the year, besides a hat, a berretta lined in the manner of the country, trousers, three pairs of underpants, six shirts,

¹²⁰ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Father Pidou: Modo e regole di vivere degli alunni Armeni nel Collegio Pontificio di Leopoli sotto la direzione dei PP.ri Ch.ci Regolari (1668, Nov. 9). It is only a description; Cfr. also PIDOU L.M., *Breve relazione...*, p. 113-114.

two overcoats, two sheets, a fur for winter, six collars, six handkerchieves, three pairs of woolen and three pairs of linen socks, three pairs of shoes, a pair of gloves, a mattress, two pillows, two towels, shoelaces and other things necessary for washing. However, in order to diminish the expense which would amount to from 10 to 12 scudi a year for each students, not all this was given by the seminary. The parents of the students had to provide all except the cassocks, berrettas, shoes and stockings.

In the first house near the cathedral, there were only two stoves, one for the fathers and one for the students, and about 70 scudi per year was spent for wood. In the house of Holy Cross, since there were more rooms, the number of stoves was multiplied, and they were burned more often for the students. Everyone was more preoccupied with heating than with eating, and the cost of heating became twice that of food.

The fathers went to a chapel of Our Lady in Lviv to celebrate mass, and each received a stipend of about 35 scudi per year. In the time of Father Galano, everything came in to a common fund, but Father Caraccioli had ordained that the fathers should clothe themselves from head to foot without troubling the seminary, and thereafter this money was given to them. Father Pidou, reflecting on the slight dignity of the mission, on the loss of time and other inconveniences of this travelling about by the fathers, which was worse after the transfer of the seminary to the house of Holy Cross outside the city, wished to remedy the situation in some way, but as he himself confessed, it was difficult because of the loss of a hundred scudi for the masses of three priests.

For the good order of the seminary, Father Pidou desired to hire a doorkeeper and a gardener, for 6 or 7 scudi a year. There was complaint that the fathers and students suffered as to food, not so much because of lack of quantity or quality in the food itself as through the lack of an experienced cook. This was impossible to remedy, because good cooks wanted 35 scudi or more per year, whereas all they could afford was from 5 to 7 scudi¹²¹. In the records of the Theatine archives, it appears that Father Pidou obtained from Rome the permission to hire a woman as cook, with the warning, however, that she should be of advanced age¹²².

¹²¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 110-111: Father Pidou to Prop. Fide (1671/73).

¹²² AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Annotations.

The special feasts of the seminary were, in the time of Father Pidou, July 16, the commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon, and September 11, in honor of Saint Pulcheria who had contributed much toward that Council. The feast of Saint Leo the Great occurred in April. All the Saturdays of March were dedicated to the Passion of Christ. In addition the feasts of Saint Cajetan, Saint Andrew Avellino, Saint Flavian and the commemoration of the union of the parish church of Kamjanec with Rome on October 1 were celebrated¹²³.

Sometimes on feasts, representations or programs were given for the Armenians of Lviv. In 1668, the students four times recited the tragedy of "Saint Ripsime", composed from information in the Armenian martyrology and the history of Armenia. This was written in Armenian verse and had Polish intermezzi¹²⁴. They recited it in Armenian to show the people that it was not true what was being said, that only Latin was studied at the seminary, and that none of the students understood Armenian¹²⁵.

At carnival time and in summer during the vacation, defenses were given of theses on religious subjects, to which the general public was invited, not only as a way of demonstrating the instructional methods of the teachers, but also the accomplishments of the students. The theses were dedicated to high and well known personages, such as the pope, the nuncio, the Latin or Armenian archbishop of Lviv, the palatine of Kyjiv, or others¹²⁶.

In the first days of the seminary, the students also had activities outside of the seminary itself. The Armenian archbishop permitted that they preach in his churches, but after a time he prohibited this. It is supposed that the reason for this was economical. The archbishop had hoped to be rewarded by Rome for his favorable attitude toward the seminary. Not attaining that which he had imagined, he began to trouble the Theatines and the students, and finally prohibited them from preaching in any church under his jurisdiction¹²⁷.

When the archbishop was called to Rome, the Prop. Fide requested him to change, among other things, his attitude toward the seminary.

¹²³ AGT, *Auctarium Historiarum*, p. 260; APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 110.

¹²⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 37, f. 216 (1668, Sept. 24); AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: S. Ripsime, Virgo et Martyr, Tragedia Sacra.

¹²⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 38, f. 2 (1669, Jan. 15).

¹²⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 213: Father Peverati to Prop. Fide (1670); AGT, *Memorie storiche*, p. 100.

¹²⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 2-9: Sommario (1673, Sept. 5).

After much wrangling, the archbishop agreed in writing that he would never take any jurisdiction over the students while they were in the seminary, nor ever the seminary itself, and that he would in every way assist the students and permit them to preach in the churches of his diocese whenever they had permission from the Latin bishops to preach in the Latin churches¹²⁸. Since there were no more complaints, it seems that from that time the students could always preach without any difficulty on the part of the archbishop.

The Armenian clergy took wives, up until the time of the foundation of the seminary. After the foundation, no rule was made regarding celibacy. Father Galano did not insist that they be celibate, but tried rather to persuade the students to the better life by reason. The same method was also followed by Fathers Caraccioli and Pidou. The effect was, that in the course of only ten years from the foundation of the seminary, of approximately thirty students who stayed there, only two married; all the others were ordained as celibates. This was not only without the opposition of the Armenian people, but with their pleased approval¹²⁹.

For a complete view of the development of the seminary, and to have a good idea of its internal life, it is necessary also to see its negative points, its defects and incidents which took place during the first three rectorships of which mention is made in the sources.

In 1670, one of the instructors, Father Bagatta, made complaints against Father Pidou, and wrote to Rome that he had made many students deacons and priests without having reflected that the priests were without assignments of patrimony, and that a great number were in straitened circumstances and begging bread, and because of their poverty they sought to win the affection of the people rather than of their pastors, and therefore placed the union at risk. The students, although they had finished their studies, had to be retained since they had no means of livelihood. The students were ignorant and incapable of acquiring knowledge, because they were not received into the seminary with any regard except as to numbers. In his life, Father Pidou was exemplary, but was unstable and unable to govern and manage business. He made living in the seminary without rule, without order and without a functional horarium, every day changing the time for eating, sleeping, recreating or for going out of the house as well as other

¹²⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 277: I punti sottoscritti (1674, Aug. 10).

¹²⁹ AGT, *Memorie storiche*, p. 102-103.

things. Ignorant and unstable youth were taken into the seminary without consulting the instructors, if not through obligation, at least through courtesy. The funds of the seminary, Father Bagatta continued, were handled by Father James De Gregoris, an Armenian incapable of the task. The students were permitted to go into the kitchen, to waste time and to do unnecessary things. The students took money for serving mass. They were not permitted to go out of the house each week, but were kept shut up there for four or five months at a time, with evident damage to their health. On the feasts of Christmas and Easter in the Latin rite, school was held without vacation, and Father Pidou was against Father Bagatta's observing the fasts and feasts of the Latin rite. Many times Father Pidou went to eat outside the seminary, leaving him alone, to the disedification of the youth. To comply with the wishes of the Armenian coadjutor, he sent the youth on feasts into the city to assist in the church, and their travelling at night through the worst streets caused great damage both to their clothing and their dignity. He also sent them every day to the church of Holy Cross to sing, and in so doing was placing them little by little under the jurisdiction of this church. He showed the letters sent to him by the Prop. Fide and by the nuncio to the students and to the Armenian coadjutor, and confided to the Latin canons and to other seculars all the daily affairs of the house. He had impeded him, Father Bagatta, from going to a certain devotion, although other priests had always been accustomed to go wherever they wanted. Father Pidou had imposed upon him the obligation to request permission each time he wanted to go out of the house, something which had never before been practiced in that seminary¹³⁰.

It is difficult to tell how many of the above accusations were true. They probably were not communicated to Father Pidou by the Prop. Fide. In his letters, no reference is made to the accusations. He complained at this time only that Father Bagatta showed aversion to the mission at Lviv, and did not wish to learn or even hear Armenian spoken. The Armenians reciprocated with the same hatred, and neither they, nor their clergy, nor the Poles, nor the few Italians there could stand Father Bagatta.

The inconveniences of this matter were great, and quite detrimental to the seminary. Father Pidou therefore on May 8, 1671, requested

¹³⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 15-19: Father Bagatta to Prop. Fide (1671, April 9 and 17).

permission for Father Bagatta to return, calling him inexperienced, adding that the best way to obtain the union of the Armenians in time was to strengthen the seminary of Lviv, and to send Theatines who were good subjects, and not malcontents and troublemakers, who sought nothing but to acquit themselves with a little meagre service, and who cared nothing for the Armenians and Armenia.

Finally, Father Pidou asked permission for himself and his companion to say mass in Armenian, as much to win the good will of the Armenians as to perfect themselves in the language, and in another letter of July 23, 1671, he asked to be able to go to Rome to represent the state of the seminary, after which he would either return to Lviv or go to another assignment, it being impossible to obtain any conclusive results through letters or through the procurator. He also promised not to leave Lviv without having settled things in good order under the direction of the nuncio. Besides, Father Bagatta was preparing for the journey, and when he, hated by all, was out of the way, domestic matters would be better adjusted¹³¹.

Eight years later another complaint was sent, this time from Father Jerome Bossi. Father Bossi had gone to Lviv in 1671 to replace Father Bagatta and stayed in Lviv for nearly eight years, the last seven as vice-rector of the seminary. In 1678, when Nuncio Martelli came to Lviv to visit the seminary, Father Bossi presented all his reasons and motives to him, and requested and obtained permission to return to Italy. Setting out on the voyage and not knowing when he would arrive, he wrote a letter to the general curia of the Theatines. In this letter he reported that after all these years of service he believed himself obligated in conscience to inform them of what was going on at the seminary, and that he felt that it was totally necessary to give the government of the seminary to another superior who would be capable of the task, or else to close it. He then gave his reasons.

In the thirteen years after the death of Father Galano under Father Pidou, it did not seem that any progress had been made to bring back the Armenians in great numbers to the union, and that those few who called themselves Catholic, had shown and were still showing themselves against the seminary, which was an evident sign that they were not true Catholics, when they did not accept so holy a work.

None of the students going out held the seminary in any great affection, or the fathers who directed it, but usually were the most

¹³¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 22, f. 21-26.

contrary and the first to subvert the people, insinuating to them that the Theatines worked at Lviv to usurp the properties of the Armenians and to establish their congregation there. This opposition of the former students proved that, with his partiality, Father Pidou had given many of them cause not to care for him, and that those to whom he had shown himself most partial, knowing that he did so through an inordinate desire always to dominate and command them even after their departure, finished by turning their backs not only on him but on all other Theatines as well.

For the eight years that the seminary was outside the city, Father Pidou had never made arrangements for the students to hear mass every day in the private chapel, or at least to recite the little office of the Blessed Mother or some other devotion, except for the examination of conscience which was made twice a day.

Father Pidou had introduced the abuse of lodging visitors at the seminary, to the great inconvenience and detriment of the students. The fathers had to change rooms almost every week to accommodate the visitors, and the students were sent to the city in the service of the same.

Father Pidou took too much liberty in licensing students who had not yet finished their studies, and in the many years of his direction, had still not composed any fixed regulations for the seminary nor established hours for study or other things concerning the order of life in the seminary.

Father Pidou permitted the students with the greatest facility to go out almost every day without any necessity, either accompanied or alone. The instructors frequently were not able to hold classes because of the absence of the students from the house, and for the same reason the students never knew their lessons. Some of them had stayed at the seminary for ten years without finishing the required studies. He made the students lose time by teaching them the least necessary languages, such as Turkish, French, Spanish and Greek. None of them had any proficiency in these languages, because just as they began to make some progress, he left that language and began another.

In speaking to outsiders, Father Pidou did nothing but discredit all the instructors, saying that they were ignorant persons of little spirit, and that the Theatine religious did not have subjects suitable to such office, and that they did nothing but nag one another, and fight like cats and dogs. Speaking against the Theatines, he expressed

the opinion that the government of the seminary should be given to the Fathers of the French Missions or to the Jesuits.

The nuncio, after his visit, had given Father Pidou necessary regulations to be followed in the seminary, both for the fathers and for the students. Instead of following these regulations, Father Pidou had stirred up all the students, so that they agreed to go together to the nuncio before he left Lviv, and demand permission all together to leave the seminary, he at their head taking their part. This manner of acting displeased the nuncio extremely, and he answered that to the rector belonged the obligation of following the regulations. After the departure of the nuncio, Father Pidou aroused the people, and it was only thanks to the prudence of Father Bonesana that the business came out tranquilly.

At the end of his relation, Father Bossi wrote that if Father Pidou remained it would be difficult to put things in order, because his nature did not know how to obey, but only to command, having begun to command immediately after only two or three years in religion. He himself had expressed before listeners at the nunciature, that he was not accustomed to obey as a subject, but rather to command as a superior, and pretended that the nuncio was not able to give him any regulations¹³².

How many and which of these accusations were true, one cannot say. Explanations on the part of Father Pidou are missing, so the accusations probably were not sent to the Prop. Fide from the general curia of the Theatines. Father Pidou was simply removed from the rectorship by administrative means. The request for his removal and for his replacement by Father Bonesana was made to the Theatine superior general because of the volubility of his character, and possibly because of other things not acceptable to the Armenians¹³³. Nuncio Martelli, in the report of his visit gives little information on the internal life of the seminary. He only objected to Father Pidou, saying that he did not know how to get along with his instructors, and that he, the nuncio, seeing abuses in the seminary, had needed to give the above mentioned regulations. The nuncio was a priori

¹³² AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Report of Father Bossi to Theatine Curia (1678, July 27).

¹³³ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Superior General of the Theatines to Prop. Fide (1678); APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 471, f. 339: The Procurator General of the Theatines to the Prop. Fide (1678).

not in favor of Father Pidou. The conclusion of his report says that it was necessary that the administration of the seminary remain in the hands of regular religious immediately subject to the Holy See. These religious should be chosen, as far as possible, from the provinces closest to Rome, to stimulate greater response to their obligations, and to make it easier to constrain them to render account of their operations. Especially the rector should be from those provinces closest to Rome¹³⁴. The Prop. Fide, without making any inquiry, appointed Father Bonesana as rector, and gave Father Pidou orders to leave Lviv and to set out immediately for his province¹³⁵.

In making any judgement of Father Pidou, it is necessary to make a distinction in considering him first as a priest and then as a superior. As a priest, he was a man of missionary zeal and sacrifice; as a true and proper superior for organizing and directing a new seminary, he was too young and idealistic, having been appointed rector at twenty eight years of age, and without experience. He perhaps lacked practical sense, so that part of the resulting defects could have been true, but Father Bossi exaggerated greatly.

The regulations of the nuncio were composed of seven points:

- 1) Mass was to be said every day in the seminary.
- 2) No one but the students were to be lodged at the seminary.
- 3) Students were not to be received or licensed without the knowledge of the nuncio.
- 4) Students on entering the seminary were to take the oath not to leave before having finished the studies of philosophy and theology in both languages.
- 5) Studies were to have determined hours.
- 6) Boarders were not to be received in the seminary.
- 7) A conference was to be held each week¹³⁶.

Notwithstanding all this, the qualities of Father Pidou as a priest and as a missionary of zeal later came to be recognized. He was sent to a mission in the Near East, and in the July of 1687 was promoted by Pope Innocent XI to the archiepiscopal see of Babylonia. He died at Aspaham on November 20, 1717¹³⁷.

¹³⁴ APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 471, f. 321-323: Report of the Nuncio (1678, July 17).

¹³⁵ APF, *Lettere*, t. 67, f. 78: Prop. Fide to Father Pidou (1678, Dec. 8).

¹³⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 48, f. 233-234 (1678, Dec. 8).

¹³⁷ VEZZOSI A.F., *I scrittori de' Chierici Regolari...*, t. 2, p. 182; PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 308, fn. 6.

CHAPTER III
PONTIFICAL ARMENIAN SEMINARY: THE SECOND PERIOD
(1678-1709)

ART. 1
RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

After the departure of Father Pidou from Lviv, only two Theatines remained in the seminary, the rector, Father Bonesana, and an instructor, Father Pezzuoli. The nuncio requested the Prop. Fide to send at least one new instructor, as Father Bonesana could not take care of all the needs of the seminary with only one instructor, even governing it with the utmost application and prudence¹. This request was not a new one. The Theatines had already in the year before requested an instructor from the Prop. Fide. Father Cajetan Cavaglieri was proposed as instructor, and a professed laybrother from Bavaria as a servant. The Prop. Fide consented², and Father Cavaglieri went to Lviv in 1678. There is no record whether the laybrother went or not. At the end of the year 1680, Father Bonesana requested the Prop. Fide that Father Anthony Bonomi, living at that time in Bavaria, be sent to Lviv, and obtained him³. In the June of 1681, Father Bonesana was asked that Father John Baptist Rubbi be allowed to return to Lviv, although for reasons of health he had previously had to leave there⁴. So in 1681/82 there were at the seminary besides Father Bonasana, the instructors Fathers Cavaglieri, Bonomi, Pezzuoli and Rubbi⁵, as well as a secular Armenian priest, Father James De Gregoris. This last, after

¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 50, f. 27-28 (1680, Jan. 23).

² APF, *Acta*, t. 49, f. 151 (1679, June 26).

³ APF, *Acta*, t. 51, f. 28 (1681, Jan. 28); APF, *Lettere*, t. 70, f. 10: Prop. Fide to Father Bonesana (1681, Jan. 28).

⁴ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Annotations (1681).

⁵ IBIDEM, portfolio 1: Father Cavaglieri to Father Ferri (1682, May 28).

an unsuccessful trip to the Near East, returned to the seminary in 1680⁶.

Relations between the new rector and the instructors, and among the instructors themselves, were not of the best⁷. As a consequence, the rector had them changed. Father Rubbi actually had come to replace Father Pezzuoli. Records about Father Bonomi are lacking, but he probably left Lviv in 1682/83. In 1683, Father Bonesana requested authorization from the Prop. Fide to send Fathers Cavaglieri and Rubbi back to Italy, in view of the indisposition of the first and the small ability of the second, and since both were of more trouble than use to the seminary. In their place he asked for another two, and was promised them by the secretary of the Prop. Fide, Odoardo Cybo⁸.

Father Rubbi was recalled from Lviv in 1683⁹. In 1684, Nuncio Opizio Pallavicini petitioned the Prop. Fide to replace Father Cavaglieri with a person fit to be future superior. The nuncio felt sure that Father Bonesana would be promoted, on account of the merit he had acquired during the difficult time of war between John Sobieski, king of Poland, and the Turks. The nuncio had not found a subject more able and faithful, and he wrote that the Holy See might reward him. Reviewing the superiors of the congregation, the superior general proposed Father Sebastian Accorsi of Parma, aged thirty four years, and a subject of much virtue, a good preacher of the highest quality who was approved by the Prop. Fide¹⁰.

Father Accorsi did not go to Lviv until 1685¹¹. Father John Paul Saraceni probably went in 1686/87, and Father Joseph Gandolfi in 1687¹², the same year in which Father Cavaglieri left¹³. In 1690, the procurator general of the Theatines proposed Father Anthony Diolaiti of Bologna and Father Amadeus Hamilton of Germany, who were approved by the Prop. Fide¹⁴.

⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 50, f. 128 (1680, April 30).

⁷ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 1: Father Cavaglieri to Father Ferri (1682, May 28).

⁸ APF, *Lettere*, t. 72, f. 197: Prop. Fide to Father Bonesana (1683, Aug. 21).

⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 53, f. 196 (1683, Sept. 28).

¹⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 54, f. 153-155 (1684, Nov. 14).

¹¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 55, f. 1-2 (1685, Jan. 8).

¹² APF, *Acta*, t. 57, f. 81 (1687, June 16).

¹³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 29, f. 332: Relazione (1687, April 8).

¹⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 60, f. 162 (1690, July 3).

In 1691, Father Bonesana was promoted to the episcopal see of Caiazzo. The Prop. Fide gave him permission to leave Lviv and assigned Father Accorsi to the position of rector¹⁵. After the departure of Father Bonesana, the seminary continued under the new rector without any essential change. The instructors at this time were Father Joseph Mary Gandolfi and Father Anthony Diolaiti, who had come to Lviv in 1690. Father Amadeus Hamilton had been assigned to Lviv at the same time as Father Diolaiti, but there is no record whether he went or not. Father Gandolfi left Lviv in 1692¹⁶, and at the same time Father Maximilian Wratislaw came¹⁷, but the latter, on account of his health had to leave, Father Gandolfi returning to take his place¹⁸. In 1695, Father Stephen Trombetti was approved for Lviv¹⁹. In 1698, at the suggestion of Father Accorsi, Father Diolaiti received permission to return to Italy, and in 1700 Father Gandolfi was no longer found at the seminary. So, from 1700 until 1704, Father Accorsi was left with only one instructor, Father Trombetti. On September 2, 1704, Lviv was captured by the Swedes. The plague struck, and the rector succumbed to it on October 27th. After his death, Father Trombetti remained at the seminary alone²⁰, and assumed the direction of the seminary himself. There were only two students at this time, the others having been sent home to avoid the pestilence. Father Trombetti called Father Nicholas Apro시오, who was in Warsaw. This priest did not know whether to go to Lviv, or to remain in Warsaw, where it was also feared that the plague might spread, and asked the Prop. Fide what to do. He was ordered to go to the seminary²¹, and at the proposition of the nuncio, on January 12, 1705 was named rector²².

After his appointment, Father Apro시오 failed in his duty and did not go to Lviv, in order to avoid contracting the pestilence, and for fear of contagion did not even want anything to be written to him

¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 61, f. 41 (1691, July 30).

¹⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 70, f. 106 (1700, April 26) and f. 165 (June 14).

¹⁷ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Father Wratislaw to Father Cruciani (1692, Sept. 20).

¹⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 64, f. 100 (1694, June 22) and f. 189 (Oct. 5).

¹⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 65, f. 209 (1695, Sept. 6) and f. 262-263 (Dec. 20).

²⁰ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Father Trombetti to Curia of the Theatines (1704, Oct. 29).

²¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 74, f. 293 (1704, Dec. 16).

²² APF, *Acta*, t. 75, f. 10 (1705, Jan. 12).

from there. He wrote to the Armenians, requesting that they not send an answer to avoid danger of possible contagion²³.

The various defects of Father Apro시오 began to be apparent at Lviv, and several people wrote to Rome against him. As far as Father Trombetti knew, the Armenians wrote three times, Bishop Šumlanskyj of Lviv wrote twice and Bishop Vynnyckyj of Peremyšl wrote once. The Armenian clergy also wrote so as not to have Father Apro시오 as rector²⁴. The Armenians, not having any response from Rome, began to talk of not sending their sons to the seminary, saying to Father Trombetti's face that there were also Jesuits who taught. Father Trombetti himself was very upset by Father Apro시오's conduct. In the August of 1705, he complained that it was already a year that he had been in Lviv alone, without having seen the face of the new rector. He had taught the classes and directed the seminary without writing any letter for five months to Father Apro시오, having received orders from him not to write for fear of infecting him with the plague²⁵.

In the meantime, Father Apro시오 had gone together with the nuncio to Dresden in Saxony, where the court of Warsaw was residing, and was not in the least preoccupied with the seminary. He justified his tardiness in coming to Lviv by saying that he had received orders from the Prop. Fide not to go there until the dangerous period was over²⁶. In reply to this, Father Trombetti wrote to Rome that he had the right to save his life as well as Father Apro시오, but that he had been left for a year and a half alone, and that for fifteen months Father Apro시오 had been rector without coming to Lviv, and without even notifying the Armenians and the bishops of his appointment, as former rectors had done. Even worse, he had not sent a response to the bishops who had spontaneously rejoiced with him on his appointment²⁷.

Finally, after a little over a year and a half, Father Apro시오 resigned his position, without ever having gone to Lviv, and returned the document sent to him on January 12, 1705. Presenting this to the Prop. Fide, the procurator of the Theatine Missions proposed Father Trombetti in his place, and the Prop. Fide appointed him as rector²⁸.

²³ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Father Trombetti to Curia of the Theatines (1705, June 3).

²⁴ IBIDEM, portfolio 2 (1705, July 15).

²⁵ IBIDEM, portfolio 2 (1705, August 19).

²⁶ IBIDEM, portfolio 2 (1706, Feb. 24).

²⁷ IBIDEM, portfolio 2 (1706).

²⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 76, f. 248 (1706, Sept. 6).

The first preoccupation of the new rector was to obtain instructors from Rome²⁹. He had been alone there for almost two years. Immediately after the death of Father Accorsi he had requested instructors, but had not obtained them, the question of Father Aproso not having been settled yet. Early in 1706, the procurator of missions had received word that there was a young German in Germany who would be suitable for the seminary at Lviv. Father Trombetti said that he would leave the matter up to the prudence of the procurator, but pointed out that men in Poland drank to the point of violence and brutality, and that Germans easily did the same as Poles. He wrote that there had once been a German at the seminary, but he had remained only a year. Father Accorsi had dispatched him with the intention of never again inviting Germans to the seminary. The same went for Neapolitans and Sicilians, because they did not wish to work, fearing to lose their rank of nobility by performing those services which were necessary for the good running of the seminary³⁰. The procurator then proposed Fathers Cajetan and Innocent Mary Avogadro, blood brothers, one aged twenty seven years and the other twenty nine³¹, and also Father Vincent Mary Guarnieri. The Avogadro brothers became ill³², so only Father Guarnieri came to Lviv in the June of 1708³³. In the same year the Prop. Fide approved another Theatine, Father Joseph Anthony Schlitz of Bavaria³⁴, but Father Trombetti objected that he would not be suited for Lviv³⁵ and so he remained in Austria, returning the money for the voyage³⁶.

ART. 2

HOUSE, INCOME AND EXPENSES

In leaving the seminary, Father Pidou had not yet terminated the business of transferring the ownership of the house of Holy Cross. The new rector, Father Bonesana, had tried to bring the matter to

²⁹ IBIDEM, t. 76, f. 334 (1706, Dec. 20).

³⁰ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Father Trombetti to Curia of the Theatines (1706).

³¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 77, f. 90 (1707, March 28).

³² APF, *Acta*, t. 78, f. 97-98 (1708, Feb. 6).

³³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 223: Nuncio Spinola to Prop. Fide (1708, June 9).

³⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 78, f. 406 (1708, June 25).

³⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 79, f. 312 (1709, July 1).

³⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 348-349 (1710, Aug. 18) and f. 445 (Nov. 10).

completion, but the consuls withheld their consent, although he had proposed the condition that the house would be returned to the Armenians in case the seminary ceased to exist³⁷. The formulation of the definitive transfer was compiled by Father Bonesana, corrected by Nuncio Opizio Pallavicini and approved by the Prop. Fide³⁸. The nuncio presented it to the Armenians, bringing to their attention that in all justice, and because of the gratitude they owed to the Holy See for all the daily signs of paternal charity they received, it was fitting that they would subscribe to the concession in the proposed formulation.

After much hesitation, the nuncio also put forth the threat that the Prop. Fide, seeing ingratitude on their part, might resolve to suppress the seminary³⁹. The consuls finally signed on December 26, 1681, with the condition that they concede the house and surroundings to the Prop. Fide only for the studies of Armenian youth, and that if at any future time the seminary should be suppressed, all would be restored to them, without any obligation to repay the Prop. Fide for expenses incurred in the repair of the house⁴⁰.

According to experts who visited the building, there was need to make repairs of the house, and the nuncio was informed of this. He wrote to the Prop. Fide and obtained 350 scudi for this purpose⁴¹. After this restoration, the house remained without essential change or addition for thirty five years.

During all of this time the economic condition of the seminary remained without change. The tables of income and expenses, sent by Father Bonesana to Rome, give an idea of this state. The income was always the same, 353 gold scudi per year sent by the Prop. Fide. The expenses were more or less equal to the income. Records show that the expenses were divided into food, clothing, furnishings, servants, wood, repairs, infirmary and miscellaneous. The greatest expense was always for food, then for clothing and furnishings⁴². Outside of the or-

³⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 51, f. 28 (1681, Jan. 28); APF, *Lettere*, t. 70, f. 10: Prop. Fide to Father Bonesana (1681, Jan. 28).

³⁸ APF, *Lettere*, t. 70, f. 70-71: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Pallavicini (1681, Aug. 11).

³⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 52, f. 155-156 (1682, June 13).

⁴⁰ APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 484, f. 286: The document of transfer (1681, Dec. 26); PETROWICZ G., *L'Unione degli Armeni...*, p. 323.

⁴¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 52, f. 122 (1682, May 5).

⁴² To give an idea of the expenses, below is a copy of the expenses for 1689 and 1699 in "aurei-floreni-grossi":

In victum	184a.	10f.	9g.	197a.	—f.	3g.
Vestitum	77	1	19	60	13	17

dinary expenses, special expenses were recorded three times during the rectorship of Father Bonesana. The first was for 50 gold scudi to liquidate the debt remaining from the time of Father Pidou's rectorship⁴³. The second was for 350 gold scudi as mentioned above in 1682⁴⁴, and the third was for 100 scudi in 1683⁴⁵ for the reconstruction of the house of the seminary. In 1704, during the rectorship of Father Accorsi, Charles XII of Sweden became ruler of Lviv. On September 2nd of that year the Swedes occupied the city, and Father Accorsi was forced to make an extraordinary expenditure of 300 talers required of the seminary to help pay a contribution imposed on the city of Lviv. He paid this 300 talers hoping that the city would reimburse him. A legal request was made, but Father Trombetti ended up asking the Prop. Fide for the sum⁴⁶. The matter was referred to the nuncio for more information, but records are lacking as to the outcome.

At this time there were four servants at the seminary, a cook and cook's helper, a doorkeeper, and a porter to carry wood and make the beer⁴⁷.

ART. 3

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE SEMINARY

According to references by Father Bonesana himself, the first months of his rectorship were rather difficult on account of the introduction of the oath, to which none wanted to consent, so that the number of students was not settled until after several months. In addition, the archbishop made opposition to the seminary, and commanded the Armenians not to send their sons there under grave penalty, promising

Suppelletilem	32	1	7	49	2	—
Famulos	29	1	10	27	6	17
Ligna	19	8	14	11	—	17
Reparationes	4	5	11	5	10	15
Infirmos	7	1	12	2	9	6
Varia	—	—	—	8	—	15

APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 176 (1689) and f. 206 (1699).

⁴³ APF, *Acta*, t. 51, f. 219-221 (1681, July 15).

⁴⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 52, f. 122 (1682, May 5).

⁴⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 53, f. 104-105 (1683, May 31).

⁴⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 75, f. 65 (1705, March 2) and t. 76, f. 66-67 (1706, March 15).

⁴⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 176 and 206; AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: *Catalogus Personarum* (1680 and 1689).

his countrymen in consequence to suppress the seminary and get rid of the missionaries. These orders of the archbishop were not of any great import. He made his decisions without reflection, and was an unstable, impetuous, and often deceitful man⁴⁸.

After some months, the controversy was settled and the state of the seminary improved. Nuncio Francis Martelli wrote that he would be in Lviv in the August of 1679 and would visit the seminary. After the visit he wrote in general terms that it was in a better state than that in which he had found it in the preceding year. There were twelve students in the seminary, three of whom were sons of the Armenian consuls of Lviv, and two were nephews, something which never would have happened in times past. The consuls, in their offices for life, had at first constantly impeded their own sons or relatives from entering the seminary.

In his report to the Prop. Fide, the nuncio observed that these same Armenians were shrewd enough to see that his orders given in the previous year had served to give dignity to the seminary, and to make it advantageous to have their sons and nephews educated there, so they had ceased their opposition. The nuncio noted that now all of the students at admission took the prescribed oath not to leave until they had completed their studies in philosophy and theology in Latin and Armenian, and until they had the license from the nuncio. The best understanding now existed between the Theatines and the Armenians, the nuncio remarked, as well as between the Theatines and the archbishop, who not only would now promote students to holy orders without an examination when they were approved by the rector of the seminary, but even had permitted that his own house be used every week for conferences concerning cases of conscience, with the participation of all the Armenian clergy.

The leaders of the Armenians had expressed the desire to send their sons to the seminary as boarders, promising to pay in advance every three months. The nuncio presented the request for this permission to the Prop. Fide, giving as reason that these Armenians, being received as boarders, would be better instructed in the faith, and more devoted to the Holy See, if they were educated at the seminary⁴⁹. The Prop. Fide approved⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Catalogus Personarum (1679).

⁴⁹ APF, *Congr. Gen.*, t. 477, f. 150: Nuncio Martelli to Prop. Fide (1679, Aug. 30).

⁵⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 50, f. 27-28 (1680, Jan. 23).

In 1679 and thereafter, all new students on entering the seminary took the oath not to leave before having finished their studies, and before obtaining the permission of the nuncio. Up until 1687 there was no question of any other oath than this. The reason given for this was that such had been the wish of an Armenian bishop who had died in Spain, leaving a pious legacy to be used for the instruction of Armenian youth in letters and true dogmas of the Catholic faith, without any obligation of oath⁵¹. The Armenians of Lviv did not know the name of this bishop, because mention is made only in a general way, but he could only have been Bishop Cittadini, whose collected money had been applied in 1663 to the foundation of the seminary of Lviv, as previously mentioned on p. 110-121.

In 1687, Father Bonesana mentioned this fact to the Prop. Fide, who responded that it was news to them that no other obligation was required from the students of the pontifical seminary of Lviv. Whence they wrote to him, that to avoid any future disorder, they wished and asked that he require all the students to take the oath according to the formula prescribed by the Prop. Fide, and that if any of them refused, they should be dismissed from the seminary, exception being made for the moment for those who were being supported by the said legacy of the Armenian bishop, about which the Prop. Fide did not know what to say. They gave orders for the rector to send to Rome a copy of this legacy, so that they could consider the conditions expressed in it⁵². It is not to be found in the archives of the Prop. Fide whether the matter was ever examined, or if the copy was ever sent.

