

# The Foundation of the Armenian (Ruthenian) College of Lviv (Lemberg) (1664–1681)<sup>1</sup>

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## *1. Introduction*

The view stating that the contemporary Armenian Catholic (or Armenian Uniate) Church was created in the territory of the former Ottoman Empire remains prevalent in church-history to this day. This position holds that the Church was founded in 1743 for Armenians living in the territory of the Empire but confessionally faithful to Rome, headed by the Armenian Catholic Catholicos appointed by the Ottoman Sultan<sup>2</sup>. However, thanks to recent scholarly inquiries, this claim has been subject to substantial re-appraisal as, in areas of the erstwhile Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzecz Pospolita Obojga Narodow*) and Transylvania, an Armenian Catholic Church existed as early as the final decades of the 17th century, and their

- 1 Investigations on the subject of the present study were conducted in Rome and Vatican City thanks to the Klebelsberg Kunó Scholarships granted in the years 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2018. The author wishes to express his gratitude for the support provided.
- 2 Charles Aaron Frazee, “The Formation of the Armenian Catholic Community in the Ottoman Empire”, in *Eastern Churches Review*, 7 (1975), 149-163; Charles Aaron Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*, Cambridge, 1983, 46-58, 88-102.

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respective history was closely connected to the Armenian colonies of Eastern Europe. It is nonetheless undeniable that, akin to the Greek Catholics, the Armenian Catholic Church was also the product of re-Catholicisation and evolved in Eastern Europe, within the early-modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in the late 16th century and the first third of the 17th century<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, as suggested by the latest research findings, the term Armenian Catholic as a category identifying denominational affiliation first emerged in written records in conjunction with Transylvania, for previously Armenian Catholics had predominantly been referred to by the term Armenian Uniate. In fact, in his ordinance issued in 1726, the Emperor and King Charles IV (1711–1740) specifically obliged the Armenian Catholic Church of Transylvania to obey the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania (*Alba Iulia/ Gyulafehérvár*) in matters of faith until a bishop was appointed for them by the Apostolic Holy See<sup>4</sup>.

The Armenian College (*Collegium Armenum*) of Lviv (*Ilov/ Lemberg/Lwów/Ilyvó*) called into being by the Apostolic Holy See in 1664 played an important role in training new generations of Uniate priests for the region. Initially, it educated priests catering for the needs of the Armenian Catholic Churches of Poland and Transylvania, and subsequently, from 1709, the Armenian College opened its doors to Uniate Ruthenian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian students as well. By the early 1720s, the majority of the students of the institution were no longer Armenians but increasingly students

- 3 Kornél Nagy, “Az elképzelt ‘Aranykor’. Az erdélyi örménykatolikus (unitus) egyház a 18. században”, in *Történelmi Szemle*, 61 (2019), No. 2, 267–268.
- 4 APF = (Archivio storico della Sacra Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de “Propaganda Fide”, Roma) Acta SC (= Acta Sacrae Congregationis). Vol. 96. Fol. 143/v.–144r.; APF SC (= Scritture riferite nei Congressi) Fondo Armeni. Vol. 9. Fol. 601r.; *Erdélyi római katolikus egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvek és okmányok*, Vol. 1., szerk. András Kovács, Zsolt Kovács, Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, 2002, 90.

of Ruthenian descent. This is also indicated by the circumstance that the educational institution adopted the name Armenian and Ruthenian College (*Collegium Armenum et Ruthenum*) even officially as early as 1723. Furthermore, in the 18th century, the seminary represented a significant source of new generations of clergymen for the Greek Catholic community of Transcarpathia, too. Additionally, the Armenian College also acted as a mediator in the resolution of the disputes surrounding the legal status of the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Mukachevo (*Mukačevo /Munkács*) and its occupancy following Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711)<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the present study is an attempt to describe the foundation, beginnings, early activities and Armenological aspects of the Armenian or – to use its subsequent name – Armenian-Ruthenian College of Lviv, as well as its brief historical antecedents, in the light of recent archival investigations.

- 5 The Armenian-Ruthenian College was finally closed by the Emperor and King Joseph II (1765–1790) by decree in 1784. The step was justified on grounds that there were too few students of Armenian or Ruthenian extraction studying at the Armenian-Ruthenian College of Lviv; APF CP (= Congregazioni Particolari). Vol. 65. Fol. 290r.; APF Lettere SC (= Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione). Vol. 104. Fol. 104r.; APF SC Fondo Ungheria e Transilvania. Vol. 4. Fol. 163/r.-v., Fol. 165/r.-v., Fol. 433/r.-v., Fol. 435/r.-v.; APF SC Coll. Var. (= Collegi Vari). Vol. 2. Fol. 40r.–57r., Fol. 227r., Fol. 333r.–334r.; APF SC Coll. Var. Vol. 3. Fol. 109/r.-v., Fol. 166r., Fol. 176r., Fol. 209r.; Antal Hodinka, *A munkácsi görög-katholikus püspökség története*, Budapest, 1909. 478, 497-499, 521-522, 529-542, 583-584; Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'unione degli armeni in Polonia con la Santa Sede (1627-1686)*, Roma, 1950, 148-155; Dmytro Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of L'viv*, Rome, 1975, 239-245; Dmytro Blažejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutions of Central and Western Europe*, Rome, 1984, 39-40; Gregorio Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia e nei paesi limitrofi*, Roma, 1988, 78, 147-148, 175-177, 228-229; Bálint Kovács, "A galíciai örmények hagyatéka Varsóban", in *Látó – Szépirodalmi Folyóirat*, 19 (2008), No. 4., 65-66; Aslanian, D. Sebouh, "Prepared in the Language of the Hagarites. Abbot Mkhitar's 1727 Armeno-Turkish Grammar of Modern Western Armenian", in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 25 (2016), 64.

2. *Historical antecedents*

From its foundation in the 4th century AD, the Armenian Apostolic (Oriental) Church was nearly always caught in the crossfire of dogmatic and canonical disputes. Due to active involvement in the uprising against the Sasanian Persian Empire in AD 449, representatives of the Armenian Church were unable to attend the negotiations of the 451 Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon. The teaching of Chalcedon would only appear on the horizons of the Armenian Apostolic Church half a century later, in 504 or 505. However, owing to the paucity of information, the incorrect teaching that reached Armenia suggested that Nestorianism, which was also regarded as a heresy by the Armenians, had been rehabilitated at the Ecumenical Council. Therefore, they rejected the teaching of Chalcedon<sup>6</sup>. Also half a century later, at the synod held at its seat, in the city of Dwin<sup>7</sup>, in the period between 551 and 555, the Armenian Apostolic Church decided to separate from the (Universal) Catholic Church. At the same time, the bishops and theologians present at the synod declared their adherence to the Orthodox and Catholic faith and also denounced Monophysitism, professing one, i.e. the divine nature of Jesus Christ, as heresy. In Constantinople and Rome, separation was, however, misinterpreted as the Armenians supporting Monophysitism and its leading theologians. For this reason, over time, the Armenian Apostolic Church would take centre stage in the church unification efforts of Constantinople (Byzantium) and

6 Karekin Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church*, New York, 1975, (Second Edition), 8-19, 196-215; Krzysztof Stopka, *Armenia Christiana: Armenian Religious Identity and Churches of Constantinople and Rome (14th and 15th Century)*, Krakow, 2016, 54-76.

7 In the transliteration of Armenian names and terms in the present publication, the internationally accepted academic norms endorsed and mandated by the International Association of Armenian Studies (*Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes* = AIEA) were applied.

Rome<sup>8</sup>.

In 1045, the Byzantine Empire annexed historical or medieval Armenia, soon to be followed by the Seljuk-Turkish conquest in 1071, as well as later by the devastation of the Mongol hordes in the 13th century. These events precipitated the mass migration of the Armenians upon a biblical scale from parts of their native land. This way, large numbers of Armenians found their new home in the territories of Kievan/Kyivan Rus' and its successor states<sup>9</sup>. Around 1280, Lev Danilovich, the Rurikid Prince of Halych (1271–1301), founded the city of Lemberg (today's Lviv, Ukraine), which would quickly become the seat of the Principality. From the earliest times, numerous Armenian families settled in the northern quarter of the new city<sup>10</sup>. Even in that period, the Armenians founded a monastery in honour of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*Vank'ë Srboyn Xaç'kataroyñ*) and built a wooden church. Their religious practice would before long come under the control of a bishop appointed by the Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Catholicos. In 1340, Halych and Lemberg/Lviv (the latter already called Lwów at the time) were placed under the jurisdiction of the medieval Kingdom of Poland. Casimir III the Great, King of Poland (1333–1370), granted a wide range of legal,

8 Nina Garsoïan, *L'église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1999, 38-42, 91-96, 126-127, 173-178, 187-188, 213, 236-239; Mesrop K. Krikorian, "Calcedonia: storia, conflitti, cristologi e riconciliazione", in *Il Concilio di Calcedonia 1550 anni dopo*, a cura di Antonio Ducay, Città del Vaticano, 127-131; Kornél Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja (1685–1715)*, Budapest, 2012, 27-28.

9 Blažejevskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 81.

10 Frank Zachariasewicz, *Wiadomość o Ormianach w Polsce*, Lwów, 1842, 17, 65, 77; Gregorio Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, Roma, 1971, 9; Blažejevskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 82; Eleonora Nadel-Golobič, "Armenians and Jews in Medieval Lvov and Their Role in Oriental Trade", in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 20 (1979), No. 3-4, 345-388.

economic, and religious privileges to the Armenians of Lviv in 1356<sup>11</sup>. In 1363, the Armenian Apostolic Cathedral of the Assumption of the Holy Theotokos of Lviv (*Mayr Tačar Verap'oxman Srboyn Astwacacni*) was built from the pious donation of two Armenian merchants from Crimea, Yakob Kaffayec'i and P'anos Vaysurc'i<sup>12</sup>. One year later, in 1364, Armenian Catholicos Mesrop I (*Mesrop Artazec'i*) (1359–1372) elevated the city's Bishopric to the rank of Archbishopric, a move subsequently approved by the King of Poland<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, Casimir III granted the Armenian community of Lviv and Poland the right to elect their Archbishop freely, which was in turn recognised by the Head of the Armenian Church. From the Middle Ages, the Armenian clergy of Lviv primarily came from areas in Armenia and actively participated in the life of the local community as well<sup>14</sup>.

