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The Dissolution of the Pontifical Armenian-Ruthenian College in Lviv in 1784 by the Austrian Authorities: Origins, Process, Consequences¹

The article presents the final years of the functioning of the Armenian-Ruthenian College in Lviv during the period of Austrian occupation. By the decision of Emperor Joseph II of Habsburg on April 5, 1784, the institution was dissolved, and the lecturers and students were evicted. The analysis of source material stored in the archives in Rome, Vienna, and Lviv enabled the presentation of the behind-the-scenes negotiations between church authorities (the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) and the imperial chancery aimed at obtaining compensation for the lost property and efforts to reactivate the college outside the borders of the Austrian Empire.

Keywords: Pontifical Armenian-Ruthenian College, Armenians, Ruthenians, Theatines, Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith

The establishment and operation of the Lviv College run by the Order of Regular Clerics (Theatines) can be considered a remarkable phenomenon in the field of education and formation of candidates for the Catholic priesthood in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries. This institution exemplified the creative cooperation among clergy of three rites: professors and educators from the Roman Catholic Theatine order and seminarians of the Armenian Catholic and Greek Catholic rites, who acquired philosophical-theological knowledge and practical skills necessary for pastoral work at the college. Research conducted so far on the functioning of the college has yielded tangible results. In the latter half of the 1940s, Grzegorz Petrowicz,² addressed the issue of the college's

¹ The query in the Archive of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome was conducted thanks to a scholarship from the Lanckoroński Foundation.

² G. Petrowicz, *L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626–1686)*, Roma 1950. These issues were also described by B. Mas, *I Teatini e l'unione degli Armeni di Leopoli*

establishment in the context of the introduction of the church union in Poland. He also described the further fate of this institution in his subsequent monograph on the history of the Armenian Church in Poland, dedicating extensive passages to this issue.³ Slightly earlier, the Ukrainian scholar Dmytro Blazejovskij presented a monograph on the college, describing its history from its inception until its dissolution by the Austrian authorities.⁴ Giovanni Scarabelli also published a synthesis of the institution's activities.⁵ Additionally, there are several minor studies whose authors focus on various aspects of the college's operations, including foreign language teaching,⁶ theatre,⁷ the college's architecture,⁸ and its students.⁹ The least known aspect is the final period of the college's existence, corresponding to the era of the partitions, especially the years 1783–1784, during which there was an intensification of events leading to the institution's dissolution by Emperor Joseph II of Habsburg.¹⁰ During archival research, a wide base of sources was obtained from the Archive of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome and the Archive of the House, Court, and State in Vienna. This expanded the information provided by the aforementioned authors and included previously unknown documentation collected in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, produced by the Galician Governorate. This allowed for an understanding of the behind-the-scenes aspects of the college's dissolution not only from the perspective

con la Santa Sede, „Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina a Clericis Regularibus edita”, Romae 1951, p. 154–163.

³ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia e nei paesi limitrofi (1686–1954)*, Roma 1988.

⁴ D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665–1784)*, Roma 1975. A summary of the book with certain corrections and additions: idem, *I Teatini e i Pontifici Collegi Armeno e Ucraino di Leopoli (1665–1784)*, „Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina a Clericis Regularibus edita”, Romae 1979, p. 205–248.

⁵ G. Scarabelli, *I Teatini a Leopoli*, „Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina a Clericis Regularibus edita”, Romae 2003, p. 211–223.

⁶ E. Tryjarski, *Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich*, part 2: *O nauce języków obcych w Kolegium teatyńskim we Lwowie*, „Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 1960, vol. 23, p. 30–55.

⁷ M. Mieszek, *Kilka uwag o intermediach z lwowskiego kolegium księży teatynów*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica” 2007, no 9, p. 53–61.

⁸ J. Kowalczyk, *Gmach kolegium Teatynów we Lwowie i jego twórcy – Salvi i Chiaveri*, in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 5, ed. A. Betlej, P. Krasny, Kraków 2003, p. 53–64.

⁹ E. Tryjarski, *Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich*, part 3: *Katalogi alumnów Kolegium teatyńskiego we Lwowie*, „Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 1960, vol. 24, p. 43–87.

¹⁰ Father Władysław Chotkowski also pointed out this aspect and planned a separate study, which, however, did not materialize. M. Miławicki, *Źródła do dziejów Kościoła ormiańskokatolickiego w Galicji w zbiorach wiedeńskich*, „Lehahayer. Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Ormian Polskich” 2019, vol. 6, p. 127.

of the Holy See and the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna but also from the viewpoint of the Austrian administration.

It is worth recalling the most significant facts from the history of the college. As mentioned, its establishment is closely tied to the union made by Armenian Archbishop Nicholas Torosowicz with the Holy See in 1630. In the following decades, the key issues included implementing the union, educating Armenian clergy, and correcting liturgical books. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith entrusted this mission to the Theatines, who had appropriate preparation and experience in missionary work in Armenia, Georgia, Turkey, and other Eastern countries.¹¹ In 1664, Father Clemente Galano and Father Luigi Maria Pidou arrived in Lviv, where they laid the foundations for the college and began teaching the first students of the Armenian rite. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith generously supported the renovation work and the purchase of necessary equipment. The official date of the opening of the Pontifical Armenian College in Lviv is considered to be 1665. In 1709, Ruthenians joined the Armenian students; from then until the end of the institution's existence, seminarians of both rites studied and were formed together under the guidance of the Theatines.

Initially, the college was housed in small premises adjacent to the Armenian Cathedral. A few years later, the college was moved to buildings next to the Armenian Church of the Holy Cross. In 1734, a new building was erected near the High Castle, which burned down in 1740. In the following years, a new building was erected on the same site, but it was never completed. Of the planned quadrangular layout, only the southern wing and part of the western (front) wing were built.¹² At the Pontifical Armenian-Ruthenian College, students were taught Latin and Armenian grammar, singing, Armenian liturgy, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and various fields of theology. Approximately 140 Armenians and 200 Ruthenians studied at the college, many of whom later held prominent positions within the church structures.