After receiving the order to require the students to take this oath, the rector did not follow it. He wrote to the Prop. Fide that, although he was not obeying this order, it seemed worthy of reflection that there was danger that the students could refuse, and in such case, he would have to dismiss them. Meanwhile, they were already in theology, and the Armenian church had need for new priests. In deferring the oath until the entrance of new students, he wrote, it could be introduced without misunderstanding and uproar among the Armenian people. Until then, he continued, there had never been any order concerning the oath. On the contrary, the nuncio had once ordered him not to introduce any novelty in the oath, in conformity with the thought

⁵¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 57, f. 126-127 (1687, Aug. 4).

⁵² APF, *Lettere*, t. 76, f. 41: Prop. Fide to Father Bonesana (1687, Aug. 4).

of the Prop. Fide⁵³. To oblige those who were already actually in the seminary would be to run the risk of seeing everyone leave. These would finish their studies in three years, and the new students, at the time of their reception, could be required to take the oath without harm or danger⁵⁴, and so it was done.

Without any later decisions of the Prop. Fide, the rector began to require the oath which was taken by the students of other pontifical seminaries of the Prop. Fide, but he required it only of incoming students. On March 3, 1688, two new students took the oath, which he signed and sent to Rome.

According to the prescribed formula of the oath, the student promised from that time on to observe all the rules and constitutions of the seminary according to the explanations of the superiors, and swore not to enter any religious order or congregation without special permission of the Holy See or of the Prop. Fide, and if it so pleased the Prop. Fide, to receive holy orders and dedicate himself to pastoral work in his own province, and that this oath would be observed according to the declaration made to the Prop. Fide and according to the document of July 20, 1660⁵⁵.

During all this time the number of students remained at about ten. At times more are recorded in the lists. In the list of 1680 there are fifteen indicated, and in 1689 fourteen, but this is due to the fact that this number includes older students who studied in the first part of the year but then left, having finished their studies, as well as the new students who came in the summer to replace those who had left. Of the six who finished their studies and left the seminary in 1689, four were twenty three years of age, one was twenty two and one was twenty. Of these one had been at the seminary for ten years, two for nine years, two for eight years, and one for seven years. Of those remaining at the end of the year 1689, there was one student who was seventeen, two who were sixteen, one who was fourteen, two who were thirteen and one who was eleven⁵⁶. According to the list of 1699, there were nine students, of whom one was twenty, three were sixteen, one was fifteen, two were thirteen and one was twelve. Two of these had entered the seminary in 1696, five in 1697 and two in 1698⁵⁷.

⁵³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 170: Father Bonesana to Prop. Fide (1687, Oct. 18).

⁵⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 58, f. 96-97 (1688, May 4).

⁵⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 172-173: Oaths (1688, March 3).

⁵⁶ *IBIDEM*, t. 1, f. 176: *Catalogus Personarum* (1689).

⁵⁷ *IBIDEM*, t. 1, f. 206 (1699).

Among the students are recorded some who were very young, so that in 1690 the question arose concerning the oath of those who were not yet of the age of fourteen. Father Bonesana wrote to the Prop. Fide that, having some scruples, he had them take it with the consent of their parents, and with the intention of making ratification when they were the age of fourteen, as prescribed by the Holy See. He explained that he took them because of the achievement they promised, and because of the difficulty of finding others with such good potential.

The response of the Prop. Fide was sent to the new rector, Father Accorsi. It was that students younger than twelve years of age should not be admitted, and that for those younger than fourteen, the rector should receive the oath of their relatives, until the students could confirm it themselves when they arrived at the prescribed age⁵⁸.

There was not a termination date for entry into the seminary⁵⁹. The list of 1689 indicates the date of each student's entry and there are diverse days of the various months of January, March, June, July, August, September and October⁶⁰. There is only very little recorded about the internal life of the seminary during the time of Father Bonesana. In the morning there were three hours of classes, and school was also after dinner. Classes were held every day except for Armenian feasts, which were fewer than in the Latin rite at that time, and every Thursday was free. The Theatines took turns by week saying mass for the students. Whoever was not saying mass at the seminary went every day into the city to celebrate mass in the Latin church of Lviv, because of the stipend they received. Some, frequently lacking mass intentions, like Father Cavaglieri, tried to obtain them from Rome from the procurator of missions⁶¹.

In 1681, a complaint against Father Bonesana was sent to the Prop. Fide, with the information that the instructors were treated as equals to the youths and students of the seminary, to the detriment of their health, and without any regard as to the diversity of their constitutions, as to the climate, and as to the work they were doing. The Prop. Fide answered by a letter to Father Bonesana, to the effect that he should have some consideration for the instructors by giving them the benefit of some differentiation in the quality of food, as had

⁵⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 81, f. 84-86 (1691, Oct. 8).

⁵⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 176, 180, 181, 184, 185, 190, 196, 203, 206.

⁶⁰ IBIDEM, t. 1, f. 176.

⁶¹ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Father Cavaglieri to Father Ferri, Procurator of the Theatine Missions (1681, Feb. 13 and 1682, Oct. 23).

been done by Father Galano, founder of the seminary, and as was the practice universally in distant countries, as well as by the Theatines themselves⁶².

In 1688, the nuncio paid a visit to the seminary and found everything in order. He wrote to Rome, informing them that the students lived in exact discipline, and were deriving notable profit under the zealous direction of the Theatine fathers⁶³.

A visit to the seminary was ordered in 1699 by the pope, on the proposition of the Prop. Fide, and orders were sent to Nuncio John Baptist Davia and to the Latin and Armenian archbishops of Lviv. In the meantime, the Latin archbishop, Constantine Lipski, died, and the nuncio asked the Prop. Fide if it was necessary to wait for the election of his successor, since the seminary was really for the Armenians, who had their own archbishop, independent of the Latins. Also, between the archbishops there was always some difference in matters of jurisdiction. At the suggestion of the Prop. Fide, the pope gave orders that the visit be made only by the Armenian archbishop, Vartan Hunanian⁶⁴. There is no record of whether the visit was made or not.

In the time of the rectorship of Father Accorsi the question of communicating was raised. The Armenian Synod in the time of Nuncio Cardinal Cantelmi ordered that from then on, Armenians should communicate only in their own churches and under both species. Although this directive had never been confirmed or published by the synod, the students were sent on feasts to receive communion in their own churches. Because of the great distance of the seminary from the city, many times, especially in winter, it happened that the students could not be sent, so that they were deprived of communion. Therefore, Father Accorsi requested the Prop. Fide to declare that in such cases the students could communicate as before, under one specie instead of two, from Latin rite priests in the seminary. The Prop. Fide referred the matter to the Holy Office⁶⁵, who gave no answer. A short time later, Father Trombetti asked that a plenary indulgence could be given in the chapel of the seminary on the feast and octave of Saint Cajetan, on account of the great number of people coming there on those occasions, since Saint Cajetan had been elected as pro-

⁶² APF, *Lettere*, t. 70, f. 29-30: Prop. Fide to Father Bonesana (1681, May 17).

⁶³ APF, *Acta*, t. 59, f. 83 (1689, March 21).

⁶⁴ APF, *Udienze*, t. 3, f. 222 (1699, March 24).

⁶⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 73, f. 86 (1703, March 26).

tector of the city⁶⁶. In 1708, the former request of Father Accorsi was repeated, that in view of the location of the seminary outside of the city so far from their own churches, the Armenian students be allowed to communicate during winter in the chapel of the seminary, under only one specie, as was permitted to the Armenian students of the Jesuit school, and to other Armenians who frequented Latin rite churches. The request for the indulgence was sent to the nuncio for more information, and that concerning communion to the Holy Office⁶⁷. Records are lacking as to the outcome. Probably no decision was reached.

Celibacy had already been introduced at this time. Father Trombetti wrote to the general curia of the Theatines in 1705, that none of the students leaving the seminary were being married, to the edification of the Armenian people, who already felt repugnance for priests with wives, whereas such had not been the case before⁶⁸. The fruit of the labor of the Theatines was truly remarkable at this time. The Armenians, wrote Nuncio Cardinal Denhoff in 1688, had a clergy that the Latins could well envy⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 76, f. 66-67 (1706, March 15); APF, *Udienze*, t. 3, f. 592 (1706, March 22).

⁶⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 78, f. 133-135 (1708, Feb. 28).

⁶⁸ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Information of Father Trombetti (1705).

⁶⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 29, f. 340-343 (1688, March 15).

CHAPTER IV
UKRAINIAN AND ARMENIAN SEMINARIES
IN THE ARMENIAN HOUSE
(1709-1740)

ART. 1

ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A UKRAINIAN SEMINARY IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The need of a seminary for secular clergy was constantly felt by the hierarchy of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv. A first seminary had been started at Vilno in 1601 by Metropolitan Ipatij Potij (1600-1613), but was not of long duration. His successor, Joseph Rutskyj (1613-1637), on September 7, 1626 convoked a synod at Kobryn to discuss, among other things, the question of this seminary¹. At that time, Bielorussia belonged to the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, therefore he called both the Ukrainian and the Bielorussian bishops and archimandrites. They decided to found one common seminary for the whole metropolitanate. For this purpose, they gave part of their income, which amounted to about 14,000 Roman scudi. To this sum the Prop. Fide added 1,000 Roman scudi, which had been promised the previous year², when Metropolitan Rutskyj had discussed the matter with Rome. With the collected money, the village of Usiaz was bought. The seminary was opened at Minsk in 1653, but ceased to exist after only two and a half years, because the buildings were destroyed in 1655 during the war between the Muscovites and Poles³. The village of Usiaz was so devastated that, according to the statement of Metropolitan Žochovskyj, it could not provide more than about 10 Roman scudi

¹ WAP, t. 1, p. 32, no. 43 (1625, Aug. 22).

² WAP, t. 2, p. 66, no. 615 (1678, Jan. 17).

³ PRASZKO I., *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica*, Rome 1944, p. 32-36.

annually. Because of the closing of the seminary, the village was taken over by the metropolitans of Kyjiv for their own use ⁴.

Pope Urban VIII and his brother, Cardinal of S. Onofrio, desired a seminary for the metropolitanate of Kyjiv to be opened in Rome. For this purpose in 1639, the church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome was assigned to the Basilian Order or the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, but because of the war and the premature death of Cardinal of S. Onofrio, the foundation was not effected ⁵.

In the years 1678-1688, an attempt was made to erect a seminary at Jaroslav in the diocese of Peremyśl. Because the properties of the diocese were occupied by a non-Catholic bishop, Innocent Vynnyckyj, the bishop of Peremyśl, John Malachovskyj, was without money, but was able to find help. The Latin rite canon of Lviv, Father Szachnowicz, promised a house at Jaroslav and a village yielding 2,000 florins yearly. The founders had the idea that the seminary should be under the direction of the Theatine fathers, and contact was made with the Theatines at Lviv, who took the matter to heart. Father Cavaglieri, vice-rector of the Armenian Pontifical Seminary of Lviv, took possession of the house at Jaroslav in the name of the Prop. Fide. An unidentified devoted person donated 100 unghari for the erection of a chapel in honor of St. Cajetan in the seminary. The Chapter of Krakow promised Nuncio Pallavicini a subsidy for the seminary, once something definite was under way ⁶.

Father Cavaglieri went to Rome with the letter of presentation from the nuncio, and espoused the cause to the Prop. Fide. To undertake the foundation of the seminary he proposed:

1) to repossess the Usiaz properties from the hands of the metropolitan, and apply them to the foundation of the seminary at Jaroslav;

2) to write a circular letter to all the bishops of the metropolitanate, inviting them to contribute help to facilitate the foundation;

3) to transfer a certain number of Ukrainian students maintained in other seminaries by subsidy from the Holy See, particularly from the seminary at Vilno, to the new seminary;

⁴ WCP, t. 1, p. 96, no. 51 (1687, April 18); WLP, t. 2, p. 181, no. 764: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Santa Croce (1691, Sept. 29); WEM, t. 3, p. 81-82, no. 50.

⁵ WAP, t. 2, p. 67, no. 615 (1678, Jan. 19).

⁶ WCP, t. 1, p. 95-99, no. 51 (1687, April 8); WSEU, t. 1, p. 284-291, no. 376-378.

4) to apply to the seminary a legacy of 20,000 florins, left by Ignatius Dubovyč in 1640 to the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, for four Basilian clerics, with the obligation that four annual masses would be said perpetually, and one mass said each year in the church of St. Lawrence. Up to this time this legacy had never been fulfilled.

Father Cavaglieri also presented to the Prop. Fide the benefits which would be derived from the foundation of the seminary.

First of all, the people would see that the education of their clergy was being cared for, and would grow in affection and devotion to the Holy See. The danger of students going to the Latin rite seminaries and changing rites would be eliminated. It would foster esteem for the clergy and the rite which was completely despised by the Latins. Many abuses would be removed, and the clergy would be educated, making them better able to care for souls. Finally travel and clothing expenses would be saved, because instead of going to foreign countries, the students would remain in their own homeland to study.

The Prop. Fide asked for the opinion of Nuncio Pallavicini on these matters and on possible difficulties in regard to the foundation, namely:

1) that the foundation of 3,000 florins was not sufficient, and for all the rest there were only promises;

2) that the place was not suitable, the better situated Vilno having been first proposed by the nuncio himself;

3) that the Theatines, being of Latin rite, would not be well accepted by the Ukrainian and Bielorrussian clergy and bishops.

The nuncio, because he was not in Rome, could not give his answer personally. According to his suggestion, Cardinal Denhoff made this response in his name, adding his own opinion.

The Theatines had an additional capital of 6,000 florins invested in Danzig, which yielded 300 florins annually, and also another sum at their disposal which yielded 210 florins annually. This amount should be enough to maintain them. It was proposed for the maintenance of the students to use the property at Usiaz, the possible legacy of Dubovyč, and the foundation promised by the Chapter of Krakow. As for Jaroslav, the place was very suitable and well situated, with good air, and in a section secure from enemies. The Eastern rite church where originally the bishop of Peremyšl had resided was found there, and the foundations for the projected building. As to whether the Theatines would be suitable, he answered that they had already

proved themselves among the Armenians, who now boasted of a clergy which the Latins could envy⁷. Besides, there was contribution and promise of contribution from those who desired the seminary to be governed by the Theatines. The Basilians could be considered as an alternative, but experience had demonstrated that those professed in monastic orders were inclined to form other monks instead of secular clerics. Besides, the cardinal added, there were other reasons against them⁸. Attesting to the importance and the advantages of the seminary, the cardinal wrote that he hoped for a positive decision, but none was forthcoming. The decision of the Prop. Fide was negative⁹.

Thus the Ukrainian clergy of the seventeenth century remained without the possibility of instruction. It is true that there were places assigned for the diocese of Kyjiv in the pontifical seminaries of Vilno, Braunsberg, Olomouc, Prague and Rome, but the Ukrainian secular clergy of the seventeenth century was not fortunate enough to study there. The Catholic secular clergy of Ukraine, most of whom were married, was excluded from ecclesiastical dignity and from the episcopal curia, and likewise from the pontifical seminaries.

In truth, good will was not lacking among the bishops, but for the erection of a seminary, good will was but small help. Where zeal is lacking, as a rule, good will and good propositions end up as merely good words. So it happened with several attempts on the part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv in the matter of a seminary.

ART. 2

FOUNDATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SEMINARY IN LVIV

In 1692, the entire diocese of Peremyśl accepted the jurisdiction of Rome. Bishop Innocent Vynnyckyj of Peremyśl petitioned the Holy See for the erection of a seminary in his diocese. The Prop. Fide sought the opinion of Nuncio Santacroce¹⁰. In the meanwhile, in 1700, the diocese of Lviv accepted the jurisdiction of Rome, and in 1702 the diocese of Luck. The rector of the Armenian pontifical semi-

⁷ WCP, t. 1, p. 103-105, no. 53 (1688, March 15).

⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 29, f. 370.

⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 29, f. 346.

¹⁰ WAP, t. 2, p. 143-145, no. 714 (1698, May 27).

nary of Lviv, Father Accorsi, then proposed the erection of a pontifical seminary in Lviv for the Ukrainians, and that the two be joined as one. The nuncio, however, proposed Warsaw for the Ukrainian seminary. It seemed to the Prop. Fide that the city of Lviv was suitable, and they decided on May 10, 1701 to request information of the nuncio as to the bishop's designated funds, and as to the possibility of future designated funds for the erection of the Ukrainian seminary at Lviv¹¹.

Nuncio Santacroce gave a favorable opinion and, to accelerate the erection of the seminary, contributed 2,000 florins of his own, so as not to lose the good occasion to purchase a site. The site was near the residence of the bishop, with a garden, healthful air, and separated from all neighboring habitation. The owner, a Ukrainian, was disposed to contribute something to the erection of the seminary, and agreed to sell it for the sum of 4,000 florins although, according to general evaluation, it was considered worth from 8,000 to 10,000 florins.

Father Accorsi made it known that many of the Polish nobles who occupied the land of Ukraine had promised to contribute to the foundation in order to have instructed priests for the churches of their patronage. Besides, wrote Father Accorsi, there was the amount left by Ignatius Dubovyč to the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, which still remained in the possession of the Discalced Carmelites, in spite of the decision of Rome and the willingness of the Basilian procurator to turn it over to the Prop. Fide for the erection of the seminary at Lviv. Likewise, the Usiaz property and the site donated some years before for a seminary at Jaroslav could be utilized. Finally, he added, there was the possibility of educating eight Armenians and four Ukrainians at the seminary, instead of twelve Armenians, and the two Ukrainian scholarships at Olomouc as well as those from the Collegio Urbano in Rome could be transferred to Lviv¹².

On January 9, 1702, the Prop. Fide charged Nuncio Pignatelli to accept the donations of the Polish nobles, to examine the question of the Dubovyč legacy¹³, to procure from the metropolitanate the property at Usiaz, and to check into the matter of the donation of Canon Szachnowicz for the seminary at Jaroslav. As for the Collegio Urbano,

¹¹ WAP, t. 2, p. 175, no. 740.

¹² WAP, t. 2, p. 182-186, no. 746 (1702, Jan. 9).

¹³ WAP, t. 2, p. 187, no. 747, no. 172: Joannes Dubovyč died in Rome in the Hospice Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. In his will he left 20,000 florins to the hospice.

the Prop. Fide referred back to the decree of January 7, 1696, according to which there were no places assigned for students of the diocese of Kyjiv, although at times, one might be admitted. Since this was in excess of the stated number of students, it could not be expected that another should fill his place when he left, or that it could be regarded as a regular place¹⁴ for transfer to Lviv.

The response of the nuncio was not good. The chief prospective donator, Princess Wisniowiecka, had changed her mind; promises of the Polish nobility had no great value because of the Polish facility of making promises and then not keeping them. The nuncio concluded that, for the erection of the seminary, there would be only his own donation of 2,000 florins and another 2,000 florins donated by his house servant, recently deceased, who had left the use of the sum to the discretion of the nuncio, only stipulating that a mass should be said annually for him on the feast of St. Charles¹⁵.

The situation was examined in a general session of the Prop. Fide on November 27, 1702, and it was decided to send the nuncio 756 scudi which had been refunded to the Collegio Urbano by Basil Seriman. This student was obliged to return this amount to the college, which had been used for his expenses as a student there, because he was not able to return to his own country. He petitioned the Prop. Fide to absolve him from his oath to do so, which they did after the restitution of his expenses to the college¹⁶.

The proposed site for the seminary was not bought, because Bishop Joseph Šumlanskyj of Lviv offered a house of his own, close to his residence, for 6,000 florins, which he needed to pay his debts. It seemed to the nuncio that it would be better to buy this house rather than the other site. On February 5, 1703, the Prop. Fide left the purchase of this house up to the judgement of the nuncio¹⁷. The purchase was made with all due formality, and Nuncio Pignatelli asked the Prop. Fide to decide to whom the direction of the seminary should be given, the Latins or the Ukrainians. It was decided that the latter was not suited because of the language. It was the practice in the Armenian seminary that the students be taught Latin along with the arts and sciences, and this could not be done by Ukrainians. Besides, there

¹⁴ WAP, t. 2, p. 184-185, no. 746; WLP, t. 2, p. 246-248, no. 878: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Pignatelli (1702, Jan. 9).

¹⁵ WAP, t. 2, p. 186-187, no. 747 (1702, May 9).

¹⁶ WAP, t. 2, p. 189, no. 749.

¹⁷ WAP, t. 2, p. 189-191, no. 750.

would be no assurance as to the value of their teaching. On the contrary, among the Latins were to be found subjects well versed not only in Latin, but in the Ukrainian language as well, when this would be needed to explain the Latin language. The Prop. Fide decided on November 13, 1703 to wait for the coming of Nuncio Pignatelli, who had been made a cardinal, before giving an answer¹⁸.

After the purchase of the house, Father Trombetti, the rector of the Armenian seminary, had to make an account to the Prop. Fide of the necessary repairs, but he was unable to open the Ukrainian seminary for lack of funds.

The expense incurred amounted to 381 Polish florins, or about 43 Roman scudi. Father Trombetti added that it was also necessary to keep the roof in good repair, in order to avoid the ruin which threatened it, and that it would take 100 scudi to put on a new roof. In addition, the custodian of the house had to be paid, and during the past two years he had gotten 80 Polish florins for his work.

The Prop. Fide approved payment of the above expenses in general session on March 28, 1707. As far as future expenses went, it was decided that authority should be given to the rector, with the participation of the nuncio, and later notification was to be sent to the Prop. Fide. They ordered Cardinal Pignatelli to write a constitution for the seminary and to send it to the Prop. Fide for approval¹⁹.

On August 8, 1707, the question of the seminary came up again in the Prop. Fide. The proposal was made by the procurator of the Theatine Missions, in the name of Father Trombetti, that because the house intended by the Prop. Fide for the Ukrainian seminary of Lviv was suffering greatly from being vacant, the order would be given to initiate its use. Cardinal Pignatelli was absent, and for this reason the matter was postponed until another session²⁰.

The proposition was presented again at the session of January 9, 1708, in which Cardinal Pignatelli after much reflection, as he himself expressed it, proposed that for the good order and direction of the seminary, the rule and constitutions of the Armenian seminary should be prescribed and applied. There should be, however, he said, some consideration made of the character of the Ukrainian nation, which the Poles regarded as noble, but the Armenians as despicable.

¹⁸ WAP, t. 2, p. 193, no. 753.

¹⁹ WAP, t. 2, p. 213-214, no. 773.

²⁰ WAP, t. 2, p. 219, no. 777.

Since there was so much difficulty in collecting the capital needed to maintain the Ukrainian students in their own house, Cardinal Pignatelli proposed that they be sent to the Armenian seminary to study and live with the Armenians, but with separate living quarters and treatment. They would be under the government and discipline of the same Theatines with the supervision of the nuncio, and would be assigned for their maintenance part of the subsidy given by the Prop. Fide to the Armenian seminary. This should be handled as a temporary measure, in the judgement of the cardinal, until some better way could be found²¹.

This proposition was accepted, and the Prop. Fide wrote to Nuncio Spinola on February 6, 1708 that as soon as possible the new seminary should be opened, and as many Ukrainian students as could be maintained in the manner suggested by Cardinal Pignatelli should be admitted. Then, if it should happen that the young Ukrainians were not able to live peaceably with the Armenians, a separate house should be rented for the Ukrainians, in case the house which had been bought would be in need of repair and not presently habitable²².

At the same time, Bishop Vynnyckyj of Peremyśl presented a petition for the erection of a diocesan seminary at Peremyśl, obliging himself to contribute 10,000 Polish florins of his own. Since this offer was not sufficient for such a project, he asked the Holy See for some subsidy to take care of the remainder of the cost. The Prop. Fide deferred the matter to the nuncio²³.

The house which had been bought in Lviv for the seminary proved to be unsuitable because of the unhealthful air, because of the great expense which would be incurred to make it over into a seminary, and because it was not a place with space for the students to recreate. Therefore the rector proposed to exchange it for a monastery of the Basilians, belonging to the Stauropighian Confraternity, outside of the city and separate from the Armenian seminary. This monastery was convenient, because there was a church for the exercise of sacred functions, a large area for the recreation of the students, water, and other things which were lacking in the house in Lviv²⁴. The exchange could not be made by the confraternity however, since part of the house

²¹ WAP, t. 2, p. 227-229, no. 783 (1708, Jan. 9).

²² MUH, t. 3, p. 69, no. 37 (1708, Feb. 6).

²³ WAP, t. 2, p. 230-232, no. 785 (1708, Feb. 6); MUH, t. 5, p. 69-72, no. 37.

²⁴ WAP, t. 2, p. 235-236, no. 787 (1708, Feb. 28); MUH, t. 5, p. 74, no. 39.

was occupied by Bishop Šumlanskyj, who had sold it to them on condition that he could live there for the rest of his life.

Therefore the nuncio supported the proposition of Cardinal Pignatelli to put the Ukrainians together with the Armenians, but with different dress to distinguish them from the Armenians, removing from them any suspect motives. He wrote that, since 600 scudi would be sufficient only for the Armenians, maintenance for the Ukrainians would have to be provided. He added, following the suggestion of Father Trombetti, that it might be convenient to accept students of both nationalities only of the age of twenty or twenty one years, so that they could more quickly be made ready for the care of souls.

The Prop. Fide asked for the opinion of Bishop Bonesana of Como, former rector of the Lviv seminary. He agreed with the nuncio, with the observation that the union of the seminaries should be done only for a limited time, and in a provisory way. The bishop did not judge it opportune to do it for a long time because of the great animosity between the two nationalities, even more so since the house had been given by the Armenians for the sole instruction of their own sons. For a short time, he wrote, it might not be too unhappy, in view of the fact that the Ukrainian nationality predominated in this province, and was vastly superior to the Armenian. As for the proposed age for the admission of students of both nationalities, he suggested that it be from eighteen to twenty years. He did not believe that it would be possible to diminish the number of Armenian students in favor of the Ukrainians.

In a letter to the Prop. Fide, Father Trombetti expressed his disfavor to the union of the two seminaries. He did not believe that there would be concord among the youth, and recalled a recent experience when a single Ukrainian deacon had been admitted there on the order of Cardinal Pignatelli, which fact threw the whole Armenian seminary into confusion and uproar. To join the two nationalities together would be pleasing neither to one nor the other. To diminish the number of Armenians would only cause increased antipathy between the two nationalities, and would seem to make the Armenians take second place to the Ukrainians. Finally, dividing the subsidy would limit the maintenance to so few students from either nation that the needs of neither would be provided.

Considering all of this, the Prop. Fide decided in a general session on July 23, 1708 that 80 scudi was to be given annually for as many Ukrainians as could be accommodated in the Armenian seminary, until the time when different arrangements could be made. As for difference in dress, they left this to the prudence of the nuncio and

Father Trombetti, after consultation with the Ukrainian Bishop Šumlanskyj of Lviv²⁵.

In November of the same year, Father Trombetti, having only faculty for the Armenians, asked for additional faculty for the Ukrainians²⁶. On February 17, 1709, the first Ukrainians were received by the seminary. They were two youths, John Pidhirskyj, aged thirteen, and Nicholas Rossynskyj, aged fifteen²⁷, both from the diocese of Lviv. In sending notification to the Prop. Fide, Father Trombetti wrote that 80 scudi a year could not maintain the two students at the seminary. He added that they could be dressed in the manner of the Greek College at Rome, and could also use their formula for the oath²⁸, if the Prop. Fide held nothing to the contrary, especially on the point of not entering a religious order, there being need in Ukraine rather for secular clergy than for replenishing religious orders.

The Prop. Fide did not see fit to increase the allotted amount for the maintenance of the students. The matter of dress was again left to the discretion of Father Trombetti and the nuncio, after consultation with the bishop. It was decided that the formula for the oath taken at the Greek College should be followed²⁹.

In the meanwhile, Bishop Vynnyckyj of Peremyšl had not given up the idea of founding a seminary for his diocese, after having made the offer of 10,000 florins³⁰. The offer, however, did not consist of money, but of a house valued at 7,000 florins which yielded only about 5 or 6 scudi annually, and which could not be sold during his lifetime without grave offense, of books, and of other non-yielding items valued at 3,000 florins.

After granting a matrimonial dispensation of consanguinity to one of the bishop's nephews, the Holy Father conceded the tax for this to the seminary at Peremyšl. In view of the paucity of means of support, the Prop. Fide did not wish to initiate a separate seminary at Peremyšl, and commissioned Nuncio Spinola to discuss with Bishop Vynnyckyj the union of the two seminaries of Lviv and Peremyšl, promising to

²⁵ WAP, t. 2, p. 245-248, no. 796 (1708, July 23); WLP, t. 2, p. 281, no. 940: Prop. Fide to Father Trombetti (1708, July 23).

²⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 78, f. 658 (1708, Nov. 26).

²⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 277: Catalogus Personarum (1709).

²⁸ MUH, t. 5, p. 142, no. 72: copy of Greek College oath.

²⁹ MUH, t. 5, p. 141-143, no. 71; WAP, t. 2, p. 266-268, no. 809 (1709, May 7); WAP, t. 4, p. 44, no. 1190 (1746, Jan. 26).

³⁰ WAP, t. 2, p. 291-294, no. 829 (1710, June 23); WSEU, t. 2, p. 120, no. 580.

give help although they were themselves in debt. As for the direction of the seminary, the Theatines were indicated, to the explicit exclusion of all others³¹.

Bishop Vynnyckyj was persuaded by the nuncio of the necessity of the projected union of his seminary with that of Lviv. He only reserved the right to redive it, when he should succeed in obtaining the means for founding one in Peremyśl. The nuncio agreed to this condition, as he wrote to the Prop. Fide, so as not to irritate him, especially since he would never be able to make an entirely separate foundation in Peremyśl.

The nuncio warmly recommended that the Prop. Fide establish a suitable Ukrainian seminary in Lviv, since nearly all of the numerous Ukrainian population of this section was turning to the Catholic faith. The clergy, he wrote, had need of education, and under the present conditions only two students could be educated. The Armenian quarters were crowded and could not admit a larger number. Besides, the two nationalities lived together with difficulty in a united seminary. Therefore there was need of a separate seminary established in the house bought for this purpose, and which remained empty, it not being desirable to rent it, experience proving that renters caused damage. It remained therefore without profit, and continually needed funds for repair. During the past three years repairs had amounted to 65 scudi and 3 baiocchi.

Father Trombetti asked for decisions on several points concerning the students at the Ukrainian seminary, namely:

1) that, if any student left the seminary before the termination of his studies, he could not be ordained without the approval of the rector of the seminary;

2) that students could not be ordained without a letter of recommendation from the rector;

3) that no bishop could refuse to ordain any student from the seminary who was worthy and who had a letter of recommendation from the rector, nor could he charge the student or his parents anything for the ordination;

4) that students, in competition with other ordained equally capable, should be given preference for vacant churches, as was established in the bulls of foundation of other pontifical seminaries.

³¹ WAP, t. 2, p. 266-269, no. 809 (1709, May 7).

For himself, Father Trombetti requested a formal appointment, and a document to prove that he was rector of the Ukrainian seminary, even though it was without a separate house. This would facilitate business affairs, and insure him against any oppression, especially now that the seminary had begun to accept students.

After discussing all these things, the Prop. Fide decided in a general session of June 23, 1710 that for the moment, it could not give a greater subsidy for the erection of a separate seminary for the Ukrainians, since they themselves were in debt. They promised that after the founding of the Ukrainian seminary there would be a house separate from the Armenian seminary. They granted the document to the rector of the seminary, and charged him to receive and augment the number of Ukrainian students for the seminary, in accord with the interest realized from the capital of 850 scudi destined for the seminary at Peremyśl³².

That same year, Father Trombetti received the 850 scudi and invested it at 6% in the city of Lviv³³. The selection of students was left up to Bishop Vynnykyj, who promised Father Trombetti to send, at the beginning of the new year, two youths of the highest qualification and capacity, he said, who would correspond to the solicitude of the Prop. Fide, and who would become what the Prop. Fide desired³⁴. The two promised young men entered the seminary on March 2, 1711. The first was George Rudnyckyj, aged thirteen years, and the second was Theodosius Rudnyckyj, aged eleven, both from the diocese of Kyjiv. Several months later, on September 27, Nicodemus Laskovskij, aged eleven, from the diocese of Lviv, was admitted³⁵, but there is no record by whom he was selected or funded. In view of the lack of evidence that he was subsidized, it is supposed that Father Trombetti received him in excess of the usual number. Thus, thanks to Father Trombetti, the number of Ukrainian students was raised to five.

The Ukrainian students lived together with the Armenians, and the house bought for the Ukrainians continued to be empty. In spite of several senators, palatines and nobles who wished to rent it, Father

³² WAP, t. 2, p. 291-294, no. 829; WLP, t. 3, p. 22, no. 1009: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Spinola (1710, June 23); WLP, t. 3, p. 23-24, no. 1011: Prop. Fide to Father Trombetti (1710, June 23).

³³ WAP, t. 3, p. 37-38, no. 871.

³⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 241-242: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1710, Nov. 16).

³⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 251: Catalogus Personarum (1711).

Trombetti did not rent, in order to avoid its ruin. Finally, when the metropolitan wanted to use it, Father Trombetti turned to the Prop. Fide, explaining that once the metropolitan was permitted to occupy it for some time, it would be difficult to refuse it to others. On March 23, 1711, the Prop. Fide referred the matter to the nuncio, who replied that, in his opinion, the house should not be rented to anyone³⁶.

Bishop Vynnyckyj, who in the meanwhile had been made metropolitan of Kyjiv in 1708 while retaining, according to the custom of the time, his former diocese of Peremyśl, was not at all pleased with the seminary at Lviv, and the housing of the Ukrainians with the Armenians. He wanted the seminary at Peremyśl³⁷, but except for the 850 scudi which his nephew had placed in Father Trombetti's hands, there was no money for it³⁸. Actually the metropolitan was far from being a poor man, and could well have afforded to erect the seminary himself³⁹.

He wanted to give the care of the seminary to the Basilian fathers, so as to exempt it from dependence on the Prop. Fide. According to Father Trombetti, in 1711 he had already nominated the rector and the professors. Father Trombetti did not foresee a long existence for a seminary given to the care of the Basilians. He brought it to the attention of the Prop. Fide that, three years earlier, with the help of the metropolitan, the Basilians had opened a school at Volodymyr, which had now closed. He also mentioned that there was not a trace left of the seminary they had initiated in Lithuania. He inferred from this that the Basilians were not suited to schools and seminaries⁴⁰.