By the beginning of the early modern era, the Armenian community living in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had become the most affluent community outside Armenia. In addition, with its churches, schools and printing press, the Armenian colony of Lviv came to be one of the most significant

- 11 *Das alte Recht der Armenier in Lemberg*, hrsg. von Ferdinand Bischoff, Wien, 1862, 14–20, 39–43, 61–62; *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg*, hrsg. von Ferdinand Bischoff, Wien, 1864, 92–97, 118–124; Tadeusz Gromnicki, *Ormjanie w Polsce Ich historia, prawa i przywileje*, Warszawa, 1889, 26–30; Gregorio Petrowicz, “L'organisation juridique des Arméniens sous les monarques polonaises”, in *Revue des études arméniennes – Nouvelle Série*, 4 (1967), 340–345; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 12.
- 12 Minas Bžškeanc', *Čanaparhordut'iwn i Lehastan*, Venetik, 1830, 104; Zachariasewicz, *Wiadomośc*, 18; Petrowicz, *La chiesa*, 1971, 19–20; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 84.
- 13 Georges Bournoutian, “A Fresh Look at the Causes of Decline of the Armenian Colonies in Poland”, in *Series Byzantina. Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, Vol. 9. (ed. Waldemar Deluga), Warsaw, 2011, 145–146.
- 14 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 3; Krzysztof Stopka, “The Religious Culture of Polish Armenians (Church-Public Structures and Relations)”, in *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 101 (2010), 163–205; Bournoutian, *A Fresh Look*, 147.

sanctuaries of Armenian culture, while the old homeland was trapped in the buffer-zone of Ottoman-Turkish and Persian imperial expansions<sup>15</sup>. The Armenian community was confronted with Rome's unificationist denominational policies already in the Middle Ages, but those attempts would regularly fail on account of the resistance of the Armenian lay community and of the clergy<sup>16</sup>. After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), however, such intentions of Rome intensified again and even came within reach following the 1596 Ruthenian church-union of Brest<sup>17</sup>.

In 1624, the Armenian Apostolic (Eastern) Archiepiscopal office in Lviv became vacant with the death of *vardapet* Mesrop Kaffayec'i (1550–1624), an opponent of church-union, and the lay representatives of the community were unable to come to an agreement on the question of succession. Three years later, the anti-catholicos Melchizedek (*Melk'isēt' Garneč'i*) (1570–1627) arrived in Lviv with his entourage from Armenia, occupied by the Persian Safavid Empire<sup>18</sup>.

- 15 Apart from the city of Lviv, Kamieniec-Podolski, Stanisławów (Ivano-Frankivsk/Stanyslaviv), and Zamość also had economically powerful and well-organised Armenian communities. Bžškeanc', *Čanaparhordut'iwn*, 99–100, 147, 155; Edmond Schütz, "An Armeno-Kipchak Print from L'vov (A. D. 1618)", in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 13 (1961), 123–130.
- 16 In reality, these attempts at attaining union led only to partial success. Zdzisław Obertyński, *Die Florentiner Union der polnischen Armenier und ihr Bischofskatalog*, Röm, 1934, 12, 24, 44–45; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena*, 52–60; Lewon Bōlos Zek'iyān, "14 dari kronakan večerē: naxak'ayler Hayoc' ekelec'banakan kargavičakē", in *Ējmiacin*, 56 (2000), No. 1, 106–127; Stopka, *Armenia Christiana*, 143–156, 193–220, 291–308.
- 17 Bžškeanc', *Čanaparhordut'iwn*, 149; Alexandr Osipian, "Between Mercantilism, Oriental Luxury and the Ottoman Threat: Discourses on the Armenian Diaspora in Early Modern Kingdom of Poland", in *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 116 (2017), 188–201.
- 18 As a matter of fact, Melchizedek held the rank of bishop, serving as vicar to the Head of the Church (*telapah*), and paraded himself as self-styled catholicos while the legal head of the Armenian Apostolic (Oriental) Church

As contemporary documents reveal, the Armenian hierarch was effectively obliged to flee his native country after embezzling the church property and tax revenue entrusted to him. Furthermore, he also provoked the anger of the clergy in Armenia repeatedly. Firstly, he styled himself catholicos without possessing such authority. Secondly, he declared his adherence to the Catholic faith in the presence of missionaries from the Apostolic Holy See. Thirdly, he had the Armenians' most sacred relics – including the Holy Right Hand of the Apostle of the Armenians, Saint Gregory the Illuminator (*Surb Grigor Lusaworič'*) (257–331) – transported to Rome via missionaries<sup>19</sup>.

The Lviv community had a young ambitious Armenian monk, Nikol Torosowicz (*Nikotōs T'oroseanc'*) (1603–1681), who, thanks to his wealthy family, maintained extensive ties with the Polish nobility and the Royal Court<sup>20</sup>. As attested by sources, in 1627, Nikol Torosowicz visited the anti-catholicos Melchizedek residing in the city at the time

was Catholicos David V (*Dawit' Vałaršapatec'i*) (1587–1629), placed under Persian house arrest. On this subject, see: Edmond Schütz, "An Armenian–Kipchak Document of 1640 from Lvov and its Background in Armenia and in the Diaspora", in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe* (ed. György Kara), Budapest, 1987, 268–269; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 46–47.

- 19 MAMAT (= Matenadaran called Mesrop Maštoc' – The National Archives of Armenia, Yerevan/Erewan) MS (= Manuscripta). No. 2644. Fol. 229r.–253/v.; Aṙak'el Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn Aṙak'el Dawrižec'woy*, Vałaršapat, 1896, 9–13, 27–29, 222–228; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 9–12, 23; Step'anos Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn kamtarekank' ekelec'akank'*, ašx. Hamazasp Oskean, Vienna, 1964, 167–172; Schütz, *Armenian-Kipchak*, 272–276, 288; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 48.
- 20 APF SOCG (= Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali). Vol. 291. Fol. 167r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 293. Fol. 183/v.–184/v; MAMAT MS. No. 1004. Fol. 190/v.; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 364; *Kamenic': Taregirk' Hayoc' Leħastani ew Rumenioy*, ašx. Łewond Ališan, Venetik, 1896, 203; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 14–16, 52; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 285.



and, in exchange for an enormous fortune, he successfully persuaded him into appointing him archbishop in secret in the Armenian Monastery of the Exaltation of Holy Cross in Lviv in the middle of the night<sup>21</sup>.

Afterwards, having enlisted the support of the Polish Court, Archbishop Torosowicz embarked on an aggressive ecclesiastical policy, imprisoning the lay leaders of the community and replacing them with his own sympathisers. This caused considerable uproar within the Armenian Apostolic Church<sup>22</sup>. In 1630, Catholicos Moses III (*Movsēs Tat'ewac'i*) (1629–1633) dispatched legates (*nwirakn*) to Lviv, calling on Torosowicz to resign, but he was unwilling to comply. Subsequently, the legates pronounced an anathema (*nzovumn*) upon the new Archbishop<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, in 1630, accompanied by his

- 21 Some suggest that Torosowicz declared his adherence to the Catholic faith to the anti-catholicos Melchizedek already at this point, though such an act has not been verified by the relevant sources. Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 365; *Kamenic'*, 211; *Simēon dpri Lehač'woy Utegrut'iwn*, ašx. Nersēs Akinean, Vienna, 1936, 377, 399–405, 410–417; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 39, 46–47; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 172; Angèle Kapoïan, "Siméon de Pologne: le diacre de Zamość (1584/5 – après 1639)", in *Series Byzantina. Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, Vol. 9. (ed. Waldemar Deluga), Warsaw, 2011, 155–156; Osipian, *Between Mercantilism*, 179–180; Claude Mutafian, *La Saga des Arméniens de l'Ararat aux Carpathes*, Paris, 2018, 137–174.
- 22 Torosowicz's archiepiscopal appointment and alleged allegiance of faith were noted by the Apostolic Holy See as well. In his letter to Rome, Antonio Santacroce (1598–1641), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and Titular Archbishop of Seleucia in Isauria, wrote that this was a propitious moment to convince the Armenians living in Lviv (and hence in the whole of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) to accept the church-union. On this subject, see: APF Istruzioni. Vol. 3. Fol. 93/v.–95r.
- 23 APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 113/v; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 366–370, 375; *Kamenic'*, 206; Nersēs Akinean, *Movsēs Tat'ewac'i Hayoc' Kat'olikosn ew ir žamanakē*, Vienna, 1936, 249–255, 260; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 286, 291–292.

followers, Nikol Torosowicz escaped to the Saint Michael Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites in Lviv, where he proclaimed church-union in the presence of the prior and declared his adherence to the Catholic faith to him<sup>24</sup>. With the joint support of the Polish Catholic Church and Royal Court behind him, Torosowicz thus began aggressive conversion campaigns: Assisted by secular authorities, he had the Archiepiscopal Cathedral seized and incarcerated protesting Armenian priests and the lay leaders of the community as heretics. This, however, failed to quell the discord. Moreover, even the Catholic Church was dissatisfied with his activities as, despite his church-union, Archbishop Torosowicz continued to say Mass according to Oriental traditions, and his Catholicism was in fact but mere pretence<sup>25</sup>.