The situation of the college changed after the first partition of Poland in 1772. The Viennese authorities imposed a tax on the college and required it to provide fodder for the army. In 1774, they offered Prefect Father Ignazio Rossetti the option of relocating the college to the former Jesuit building in Jarosław, but the proposal was not accepted.¹³ In 1775, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree obligating the Galician Governorate to approve the properties belonging to the college. A year later, there were further interventions, this time in the organization of studies. In 1779, the Apostolic Nunciature in

¹¹ More on this topic see: A. Iwaszczonek, *La presenza Teatina tra gli Armeni*, „Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina a Clericis Regularibus edita”, Romae 2019, p. 11–30.

¹² J. Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 56–57.

¹³ D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Vienna intervened because a proposed infrastructure project in Lviv included the construction of a new road that was to pass through the college courtyard. In mid-1782, the Governor of Galicia, Joseph Brigido, demanded a statement regarding property matters, including foreign donations for the maintenance of the institution. At that time, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Archbishop Giuseppe Garampi, anticipating further difficulties in the college's operations, proposed to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that the college be relocated outside the borders of the Austrian Empire. However, the Holy See did not decide to take such a radical step at that time.¹⁴ As it later turned out, the actions taken by the central authorities in Vienna and the local offices in Lviv were only a prelude to the eventual dissolution of the institution.

In 1783, the college provided spiritual and intellectual formation to 28 seminarians of the Armenian and Greek Catholic rites from Galicia and abroad, including Kyiv, Volhynia, Podolia, and Transylvania. The positions of superiors and professors were held by four Theatines: Prefect Ignazio Rossetti, Vice-Prefect Giovanni Giacomo Bonaglia, Francesco Jonson de la Stock, and Giuseppe Redi. The study program included topics in philosophy and theology, and there were also classes in Polish literature to equip candidates for the priesthood with skills useful for delivering sermons.¹⁵

Before the official decision to dissolve the college was made, Prefect Rossetti reached out to Archbishop Giuseppe Garampi, expressing concern about the information that the Viennese authorities had communicated to the ordinaries of the various dioceses. The bishops had been informed that all seminaries would be closed by November 1783. The prefect opposed these plans, emphasizing that the college had been established with external funds, and its dissolution would indicate a spirit of usurpation and animosity towards the Holy See. Rossetti found the principles of education in the General Seminary, which promoted loyalty to secular authorities, to be controversial, contrasting them with the teaching principles at the college, where the focus was on solidifying Catholic dogmas and good morals.¹⁶ Rossetti also sent a letter to the United Court Chancellery, stressing that the college had been under the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith since its inception, and the Theatines had acted as administrators and custodians on behalf of the Holy See.¹⁷

¹⁴ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 192–193.

¹⁵ Archivio della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide (hereafter: APF), Collegio Armeno e Ruteno di Leopoli (hereafter: Colleg. Leop.), vol. 2, Kopia listu o. Ignazio Rossettiego do abp. Giuseppe Garampiego, Lwów 3 lipca 1783, p. 41.

¹⁶ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Ignazio Rossetti to Archbishop Giuseppe Garampi, Lviv, July 3, 1783, p. 41.

¹⁷ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Rossetti to the United Court Chancellery in Vienna, [June 1783], p. 46.

The grotesque visit of Emperor Joseph II Habsburg to the college on June 22, 1783, aroused concern among the superiors and students. The monarch ran around with a hat in his hand, asking numerous questions. The prefect provided an account of the current situation of the institution, presenting the staff, study program, and financial situation. According to Rossetti, the purpose of the monarch's visit was to assess the condition and usefulness of the college building. As mentioned, the construction work had not been completed, so the building required significant financial investment. The prefect deliberately emphasized its deficiencies and pointed out that the utility rooms, including the kitchen and brewery, had been built temporarily and were at risk of collapse. After looking around the college, the emperor remarked that the living conditions left much to be desired. Talking about the funds, Father Rossetti informed that besides extraordinary grants, the Holy See annually paid 860 scudi for statutory activities; additionally, profits were drawn from various capital investments. The emperor stated that the funds were very modest. The prefect replied that the funding allowed the provision of daily maintenance, emphasizing that they lived thanks to Providence and the support of the Holy See, as the monks themselves did not possess any goods. Rossetti also mentioned another issue: the idea of the Greek Catholic ordinary in Lviv, who suggested, along with the Armenian archbishop, submitting a joint memorandum to the Austrian government requesting the preservation of the college. However, Rossetti doubted the effectiveness and legitimacy of this endeavor.¹⁸ Father Bonaglia, who was present during the monarch's visit, reports that as the emperor was leaving the college, he said to the fathers, "good job," but did not comment on the future of the institution, intensifying the uncertainty and speculation among the superiors and students. Unofficial information reaching the Theatines indicated that the matter was settled, and the college—like other seminaries—was to be abolished, with the building designated for military supply storage. Father Bonaglia, writing to his confreres in Rome, stated with disappointment: "Ognun si meraviglia, che l'Imperatore, fisso a non toccare Luoghi di Educazione, così abbia disposto".¹⁹

A few days after the mentioned visit to the college, on June 30, 1783,²⁰ the emperor signed a decree to dissolve the Papal Armenian-Ruthenian College

¹⁸ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Rossetti to Archbishop G. Garampi, Lviv, July 3, 1783, pp. 41–42.

¹⁹ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Giovanni Giacomo Bonagli to the Theatines in Rome, Lviv, July 6, 1783, p. 39.