It seems that this reputation of the Basilians also was not pleasing to Metropolitan Vynnyckyj. It was not long before he wrote, confidentially to Nuncio Spinola, that he really wanted the Theatine Fathers, but did not dare to declare it publicly, for fear of persecution by the Basilians who surrounded him, since it was he who had nominated them to govern the seminary. The nuncio was also opposed to the

³⁶ WAP, t. 3, p. 10, no. 846 (1711, March 23); WSEU, t. 2, p. 77, no. 513.

³⁷ WAP, t. 3, p. 20-21, no. 855 (1711, June 9).

³⁸ WAP, t. 3, p. 37, no. 871 (1711, Dec. 11).

³⁹ WAP, t. 3, p. 34, no. 866 (1711, Nov. 5); Secretary of the Prop. Fide: «...in somma essere questo prelato quasi perduto per l'avarizia, che goda de beni di Chiesa, un'entrata di cento milla, e più fiorini»; WSEU, t. 2, p. 78-79, no. 516.

⁴⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 255: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1711, Oct. 14).

Basilians, because if they had to be constrained to any act of obedience, they would, according to custom, immediately strengthen their position by seeking the protection of seculars, and so evade the matter. In consequence the nuncio was put in a difficult situation⁴¹. He therefore counselled the Prop. Fide to place the seminary under the direction of the Theatines, which they decided to do on May 7, 1709⁴².

The metropolitan, wishing to safeguard his own honor, obtained from the Prop. Fide a letter which could be shown at the next general chapter of the Basilians, stating that all determinations concerning the seminary had been made by the Prop. Fide, and so avoid bad feelings⁴³.

Father Trombetti went himself to the metropolitan to clarify the question of the seminary at Peremyśl. The metropolitan proposed two projects, the first being that, if the Prop. Fide wanted to incorporate the seminary of Peremyśl with that of Lviv, he would contribute to that effect 10,000 florins in place of the house and books which had been donated some years previously, on condition that the interest of these florins, as well as the 850 scudi derived from the matrimonial dispensation of his nephew, would be used to maintain as many students as possible from the diocese of Peremyśl at the seminary of Lviv. The second was that, until such time as the seminary of Peremyśl could be founded, as he rather would have wished, 40,000 florins from his hereditary properties would be assigned to the seminary of Lviv. This amount, at the time of the erection of the seminary at Peremyśl, could be restored to it, as well as the 850 scudi temporarily assigned to the seminary of Lviv⁴⁴.

The Prop. Fide accepted the first project⁴⁵, and when the metropolitan paid Father Trombetti 11,000 florins for half of the village of Dublany⁴⁶, thanked him, leaving him the liberty to found a seminary at Peremyśl if he wished⁴⁷. The nuncio wrote that he had no intention

⁴¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 235-236: Nuncio to Prop. Fide (1709, March 28).

⁴² WAP, t. 2, p. 266-268, no. 809; MUH, t. 5, p. 144, no. 71.

⁴³ WAP, t. 3, p. 54-55, no. 888 (1712, May 30).

⁴⁴ WAP, t. 3, p. 51, no. 885 (1712, March 14).

⁴⁵ WAP, t. 3, p. 55, no. 888 (1712, May 30).

⁴⁶ WAP, t. 3, p. 122-124, no. 945.

⁴⁷ WAP, t. 3, p. 60, no. 895 (1712, Nov. 14); *IBIDEM*, t. 3, p. 697, no. 907 (1713, May 8).

of impeding the foundation, but that he wished above all that it would be directed by the Theatines, and not the Basilians⁴⁸.

Having given this sum to the seminary of Lviv, the metropolitan was determined to found a seminary at Peremyśl, and on November 15, 1712, with all the necessary formality, assigned 40,000 florins, invested at 7%, from his hereditary properties at Čaple, and the adjacent properties at Humenec, Volycja and Janiv, obligating himself and his heirs perpetually to pay the annual interest on this capital in two parts, one on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, and the other on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, September 29, without diminishing anything in years of calamity. In the same act, he assigned the house at Peremyśl, valued at 7,000 florins, to the seminary and, notwithstanding the above mentioned disposition of the Prop. Fide, indicated as directors the Basilian fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Trinity, from Lithuania. He expressed the desire that the rector and the professors be permanently assigned, or at least changed very rarely, and obliged the rector to give each year to the Prop. Fide an account of expenses, according to the custom of pontifical seminaries. He entrusted the seminary to the Prop. Fide and to the nuncio, that they would protect it, and intervene if it should be badly administered or the youth poorly educated⁴⁹. The metropolitan's decision in favor of the Basilians was possibly due to his hope that they would help him evade the union of his foundation with the seminary of Lviv.

A short time later, Metropolitan Vynnyckyj died. Before his death, he received still another letter from the Prop. Fide with the exhortation to unite his foundation with that of Lviv, to which he responded negatively for the following reasons:

1) his hereditary properties, of which 40,000 were assigned, and the house for the foundation of the seminary were all situated in the city of Peremyśl or in the surrounding district;

2) much earlier he had notified the leaders and nobles of the district of his intention to erect this seminary for the education of the Ukrainian youth of their region, and he had promised to undertake this work in public assembly;

3) he had already engaged the Basilian fathers of the province

⁴⁸ MUH, t. 5, p. 245, no. 151; WAP, t. 1, p. 106-110, no. 935 (1715, Feb. 5).

⁴⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 209-210: Document of the foundation (1712, Nov. 15); WSEU, t. 2, p. 136, no. 604; WEM, t. 3, p. 265-267, no. 37.

of Lithuania, and had already given the foundation in legal form to the Basilians, who had sent to Peremyśl a rector for the seminary, in order that he might assist in the construction already begun, and prepare other necessary things for the students;

4) the piety and liberality of the clergy, the nobility and the citizens of Peremyśl could more willingly and easily be called on to help this new seminary than that of Lviv;

5) the diocese of Peremyśl was more convenient for the Ukrainian youth, the priests of this diocese could more easily send their sons, and under the discipline of the Basilians the youth could better learn and retain the letters, piety and rite of the Ukrainian Catholic Church;

6) since his promotion to the episcopal see of Peremyśl, he had always had the intention of founding a seminary in his diocese, and not of uniting with that of Lviv;

7) at the last diocesan synod, he had assured his clergy of this foundation, to the special benefit of the sons of priests;

8) it cost less to live in Peremyśl, a less populated city, and a greater number of students could be maintained in this seminary than in that of Lviv.

Although he was not able to adhere to the union proposed by the Prop. Fide, he declared that he was ready to obey promptly all other commands by them⁵⁰.

After the death of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj, the nuncio took up the matter of the incorporation of the foundation of 40,000 florins for the seminary at Lviv with his successor as metropolitan and as administrator of the vacant diocese of Peremyśl, Leo Kiška (1714-1729), and obtained his consent⁵¹. Metropolitan Kiška also assumed the task of getting the Basilians to consent⁵². A year later, the incorporation still was not made. Father Trombetti, impatient about this, wrote to the Prop. Fide that the metropolitan had much to say, but had accomplished nothing⁵³. Already four years had passed by now, in which

⁵⁰ WAP, t. 3, p. 77, no. 912 (1713, Nov. 13).

⁵¹ WAP, t. 3, p. 101-102, no. 931 (1714, Dec. 17).

⁵² WAP, t. 3, p. 106-110, no. 935 (1715, Feb. 5); *IBIDEM*, t. 3, p. 117-118, no. 942 (1715, May 27).

⁵³ WAP, t. 3, p. 149, no. 962 (1716, Dec. 22).

the question of the incorporation was without beginning or end, and so matters would remain until the Lord moved the spirit of the metropolitan and of the Basilian religious. The matter of incorporation was even more urgent because Antonio Borjanskyj, one of the heirs of the deceased metropolitan, who held all of the properties from which the 40,000 florins were derived, wished to pay the total amount in order to free the properties, and had stated that he himself would like to have the incorporation accomplished. This would be difficult to do after his death, wrote Father Trombetti, because in this case the properties would be divided among the other heirs who were not wealthy enough to make such a payment⁵⁴.

Besides the matter of funds, the question of the house for the Ukrainian seminary was at this time a continuous problem for Father Trombetti. The first students had been received temporarily as boarders in the house of the Armenian seminary. Father Trombetti did not consider that this situation would be workable permanently or even for a long time, because of the aversion of one nationality for the other, especially since the house of the Armenian seminary had been intended only for the use of Armenians.

The house bought for the Ukrainian seminary was not suitable, requiring much money to transform it into a seminary, and was a great distance from the Armenian seminary. Father Trombetti presented plans to the Prop. Fide for a seminary with the capacity for forty or more students in a garden connected to the Armenian seminary, which was a gift from a benefactor of the Ukrainian seminary. In this way, he wrote, management and other expenses could be saved, since the Ukrainian and Armenian students could be served by the same help, could use the same church, school and refectory, and the number of students could be multiplied instead of spending the money on a completely separate seminary⁵⁵.

Father Trombetti proposed to sell the bought house and buy some village, because the house was not making anything and villages yielded 7%. The Prop. Fide approved the project of Father Trombetti on May 27, 1715, and commissioned him to sell the house and invest the money in established and profitable properties, with the consent of the nuncio, or to put it into the construction of the Ukrainian seminary near to

⁵⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 283: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1716, Nov. 4); WAP, t. 3, p. 149, no. 962 (1716, Dec. 22).

⁵⁵ WAP, t. 3, p. 106-110, no. 935 (1715, Feb. 5).

the Armenian seminary, seeing that proximity would be advantageous to both seminaries, and useful in diminishing the expenses of the church, of administration and other costs. They noted however, that if in the course of time the foundation would seem to grow, the Ukrainian seminary should become separate, but remain under the direction of the Theatines⁵⁶.

Notwithstanding these favorable circumstances, the Ukrainian seminary remained dead up to a point, for lack of foundations. Also, the house could not be sold for lack of buyers. The foundations remained as before, that is, with 80 scudi per year from the Prop. Fide 9,000 florins from the matrimonial dispensation invested at 6% in the city of Lviv, and half of the village of Dublany, bought with the 11,000 florins donated by Metropolitan Vynnyckyj. The village was in ruins. There were only four families of farmers. In 1715, Father Trombetti increased the number of families to fifteen, provided them with cattle, with a mill, a lake and other improvements⁵⁷.

The other part of the village was owned by the Order of the Hospitallers Fatebenefratelli, called Buonfratelli, who came to Poland in 1605, and who had a hospital in Lviv. To avoid the continuous quarrels on account of the damages the seminary suffered from them, Father Trombetti proposed to the Prop. Fide that the other part of the village be bought⁵⁸. After long discussion, in 1717 the other half of the village was purchased from the Buonfratelli for the price of 22,000 florins. To pay this amount, there was available the 9,000 florins from the matrimonial dispensation invested at Lviv at 6%, 5,000 florins which was donated by Bishop Šeptyckyj of Lviv⁵⁹, and the remainder from the Prop. Fide, reducing their annual subsidy from 80 to 50 scudi⁶⁰.

Having sold the village to the seminary in 1717 with all due formality, and having already invested the money in other more profitable properties, the Buonfratelli brought a lawsuit against the seminary, first in the nunciature and later before the then secular Tribunal of Lublin. This was done with the consent of their provincial and other religious assembled in chapter, at the instigation of a visitor,

⁵⁶ MUH, t. 5, p. 297, no. 183; WAP, t. 3, p. 117-118, no. 942.

⁵⁷ WAP, t. 3, p. 106-110, no. 935.

⁵⁸ WAP, t. 3, p. 122-124, no. 945 (1715, Jan. 17); *IBIDEM*, t. 3, p. 138-140, no. 954 (1715, Dec. 17).

⁵⁹ WAP, t. 3, p. 153-155, no. 967 (1717, July 19).

⁶⁰ WAP, t. 3, p. 157, no. 970 (1717, Nov. 29).

Father Vincent Calvi⁶¹. Notwithstanding the excommunication incurred by going to a secular court, the Buonfratelli continued to say mass, and Father Calvi visited the houses and elected superiors, despoiling the convents and arousing the brothers against the provincial. The Prop. Fide ordered Nuncio Grimaldi to assist the seminary, and provided the cardinal protector of the Buonfratelli with the authority to discharge and remove Father Calvi, his being of the same type as others of his Institute in Poland, who were violent, libertine and scandalous⁶². The judgement seems rather severe but not unjust. In the Acts, mention is made of other facts, such as the killing of a surgeon. During three years, eighteen religious had apostatized⁶³. Through the intervention of the nuncio, the lawsuit was suspended, and the village of Dublany remained until 1784 as one of the principal sources of income for the Ukrainian seminary.

After the purchase of the other part of the village, the number of Ukrainian students was increased from five in 1711 to seven in 1718, and this number remained until the incorporation of the foundation of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj in 1720, which was finally obtained after long discussion by Father Trombetti. Five of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj's seven heirs, by reason of the disorder and failure of the seminary at Peremyšl to open, declared themselves ready to turn over the sum to the Theatine fathers at Lviv, but not to the Basilians, and gave Father Trombetti their consent for the incorporation⁶⁴.

When Metropolitan Kiška also gave his consent in writing⁶⁵, Father Trombetti, through Nuncio Grimaldi, pressed for the Basilians' consent⁶⁶. At the Synod of Zamostja, he succeeded in obtaining in writing the consent of the Basilian fathers present at the synod. These, in the act of cession, declared that the sum for the erection of a seminary was not sufficient for this purpose, and not wishing to defraud the pious intention of the founder, with the permission of Bishop

⁶¹ WAP, t. 3, p. 151-152, no. 965 (1717, May 11); WSEU, t. 2, p. 130-132, no. 596.

⁶² WAP, t. 3, p. 159-160, no. 973 (1718, May 11); IBIDEM, t. 3, p. 167-168, no. 981 (1718, July 18).

⁶³ APF, *Acta*, t. 85, f. 688 (1715, Dec. 17).

⁶⁴ WCP, t. 1, p. 134, no. 61 (1720, Feb. 28).

⁶⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 233: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1720, May 29).

⁶⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 86: Procurator of the Basilians, Fr. Benedict Trulevyč to Prop. Fide (1720).

Ustryckyj of Peremyśl, they ceded their right and permission for incorporation, in order that six students could be educated in the seminary of Lviv with the proceeds of this capital. They obliged Father Trombetti to collect from the heirs of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj the interest on this capital for all the years which had passed since 1713⁶⁷.

The year 1720 was truly a happy one for the Ukrainian seminary of Lviv. In a special session of the Prop. Fide was brought up, at the request of Father Trombetti, the great necessity to augment the number of Ukrainian students at the seminary, and an increase of six students was obtained, for which the Prop. Fide assigned a charitable subsidy of 210 scudi annually, 35 scudi for each of the students⁶⁸.

During the Synod of Zamostja in 1720, Nuncio Grimaldi spoke with various Ukrainian bishops, and persuaded the bishop of Lviv to declare he would make a foundation for four students, and the bishop of Peremyśl to make a foundation for one student at the seminary of Lviv⁶⁹.

The nuncio had also insisted that, since the Basilians possessed many parishes, they should contribute something, but did not succeed in obtaining anything. The protoarchimandrite offered various reasons, such as the poverty and poor state of his convents. The nuncio thought of obliging the Ukrainian secular clergy to some contribution, but did not do so because of the poverty of the parishes, and because of the cathedratic which had to be paid each year to the bishop; to require more would only have succeeded in irritating the priests⁷⁰.

The nuncio himself, after the synod, was given a gold chain and a cross with precious stones by the metropolitan, and a ring with a sapphire and several small diamonds from the bishop of Lviv. He declared that he would use them for the benefit of the Ukrainian nation, otherwise he would not accept them, and he consigned them to Father Trombetti for the Ukrainian seminary of Lviv⁷¹. They were appraised in Lviv and sold, the cross for 400 florins, the chain for 397 and the ring for 320. The 1,117 florins were applied by Father Trom-

⁶⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 456-457 (1720, Sept. 17).

⁶⁸ WCP, t. 1, p. 131-137, no. 61 (1720, Feb. 28).

⁶⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 454: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1720, Sept. 13); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 302: Idem (1720, Sept. 26).

⁷⁰ WCP, t. 1, p. 175, no. 63.

⁷¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 302: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1720, Sept. 26).

betti to the construction of additional Ukrainian quarters at the Armenian seminary⁷².

Having made the promise of foundations at the synod, after returning home, the bishops were reluctant to turn them into actuality, in spite of the fact that Father Trombetti incessantly reminded them of the necessity of foundations, as had been prescribed by the Prop. Fide⁷³.

Meanwhile, the Prop. Fide had obtained for the Ukrainian seminary the sum of 1,000 unghari from the Holy See, or about 1,700 scudi, which could be used at the discretion of the Prop. Fide. Father Trombetti proposed to spend this sum to purchase a village not far from Dublany, which was for sale and could be had for about 1,500 florins. This village, besides being close to Dublany, had a woods large enough to supply them with wood for the winter, and would save this expense. The Prop. Fide consented on March 1, 1723, and designated 1,500 florins for the purchase of this village, and the remainder toward the purchase of the house at the Armenian seminary from the Armenians⁷⁴. Neither the village nor the house was bought. Instead, the money was partially applied later to pay the debt remaining after the death of Father Trombetti, and partially used as the basis of new capital which was afterwards invested in the village of Remaniv⁷⁵.

From the contributions promised by the bishops at the Synod of Zamostja, Bishop Athanasius Šeptyckyj of Lviv (1715-1746) gave the rector of the seminary 1,000 scudi in the December of 1731, 500 scudi on June 21, 1737, and another 500 on April, 15, 1738, for four students. The money was employed in the construction of the new house, and the places for the students were secured by new capital invested in Remaniv. The bishop of Luck, Joseph Vyhovskyj (1716-1730), gave the rector 600 scudi in the year 1727, and a cross of diamonds worth 400 scudi, sold with the consent of the rector, and a letter promising 500 scudi, to be given after the death of the donor, which sum was collected on July 5, 1732 from his heirs. Of this amount, 1,000 scudi was put into the above mentioned new capital, and 500 was used for the construction of the new house. The bishop of Lviv, as well as the bishop of Luck, had promised to pay for each of the students 8 scudi

⁷² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 466-468: Introito (1721).

⁷³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 23.

⁷⁴ WCP, t. 1, p. 185-186, no. 64.

⁷⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 250: I conti (1727).

for clothing and travel expenses back home after their studies⁷⁶. Bishop Jerome Ustryckyj (1715-1746) of Peremyśl promised to give a foundation for the placement of one student, but gave only 300 scudi in 1727⁷⁷, and above that used 250 scudi from the sale of the house of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj⁷⁸, which had yielded only 18 scudi annually as rent⁷⁹. The house was sold to avoid the claims of the Ustryckyj family, with the consent of the nuncio in 1730. The money was designated for the construction of the new house.

As mentioned before, after the purchase of the other part of the village of Dublany, the number of Ukrainian students had grown to seven.

In 1721, six more students were admitted with the annual subsidy of 210 scudi⁸⁰, and in the following year another six, subsidized by the foundation of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj which amounted to 280 scudi per year⁸¹.

Records are lacking as to what type of students were admitted and educated thanks to these foundations, and information is difficult to establish. Father Redanaschi gave favorable reports of some of his students during the years 1711-1717; they were well educated, and of mind so clear and intelligence so perspicacious that they could compete with those of other more progressive nations⁸².

⁷⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 565-567: Father Moro: Stato delle fondazioni (1748, Oct. 2).

⁷⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 248-255: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1727, May 26). In 1779, the Bishop of Peremyśl, Athanasius Šeptyckyj complained in a letter to Nuncio Garampi that for that foundation no student was accepted, although by then (1779) with the accumulated interest, two students should be admitted. Cfr. PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union*, Vienna 1880, t. 2, p. 610.

⁷⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 391: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1731, May 29).

⁷⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 252: Father Redanaschi: I conti (1727, Sept. 9); APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 400: Introito dell'anno 1729.

⁸⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 432: Registro dei conti (1735, Dec. 7); APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 463-464: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1722, Jan. 4).

⁸¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 304: Father Redanaschi: Catalogus Personarum (1723).

⁸² WCP, t. 1, p. 132-133, no. 61 (1720, Feb. 28).

ART. 3

RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

Since Father Trombetti had with him in Lviv only one instructor, Father Guarnieri, in 1711 he applied to the Prop. Fide and obtained Father Joseph Mary Redanaschi⁸³. In 1715, Father Guarnieri became ill and returned to Italy⁸⁴. In his place in the same year, Fathers Cajetan Mary and Andrew Mary Cottone of Palermo, blood brothers, aged twenty five and twenty four years, were appointed⁸⁵. In 1717, Father Redanaschi obtained from the Prop. Fide permission to make a pilgrimage for six months. Then, at the request of Father Trombetti, he was dispensed from returning to Lviv, because against Father Trombetti's will, he had procured a place at the Collegio Urbano in Rome for a nephew of the Armenian archbishop, who was a student at the seminary at Lviv⁸⁶. Thus for the two following years, Father Trombetti remained with the two Cottone brothers. In 1722, Father Innocent Mary Travasa came to Lviv⁸⁷, and the Fathers Cottone, who were in disagreement with Father Trombetti, were recalled⁸⁸.

Father Trombetti died on Sunday morning, March 7, 1723. The direction of the seminary was assumed temporarily by Father Travasa, who gave a description of the events of the following days. According to his account, just after the death, he celebrated Mass for the Dead. Before dinner the body was taken to the chapel. After dinner, Father Travasa called the notary and two witnesses, and opened the room of the deceased. In the room he found about 400 unghari. He took part of this for the necessary expense, after which the room was sealed. Two hours later, three canons from the Latin Archbishop Skarbek came to seal the room, recalling the decree of the Council of Trent which conferred this authority upon the ordinary in case of emergency, and if the num-

⁸³ WAP, t. 3, p. 17, no. 852 (1711, May 12); *IBIDEM*, t. 3, p. 21, no. 856 (1711, July 7).

⁸⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 84, f. 675 (1714, Nov. 12).

⁸⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 84, f. 320-321 (1714, June 12); WAP, t. 3, p. 111, no. 937 (1715, April 8); APF, *Acta*, t. 85, f. 561 (1715, Nov. 12).

⁸⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 285; APF, *Acta*, t. 88, ff. 204-205, 210 (1718, March 21); *IBIDEM*, t. 88, f. 330 (1718, May 9); *IBIDEM*, t. 88, f. 401-403 (1718, July 18).

⁸⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 513; Fathers Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Feb. 22).

⁸⁸ WAP, t. 3, p. 202-203, no. 1018 (1722, Sept. 1).

ber of religious was not sufficient to form a community. Father Travasa received the canons in his own room, explaining to them that he could not permit them to seal the things of Father Trombetti. While they were disputing, one of the canons slipped out unobserved and placed four seals of the archbishop on the door of Father Trombetti's room. Later, when he discovered this, Father Travasa did not dare to remove them. Twice he went to the archbishop on Monday, and again on another day in order to have the seals removed because he needed to enter the room, but obtained no result.

The body of Father Trombetti remained in the chapel of the seminary until Monday after dinner, when it was taken to the cathedral, as had been done with Father Galano. All the religious orders of Lviv and the Armenian clergy took part in the funeral. The Armenian archbishop, John Tobias Augustynowicz, joined them at the Krakow gate, having vested in the neighboring church of the Trinity. He accompanied the cortege without elevated cross, which he raised only in the square before the Armenian cathedral, as Father Travasa wrote, in order to avoid displeasing and disturbing the Latin archbishop. Notwithstanding this, the Latin archbishop sent to his house the next day a subinvestigator (a person sent only to lower classes or to Jews) to demand upon what authority he had raised his cross at the funeral⁸⁹. Father Trombetti was interred in the cathedral, in the tomb of the Armenian archbishops⁹⁰.

In spite of the objections to Father Trombetti, of which more will be said later, he was one of the best rectors of the seminary. He was a man of self-sacrifice, holiness and erudition. In 1701, when his superior and predecessor as rector had requested an instructor from Rome, he had desired such a one as Father Trombetti⁹¹.

Immediately after his death, the rumor was spread that he had left a great deal of money, and Father Travasa was forced to guard

⁸⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 182-185: Father Travasa to Father Redanaschi (1723, March 17).

⁹⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 170-171: Father Travasa to Prop. Fide (1723, March 10).

⁹¹ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*: Father Accorsi to Procurator of Theatine Missions (1701, Sept. 7). « Vorrei che fosse come il P. Trombetti, che veramente serve questo Collegio da Angelo, immacolato nel vivere, d'esempio di pazienza, di tolleranza nelle fatiche, e d'humiltà, oltre la sua dottrina, et erudizione, tale dovrebbe essere il venturo, santo e dotto... Mi creda V.P.R. che se gli Armeni sono acuti, i Rutheni sono acutissimi, hanno impegno greco, e sublime; onde bisogna che il professore sia proporzionato: Santo e dotto ».

the seminary with armed men, because suspicious persons had begun to loiter around the premises, and twice robberies had occurred in the neighborhood within ten days after Father Trombetti's death⁹².

Receiving notice of the death and of the placement of seals on his room, Nuncio Santini sent Father Bellavita, superior of the Theatines in Warsaw, to Lviv to put things in order⁹³. Immediately after the death of the rector, various persons, such as the Latin coadjutor of Lviv with all his chapter⁹⁴, the Ukrainian bishops of Lviv⁹⁵, of Luck⁹⁶, and of Peremyśl⁹⁷ and Count Denhoff, palatine of Polock⁹⁸ made requests to the Prop. Fide that Father Cajetan Cottone be appointed as new rector, probably at the suggestion of the Fathers Cottone. However, the Prop. Fide did not consent, and on April 27 appointed Father Joseph Redanaschi⁹⁹. Up to this time he had been procurator of the Theatine missions. In his place as procurator, at the suggestion of the superior general¹⁰⁰, was assigned his brother, Father Caesar Redanaschi, who was able to intercede to the Prop. Fide with true zeal in favor of the needs of the seminary for many years.

In the meanwhile, a new instructor, Father James Costa, came to Lviv. He had been detained at Warsaw until this time on orders of Father Trombetti¹⁰¹, because the rector did not want him to come to Lviv before the departure of the Fathers Cottone for Italy. These did not leave until the end of April, after finally having received a precept under pain of suspension in case of prolonged refusal to leave.

When Father Redanaschi arrived in Lviv, he found only two instructors, Fathers Travasa and Costa. Father Cajetan Grossi was approved as instructor and sent with the new rector to Lviv¹⁰². In the following year, Father Grossi died of an epidemic, and Father Redanaschi requested another instructor, a German named Father Felix

⁹² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 185: Father Travasa to Father Redanaschi (1723, March 17).

⁹³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 259 (1723, May 10).

⁹⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 166-167 (1723, March 10).

⁹⁵ WEM, t. 4, p. 180, no. 9 (1723, March 10).

⁹⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 172 (1723, March 12).

⁹⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 173 (1723, March 22).

⁹⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 326 (1723, March 17).

⁹⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 93, f. 252 (1723, April 27).

¹⁰⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 188-189 (1723, April 20).

¹⁰¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 180; Father Costa to Prop. Fide (1723, March 17).

¹⁰² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 150 (1723, April 21).

Grimming¹⁰³, who came to Lviv in 1724¹⁰⁴. In 1726, Father Travasa obtained permission to return to Italy, and in his place was sent Father Januarius Carmignani Acquaviva¹⁰⁵, who in 1730 received permission to return because of his health¹⁰⁶, but did not actually go back to Italy until after another year. In his place was sent Father George Lascaris of Verona¹⁰⁷. In about 1729 Fathers Cajetan Mary della Croce and Gabriel Savonarola were approved to replace Fathers Costa and Grimming¹⁰⁸. Father Croce was sent back by Father Redanaschi against his will, because of poor health in 1730¹⁰⁹, and Father Savonarola in 1733¹¹⁰, not having finished his teaching term of four years. In 1734, Father Jerome Moro and Father John Baptist Cappello were proposed and approved for Lviv¹¹¹. Becoming ill before his departure, Father Moro was replaced by Father Joseph Mary Rosso¹¹².

Father Redanaschi was in rather poor health. He departed this life on May 23, 1735, and was buried in the tomb of the Armenian archbishops. The funeral was celebrated by the Armenian archbishop with the assistance of the Latin coadjutor of Lviv and all of the Latin and Armenian clergy.

Father Redanaschi, otherwise of good quality as an administrator, did not seem to enjoy popularity with the Ukrainians. No mention is made of the presence at his funeral of the Ukrainian bishop of Lviv, or of the Ukrainian clergy.

At the time of Father Redanaschi's death, the only other Theatine at Lviv was Father Lascaris. Nuncio Merlino and Bishop Athanasius Šeptyckyj of Lviv, who was also metropolitan of Kyjiv (1729-1746) proposed him as rector, but the Prop. Fide sent Father Costa, who had been first at Lviv, and had been proposed by Father Redanaschi as his successor in 1731. The essential impediment to Father Lascaris was that he was too young, only twenty nine years of age, and was

¹⁰³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 100: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1724, Aug. 9).

¹⁰⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 106 (1725, Jan. 15); WLP, t. 3, pp. 253, 258.

¹⁰⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 96, f. 207 (1726, May 14).

¹⁰⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 100, f. 33 (1730, Feb. 6).

¹⁰⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 101, f. 373 (1731, Aug. 7).

¹⁰⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 165; AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Summaria.

¹⁰⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 374; IBIDEM, t. 1, f. 369-372.

¹¹⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 405: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1733, June 24).

¹¹¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 104, f. 283 (1734, Aug. 16).

¹¹² APF, *Acta*, t. 105, f. 58 (1735, Feb. 1).

not eligible to be a superior according to the Theatine constitutions. He would have had difficulty in imposing obedience on other religious. Father Costa was forty years old.

Meanwhile, the nuncio was notified that Father Lascaris was ill, and sent Father Bellavita, superior of the Theatine house at Warsaw, to Lviv. During the absence of Father Lascaris, the seminary was directed by an Armenian secular priest, Father James Augustinowicz, who actually lived at the seminary, and who took care of practical affairs until the arrival of the new Theatines¹¹³.

Father Costa was made bishop of Ripatrasone, and left the seminary in 1738. Father Lascaris was appointed rector in his place. He had been serving at the seminary of Lviv for eight years¹¹⁴. In 1736 Father Joseph Calcaterra of Turin came to Lviv as instructor¹¹⁵. Before 1735 the Armenian priest, Father Augustinowicz, had served for many years in the seminary as instructor in Armenian grammar, and had been of considerable help to Father Redanaschi during the period of his illness¹¹⁶.

In the beginning of 1740 Father Cappello left Lviv¹¹⁷ and after the burning of the seminary, Fathers Rosso and Calcaterra were sent back to Italy by the rector¹¹⁸. Both had completed their four years of teaching. Father Rottingo, on his way to Lviv, received a letter from the rector to discontinue the journey. The rector did this after having been told by the Prop. Fide to make all decisions concerning the departure of the Fathers and the return of the students to their homes after the fire, according to his own judgement and to circumstance.

Father Lascaris obtained Father Jerome Moro as helper¹¹⁹, and he came immediately after the fire. As Father Lascaris described him, he was a man of experience and activity, uniquely capable of assisting him in this great misfortune¹²⁰. Shortly after, Father Lascaris was offered the position of mitred canon in the collegiate church of

¹¹³ APF, *Acta*, t. 105, f. 337-340 (1735, July 18); APF, *Udienze*, t. 4, f. 388 (1736, April 18).

¹¹⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 108, f. 285 (1738, Sept. 15); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 478: Father Costa to Prop. Fide (1738, Oct. 15).

¹¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 106, f. 5-6 (1736, Jan. 16).

¹¹⁶ APF, *Udienze*, t. 4, f. 388 (1736, April 18).

¹¹⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 110, f. 36-37 (1740, Jan. 19).

¹¹⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 110, f. 204 (1740, Nov. 14); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 489-491; MUH, t. 6, p. 118-119, no. 98.

¹¹⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 110, f. 106-107 (1740, Sept. 5).

¹²⁰ WAP, t. 4, p. 9, no. 1143 (1740, Nov. 14).

Olyka, and left the affairs of the seminary. The Prop. Fide named Father Moro as his successor on December 17, 1740¹²¹. With the title were joined both honor and the burden of finishing the construction of the house and of reopening the seminary.

ART. 4

HOUSE, STUDENTS AND SERVANTS, INCOME AND EXPENSES

By 1709, the increase of the number of students necessitated the augmentation of service personnel from four to six¹²². There had been little increase in the income. In 1720, the only sources of income were the 600 scudi from the Prop. Fide for the Armenian students and 50 for the Ukrainian students, the 168 from the village of Dublany, and the 2 from an apple orchard donated in 1711 by Captain Dobrjanskyj, totalling 820 scudi. On the other hand, the expenses by 1710 increased and exceeded the income continually. In 1710, the expenses amounted to 772 scudi, and in the successive years (1711-1720) were 914, 1,017, 958, 1,099, 1,183, 989, 914, 717, 894 and 1,254.

The incorporation of the 40,000 florins of Peremyšl gave the seminary 280 scudi annually, and the subsidy from the Prop. Fide in 1721 for six Ukrainian students amounted to 210 scudi. The income by 1722 had grown from 820 to 1,310 scudi. The expenses had grown by the same year to 1,489 scudi¹²³.

That the expenses surpassed the income does not seem to have been the fault of Father Trombetti. The average number of students between 1710 and 1720 was seventeen¹²⁴. To diminish this number was impossible. To keep the Armenians contented, Father Trombetti kept their number between ten and twelve. The Ukrainians up until 1718 had five students and then seven. Prices increased¹²⁵, and to this was added the continuous repair of the house of the seminary and

¹²¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 110, f. 234 (1740, Dec. 6).

¹²² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 237: Catalogus Personarum (1710).

¹²³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 299-302: Conti del Collegio (1710-1723); WLP, t. 3, p. 47, no. 1055: Prop. Fide to Andrew Dobrjanskyj (1711, Oct. 5).