Therefore, in 1634, he was summoned to Rome, where, in the course of the following year, he re-affirmed his adherence to the Catholic faith in the presence of Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644) and pledged to say Mass exclusively according to the Latin Rite thereafter and to

24 Onorato Visconti (1585–1645), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and Titular Archbishop of Larissa in Thessalia, notified the Apostolic Holy See of Torosowicz's declaration of adherence to the Catholic faith in multiple letters only a year later, in 1631. On this subject, see also: Other views point out that the Archbishop declared his adherence to the faith to the Jesuit Provincial. APF SOCG Vol. 73. Fol. 9r.+Fol. 12r.–v., Fol. 10r.–11v., Fol. 14r.–17v., Fol. 29r.+Fol. 32v., Fol. 33r.–v., Fol. 34v.–35v.+Fol. 37v., Fol. 38r.–40v., Fol. 42r., Fol. 43r.–44v., Fol. 41r.+Fol. 46v., Fol. 51r.–52r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 11. Fol. 39r.–v., Fol. 45v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 113v.–114r.; AAV (= Archivio Apostolico [Segreto] Vaticano, Città del Vaticano) ANV (= Archivio della Nunziatura in Varsavia [in Polonia]). Vol. 42/A. Fol. 203r.–v.; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 289; *Kamenic'*, 209–210; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 174; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 290–295; Lewon Xač'ikean, "Haykakan gał'avayerē Ukrainayum XVI–XVII darerum", in *Ašxatut'iwnner*, Hat. 2, ašx. Paroyr Muradean, Erewan, 1999, 251–253.

25 APF SOCG. Vol. 64. Fol.148r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 298. Fol. 151r.; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 381–382; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 61, 75, 81, 123; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 85.

do everything in his power to found a seminary for the Catholicised (Uniate) Armenian Church in Lviv, for Poland lacked a substantial clergy loyal to Rome<sup>26</sup>.

In 1635, Mario Filonardi (1594–1644), Archbishop of Avignon, was appointed as an Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, who was from the start discontent with the Archbishop's ecclesiastical policies<sup>27</sup>. His reports disclose that, on the one hand, Archbishop Torosowicz did continue to say Mass according to the (Eastern) Armenian Apostolic Rite and, on the other hand, he stirred a scandal by spending the funds provided by the Apostolic Holy See on earthly vanities. His unfavourable situation was further aggravated by the fact that, though an archbishop, he lived in marriage, had lovers and had several illegitimate children born to him<sup>28</sup>. Nuncio Filonardi felt compelled to

- 26 APF SOCG. Vol. 59. Fol. 178/v.; APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 134/r.–v.+Fol. 135/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 109/r.–v.; APF Istruzioni. Vol. 1. Fol. 215r.–217/v.; AAV ANV. Vol. 47. Fol. 58r.; MAMAT MS. No. 1004. Fol. 193r.–194r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 71–73, 79–80, 83–87; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 301.
- 27 APF SOCG. Vol. 136. Fol. 337r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 293. Fol. 102r.–103r., Fol. 113r., Fol. 115/r.–v., Fol. 116/r.–v., Fol. 118/r.–v., Fol. 120r.+Fol. 125/v.; AAV ANV. Vol. 47. Fol. 323r.; AAV Segretaria di Stato. Polonia. Vol. 47. Fol. 353r.; AAV Segretaria di Stato. Polonia. Vol. 175. Fol. 144/r.–v.; APMV (= Archivio dei Padri Mechitaristi di Venezia, Venezia) MS (= Manuscripta). No. 1788. Fol. 89/v.–91r., Fol. 101r.–102/v.; *Kamenic'*, 241–243, 244–246, 247–249; *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae, Tomus XXV, Marius Filonardi (1635–1643), Vol. 2., (I XI 1636–31 X 1637)* (ed. Theresia Chynczewska-Hennel), Cracoviae, 2006, 6–7, 8–9, 13, 18, 23, 39, 45; *Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Persą Safawidów i katolikosatem w Eczmiadzinie w świetle dokumentów archiwalnych. - The Relations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Safavid Iran and the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin in the Light of the Archival Documents*, (eds and trs. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Stanisław Adam Jaśkowski, Piruza Mnatsakanian), Warszawa, 2017, 262–267, 294–297, 316–320, 344–347.
- 28 APF SOCG. Vol. 65. Fol. 165/r.–v.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 40–45, 123–124; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 54.

act<sup>29</sup>. With the help of the Apostolic Holy See, he summoned Paolo Piromalli OP (1592–1667), a Dominican missionary born in Italy, from Armenia to Lviv. Piromalli was well-acquainted with Armenian language and culture and worked on the development of an Armenian Uniate Rite<sup>30</sup>. He was tasked with correcting practices in the Armenian liturgy that were considered to be wrong, as well as promoting Armenian Uniate priest training and keeping the difficult Armenian Archbishop in check<sup>31</sup>. Once arriving in Lviv, the Italian missionary priest began to work at once, but his activities would continually be hampered by the Archbishop from the outset<sup>32</sup>. At last, between 1642 and 1644, via the Polish Royal Court, the Archbishop

- 29 In 1635 and 1638, Nuncio Filonardi even submitted a proposal to the Apostolic Holy See for the foundation of a seminary for Uniate Armenians. Furthermore, he also urged that a Uniate auxiliary bishop, truly loyal to the Roman Church, who could hold the Archbishopship at bay, be assigned to the Archbishop. APF SOCG. Vol. 136. Fol. 332r.+Fol. 347/v.; AAV ANV. Vol. 47. Fol. 323r.+Fol. 334/v., Fol. 324r.; AAV ANV. Vol. 175. Fol. 135/r.-v.
- 30 APF SOCG. Vol. 291. Fol. 151/r.-v., Fol. 247r.; Bžškeanc', *Čanaparhordut'iwn*, 114, 156; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 383; Kamenic', 139-140; Akinean, *Mousēs Tat'ewac'i*, 376; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 104, 109-111; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 176.
- 31 APF SOCG. Vol. 81. Fol. 426r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 87. Fol. 193r.-194/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 136. Fol. 315r., Fol. 326r., Fol. 335r., Fol. 359/v.-360/v., Fol. 358r.+Fol. 361/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 293. Fol. 130r., Fol. 133r.-136/v., Fol. 247r., Fol. 249r., Fol. 256r.; APF CP. Vol. 3. Fol. 235/r.-v.; APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 136r.-137/v., Fol. 138/r.-v., Fol. 139r., Fol. 146r.-147r., Fol. 148r.-149r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 17. Fol. 10/v.-11r., Fol. 12r., Fol. 46/r.-v., Fol. 69/v.-70/v.; AAV Segretario di Stato. Polonia. Vol. 175. Fol. 146/v.-147r.; APMV MS. No. 1788. Fol. 135/v.-137/v.; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 176-177; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 317-326.; *Litterae missionarium de Hungaria et Transylvania (1627-1717)* Vol. 2. (ed. István György Tóth), Roma - Budapest, 2002, 1284; *Acta Nuntiaturae*, 67-68, 77-78, 102-104, 114-118, 125-127, 174-176, 194-195, 196-197, 198-199, 200, 216-217, 231-233, 237-238, 240-241, 243-244, 245-246, 261-263, 265, 273-275, 276, 293, 309-310, 314-316.
- 32 APF SOCG. Vol. 309. Fol. 322/r.-v.

arranged for Piromalli to be recalled to Rome<sup>33</sup>. This step provoked the resentment of the missionary organ of the Apostolic Holy See, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*)<sup>34</sup>. Most disgruntled by Archbishop Torosowicz's action was the Secretary of the institution, Francesco Ingoli (1578–1649)<sup>35</sup>. By the late 1640s, trust was also eroded around Archbishop Torosowicz, and he could only count on the support of the Court<sup>36</sup>. This spurred the Archbishop to take action: he re-contacted leaders of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Following years of negotiations, in 1652, the Archbishop secretly travelled to Constantinople, where he met Armenian Catholicos Philip I (*P'ilippos Albakec'i*) (1633–1655) in person. In the presence of the Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Archbishop Torosowicz solemnly disavowed the ecclesiastical union previously concluded with Rome and re-affirmed his allegiance to the Armenian Apostolic Church. The Catholicos sent the Archbishop back with the instruction to resume his work in Lviv as a hierarch of the Armenian Apostolic faith<sup>37</sup>. This practically amounted to the revocation of the declarations of 1630 and

- 33 Afterwards, Piromalli left for Armenia and was made head of the Dominican Missions in the rank of archbishop. APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 107r.–108v., Fol. 109r.–v., Fol. 110r.; *Linguae Haicanae scriptores Ord. Praed. Cong. Fratrum Uniatorum et FF. Armenorum* (ed. Marcantonio van den Oudenrijn), Bern, 1960, 50; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 296–299; Dennis Half, “Paolo Piromalli”, in *Christian – Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 10. (Ottoman and Safavid Empires 1600–1700) (eds. David Thomas David, John Chesworth), Leiden, 2017, 518–523.
- 34 The missionary institution of the Holy See will hereafter be referred to as *Propaganda Fide*.
- 35 APF SOCG. Vol. 64. Fol. 148r., Fol. 150r., Fol. 151r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 123, 127–129.
- 36 APF SOCG. Vol. 65. Fol. 60r., Fol. 165r., Fol. 169r.
- 37 APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 5r., Fol. 277r.; *Kamenic'*, 250, 255; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 376–377, 382–383, 385–387; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 176–179; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 266; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 300, 304.

1635 and hence of church-union. Thus, ecclesiastical union seemed to be doomed to failure once and for all in Lviv and Poland.

### 3. *The Foundation and Early Activities of the Armenian College*

Sources keep silent on the Archbishop and the ten-year period concerned (1652–1662) as well. The only information available in this regard is that the insurrection associated with the name of the Zaporizhian Cossack Hetman Bohdan Chmielnicki/Khmelnitsky (1593–1657), the Polish-Swedish War, as well as the invasion of Poland led by George II Rákóczi (1621–1660), Prince of Transylvania, with a portentous outcome, also happened in the area of Lviv, all wreaking severe havoc<sup>38</sup>.

Word of Archbishop Torosowicz's 1652 turnabout reached Rome only with several years of delay, for even the Apostolic Nunciature in Warsaw would learn of it as late as 1662. The authorities at the Apostolic Holy See were taken completely unawares and were extremely shocked by the news<sup>39</sup>. Therefore, the Apostolic Nunciature in Warsaw proposed the implementation of more effective measures against Archbishop Torosowicz. In the reports dispatched to Rome, the Armenian Archbishop was described as utterly untrustworthy and incapable of discharging the duties of his office. Moreover, in 1662, the Apostolic Nunciature's intention to replace Archbishop Torosowicz because his person no longer represented any guarantee

38 On this period, see: Gáspár Katkó, "The Redemption of Transylvanian Army Captured by Tatars in 1657", in *Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)* (ed. Denise Klein), Wiesbaden, 2012, 91–106; Gábor Kármán, *Confession and Politics in Principality of Transylvania, 1644–1657*, Göttingen, 2020, 103–117, 157–177, 236–250.