²⁰ Władysław Chotkowski states that the decree abolishing the Theatines was signed on March 11, 1783. The confiscated property was supposed to be compensation for the 25 000 florins that the Clarisses from Nowy Sącz donated to the Congregation of Rites in Rome for the

and the suppression of the Theatine Order.²¹ According to this document, the seminarians studying there were to continue their education at the General Seminary. The resolution of July 29 of that year expressed uncertainty about how to treat the Theatines who had worked at the college until then: whether as former monks or as teachers employed by the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. At the same time, there were plans to encourage them to leave Galicia by covering their travel expenses.²² In this situation, Prefect Rossetti, in a letter to Archbishop Garampi, stated that he would make every effort to oppose the execution of the decree. He considered it a point of honor to stand guard over the rights and dignity of the Holy See against blatant lawlessness and violations of its property. At the same time, he undertook efforts to delay the execution of the decree as much as possible, thereby giving the nuncio and the Holy See time to undertake possible negotiations aimed at changing the emperor's decision.²³ The nuncio encouraged Rossetti to remain steadfast against any innovations concerning the college by the Austrian administration.²⁴ Meanwhile, Austria's Chancellor, Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, known for his uncompromising stance toward the Catholic Church and efforts to weaken it, issued a note addressing the matter. He stated that some actions taken by the Galician Governorate in Lviv, especially the emperor's visit to the college, had raised concerns for the apostolic nuncio in Vienna, who did not hesitate to remind that the college was under the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and was financed by it, and that it educated Catholic missionaries. At the same time, Nuncio Garampi approached the emperor, requesting protection for the institution from unfavorable local government regulations. Kaunitz, being a shrewd player, likely wanting to calm the

canonization of St. Kinga. The above information could not be confirmed in the analyzed source material. W. Chotkowski, *Dzieje klasztorów i monasterów galicyjskich w czasach rozbiorowych*, part 1: *Zakony doszczętnie zniszczone*, in: W. Chotkowski, *Kasaty klasztorów w Galicji. Wybór prac*, ed. A. Gašior, J. Królikowski, Kraków 2019, p. 242.

²¹ Initially, the college building was supposed to be transferred to the General Seminary of the Greek Catholic rite, but on June 30, 1783, the emperor changed his decision and allocated it to the military. The General Seminary was to be housed in the former Dominican convent, due to better local conditions. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (hereinafter: CDIAUL), f. 146, op. 84 (description), sp. 2149 (case), Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery in Vienna, Lviv, October 28, 1783, p. 52.

²² CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to Prince Leopold von Kolovrat, Lviv, August 26, 1783, p. 17.

²³ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Rossetti to Archbishop G. Garampi, Lviv, July 10, 1783, p. 50.

²⁴ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi's letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, July 24, 1783, p. 55.

concerns of the Lviv Governorate, suggested that in the event of the dissolution of the Lviv college, the Holy See should not intervene, as it had not objected during the dissolution of the Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna in 1781.²⁵

At the same time, a bureaucratic machine was set in motion to implement the decisions made in Vienna. The United Court Chancellery obliged the Lviv Governorate to provide detailed information regarding the funding of the construction and maintenance of the college. Over the course of several months, the local Lviv offices and those in Vienna attempted to determine who actually funded the institution and what status the Theatines working there held: whether they should be treated as monks or as teachers employed by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. The United Court Chancellery suspended the execution, instructing to maintain the status quo until the matter was clarified.²⁶ The Governorate argued that the issue of the college's foundation was complex because its construction was financed not only by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith but also by other donors. Annually, the Congregation allocated 860 scudi to the college, and it was responsible for appointing lecturers. The Governorate pressed for a final decision on the closure of the institution as the opening date of the General Seminary approached.²⁷ According to the information gathered by officials, the cost of building the college amounted to 259 198 guilders, of which the Holy See was to contribute 77 400 guilders. The remaining sum came from bishops, secular donors, and the college's revenue. Subsequent reports prepared by Governorate officials essentially did not bring any new findings.²⁸ The authorities of the Lviv Governorate, referring to the imperial decree of June 30, 1783, advocated for a swift finalization of the dissolution and urged the United Court Chancellery to issue a final verdict.²⁹

Although the narrative from the United Court Chancellery left little room for doubt, the lack of a clear response from the Viennese authorities led Father Rossetti to still see hope for the possibility of the college's continued operation. Prefect, citing the will of the Holy See, wanted to continue the college's activities, but he feared giving the Viennese authorities a pretext for its closure. On one hand, he did not want conducting lectures to be interpreted as opposing the monarch's

²⁵ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Note from Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, Vienna, July 14, 1783, p. 23.

²⁶ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Letter from the United Court Chancellery to the Galician Governorate, Vienna, August 26, 1783, p. 33.

²⁷ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, September 16, 1783, p. 31.

²⁸ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, October 28, 1783, p. 52.

²⁹ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, November 27, 1783, p. 58–59.

will; on the other hand, he believed that ceasing classes would only hasten the dissolution, as the institution would be deemed useless. The only solution to the impasse Rossetti saw was admitting foreign seminarians, mainly from Poland, and he appealed to the bishops to send new candidates.³⁰ Regarding the continuation of studies for foreign students, Rossetti approached Prince Kaunitz and Archbishop Garampi, asking for clarification on the matter.³¹ The decision issued by the United Court Chancellery at the end of 1783 was favorable. The memorandum sent to the Viennese nunciature stated that as long as the college existed, foreign students could study there on the condition that they would return to their own dioceses after completing their education, as only graduates of the General Seminary could undertake pastoral work within the empire. The nuncio promptly informed Rossetti of this, encouraging him to continue zealously, to increase the number of students, to provide them with appropriate education, while also sensitizing him to ensure that the state authorities never received justified complaints about the college's activities. However, the United Court Chancellery avoided answering the most pressing question: what would be the future prospects of the college given the looming threat of dissolution.³² The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith also expressed satisfaction with this turn of events.³³ Nevertheless, it was a temporary solution.

In early 1784, the United Court Chancellery proposed new rules for the operation of the Papal Armenian-Ruthenian College. Clerics of the Armenian and Greek Catholic rites, both from the country and abroad, could continue their studies in conjunction with the General Seminary, while maintaining a certain degree of distinctiveness. The proponents of the proposal emphasized that merging both institutions would be beneficial for the students, who would have excellent conditions to complete their theological studies and preserve the traditions and liturgy of their respective rites. The new concept involved relocating the current seat of the college to another monastery building with an adjacent church. However, the United Court Chancellery, negotiating with the Viennese nunciature, did not provide detailed information about the property

³⁰ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of the letter from Father Rossetti to Archbishop G. Garampi, Lviv, September 7, 1783, p. 65–66.

³¹ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (dalej: HHStA), Staatskanzlei (dalej: StK), Provinzen Galizien (dalej: PG) 3–3, Letter from Archbishop G. Garampi to the United Court Chancellery, Vienna, October 11, 1783, p. 1.

³² APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi's letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, December 15, 1783, p. 73. D. Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

³³ APF, Lettere della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide (hereafter: Lettere), vol. 244, Copy of the letter from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Archbishop G. Garampi, Rome, January 10, 1784, p. 10–11.

to be taken over by the college.³⁴ The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith did not agree with such a solution, opposing the education of Armenians and Ruthenians in the General Seminary, as it argued that it would negatively impact their spiritual and intellectual formation. The Congregation also pointed out a legal flaw related to the property exchange, insisting that a contract should be concluded specifying which party should carry out the renovation of the new facility and adapt it to the needs of the college.³⁵ Before the decision of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith reached Vienna, on March 8, 1784, the United Court Chancellery ordered the Galician Governorate to implement the emperor's decree of June 30, 1783, according to which the Papal Armenian-Ruthenian College was to be liquidated, and the building transferred to the military gastronomic office. The clerics were to be transferred to the General Seminary and begin studies in philosophy and theology at the University of Lviv.³⁶ It can be assumed that the proposal for property exchange and the associated hope for the continued operation of the college was part of a delaying tactic aimed at lulling the vigilance of the church authorities.

In this regard, the Galician Governorate instructed the District Office in Lviv to implement the imperial decree. The movable equipment of the college was to be transported to the General Seminary, with particular attention paid to the valuable book collection, which was to be incorporated into the seminary library. After removing the equipment, the college building was to be handed over to the military command. As mentioned, the clerics were to be transferred to the General Seminary, along with the Theatines, who were temporarily planned to be accommodated there, with their maintenance ensured.³⁷ At the same time, the Governorate informed the Lviv archbishops, rectors of the Galician Latin and Uniate Seminary, and Galician military authorities about the impending confiscation.³⁸

The liquidation of the college was carried out on April 5, 1784, by Matthias Ramutha, an employee of the Customs Office in Lviv, in the presence of Father Józef Skobera, the ecclesiastical commissioner. Prefect Rossetti and Nuncio

³⁴ HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Copy of the letter from the United Court Chancellery to Archbishop G. Garampi, Vienna, February 26, 1784, p. 4. D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian, op. cit.*, p. 241.

³⁵ APF, Lettere, vol. 244, Copy of the letter from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Archbishop G. Garampi, Rome, March 20, 1784, p. 191–192.

³⁶ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the United Court Chancellery to the Galician Governorate, Vienna, March 8, 1784, p. 77.

³⁷ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the District Office in Lviv, Lviv, March 26, 1784, p. 71.

³⁸ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the Latin, Greek Catholic, and Armenian archbishops of Lviv, military command, and rectors of the General Seminary, Lviv, March 26, 1784, p. 72–73.

Garampi expressed surprise at the liquidation of the college and the confiscation of its equipment. In a letter to Prince Kaunitz, the nuncio wrote that this fact is difficult to logically explain due to the ongoing negotiations regarding the exchange of buildings. The nuncio suggested that perhaps an inadequately informed official in Lviv, unaware of the context and circumstances of the negotiations, carried out the liquidation, thus he requested clarification of the situation. The nuncio stated that the emperor would certainly not allow the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to experience injustice and unjustifiably lose its property due to administrative decisions without due process and a court judgment.³⁹ The response from the United Court Chancellery was evasive. The nuncio was asked whether the Holy See intended to continue the annual subsidy for the maintenance of Armenian and Ruthenian students. Additionally, it was noted that in the General Seminary, the clerics would receive a solid education and better living and social conditions than before. It was indicated that if the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was not satisfied with this solution, the emperor would have the freedom to sell the building of the former college, with the caveat that the amount received from the sale should deduct the sum provided for the construction, equipment, and maintenance of the institution by other institutions and private individuals.⁴⁰

In a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the nuncio used more forceful language, calling the liquidation of the college “a violent robbery”. He considered it obvious that, according to the ancient legal maxim: *spoliatus sit ante omnia restituendus*, the property should be returned to its rightful owner. The nuncio saw only hope in the intervention of Emperor Joseph II. The Theatines consistently refused to transfer to the General Seminary and refrained from accepting salaries, so as not to give the pretext that they had accepted the liquidation of the college and voluntarily accepted the consequences associated with it. Such a stance, according to the nuncio, was an expression of protest and a reproach of conscience for the planners and implementers of the liquidation. Rossetti remained level-headed and did not delude himself about the recovery of the building; therefore, he sought an alternative. He believed that the most advantageous solution would be to relocate the college abroad, to Kamianets-Podilskyi or Zhytomyr. The nuncio spoke very highly of Rossetti’s attitude, who defended the institution with great commitment and sought new solutions to allow it to continue functioning.⁴¹

³⁹ HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Letter from Archbishop G. Garampi to the United Court Chancellery, Vienna, April 17, 1784, p. 5.

⁴⁰ HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Copy of the letter from the United Court Chancellery to Archbishop G. Garampi, Vienna, May 12, 1784, p. 7.

⁴¹ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi’s letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, April 19, 1784, p. 109–110.

Although the nuncio still hoped for a turning point, the sequence of events only confirmed that the hopes he had attached to the imperial intervention were in vain. This is evidenced by the treatment of the former prefect, Fr. Rossetti, who requested temporary permission to stay in the college until he received instructions from the Holy See. On April 13, 1784, the County Office ordered him to leave the building within eight days.⁴² Rossetti reported that the executors behaved in a rude and arrogant manner. When leaving the college, Fr. Rossetti took only his own clothes and the most important documents.⁴³

Temporary accommodation and maintenance were provided to the Theatines in the General Seminary until they made a decision about traveling to Rome. The fathers refused and sought refuge with Archbishop Jakub Walerian Tumanowicz of the Armenian Church. Three seminarians from outside the empire, who had lived with the Theatines, also refused to go to the General Seminary and waited for instructions from their own ordinaries.⁴⁴ Fr. Rossetti temporarily housed two of the seminarians in the Reformed monastery and planned to send them to the Papal College in Vilnius.⁴⁵ The remaining seminarians returned home with the hope of returning to the seminary if it reopened. If this proved impossible, Fr. Rossetti was to make efforts for them to complete their studies at the seminary in Vilnius.⁴⁶ By a decree of the United Court Chancellery dated May 8, 1784, the Theatines were granted a pension of 16 guilders from the Religious Fund as long as they remained in Lviv.⁴⁷ However, they were required to submit a statement within 14 days indicating whether they would remain in Galicia or decide to travel abroad, in which case they would be granted funds for the journey.⁴⁸ The Theatines rejected the pension proposal and reimbursement of travel expenses.⁴⁹ In their difficult material situation, they were supported by Nuncio Garampi and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In their difficult financial situation, they were supported by Nuncio Garampi and the Congregation for the

⁴² HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate in Lviv to Father Ignazio Rossetti, Lviv, April 13, 1784, p. 13.