¹²⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 251, 260, 263, 266-268, 288-289: Catalogus Personarum et Proventorum (1712-1719).

¹²⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 283: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1716, Nov. 4).

the expense for the village of Dublany. To justify himself, Father Trombetti in 1721 sent a list of repairs and adjustments made by him after the death of Father Accorsi up until 1721¹²⁶.

With the increase of students there was no place in the house of the Armenian seminary. To house the Ukrainian students, the Prop. Fide repeated its former order to sell the house bought by Cardinal Pignatelli, and to use the money in the construction of a new house on the grounds bought for the seminary close to the Armenian house¹²⁷. The house was not sold. The buyers offered 7,000 to 8,000 florins and Father Trombetti did not wish to sell it at this price. He arranged for a merchant to stay there, watch the house, and pay a little to help with the repairs.

Meanwhile, in order to have some place to house the Ukrainian students, and not having found anyone to contribute to the planned construction, he decided to build a new floor in a wing of the Armenian house. He chose the south wing, and built the extra floor in 1721. This addition consisted of four rooms¹²⁸ with separate stairs, the rooms, corridor and view being entirely different and separate from that of the Armenians who occupied the third floor of the east wing¹²⁹. The cost was 2,788 florins¹³⁰. To cover the expense, Father Trombetti used the 1,117 florins coming from the sale of the cross, chain and ring given by Nuncio Grimaldi, and 1,600 florins obtained with great difficulty from the heirs of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj as recompense for the interest of the years 1713-1720, when the foundation was in possession of the Basilians¹³¹.

The construction of these four rooms in the Armenian house provoked strong opposition from the Armenians to Father Trombetti. This was made even worse when they found allies in two Theatine instructors, the Cottone brothers. A full fledged attack was started against Father Trombetti at the seminary, at the nunciature and at the Prop. Fide to remove him from the position of rector of the seminary.

The Armenians had been dissatisfied with Father Trombetti for

¹²⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 494.

¹²⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 8-9 (1720, Feb. 18).

¹²⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 527: Armenian Archbishop Augustynowicz to Prop. Fide (1722, May 27).

¹²⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 463: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1722, Jan. 4); WCP, t. 1, p. 175, no. 63 (1722, May 15).

¹³⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 467: *Esito per la fabbrica* (1721).

¹³¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 466: *Introito per la fabbrica* (1721).

a long time. They complained especially to the archbishop, of bad government in the seminary. Then, in 1720, Nuncio Grimaldi was ordered to visit the seminary¹³². Previous to this order, the nuncio had written the Prop. Fide that, according to his opinion, the complaints of the Armenians were not supportable, because only shortly before, this same Archbishop Augustynowicz had requested that one of his nephews be admitted into the seminary, obliging himself to pay the required cost, and he would not have done this if he had seen with his own eyes that the seminary was neglectful of discipline or care of the students¹³³.

The nuncio was not able to make the visitation, because the synod, on account of the plague, was held at Zamostja instead of at Lviv. When the Armenians approached him with their complaints, he delegated a substitute for the visitation, but this visit was not made either, because Nuncio Grimaldi was transferred to Vienna. When the new nuncio, Jerome Archinto, came to Warsaw, the Armenian archbishop immediately went there, but since the nuncio was not familiar with the problem, the visit of the archbishop was without success¹³⁴.

When Father Trombetti began the construction of the four rooms the Armenians immediately renewed their complaints against him, and demanded that the Ukrainian students be removed from their house, that the rector be retained for only four years and never again during his life, and that the Armenian archbishop should make a visitation every year to the Armenian students¹³⁵. They wrote, not without reason, that the Ukrainians should have a separate seminary. There was free land in the vicinity on which to build a new seminary. There was also an apple orchard donated by Mr. Dobrjanskyj with a house formerly inhabited by the Capucins, and in the center of the city there was a house, or rather a palace, bought to house the Ukrainian students¹³⁶.

The Armenian archbishop reported that the food in the seminary was poor, as well as the treatment of the students¹³⁷, and requested

¹³² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 296-297: Letter to the Nuncio (1720, June 20).

¹³³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 211-212: Nuncio to Prop. Fide (1720, June 12).

¹³⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 553: Armenian Archbishop Augustynowicz to Prop. Fide (1721, Dec. 10).

¹³⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 472: The Armenians to Prop. Fide (1721, June 11).

¹³⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 474: Continuatio desideriorum (1721, July 23).

¹³⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, ff. 511-512, 508: Armenian Archbishop to Prop. Fide (1722, March 3 and March 16).

Conto dell'Anno, e dell'Anno de Collegi Pontifici Armeni, e Russo di Leopoli l'anno 1761.

Conto del Collegio	Gennaio	Febbraio	Marzo	Aprile	Maggio	Giugno	Luglio	Agosto	Settembre	Ottobre	Novembre	Dicembre	Conto de Fini
Rossato a	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
Utile Comune	895-3	896-19	896-26	799-4	912-9	647-28	612-13	776-20	760-19	766-8	777-2	908-20	-9635-1
Meritorio	702-13	10-20	672-20	961-26	120-16	110-4	46-28	-	100-22	49-12	93-1	-27-20	3036-4
Supplenti	37-	58-24	190-7	51-5	396-	109-24	11-13	-	26-19	-20-8	10-11	-	-931-20
Utile	462-21	404-25	56-22	206-8	-	140-26	340-	266-12	296-26	59-26	112-4	-24-7	2420-6
Aspirazioni	42-10	40-23	83-21	-12-20	-3-2	-	76-15	-	130-	-	28-20	129-21	-589-12
Storidinari	48-6	215-	59-18	-	-	672-20	-	-	-	61-10	-	-	1036-24
Loggia	404-18	-41-16	-	-	-	-	260-28	262-6	-	41-	206-10	-	1249-18
Anterimena	312-20	-	-	-	-	-	108-	171-	-	126-20	280-	570-	1570-10
Chiesa	118-	34-3	36-16	129-19	6-23	50-5	417-4	26-29	3-24	43-5	116-12	3-11	-985-1
Servi	54-	-	-	27-26	162-16	140-28	22-4	-57-12	-52-6	-10-	208-18	279-20	-52-6
Summa de ceteris	3080-9	1792-12	2012-10	2323-8	1361-18	1759-21	8920-23	1537-28	1348-19	1976-16	2032-28	1787-26	22518-0
Anno del Collegio Pontifici Armeni, e Russo di Leopoli l'anno 1761										Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
Summa simile caritatevole del Sagro Congregazione di Propaganda Fide l'anno 1761										8600-	Summa del Anno	22910-	14
Fruito del Capitale del Seminario Russo di Primitia del 10 ottobr' Minicchi Metropolitano, e Monaco di Primitia										2800-	Summa del Anno	22618-	14
Fruito causato dal Capitale assicurato sulle vite di Armeniani, e altri										9480-16	Summa l'Anno	392-	14
Fruito causato da Dublany										776-19	Summa l'Anno	392-	14
Da vari Anni										1239-10	Bilancio della Fabbrica l'anno 1761	Finanzi	Finanzi
Summa dell'Anno addotto.										22910-14	Summa dell'Anno	1076-26	14
Anno della Fabbrica l'anno 1761										Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
Esito della Fabbrica l'anno 1761										Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
Restavano in Cassa l'anno 1760										-926-	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
Per aumento dell'Anno del Collegio nel 1761, come sopra										392-14	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										402-10	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										185-10	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										118-10	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										471-26	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										240-7	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi
										107528-	Finanzi	Finanzi	Finanzi

INCOME AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1761
(from APF, Colleg. Leop., t. I, fol. 644)

that, for the peace of all, at least for the peace of the Armenians, Father Trombetti be removed. He wrote that the fact that the Ukrainian bishops did not complain about Father Trombetti only went to prove that they cared little or not at all about the seminary¹³⁸. The archbishop and the Armenians declared that they were ready to reimburse the expenses incurred for the four recently constructed rooms if the Ukrainian students would be removed from the Armenian house¹³⁹.

Questioned by the Prop. Fide, Father Trombetti tried to justify himself, especially regarding the construction of the rooms. He wrote that the Armenians had no cause to complain. Their students lived completely separated in another wing of the house, and not only did they have the same comforts as before, but now had competition in study, as well as the benefits of the village of Dublany, which had been bought for the Ukrainians¹⁴⁰. The site of the Armenians had not been touched in building. As for the students, he continued, these lived in all harmony and good relations among themselves, as they did in the Collegio Urbano in Rome, where students of diverse nations lived together¹⁴¹. Besides, he had in this way saved the cost of a new house, for the construction of which there was not the necessary money¹⁴².

Receiving all these letters, the Prop. Fide asked for Father Redanaschi's opinion. He answered that the Armenians did have some reason, since they had ceded the house to the Prop. Fide for the good of Armenians only. Furthermore, the floor which had been added was only able to accommodate nine, or at most ten, students, whereas the need was for a much greater number.

There was not much weight to the argument that Father Trombetti did not know where to lodge the students, because the house bought by Cardinal Pignatelli, in which both fathers and students had lived many times, could be utilized with ease. In addition there was the house in Dublany, and the one donated by Mr. Dobrjanskyj

¹³⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 571: Armenian Archbishop to Prop. Fide (1722, June 10).

¹³⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 527: Armenian Archbishop to Prop. Fide (1722, May 27).

¹⁴⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 40: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1721, July 23).

¹⁴¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 482: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1722, Jan. 4).

¹⁴² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 462: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1721, Aug. 27).

near the Armenian seminary. Sooner or later, a new seminary would have to be built, and the rooms would have to be turned over to the Armenians. However, since the rooms were already constructed, it was too late for discussion. In order to assure the Armenians that the Prop. Fide had in mind to build another seminary elsewhere for the Ukrainians and that this was only a temporary remedy, they ordered Father Trombetti not to make any more of the additions to the Armenian house, as he was considering doing. They wrote to Father Trombetti and to the nuncio to discuss with the Armenians the purchase of their house¹⁴³.

Not much later, Father Trombetti died. All economic and house affairs came to a standstill on account of his improvident death, and had to be systematized by the new rector.

The first care of Father Redanaschi was to put the financial affairs of the seminary in order. There were forty five persons at the seminary, four religious, ten Armenian students, eighteen Ukrainian students, and thirteen servants. Since 1710, the expenses had exceeded the income. The seminary had a debt of 2,900 scudi, and even worse, was without sufficient income to maintain itself in the future.

Father Redanaschi, seeking to justify Father Trombetti to the Prop. Fide, wrote that he still hoped that pious persons would help them. There were many extraordinary expenses, over and above the ordinary ones, for which no particular subsidy had been allotted. Besides these, they had sustained a number of other necessary expenditures, such as for conducting water to the seminary, for repairing the house bought by Cardinal Pignatelli which was threatened with ruin, for constructing two rooms needed for the rector, and for many trips to Warsaw at the call of the nuncio, and finally a trip to Zamostja for the synod, the cost of which had never been reimbursed by the Prop. Fide.

The debt would have been still greater if Father Trombetti had not given his own income, such as mass stipends, private gifts and subsidies from pious persons, for the good of the seminary.

Father Redanaschi asked the Prop. Fide to help him with 2,900 scudi for the liquidation of the debt, and in addition to increase the annual subsidy for the support of the seminary, because it was not possible to operate on less than 15 baiocchi per person daily. It was impossible to maintain the persons there without additional income.

¹⁴³ APF, *Congy. Part.*, t. 64, f. 476-480: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1721).

He wrote that this sum should not seem exorbitant, since it included not only food and clothing, but also paper, letters, infirmary expenses, medicine, doctor, barber, repair of the house, maintenance of the church, servants' salaries, extraordinary expenses, etc. Food could be found at a good price, but clothing was expensive.

The only alternative, he continued, was to diminish the number of persons, either the students or the servants, but that he did not consider it expedient to do so, especially the servants, with the exception of one of the two cooks, all the others being equally necessary whereas the number of students varied, sometimes more, sometimes less.

The servants of whom he spoke were thirteen in number: two cooks, a scullery boy, a baker, a man who made beer, a tailor, a dispenser, a table waiter, a doorkeeper, a coachman, a buyer and two men to carry wood and light the stoves¹⁴⁴.

The number of servants seems really excessive, and also the number of Armenian students, considering the size of the Armenian nation. The rector did not wish to diminish the number of servants, nor was it ever even considered that the number of Armenian students would be decreased. The Armenians had ten students for fewer than three thousand faithful, while on the other hand the Ukrainians had eighteen students for the entire metropolitanate of Kyjiv, comprised of eight dioceses, each with hundreds of thousands of faithful. The number of Armenian priests leaving the seminary was not only sufficient but superabundant for three thousand faithful, whereas the number of Ukrainian priests turned out to serve millions of faithful in the metropolitanate was like a drop in the sea among the many thousands of uninstructed priests. Nevertheless, in comparing the students enrollment lists of 1723¹⁴⁵ and 1726¹⁴⁶, it can be found that Father Redanaschi reduced the number of Ukrainian students from eighteen to sixteen and augmented the number of Armenians from ten to eleven.

The Prop. Fide, considering the state of the seminary in a special session on December 6, 1723, assigned 2,900 scudi to pay its debts, of which 1,700 was from the matrimonial dispensation already assigned in 1722 to the Ukrainian seminary, and 1,200 was from their own funds.

¹⁴⁴ WCP, t. 1, p. 198-199, no. 68 (1722, Dec. 6); WSEU, t. 2, p. 184-186, nos. 663, 664.

¹⁴⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 30~~0~~.

¹⁴⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 253: Conti copiali (1726).

They ordered the rector to send receipts to the archives of the Prop. Fide, and not to incur any more debts in the future, because they would not be able to pay them. They gave 500 scudi for the maintenance of the seminary until some different source could be found, and obliged the rector each year to send an exact account of the economic state of the seminary, and not to accept any student without their express authorization. The sum of 15 baiocchi daily per person was not accepted by the Prop. Fide. Neither was the number of servants. It seemed to them that one of the cooks would be eliminated, as well as one of the men who carried wood and lighted the fires, especially in summer. Likewise, instead of a special boy, the doorkeeper could wait on table, and the office of buyer and dispenser could be united in one person.

The Prop. Fide added that Father Redanaschi should try to obtain a yearly payment from the Ukrainian students, at least from those who were more wealthy, explaining to them that such was the wish of the Prop. Fide, since many Ukrainian students could not be supported by them¹⁴⁷. They deemed 15 baiocchi per day as excessive. In 1723/24 the rector spent 12 baiocchi daily per person, which amounted to 3.65 scudi monthly and 43.80 scudi yearly, totalling for all forty five persons 1,971 scudi¹⁴⁸. In the following years the expenditures generally diminished. In 1726 they amounted to 1,774 scudi¹⁴⁹, in 1728 to 1,627, in 1729 to 1,587¹⁵⁰, in 1730 to 1,594, in 1732 to 2,035, in 1734 to 1,436¹⁵¹ and in 1740 to 2,022.

The rector sent to the Prop. Fide, as his predecessors had done, only the total sum for expenses, divided into eleven categories, namely: common food, clothing, furnishings, supplies, miscellaneous, repairs, extraordinary expenses, infirmary, wood, church, and servants¹⁵².

The Prop. Fide assigned on June 27, 1724 and on July 20, 1725, the annual sum of 661 scudi for the maintenance of the seminary¹⁵³. This was in addition to the 600 scudi given for the Armenian students

¹⁴⁷ WCP, t. 1, p. 202-203, no. 68.

¹⁴⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 15-16: I proventi e le spese (1723/24).

¹⁴⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 253: Conti copiali (1726).

¹⁵⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 404-405: Conti copiali (1728); *IBIDEM*, t. 93, f. 400-401 (1729).

¹⁵¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, g. 431-432: Father Costa: Registro dei conti (1730-1735).

¹⁵² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 448-451, 482: Conti (1736-1740).

¹⁵³ WCP, t. 1, p. 231-232, no. 72 (1727, Sept. 9).

and the 260 scudi for the Ukrainian students, and was paid until the year 1730¹⁵⁴.

In 1724, Father Redanaschi sold the house, which had been bought years earlier for the Ukrainian students, for 3,350 scudi. To this sum was added the 1,610.15 scudi derived from the foundations promised by the bishops at the Synod of Zamostja, the unspent maintenance funds for the students between the years 1724 and 1727, the interest on capital invested up until 1729, and the partially returned payment of debts of Father Trombetti by his creditors. In this manner, he put together the sum of 9,415 scudi, which was entitled "new capital" and invested at 7% in Remaniv, hereditary property of the family of Prince Sobieski¹⁵⁵. The contract was made with a clause that the seminary would rent the village in three year periods, and if it should happen that 7% profit would not be realized, the seminary would receive the lacking amount from the treasury of the prince¹⁵⁶.

The income of the seminary after 1730 amounted to about 18,760 florins per year, or 1,876 Roman scudi¹⁵⁷.

The number of persons at the seminary remained stable with little variation, that is, with sixteen to eighteen Ukrainians and ten to eleven Armenians¹⁵⁸, in spite of the formation of the new capital, and the foundations of the bishops.

The servants received their annual wages, some in money, and others partially in money and partially in clothes, food and infirmary services. For each of the two cooks, the coachman, the tailor, the buyer, the dispenser who had charge of the wardrobe and the refectory, and for the table waiter who also took care of other needs since there were no laybrothers, the salary was 12 scudi per year. For the baker, the beer maker, and each of the fire tenders, it was 9 scudi, for the door-keeper 8 scudi and for the kitchen boy 7 scudi. This made the total wages 135 scudi per year¹⁵⁹.

Since the profits from the village of Remaniv were not sufficient

¹⁵⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, ff. 367, 382 (1731, April 8).

¹⁵⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 254-255: Father Redanaschi: Specificazione del come e quando venga costituito il nuovo capitale (1728, May 27); *IBIDEM*, t. 93, f. 402-403: Introito della villa Remaniv (1728/29).

¹⁵⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 256: The contract (1726, Jan. 5).

¹⁵⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 431-432: Registro dei conti (1730-1735).

¹⁵⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 253: Conti (1727, May 27); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 432: Lista della famiglia (1735, Dec. 7).

¹⁵⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 20: I salari annuali (1723/24).

to cover the amount invested in it, and the prince did not supply the deficiency, the rector took the new capital and increased it to 10,000 scudi and in 1730 transferred part of the investment to the property of the village of Bilokrynycja and to two other properties at Bilyci and Bohdanivka. The rector had wanted to invest the sum in one village, but a single one for this amount was not available¹⁶⁰. In 1737, Father Costa transferred the sum invested in the smaller villages to the village of Hubin. So the capital was then invested in two villages, Remaniv and Hubin¹⁶¹. Bohdanivka had been donated to the seminary by Prince Constantine Sobieski about the year 1731¹⁶².

Father Redanaschi also had to settle the question of the Armenian house and the lodging together of the Ukrainian and the Armenian students. During his visit to the seminary in 1723, the Latin bishop of Kamjanec Stanislaus Hozyjusz succeeded in obtaining from the Armenians the promise to leave the Ukrainian students in peace, and to construct the Ukrainian seminary connected to that of the Armenians, not disturbing the possession of the grounds¹⁶³. Father Redanaschi was not content with this promise, and wrote to the Prop. Fide on April 9, 1724, that the Armenians had promised to build with a chain on the foot, that is, that everything would be returned to the Armenians in case there were no more Armenian students, which would happen in time with the vanishing of this people little by little. Therefore, he counselled waiting before any further discussion of the negotiation¹⁶⁴.

After three years, in 1726, the Armenians requested nuncio Santini to turn over the full possession of the seminary and grounds to the Prop. Fide¹⁶⁵.

Father Redanaschi explained the action of the Armenians by saying that they did it in order more easily to obtain approval for their new missal, which removed a scandalous disorder in which every priest

¹⁶⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 93, f. 396-397: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1730, May 17).

¹⁶¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 728-731: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1780, May 28).

¹⁶² APF, *Acta*, t. 117, f. 8 (1747, Jan. 9); WLP, t. 4, p. 30, no. 1526 (1731, Aug. 18).

¹⁶³ WCP, t. 1, p. 211, no. 69 (1724, April 27).

¹⁶⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 101-102.

¹⁶⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, ff. 172, 176-189.

composed a missal according to his own whim, adding and taking away whatever pleased him¹⁶⁶.

Now nothing remained but to begin the construction of the Ukrainian seminary near that of the Armenians. The rector, before starting the new construction, was perplexed as to whether to build on the site of the Armenian seminary, or to choose a different site with better air and greater convenience. In the first case, there was a free unencumbered site belonging to the Prop. Fide, recently donated with the house by the Armenian community of Lviv. However there was only one small brick wing in this house, the remainder being of old, rotting wood, with a wooden roof, in continuous danger of fire. In addition, the distance from the city and the fact that the streets were impassable for half the year caused great inconvenience. The community was closed up in the house for this time, unable to go out, and had to pay double for the trouble of transporting things to the house. Medical care could be had only with great difficulty, although the need for it arose frequently on account of the unhealthful air which kept the group sick, causing great expense to the seminary.

Another factor against this site, according to Father Redanaschi, was the low, marshy quality of the land. Building foundations would have to be made three times stronger than in another place. The transport of materials would cost at least one third more, making the expense of construction almost double. Therefore, he wrote, it would be necessary to find another place with better air, closer to the city. He asked permission to sell the site when a buyer could be found, and to spend the money in construction at a new site, with the condition that they would not have to vacate the old site until the new building would be ready¹⁶⁷.

He obtained a site as a gift from Prince James Sobieski¹⁶⁸, near the walls of the city, and requested that the usual subsidy would continue to be sent, hoping to build the seminary in six or seven years with the revenue from the village of Remaniv and from special foundations. According to him, it was absolutely necessary to begin the construction of the new house, because the old one was becoming so dilapidated and decayed that they were forced to transfer the students to the village,

¹⁶⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 174: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1726, April 10).

¹⁶⁷ WCP, t. 1, p. 231-232, no. 72 (1727, Sept. 9).

¹⁶⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 101, f. 374 (1731, Aug. 7); WLP, t. 3, p. 308-309, no. 1447.

and to distribute them in the houses of the villagers. Otherwise, they were exposing themselves to the too evident risk of finding themselves one day buried among the ruins¹⁶⁹.

The construction was begun, but slowly; money was lacking, because the Prop. Fide had cancelled the 661 scudi assigned in 1724, and had given a one-time subsidy of 940 scudi at the beginning of the construction¹⁷⁰. The construction could not be completed. In 1740, when the disastrous fire destroyed the old house of the seminary, the new one was too far from being ready, and the students had to be sent home and the seminary closed until the completion of the new house¹⁷¹.

ART. 5

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE SEMINARY

Not many particular facts were recorded about the internal life of the Ukrainian and Armenian seminary. One of the first questions discussed was the matter of ordination of priests. The Armenian students were not ordained immediately after completion of their studies, because they were young, and because Armenian priests were ordained to a particular church or benefice, and could not be induced to take any missionary church without sufficient income. Father Trombetti in 1710 asked the Prop. Fide for a decree that none of the students could be ordained except to the title of missionaries¹⁷², and that the Armenian archbishop be prohibited from promoting to orders any students without testimonial letters from the rector. Those who left without recommendation lost much of the good they had acquired there, either through not having directors, or from being led astray by seculars, and the archbishop was constrained to ordain them in spite of this. Testimonial letters would be a great check for them and a stimulus to comport themselves well¹⁷³, rendering them submissive and obedient during their time at the seminary, and resigned and dependent after they left¹⁷⁴. The request to ordain them to the title

¹⁶⁹ WCP, t. 2, p. 41, no. 83 (1731, April 8).

¹⁷⁰ WCP, t. 2, p. 48, no. 83.

¹⁷¹ WAP, t. 4, p. 9-10, no. 1143 (1740, Nov. 14).

¹⁷² APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 180-181 (1710, April 28).

¹⁷³ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 450 (1710, Nov. 11).

¹⁷⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 181-182 (1710, April 20).

of missionaries had originated with the archbishop, so that he could exact obedience from his priests, who not having any obligation, did not want to move from their places¹⁷⁵. In the past there had been two cases of such ordination. The first was in 1667 at the request of Father Pidou for two priests, and the other in 1682 at the request of Father Bonesana for six priests¹⁷⁶. Father Trombetti's request was granted by the Prop. Fide on November 11, 1710¹⁷⁷.

In 1714, life at the seminary was disturbed by the flight of six students. The cause of this was one of the students, Nicholas Augustynowicz, who had incurred the punishment of bread and water for a week for bad conduct. After one day of penance he did not want to do any more, nor did he wish to humiliate himself before Father Trombetti to obtain pardon, responding arrogantly to him. Father Trombetti then gave the order to the servants to conduct him to a separate room. His companions took sticks, knives and other arms to impede the incarceration. Then, fearing punishment, the following night six of them ran away from the seminary, descending from the windows, some taking refuge with the Armenian archbishop, and others with his coadjutor. After three days, the fugitives were penitent and, recognizing their own fault, asked through the medium of others to be taken back, declaring themselves ready for whatever penance would be required. The whole matter went to the Prop. Fide. Nuncio Grimaldi made an investigation and found the students to be at fault. The Prop. Fide advised him to proceed according to his own prudence and judgement, removing the recalcitrants, and readmitting the others, on whom a penance was to be imposed and from whom improvement was to be expected in the future¹⁷⁸.

In treating of the internal life of the seminary under the rectorship of Father Trombetti, one cannot fail to mention epidemics. His predecessor, Father Accorsi, had died from the plague in 1704. In the following year the epidemic renewed itself. In 1710, during an attack of the epidemic, Father Trombetti passed the dangerous time with the students at Žydačiv¹⁷⁹. In 1719 the plague again returned to Lviv. To implore the cessation of the scourge, on the feast of St. Cajetan,

¹⁷⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 455 (1710, Nov. 11).

¹⁷⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 181 (1710, April 28).

¹⁷⁷ APF, *Acta*, t. 80, f. 456 (1710, Nov. 11).

¹⁷⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 84, f. 291-296 (1714, May 14).

¹⁷⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 241-242: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1710, Nov. 16).

a miraculous image of Our Lady was carried from the Armenian cathedral to the seminary in a procession of six or seven thousand people. An altar was erected in the vestibule where mass was celebrated with Ukrainian sermon and other solemnities which took place in the chapel in honor of St. Cajetan.

For greater security, some of the students and the fathers were sent to spend the time of contagion in the village¹⁸⁰. In 1720, a new wave of the epidemic struck, but this time much more severe, killing the stricken within a few hours or a day, whereas before it had taken three days to a week. Therefore, Father Trombetti, returning from the Synod of Zamostja, transferred the whole seminary to Dublany until the time was over¹⁸¹.

At this time, it should be mentioned that the Saxon troops invaded the seminary in 1716, destroying and causing damages of 2,081 florins¹⁸². Nuncio Grimaldi and also the Holy Father petitioned the king of Saxony¹⁸³, and with great difficulty obtained payment for the damage¹⁸⁴.

The last years of Father Trombetti were embittered not only by the quarrel with the Armenians, but also by the complaints of the Cottone brothers. After six years of residence at the seminary, they reported to the Prop. Fide in the January of 1722 that their term in Lviv had been expired for two years, and requested that the Prop. Fide make some determination concerning them. They added that, to confess the truth, they would with good will remain at the seminary, in order to merit the grace and favor of the Prop. Fide, but that much had disheartened them there, making their sojourn in Lviv unpleasant and difficult. They complained that there had been continuous injustice and persecution which they had suffered from Father Trombetti from the very beginning, and that he treated them worse than the lowest of laybrothers of their Order, and not as instructors¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 136-137: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1719, Sept. 5).

¹⁸¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 302: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1720, Sept. 26).

¹⁸² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 271: Father Trombetti to Nuncio Grimaldi (1716, July 1).

¹⁸³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 274-275: Letter to the King (1716, June 13); *IBIDEM*, t. 1, f. 278: Nuncio Grimaldi to the Secretary of State (1716, June 17).

¹⁸⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 284: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1716, Nov. 7).

¹⁸⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 304: Fathers Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Jan. 31).

The Armenian Archbishop Augustynowicz took their part, declaring himself to be much saddened by the talk at Lviv of the imminent departure of the Cottone brothers, because they had helped and were helping the poor people of Lviv with their own money, they had contributed books to the seminary library, and had contributed to the embellishment of the chapel and of their own rooms, spending in all 3,000 florins of their own money received from their family¹⁸⁶.

At the same time, their brother, the prince of Castelnuovo in Sicily, had written to the Prop. Fide, claiming that his brothers were suffering at Lviv because of the maltreatment of Father Trombetti¹⁸⁷.

One month after their first letter, the Fathers Cottone wrote another to the Prop. Fide, complaining that Father Trombetti had stripped them of the rights and precedence which was coming to them with seniority at the seminary and in religion, having appointed as vicerector Father Travasa, who had come only recently to the seminary, and that they would be professors if they were still in Italy. After they had meekly complained to him about such treatment and prejudice, he had answered full of anger that he was free to do whatever he chose¹⁸⁸.

In March there was a third letter. This time it brought the information to the Prop. Fide that the food at the seminary was insufficient and was badly prepared¹⁸⁹, and that the students were continually subjected to castigation and mortification, with threats of beatings and of being locked up. The seminary had become a place of misery, daily hearing the cries and complaints of the students, and discouraging the young secular boarders, who hearing this were afraid to wear the dress of students. Father Trombetti spent more than 3,000 florins yearly for his own comfort, keeping two servants for himself, two cooks, three coachmen and four horses in the Seminary and two at the village Dublany, besides many dogs which disturbed the silence and bothered everyone¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 543: Armenian Archbishop Augustynowicz to Prop. Fide (1722, Feb. 11).

¹⁸⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 306-310: Prince Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Feb. 13).

¹⁸⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 513: Fathers Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Feb. 22); *IBIDEM*, t. 64, f. 514 (1722, Feb. 24).

¹⁸⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 517 (1722, March 10).

¹⁹⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 519-520 (1722, March 16); *IBIDEM*, t. 64, f. 521-522 (March 24).

Letters of this sort continued during the following months¹⁹¹. The Prop. Fide asked Father Trombetti to answer to all of this, which was difficult for him to do, because in justifying himself he would have to accuse his confreres, and because he preferred rather to suffer than to expose the matter, taking God as his witness, seeing that the Cottone brothers would never be content anyway. Certainly there was no cause for complaint, he said, as to either the quality or the quantity of the food. They were not limited to one dish at table, and if the first were not appetizing, they could partake of the other. He did his best to see that they frequently had a glass of wine, and when that was not available there was always at least mead or beer, according to the custom of the country. As for clothing, he had left to them the stipends of their free masses, as well as those from Germany at 2 florins and all those stipends in unghari which came from foreign countries. He had never refused to let them go out or to assign them a companion. When he went to Warsaw, he took Father Andrew Cottone with him for the trip, and had not refused Father Cajetan Cottone who had also wanted to go for diversion.

Regarding the students, he answered that if they missed their school work they were punished not by him, but by the professors. If something otherwise was amiss, then they were accused by their moderator, that is to say the first among the Armenians if he were Armenian, and the first among the Ukrainians if he were Ukrainian. He then received a penance from the moderator, according to the gravity of the offense. Sometimes this penance consisted of blows on the hand or of hearing part of the mass with outstretched arms, or of being sent to his room. Actually, there were only a few students each year who were punished, most of them needing only a word of correction. This was how it was handled in the past, and he handled it so now, in spite of the sinister representations being sent to the Prop. Fide¹⁹².

The Prop. Fide had to decide something, but first the nuncio was commissioned to investigate and to send them an exhaustive report. The answer of Nuncio Santini was studied in a general session of the Prop. Fide. It was that the Fathers Cottone were very capable of teaching, but of a temperament too restless. If they had made a contribution to the improvement of the seminary, that was not of great

¹⁹¹ WAP, t. 3, p. 202-203, no. 1018 (1722, Sept. 1).

¹⁹² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 524-525: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1722, April 22).

importance, in spite of the fact that it had given and was giving them a basis for pretending to a title of distinction.

The nuncio believed that it would be difficult to find another religious as well provided with talent and experience as Father Trombetti to direct the discipline and finances of the seminary. In his time of administration, all was unquestionably better. Besides, he had acquired the esteem of the majority of the prelates and senators, and had lent considerable service to the nunciature itself in some most difficult contingencies. It was not credible that the Fathers Cottone had been mistreated by him. On the contrary, he had probably used too much leniency, permitting them to hold the reins. Their accusations, very unbecoming and serious against Father Trombetti, were in part absolutely false, and in part very unlikely, in view of his advanced age and the reputation for goodness for which he was noted by all.

The quarrel in the seminary had succeeded in creating great prejudice against the seminary itself, and according to the opinion of the nuncio, there was no other solution but the removal of either Father Trombetti or the Fathers Cottone. He did not think that the removal of Father Trombetti would be opportune, because although many of the Armenians were opposed to him, the Ukrainians were in favor of him. Weighing in the balance the Ukrainians with the Armenians, the judgement of the Ukrainians would have to prevail, since they were endowed largely with cathedrals and monasteries, with prelates of noble birth, whereas the Armenians were composed mostly of common people with only one archbishop.

The nuncio proposed his own way of action, and that was to write to the ecclesiastics and prelates of each nation that they should not meddle in any way in the affairs of the seminary, or send any more letters at the request of the Fathers Cottone. The Prop. Fide decided to follow the nuncio's suggestion, commissioning Secretary Carafa to discuss with the superior general of the Theatines the honorable removal of the Fathers Cottone¹⁹³.

The Cottone brothers obtained a teaching position in philosophy and theology in the Theatine house at Palermo¹⁹⁴. On receiving notification of this, both declared themselves ready to obey the command of the Prop. Fide and to undertake the voyage back to Italy¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹³ WAP, t. 3, p. 202-203, no. 1018 (1722, Sept. 1).

¹⁹⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 316: Prince Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Oct. 2).

¹⁹⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 318: Fathers Cottone to Prop. Fide (1722, Oct. 15).