39 APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 5r., Fol. 277r.; *Kamenic'*, 253–255; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 386; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 136, 157–159; Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak*, 304, 306–307, 309–310.

for the consolidation and further development of church-union increasingly intensified<sup>40</sup>.

In the middle of the 17th century, the Apostolic Holy See came to consider it of paramount importance to found a seminary for Uniate (Catholicised) Armenians in Lviv<sup>41</sup>. The necessity thereof was felt because, on the one hand, it was hoped to strengthen the Armenian Uniate faith among the faithful, and, on the other hand, it was expected to ensure continuity in the training of educated and reliable Uniate priests in the territory of the Archdiocese. At the same time, the establishment of a seminary was also motivated by a third reason: It was speculated that the foundation of the Armenian College could offset the rather problematic Archbishop Torosowicz's influence in Lviv. Thus, the institution was envisaged as a counterbalance of some kind against the Archbishop and his associates. In the early 1660s, the Apostolic Holy See repeatedly raised the possibility of creating a Uniate Armenian Rite, informed by the insights of Dominican and Theatine fathers, who had considerable missionary experience in Armenia<sup>42</sup>. At the very beginning of the 1660s, the chief proponent of this position was Antonio Pignatelli (1615–1700), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, who would later become Pope Innocent XII (1691–1700)<sup>43</sup>.

40 Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 86.

41 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 149–151; Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, III.

42 APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. I. Fol. 13r.–18/v.

43 Around 1730, in his account, Armenian Uniate ecclesiastical historiographer Step'an Step'anean Rōšk'ay (*Stefan Stefanowicz Roszka*) (1670–1739) suggests that the Armenian College was founded expressly at Archbishop Torosowicz's request. This, however, is contradicted by the sources of the Apostolic Holy See. In fact, the Archbishop played no part in this. On this subject, see also: APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 148r.–149r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 165; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, 180–181; Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 109–110; *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, 245–246, 273–275.

In 1662, Mario Alberizzi (1609–1680), Secretary of the *Propaganda Fide*, wrote a letter to Nuncio Antonio Pignatelli, asking him to enquire about the foundation of the proposed Armenian College from the clerical and lay leaders of the Armenian community in Lviv<sup>44</sup>. In his two responses written in the same year, Pignatelli articulated that, in the course of his negotiations, the lay or clerical leaders of the Armenians did not object to the establishment of the Armenian College<sup>45</sup>. Apparently oblivious of the actual intent of the Apostolic Holy See, Archbishop Torosowicz also supported the idea of founding an Armenian College himself. For his part, he only pointed out one problem: He did not see it fit for young Armenian Uniate ordinands to be educated by Roman Catholic priests – primarily Jesuits – while they themselves were unfamiliar with the old Armenian ecclesiastical traditions<sup>46</sup>.

Nevertheless, Nuncio Pignatelli remained distrustful of the Archbishop. In addition, in a letter, he urged the *Propaganda Fide* to found the Seminary for the Uniate Church in Lviv as soon as possible, in a way that the Archbishop would have only a minimum say in its operation and management<sup>47</sup>. The Nuncio justified this stipulation by stressing that the eighteen priests and two monastics serving in the territory of the Archdiocese were only formally Uniate. In effect, these individuals continued to celebrate the liturgy in a manner seen by

44 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 149/v.–150r.

45 APF SOCG. Vol. 224. Fol. 101/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 72/r.–v.

46 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 150r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 100r.; On this subject, see also: Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 151, 216–217; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 303; Bournoutian, *A Fresh Look*, 146–147.

47 Besides, Nuncio Pignatelli also wrote detailed reports on the ecclesiastical conditions of the Armenians in Poland and Moldavia. APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 74r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 173.; Alexandr Osipian, “Trans-Cultural Trade in the Black Sea Region, 1250–1700: Integration of the Armenian Trading Diaspora in Moldavian Principality”, in *New Europe College Yearbook* (2012–2013), No. 1., 133.



the Holy See as ‘heretical’. Moreover, Archbishop Torosowicz himself was but seemingly loyal to Rome and said Mass in a schismatic way almost as a rule<sup>48</sup>. In his 1662 letter, the Nuncio noted that the alms, donations and other gifts offered by the faithful did not satisfy the Archbishop’s greed: They were insufficient to sustain the appearance of Torosowicz’s authority in the community or the livelihood of his family, or – more precisely – of his partner and children. The Nuncio even accused Torosowicz of the sin of simony as the Archbishop had sold church offices in Poland for money and acquired abundant profit from the transactions. Even worse, he appointed the most ineligible people possible to head various ecclesiastical offices<sup>49</sup>.

The *Propaganda Fide* unanimously advanced the Theatine father Clemente Galano CR (1611–1666) as a head of the future Armenian College. His candidacy was also supported by his missionary experience in Armenia and his excellent theological background<sup>50</sup>. Furthermore, the father Galano was fluent in contemporary spoken Armenian, as well as he had learnt Grabar, the Old (Classical) Armenian language used in the liturgy, and had extensively studied the history, teaching and theology of the Armenian Apostolic Church<sup>51</sup>.

48 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 149/r.–v.

49 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 100r.

50 Francesco Antonio Vezzosi, *Scrittori dei chierici regolari detti teatini*, Vol. 1., Roma, 1780, 378–383; Xaç’ikean, *Haykakan galt’avyrerē*, 253–254; Simonetta Pelusi, “Un Codice Marciano Armeno-Polacco e l’unione degli armeni di Leopoli con la Santa Sede”, in *Humanistica Marciniana. Saggi offerti a Marino Zorzi*, a cura di: Simonetta Pelusi, Alessandro Scarsella, Milano, 2008, 142–143; Simonetta Pelusi, “Quel libro che vale un tesoro.’ Le circolazione dei manoscritti slavi a Venezia dalle biblioteche religiose alla Pubblica Libreria”, in *Venezija i Slovenske Književnosti. Zbornik radova*, pr. Dejan Ajdačić, Persida Lazarević Di Đakomo, Beograd, 2011, 133–139.

51 APF Acta SC. Vol. 30. Fol. 93r.–99/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 121. Fol. 322/r.–v.; Petrowicz, *L’unione*, 152–154; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 116–117; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 3; Pelusi, *Quel libro*, 142–143.

Galano would soon accept the nomination<sup>52</sup>. As he saw it, education, along with the necessary logistical background, was initially to be provided for twenty seminarians, and the concomitant expenses would be covered partly by the *Propaganda Fide* and partly by the Archbishopric. Apart from this, Galano deemed the creation of an Armenian Rite conforming to the Catholic (Latin) liturgy to be imperative. In fact, he was completely opposed to the idea of the students studying exclusively according to the Latin Rite, arguing that insistence on such an arrangement could substantially undermine a fragile ecclesiastical union in Lviv and in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>53</sup>.

Archbishop Torosowicz made a building adjacent to the Archiepiscopal Palace available to the Seminary to be created. To oversee its maintenance and management, he appointed one of his men but stipulated that the costs would have to be financed not by him but by the *Propaganda Fide*, while reserving the right of control over the institution to himself<sup>54</sup>. This, however, was vehemently disapproved by Nuncio Pignatelli. In his report sent to Rome, he recommended that the *Propaganda Fide* exercise direct control over the Armenian College. Although this would entail greater expenses, the Archbishop's influence was to be suppressed in this area as well<sup>55</sup>.

The *Propaganda Fide* discussed the question of the foundation of the Armenian College of Lviv on 2 April 1663. In the general session (*Congregazione Generale*), the cardinals present endorsed Pignatelli's observations with one accord. Thus, the future educational institution was to be placed directly under the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda Fide*.

52 Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 110.

53 APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 150r.

54 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 122r., Fol. 132r.; APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 150r.; Dawrižec'i, *Patmut' iwn*, 385; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 165; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305.

55 APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 151r.-v.

In addition, based on previous negotiations, a final decision was also made about requesting the aforementioned Theatine father, Clemente Galano, to found the Seminary of Lviv, develop its training system and manage it<sup>56</sup>. Once the Italian Theatine father accepted the request, he sought permission from the *Propaganda Fide* to take with him a young and talented fellow member of his order, Father Louis Marie Pidoux de Saint-Olon (1637–1717) CR, a Frenchman of aristocratic descent, who also had an excellent command of an Armenian language. His request was also accepted and approved by the *Propaganda Fide* shortly afterwards<sup>57</sup>. At the same time, the *Propaganda Fide* also asked Galano to keep an eye on the untrustworthy Archbishop and notify them of every step of his<sup>58</sup>.

After a few months of preparation, the Theatine fathers departed for Lviv in September 1663. They spent the winter of 1663 and 1664 in the Theatine Religious House of Our Lady and Saint Cajetan in Munich. When the winter was over, Father Galano and his companions arrived in the city of Lviv on 1 May 1664<sup>59</sup>. They met Archbishop Torosowicz on the same day and immediately came into conflict with him. Galano described the Armenian Archbishop as a selfish, unbearable and aggressive figure. At the time of their talks, it became obvious that they could hope for no moral or financial support from the Archbishop, and they would need to pay for all other expenses themselves<sup>60</sup>.

56 APF Acta SC. Vol. 32. Fol. 68r.–69/v.

57 The two were accompanied by Bonaventura Accostacci CR, an Italian Theatine monk, who also spoke good Armenian. Francesco Antonio Vezzosi, *Scrittori dei chierici regolari detti teatini*, Vol. 2., Roma, 1780, 182–185; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 111; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 303.

58 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 122r., Fol. 132r.; On this subject in brief, see also: Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 1950. 165; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305.