⁴³ D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian, op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁴⁴ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Letter from the Customs Office to the Galician Governorate, Lviv, April 2, 1784, p. 79; CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Letter from the District Office in Lviv to the Galician Governorate, Lviv, April 29, 1784, p. 85–86.

⁴⁵ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi's letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, May 3, 1784, p. 113–114.

⁴⁶ D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian, op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁴⁷ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the United Court Chancellery to the Galician Governorate, Vienna, May 8, 1784, p. 90.

⁴⁸ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the District County Office in Lviv, Lviv, June 28, 1784, p. 92.

⁴⁹ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the District County Office in Lviv, Lviv, June 28, 1784, p. 92.

Propagation of the Faith.⁵⁰ The requests of the nuncio for Prefect Rossetti and the other Theatines to be allowed to live in the college again until the matter was resolved were to no avail.⁵¹

Although the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith still hoped for a swift resolution; they even changed their rhetoric expressing readiness to exchange the college building for another,⁵² which, due to the confiscation, practically had no significance anymore. In late May 1784, the Congregation informed the nuncio that the Holy Father fully approved of his actions, which he deemed thoughtful and prudent.⁵³ The Holy See, along with its representative in Vienna, recognized that the priority was to secure the possibility of the institution's continued existence regardless of where it would be located. If an appropriate building were provided, studies at the college could continue for students from outside the empire, as had been the case recently.⁵⁴ If this failed, then Fr. Rossetti was to go to Podolia and Volhynia to find a suitable location for the college in the Kingdom of Poland.⁵⁵ And thus it came to pass: initial exploratory talks began shortly after the closure of the college, in May 1784. A month later, the news reached King Stanisław August Poniatowski. The initiative was also supported by the king's own brother, Bishop Michał Jerzy Poniatowski of Płock, who was the chairman of the Commission of National Education, later the primate. Rossetti tried to find a suitable place, considering Żytomierz, Łuck, and Kamieniec Podolski. Relatively quickly, on March 11, 1785, the former Jesuit college building in Kamieniec Podolski was designated as the location for the college, owned by the Theatine order.⁵⁶ The manner in which the donation was made raised concerns for Archbishop Garampi and the Holy See, as the college would no longer be the property of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith as it was in Lviv. Thanks to the intervention of the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland, Archbishop Ferdinando Maria Saluzzo, the decree of the Commission of National Education was amended so that the college would

⁵⁰ APF, Lettere, vol. 244, Copy of the letter from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Archbishop G. Garampi, Rome, May 29, 1784, p. 466.

⁵¹ HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Letter from Archbishop G. Garampi to the United Court Chancellery, Vienna, May 13, 1784, p. 8. HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3. Correspondence from the same to the same, Vienna, June 9, 1784, p. 16.

⁵² APF, Lettere, vol. 244, Copy of the letter from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Archbishop G. Garampi, Rome, May 15, 1784, pp. 411–412.

⁵³ APF, Lettere, vol. 244, Copy of the letter from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Archbishop G. Garampi, Rome, May 29, 1784, p. 465.

⁵⁴ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi's letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, May 29, 1784, p. 136.

⁵⁵ APF, Colleg. Leop., vol. 2, Copy of Archbishop G. Garampi's letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Vienna, May 29, 1784, p. 138.

⁵⁶ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia, op. cit.*, p. 231–232.

be dependent on the said Commission.⁵⁷ However, an agreement was reached, and in the summer of 1787, Fr. Rossetti planned to travel to Kamieniec Podolski⁵⁸ to begin the college's operations, but he was warned that war between Turkey and Russia would soon break out and it would not be safe in Podolia due to the military actions. In this situation, Rossetti postponed his departure. By 1789, the situation improved, and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith insisted that Rossetti, along with Bonaglia, go to Kamieniec Podolski. Two Theatines from Rome were also supposed to join them soon. However, there was another delay, this time due to Fr. Rossetti's illness and lack of funds. Moreover, the deteriorating political situation in the region led to the former Jesuit college building being occupied by Polish forces. In 1793, the Second Partition of Poland occurred, and Podolia, along with Kamieniec Podolski, was annexed by Russia. This situation ultimately dashed all hopes of reactivating the college.⁵⁹

From the preserved source material, it appears that by June 1784, the movable equipment of the college, along with the library collections, had been transported to the General Seminary. On June 25 of the same year, Franz Milbacher conducted an inspection of the building and its technical condition, after which the property was to be handed over to the military. The three-story building, covered with roof tiles, was not completed, so the open space in the courtyard was fenced with a wooden fence.⁶⁰ The college included a chapel with a sacristy, library, refectory, treasury, pharmacy, lecture halls, cells for monks and students, as well as utility rooms. The description indicated numerous deficiencies in the building, including damages to window frames, doors, and locks, lack of windows, floors, and inoperative stoves. In the courtyard of the college, there were several utility buildings mostly in poor technical condition, covered with shingles: a brewery, warehouse, stable, and coach house.⁶¹ Almost immediately, the gubernatorial authorities began planning the reconstruction

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

⁵⁸ Sadok Barącz states that in 1785, two Theatines, Giovanni Giacomo Bonaglia and Giuseppe Redi, went to Kamianets-Podilskyi to establish a papal college there. They may have been sent by Rossetti to prepare the ground and handle formalities. S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, Tarnopol 1869, p. 98.