Announcing their departure, they then proceeded to visit influential persons and the Armenians, so that they would intervene in their favor. They ended up in corrupting Father Travasa, the new instructor, and all three went every day in a coach to the city, although the street was very good, just to make a display. They had plenty to say about Father Trombetti and the unjust judgement. In their company, wrote Father Trombetti, Father Travasa became just like them, only worse, assuming the part of lawyer and procurator for them. All three prepared in their rooms conversations to take place at table in order to pull a retort from the rector and provoke a quarrel. They all wanted to be superior, wrote the rector, all wanted horses and carriages, to go for amusements, and then to write to the Prop. Fide that zeal was lacking in him¹⁹⁶.

The dispute of the Fathers Cottone and Father Trombetti throws some light on the internal life at the seminary. From other sources it can be found that lessons were held in the morning and after dinner. The students had to be accompanied by the instructors when they went for walks, and every feast in the morning, one instructor had to accompany the Armenian students to the Armenian church and another had to accompany the Ukrainian students to the Ukrainian church. The Ukrainian students dressed in a blue color, the same dress as that of the Greek College in Rome, except that by order of Cardinal Spinola the pontifical students had to be distinguished from the students of the metropolitanate, in order to encourage the bishops to make foundations¹⁹⁷. The Armenian students took the oath prescribed for other pontifical seminaries, and the Ukrainians that of the Greek College, which prohibited change to Latin rite or entrance into a Latin religious order, but not the Basilian Order. In the foundation of Peremyšl, the founder had imposed the oath not to change rites and to remain a secular priest. Father Trombetti felt that this restriction might succeed not a little in prejudicing the Basilian Fathers, and in view of their feelings and those of the present bishop of Peremyšl, asked the Prop. Fide to declare such students free to become either monks or secular priests. He deferred making them take the oath until such time as this could be in effect¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 194-195: Father Trombetti to Nuncio Santini (1723, Feb. 24).

¹⁹⁷ WCP, t. 1, p. 132-133, no. 61 (1720, Feb. 28).

¹⁹⁸ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 488: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1722, Feb. 4).

Father Redanaschi agreed with him, because in not being able to become Basilians, at this time these students would not be able to be raised to the dignity of bishop. However, the Prop. Fide answered that there could be no change in the oath, but the students, having taken the oath, could apply for a dispensation later in their own homes¹⁹⁹. In the following year, Father Redanaschi again requested to change the oath, and was told that the affair had been settled in the previous year²⁰⁰.

Shortly afterwards, Father Trombetti died, and three months later the Latin archbishop of Kamjanec, Stanislaus Hoziusz, came to Lviv, subdelegated by the nuncio to visit the seminary. The visitor stayed in the seminary for ten days with fifteen persons and thirty horses. Father Redanaschi arrived in Lviv later, and wrote that all lived at the expense of the seminary. The bishop wrote at the same time, on the contrary saying that he had made the visit at his own expense, so as not to trouble either the Prop. Fide or the seminary²⁰¹. Which of the two wrote the truth was not investigated by the Prop. Fide.

The visit had been made according to the customary instructions of the Prop. Fide as given to the apostolic nuncios whenever they were ordered to visit pontifical seminaries depending on the Prop. Fide. Reports were to be given on the rooms of the students, the library, the chapel, the buildings of the seminary, student life, the governing of the seminary, the number of fathers and service personnel, the conduct of the rector, and whatever else would occur to the good sense of the visitor²⁰².

After the visit, the visitor transmitted his report to the Prop. Fide according to these instructions. As a result, most of the available information of the life of the students of the Armenian and Ukrainian seminary at this time is contained in these reports.

The Armenians occupied the third floor and the section over the door of the seminary, in rooms of wood, completely separated from one another, with a stove for every two rooms. The Ukrainians lived in the brick rooms recently constructed, three to a room, also with one stove for two rooms. The Armenians kept themselves with greater

¹⁹⁹ WCP, t. 1, p. 179, no. 63 (1722, May 15).

²⁰⁰ WCP, t. 1, p. 185, no. 64 (1723, March 1).

²⁰¹ WCP, t. 1, p. 210, no. 69 (1724, June 27).

²⁰² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 33-34: Instructions (1723, July 23).

cleanliness, but complained of contracting sickness often because of the discomfort and the coldness of the quarters, since the stoves were lighted only every three or four days, at a late hour and for only a short time.

The visitor found the library sufficient and provided with good books, but the space so restricted that the books could not all be contained in it. The chapel was sufficiently furnished, and the students went there at various times of the day. It was necessary to repair the roof of the house.

All of the students complained of the scarcity and bad quality of the food. According to most reports, this consisted in three dishes for dinner, and two in the evening, of which one was always a vegetable. The food was not portioned out to each plate, but the three dishes had to serve ten students, and were not sufficiently filled, except for the greens and vegetables. At dinner and supper they were given beer, but in small quantity and poor quality. It was forbidden to drink water away from the table, and the students did it secretly so as not to be beaten. The tables were covered with torn, dirty cloths and were without knives or spoons, which the students had to supply themselves. During the last two epidemics while they were in Dublany, the students had been given meat only once a week, and that in small quantity.

The students further objected that the servants were given better food than they were, and that the religious, their superiors, in the same refectory were served food better seasoned and composed of greater variety.

Underclothes were not supplied once a year, as was the usual custom, but every fifteen or sixteen months, in such way saving a year in every four or five. The outer garments were issued every three years. One pair of shoes was given out, one towel and a very badly washed shirt.

The visitor praised the piety of the students and their modesty and obedience. He testified that Father Trombetti and, after his death, Father Travasa had treated these students severely, inflicting blows for the slightest offense, and he related some particular cases which proved excessive severity.

The visitor could find no rule and constitution for the seminary, other than that composed by the rectors to their own will, which had not been greatly altered in regard to distribution of time, either for exercises of piety or for study. In the book of students who had terminated their studies, there were no annotations as to where they had been assigned to work. There were only two religious at the time

of the visit, but they were waiting for a third. The visitor found the number of servants excessive, and hard on the students, whom the servants treated with disrespect and despotism, a fact which was tolerated by the rector.

The visitor proposed as suitable measures, that the seminary be visited every three years by a person neither Armenian nor Ukrainian, that the students be permitted free recourse by letter to the Prop. Fide and to the nunciature without the rector being able to forbid them, and that the students, especially the Ukrainians, would be preferably placed by the bishops, and not forced to wander through the province, since they could not obtain any benefice without payment to the nobles and patrons of the churches.

In conclusion, the visitor described the house of the seminary, the gardens and the house bought by Cardinal Pignatelli²⁰³.

During the visit he had spoken to representatives of the Armenian nation, and had obtained from them the promise not to disturb the Ukrainian students, but reserving to the Armenians the right to precede the Ukrainians and to have preference in accommodations²⁰⁴.

The visitor had written that he had found no other rule and constitution than that which had been arbitrarily composed by the rectors. By the time his report came in, this question had already been settled by the Prop. Fide on April 21, 1723²⁰⁵, and the new rector brought the rules prescribed by them to Lviv with him²⁰⁶, and introduced them into the seminary.

Little is recorded about the internal life of the seminary. Immediately, at the suggestion of his vice-rector, Father Travasa, Father Redanaschi promised to use the income in such a manner that the students would have no cause for complaint in food or clothing, as far as possible²⁰⁷. In fact, there are no more complaints from the students to be found in the archives. There is only one letter in 1730, but from an instructor, Father Croce, who wrote that the food was

²⁰³ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 34-40: Reports of the visit (1723, July 23); WCP, t. 1, p. 208-210, no. 69 (1724, June 27); WLP, t. 3, p. 242-243, no. 1346: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Santini (1724, June 27); WLP, t. 3, p. 244-246, no. 1347: Prop. Fide to Father Redanaschi (1724, June 27).

²⁰⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 186: *Obligatio Armenorum* (1723, July 27).

²⁰⁵ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 196-212: *Regulae observandae* (1723, April 21).

²⁰⁶ WCP, t. 1, p. 210, no. 69 (1724, June 27).

²⁰⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 100: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1724, Aug. 9).

sparse and poorly prepared, that wine was served only twice a week and was bad, and that the "mulso" drunk on other days was often sour, that the utensils at table were broken and indecent, and that the rector reserved a carriage for himself, obliging the instructors to go into the city on foot, even when the roads were terrible with mud from days of rain²⁰⁸. One cannot say whether all this was true or not, since no other reference to the matter is to be found.

The duration of studies was six years, two of philosophy and four of theology, at least it was so for the Ukrainian students. The Armenian students, according to the Armenian archbishop, remained there from ten to twelve years²⁰⁹.

One of the Armenian priests of Lviv was kept at the seminary to teach Armenian grammar to the Armenian students. Formerly this had been taught by the Theatines themselves, but for a number of years, no Theatine could be found who was able to teach Armenian. For a while it was taught by one of the students, who also taught singing, wrote Father Redanaschi, since it was so difficult to find a teacher. Those who were qualified were ashamed to appear as Armenians in Lviv. The students were sent to their respective churches on every feast day to learn their own rites²¹⁰.

Every so often a teacher for liturgical chant came from the outside for the Ukrainians. He was paid 10 scudi a year. The Ukrainians were not taught grammar or their own language²¹¹.

On departure from the seminary, the Ukrainians frequently entered the Basilian Order. To avoid this, Metropolitan Leo Kiška requested the Prop. Fide rigorously to forbid the students of the seminary of Lviv to enter the Basilians at the termination of their studies because, he wrote, he well foresaw that as Basilians they would be sent to other dioceses²¹². The first time this request was made, there was no response, and the second time, Father Redanaschi answered that this prohibition was already included in the oath, and that outside

²⁰⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 369-372: Father Croce to Prop. Fide (1730, Oct. 11).

²⁰⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 119: Armenian Archbishop Augustynowicz to Prop. Fide (1725, July 20).

²¹⁰ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 90: Ristretto (1725, July 20).

²¹¹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 15-20: Salari annuali (1724).

²¹² WAP, t. 3, p. 213, no. 1031 (1724, Jan. 10).

of one particular case, there was no record that this had ever happened²¹³.

The students at the end of their studies were to return to their dioceses. Father Redanaschi reported to the Prop. Fide in 1731 that in the diocese of Peremyśl, three priests had died that year who had six years earlier finished their studies at the seminary of Lviv. All three died of poison at almost exactly the same time, within the space of a month. They had been true Catholics, learned, zealous and an example to all. The first was John Rozluckyj, a monk, preacher at the cathedral, examiner of the clergy and assessor of the religious court. The second was Stephen Linkevych, official preacher and deacon at Peremyśl and pastor of Nehrybka. The third was Basil Krasnjanskyj, celibate and pastor of Javoriv. All clearly died of poison, although it could never be determined who was responsible. According to common opinion, it was the work of non-Catholics, because of the zeal of these priests in correcting their arrogance and abuses²¹⁴.

The quality of the seminary under the rectorships of Fathers Trombetti and Redanaschi had so improved that in 1738 the Latin Archbishop Wyzycki of Lviv with his chapter decided to send his students also to this seminary, giving to the Theatine Fathers the direction of students of the Latin rite. He proposed to pay 45 scudi for each student per year, and promised for the future to consign the properties of his seminary to the administration of the Theatine Fathers and the seminary. Father Costa was in favor of this union, and the Prop. Fide was not against it²¹⁵. However, the burning of the old house of the seminary and the incomplete state of the new one put a halt to further talk about the union.

The house burned on September 12, 1740. This fire began accidentally, and spread by a vigorous wind, in a short time had reduced the seminary to ashes, without the possibility of saving any of the furniture, the archives, the library, the liturgical ornaments, supplies, or anything from the barn or stables. All that was left to the fathers and the students was the clothes on their backs. The rector, Father

²¹³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 349: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1724, Aug. 30).

²¹⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 391, 398-399: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1731, May 29 and Aug. 8).

²¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 108, f. 199-202 (1738, June 9); *IBIDEM*, t. 108, f. 298-303 (1738, Sept. 15).

Lascaris, not having anywhere to lodge the students, sent them back to their homes, and sent the instructors back to Italy²¹⁶.

ART. 6

RULE OF THE SEMINARY

On January 25, 1723, several weeks before his death, Father Trombetti sent the rule of the seminary to the Prop. Fide. He wrote that it represented the exact way in which the students had been educated and trained up to that time. These regulations, forty in all, offer special although incomplete insight into the internal life of the seminary. They were formulated with the students of both rites in mind, and were without doubt the fruit of long years of experience on the part of Father Trombetti. In all, he had proposed no regulation not already in practice at the seminary for the approbation of the Prop. Fide²¹⁷.

This rule was presented in a special session of the Prop. Fide on March 1, 1723. After hearing Secretary Carafa of the Prop. Fide and Father Redanaschi, they appointed Cardinal Spinola to modify it²¹⁸. Eight days later, Cardinal Spinola sent the revised copy to the Prop. Fide, who approved it with a decree on April 21, 1723²¹⁹, and commissioned the new rector, Father Redanaschi, to bring it to Lviv and to introduce it there into the seminary²²⁰.

The regulations of the Prop. Fide are in substance the same as those composed by Father Trombetti, with some points added, some modified and some deleted, and all arranged according to chapters.

The first chapter dealt with the admission of students.

The student, before admission, had to be examined on the Catholic faith, on his life, morals, reputation, learning, health and age. If he was of illegitimate birth, was in debt, was or ever had been under criminal questioning or accused before a criminal tribunal, or had been suspected of heresy, he could be admitted only with the authorization of the Prop. Fide or of the nuncio.

²¹⁶ WAP, t. 4, p. 9-10, no. 1143 (1740, Nov. 14).

²¹⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 39-46: Father Trombetti to Prop. Fide (1723, Jan. 25).

²¹⁸ WCP, t. 1, p. 186, no. 64 (1723, March 1).

²¹⁹ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65, f. 212.

²²⁰ WCP, t. 1, p. 210, no. 69 (1724, June 27).

The regulations of this chapter were not in the rule of Father Trombetti. However, in adding this chapter, the Prop. Fide passed over in silence several important points, such as who could propose and select the students.

The second chapter treated of the obligations of the students.

The student when he was first admitted to the seminary must for several days remain in secular clothes, and must make a general confession of his past life to the spiritual father. If it was seen that life at the seminary had hope for him, he was given the clerical dress, with the admonition to study and to be pious and obedient. Five or six months after his admittance, the student had to take the oath in the hands of the rector. The names of the students who took the oath were inscribed in a book, along with his quality, morality, age, place of birth and names of his parents.

These regulations are completely missing in those proposed by Father Trombetti.

The third chapter contained regulations for ferial days.

The horarium of the day for prayers, study and meals for the summer as well as for winter, had to be decided and posted in a public place for all to read. In the morning, after the rising signal, there was a half hour in which to prepare for chapel, to set the beds in order, and to make private prayer. Then all went to the chapel for the usual common prayer, after which they returned to their rooms to prepare for class. There are no clear indications as to the exact schedule for classes; it seems that there were two very long classes in the morning. It is written that the students remained in class for two and a half hours, and the signal was given to prepare for the other class which lasted until eleven o'clock. Then they went to chapel to make their examination of conscience, and all assisted at mass, even if they had assisted at an earlier one. The remainder of the time before dinner the students used in practicing liturgical chant. After dinner, they went to chapel to pray for benefactors, and then recreated for an hour in a place designated by the rector. When recreation was finished, they went to their rooms, where each one recited vespers, matins and lauds of the Blessed Mother for the following day, privately. In summer, which lasted from the Saturday before Pentecost until the 14th of September exclusively, the students were permitted to rest after recreation. In winter, instead of resting, they had to study. At two o'clock after dinner at a signal all convened in chapel, where one of the students read the points for meditation, which was made for half an hour kneeling, at the end of which a prayer was recited and they returned to their

rooms. At three o'clock they returned to class for two hours, and had recreation until the Angelus rang, after which they went to chapel together for meditation as above. Then the signal was given for supper. After this, each made his examination of conscience in the chapel for a quarter of an hour, said the customary prayers and went to bed.

These regulations were in some points similar to those of Father Trombetti, in some points different, and in some points better explained. According to his earlier regulations, the students rose in winter at six o'clock and in summer at five. The signal to rise was given to the Armenians by the Armenian moderator, and to the Ukrainians by the Ukrainian moderator. For prayers, the Armenians went to chapel, and the Ukrainians to another designated place. After prayers, each one recited five Our Father's, Hail Mary's and Glory Be's for the Church, for the eradication of heresy and schism, and for the reigning pope. The examination of conscience, which lasted for a quarter of an hour, was made by the Armenians in chapel, and by the Ukrainians in another place. All of the students were obliged to assist at the mass of the spiritual father, but at what time is not said. Nothing is mentioned in Father Trombetti's regulations about the recitation of vespers, matins and lauds. Instead, from two to four o'clock in winter and from three to six in summer, there were lessons and then recreation, after which there was private study and meditation according to the season. Meditation in summer was after dinner, and in winter followed the recreation after class. Prayers were said by the Armenians in their own language and by the Ukrainians in theirs. Games were prohibited on all Fridays and during Passiontide. For prayers, the Angelus was indicated, and the De profundis after dinner, of which neither, especially the Angelus was in use in the Eastern Church.

The only actual changes made by the Prop. Fide to Father Trombetti's regulations in the third chapter were that a half hour instead of fifteen minutes was allowed to dress in the morning, and after the examination of conscience there was liturgical chant instead of recreation. His other points, having nothing expressly stated in the regulations of the Prop. Fide, were probably continued in practice.

The fourth chapter gives the regulations for feast days.

On feast days, if the rector was willing, the students could go to church under the supervision of one of the fathers, devotedly assist at the liturgical functions and hear the sermon without needlessly speaking with the priests or with seculars. After recreation, and in summer after meditation, all chanted vespers of the Blessed Mother aloud. For the remainder of the day they could study or go for a walk

under the supervision of the fathers, if the rector was willing. Every Sunday, each student confessed to the spiritual father, and after dinner attended a catechism lesson by one of the fathers for an hour. The morning and evening sermons were given by the students, in the refectory or in the chapel, on the gospel of the day. The same was done every Friday during Lent. The students should receive communion at least every second Sunday or great feast.

Father Trombetti's regulations prescribed confession on Saturday to the spiritual father, or else on Sunday. Deacons and subdeacons were to serve mass vested in dalmatics according to their ordination. During the whole week at mass, the two or four students in lowest rank were to carry candles, and the next highest in rank was to carry the thurible. The catechism was to be explained by the spiritual father. During Lent all were to gather to sing the litanies on Friday, the first Friday the Armenians, the second the Ukrainians, and so on in alternation. This same order went for preaching.

The fifth chapter contained the regulations concerning meals.

All ate together at the common meals. Fasts were observed by each one according to his own rite. Holy scripture, writings of the Holy Fathers and approved authors were read at table.

The regulations of Father Trombetti provided that the moderators would be served first, and then the other students according to their rank, under pain of kneeling in the middle of the refectory and getting only bread and water. Readers were appointed once a week, Armenians and Ukrainians alternating. Two students a week waited table, according to rank, an Armenian for the Armenians and a Ukrainian for the Ukrainians²²¹.

The sixth chapter prescribed keeping modesty in all actions, and manifestation of proper virtue, not only in word but in deed.

The seventh chapter deals with studies.

Studies were to last for six years, two of philosophy and four of theology according to St. Thomas. Every Saturday a weekly debate was held, philosophy alternating with theology.

The eighth chapter contained regulations for the rectors.

The rector had charge of the education of the students and of their maintenance. He administered the properties of the seminary

²²¹ It seems that in addition to the above mentioned appointment of servers, a servant was kept also to wait on table, probably for the superiors. Cfr. Chapter 4, note 144.

and did not permit anyone to meddle in the affairs of the seminary, with the exception of the Prop. Fide or the nuncio. The rector was obliged each year to send a sworn account of his administration to the Prop. Fide. He also had to keep watch that the Armenian and Ukrainian students did not gather in groups outside of class or devotions. He was to see that their money was taken to him and not to their rooms, that twice a week the rooms, chapel, school and halls were cleaned, that students not visit in the rooms of others, with the exception of the spiritual father, the rector, and the teachers for purposes of study only, and that only Latin was spoken in the morning. After dinner, the Armenians were to speak in Armenian, but Ukrainian was not prescribed for the Ukrainians. The rector was to visit the rooms of the students frequently, keep the keys to the seminary at night, control the light in the dormitories, appoint someone to care for the sick, and see that the youngest students received a piece of bread and a drink in the morning. He was to see that the students avoided any trade or gossip with the servants, and that each semester the regulations were read in the refectory.

The ninth chapter regulated going out of the seminary.

The students could not go out except for serious reason, and not unless accompanied and with permission of the rector. All had to be back in the seminary by the evening Angelus. On returning, they were to go to the rector for his blessing. They had to be accompanied by one of the fathers on walks. It was forbidden to take meals outside the seminary.

The tenth chapter prescribes penances for particular faults.

Whoever came late to morning prayer, for example, after the second admonition would be given only bread and water in the refectory that morning. In case of another offense, the student must publicly ask pardon; if the offense were serious he was to stand in chapel with outstretched arms during part of the mass, or kneel in the refectory with only bread and water, or sit in a closed room apart during recreation, or receive blows according to the judgement of the rector. If someone committed a criminal offense, he must be closed up in the seminary until the Prop. Fide or the nuncio pronounced judgement. Other punishments for diverse transgressions were left to the discretion of the rector.

The eleventh chapter dealt with vacations.

Vacations for the philosophy and theology students were from July 14th until September 14th, and for the rhetoric students from July 14th until August 14th. Thursday was always a free day, and the students took walks whenever possible or had games according to the

judgement of the rector. At the end of the summer vacation an eight day retreat was held under the direction of the spiritual father.

All or most of the material in chapters seven through eleven was missing in the regulations of Father Trombetti, except for a few particular regulations, such as the following. Latin was prescribed for the Ukrainians all day, whereas after dinner the Armenians were to speak Armenian. Wednesdays and Saturdays were assigned for cleaning the corridors and chapel. Any association between the Armenian and Ukrainian students was prohibited without permission from the rector. The last four ranking Armenians and last four Ukrainians had the duty of carrying the candles when the students went to chapel after supper, and of lighting the night lanterns in the corridors. Two infirmarians were assigned each month, an Armenian for the Armenians and a Ukrainian for the Ukrainians. Outsiders could visit the sick only at prescribed hours.

The twelfth and last chapter indicated the suffrages for benefactors which had to be said at the seminary.

This chapter was taken word by word from the regulations of Father Trombetti, which he had not yet introduced, but only proposed. The Prop. Fide placed them in the accepted regulations which they had approved for the seminary. It was prescribed that, at the first notice of death of the supreme pontiff, or of any of the cardinals of the Prop. Fide, of Ukrainian bishops who had given foundations, of the missionary fathers who had taught at the seminary, or of anyone else who had made a foundation, a mass of suffrage was to be said by one of the fathers, and all of the students were to assist at this mass and recite office for the dead.

In addition, celebration of a requiem mass by one of the fathers and recitation of office for the dead was prescribed on the following anniversaries, or on the first free day after the dates.

February 17 for supreme pontiffs;

February 19 for cardinals of the Prop. Fide;

March 14 for Father Galano;

April 4 for Barlaam Šeptyckyj, bishop of Lviv;

June 15 for Andrew Hunanian, Armenian archbishop of Lviv;

August 2 for Andrew Dobrjanskyj, benefactor;

August 22 for Joseph Šumlanskyj, bishop of Lviv;

September 22 for George Vynnyckyj, metropolitan and bishop of Peremyšl;

October 11 for the Theatine fathers who had served in the seminary.

Future anniversaries of deaths of bishops who had made foundations, that is of the bishops of Lviv, Peremyśl, and Luck. Others in the future were to be added.

Father Trombetti also proposed that each student leaving the seminary, whether or not he had finished his studies, should celebrate in the first quarter of each year a mass for the supreme pontiff, in the second quarter one for the cardinals of the Prop. Fide, in the third quarter one for the bishops who had made foundations, and in the fourth quarter one for the missionaries who had served in the seminary and for other benefactors. Each student, at the notice of the death of any of his fellow students, should recite vespers, first nocturne and lauds of the office for the dead for the soul of the deceased. These propositions were not accepted by the Prop. Fide, and were left out of their version of the regulations ²²².

Father Redanaschi brought these regulations with him when he came to Lviv and introduced them into the Ukrainian and Armenian seminary. Lacking sources, it is presumed that this was the rule observed until the suppression of the seminary in 1784.

²²² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 64, f. 41-47: Regulations of Father Trombetti (1723 Jan. 25); *IBIDEM*, t. 65, f. 196-212: Regulations of the Prop. Fide (1723, April 21).

CHAPTER V
UKRAINIAN AND ARMENIAN SEMINARIES
IN THE NEW HOUSE (1746-1784)

ART. 1
REOPENING OF THE SEMINARY

Father Moro had spent five years in the construction of the new house of the seminary, and it was not until 1746 that students could again be admitted. After all this time, with all of the funds spent, in 1746 only the central part of the house was finished¹. On the ground floor of this section was the chapel, the sacristy, four rooms for clothing, the dispensary and the workroom. The refectory was made up of three rooms without divisions. On the second floor were three rooms in the front, two for the rector and one for an instructor, and nine rooms along the length, of which five were destined for the school. On the third floor, the three front rooms were for two instructors and the teacher of grammar, and the nine rooms along the length for the students, who at this time could not have been more than twenty seven, or three to a room. In the corner of each room was a stove, one stove serving two rooms².

Meanwhile in Rome, they were beginning to think of suspending the annual subsidy of 860 scudi from the Prop. Fide for the Ukrainian and Armenian students. It was calculated that for forty five persons — twenty eight students, four fathers and thirteen servants — the annual expense was about 43 scudi each, totalling 1,935 scudi. By diminishing the number of servants to seven, it was felt that the semi-

¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 548: Procurator of Theatine Missions Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1747, Apr. 26).

² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 509: Father Moro to Father Redanaschi (1745, Sept. 29).

nary could be maintained with the income from the foundations or Peremyśl, and from Dublany, Remaniv and Hubin³.

Father Caesar Redanaschi, procurator general of the Theatine Missions, was of the same opinion, but Father Moro, the rector, answered categorically that it was not possible to diminish the number of servants, who had all been there in the time of Father Redanaschi's brother, and that it was also not possible to maintain the seminary on less than 12 baiocchi per person daily⁴. The reasons of Father Moro prevailed, and the Prop. Fide did not suspend the annual 860 scudi.

Before the seminary was reopened, Father Moro advanced several proposals for its better organization. Reviewing these in a general session on June 22, 1744, the Prop. Fide wrote to Nuncio Sorbelloni for information, and for his opinion after consulting with the ordinaries of Lviv, Latin, Armenian and Ukrainian⁵. The nuncio gathered the opinions of the bishops, added certain reflections of his own and sent the whole to the Prop. Fide, who examined it in a special session on December 12, 1745.

The proposals of Father Moro are contained in seven points.

1) He wanted two capable instructors to be sent later in the future spring, asserting that for the moment there was no need for a greater number.

The ordinaries had nothing to say about this. Nuncio Sorbelloni had only added that these should be subjects gifted with prudence as well as with doctrine and exemplary habits, and not those who, as had happened before, would boast of teaching modern statements too dangerous there, where Catholics were totally ignorant, and there were cases in which numerous Catholics and Orthodox were damaged by such statements, making the Catholics vacillate by undermining the union, and making the Orthodox hold more firmly to the errors of schism.

The Prop. Fide answered that capable subjects would be sent.

2) For better order and regulation of the seminary, Father Moro begged permission, as it was done in the Collegio Urbano in Rome, for the Armenian and Ukrainian students, and whichever servants

³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 547: Nota dell'archivio (1745).

⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 511-512: Father Moro to Father Redanaschi (1745, Sept. 29).

⁵ WAP, t. 4, p. 32-33, no. 1175 (1744, June 22).

were of these rites, during their stay at the seminary, to conform to the Latin calendar in observing feasts and fasts. With three different calendars, there was disorganization and confusion in the seminary, obstacles to study, and greater expense because of the diversity of the cooking.

The Latin archbishop, Nicholas Wyzycki, favored the introduction of the Latin calendar, but he advised that it should be added to the oath that the student was obliged to return to the observance of his own rite immediately after his dismissal from the seminary. He did not think that the Latin calendar would be advisable for the servants however, since once they had become accustomed to the Latin calendar they would never again return to their own, because of the greater attractiveness of the Latin rite, and because of their ignorance.

The Armenian archbishop, John Augustynowicz, foresaw three difficulties on this point. Outsiders might be incited to follow the example of the students, the students on leaving the seminary might continue the Latin observance, and the Armenian and Ukrainian churches would be deprived of the assistance of the students on feast days. In case the Prop. Fide decided to introduce the Latin calendar, he proposed that the students still be obliged to lend their assistance in church on principal feasts, and that the Latin calendar be restricted to the grounds of the seminary. In going out from the seminary even for a short time, they should observe their own rite. He felt that this should be added to the oath.

Metropolitan Athanasius Šeptyckyj, who was also bishop of Lviv, responded that, all things considered, it did not seem that any real benefit would be derived from the introduction of the Latin calendar, but rather that outsiders would be scandalized. Later however, in a direct letter to the Prop. Fide, he wrote that after talking to Father Moro, he had been persuaded by the advantages he had described, and that therefore he would consent, on condition that the Ukrainians observe their own rite in holy communion and in the fasts of Advent and Lent, and on principal feasts lend their service in church. Also, if they should ever find themselves outside of the seminary for meals with their relatives or with other Ukrainians, they would be obliged to conform to the rite used by them.

The nuncio said that, for the good order of the seminary, he was in favor of the introduction of the Latin calendar, its use being restricted to the grounds of the seminary, and to the time in which the students

were at the seminary. This would ward off the suspicion that they were trying to bring the students over permanently into the Latin rite.

The answer of the Prop. Fide was negative.

3) The third proposal was that all the students of both rites would be clothed in uniform dress, since the diversity in form and color caused derision, not only among themselves, but also among outsiders.

All three of the ordinaries, as well as the nuncio, agreed to the introduction of a uniform dress. The Latin archbishop, however, did not approve of Ukrainians using the white collar, because the wearing of the white collar was the privilege of the Latin clergy.

The decision of the Prop. Fide was negative.

4) In the fourth proposal, Father Moro asked that, in the school and in all community exercises, seniority be determined not only by time of entrance into the seminary, but also by superiority in school, in order to remove causes of dissent between the two nations on account of the seniority of their respective foundations, and also causes of dissent between nobles and commoners.

This proposal was approved unanimously by the ordinaries, the nuncio and the Prop. Fide.

5) Father Moro also asked the Prop. Fide to procure from the Holy Father for the rectors of the seminary of Lviv the faculty to confer upon students whom they judged capable, the doctoral degree in theology and canon law, and

6) that this faculty not be restricted to students, since outsiders wishing thus to make themselves eligible for promotion, often had to make long and expensive voyages, and this could be equally converted to the benefit of the seminary.

Both the Latin archbishop and the nuncio were against these two points; the archbishop because this faculty had been conferred until then only on the Academies of Krakow and Zamostja, and it would be impossible to do so without the consent of the king and the diet of the kingdom; the nuncio because it would be difficult to get the consent of the king and of the diet, because of the opposition of the Universities of Krakow, Zamostja and Vilno, and once the faculty were conceded to the seminary at Lviv, it would be difficult to refuse it to the seminaries at Vilno and Braunsberg. Besides, it would be of little value to students who were destined to the care of souls. Those

few who would have such a need could have recourse to a university. Therefore, this faculty should not be conferred for the benefit of the students, much less for outsiders.

7) Finally, Father Moro requested a special title for the rectors of the seminary, such as apostolic commissioner of the missions of that country, in order to have precedence without contradiction in meeting with the superiors of various orders.

All three ordinaries left this decision up to the Prop. Fide. The Armenian archbishop added only that, when the rector had to go to the homes of the nobility and remain for meals, many times controversy could be caused by this precedence. In giving the rector a title, therefore, it might be necessary to decide which of the regular superiors he would have the right to precede in virtue of the title. The nuncio declared that he did not see any reason for the rector of Lviv to have a rank which distinguished him from the superiors or provincials of other orders, when such was not the case for rectors of other pontifical seminaries, such as Vilno and Braunsberg.

The decision of the Prop. Fide on the last three points was simply "relata" or "referred", which, according to their custom meant that they were not taken into consideration ⁶.

Receiving the decisions of the Prop. Fide, the Ukrainian bishops were pleased that precedence had been withheld, but discontented that their students must continue to dress as before in dark blue, because it was customary in this country for this color to be worn by the lowest classes of people, such as porters and coachmen, and it often happened that the students were maltreated in public with injurious words. The rector, complying with their wishes, asked therefore not to introduce a new form of dress, but merely to change the color to black, the usual color worn by Ukrainian clergy outside of the seminary. If this request of the bishops were not granted, the difficulty might impede Ukrainian students from coming to the seminary. The answer of the Prop. Fide this time was positive ⁷.

The seminary was reopened on February 22, 1746. Nineteen students came on the first day, and the rest a little later. At first there was some opposition on the part of the students on account of the change in precedence, but this soon vanished.

⁶ WCP, t. 2, p. 102-107, no. 86 (1744, Dec. 12).

⁷ WAP, t. 4, p. 44-45, no. 1190 (1746, Jan. 26); WLP, t. 4, p. 179-181, nos. 1749, 1750.

On April 6th, after the nuncio received the decision of the Prop. Fide, the rector gave the students their black clothing, consisting of a cassock, closed with buttons as far as the waist, and sewn to the hem, with a collar attached, and an outer robe with wide sleeves ⁸.

ART. 2

RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

Father Ignatius Rossetti of Nice, and Father Anthony di Asti of Cremona were sent as the first instructors to the new seminary ⁹. Later they were joined by Father Joseph Mary Torri of Modena, who had formerly taught in Warsaw ¹⁰. In 1751, Father Nicholas Pallavicino was sent ¹¹, and in 1753, Father Carlo Negri ¹². Before 1760, Father Cajetan Crodara of Milan and Father James Bonaglia of Brescia had come to Lviv ¹³. The latter came about the year 1757, and in 1766 Father Rossetti made him vice-rector of the seminary ¹⁴. In 1756, Father Moro, with the consent of the Prop. Fide, went to Italy for a while to recuperate his health, leaving the direction of the seminary in the hands of Father Rossetti ¹⁵. Then, after returning to the seminary in 1760, he left permanently because of his infirmity. The direction of the seminary and the title of rector passed on to Father Rossetti ¹⁶.