59 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 163–165, 171–172; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 112.

60 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 150r.

Furthermore, in his report, Galano recorded that, during the talks, Torosowicz did nothing to hide his extravagant life style from them, conducting himself not as an archbishop but like a temporal prince in the city. He would always travel in ornate coaches and was spendthrift with the money of the Church. He did not spurn delicious food or select beverages, either. With his entourage, he would regularly hold revelries and use the services of local girls. It was an open secret that, outside the city walls, he harboured a young maid, who was effectively his lover. At any rate, Galano expressed his doubts to the *Propaganda Fide*, citing the fact that the Armenian community was not supportive of Torosowicz but did not have the courage to rebel against him overtly because he was still backed by the Polish Court and the aristocracy. Even though the Archbishop professed to be a believer of the Catholic Church to Galano, the monastic missionary was not convinced of this. Actually, Galano considered the Archbishop unsuitable to perform his official duties and refused to call the Diocese Uniate even with the best of intentions. At the end of his report, he remarked that Archbishop Torosowicz did not care about the Church at all but was preoccupied only with his own career and economic interests, causing previous declarations of adherence to the Catholic faith to further not church-union but his own selfish interests instead<sup>61</sup>.

The Theatine monk also described the miserable conditions obtaining in the Diocese. As indicated, as many as thirty priests served in the territory of the Archbishopric, who were as a matter of fact not Uniate, for they celebrated the liturgy according to the old Apostolic traditions. Nearly all of the Armenian priests and monks concerned were married or had lovers<sup>62</sup>. As Galano notes, the Armenian priests

61 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 152/r.-v.

62 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 76/r.-v., Fol. 166r.; MAMAT MS. No. 1004. Fol. 194r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione* 173; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 311-312.

had no idea as to what church-union or ecclesiastical discipline meant in reality, or what being Uniate or Catholic involved<sup>63</sup>. For all this, he blamed Archbishop Torosowicz, who utterly neglected his Diocese. In the territory of the Archbishopric, Galano found but only two Armenian clerics who were cognisant of church-union and candidly embraced the faith of Rome, observing church-discipline, though they fell out of favour with Archbishop Torosowicz for this reason<sup>64</sup>.

At the same time, Torosowicz did not conceal his displeasure with the Theatine fathers: He regarded them as troublemakers and even fanatics. The reason for the Archbishop's reservations was that he was in fact afraid of Galano<sup>65</sup>. He thought that, in his person, the Apostolic Holy See and the *Propaganda Fide* had delegated not merely a rival but a potential archiepiscopal candidate to Lviv, who could over time deprive him of his archiepiscopal office ensuring high revenues and great power<sup>66</sup>.

In addition, the conflict of the two would be further exacerbated. Father Galano threatened the Archbishop with disclosing even the smallest details of his not really Christian way of life, as well as of his murky finances to the Polish Royal Court and Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667)<sup>67</sup>. The real reason behind this move was the fact that the Theatine fathers could count on the full support of the *Propaganda Fide*, and, in such a situation, it did not matter that they were only 'ordinary' priests or monks. Their views carried considerable weight in the eyes of the authorities of the Apostolic Holy See, and they

63 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 179–180.

64 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 150/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 228. Fol. 5r., Fol. 122/r.–v.

65 *Brni Miut'iwn Hayoc' Lebastani ěnd ekelec'woyn Hrovmay Žamanakic' Yišatakarank'*, ašx. Karapet Ėzean, Sankt–Petersburg, 1884, 18; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 179–180.

66 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 150r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 166; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 311–312.

67 *Brni Miut'iwn*, 31, 36–38, 164; *Kamenic'*, 213; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 314.

could positively devastate the Archbishop's respectability<sup>68</sup>. It was typical of the tense relations between the two parties that, for their accommodation, Archbishop Torosowicz deliberately provided a dilapidated and derelict property without furniture or heating to the three Theatine monks arriving in Lviv. The necessary items (furniture, bedlinen, etc.) were purchased by Galano himself at the market in the city of Lviv from the *Propaganda Fide's* money<sup>69</sup>. Torosowicz's subsequent step proved to be telling: He pronounced the Theatine fathers as *personae non gratae* and sought to have them expelled from the territory of the country by the secular authorities<sup>70</sup>.

Moreover, another conflict also erupted between Galano and Torosowicz because the Theatine father endeavoured to admit as many Armenian youth as possible to the institute. Torosowicz, however, feared that Galano intended to 'recruit' students from his own followers or their families, seeking to weaken his positions in Lviv<sup>71</sup>. The Archbishop's apprehension was indeed not unfounded as, in the September of 1664, teaching began with twelve young seminarians, all from Torosowicz's environment, who, under Galano's and Pidoux's influence, would over time come to oppose the Archbishop though<sup>72</sup>.

In the first place, the Theatine fathers taught the seminarians Latin, Italian and Armenian. They put a particularly great emphasis on the acquisition of spoken and written Armenian (i.e. Grabar/ Classical or Old Armenian) because, based on their experience, (partly for historical reasons) Armenians in Poland had since the 15th century communicated among themselves not in their mother tongue but in the Crimean Kipchak (or the so-called Armeno-Kipchak) language,

68 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 153r.

69 APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 207/r.-v.

70 Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 113.

71 APF CP. Vol. 68. Fol. 25r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 50/r.-v., Fol. 51/r.-v.

72 APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. Fol. 153/v.-154r.

for the writing of which they would use the Armenian script. Armenian was spoken only by ecclesiastics, but they lacked native speaker competence. In other words, even their Armenian language skills were imperfect<sup>73</sup>.

In the course of the training, Galano and Pidoux, as well as their fellow monks, came to the realisation that the denominational unifications associated with Archbishop Torosowicz's name could not be considered ecclesiastical union. Declarations of adherence to the Catholic faith made by the Archbishop were merely confined to recognition of the primacy of the Pope in Rome. Unlike the 1596 Ruthenian church-union in Brest, these did not cover issues such as the remuneration of Uniate Armenian priests or the betterment of their social status. The church-unions involving Torosowicz even hereafter failed to resolve numerous important questions concerning the liturgy and doctrine such as the endorsement of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon and of the *Filioque procedit* prayer (*ew yOrdwoyn btxi*), the rejection of the improper way of singing the *Trisagium/Trisagion* Hymn, the usage of the old Armenian calendar, the Eucharist or the use of a liturgical language. Galano and his associates would persist in their putatively well-founded objection that, despite the ecclesiastical unions, Archbishop Torosowicz and his followers continued to engage in the old schismatic customs and teachings. Therefore, Galano thought that, by founding the Armenian College, they would provide an institutional framework for the continuous education of well-trained Armenian Uniate priests<sup>74</sup>.

73 Following the occupation of the city of Kaffa by the Ottoman Turks in 1475, a large number of Armenian refugees speaking the language of the Tartars but using the Armenian script for writing it came to Poland from Crimea. APF CP. Vol. 64. Fol. 41r.-47v.; APF CP. Vol. 133. Fol. 270r.-310v.; Blažejovsky, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 114; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 55.

74 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 76r., Fol. 166v.-167r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 66-69, 172, 182; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 311-312; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 54-55.

Besides, Galano was to face other problems as well. In fact, funds for the overheads had been depleted in the meantime, and Galano requested additional financial aid from the *Propaganda Fide*. In response, the institution of the Apostolic Holy See decided to allocate 400 *scudi* in the form of early assistance. Furthermore, in light of the reports received, the Cardinals of the *Propaganda Fide* also determined that direct control over the Armenian College would be exercised by the Latin Archbishop in Lviv and the incumbent Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw on their behalf, for, as they argued, it was impermissible that the Armenian Archbishop should gain any influence on matters relative to the Seminary, on account of his untrustworthiness<sup>75</sup>.

Soon afterwards, Nuncio Pignatelli proposed that Archbishop Torosowicz be symbolically involved in matters of the Seminary though. The corresponding letter ought, however, to be seen as motivated not by a desire to attain reconciliation but rather by the need to ensure that the *Propaganda Fide* would be able to keep an even closer watch on the unreliable Archbishop. Moreover, Nuncio Pignatelli made this recommendation because, as he pointed out, the Armenian Archiepiscopate of Lviv would not always be headed by Torosowicz, and thus it did not appear wise to exclude the incumbent head of the Archbishopric from overseeing the issues of the Armenian College permanently. However, the *Propaganda Fide* did not address this suggestion substantively in any official form. The documents of the unofficial sessions, i.e. the so-called congresses, of the missionary institution revealed that the reason for their silence clearly had to do with the fact that they had no confidence in Torosowicz and identified the Archiepiscopate exclusively with his person and attitudes at that time<sup>76</sup>.

75 The Latin-rite Archbishop of Lviv was Jan Tarnowski (d. 1669) at the time. APF Acta SC. Vol. 33. Fol. 156/r.-v.

76 APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 65/r.-v., Fol. 75/r.-v.



In 1665, the Armenian College continued to operate undisrupted, a new generation of Armenian students were admitted, and another decent amount of money was sent from Rome to cover the expenses. In addition, after protracted debates, the Cardinals of the *Propaganda Fide* also decided to take it upon themselves to meet all the costs of maintaining the Armenian College, including funding the studies of the students<sup>77</sup>. Thanks to this step, more new students could be accepted. It was at this time that Deodatus Nersesowicz (1644–1709), who would later have a noteworthy church career, also became a student of the Armenian College<sup>78</sup>.