⁵⁹ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 234–235. Taking into account the circumstances described above, it seems that Blazejovsky's opinion regarding the actions of Father Rossetti is not balanced and fair. He claims that despite the pressure from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Father Rossetti did nothing to transfer the college to Kamianets-Podilskyi due to his advanced age and procrastination. D. Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁶⁰ After the property was taken over by the military, the building was expanded, introducing further innovations in the 19th century. J. Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 56–57.

⁶¹ CDIAUL, f. 453, op. 1, spr. 1194, Beschreibung des Lemberger aufgehobenen Collegii Pontificii mit sämtlichen dazugehörigen Bestandteilen, und sonstigen Bestandteilen mit welchen

of the former college building to adapt it for use as a food warehouse for the Austrian army. Plans also included the construction of accommodation for officials and a guardhouse.⁶²

To illustrate the scale of destruction caused by the closure of the college, it is worth mentioning the equipment stored there. The most valuable, given the nature of the institution, was the library, which contained nearly 1200 volumes from the 15th to the 18th century in several languages.⁶³ Additionally, liturgical vestments and textiles, including chalices, communion patens, corporals, chasubles, dalmatics, stoles, maniples, cruets, antependia, canopies, etc.,⁶⁴ documents, foodstuffs, and medications were stored there.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, negotiations on behalf of the Holy See were still being conducted by the Viennese nuncio. He directly intervened with Prince Kaunitz, explaining the motives for maintaining the existing principles of education in the college. He argued that graduates engage in missionary work, and the principles of their education cannot deviate from the norms common to all papal colleges. He requested the possibility of educating students of the Armenian and Greek Catholic rites as before under the guidance of their own professors in a separate institution. He proposed that the Holy See could cede the college building to the civil authorities on the condition that another building would be allocated. The nuncio emphasized that in the absence of the emperor's approval, this beneficial institution would be forced to relocate beyond the borders of the empire.⁶⁶

At the request of the nuncio, the United Court Chancellery agreed to conduct an expert analysis and appraisal of the former college building by a commission of construction experts. The governor was to appoint a competent person, while Father Rossetti was to designate another expert, who together were to conduct the expertise and valuation of the property. The nuncio continued

es dem Löblichen Militari untern 14. Juni vermög Hocher Verordnung vomn 11. Juni 1784 ist übergeben worden, Lemberg, 25 Juni 1784, p. 4–12.

⁶² Lvivska Natsionalna Naukova Biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V. Stefanyka (hereafter: LNNBU), f. 26, op. 1, sp. 53, Materials concerning the building of the Theatine monastery in Lviv, 1785–1786 (including documentation of the planned modernization of the facility along with the plan).

⁶³ U. Paszkiewicz, *Catalogus catalogorum*, vol. 1: *Inwentarze i katalogi bibliotek z ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej od XVI wieku do 1939 roku. Spis scalony, poprawiony i uzupełniony*, Warszawa 2015, p. 462.

⁶⁴ CDIAL, f. 453, op. 1, spr. 1194, Inventarium samtlichen bei den untern 5-ten April 1784 samt allerhöchsten Befehl aufgehobenen Lemberger Theatiner Collegium vorgefundenen Praetiosen und Ornaten dann Kirchen Gerätschaften, Lemberg 1784, p. 13–18.

⁶⁵ Regestrum medicamentor extraditorum pro RR. PP. [Reverendi Patres] Teatinis Collegii Pontificalis, Leopoldis 1784, p. 41–44.

⁶⁶ HHStA, StK, PG, 3–3, Letter from Archbishop G. Garampi to the United Court Chancellery, Vienna, July 5, 1784, p. 18–19. G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, op. cit., p. 229.

to unsuccessfully request the reinstatement of Father Rossetti to manage the confiscated property.⁶⁷ Based on the estimate prepared by the appraiser, it was intended to make a monetary compensation for the confiscated building.⁶⁸ The commission valued the college building at 45 000 florins, but the Viennese authorities wanted to allocate only a part of this amount to Father Rossetti, namely 16 000 florins. The clergyman refused; moreover, he demanded the return of the confiscated library and furniture.⁶⁹

The nuncio continued to press the Viennese authorities, seeking the restitution of the college and its property, causing concern among officials. In correspondence between the Galician Governorate and the United Court Chancellery, the principles of financing the college were once again discussed, along with the property in Dublany, and the previously gathered documentation was analyzed. The Governorate argued that in the absence of clear evidence of the financial contribution of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to the establishment of the college, the claims of the papal nuncio should be considered unfounded. Officials wondered whether the movable property and library collections should be returned, as the archival documentation did not clearly indicate whose cost they were acquired at.⁷⁰

As Archbishop Garampi concluded his diplomatic mission in Austria, he once again appealed to Chancellor Kaunitz, demanding justice and reparation. Finally, he personally addressed the Emperor, who declared that he had been misled by his officials. Joseph II thought that the college belonged to the Theatines and therefore decided on its confiscation.⁷¹ According to Garampi's account, the Emperor, upon realizing the error, sought to compensate for the losses incurred by the Holy See. Whether this was another element of the tactics the Emperor pursued with the Apostolic Nunciature or whether there was a genuine intent for restitution is difficult to ascertain, as contrary to

⁶⁷ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to Father I. Rossetti, Lviv, October 7, 1784, p. 101; CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Letter from the United Court Chancellery to the Galician Governorate, Vienna, September 19, 1784, p. 106.

⁶⁸ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, December 2, 1784, p. 109.

⁶⁹ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia, op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁷⁰ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149; CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149, Letter from the United Court Chancellery to the Galician Governorate, Vienna, November 16, 1784, p. 116; CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2149. Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, December 2, 1784, p. 108–109.

⁷¹ The Emperor's argument that he allegedly did not know that the Collegium belonged to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome is difficult to sustain, given that Prefect Rossetti presented all the circumstances and details to him during Joseph II's visit to the Collegium. Additionally, the Apostolic Nuncio personally discussed this matter with the Emperor and did not fail to present all the circumstances.