Returning to Italy after twenty years, Father Moro retired to his house of profession in Brescia. Father Caesar Redanaschi requested the Prop. Fide to ask the Holy Father to confer upon him a letter with the title of ex-general of his congregation, with the privileges entailed for this rank, so that he could finish his religious life with decorum and respect. This privilege was not new among the Theatines, and Father Moro would otherwise be the first of the ten rectors of Lviv

⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 540: Father Moro to Prop. Fide (1746, June 15).

⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 505: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1745).

¹⁰ APF, *Acta*, t. 116, f. 227-228 (1746, Sept. 5).

¹¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 121, f. 198 (1751, Aug. 9).

¹² APF, *Acta*, t. 123, f. 143 (1753, July 2).

¹³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 633: Catalogo delle Persone esistenti (1760).

¹⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 661: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1766, Oct. 8).

¹⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 126, f. 202-203 (1756, July 12); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 602: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1756, Dec. 2).

¹⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 641: Father Moro to Prop. Fide (1760, Oct. 22).

to return to the lap of his religious congregation without any distinct prerogative. Father Bonesana had been made bishop of Como; Father Apro시오, bishop of Nebbio; Father Costa, bishop of Belluno; and Father Lascaris, archbishop of Theodosia. The others, Fathers Galano, Accorsi, Trombetti and Redanaschi, had been taken by death in the actual exercise of their office of rector¹⁷. The Prop. Fide agreed to ask, and Father Moro obtained the title and privileges of ex-general of his congregation¹⁸.

In 1761, Father Ignatius Freysing came to Lviv¹⁹, and Fathers Negri and Crodara returned to Italy the following year²⁰. In their places were sent Father Cajetan Francis Cozzi of Milan and Father Louis Mary Trentino of Bohemia²¹. In 1768, Father Freysing was again assigned to Lviv, having in the meantime lived at the house at Salzburg²². Around 1769, Father Andrew Morelli came to Lviv, and in 1773 he was replaced by Father Philip Andrew Robbi²³. Becoming ill after a year of service, Father Robbi had to return, and in his place was sent Father Francis Jonson de la Stock, from the Bavarian house in Munich²⁴. In 1776 Father Froschauer was teaching in Lviv. In 1780, Father Nova was approved for Lviv²⁵, and in the following year Father G. Redi of Arezzo²⁶.

At the time of the suppression of the seminary on April 5, 1784, Fathers Rossetti, Redi, Bonaglia and de la Stock were there, as well as an Armenian priest, Father Bogdanowicz, who taught rhetoric²⁷. Since the seminary reopened neither at Lviv nor at Kamjanec, Father Redi returned to Italy in the May of 1786, and Father Bogdanowicz left in the December of the same year, having obtained the position of preacher in the public schools of Kamjanec²⁸. Father de la Stock,

¹⁷ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 3: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1761).

¹⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 131, f. 211-212 (1761, Aug. 3); AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 3: Breve (1761, Sept. 11).

¹⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 647: Father Redanaschi to Prop. Fide (1761).

²⁰ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 1.

²¹ APF, *Acta*, t. 132, f. 114.

²² APF, *Acta*, t. 138, f. 119-120 (1768, June 13).

²³ APF, *Acta*, t. 143, f. 246 (1773, July 19).

²⁴ APF, *Acta*, t. 144, f. 125 (1774, May 16).

²⁵ APF, *Acta*, t. 150, f. 55 (1780, May 8).

²⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 151, f. 12-13 (1781, Jan. 29).

²⁷ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 39-40.

²⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 421-422: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1787, July 26).



English by birth, procured a "grado prelatizio"²⁹ and departed. Hoping to reopen the seminary at Kamjanec, in 1789 the Prop. Fide approved two instructors for Lviv, Father Ferdinand Massimini and Father Nicholas Nervi³⁰, but only Father Massimini came. When it became obvious to the Prop. Fide that the seminary would not be reopened, they recalled in 1792 the Theatine fathers from Lviv³¹. Nuncio Litta of Warsaw sent the money for the voyage³², and Fathers Massimini and Bonaglia left in 1793. Father Bonaglia served one of the longest terms of any instructor in Lviv, being there for thirty six years³³. Father Rossetti handed the archives of the seminary over to the Armenian archbishop, Jacob Valerian Tumanowicz, and he himself remained in Lviv³⁴. He died there shortly after³⁵.

ART. 3

HOUSE, STUDENTS AND SERVANTS, INCOME AND EXPENSES

Now that the seminary was opened, construction had to be finished. First of all, money was lacking. To obtain funds, the rector decided to sell the grounds of the old house, and the two adjoining gardens. One of gardens had been donated to the seminary by Mr. Dobrjanskyj during the rectorship of Father Trombetti, and the other had been acquired from the Armenian Church. The buyers were the priests of the Missionary Congregation, who paid 2,000 scudi for the whole, plus 900 scudi for the property of Bohdanivka, which had been the gift

²⁹ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, f. 384: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Saluzzo (1787, Dec. 29); *IBIDEM*, t. 11, ff. 387-389, 529-530, 535: Father Stock to Nuncio Saluzzo (1788, Jan. 19, June 27, July 6).

³⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 474: Procurator of Theatine Missions to Prop. Fide (1789, June 22).

³¹ APF, *Lettere*, t. 262, f. 572-573: Prop. Fide to Father Rossetti (1792, Oct. 6); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 546: Father Bonaglia to Nuncio Saluzzo (1792, Nov. 17); *IBIDEM*, t. 2, f. 547: Father Bonaglia to his brother (1792, Nov. 19).

³² ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, f. 651-652: Armenian Archbishop Tumanowicz to Nuncio Saluzzo (1793, May 28); *IBIDEM*, t. 11, ff. 355, 361.

³³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 584: Father Bonaglia to Prop. Fide (1795, May 10).

³⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, f. 654: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Saluzzo (1793, June 1); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 582: Nuncio Litta to Prop. Fide (1794, Dec. 17).

³⁵ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański w Polsce*, Lviv 1928, p. 111.

of Constantine Sobieski³⁶. The money was used in the construction of the new seminary, since there were no special funds to cover construction costs, and they were continually in debt. In 1753, a special subsidy was requested of the Prop. Fide, and 500 scudi was obtained³⁷. In 1757, a new request was presented for a subsidy, not only to pay the debt of 1,200 scudi which had been contracted because of the construction, but also 2,000 scudi to finish the building, for which by now more than 20,000 scudi had been spent all together. The Prop. Fide, after much collection of information, conceded a subsidy of 2,000 scudi on July 11, 1757, with the notice that this was a one-time subsidy for the purpose of covering the roof, with no hope for anything additional, and they required the rector to give documents justifying the spending of the 2,000 scudi³⁸.

The documents were not sent³⁹, and neither was the building finished. Part of the money was probably loaned to Prince Radziwill, heir to the properties of the Sobieski family, who asked for 2,000 scudi because the income of the two villages had increased in the last years considerably in excess of the 700 scudi promised according to the contract. Father Rossetti, to keep the prince from returning a previous loan of 10,000 scudi and renting the properties at Remaniv and Hubin to someone else, evidently lent him an additional 2,000 scudi without any interest⁴⁰.

The building of the house continued, or at least it would so appear, judging by the expenses from between 1772 to 1778. Father Rossetti spent for this purpose 4,563 florins, which the income did not cover, and the seminary went into debt⁴¹. This expense was excessive. In 1772, the Prop. Fide instructed Nuncio Garampi to find out if what had been built up until that time would suffice as a comfortable habita-

³⁶ APF, *Acta*, t. 116, f. 232-234 (1746, Sept. 5); *IBIDEM*, t. 117, f. 7-10 (1747, Jan. 9); *IBIDEM*, t. 117, f. 357-358 (1747, Nov. 27); WLP, t. 4, p. 187-188, nos. 1761, 1762.

³⁷ WAP, t. 4, p. 69-70, no. 1219.

³⁸ WAP, t. 4, p. 101-107, no. 1250.

³⁹ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 27-28: Instruction of Prop. Fide to Nuncio Garampi (1772).

⁴⁰ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 275-276: Copy of contract (1761, Jan. 26); *IBIDEM*, t. 78, f. 8: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Visconti, copy of letter (1762, March 17); *IBIDEM*, t. 78, f. 10-12: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Visconti, copy of letter (1762, Nov. 27).

⁴¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 717-718: Sommario dell'introito ed esito (1772-1778).

tion for the persons then living there, and to let them know at what point it could be considered sufficient, and an end put to the building of the seminary⁴². They did this because the rector had sent in accounts for more each year, in a simple sum of debits and credits which the building carried and, in spite of repeated requests, never giving justification of the expenditures made with the 2,000 scudi they had sent in 1757 to finish the construction. The Prop. Fide was in the dark as to the state of the building. They believed that the Theatines wished to enlarge, not only to receive a greater number of Ukrainian students for whom the bishops would increase their foundations, but also to introduce there a number of boarders, and to establish in the seminary the students of the Latin bishops. Especially these last two points were completely remote from the wishes and institution of the Prop. Fide⁴³.

Nuncio Garampi sought information from the Latin archbishop of Lviv and obtained as answer that the edifice did have the capacity for accommodating more than were actually there, and that the Theatine fathers had begun the construction without reason or judgement, and without necessity, and if they intended to finish according to the design, it would not be completed by the day of judgement. The seminary was educating many Latin rite students, who paid for themselves⁴⁴. As a matter of fact, Latin rite students had been taken in as boarders much earlier. Already in 1758 there were records of two boarders in the new seminary, with four servants in their special service at their own expense⁴⁵, and some boarders of this type were kept until the suppression of the seminary.

Only four sources of income remained to the seminary after the sale of the old house and gardens. These were the subsidy of the Prop. Fide, the foundation of Peremyśl, and the villages of Dublany and Remaniv-Hubin.

In 1746, the brothers, Severin and Wenceslaus Rzewski, donated to the seminary some property of their family close to the seminary itself⁴⁶. With this donation went the obligation of nine masses in honor

⁴² ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 30: Instruction to Nuncio Garampi (1772).

⁴³ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 27-28.

⁴⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 43-45: Armenian Archbishop Jacob Stephen Augustynowicz to Nuncio Garampi (1773, Jan. 4).

⁴⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 628: Sommario (1758).

⁴⁶ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 39: Father Bonaglia to his brother in Rome (1783, July 6).

of St. Cajetan each year during their lifetimes, and one mass in perpetuum after their deaths.

The remainder of the above mentioned property was donated by Wenceslaus Rzewski in 1761. This served as a garden and place for the recreation of the students. It was given with the stipulation that the above mentioned nine masses be said on the Wednesdays preceding the feast of St. Cajetan, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and after his death and that of his wife, to say a mass in perpetuum for them. To this land in 1764 were joined the grounds bought from Charles Prusinovskyj for 300 florins, to search for a spring of water⁴⁷, which was lacking at the seminary, not knowing that later water would be found and a convenient well dug on the grounds of the seminary itself⁴⁸.

The Ukrainian secular clergy was in favor of the seminary, and wished to make a foundation, but they were poor. When Metropolitan Athanasius Šeptyckyj left in his will 116,800 florins for the construction of the cathedral at Lviv, the clergy requested the Prop. Fide to use only the interest in building the cathedral, and to destine the capital to the seminary of Lviv to augment the number of Ukrainian students⁴⁹. The bishop of Lviv, Leo Šeptyckyj (1749-1779), successor and nephew of the deceased metropolitan and the bishop of Peremyśl, Athanasius Šeptyckyj (1762-1779), another nephew, were also of the same opinion to use only the interest in the building of the cathedral and to designate part of the capital to the seminary for the students of that diocese, and the other part for the erection of the diocesan seminary of Lviv⁵⁰.

This proposition was pleasing to Father Moro, and he requested the Prop. Fide to destine at least part of the capital to the seminary, especially since the relatives of the deceased metropolitan, who had the amount in their hands, had agreed to such a decision. Only the Basilian fathers opposed, because being patrons of the cathedral of Lviv as well as that of Peremyśl⁵¹ and of other places, they felt that

⁴⁷ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 323-336: Copia della memoria data al Governo riguardo i fondi (1776, July 18).

⁴⁸ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 74-75: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1776, Nov. 7).

⁴⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 257-258: Reflexio super summam 116800 fl. (1748).

⁵⁰ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Petita (1749, Aug. 6).

⁵¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 559: Father Moro to Prop. Fide (1748, April 3); *IBIDEM*, t. 1, f. 570-571 (1748, Oct. 23).

the sum destined to the construction of the cathedral of Lviv was meant for them, in spite of the opposition of the secular clergy⁵². To conciliate everyone, Father Moro proposed to divide the capital into three parts, consigning one part to the Basilians, one to the Episcopal Office for retreats and instruction for those about to be ordained, and the other part to augment the number of students, with respective obligations for perpetual suffrages for the soul of the deceased donor. In the same letter, notice was given that the Ukrainian clergy of the metropolitan diocese of Kyjiv was ready to be taxed in order to collect a sum for the construction of a foundation for the education and instruction of at least a few youth of the diocese of Kyjiv⁵³. Neither of his propositions was successful.

Up until the suppression of the seminary there was no other foundation, except for that of a Ukrainian priest, Michael Prymovyč, former student of the seminary of Lviv, and for many years official general of the diocese of Kyjiv. In 1769 he assigned 32,000 florins to the seminary of Lviv, so that four new Ukrainian students could be accommodated, three for the diocese of Kyjiv and one for the diocese of Lviv. He promised to give 16,482 florins at once, and the other 15,518 would have to be paid by Metropolitan Volodkovyč, who was in debt to him for eight years' service, and for taxes and expenses for church matters promoted and defended by him in the civil courts⁵⁴. The rector appealed to the Prop. Fide, who ordered Nuncio Durini to require payment of the money from Bishop Leo Šeptyckyj, the administrator, from the treasury of the metropolitan⁵⁵. This was never done. The 16,482 florins from Father Prymovyč was received and invested at 7% in 1773⁵⁶, to maintain two Ukrainian students from the diocese of Kyjiv⁵⁷.

The number of students remained unchanged. In 1748, the Armenians of Crimea, four hundred persons, until that time under the care of the Jesuits, requested the archbishop of Lviv for one or two Catholic priests. The question was raised as to who had jurisdiction

⁵² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 257-258: Reflexio super summam 116800 fl. (1748).

⁵³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 570: Father Moro to Prop. Fide (1748, Oct. 23).

⁵⁴ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 667: Acta terrestria (1769, Feb. 1).

⁵⁵ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 22: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Durini (1769, March 18).

⁵⁶ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 59: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1773, March 24).

⁵⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 717-718: Sommario dell'introito ed esito (1772-1778).

over Crimea, the archbishop of Lviv or the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople, and the Prop. Fide decided that the archbishop had. They sent word that two young Armenians from Crimea should be admitted into the seminary at Lviv⁵⁸. In 1752, one of the two Armenian priests of Transylvania requested the Prop. Fide for a place in the seminary for one of the Armenian youths of Transylvania of Elisabethopolis, and obtained it⁵⁹. Outside of these exceptions, all the Armenian students were from the diocese of Lviv.

The rector at this time looked for every possibility to diminish the number of Ukrainian students. The foundations of the bishops remained intact, but the pontifical foundation for six students was reduced to three and then to two. Father Rossetti wrote in 1772 expressly stating that the subsidy of the Prop. Fide was being used for two Ukrainians and ten Armenians. The profit from the village of Dublany, bought for the Ukrainian seminary, and a great part of the profit from Remaniv and Hubin went to sustain the great number of personnel at the seminary. This number varied from eighteen to twenty one persons, including the servants, the teacher of grammar, the instructors and the rector.

The rectors calculated the expense as divided among forty five persons, the projected sum for each amounting to about 43 scudi per year. Since this amount was figured on the total personnel, it does not give a true picture of the cost per student, since these foundations were really supporting so many other people. Actually the total expense annually per student to keep the seminary going was between 80 and 90 scudi. Since the Armenians received only 600 scudi annually from the Prop. Fide, the seminary was being maintained largely on funds from Ukrainian foundations.

The bishops wanted to nominate their own candidates for the six places of the pontifical foundation which were not being filled by the Theatines. In 1754, the bishop of Luck proposed two students, but only obtained the vague promise of one from the rector. The bishop, and also the representative of the Ukrainian bishops, Father Jason Smogorzewskyj, both made direct requests to the Prop. Fide to be able to nominate students⁶⁰. The Prop. Fide asked the opinion of

⁵⁸ APF, *Acta*, t. 118, f. 246-249 (1768, Nov. 11).

⁵⁹ APF, *Acta*, t. 122, f. 221-222 (1752, Sept. 18).

⁶⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 595: Bishop Rudnyckyj to Prop. Fide (1754, Jan. 30).

Father Lascaris, who was not in favor, and so the request was unsuccessful, although the Prop. Fide was convinced that six students could be maintained at the seminary on their foundation. In 1772, in the instructions to the new nuncio, Joseph Garampi, the Prop. Fide asked him to investigate the possibility of suppressing these six places, because, as the instructions read, the reasons given in 1720 for the foundation to support six Ukrainian students were the state of ignorance of Ukrainians pastors, and the great multiplicity of parishes. Since then, they continued, these reasons had ceased to exist, and the Ukrainian students could be supported with the income of established profit from properties. The bishops would have to agree that a great number of priests were «well educated» now, since for their instruction a catechism had been printed in the Ukrainian language, which was not available in 1720⁶¹.

The number of servants at the seminary did not diminish; their duties were just redistributed. So, in 1748, there were two youths to serve the rector and the instructors, a porter-refectorian, a dispenser-butler, three cooks because, the rector explained, three were needed to cook for three different rites, a beer maker, for whom help was hired at times, especially when the grain was being fermented, two porters who carried provisions, swept, cut wood in winter, lighted the fourteen or fifteen stoves, carried water since the seminary had no well, a tailor for whom help had to be hired at times, a gardener, who in winter helped to carry wood and light the fires, and a coachman⁶².

In spite of the Prymovyč foundation, the number of Ukrainian students did not increase over the established foundations for eighteen students. According to the list of 1776, there were ten Armenians but only fifteen Ukrainians. In previous years the number of Ukrainian students was even less. The bishop of Peremyśl, Athanasius Šeptyckyj, in a letter to Nuncio Grimaldi of Vienna in 1772 complained that in the eleven years of his episcopate, only one student from his diocese had been accepted, instead of the six students provided for in the foundation of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj, and that this student had been kept for only four years. As for the foundation of Bishop Ustryckyj, by now two students should be provided for, with the accumulated

⁶¹ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 28-29: Instructions to Nuncio Garampi (1772).

⁶² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 568: Father Moro: Stato delle fondazioni (1748, Oct. 2).

interest from the original capital, but not one student had ever been accepted for this foundation⁶³.

It is interesting to note, however, that the number of servants at this time increased from thirteen to sixteen, of which there were three for the personal service of the rector, vice-rector and professors, two cooks, two kitchen boys, three porters, a dispenser, a doorkeeper, a beer maker, two coachmen and a groom⁶⁴.

The expenses of the seminary, which up until 1772 had not exceeded the income, grew noticeably from 1772 on. That year they were 22,241.1 florins. In 1773 they amounted to 24,094.22, in 1774 to 28,137.19, in 1775 to 26,176, and in 1776 to 30,517.12, in 1777 to 28,554.2, and in 1778 to 28,543.12. The expenses are recorded under ten categories: food, clothing, furnishings, miscellaneous, repairs, special expenses, wood, infirmary, church, and servants. For the above mentioned seven years they are written on a single sheet without any specification, all in generic form⁶⁵.

This method of keeping accounts, and especially the category "miscel-

⁶³ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 3: Lista degli alunni (1776); PELESZ J., *Geschichte der Union...*, t. 2, p. 610-611: « Undecimus elabitur annus, ex quo ad curas gerendas hujus Episcopatus divina Providentia vocatus sum, hoc temporis intervallo admodum R.ndus Praefectus Collegii Leopoliensis unum duntaxat suscepit Alumnum, qui per quadriennium in studiis commoratus, tandem dimissus ad vacantem Nehrebecensem Parochialem promotus et consecratus; in locum dimissi nullus in hanc horam suffectus... Olim hoc Collegium providebat de victu, et amictu sex Seminaristas Dioecesis Premisliensis, modernus adm. R.ndus Praefectus Collegii per literas ad me datas significavit, ut pro anno inchoati studii nullus e Dioecesi Premisliensi mittatur Alumnus. Nos qui hac in parte voluntate ejus regimur, juvenes selectos pro studiis domi retinuimus. Augendo numero Seminaristarum pro Dioecesi Premisliensi Ill.mus Hieronymus Ustrycki Episcopus Premisliensis die 5 Martii 1727 anno enumeravit ad manus et quietationem admodum R.ndi Radanaschi Praefecti pro tunc Collegii Leopoliensis 3000 florenorum Polonicalium. Desiderabantur utique adhuc 2000 florenorum Polonicalium ad constituendum completum Fundum manutenendi unius Alumni, sed in praesenti percepit Collegium provenientes fructus a cento computando ab anno 1727 ad hoc tempus novem milia quadrigentos quinquaginta florenos Polonicales. Conjuncta itaque tali summa cum capitali trium millium, habebit in debito Episcopus Premisliensis apud Collegium Leopoliense duodecim milia quadrigentos quinquaginta florenos Polonicales, cujus summae proventus correspondet utique manutenendis duobus alumnis, et tamen neque unus suscipitur ».

⁶⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 144: Father Rossetti: Catalogo delle persone (1779-1780).

⁶⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 717-718: Sommario dell'introito ed esito (1772-1778).

laneous" had already come to the attention of the Prop. Fide, who instructed Nuncio Garampi in 1772 to check the expenditures under "miscellaneous", which had every year amounted to more than 2,000 florins. All the necessary expenses seemed to be contained in the other categories and they could not understand how such a sum as 2,000 florins could occur, unless they knew at least generally in what it consisted⁶⁶.

Nuncio Garampi asked for information from Father Rossetti, but he responded that he had used the same categories as his predecessors, and as such had sent them to Rome. He excused himself from immediately giving an itemization by saying that he had much to do to prepare an accurate inventory of the villages as required by the government, and begged to be allowed to postpone it⁶⁷. There is no record that he ever made this itemization.

The accounts show that after 1772 the expenses increased but the income, on the contrary, decreased. Before that year the 860 scudi sent by the Prop. Fide received 8,600 florins in exchange, whereas after 1772 this amount brought only 7,310. In 1775, the successors of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj profited by an imperial decree which ordered interest to be 5% of the capital, and they began to pay 5% instead of 7%. The Prymovyč foundation was not able to help much, since this capital was also reduced to 5% in 1775⁶⁸. To liquidate the debt, Father Rossetti asked the Prop. Fide for a special subsidy of 1,080 scudi, and in order to be able to continue maintenance of the seminary, an annual sum of 1,000 scudi⁶⁹. He obtained neither.

The fact that the capital once invested in Remaniv and Hubin remained without profit made things even worse. In 1774 these villages were taken from the seminary⁷⁰, and the capital restored the next year. Father Rossetti joined the Prymovyč foundation to this sum, and whatever remained from the sale of the old house and gardens

⁶⁶ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 10, f. 30: Instruction (1772).

⁶⁷ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 57: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1773, March 10).

⁶⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 728-731: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1780, May 28).

⁶⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 723: Procurator of Theatine Missions to Prop. Fide (1780).

⁷⁰ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 61: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1774, Feb. 23).

of the seminary, and gave the total amount to a certain Mr. Grabianka⁷¹, securing the capital in his property of Rajkivci. In place of interest they took the closer property of Piratyn⁷². A discussion was begun with the government of Vienna to buy Piratyn, but Mr. Grabianka had many debts. A Jew, Mayer Giezel, intervened and obtained Piratyn by court order on November 10, 1778, in spite of the fact that the seminary had right of priority and had appealed to the court of Vienna.

The debts of Mr. Grabianka were so great that his fortune was not sufficient to satisfy his creditors. In addition to this, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Stadnicka and his wife tried to cheat the other creditors by presenting their own claims⁷³. Since the major part of the properties and most of the creditors were in Poland, a long and expensive process was begun, judged at the Supreme Polish Tribunal in Lublin. The tribunal recognized the seminary's right to collect from the properties of Grabianka, but at 3½%, according to the most recent laws in Poland regarding ecclesiastical property. For non-ecclesiastical property interest was 5%. Father Rossetti put forth all efforts to obtain 5%, claiming that it was property of the Holy See, and that the students who were educated there were in reality seculars. At the intercession of Metropolitan Smogorzewskyj, the permanent council on March 22, 1784 recognized the 5% income, and the king approved it. The creditors brought the case once more before the tribunal at Lublin, and succeeded in adding the clause that the sum must be submitted to the commission for education⁷⁴. During all the time since the beginning of the dispute, that is, from 1779, the capital remained without profit, and the seminary without one of its principal sources of income.

ART. 4

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE SEMINARY

For the students of philosophy and theology at this time, a record was kept of the diversity of their vocations, of their ages and of their abilities. This was registered at the end of one year of study, after

⁷¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 716: Capitali fruttiferi (1778).

⁷² ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 119-120; *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 9, f. 339.

⁷³ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 268; *IBIDEM*, t. 189, ff. 584, 597; *IBIDEM*, t. 78, ff. 83, 105, 107, 113.

⁷⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, ff. 304, 310-311; *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 246-254.

which they were assigned to different classes. Those who were bound to remain secular priests by the oath of their respective foundations, and whose age was enough advanced, were assigned to theology after only one year of philosophy, having completed logic and metaphysics. Theology consisted of polemics, dogmatic and moral theology. For those whose age permitted them to remain a little longer in school, and who were free to enter the Basilian Order, the entire course in philosophy was given, after which they were assigned to theology according to their capacity. Classes were held every day except for Sundays, Thursdays and principal feasts, for two and a half hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. The students had from two to three hours each day for private study, depending on the season and on chant practice. Every feast day there was explanation of the catechism and instruction in pastoral duties, as well as turns in preaching and giving moral discourses by the students.

In the words of the rector, the pontifical seminary of Lviv sought to give better instruction to those who could enter the Basilian Order. With what conscience this was done is difficult to explain. The seminary was intended for the purpose of instructing the secular clergy. It was the only place where instruction of this type could be obtained, and had very few places available to serve several thousands of parishes. Better instruction should have been given especially to those who were forced by their oaths to remain secular priests, but the contrary was done. Only the students of the diocese of Peremyśl of the foundation of Metropolitan Vynnyckyj were bound by oath to remain secular priests, all the others being free to enter a religious order. The students from Peremyśl therefore, were predestined to an inferior education.

The oaths taken in the seminary were the same as that of the Prop. Fide, but with particular clauses inserted into the text. The students of the foundation of Peremyśl swore to become secular priests, and not to enter any Latin or oriental religious order without permission of the Prop. Fide. Those of the pontifical foundation had the clause of the Greek College in Rome, of not entering any religious order except for the Basilians, without permission from the Prop. Fide. Those of the foundations of Luck and Lviv⁷⁵ simply swore to become priests and to celebrate a mass each month for the soul of their respective founder.

⁷⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 562-569: Father Moro: Stato delle fondazioni (1748, June 28).

To impede the students after the completion of their studies from entering the "already numerous Basilians who were rich and influential", Bishops Leo Šeptyckyj of Lviv and Onuphrius Šumlanskyj of Pere-myśl made the request in 1749 that the Prop. Fide include the same clause as that in the oaths of the students of Pere-myśl in the oaths taken by the students of the pontifical foundation and of the other foundations, because the Basilians had many places already in the diverse pontifical seminaries, and did not suffer from a shortage of priests, as was the case with the secular clergy⁷⁶. The two bishops, although both were Basilians, took the part of the secular clergy because actually they wanted to repossess the cathedrals and cathedral properties which had, according to the bishops' statements, fallen into the hands of the Basilians in the time of their predecessors.

There are a few points available concerning the life of the seminary in 1776. The government of Vienna wished to obtain information about the seminary and in that year directed a series of questions. The responses of Father Rossetti indicate that there were at that time two instructors in theology, one in philosophy and one in rhetoric. Two and a half hours were assigned for classes in the morning and two after dinner. The instructors taught philosophy and theology from their own manuscripts, and rhetoric from classical Latin authors. The courses in theology were attended by sixteen students, those in philosophy by eight students, and those in rhetoric by twelve. Vacation lasted from July 14th until September 14th, and there was one free day per week. Christian doctrine was explained to the students by one of the professors every Sunday after dinner, and during dinner the students took turns giving the sermon. Mass was celebrated in the chapel every day, and the students confessed and received communion every two weeks, and on principal feasts.

Besides philosophy and theology, there were also classes in rhetoric. This was taught primarily for the young seculars of the nobility of various ages whom the seminary took to educate. It is calculated that in 1776 there were only fifteen Ukrainian and ten Armenian students, according to the lists of that year, but the total number of students was thirty six⁷⁷. Therefore, eleven of these were boarders. Rhetoric was not taught in Latin. It was taught, in the words of Fa-

⁷⁶ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 2: Petita episcoporum (1749, Aug. 6).

⁷⁷ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 324: Responsio ad Puncta (1776, March 10); AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*, portfolio 3.

ther Rossetti, "in the native Polish language"⁷⁸. As a rule this class was taught by an Armenian. In 1776, it was taught by an Armenian, Father Dominic Donikiewicz⁷⁹, and at the time the seminary was closed in 1784, it was taught by Father Bogdanowicz, also an Armenian⁸⁰.

Toward the end of the seminary's existence, the observance of Latin feasts and fasting was introduced for the Armenian and Ukrainian students. Such permission was obtained at the insistence of Father Rossetti from the Prop. Fide, and he was very happy about it. So as not to miss "the benefit of their decision and to introduce the observance of the Latin rite without delay", he did so immediately at the reception of the decision, and introduced it on the vigil of Christmas in 1780⁸¹. This so-called benefit could not be considered an advantage, since the seminary was for the purpose of training Eastern rite priests. It is hard to understand how the Prop. Fide or anyone else justified its introduction into the seminary. However, this approach was not new. The same thing had happened long before in Rome itself at the Greek College of St. Athanasius, founded on January 13, 1576⁸², and directed by the Jesuits since 1622. In the rule of 1583, besides fasting according to the Byzantine rite, Latin rite fasting was also prescribed as well as daily Latin mass for the students and some other Latin practices. In 1669, the students were dispensed from Byzantine rite fasting, and only required to observe the Latin rite fasts⁸³. This influence was bound to be felt, since the students, destined to be future leaders and teachers of others, did not learn to observe their own rite.

⁷⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 41: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Archetti (1783, July 3).

⁷⁹ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 324.

⁸⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 421-422: Father Rossetti to Prop. Fide (1784, July 26).

⁸¹ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 155: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1780, Dec. 24).

⁸² SLIPYJ J., *Istoryčnyj ohljad vychovannia...*, p. 28; KRAJCAR J., *The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time 1591-1604*, in OCP 31 (1965), 85.

⁸³ PRASZKO I., *De Ecclesia Ruthena...*, p. 296-297.

ART. 5

SUPPRESSION OF THE SEMINARY

Western Ukraine, which included Lviv, in 1772, after the first partition of the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, came under the domination of Austria. The situation of the seminary did not change for the moment, except that they had to pay a tax and give forage to the army. Nuncio Grimaldi of Vienna intervened to the Imperial Government against the forage⁸⁴, and obtained a favorable decision from local authority, so that only half as much was required, and that only from the village of Remaniv⁸⁵. However, the position of the seminary itself had changed. Lviv was separated from the rest of the Ukrainian territories, which still for some time remained under Poland until the second partition in 1793 and the third partition in 1795, when they were occupied by Moscow. Along with Lviv, the seminary was now separated from the rest of the metropolitan diocese of Kyjiv. Although students were accepted as before, the registration of the seminary dropped, first of all for the diocese of Lviv and Peremyśl, because Empress Maria Theresa took the education of the secular Ukrainian clergy to heart, and on October 15, 1775 opened a special seminary for Eastern (Greek) rite Catholic students of her empire, at St. Barbara in Vienna, with forty six places, of which six places were assigned to the diocese of Lviv and six to Peremyśl. This seminary was closed however on March 23, 1784, and the students transferred to the general seminary which had recently been opened for all the Eastern rite secular clergy by Emperor Joseph II at Lviv⁸⁶.

Since the pontifical seminary of Lviv had a magnificent house, the government had already set eyes on it in 1774, and had proposed to Father Rossetti that it be exchanged for the house of the closed seminary of the Jesuits in Jaroslav. In 1775, two counsellors of the government made a close examination of the internal construction of the seminary⁸⁷, but for the moment the danger passed. The situation changed

⁸⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, ff. 28, 281-282.

⁸⁵ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 31: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Visconti (1772, Dec. 4).

⁸⁶ SLIPYJ J., *Istoryčnyj ohljad vychovannia...*, p. 32-39; ANDRUCHOVYČ A., *Videnske Barbareum...*, pp. 62-64, 83-87.

⁸⁷ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 695: Procurator of Theatine Missions to Prop. Fide (1775, Aug. 26); WLP, t. 6, p. 167, no. 2846: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Garampi (1784, March 20).

when Joseph II opened the general seminary at Lviv in 1783. In this year, he personally visited the seminary. Coming to Lviv on June 22nd, he visited the abolished convents, the chancery, the powder magazines, the hospitals, and finally made an inspection of the seminary. Hardly had he entered and taken his hat off, than he made a tour of all the halls, and entered two rooms of the youths which were open, asking numerous questions, such as how many seminarians there were and from what dioceses, who selected them, what they studied, how much they received from Rome, if it were convenient there, and if the seculars who lived there would become clerics. Entering the refectory, he even asked about the treatment the students received. Hearing that there was an Armenian student from Transylvania of Elisabethopolis, he wished to see and speak to him. With his hat still in his hand, he departed with a "Stay well!" and left them in disquietude, because immediately the word spread that the house of the seminary was destined for military use⁸⁸.