As part of the training, Galano and Pidoux involved the students in the creation of the Armenian Uniate Rite<sup>79</sup>. The Theatine fathers capitalised on their prior missionary experience<sup>80</sup>. Even the *Propaganda*

77 In 1665, Father Galano estimated the annual budget for one student to cost the Apostolic Holy See approximately 40 *scudi*. APF Acta SC. Vol. 34. Fol. 50/r.-v., Fol. 78r.-79/v., Fol. 147/r.-v.; APF SC Coll. Var. Vol. 2. Fol. 2r.-23/v.; AGT (= Archivio Generale dei Teatini, Roma) CL (= Collegio di Leopoli). Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

78 Deodatus Nersesowicz (*Astwacatur Nersēsean*), born in Krasnopol, was the son of Nerses Nersesowicz (*Nersēs Nersēsean*), the Armenian Apostolic (Oriental) parish priest of the town in Jazłówiec (now Yazlovets in Ukraine). Between 1683 and 1686, as well as 1698 and 1709, he was Coadjutor to the Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lviv and Titular Bishop of Traianopolis in Rhodope (*in partibus infidelium*). APF Acta SC. Vol. 53. Fol. 248/r.-v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 488. Fol. 273/r.-v., Fol. 275r.-276/v., Fol. 277r.-281r., Fol. 283r.-284/v., Fol. 286r.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 159r.-160r.+Fol. 160/v., Fol. 165/r.-v., Fol. 166/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 318r., Fol. 325r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 69r., Fol. 199/v.-200r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 73. Fol. 69/r.-v., Fol. 72r.-73r.; APF Fondo di Vienna. Vol. 42. Fol. 49/r.-v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers); Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 176; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 195; Blažejevskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 115; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 7-11; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 94-96.

79 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 76. Fol. 136r.

80 Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 14.

*Fide* assured them of its support for their ideas about the Armenian Uniate Rite and, as a result, had an additional substantial amount allocated to the Armenian College via the Nunciature in Warsaw<sup>81</sup>. Consequently, the number of students significantly rose, entailing continued resentment on Archbishop Torosowicz's part in turn as this diminished the number of his own followers<sup>82</sup>. Apart from linguistic studies, considerable attention was paid to the cultivation of logic, philosophy, rhetoric and history at the Armenian College. A premium was also put on acquaintance with Armenian history and its instruction. Within a short while, Father Galano and his fellow monks created a well-functioning school in Lviv. Moreover, it is also safe to say that, in Lviv, the Armenians had not only a seminary but also a scholarly workshop of note established, which, albeit confessionally, was instrumental in laying the foundations of modern Armenology<sup>83</sup>. At the same time, Father Galano could not accomplish his mission: In the early spring of 1666, a cold caused him to fall ill, and he left for Krakow for medical treatment. In his absence, his brethren continued teaching in the institution. However, owing to complications of his illness, Father Galano departed this life in Krakow on 14 May 1666<sup>84</sup>. In accordance with the decision of Nuncio Pignatelli, as well as of the *Propaganda Fide*, his position, i.e. the rectorship (prefecture) of the Armenian College, was temporarily taken over by Father Louis Pidoux<sup>85</sup>.

81 APF Acta SC. Vol. 34. Fol. 148r.-149r.

82 APF Acta SC. Vol. 34. Fol. 273r.

83 Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 115; Kornél Nagy, "Az armenológus Schütz Ödön", in *Keletkutatás* (2016), Tavasz, 29-30.

84 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 176-177; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 181; Pelusi, *Un Codice Marciano Armeno-Polacco*, 144.

85 APF Acta SC. Vol. 34. Fol. 224r., Fol. 246r.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 35. Fol. 136/r.-v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers); On this subject, see also: Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 117-118; Xač'ikean, *Haykakan gal'avayrerē*, 258.

After Galano's death, the *Propaganda Fide* sent two new Theatine fathers educated in canon law and the Latin language to Lviv to help Pidoux with his work<sup>86</sup>. Torosowicz was, however, not particularly happy with this development. He believed that dispatching two more monks would make the influence of the Theatines even stronger among the Armenians. Increasingly more suspicious, the Archbishop saw this move as a manifestation of Rome's scheming, too. In addition, he took every possible step with the secular authorities to ensure that the Theatines would be expelled from the city of Lviv and thus from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth once and for all<sup>87</sup>. An episode impacting this situation was the visit of the acting Rector Pidoux, as well as of his fellow monks and Archbishop Torosowicz, to Kamieniec-Podolski (now Kamianets-Podilskyi in Ukraine) one year after Galano's death, in 1667. Kameniec-Podolski was a town the Armenian community of which had opposed the church-union from the outset<sup>88</sup>. Nevertheless, the Armenian inhabitants of the town gave a hearty welcome to the Theatine fathers but not to Archbishop Torosowicz and his entourage, inflicting a major loss of respect on him. Moreover, Pidoux was successful in converting local Armenians and persuaded the Armenian Oriental parish priest, Step'an Step'anean-Sargisean Rōšk'ay (*Stefan Stefanowicz-Sarkisowicz Roszka*) (1631–1670), into celebrating the Eucharist according to the Latin Rite<sup>89</sup>. At the

86 The two Theatine fathers were Francesco Davia CR and Angelo Peveratti CR from the centre of the religious order (i.e. its principal monastery) next to the Sant' Andrea della Valle church in Rome. On this subject, see: APF Acta SC. Vol. 35. Fol. 246r.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

87 APF Acta SC. Vol. 35. Fol. 302r.–303/v., Fol. 329/r.–v.

88 *Bṛni Miut'iwn* 72, 89, 222; Xaç'ikean, *Haykakan gal't'avayrerē*, 247, 254–255, 258.

89 This Armenian Apostolic (Oriental) priest was the father of the Uniate historiographer Step'an Step'anean Rōšk'ay. He died on 28 March 1670, a few months before the birth of the Armenian Uniate priest and historiographer. On this subject, see: Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 182.

same time, the Armenians of Kameniec, including the parish priest, did not officially pronounce church-union with Rome *in concreto*<sup>90</sup>. At any rate, the Apostolic Holy See interpreted this as a success and emphasised Father Pidoux's merits. However, Archbishop Torosowicz blamed the father of French descent for his repeated humiliation and failure<sup>91</sup>.

However, the *Propaganda Fide* did not take such innuendos seriously and even intended to decide who Galano's official successor should be at the head of the Armenian College. Initially, an experienced ecclesiastical scholar, the Italian Theatine father Giuseppe Caracciolo CR, was selected as the new Rector of the Armenian College. The Apostolic Holy See considered Louis Pidoux highly talented but still too young for a leadership role<sup>92</sup>. In 1668, however, the Superior General of the Theatines, Carlo Maria Danesi CR, raised an objection to this position with the *Propaganda Fide* and convinced the leaders of the institution that, notwithstanding his young age, Pidoux was indeed eligible for heading the Armenian College in Lviv<sup>93</sup>. As a result, in the course of the following year, the Cardinals of the *Propaganda Fide* appointed Pidoux as the new Rector and they re-affirmed the appointment in 1669<sup>94</sup>.

However, it must be noted that Pidoux's succession at the head of the Armenian College happened in a difficult period. Between 1669

90 APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 132/r.-v.; This conflict was also described in detail by Pidoux himself in his work. For more detail on this subject, see: Aloisius Pidoux, *Compendiosa relatio unionis nationis Armeno-Poloniae Sancta Ecclesia Romana ad annum Christi 1676*, Romae, 1676, 87-109; Pelusi, *Quel libro*, 143-144.

91 APF SOCG. Vol. 472. Fol. 492/r.-v.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 219; Rõšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, 182; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 36-38.

92 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 219, 231; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 120-121; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 55.

93 Pelusi, *Un Codice Marciano Armeno-Polacco*, 143-144.

94 APF Acta SC. Vol. 38. Fol. 404/-v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 75/r.-v.

and 1673, the teaching staff frequently fluctuated, not due to poor leadership but because of the prevailing health conditions. A number of instructors passed away from various diseases, while several monks returned to Rome on account of their compromised health<sup>95</sup>.

Pidoux had clashes with the Archbishop virtually on a daily basis, while he was to face the consequences of the Ottoman-Turkish attacks of 1672 and 1673 as well. Podolia, along with the town of Kamieniec-Podolski, came under the Sultan's jurisdiction<sup>96</sup>. The Armenian community of Podolia, regarded as a potential missionary target, was scattered. The majority escaped to Russia or to Transylvania<sup>97</sup>. For this reason, the institution itself even suspended its educational activities between 1672 and 1673. Together with their teachers, some of the students fled to Krakow; the most talented ones were sent to Rome, to the Seminary of the *Propaganda Fide*, the Collegium Urbanum, to continue their studies. The other problem was that the instructors were also dispersed: Many of them would return to Rome<sup>98</sup>.

Contemporaneously with the appointment of Pidoux, the Apostolic Holy See summoned Archbishop Torosowicz to Rome. The Archbishop was hesitant but, eventually, at the firm order of Galeazzo Marescotti (1627–1726), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, he left for Rome in 1669<sup>99</sup>. He entrusted the governance of the Diocese to one

95 APF Acta SC. Vol. 39. Fol. 182r.-v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

96 Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 317.

97 APF SOCG. Vol. 572. Fol. 278r.-279v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 1. Fol. 535r.-526v., Fol. 602r.-610v.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 1. Fol. 155r.-156v., Fol. 168r.-169r., Fol. 233r.-236v., Fol. 257r.-259v., Fol. 358r.-v.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 2. Fol. 345r.-346r.; APF Fondo di Vienna. Vol. 8. Fol. 74r.-77v.; ELTE EEK (= University Library and Manuscript Collection, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest). Coll. Hev. (= Collectio Hevenesiana). Cod. 16. Pag. 32.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 81.

98 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 61. Fol. 149v.

99 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 246–247; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305.

of his men, Jan Kieremowicz (*Yovhannēs K'armatanenc'*) (1631–1678), who, shortly after his departure, challenged the Archbishop<sup>100</sup>.

In light of the incoming reports, the *Propaganda Fide* sought to try Archbishop Torosowicz before a board of inquiry to testify about his idiosyncratic leading style. At this point, the possibility of replacing Torosowicz was also explicitly raised. Even the very appearance of the Archbishop astonished the authorities of the Apostolic Holy See. He arrived in Rome in a twelve-horse ornate carriage, accompanied by a grandiose escort. As for his conduct, it felt as though not a senior clergyman but a powerful secular ruler had appeared before them. The Archbishop stayed in Rome for seven years and, throughout the lengthy inquiries, he consistently denied reaffiliation with the Armenian Apostolic Church. He even considered it downright baseless hearsay that, in 1652, he had allegedly had a clandestine meeting with the Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Constantinople, repudiating ecclesiastical union in his presence. In addition, he labelled the charge that he sought the demise of the Armenian College of Lviv plain nonsense and insinuation<sup>101</sup>.