Joseph II's declaration, the college building and its movable assets were soon put up for auction.⁷²

Further negotiations on behalf of the Holy See were conducted by the new nuncio, Archbishop Giovanni Battista Caprara Montecuccoli, who sought to recover at least the movable assets, including the library. The Nuncio was authorized by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to collect the proceeds from the auction and transfer them to Rome or deposit them in a bank as a fund for the opening of a college in Poland. An unexpected change in the Emperor's decision occurred in November 1786, and the building of the former college was to be handed over to the disposal of the Holy See. After almost three years of delay, the United Court Chancellery returned the property on May 25, 1789, but in a terrible technical condition. Ultimately, the building was leased as a hospital for war invalids for the cost of 140 guilders per month. The issue of ownership was not definitively resolved.⁷³

Meanwhile, the matter of reclaiming the equipment of the former college dragged on for years. The Apostolic Nuncio made further efforts to obtain compensation for the lost property. In August 1790, the Galician Governorate attempted to resolve the issue once again. The Nuncio expected the return of the chapel's furnishings and treasures, as well as library collections, wines, and other items confiscated in 1784. The case was complicated because, as admitted by the Governorate itself, some things were sold, while others were distributed "here and there". Therefore, it proposed the establishment of a commission with the participation of officials and the Armenian archbishop, which would be able to assess realistically what could be returned in kind and for what monetary compensation should be paid.⁷⁴ Despite years of effort, some results were achieved, although it was not possible to determine exactly what was returned and to what extent compensation for the losses incurred was made. It is known that the library, packed and ordered to be taken to Kamieniec Podolski by Father Rossetti with the idea of reactivating the college there, was returned. After the Second Partition of Poland in 1793 and the incorporation of Kamieniec into Russia, despite attempts, it was not possible to reclaim it, and it came under the management of educational institutions in Russia.⁷⁵ According to documentation

⁷² G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 230–231.

⁷⁴ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2152, Copy of the letter from the Galician Governorate to the United Court Chancellery, Lviv, August 28, 1790, p. 37–38.

⁷⁵ About the efforts aimed at saving the library in Petersburg, see: G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 267. According to Blazejovsky, the library was transported to the Vilnius Academy on the orders of the Russian authorities. Czesław Lechicki claimed that it ended up in the hands of Tadeusz Czacki. D. Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

from the Galician Governorate, some items were returned, and for some, the County Office paid compensation. For example, a wall clock from the college was given to the rector of the General Latin Rite Seminary, and it was later taken back from him for a price of 51 guilders.⁷⁶

The administrator of the estate of the former college on behalf of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was the Armenian Archbishop Tumanowicz, and after his death in 1799, it was taken over by the vicar capitular, Father Jan Jakub Szymonowicz, later the Armenian Archbishop. The United Court Chancellery and the Galician Governorate took advantage of the difficult situation of the Holy See – the invasion of Napoleon into the Papal States and the arrest of Pope Pius VI. The activity of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was suspended; moreover, according to the narrative repeatedly raised by officials, since candidates for the priesthood in the Armenian and Greek Catholic rites were assured formation at the General Seminary in Lviv, the matter should be considered closed.⁷⁷ The issue dragged on for decades. In 1814, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith sold the college building in Vienna for 40 000 Viennese florins, or 16 000 silver florins, to the authorities in Vienna, and the proceeds were to be used for the education of Russian and Armenian missionaries. However, the money was not paid out.⁷⁸

In 1796, the government authorities restored the estate in Dublany.⁷⁹ The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith soon transferred the administration of the Armenian estate to the Mekhitarist monks from Vienna in exchange for educating Armenian rite seminarians.⁸⁰ This led to a conflict between Archbishop Szymonowicz, the Armenian Archbishop, and the abbot of the Mekhitarist monks in Vienna, as the Armenian rite seminarians from the Archdiocese of Lviv were educated at the General Seminary in Lviv. Therefore, it was believed that the funds should be allocated to this purpose rather than to the monks from Vienna who were not actually educating the Armenian clergy from Galicia.⁸¹ The dispute over who should manage the Dublany estate, reap its profits, and for what purpose they should be allocated lasted for two decades. The General Abbot of the Mechitarists in Vienna, Adeodatus Babikian, and his

⁷⁶ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 84, sp. 2153, Letter from the County Starosty in Lviv to the Galician Governorate, Lviv, October 14, 1793, p. 50–51.

⁷⁷ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, op. cit., p. 266.

⁷⁸ The money was paid out only in 1843. D. Blazejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, op. cit., p. 245.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 244.

⁸⁰ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, op. cit., p. 268.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 280. On the teaching of missionaries by the Mechitarists during the period under consideration, see: M. K. Arat, *Die Wiener Mechitharisten. Armenische Mönche in der Diaspora*, Wien–Köln 1990, p. 43–44.

successor, the highly dynamic Aristaces Azarian, lobbied for the rights of the Mekhitarist Congregation. The United Court Chancellery opposed this, arguing that according to the agreement with the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the profits from the former college were to be allocated to Armenian and Russian seminarians studying at the General Seminary. Then, in 1821, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Archbishop Paolo Leardi, returned to the original concept and proposed that the funds be allocated to seminarians of the mentioned rites from various provinces of the empire, not just Galicia. The administration of the Dublany estate was transferred to the Mekhitarist fathers in 1822 by the decision of Pope Pius VII.⁸² However, the United Court Chancellery apparently delayed implementing the agreement reached with the Holy See, as evidenced by a letter from the General Abbot of the Mekhitarists, Aristaces Azaria, to the emperor in 1829: “Um nun diese Stiftung ihrer ursprünglichen Bestimmung zuzuführen, so geruhen Seine Heiligkeit Pius VII. durch ausgefertigtes Schreiben vom Jahr 1822 dato 28. September die Nutznießung dieser gesamten Stiftung der gehorsamsten Mechitaristen-Congregation in Wien zu überlassen, weil diese letztere ganz der ursprünglichen Bestimmung gemäß, die Zöglinge zum Missionsdienst der entferntesten Länder bildet; und daher sich dieselbe auch erlaubt, benanntes Schreiben hier mit der gehorsamsten Bitte anzuschließen. Euer Majestät wollen baldigst geruhen, diesem das Interesse der christlichen Mission so nahe gehenden Gegenstand zu erledigen, indem gerade jetzt der betrübteste Zeitpunkt für diese christliche Glaubensanstalt vorhanden ist, und Allerhöchst-Deroselben väterliches Herz und christliche Gesinnung gewiss auch dieses Flehen als notgedrungen erkennen werden”.⁸³ Ultimately, in 1842, after almost six decades of dispute between the Holy See and the emperor, the funds from the college and the Dublany estate were sold, and the proceeds were allocated by the Holy See for the education of Russian seminarians.⁸⁴