A short time later, Joseph II gave the order that all courses in philosophy and theology were to be discontinued. The Austrian students were sent by their respective bishops to the general seminary. At the pontifical seminary remained only students foreign to Austrian domination. Of the Ukrainians, there was one from the diocese of Kyjiv and another from Luck, with no mention of how many Armenians. Father Rossetti wanted that these at least could continue their courses in theology, in such a way that the Theatines could not be accused of giving formal lessons. This method was to be that students would go for consultation when they encountered difficulties, and the instructors could use this opportunity to teach them⁸⁹.

The Ukrainian bishop of Lviv and the Armenian archbishop had petitioned to have the decree revoked⁹⁰. Father Rossetti intended to fill the places vacated by the students of Lviv and Peremyśl by three new students from the diocese of Kyjiv, three from Luck and two from Kamjanec, not dependent upon Austria⁹¹, and by the Arme-

⁸⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 41: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi of Vienna (1783, July 3); *IBIDEM*, t. 2, f. 39: Father Bonaglia to his brother (1783, July 6).

⁸⁹ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 203: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1783, Nov. 2).

⁹⁰ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, ff. 186, 191 (1783, July 24).

⁹¹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 66: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1783, Sept. 7).

Capitata fronsifera, che il Collegio Pontificio di Napoli possiede in Botania l'anno 1778.

Capitale investita l'an. 1718 nella Villa detta Kullary, composta parte
dal convento de Buoni Umbelli di popoli, parte da altri Proprietari; Fiorini - 30000
Pagati di Sig. Giorgio Winicki Vagano di Brambilla per Tombezione del semina-
rio de' Padri, unta l'an 1720 al Collegio Borghese, cui pagati degli studii di Cap. - 40000
Capitale, fatto il nuovo, formato colle seguenti partite:

1^{ma} del Capitale gojano investito nella Villa delle Reanow e Hubin, e dell'Orto proprietario di esse restituito al Collegio in Fiorini - - - 491000
2^{da} del ritorno del Collegio vacante venduto ai fidi della Missione - - 20000
3^a del Fondo, detto Bogdanowka, conquis. venduto ai med. - - - 9000
4^a del Capitale dato al Collegio l'an. 1769 da S. Michele Bogdanowicz per mantenimento di due alunni della Missione di Bogdanowka - - 16482136482
Questo Capitale è stato investito l'an. 1776 nella Villa S. Nicola, con con:
tutto Minnale, restituito a tal tempo dalla legge Municipale. E perchè la
Villa è valutata fiorini 15000, il Collegio ha dovuto appiagnare al sud. Cap:
tale porzione fiorini 13516 con addossarsene il debito.

La somma portata da Capitali fruttiferi del Collegio in Bologna e di Vicini: 206482
di questa somma totale sono comprese le ragioni della Fondazione D'Aspivoli, e sono:

1^a per il pagamento per il Seminario di 6 Alunni di Beneficenza pad.^{re} di f - 40000
 Di più il vitto della madre di una Casa di legno del med.^{esimo} - 2500
 2^a per il Seminario di 4 Alunni Vta. D'orsi di Grogoli fondato
 da Mef. Stanegis Sceptycki Vapors di un mad.^{ame} a Metropolita di Riga - 20000
 3^a per il Seminario di 3 Alunni Vta. D'orsi di facciana fondato da
 Mef. Giuseppe Wyhoultki Vapors Vta. med.^{esimo} - f - 15000
 4^a per 2 Alunni Vta. D'orsi Metropolitana di Bractavia di D.
 Michalo Prymowicz Alunas del Collegio, e ufficiale Vta. med.^{esimo} - f - 16482
 5^a della Nazione Romana di Grogoli il vitto della madre
 del Collegio Vecchio dato da essa per comodo de suoi Alunni - - f - 20000 + 113982

L'anno di pieno diritto del Collegio Pontificio e V^a Segua Congreg.^a fiorentina - 1-92500
ricordi di Beneficenza V^a Sede 1^a Congreg.^a da incanti di limosine venute
al Collegio, da Razioni di Conventuali ecclesiastici nel 1800 e altri versamenti
fatti di più proprio V^a 1^a Congreg.^a sullo il valore della nuova fabbrica, e dei
fondi ad essa annessi.

Le assicurazioni, che per l'affidamento de' fondi di tutti i Capitali impiegati
si impiegano in Polonia stabilite per legge dell'attuale Governo del 7.
per cento l'anno un piede sono state fatte tutte le Fondazioni Vespertine /
il 5 impiegati con Spoteca, e al 6 senza Spoteca, il Collegio ha fatto sulle m.
due entrate l'anno perche di due settimane ha più.

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nians from Kamjanec and Mohyliv⁹². On December, 1783, the nuncio of Vienna, J. Garampi, received the answer from the chancery of the court and state that, since the seminary was not suppressed, it was within the power of the rector to admit foreign students into the seminary and instruct them with its own professors. More could be added from time to time, who had the intention of returning to their own countries after the completion of their studies. In countries of Austrian domination only those could be admitted to the care of souls who had been educated in the new general seminary, and had finished their studies there⁹³. Father Rossetti made every effort to bring in the new foreign students⁹⁴, but there was not time. On February 26, 1784, Prince von Kaunitz notified the nuncio that the emperor conceded the existence of the seminary, but only in combination with the general seminary, and assigned them a house with a church near to the Imperial General Seminary in exchange for the one they had occupied until then. This disposition was directed, said the letter of von Kaunitz, to the good of religion, and corresponded in substance to the praiseworthy views held by the Prop. Fide⁹⁵. Which house was to be given in exchange is not indicated⁹⁶. Informed of this, the Prop. Fide gave instructions to the nuncio that the exchange was not to be made without previous agreement, and Father Rossetti, when the orders from the government would come to send the students to the general seminary, was to reply that he could not permit it because such innovations were forbidden by the higher superiors of the seminary⁹⁷. The Prop. Fide consented to the change, not without regret, if the emperor needed the house of the seminary for some particular purpose, but on condition that in exchange the seminary would be given a house sufficient for the students and professors for their own studies, or that they would

⁹² ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 209: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, Jan. 18).

⁹³ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 201A, f. 351: Von Kaunitz to Nuncio Garampi (1783, Dec. 11).

⁹⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 209: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, Jan. 18).

⁹⁵ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 201A, f. 351: Von Kaunitz to Nuncio Garampi (1784, Feb. 26).

⁹⁶ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, ff. 224, 226: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, March 11).

⁹⁷ WLP, t. 6, p. 167-168, no. 2846: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Garampi (1784, March 20).

be paid for the house in cash so that they could build a new one⁹⁸. The government, however, did not wish to discuss the matter with the Prop. Fide or with any ecclesiastical authority. On March 15, 1784, an order was sent to Lviv and given to Father Rossetti on April 5th, that the seminary was, by supreme order, formally abolished, and its buildings furnishings and foundations confiscated, and that its equipment, especially the library, was to be transported to the general seminary. The Theatine fathers and the students who were found there were to be transferred to the general seminary⁹⁹. Father Rossetti asked to be allowed to remain in the seminary until the response of the Prop. Fide¹⁰⁰, but on April 13th, the order was written that the seminary was to be evacuated in eight days, because the house was to be given as soon as possible to the army. The students and professors, it continued, should already have been transferred to the general seminary on the day of the suppression¹⁰¹.

The seminary passed immediately into the hands of the government. There was no way to make an exact and authentic inventory of how much existed at the seminary itself or at Dublany. Everything was sealed, and the keys taken by government representatives, who without interference from anyone, made the registration as they saw fit. Only the room of the rector was not sealed. In the house there was no money, and if there had been, Father Rossetti wrote, they would have taken it. During the time of Father Rossetti's rectorship there had never been an inventory or registration of the clothes existing in the room of the rector. In leaving the seminary, Father Rossetti took his own clothes, and those of Father Lascaris which had been left in the room. He also took the principal documents of the seminary. He and the other Theatines were lodged in the house close to the Armenian cathedral where Father Galano and Father Pidou had begun the Armenian seminary years before. How many students there were, Father Rossetti did not say. Not wishing to give the students any reason for going to the general seminary, nor wanting to supplicate the government for money to send them home, the rector offered to

⁹⁸ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 201A, f. 351-352: Nuncio Garampi: Memoriale al governo (1784, April 15).

⁹⁹ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 230-231: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, April 4, April 8).

¹⁰⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 109v: Nuncio Garampi to Prop. Fide (1784, May 3).

¹⁰¹ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 201A, f. 353: Ex Officio Circuli Leop. (1784, April 13).

give them money for the voyage himself. The nuncio gave the order for them to return to their own homes on the condition that they would return to the seminary wherever it would be reopened. Later, in the beginning of the scholastic year, if a place for the new establishment had not been obtained, Father Rossetti made them hope that the Prop. Fide would grant them the favor of being able to finish their studies at the pontifical seminary at Vilno. These students were full of the best intentions to study, wrote Father Rossetti, and he did not wish them to go to the general seminary to continue their courses, as they seemed to have intention of doing¹⁰². Prohibition from entering the general seminary had emanated from the Prop. Fide previous to the suppression of the seminary¹⁰³, and for this reason the nuncio ordered that the students not be permitted to go there, but be sent home¹⁰⁴. So it was done. The students returned to their homes, but the Theatines remained in Lviv until they were recalled, the annual subsidy of 860 scudi being continued¹⁰⁵.

After the suppression of the seminary, the Theatine Fathers remained for some years in rooms of the old Armenian seminary near the cathedral, at the expense of the Prop. Fide, who hoped to reacquire the house at the village of Dublany from the government of Vienna, and to reopen the seminary at Lviv, or else at Kamjanec, which was still under Polish rule. In favor of Kamjanec, there was the fact that the house of the suppressed convent of the Jesuits had been obtained from the government of Warsaw¹⁰⁶, and every effort was being made to obtain from this government and from the Supreme Tribunal at Lublin the properties of Morozov near Kamjanec, which were occupied by the other creditors of Mr. Grabianka. In spite of the favorable deci-

¹⁰² ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, ff. 239, 240-243: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, April 25, May 2).

¹⁰³ WLP, t. 6, p. 166-167, no. 2846: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Garampi (1784, March 20).

¹⁰⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 193, f. 337: Nuncio Garampi to Father Rossetti (1784, April 14).

¹⁰⁵ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 246: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, May 16); WLP, t. 6, p. 247 (1786, Aug. 19), p. 275 (1787, Sept. 29), p. 310 (1789, June 13); WLP, t. 7, p. 12 (1790, April 3), p. 14 (1790, Aug. 14).

¹⁰⁶ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, ff. 303, 319-320 (1785, March 11, June 8); ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78, f. 364-367: Nuncio Saluzzo to Nuncio Garampi (1785, June 15); WLP, t. 6, pp. 172, 186, 197-198, 207, 275-276, 303-304, 308-311, 315, 317-318; WLP, t. 7, pp. 16, 18-22, 46, 77-78.

sion of the government of Warsaw and of the tribunal of Lublin¹⁰⁷, nothing was accomplished. In spite of the fact that the Prop. Fide exerted every pressure upon Father Rossetti, as well as upon the Theatines, nothing was done. Father Rossetti was very old, and lost time through inaction¹⁰⁸.

ART. 6

DISPOSITION OF THE PROPERTIES

The properties of Morozov passed into the hands of the prince of Nassau, who obliged himself to pay 3½% on the capital of 150,000 florins to the Russian government for the Academy of Vilno. This academy had obtained the privilege of appropriating all foundations destined for the education of youth which were in former Polish territories, but now in Russian hands, whatever and wherever these foundations were¹⁰⁹.

The library and the house of the seminary in Lviv were restored to the Prop. Fide in 1786, and the library was transported to Kamjanec. When Kamjanec came under the domination of Moscow, the library, which had been deposited near the Armenian parish church of Kamjanec, was extradited, on orders of the Commission of Education of Petersburg, to the Academy of Vilno¹¹⁰. According to C. Lechicki, the library found its way into the hands of Mr. Tadeusz Czacki¹¹¹.

The actual restitution of the house was delayed until 1790, and then was rented by the government as a military hospital at the rent of 140 florins per month. In 1796, restitution was made of the village of Dublany. The seminary was not reopened, however. In 1802,

¹⁰⁷ ASV, *Nunz. Vars.*, t. 11, f. 372-373: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Garampi (1784, June 21); *IBIDEM*, t. 11, f. 575-577: Father Rossetti to Nuncio Saluzzo (1789, April 7); *IBIDEM*, t. 11, f. 569: A. Bogdanowicz to Nuncio Saluzzo (1789, Jan. 22); WLP, t. 6, pp. 176-179, 239-240.

¹⁰⁸ APF, *Lettere*, t. 258, d. 98-99: Prop. Fide to Nuncio Saluzzo (1790, March 13); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 542: Nuncio Saluzzo to Prop. Fide (1791, Nov. 25); APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 55v: Notizie di Archivio; WLP, t. 6, p. 250-251 (1786), p. 308-311 (1789), pp. 315, 317-318 (1789); WLP, t. 7, p. 12-14 (1790).

¹⁰⁹ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 627-629: Nuncio Leardi de Terzo to Prop. Fide (1822, Oct. 14).

¹¹⁰ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 214, f. 871: Armenian Archbishop Szymonowicz to Nuncio Severoli (1809, Jan. 30).

¹¹¹ LECHICKI C., *Kościół Ormiański w Polsce*, Lviv 1928, p. 110.

the Prop. Fide decided to sell the house and to allocate the sum for the education of Ukrainian and Armenian missionaries. The sale was not realized until October 7, 1814, when it was bought from the Prop. Fide through Archbishop John Szymonowicz by the government for 40,000 Viennese (paper) florins, corresponding to 16,000 silver florins. This money was not paid until 1843. In 1814, the properties of Dublany with their respective incomes were acquired by the Congregation of Mechaterists of Vienna, who used them for the education of their own students. In 1843, the Prop. Fide, seeing that the Armenians had nine places in the Collegio Urbano, and that the clerics in Lviv and elsewhere exceeded their needs, whereas the Ukrainians were suffering from great need, sold Dublany and destined the money from this sale and from the sale of the house to the education of Ukrainian students in the Greek College of St. Athanasius in Rome¹¹². As a result, six Ukrainian students, three from Lviv and three from Peremyśl, came to Rome in 1845¹¹³.

¹¹² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, ff. 627-629, 656-657, 704-707, 710-723; IBIDEM, t. 2, f. 697-698: Nuncio Altieri to Prop. Fide (1844, Aug. 23); IBIDEM, t. 2, f. 328-331: Nuncio De Luca to Prop. Fide (1859, Feb. 15); WAP, t. 5, p. 197-200, no. 1411 (1797, June 19), p. 207-214, no. 1415 (1822, July 15), p. 233-235, no. 1417 (1739, Feb. 9), p. 248-271, no. 1419 (1843, June 26); ZACHARIASEWICZ F., *Wiadomości o Ormianach w Polsce*, Lviv 1842, p. 78-80; WLP, t. 7, p. 106-107 (1797), p. 117-118 (1803), p. 122-123 (1804), p. 201 (1835), p. 213-225 (1843-1846), p. 300-301 (1859).

¹¹³ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 697: Nuncio Altieri to Prop. Fide (1844, Aug. 23); APF, *Congressi*, Collegio Greco dall'anno 1780 al 1845, ff. 918, 971; APF, *Congressi*, Collegio Greco dall'anno 1846 all'anno 18..., unpagged ; WLP, t. 7, p. 229-241 (1846-1848), p. 275-277 (1855); WDPR, t. 2, p. 483, no. 1023 and note 128: One of the first six students was Isidore Dolnyckyj, who later became a noted Ukrainian Catholic liturgist.

CHAPTER VI

RECTORS, INSTRUCTORS AND STUDENTS

ART. 1

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

A. RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

The rectors and instructors were appointed by the Prop. Fide, who paid the travel expenses to Lviv. The return trip expenses were paid from the funds of the college. Candidates for instructors and often for rectors were proposed by the procurator of Theatine missions in Rome. In some cases, when there was an emergency, the Prop. Fide asked the nuncio to propose one of the instructors as rector. There was no prescribed term for rectors, but the instructors were required to stay four years at least, which they usually did, except in case of ill health or some special reason. The instructor who remained in Lviv for the longest period was Father James Bonaglia; he stayed there for thirty six years. The instructors were for the most part Italians, and were recalled to Italy at their own request, at the request of the rector or of the procurator of missions. At first, the Theatines had thought to keep a laybrother in Lviv. In fact, Brother Bonaventure accompanied Fathers Galano and Pidou when they came to open the seminary. In the documents of the Prop. Fide, this laybrother's name is Acostacci, in other documents Cosaccio, and in the Theatine book of professions Augustacci. On account of his poor health, he could not stay, and died in Krakow in 1664 on his way back to Italy. In the list of 1690, there are mentioned two other laybrothers who were supposed to have been in Lviv, Francis Svizza in 1674 and Francis Discina in 1682¹. Until 1723, there were usually two or three Theatines besides the rector. Later there were usually three or four.

¹ MUH, t. 4, p. 179, no. 92.

The rectors and instructors were given no salary, but were only provided with food, clothing and some of their personal needs. The rest of their personal expenses were taken care of from mass stipends, which they received from the Latin rite people or clergy in Lviv. The language of the college was Latin, which was used in classed and in daily conversation with the students, as only few of the teachers, were able to teach or converse in Armenian. Latin was also used in dealing with the people of Lviv, since all educated persons in Lviv at that time spoke Latin. Some of the Theatines who stayed a longer time learned Polish, but few stayed long enough to be able to converse freely in that language. Mass was celebrated for the students in Latin. On Sundays and holydays the students were sent to churches of their own rite for services.

Frequently there was an Armenian priest living in the college who taught the Armenian language, rite and singing, and sometimes helped to teach other courses when needed, since he was always a former student of the college. He was selected by the rector and paid from the funds of the college. When no priest was available, the most qualified students were appointed to teach the language and singing to the others ². There is notice that Father James De Gregoris was teaching from 1667 to 1672, and again in 1680 ³. In 1735, Father James Augustynowicz was teaching, in 1772, Father Dominic Don(i)kiewicz ⁴, and at the time of the closing of the college in 1784, Father Bogdanowicz ⁵. For the Ukrainian students a Basilian from outside came to teach singing. He was paid 10 scudi per year ⁶.

In article 2 of this chapter is presented a list of all the Theatine rectors and instructors who taught at the pontifical college in Lviv. This list is based on the documents of the Prop. Fide. The dates of profession are taken from the Theatine *Book of Professions*, published in the eighteenth century ⁷. The spelling of proper names at this period was very irregular. The Christian names are spelled as they are found

² APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 90 (1725, July 20).

³ APF, *Acta*, t. 36, f. 247 (1667, November 28); APF, *Lettere*, t. 61, f. 149 (1673, October 5); APF, *Acta*, t. 50, f. 128 (1680, April 30).

⁴ ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 77, f. 324 (1772, December 23); *IBIDEM*, t. 78, f. 39-40 (1776, March 10).

⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 421-422.

⁶ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 15-20 (1724).

⁷ *Nomi e Cognomi de' Padri e Fratelli professi della Congregazione de' Chierici Regolari*, 2 vols., Rome 1762, 1777. Loose leaf supplement for the next fifty years.

in the book of professions. The family names are spelled as far as possible as they are found in the records of the Prop. Fide. If the dates of arrival in Lviv or departure from Lviv were available, these are in the list. If not, then the dates are those of appointment or recall. When precise dates are lacking, calculated dates are given in italics. At times, mention is made in the records of the Prop. Fide of Theatines who were approved for Lviv, but for whom there are positive doubts as to their actually going there. These names are omitted from the list.

The first Theatines, Fathers Galano and Pidou, were appointed in 1663, and arrived in Lviv in 1664, but the college was not formally opened until January 24, 1665. Therefore the beginning date of Father Galano's rectorship is given as 1665, when the college actually started. The college ceased to function in 1784, when it was closed by the order of Emperor Joseph II, but it was not officially terminated by the Prop. Fide until 1792, when all hopes to reopen it in Kamjanec or elsewhere proved fruitless. Until that time, the rector remained in Lviv, and even a new instructor, Father Massimini, was sent in 1789⁸. Then, in the autumn of 1792, all were recalled⁹. In 1793, Fathers Bonaglia and Massimini left for Italy, and Father Rossetti remained privately in Lviv, where he died around 1795.

B. STUDENTS

In the third article of this chapter is presented as complete as possible a list of the Ukrainian students of the Pontifical College of Lviv. A list of the Armenian students was published in 1960 by Edward Tryjarski¹⁰. The list of Ukrainian students is based on the 'register of the Ossolineum Library'¹¹. The last rector, Father Rossetti, left the archives of the college in the curia of the Armenian archbishop in Lviv. The register ended up during the last century in the Ossolineum Library in Lviv, and after World War II was transferred to Wrocław, along with the Ossolineum Library. The register is incomplete, and

⁸ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 474 (1789, June 28).

⁹ APF, *Lettere*, t. 262, f. 572-573 (1792, October 6).

¹⁰ TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich*, in «Rocznik Orientalistyczny» 24 (1960) 1, 46-85.

¹¹ *Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, Wrocław, cod. no. 1752/II, f. 1-94.

some names are missing at the beginning — Joannes Podgurski, Nicolaus Rossinski, Georgius Rudnicki, Nicodemus Laskowski, Andreas Lawrisewicz, Gregorius Zachariasewicz and Michael Laskowski¹². The next to last entry, Methodius Zaccaria¹³, is also missing. He was the only student from the diocese of Mukačiv; all others were from the dioceses of Lviv, Peremyśl, Luck and Kyjiv or from the Basilian Order. Of the three Basilians, Stephanus Protanski, if he was already a Basilian when he entered the college, was probably accepted directly by Father Trombetti. The other two, Ambrosius Bielinski and Innocentius Bielinski were sent by the bishops of Lviv and Luck respectively, in place of the secular clergy. The record of 1724 says that Protanski was a Basilian, and a former student of the college of Lviv¹⁴. About the last entry on the list, Georgius Zyniewicz, information was not available. In the register of Ossolineum, there is one student per page. Usually there is a copy of the oath, frequently undated, signed in the student's own hand, with some scant information about him. Some of the missing information was supplied from the records of the Prop. Fide and the Vatican¹⁵, and from the archives of the Theatines in Rome¹⁶, to make list as complete as possible.

For many students, there is no information about what they studied, whether they finished or not, or when they left the college. For some, there is notice that they left of their own will before taking the oath, or that they were dismissed because they were found to be unqualified, or that they were expelled for disciplinary reasons. How many of the students were ordained is difficult to say. Those who completed their studies, or who got as far as the study of theology can be presumed to have been ordained. There is definite information that several were ordained and worked as priests in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv¹⁷.

¹² APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, ff. 238, 251, 266, 267, 285, 288, 289.

¹³ WLP, t. 7, p. 87, no. 3145.

¹⁴ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 103 (1724, August 9).

¹⁵ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1 and 2; APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 65 and 68; ASV, *Nunz. Vien.*, t. 78.

¹⁶ AGT, *Colleg. Leop.*

¹⁷ APF, *Congr. Part.*, t. 68, f. 103 (1724, August 9): Joannes Podgurski, *Parochus Eccl. Leop. sub titulo Epiphaniae*, Michael Rosinski, *Par. Zuraviensis*, Theodorus Rudnicki, *Ordinis Divi Basilii Magni, Archidiaconus et Auditor Ill.mi Ep. Luceor.*, Nicolaus Naszcoczyc, *Par. Samboriensis*, Stephanus Jackowski, *O.D. Basilii Magni, Professor Rhetoricae*, Stephanus Protanski, *Par. Eccl. Leop. sub titulo S. Nicolai*; APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 398 (1731): Stefano Linkiewicz, *uxorato officiale e decano di Premisla, Parocho de Necribika*, Basilio Krasnianski,

After a certain period of time in the college, each student was required to take the oath prescribed by the Prop. Fide to become a priest. Only the oath for students from the diocese of Peremyśl contained the clause that they would become secular priests and not enter a religious order without the permission of the Holy See. In 1721, Father Trombetti, through Joseph Redanaschi, the procurator of Theatine missions, petitioned the Prop. Fide to abolish this extra clause for the students from Peremyśl, so that they would be able in due time to be promoted to episcopal sees, from which they were excluded as secular priests¹⁸. The clause remained unchanged. As this extra clause was required only for the students from the diocese of Peremyśl, it is difficult to tell whether the students from all the other dioceses became secular priests or Basilians. In the archives of the Prop. Fide, there is notice from 1747 that the college was of little or no use for the secular clergy,

celibe Parocho Javorova; APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 631 (1759): *Catalogo degli Alunni... giurati e dimessi al servizio delle loro rispettive diocesi dalli 22 Febrajo 1746 a tutto l'anno 1759* (There are 14 names from Peremyśl, 9 from Lviv, 7 from Luck and 2 from «Decanati d'Ucraina dichiarati ora Metropolitani»; WSEU, t. 3, p. 243, no. 1099 (1765): Romanus Wyhowski, *S(acri) R(omani) I(mperii) Comes, Archidiaconus Eccl. Cathedr. Ruthenae Vladimiriensis, Vicarius Generalis in Spiritualibus Archiepiscopi Metr.ni totius Russiae per Palatinatum Braslaviensem et Praepositus Eccl. Wyhowiensis*; WEM, t. 7, p. 201, no. 75 (1773): Joannes Bielawski, *Parochus et Decanus Korsunensis*; APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 2, f. 21 (1782, July 30): *Elenchus eorum qui ex alumnatu PP. Theatinorum Leopoliensium prodierunt atque varia munia laudabiliter gegerunt vel actu gerunt*: Prymowicz, *archipresbiter Cathedr. Leop. et officialis generalis Metr.ni Kiow.*, Lewinski, p.m., *praepositus olim Cathedralis et officialis gen. Leop.*, Lipnicki, *praepositus actualis et sede vacante administrator Haliciensis*, Jakubinski, *archidiac. Premisl. et officialis generalis sede vacante administrator Premisl.*, Lubinski, *archidiaconus Camenecensis et officialis Braclaviensis*, Lewinski, *archidiac. Cathedr. Leop. prosecretarius Gabineti Serenissimi Regis Poloniae*, Zoltowski, p.m., *Cancellarius Cathedr. Leop.*, Koronczewski, *archipresbiter Vlodomiriensis et officialis Brestensis*, Markowski, *officialis Barenensis*, Kafilewicz, *surrogatus Sanocensis*, *vacante sede administrator temporalium Episcopatus Premisl.*, Suczalski, *canonicus Haliciensis et praepositus Missionis Horodensensis*, Wesolowski, *canonicus Camenecensis*, Blonski, *custos Cathedralis Camenecensis*.

¹⁸ WSEU, t. 2, p. 169, no. 69: «Procuratore delle Missioni Teatine... espone a nome de P.D. Stefano Trombetti... li Alunni Ruteni che sono de la Fundazione di Premisla, inabilitati di poter à suo tempo ascendere alla dignità episcopale per non poter essere ammessi all'Ordine Basiliano, grado necessario nel loro rito per la dignità episcopale... a causa di certa limitazione fatta dal loro Fondatore... ad applicandum statum ecclesiasticum saecularem... supplica... voler render capaci... ad essere monaci e vescovi». The text of the oath with variations for Peremyśl, Lviv and Luck is printed in TRYJARSKI E., *Ze studiów...*, 24 (1960) 1, 62-65.

because nearly all the students entered the Basilians, and the bishop dispensed them freely with what faculty nobody knew¹⁹. In 1748, mention is made that nearly all the students from the diocese of Luck had become Basilians²⁰. In 1749, Anthony Levinskyj, the vicar general of the Lviv diocese, complained to the Prop. Fide that the majority of students from his diocese had entered a monastic order, and asked for the clause forbidding entry into a religious order to be added to the oath for students from Lviv²¹, but no decision was made.

Besides the problem of students entering a religious order, another problem arose, that some of the students were asking to transfer to the Latin rite. At least four such petitions are to be found in the records of the Prop. Fide. In 1732, Basilius Zurakowski asked permission to be ordained in the Latin rite because he was more familiar with that rite²². In 1783, Father Basilius Popiel asked to transfer to the Latin rite because he had to help his poor mother and to educate his brothers²³. In 1786, Father Antonius Lewicki asked to change rite so that he could enter the Latin rite Congregation of the Missions of St. Vincent de Paul²⁴. In 1793, Methodius Zaccaria asked permission to be ordained for the Latin rite diocese of Vaccia, although he had received minor orders in the Eastern rite in Lviv²⁵.

The Armenian students were selected by the rector. The Ukrainian students were selected by the bishops for their respective foundations, and by the metropolitan for the pontifical foundation. The Armenians

¹⁹ WSEU, t. 3, p. 59, no. 939: «quasi tutti passono all'Ordine Basiliano La Provincia di Polonia è piena di tali Alunni. Si dice che li Vescovi li dispensano — non si sà però con quale facultà...».

²⁰ APF, *Colleg. Leop.*, t. 1, f. 561-569: «tutti, o quasi tutti gl'alunni di questa fondazione hanno fin'ora abbracciato l'istituto monastico di S. Basilio Magno, in modo che fra i Paroci Ruteni di questa diocesi appena si trova qualch'uno, se pure si trova che sia stato educato in questo Collegio».

²¹ WSEU, t. 3, p. 92-93, no. 969: «quelli li quali sono educati nel Pont. Collegio di Leopoli, prendono per lo più l'abito monastico... supplica... che ...siano tenuti di fare un giuramento... di servire la Diocesi Leop... e di non prendere giammai l'abito monastico».

²² WLP, t. 4, p. 32, no. 1530; *IBIDEM*, p. 37, no. 1538; WSEU, t. 2, p. 262-263, no. 778; WEM, t. 4, p. 188, no. 18.

²³ WAS, t. 2, p. 98-101, no. 482; WLP, t. 6, p. 165-166, no. 2844.

²⁴ WAS, t. 2, p. 92-93, no. 471; *IBIDEM*, p. 149-150, no. 553.

²⁵ WLP, t. 7, p. 87, no. 3145 (1793, December 7): «Il chierico Greco, Metodio Zaccaria,... a fatto istanza... di passare al Rito Latino... educato nel Collegio Pont. di Leopoli per la Diocesi di Munkacz, come nato da Parenti di Rito Greco, e in oltre nell'istesso Collegio ordinato ai Minori per la detta Diocesi».

were taken at a much younger age, stayed longer at the college, and followed a complete course of studies, consisting of two years of rhetoric, two years of philosophy and four years of theology. The Ukrainians came when they were older, and usually stayed a shorter time, probably following some abbreviated courses. Vacation from studies lasted from July 14 to September 14. The students were not ordained in the college, but after they left. The Armenians were ordained unmarried. The Ukrainians usually married, but there must have been a considerable number ordained unmarried, since so many were able to join the Basilians, and some to transfer to Latin rite.

As long as the college was in existence, all of the Armenian archbishops of Lviv were former students. Of the Ukrainian students, only two became bishops. Theodorus Rudnicki, who after finishing his studies entered the Basilian Order and changed his name to Theodosius, became bishop of Luck (1731-1751), and Stephanus Lewinski, who refused to take monastic vows or ask for a dispensation for not taking them²⁶, became auxiliary bishop to the metropolitan of Kyjiv (1782-1787), auxiliary bishop of Luck (1787-1794) and bishop of Luck (1794-1809). One of the students, Michael Primowicz, became vicar general of the southern part of the metropolitan diocese of Kyjiv, and in 1769 made a foundation for two students from the diocese of Kyjiv in the college. Several of the former students became members of bishop's curias, especially after the bishops began, on the order of Rome, to appoint secular clergy to their curias.

All of the Armenian students were supported by Rome with 600 scudi per year. In the beginning, the Ukrainians were supported by Rome, and the amount was fixed in 1720 at 210 scudi per year²⁷, and raised on June 27, 1724 to 260 scudi per year²⁸. This sum, plus part of the profits from the village of Dublany, which the Prop. Fide had contributed to buy, was destined to support six Ukrainian students on pontifical foundation. Beginning in 1721, provision was made for six students by the Bishop George Vynnyckyj foundation, and after 1731, for one student by the Bishop Hieronymus Ustryckyj founda-

²⁶ WLP, t. 6, p. 278-280, nos. 301, 302, 303. Lewinski was the second secular priest in the eighteenth century to be promoted to the episcopacy. The first was Peter Bilanskyj of Lviv (1780-1798), who had also refused to take monastic vows or to ask for a dispensation. In both cases, the metropolitan asked for a dispensation in order to avoid difficulties.

²⁷ WCP, t. 1, p. 131-137, no. 61 (1720, February 28).

²⁸ WCP, t. 1, p. 231-232, no. 72.

tion. In 1727, Bishop Joseph Vyhovskyj of Luck (1716-1730) made a foundation for three students from his diocese, and in 1731, Bishop Athanasius Šeptyckyj of Lviv (1715-1746) made a foundation for four students from the diocese of Lviv. In 1769, Father Primowicz made a foundation for two students from the diocese of Kyjiv, thus bringing the supposed total to twenty two. The number of Armenians was generally between ten and eleven. That the Ukrainians were always fewer than they should have been can be seen from the list.

The transliteration of the Ukrainian names of the students in this article and in the list of students was left as it is in the register, although in different records they were transliterated in various ways.