In the end, the Archbishop was not replaced. This was partly due to the efforts of John III (Sobieski), King of Poland (1674–1696), who, through his envoys, interceded with the Pope to ensure that Torosowicz would not be relieved of his church office. Actually, the Polish Monarch asked the *Propaganda Fide* to send the Archbishop

<sup>100</sup>In co-operation with Pidoux, Kieremowicz had also invested a large amount of effort into creating a uniform Armenian Uniate Missal. Subsequently, as Titular Bishop of Hymeria, the *Propaganda Fide* intended to send him to Moldavia in order to Catholicise the Armenians living there, but his attempt failed in the absence of the necessary authorisations and money. APF SOCG. Vol. 120. Fol. 322r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 394r., Fol. 630r.–v., Fol. 631r.–v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers); Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 247–248; Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, 182; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 304; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 116.

<sup>101</sup>Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 255–256.

back to Poland so that he might be called to account over his misconduct there instead<sup>102</sup>. The trust of the Apostolic Holy See in him was irreparably eroded. Therefore, it was decided that, in 1675, two Armenian Uniate priests capable of keeping him under control would be assigned to Archbishop Torosowicz in episcopal rank. However, the official justification from the *Propaganda Fide* was that the elderly Archbishop was not to be overburdened on account of his health issues<sup>103</sup>. One of them was Vardan Hunanean (1644–1715), a native Uniate clergyman from the Armenian Motherland, while the other was Theodor Wardanowicz (1652–1700) from Lviv. At the same time, this step proved humiliating for Torosowicz. However, as he had no choice, he could not but accept the decision. In fact, he was to attend the event when Pope Clement X (1670–1676) himself consecrated Hunanean as Titular Bishop of Epiphania in Syria<sup>104</sup>. Along with his two companions, the Archbishop finally returned to Lviv in 1676<sup>105</sup>.

102 Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 266–270; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305.

103 APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 37r.

104 Wardanowicz eventually failed to obtain episcopal appointment. APF Acta SC. Vol. 39. Fol. 207r.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 47. Fol. 210r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 225. Fol. 270r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 454. Fol. 53r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 209r.–211r.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 1. Fol. 287r.–v.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 295.; *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi* (eds. Remigius Ritzler OFM Conv., Pirminius Sefrin OFM Conv.), Vol. 5, (1667–1730), Patavii, 1952, at 196, 243; Rõšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 183; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 1; Kornél Nagy, “Vardan Hunanean łwówi uniált érsek levele 1686-ból a lengyelországi és az erdélyi örményekről”, in *Századok* 140 (2006), No. 4, 1010–1011; Pelusi, *Un Codice Marciano Armeno-Polacco*, 145; Pelusi, *Quel libro*, 145–146.

105 According to Uniate Armenian historiographer Rõšk'ay, Vardan Hunanean was ordained bishop by Archbishop Torosowicz himself, though this has been controverted by latest research. APF CP. Vol. 22. Fol. 7r., Fol. 277r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 413r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 199r.–v., Fol. 200r.–v.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 266, 297; Rõšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 183.

In the mid-1670s, Father Pidoux did everything to remedy the situation arising as a result of the events of the years 1672 and 1673. As the old teaching staff had disbanded, he requested new instructors from the centre of the Theatine Order in Rome<sup>106</sup>. This had sparked tensions with the centre of the Religious Order because they wished to send inexperienced order members from Rome who did not meet the high expectations of the time. Among the new instructors, the only exception was Francesco Giambattista Bonesana CR (1649–1709), born in Milan, who would before long become Pidoux's deputy at the Armenian College<sup>107</sup>. The majority of the new instructors did not speak Armenian, and their theological background also appeared to be problematic in some cases, while new seminars arrived at the educational institution<sup>108</sup>. For this reason, Father Pidoux dispatched several requests to the centre of the Religious Order in Rome, as well

<sup>106</sup> Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 125–126.

<sup>107</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 44. Fol. 247r.–v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 45. Fol. 20r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 64. Fol. 111v.–112v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

<sup>108</sup> In 1675, the Armenian College welcomed among its students Oxendio Stefanowicz Virziresco (1654–1715), a native of Moldavia with Polish-Armenian roots, subsequently also holder of the title 'Titular Bishop', who would continue his studies at the Collegium Urbanum in Rome three years later, in 1678. In 1689, he would play a major role in achieving the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania. APF Acta SC. Vol. 51. Fol. 114r.–v., Fol. 154r.–v., Fol. 232r.–v., Fol. 255r.–v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 54. Fol. 207r.–v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 55. Fol. 60r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 490. Fol. 110r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 491. Fol. 12r.–v., Fol. 13v. APF SOCG. Vol. 492. Fol. 310v., Fol. 313r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 493. Fol. 30r.+Fol. 31v., Fol. 376v.+Fol. 377v.+Fol. 378v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 495B. Fol. 232r.–234v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 497. Fol. 335r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 53r.–v., Fol. 54r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 1v.–2r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 73. Fol. 252r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 74. Fol. 19v.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 417r., Fol. 419r., Fol. 434r.–v.+Fol. 435v., Fol. 457r., Fol. 462r.–v., Fol. 468r.–469v., Fol. 488r., Fol. 490r., Fol. 498r.–v.; APF Collegio Urbano (= Coll. Urb.). Vol. 1. Fol. 268r., Fol. 272v.; APF Coll. Urb. Vol. 3. Fol. 472r.–v.; ARSI (= Archivum Romanum Societatis



as to the *Propaganda Fide*, but his letters were met with silence or rejection<sup>109</sup>.

Meanwhile, seeing Pidoux's predicament, Archbishop Torosowicz also mounted attacks. He let the Rector know that he intended to reclaim the building owned by the Archbishopric and loaned to the Armenian College. Furthermore, Torosowicz also turned against Bishop Vardan Hunanean, the new Archiepiscopal Coadjutor, who had developed friendly ties with Pidoux. He estranged his supporters from the Bishop and raised an objection to his person on grounds that he was not in reality a descendant of an Armenian family native to Lviv but he was from Armenia, and the Pope had appointed him to be by his side only to spy on him and undermine his archiepiscopal authority<sup>110</sup>. As for the other ecclesiastic who had been assigned to Archbishop Torosowicz as Vicar in Rome, Theodor Wardanowicz openly defied Hunanean and became a supporter of the Archbishop's<sup>111</sup>.

The situation became so untenable for Bishop Hunanean in Lviv that, in 1678, he left for Armenian territories for missionary work via Constantinople<sup>112</sup>. He was also accompanied by Father Pidoux, who had grown dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions in Lviv. In fact, having had his requests repeatedly declined and with Torosowicz aiming to render the Armenian College completely dysfunctional, he

Iesu, Roma) Fondo Austria. Historica. Vol. 155 Fol. 81r.-v.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 82.

<sup>109</sup> APF SC Coll. Var. Vol. 2. Fol. 154r., Fol. 156r.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

<sup>110</sup> Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 300–301; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305.

<sup>111</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 448r.-v., Fol. 450r.-v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 100r.-v.; APF SC Fondo MPR (= Moscovia Polonia e Ruthenia). Vol. 1. Fol. 660r.-v.; *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainiae illustrantes*, Vol. 3., (1665–1690) (ed. Athanasius Welikyj), Romae, 1974, 165–167.

<sup>112</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 413r.-417v.; Rõšk'ay, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, 183; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 1.

resigned from his office as a Rector<sup>113</sup>. However, he failed to consult the *Propaganda Fide* and sent the letter containing his resignation to Rome from Constantinople<sup>114</sup>. The *Propaganda Fide* would make a decision on his succession relatively rapidly. At the recommendation of Francesco Martelli (1633–1717), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and Titular Archbishop of Corinth, Pidoux's former deputy, Father Francesco Giambattista Bonesana, was appointed as the new Rector of the Armenian College in 1678<sup>115</sup>.

The new Rector also had to face his predecessor's problems: the shortage of teaching staff at the Armenian College and the intriguing of Archbishop Torosowicz. First of all, he had to tackle the shortage of instructors as, apart from him, only one fellow monk of his was left. Thus, between 1678 and 1680, Father Bonesana urged the Apostolic

113 APF Acta SC. Vol. 47. Fol. 225r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 47I. Fol. 314r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 2. Fol. 542/r.-v., Fol. 556r., Fol. 557r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 306–312. Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 313.; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 68.; Father Pidoux spent as many as nine years as a missionary in Armenian territories. In 1687, Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689) appointed him Titular Bishop of Baghdad. He was ordained in Rome only in 1694 though. Simultaneously, he was made head of the Theatine Missions in the Middle East and Armenia as well. On this subject, see also: APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 10r.–11r., Fol. 107/v.–111r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 49/v.–50r., Fol. 178/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 19r.–23r.; APF Coll. Urb. Vol. 2. Fol. 90/r.–v., Fol. 91/r.–v., Fol. 92r.; AAV ANV. Vol. 177. Fol. 8/v.+Fol. 9/v.; AGT CL. Portfolio I. (Without folio numbers); *Hierarchia Catholica*, 110.

114 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 67. Fol. 6/r.–v., Fol. 22/r.–v.; APF Coll. Urb. Vol. 2. Fol. 1r.

115 Father Bonesana was Rector of the Armenian College until 1691; subsequently, he became Bishop of Caiazzo (from 1691 to 1695), as well as Bishop of Como (from 1695 to 1709). In 1689, he was also interim Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw for a short period. For more detail on Bonesana, see also: APF Acta SC. Vol. 51. Fol. 178/r.–v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 61. Fol. 41/r.–v.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 332r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 67. Fol. 78/r.–v.; APF SC Coll. Var. Vol. 2. Fol. 162/r.–v.; AGT CL. Portfolio I. (Without folio numbers); *Hierarchia Catholica*, 134, 166.; Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 150, 152.