Summarizing the considerations so far regarding the history of the Papal College of Armenian-Russian in the final period of its existence, it should be emphasized that the actions taken by Joseph II and his officials from the very beginning have aroused controversies. The university was directly subordinate to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and was financed by it. It is worth mentioning that Joseph II's predecessor, Maria Theresa, declared to the Holy See that she would safeguard the college as the apple of her eye.

⁸² G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 280–281.

⁸³ CDIAUL, f. 146, op. 50, sp. 1576, Letter from Abbot Aristaces Azarian to Emperor Francis II Habsburg, Vienna, February 18, 1829, p. 97.

⁸⁴ G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 282. Thanks to these funds, in 1845, six Greek Catholic seminarians (3 from the Diocese of Lviv, 3 from the Diocese of Przemyśl) began their studies in Rome. D. Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian*, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

The abolition of the college is part of the broader context of the history of the Catholic Church in Galicia during Josephinism. As part of the reforms then being implemented at the behest of the Viennese authorities, monasteries were abolished, and seminaries subordinate to the state authorities were established. Prefect Rossetti and Apostolic Nuncio Garampi undertook a series of diplomatic actions to enable the continued functioning of the college, and if that proved impossible, to relocate it to Poland. The tense geopolitical situation on the eastern borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth thwarted these plans. Therefore, in September 1792, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith ordered the Theatines to return to Rome; Father Rossetti remained in Lviv, where he died in 1795.⁸⁵ As Czesław Lechicki writes: “In this way, after 120 years of existence, the highly deserving and useful Theatine institution on the southeastern borderlands was forever closed down. Its significance in the history of the Armenian Uniate Church is very important. If it hadn’t been for the sacrificial ideological work, perseverance, and selfless efforts of its first founders and leaders, the Union would certainly not have taken root so deeply in Armenian society. Although the Theatines operating in Lviv were almost without exception Italians, they managed to integrate perfectly with the Armenians and not only did not try to denationalize them, but, on the contrary, nurtured among them a national spirit, even through teaching the mother tongue”.⁸⁶

The liquidation of the Papal College of Armenian-Russian brought severe consequences both in the spiritual, moral, and material dimensions. Armenian rite clerics lost the opportunity for education and formation in their own academic institution. Although there was the option to study at the University of Propaganda Fide in Rome, where a few places were reserved for Armenians, in practice, this was a difficult endeavor to pursue and did not meet the personnel needs of the clergy in the local Church of Lviv. A more feasible option was the concept of studying at the Armenian monastery of Mekhitarists in Vienna. This would have been highly advantageous, primarily for the opportunity to learn the Armenian language and liturgy under the guidance of Armenian monks, as well as due to the relatively short distance between Vienna and Lviv. Ultimately, the most pragmatic solution prevailed, which was the joint education and formation of Armenian rite clerics alongside Latin rite (rather than previously Ruthenian rite) clerics at the General Seminary in Lviv. However, this institution did not provide the opportunity to learn the Armenian language and liturgy, which was crucial in preparing the candidates for priesthood and future pastoral work.

⁸⁵ *Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarussiae spectantia*, Vol. 5: 1769–1862, collegit et adnotationibus illustravit Athanasius G. Welykyj, Romae 1955, p. 186; G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁸⁶ Cz. Lechicki, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce (zarys historyczny)*, Lwów 1928, p. 111.

Knowledge and practical skills in these areas were imparted to the students by priests from the Armenian cathedral, but there were limited opportunities for regular instruction. Greek Catholic rite clerics attended the General Seminary, specifically established for the Ruthenians, and also had the option to study in Rome.



Fig. 1. Karl Auer, Barracks in Lviv (former Papal Armenian-Ruthenian College), circa 1837 (Polona)



Fig. 2. Barracks in Lviv (courtyard of the former Papal Armenian-Ruthenian College), a photo from the 19th/20th century (National Digital Archives)

Nonetheless, the material factor proved to be equally important. The building and movable property of the thriving institution were confiscated and dispersed. Only thanks to the assertive stance of the prefect and the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna, and their efforts to reclaim the college building, movable assets, and the lands and farmstead in Dublany, were they partially recovered. Decades-long negotiations and diplomatic efforts allowed for some compensation to be obtained, but neither the material compensation nor the moral injuries and losses were fully addressed. Some of the property was irretrievably lost; it is not known what happened to the furnishings of the college and the chapel within it. These issues require further investigation, especially tracing the fate of the library collections due to their exceptional nature.

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Likwidacja Papieskiego Kolegium Ormiańsko-Ruskiego we Lwowie w 1784 roku przez władze austriackie: geneza, przebieg, skutki

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono ostatnie lata funkcjonowania Kolegium Ormiańsko-Ruskiego we Lwowie przypadające na okres zaboru austriackiego. Decyzją cesarza Józefa II Habsburga 5 kwietnia 1784 r. uczelnia została zlikwidowana, a wykładowcy i studenci eksmitowani. Analiza materiału źródłowego przechowywanego w archiwach w Rzymie, Wiedniu i Lwowie umożliwiła zaprezentowanie kulisów negocjacji władz kościelnych (Nuncjatury Apostolskiej w Wiedniu i Kongregacji Rozkrzewiania Wiary) z kancelarią cesarską mające na celu uzyskanie rekompensaty za utracone mienie oraz wysiłki zmierzające do reaktywacji kolegium poza granicami cesarstwa austriackiego.

Słowa kluczowe: Papieskie Kolegium Ormiańsko-Ruskie, Ormianie, Rusini, teatyni, Kongregacja Rozkrzewiania Wiary