The following abbreviations are used in the list of students:

D. = dominus (with father's name, if layman)	ingr. = ingressus (entered admitted)
V. = venerabilis (with father's name, if priest)	iur. = iuramentum (oath)
Pont. = pontifical foundation	slr = studies last recorded
Leop. = Lviv diocese	L = left, unspecified
Luceor. = Luck diocese	LC = left, studies complete
Prem. = Peremyšl diocese	LI = left, studies incomplete
Camen. = Kamjanec (part of Lviv diocese)	D = dismissed
Metr. = Metropolitan (Kyjiv diocese)	E = expelled
Mukačov. = Mukačiv diocese	Q = quit, of own accord
a. = annus (age)	Gr = grammar
n. = natus (birth date)	R2 = 2nd year of rhetoric
egr. = egressus (left)	Ph2 = 2nd year of philosophy
	T1, T2, T3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd year of theology

ART. 2

RECTORS AND INSTRUCTORS

Name	date of profes- sion	date of appoint- ment	date of leaving	dates of rectorship
1. Galano Clemente ¹	1628	1664	+ 1666	1) 1665-1666
2. Pidou Ludovico Maria ²	1659	1664	1678	3) 1669-1678
3. Peverati Angelo	1661	1666	1670	
4. Dario Francesco	1660	1666	1668	
5. Caracciolo Giuseppe ³	1645	1667	+ 1667	2) 1667-1667
6. Bagatta Giuseppe	1657	1670	1671	
7. Lobelli Agostino	1663	1671	1675	
8. Bossi Girolamo	1665	1671	1678	
9. Bonesana Francesco ⁴	1665	1675	1691	4) 1678-1691
10. Pezzoli Giovanni Batt.	1672	1675	1682	
11. Rubbi Giovanni Battista ⁵	1670	1676	1678	
		1681	1683	
12. Cavaliere Gaetano	1672	1678	1687	
13. Bonomo Antonio	1669	1681	1682	
14. Accorsi Sebastiano M. ⁶	1675	1685	1690	
		1691	+ 1704	5) 1691-1704
15. Gandolfi Giuseppe M.	1687	1687	1692	
		1694	1700	
16. Saracino Giov. Paolo	1678	1686	1690	
17. Diolaiti Francesco	1684	1690	1698	
18. Wratislaw Massimiliano	1669	1692	1694	
19. Trombetti Stefano ⁷	1689	1695	+ 1723	6) 1706-1723
20. Aproso Nicola ⁸	1679	1705		—) 1705-1706
21. Guarnieri Vincenzo M.	1700	1708	1715	
22. Redanaschi Giuseppe M. ⁹	1702	1711	1717	
		1723	+ 1735	7) 1723-1735
23. Cottone Andrea M. ¹⁰	1707	1715	1722	
24. Cottone Gaetano M.	1707	1715	1722	
25. Travasa Innocenzo M.	1712	1722	1726	
26. Costa Giacomo ¹¹	1716	1723	1729	
		1735	1738	8) 1735-1738
27. Grossi Giuseppe ¹²	1705	1723	+ 1724	
28. Griming Felice	1720	1724	1729	

¹ Died in Lviv.² Bishop of Babylon (1687-1717), died in Aspaham 20/11/1717.³ Died of the plague in Lviv.⁴ Bishop of Caiazzo (1692-1695), of Como (1695-1709), writer.⁵ Term interrupted by poor health.⁶ Died of the plague in Lviv.⁷ Died in Lviv.⁸ Founder of house in Warsaw, never came to Lviv, bishop of Nebbio (1713-1730).⁹ Procurator of Theat. missions (1717-1723), died in Lviv.¹⁰ Of princely family of Palermo, brothers, both theol. writers.¹¹ Bishop of Ripatrasone (1739-1747), of Belluno (1747-1755), writer.¹² Died of the plague in Lviv.

Name	date of profes- sion	date of appoint- ment	date of leaving	dates of rectorship
29. Carmignano Gennaro ¹³	1718	1726	1731	9) 1738-1740
30. Croce Carlo M.	1722	1729	1730	
31. Savonarola Gabriele ¹⁴	1722	1729	1733	
32. Lascaris Giorgio H. ¹⁵	1724	1731	1740	
33. Cappello Giov. Batt.	1728	1735	1740	
34. Rosso Giuseppe M.	1732	1735	1740	10) 1740-1760 11) 1760-1784
35. Calcaterra Giuseppe	1729	1736	1740	
36. Moro Girolamo ¹⁶	1727	1740	1760	
37. Rossetti Ignazio ¹⁷	1740	1745	1793	
38. Asti Antonio M.	1737	1745	1751	
39. Torri Giuseppe M.	1738	1746	1753	
40. Pallavicino Nicolò	1742	1751	1757	
41. Negri Carlo Angelo	1747	1753	1762	
42. Bonaglia Giov. Giacomo	1751	1757	1793	
43. Crodara Gaetano	1753	1758	1762	
44. Freysing Ignazio M.	1758	1761	1765	
		1768	1775	
45. Cozzi Gaetano Francesco	1754	1762	1768	
46. Trentin Luigi M.	1758	1762	1768	
47. Morelli Andrea M.	1755	1769	1773	
48. Robbi Filippo Andrea	1770	1773	1774	
49. Stock F. Jonson de la	1764	1774	1787	
50. Froschauer Giovanni	1766	1772	1780	
51. Redi Giuseppe	1775	1781	1786	
52. Massimini Ferdinando	1782	1789	1793	

ART. 3

UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

- Podgurski Joannes; Leop.; Pont.; a. 13; ingr. 17.2.1709; egr. 1717: LC.
- Rossinski Nicolaus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 14; ingr. 17.2.1709; egr. 1717: LC.
- Rudnicki Georgius; — — ; a. 13; ingr. 2.3.1711; egr. 1714: LI.
- Rudnicki Theodorus; D. Alexander; Luceor.; Pont.; a. 11; ingr. 2.3.1711; iur. 16.10.1716; egr. 1717: LC.

¹³ Bishop of Ugento (1737-1738), of Gaeta (1738-1770).

¹⁴ Superior of house in Warsaw (1733-1741), writer.

¹⁵ Bishop of Zenopolis (1741-1754), archbishop of Theodosia (1754-1762), of Jerusalem (1762-1795).

¹⁶ Seminary burned 1740, closed until 1746 during his term as rector.

¹⁷ Died in Lviv in 1795.

5. Laskowski Nicodemus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 11; ingr. 29.9.1711; egr. 1717: L.
6. Nasczozec Nicolaus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 17.10.1714; egr. 1717: LC.
7. Lawrisewicz Andreas; Leop.; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 8.5.1717; egr. 28.5.1717: L.
8. Zachariasewicz Gregorius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 17; ingr. 28.1.1718; egr. 1723(?): L.
9. Jackowski Stephanus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 17; ingr. ? egr. 1723(?): LC.
10. Laskowski Michaël; Leop.; Pont.; a. 12; ingr. 8.8.1718; egr. 1723(?): L.
11. Protanski Stephanus; OSBM; egr. 1723(?): LC.
12. Rozlucki Joannes; V. Jacobus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 21.12.1718; iur. 6.4.1720; egr. 15.6.1726: LC.
13. Lazarowicz Stephanus; D. Georgius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 14; ingr. 14. 7. 1719; iur. 1. 3. 1722; egr. 31. 6. 1724: LI.
14. Zurakowski Georgius; D. Petrus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 16; ingr. 7. 2. 1720; iur. 30. 4. 1722; egr. 4. 7. 1727: LC.
15. Starodub Alexius; D. Simeon; Leop.; Pont.; a. 15; ingr. 3.4.1720; iur. 1.3.1722; egr. 14.5.1724: E.
16. Lipnicki Josephus; V. Gregorius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 16.11.1720; iur. 1.3.1722; egr. 12.5.1726: LC.
17. Lipnicki Joannes; V. Gregorius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 15; ingr. 4. 7. 1721; iur. 1. 3. 1722; egr. 20. 7. 1726: LC.
18. Linkiewicz Stephanus; V. Basilius; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 4.7.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 20.8.1728: LC.
19. Luzecki Joannes; V. Andreas; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 14.8.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 10.2.1729: LC.
20. Krynicki Stephanus; V. Stephanus; Prem.; a. 15; ingr. 7.11.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 15.5.1724: E.
21. Zurakowski Basilius; D. Stephanus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 15; ingr. 10. 11. 1722; iur. 14. 9. 1724; egr. —. 9.1730: LI.
22. Borecki Basilius; V. Jacobus; Prem.; a. 14; ingr. ?.?.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 1723: R2.
23. Podgurski Alexius; V. Gregorius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr.

- 15.11.1722; iur. 5.5.1723; egr. 24.12.1728: LC.
24. Kiernowicz Constantinus; D. Josephus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 5.1.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 2.11.1728: LI.
25. Krasnianski Basilius; V. Basilius; Prem.; a. 23; ingr. 26.8.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 20.8.1728: LC.
26. Hanicki Jacobus; D. Petrus; Prem.; Pont.; a. 24; ingr. 16.8.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 30.4.1726: LI.
27. Kotowicz Basilius; D. Gregorius; Prem.; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 24.9.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 22.9.1728: LC.
28. Krasnianski Gregorius; V. Basilius; Prem.; Pont.; a. 16; ingr. 24.9.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 14.4.1729: LC.
29. Staromieyski Stephanus; V. Elias; Prem.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 10.11.1722; iur. 20.2.1724; egr. 26.12.1727: E.
30. Laskoski Elias; D. Stephanus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 10; ingr. 14.4.1724; egr. 10.9.1730: Q.
31. Podgurski Josephus; V. Gregorius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 15.7.1725; egr. 11.1.1728: D.
32. Kiernowicz Josephus; D. Josephus; Prem.; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 6.5.1726; egr. 11.1.1728: Q.
33. Zubrzycki Petrus; D. Joachimus; Prem.; Pont.; a. 22; ingr. 26. 8. 1726; iur. 19. 3. 1728; egr. 6. 8. 1729: LI.
34. Litynski Michaël V. Stephanus; Prem.; a. 12; ingr. 1.9.1729; egr. 6.10.1730: D.
35. Kaniuczkiewicz Petrus; D. Basilius; Leop.; Pont.; a. 22; ingr. 11.3.1727; egr. 7.1.1728: Q.
36. Seredowicz Andreas; D. Joannes; Luceor.; a. 18; ingr. 10.9.1727; iur. 19.3.1728; egr. 10.9.1729: LI.
37. Siemialkowski Georgius; D. Basilius; Luceor.; a. 22; ingr. 10.9.1727; egr. 7.1.1728: Q.
38. Smolnicki Gregorius; D. Paulus; Luceor.; a. 22; ingr. 10.9.1727; egr. 8.2.1728: D.
39. Jankowski Theodorus; D. Basilius; Pont.; a. 11; ingr. 1.4.1728; iur. 11.4.1733; egr. 1728: Gr.
40. Wituszynski Joannes; V. Michaël; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 18.8.1728; iur. 7.6.1729; egr. 1732: LI.



41. Czerkaski Theodorus; V. Joannes; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 4.9.1728; iur. 7.6.1729; egr. 4.5.1732: LI.
42. Wolanski Stephanus; V. Michaël; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 4.9.1728; iur. 7.6.1729; egr. 20.5.1734: LC.
43. Lewicki Antonius; V. Jacobus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 16.11.1728; iur. 7.6.1729; egr. 5.6.1734: LC.
44. Bielinski Ambrosius; V. Honoratus; Leop.; OSBM; a. 23; ingr. 8.8.1729; egr. 1732: LI.
45. Medynski Simeon; V. Jacobus; Leop.; a. 23; ingr. 10.8.1729; egr. 8.10.1729: D.
46. Sluzikiewicz Basilius; D. Joannes; Leop.; a. 21; ingr. 16.8.1729; iur. 18.12.1729; egr. 1732: LI.
47. Ustianowski Michaël; V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 25.8.1729; iur. 18.12.1729; egr. 8.6.(?): LC.
48. Kuczkowski Joannes; V. Eustachius; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 25.8.1729; iur. 18.12.1729; egr. 4.6.1734: LC.
49. Zawalkiewicz Basilius; V. Stephanus; Prem.; a. 13; ingr. 28.8.1729; iur. 27.1.1732; egr. (?): ?
50. Szczawnicki Joannes; V. Constantinus; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 1.11.1729; iur. 18.12.1729; egr. 15.5.1732: LI.
51. Zyzniewski Michaël; V. Joannes; Leop.; a. 16; ingr. 26.11.1729; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. 6.5.1738: LC.
52. Dolhaniewicz Joannes; D. Basilius; Luceor.; a. 16; ingr. 19.3.1730; iur. 27.1.1732; egr. 25.8.1736: LI.
53. Turczynowski Jacobus; D. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 16; ingr. 2.2.1731; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. (?): LC.
54. Hordowski Michaël; D. Theodorus; Leop.; a. 24; ingr. 19.5.1731; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. 8.6.1734: LC.
55. Pazirski Joannes; V. Andreas; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 14.9.1731; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. ? : LC.
56. Fostyk Paulus; D. Basilius; Leop.; a. 15; ingr. 28.9.1731; iur. (?); egr. (?): E.
57. Bugrynowski Gregorius; D. Mathias; Luceor.; a. 26; ingr. 6.10.1731; iur. 27.1.1732; egr. 1732: LI.
58. Smereczanski Basilius; V. Samuel; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 2.9.1732; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. (?): LC.
59. Bielinski Innocentius; D. Petrus; Luceor.; OSBM; a. 25; ingr. 16.9.1732; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. 25.8.1736: LI.

60. Krasnopolski Theodorus; D. Timotheus; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 20.11.1732; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. (?): LI.
61. Popiel Petrus; D. Joannes; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 18.1.1733; iur. 12.4.1733; egr. 20.11.1737: LI.
62. Lewinski Joannes; V. Jacobus; Leop.; Pont.; a. (?); ingr. 4.3.1734; iur. (?); egr. ? : ?
63. Paslawski Casimirus; D. Basilius; Luceor.; a. 15; ingr. 15.5.1733; iur. (?); egr. ? : Q.
64. Blonski Michaël; V. Lucas; Leop.; a. 22; ingr. 21.8.1734; iur. 12.1.1736; egr. 8.5.1738: L.
65. Primowicz Michaël; V. Theodorus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 22.8.1734; iur. 12.1.1736; egr. (?): ?
66. Baraniecki Joannes; V. Andreas; Prem.; an. 20; ingr. 24.8.1735; iur. (?); egr. (?): Q.
67. Jakubinski Andreas; V. Joannes; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 24.8.1735; iur. ?; egr. (?): ?
68. Koczerkiewicz Stephanus; V. Petrus; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 6.11.1735; iur. 3.5.1738; egr. (?): LC.
69. Wysoczanski Theodorus; V. Jacobus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 6.11.1735; iur. 3.5.1738; egr. ? : ?
70. Zelawicz Georgius; V. (?); Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 30.9.1735; iur. 12.1.1736; egr. (?): ?
71. Konaszewicz Alexander; V. Theodorus; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 23.1.1736; iur. 3.5.1738; egr. ? : ?
72. Szyszkiewicz Michaël; D. Paulus; Leop.; a. 24; ingr. 20.8.1737; iur. 3.5.1738; egr. 8.5.1738: Q.
73. Syczynski Joannes; V. Paulus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 16; ingr. 15.9.1737; egr. (?): ?
74. Stefanowicz Joannes; V. Zacharias; Leop.; a. 20; ingr. 17.6.1738; egr. (?): ?
75. Prokopowicz Gregorius; D. Antonius; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 14.9.1738; egr. (?): ?
76. Konaszewicz Stephanus; V. Theodorus; Leop.; a. 15; ingr. 20.9.1738; egr. (?): ?
77. Zdrynkiewicz Joannes; V. Stephanus; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 14.10.1738; egr. (?): ?
78. Wirzbicki Theodorus; V. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 14.10.1738; egr. (?): ?
79. Barcinski Joannes; V. Nicolaus; Luceor.; a. 21; ingr. 6.9.1739; egr. (?): ?

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| 80. Rabiec Michaël; | V. Joannes; Luceor.; a. 18; ingr. 6.9. 1739; egr. (?): ? |
| 81. Zawalkiewicz Joannes; | V. Stephanus; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 82. Lesieniecki Gregorius; | V. Theodorus; Leop.; a. 23; ingr. 22.2.1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 83. Szwedzicki Gregorius; | V. Andreas; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 84. Gawalewicz Joannes; | V. Gregorius; Leop.; a. 25; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): D. |
| 85. Maximowicz Gabriel; | V. Demetrius; Prem.; a. 23; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): D. |
| 86. Oslawski Joannes; | V. Basilius; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 87. Wodzinski Stephanus; | D. Joannes; Leop.; a. 16; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 88. Kirzewski Basilius; | D. Petrus; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 22.2.1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 89. Koronczewski Antonius; | V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): ? |
| 90. Zukowski Thomas; | V. Thomas; Luceor.; a. 22; ingr. 8.9. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 91. Wyhowski Romanus; | D. Stephanus; Luceor.; a. 20; ingr. 8. 9.1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 92. Berniakiewicz Joannes; | D. Andreas; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 22.2. 1746; egr. (?): ? |
| 93. Holowczynski Andreas; | V. Gregorius; Prem.; Pont.; a. 17; ingr. 22.2.1746; egr. (?): ? |
| 94. Litynski Josephus; | D. Joannes; ingr. 22.2.1746; egr. (?): D. |
| 95. Litynski Petrus; | D. Joannes; Leop.; Pont.; a. 13; ingr. 30.8.1746; egr. (?): ? |
| 96. Witoszynski Joannes; | V. Joannes; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 14.9. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 97. Kaflewicz Joannes; | V. Basilius; Prem.; a. 13; ingr. 14.9. 1746; egr. (?): LC. |
| 98. Czechowski Paulus; | V. Daniel; Luceor.; a. 17; ingr. 25.3. 1747; egr. (?): ? |
| 99. Radkiewicz Gregorius; | D. Theodorus; Prem.; Pont.; a. 22; ingr. 12.2.1748; egr. (?): LC. |
| 100. Poznachowski Joannes; | V. Athanasius; Luceor.; a. 15; ingr. 2. 8.1749; egr. (?): LC. |

101. Lipnicki Andreas; V. Josephus; Leop.; a. 22; ingr. 3.1.1750; iur. 7.4.1752; egr. (?): LC.
102. Kaczkowski Gregorius; D. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 16.2.1750; egr. (?): LC.
103. Kotowicz Theodorus; V. Basilius; Prem.; n. 10.3.1734; ingr. 9.10.1750; egr. (?): LC.
104. Kotowicz Basilius; V. Basilius; Prem.; Pont.; n. 10.3.1734; ingr. 6.10.1750; iur. 7.4.1752; egr. (?): LC.
105. Ilaszewicz Elias; V. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 16; ingr. 23.11.1750; iur. 7.4.1752; egr. ? : LC.
106. Wodzinski Daniel; D. Joannes; Leop.; Pont.; a. 14; ingr. 3.11.1750; iur. 7.4.1752; egr. (?): LC.
107. Kaczmaroski Timotheus; D. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 22; ingr. 13.11.1750; egr. (?): LC.
108. Oslawski Petrus; V. Basilius; Leop.; a. 19; ingr. 16.1.1751; iur. 7.4.1752; egr. (?): LC.
109. Lubinski Joannes; V. Gregorius; Metr.; n. 23.6.1731; ingr. 14.9.1752; iur. 21.9.1755; egr. (?): LC.
110. Bielawski Joannes; V. Theodorus; Metr.; Pont.; n. 26.9.1732; ingr. 14. 9. 1752; iur. 21. 9. 1755; egr. (?): LC.
111. Suszalski Gregorius; V. Joannes; Leop.; n. 17.11.1733; ingr. 14.9.1752; iur. 17.5.1756; egr. (?): LC.
112. Podlaszecki Gregorius; V. Gregorius; Prem.; n. 17.11.1734; ingr. 18.9.1753; slr. 1760: T.
113. Kuniewicz Joannes; V. Joannes; Prem.; n. 4.1.1730; ingr. 26.1.1754; iur. 31.7.1757; egr. (?): LC.
114. Puzikowski Petrus; V. Basilius; Luceor.; n. 29.6.1732; ingr. 17.2.1754; egr. (?): LC.
115. Lazarewicz Petrus; V. Joannes; Luceor.; n. 17.6.1734; ingr. 17.2.1754; egr. (?): LC.
116. Matkowski Basilius; V. Timotheus; Camen.; n. 8.1.1737; ingr. 21.2.1754; iur. 6.7.1759; slr. 1760: T.
117. Bielecki Basilius; V. Nicolaus; Prem.; n. 9.3.1734; ingr. 18.4.1755; iur. 6.7.1759; slr. 1760: T.
118. Produkiewicz Michaël; V. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 21.6.1755; slr. 1760: Ph.
119. Basarabski Theodorus; D. Theodorus; Camen.; Pont.; a. 25; ingr. 11.9.1755; egr. 1759: LC.
120. Janowski Michaël; V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 2.11.1756; iur. 17.9.1761; egr. 1762: LC.

121. Polusynowski Petrus; D. Basilius; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 12.11.1756; slr. 1762: LC.
122. Zoltowski Simeon; V. Basilius; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 15.1.1757; slr. 1763: T3.
123. Jaroszewicz Antonius; V. Basilius; Luceor.; a. 18; ingr. 27.9.1757; iur. 17.9.1761; egr. 1762; LC.
124. Horynowicz Paulus; V. Stephanus; Luceor.; n. 28.5.1735; ingr. 14.9.1757; slr. 1960: Ph.
125. Woronowicz Daniel; D. Joannes; Prem.; n. 10.12.1739; ingr. 26.9.1757; iur. 1.4.1763; slr. 1763: T3.
126. Lewinski Stephanus; V. Jacobus; Leop.; n. 19.12.1736; ingr. 1.12.1757; iur. 17.9.1761; egr. 1763: T3.
127. Salamaszynski Nicolaus; D. Georgius; Prem.; n. 1.4.1736; ingr. 7.12.1757; iur. 17.9.1761; slr. 1763: T3.
128. Wasilkowski Joannes; V. Romanus; Leop.; n. 27.2.1735; ingr. 8.12.1757; slr. 1760: Ph.
129. Jaroszewicz Ludovicus; D. Joannes; Luceor.; n. 9.8.1738; ingr. 23.9.1758; iur. 17.9.1761; slr. 1763: T2.
130. Juskiewicz Nicolaus; V. Jacobus; Leop.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 6.9.1759; iur. 1.4.1763; slr. 1763: Ph.
131. Kaleczynski Stephanus; V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 20.9.1759; iur. 17.9.1761; slr. 1763: T1.
132. Grabowiecki Petrus; V. Jacobus; Luceor.; a. 21; ingr. 9.8.1760; egr. (?): ?
133. Lesiankiewicz Alexius; V. Petrus; Luceor.; a. 22; ingr. 9.8.1760; egr. (?): ?
134. Wesolowski Gabriel; V. Jacobus; Camen.; a. 21; ingr. 7.9.1760; slr. 1763: T.
135. Pupczynski Simeon; V. Joannes; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 12.9.1760; slr. 1763: T.
136. Saykiewicz Paulus; V. Joannes; Prem.; n. 15.3.1741; ingr. 29.9.1760; slr. 1763: Ph.
137. Hurkiewicz Joannes; V. Jacobus; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 29.9.1760; iur. 1.4.1763; slr. 1763: Ph.
138. Bandrowski Demetrius; V. Nicolaus; Prem.; n. 8.10.1738; ingr. 1.5.1761; slr. 1763: Ph.
139. Podgurzanski Joannes; V. Erasmus; Luceor.; n. 22.9.1742; ingr. 1.7.1761; slr. 1763: Ph.
140. Ochrymowicz Theodorus; V. Gabriel; Luceor.; ingr. 1762; slr. 1763: T.

141. Lozowski Alexander; V. Alexander; Luceor.; n. 15.8.1746; ingr. 14.9.1762; slr. 1763: Ph.
142. Hanczakowski Stanislaus; D. Jacobus; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 10.10.1762; iur. 27.11.1767; egr. (?): ?
143. Piasecki Alexius; V. Simeon; Leop.; a. 20; ingr. egr. (??)
144. Lawroski Joannes; V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 1764; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. (?)
145. Sulzynski Athanasius; V. Basilius; Luceor.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 3.9.1764; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. (?)
146. Lewitski Joannes; V. Basilius; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 8.2.1765; iur. 4.1768 egr. (?)
147. Blonski Theodorus; V. Andreas; Leop.; a. 19; ingr. 15.4.1765; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. (?)
148. Lewicki Antonius; V. Stephanus; Leop.; a. 19; ingr. 15.4.1765; iur. 1.4.1768; slr. 1771: T.
149. Borecki Joannes; V. Jobus; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. —.6.1765; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. (?)
150. Zawalkiewicz Stephanus; V. Georgius; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 15.4.1766; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. ante 1771: L.
151. Mieyski Basilius; V. Joannes; Prem.; a. 23; ingr. 21.9.1766; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. 1777: LC.
152. Plotycki Paulus; V. Stephanus; Luceor.; — ? — ingr. 11.10.1766; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. 1772: LC.
153. Szczudlinski Jacobus; V. Alexander; Prem.; n. 30.4.1745; ingr. 6.11.1766; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. ante 1771: L.
154. Zyniewicz Joannes; V. Georgius; Prem.; ingr. 6.11.1766; iur. 1.4.1768; egr. ante 1771: L.
155. Popiel Basilius; V. Gregorius; Luceor.; a. 20; ingr. 11.5.1768; iur. 17.4.1772; slr. 1772: T2.
156. Szopczanski Basilius; D. Joannes; Metr.; Pont.; a. 17; ingr. 20.1.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; egr. 1772: LC.
157. Baczynski Michael; D. Gregorius; Leop.; a. 20; ingr. 16.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; slr. 1772: T2.
158. Szanimirski Paulus; V. Basilius; Leop.; n. 16.1.1752; ingr. 16.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; egr. 1772: LC.
159. Manastyrski Joannes; V. Basilius; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 16.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; slr. 1772: T2.
160. Dobrzanski Theodorus; V. Theodorus; Prem.; ingr. 22.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; egr. 1772: LC.

161. Borecki Michael; V. Jacobus; Prem.; ingr. 22.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; egr. 1772: LC.
162. Krzywulkowski Gregorius; V. Andreas; Prem.; ingr. 22.9.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; egr. 1772: LC.
163. Grabowiecki Joannes; V. Jacobus; Luceor.; a. 19; ingr. 14.10.1769; iur. 17.4.1772; slr. 1772: T2.
164. Garbaczewski Chrisanthus; V. Stephanus; Leop.; n. 19.3.1753; ingr. 13.11.1769; iur. 9.4.1773; slr. 1776: T3.
165. Bregilewicz Basilius; V. Stephanus; Prem.; ingr. 21.5.1769; iur. 9.4.1773; slr. 1776: T3.
166. Piasecki Joannes; V. Simeon; Leop.; ingr. 14.9.1771; iur. 9.4.1773; slr. 1776: T3.
167. Turczynowski Mathias; V. Jacobus; Prem.; ingr. 22.9.1772; iur. 9.4.1773; slr. 1776: T3.
168. Bilinski Josephus; V. Nicolaus; Leop.; a. 24; ingr. 14.9.1772; slr. 1772: T1.
169. Bilski Thomas; V. Gregorius; Luceor.; n. 8.10.1752; ingr. 14.9.1774; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: T3.
170. Stebelski Nicolaus; V. Eustachius; Pont.; n. 9.5.1752; ingr. 1.10.1773; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: T1.
171. Czerchawski Basilius; V. Basilius; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 26.9.1774; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: T1.
172. Podlaszecki Joannes; V. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 21; ingr. 16.9.1773; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: Ph2.
173. Laniecki Theodorus; V. Basilius; Luceor.; n. 11.3.1752; ingr. 10.9.1773; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: Ph2.
174. Czerchawski Joannes; V. Theodorus; Prem.; n. 21.2.1752; ingr. 24.10.1773; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: T1.
175. Lipnicki Eustachius; V. Josephus; Leop.; a. 19; ingr. 26.9.1774; iur. 4.4.1776; slr. 1776: Ph2.
176. Dawidowicz Michael; V. Michaël; Leop.; Pont.; a. 20; ingr. 3.11.1775; iur. 27.3.1777; slr. 1776: Ph2.
177. Paslawski Demetrius; V. Michaël; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 16.9.1775; iur. 27.3.1777; slr. 1781: T3.
178. Kniezynski Basilius; V. Basilius; Luceor.; n. 7.3.1754; ingr. 17.9.1775; iur. 27.3.1777; slr. 1781: T3.
179. Zienowicz Joannes; V. Leo; Luceor.; Pont.; a. 19; ingr. 3.10.1776; iur. 27.3.1777; egr. (?)
180. Dumowicz Joannes; V. Joannes; Prem.; a. 20; ingr. 20.10.1776; iur. 27.3.1777; egr. (?)

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| 181. Sozanski Andreas; | V. Jacobus; Prem.; a. 18; ingr. 17.9.1776; iur. 27.3.1777; slr. 1781: T3. |
| 182. Kubaiewicz Michael; | V. Antonius; Prem.; ingr. 16.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; egr. (?) |
| 183. Kotowicz Gregorius; | V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 20.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; slr. 1781: T2. |
| 184. Husakowski Josephus; | V. Elias; Luceor.; a. 22; ingr. 19.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; egr. ? |
| 185. Buczynski Josephus; | V. Maximus; Luceor.; n. 24.12.1757; ingr. 27.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; slr. 1781: T2. |
| 186. Lewinski Jacobus; | V. Gregorius; Leop.; a. 18; ingr. 28.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; slr. 1781: T2. |
| 187. Dorozynski Joannes; | V. Joannes; Leop.; a. 20; ingr. 28.9.1777; iur. 14.5.1780; slr. 1781: T2. |
| 188. Bielawski Michael; | V. Stephanus; Leop.; a. 21; ingr. 21.10.1778; iur. 14.5.1780; egr. ? |
| 189. Zarudzki Joannes; | V. Stephanus; Leop.; a. 20; ingr. 30.9.1779; egr. (?) |
| 190. Kotowicz Theodorus; | V. Theodorus; Prem.; a. 17; ingr. 27.9.1779; egr. (?) |
| 191. Kaczkowski Basilius; | V. Gregorius; Prem.; a. 19; ingr. 5.10.1779; egr. (?) |
| 192. Szeptycki Thadeus; | D. Jacobus; Pont.; a. 18; ingr. 22.11.1779; egr. (?) |
| 193. Zaccaria Methodius; | Mukačov.; a. ? ingr. egr. (??) |
| 194. Zyniewicz Georgius; | ... |

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Grabowiecki Joannes	163	Lawroski Joannes	144
Grabowiecki Petrus	132	Lazarewicz Petrus	115
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CONCLUSIONS

The inspiration to found the pontifical colleges and seminaries originated with Gregory XIII and was supported by his successors. The pontifical colleges had a magnificent missionary goal, but in time, the sight of this goal was lost by the leadership of some of the colleges. Those colleges which were failing in their purpose were closed by Benedict XIV. Others, the "oltramontani", were closed by the end of the eighteenth century for political or economic reasons. Whatever their shortcomings, the pontifical colleges and seminaries undoubtedly made a considerable contribution towards the growth and stability of the Catholic Church at that time. It is said that several of the colleges had little understanding for Eastern European Church problems, and of giving the help which was so badly needed, they frequently only added to suspicions regarding their sincerity and good will towards the Eastern churches, thus in some respects slowing down progress towards real mutual understanding, united effort and striving for the common goal — to save souls. The salvation of souls was the only reason for the coming of the Son of God into this world, and is the ultimate reason for the existence of His Church, and of the clergy. To train the clergy for the accomplishment of this goal was the main reason for the establishment of the pontifical colleges, and the salvation of souls as the main purpose of the Church was consistently stressed by the Roman pontiffs and the ecumenical councils, but in history, unfortunately often individual members were distracted from this goal by many secondary considerations.

The pontifical colleges had their impact also on the growth and stability of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv after the Union of Berestja, through the education of its monastic clergy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and through the education of the secular clergy in Lviv and Vilno during the eighteenth century. Whatever drawbacks there were on the part of the administration of the colleges, the popes and the Prop. Fide always strove as much as possible to help promote the education of the Ukrainian and Bielorussian clergy, and

to help their situation. It must be kept in mind, however, that the pontifical colleges could help train only a certain percentage of the monastic and secular clergy. The rest was the responsibility of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv itself. Here, for a long time, sufficient understanding and efforts were lacking.

The monastic order failed to organize well functioning seminaries, chiefly due to the drainage of its manpower to fill higher offices in the church, to the abuses of the archimandrite system, and to the loss of the aristocracy and upper class to the Latin rite. The secular clergy failed to organize any lasting system for their education, first of all because of lack of interest on the part of bishops (who had no real interest in the education of the Basilians either), and through lack of serious efforts at self betterment, disorganization, inertia and apathy on the part of the secular clergy themselves. It took the direct intervention of Benedict XIV to shake the monasteries out of their state of inaction with regards to the education of the monastic clergy in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, and it took the untiring (and sometimes misguided) energy of Emperor Joseph II to forcibly organize a permanent, well functioning seminary system for the secular clergy in the southwestern dioceses which were under his control.

Before the foundation of the Armenian Pontifical College in 1665, the Armenian clergy of Lviv had no chance for education, and without the college, the union of the Armenian archdiocese of Lviv probably would not have survived. Similarly, before the foundation of the Ukrainian Pontifical Seminary, the Ukrainian secular clergy had no chance for education, since the few who found their way into the other pontifical colleges were invariably members of the Basilian Order. The Armenian seminary satisfied the needs of the Armenian Church in Lviv, because that church had only a few parishes, but the Ukrainian seminary could not hope to satisfy the needs of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv with several thousand parishes. It did the best it could, under the circumstances.

It would have been better for the Ukrainians if they had had a separate seminary, but a separate seminary would have been long in coming, and perhaps would never have come to be. It was chiefly through the efforts of a Theatine, Father Trombetti, rector of the Armenian seminary, that the Ukrainian Pontifical Seminary of Lviv was founded. It was, like the Armenian seminary, sustained by a number of dedicated Theatines, who had left their sunny native land for the cold northern climate to teach the Ukrainian and Armenian youth.

In the beginning, it was intended that the two seminaries should be together only on a temporary basis, but as things turned out, it remained together until the end. Although limited in practice to the southwestern dioceses, it was the only seminary for the training of the secular clergy in the metropolitanate of Kyjiv until, in 1753, the Pontifical Seminary of Vilno was organized for the northeastern dioceses.

Even though the seminary could not satisfy the needs of the metropolitanate of Kyjiv, its merits should not be overlooked. It prodded the bishops to make foundations. It gave an impetus to the awakening of the secular clergy, gave them hope for a better future for themselves and for their children, and provided leadership at a time when it was desperately needed. It was a candle in the darkness.

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