Holy See repeatedly to send well-educated instructors to Lviv. At first, the Rector received only evasive replies from Rome, but, later instructors would be delegated to the institution slowly, one at a time<sup>116</sup>.

All the while, Archbishop Torosowicz sought to take the building housing the Armenian College in the city by force, arguing that he had given it to the Theatines in 1664 only temporarily. Bonesana would have many a row with the Archbishop, who still believed that the Theatines were after his archiepiscopate and they purposely incensed the students at the Armenian College against his person. The ageing Archbishop Torosowicz persisted in his attempt to expel the Theatines and to close the Armenian College<sup>117</sup>.

All along, Archbishop Torosowicz continued to say Mass according to the old, Oriental traditions, instead of the Uniate ones. This is also corroborated by Nuncio Francesco Martelli's report dated to 1680, the year immediately preceding his departure from office. As stated therein, following his return from Rome, the ageing Archbishop Torosowicz remained relentless in his 'destructive' activities. He permitted the administration of the Sacraments to the faithful in the traditional old Armenian way and did not really mind customs labelled 'heretic' by the Latin Church so to speak, whereas previously he had pledged to the Pope and the Cardinals of the *Propaganda Fide* otherwise<sup>118</sup>. Finally, in 1680, his intent to disable the operation

116 It was during this period that, among others, Father Sebastiano Maria Accorsi CR arrived, who would manage the Armenian College as Rector from 1691 to 1704. On this subject, see also: APF Acta SC. Vol. 49. Fol. 151r.-v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 50. Fol. 27r.-28r.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 51. Fol. 28r.-v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 53. Fol. 196r.-v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 54. Fol. 153r.-155v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 55. Fol. 1r.-2v.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers); AGT CL. Portfolio 2. (Without folio numbers); Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 151; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 71-74.

117 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 10r.

118 APF Acta SC. Vol. 47. Fol. 225r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 293. Fol. 225r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 307; Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak*, 313.

of the Armenian College was frustrated by the assertive intervention of Nuncio Martelli stepping down at the time, as well as of Opizio Pallavicini (1632–1700), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and Titular Archbishop of Ephesus, taking office subsequently<sup>119</sup>. Accordingly, the Archbishop desisted from his original intention and gave his consent for the building to be purchased by the *Propaganda Fide* from the Archiepiscopacy<sup>120</sup>. The act was finalised in December 1681<sup>121</sup>. Thus, from 1681, under the leadership of Father Bonesana and his fellow monks, teaching within the walls of the Armenian College could continue undisrupted<sup>122</sup>. Furthermore, the *Propaganda Fide* also determined that it would permanently guarantee the operation of the institution financially, thereby enabling full-scale development of the ecclesiastical union in Lviv, as well as in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, begun by the wayward and noisome Archbishop<sup>123</sup>. In Rome, it was also decided that, from 1681, graduates would be ordained in accordance with the Armenian Uniate Rite as prescribed by Clemente Galano or according to the established Latin Rite. The ceremony was conducted jointly by Konstanty Samuel Lipski (1625–1698), the Latin-rite (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Lviv at the time, and Nuncio Pallavicini<sup>124</sup>. Archbishop Torosowicz's machinations and intriguing against the Armenian College would be conspicuously discontinued from the end of 1680, primarily due to his increasingly deteriorating health condition. However, this also

119 APF Acta SC. Vol. 49. Fol. 27r.–28r.

120 APF Acta SC. Vol. 52. Fol. 155r.–156r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 484. Fol. 286r.; Petrowicz, *L'unione*, 323; Blažejovskij, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 155.

121 APF Acta SC. Vol. 52. Fol. 122r.–v.

122 APF SOCG. Vol. 477. Fol. 150r.

123 APF SC Coll. Var. Vol. 2. Fol. 176r.; AGT CL. Portfolio 1. (Without folio numbers).

124 It is somewhat remarkable that this is only divulged in documents of Apostolic Holy See dated to six years later, i.e. to the year 1687. On this subject, see: APF Acta SC. Vol. 57. Fol. 126r.–127r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 76. Fol. 41r.

coincided with the evaporation of the *Propaganda Fide's* enduring patience.

During their respective tenures, Francesco Martelli and Opizio Pallavicini, Apostolic Nuncios in Warsaw, clearly urged Torosowicz's removal. They would justify their position by suggesting that the Archbishop's health prevented him from discharging the duties of his ecclesiastical office. Their other argument was that he had expelled Bishop Hunanean from Lviv. A third reason had to do with the claim that the Archbishop had done everything to banish the Theatines and to ruin the Armenian College, inflicting severe harm on the Church. The *Propaganda Fide* understood the Nuncios' reports. Therefore, at the turn of 1680 and 1681, it decided to remove the Archbishop permanently. As his successor, the aforementioned Bishop Vardan Hunanean, who at the time engaged in converting his own compatriots in Armenia, was named<sup>125</sup>. Torosowicz, however, did not live to hear the decision. Prior to the arrival of the document with his dismissal from Rome, on 21 March 1681, he died at the age of 78 and was laid to rest in the Archiepiscopal Cathedral the next day<sup>126</sup>. In an attempt to shirk accountability, his confidant, the troublesome

125 This was also communicated to Pidoux, who did not reside in Lviv then any more. APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 10r.-11r., Fol. 107v.-111r.; AGT CL. Portfolio I. (Without folio numbers).

126 Major works of church-history date the death of Archbishop Torosowicz to October 1681, though he already passed away in March. The *Propaganda Fide* would only conduct an extensive discussion on the Archbishop's death and its circumstances in August 1681, followed by another one in January 1682. APF Lettere SC. Vol. 71. Fol. 6v.-7r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 287r., Fol. 347r.-v., Fol. 353r., Fol. 361r.-362v.; According to Rōšk'ay, Nikol Torosowicz departed this life as a saintly archbishop of exemplary moral integrity, who was to be credited with the founding of the Armenian Catholic Church. In the light of the latest research findings, his assertions were unwarranted. On this subject, see: Rōšk'ay, *Žamanakagrāt'iwñ*, 184; Schütz, *An Armenian-Kipchak*, 305, 313-314; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 56.

Theodor Wardanowicz, fled to Constantinople<sup>127</sup>. His death and its circumstances, along with his malfeasance and the question of his succession, were extensively discussed in the general sessions of the *Propaganda Fide* on multiple occasions between 1681 and 1684<sup>128</sup>. At any rate, with the death of Archbishop Torosowicz, noisy conflicts subsided by the year 1681, and, a few years later – by the late 1680s –

127 After his departure from Lviv, Wardanowicz would have a rather particular career. It was not long before he renounced his Uniate faith and was appointed and consecrated Armenian Apostolic Bishop of Transylvania and Moldavia by the Armenian Catholicos Eleazar (*Eliazar Ayntapc'i*) (1682–1691). In the 1680s, he made several attempts to take office but he was effectively thwarted in doing so by the secular authorities and the Apostolic Holy See. Later, he changed his mind and left for Rome, where he abjured his Oriental faith and declared his adherence to Catholicism again. At the same time, he was made to relinquish his 'schismatic' episcopal title. Wardanowicz died in 1700 as a parish priest of the Armenian Uniate Church of Saint Mary of Egypt in Rome. APF Acta SC. Vol. 59. Fol. 78r.–81v.; APF Acta SC. Fol. 125r.–127v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 507. Fol. 87r.–88v., Fol. 93r.–94v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 509. Fol. 112r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 5v.–6v., Fol. 176v.–177r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 177v.–178r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 73. Fol. 98v.–99v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 79. Fol. 129r.–132r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 282r.; Fol. 310r.–v., Fol. 434r., Fol. 469v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 51r.–v., Fol. 69r., Fol. 70r.–v., Fol. 71r.–72v., Fol. 82r.–83v., Fol. 86r.–87v., Fol. 100r., Fol. 129r., Fol. 174r., Fol. 555r.; On this subject, see also: *Kamenic'*, 257; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 92–93; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 126–130.

128 After Torosowicz's death, the Armenian Apostolic Church appointed and consecrated a new archbishop in the person of Jan (*Yovhannēs*) Bernatowicz. However, Nuncio Opizio Pallavicini and Rector Francesco Giambattista Bonesana succeeded in preventing the Armenian hierarch of the Oriental (Apostolic) faith from taking possession of his seat in Lviv. On this subject, see: APF SOCG. Vol. 488. Fol. 274r.–v., Fol. 285r.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 119r.–122r.+Fol. 122v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 70v.–71r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 217v.–218r., Fol. 223r.–v., Fol. 226v.–227r., Fol. 234r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 73. Fol. 98v.–99v.; ASV ANV. Vol. 177. Fol. 144r.–v., Fol. 146v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 375r.–v.; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 3–5; Nagy, *Az erdélyi örmények*, 93–94.

the documents of the Apostolic Holy See spoke of a well-functioning and efficient educational institution<sup>129</sup>.

At the same time, Archbishop Torosowicz left behind an archiepiscopacy, completely disintegrated and tattered in organisation and authority, which could by no means be described as Uniate<sup>130</sup>. Therefore, in no way may his person be seen as the founder of the Armenian Catholic (Uniate) Church. Not long after his death, the documents of the Apostolic Holy See continued to report chaotic conditions in the Uniate Church<sup>131</sup>. In 1681, Archbishop Torosowicz was succeeded by the aforesaid Vardan Hunanean, who, owing to his missionary work in Armenia, was able to take office as Archbishop effectively only in 1686 and, during his nearly 30-year long tenure, extended and consolidated the church-union of the Armenian community in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Armenian Catholic Church. In this endeavour, he could always rely upon the leadership of the Armenian College as a partner and supporter<sup>132</sup>.

129 APF Acta SC. Vol. 59. Fol. 83r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 487. Fol. 64/r.-v.+Fol. 70/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 77. Fol. 10r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 53r., Fol. 55r.; Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical*, 161; Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia*, 69-71.

130 APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 165/r.-v., Fol. 629/r.-v.; ASV ANV. Vol. 177. Fol. 161/v.-162/v.

131 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 59/v.-60r., Fol. 61/r.-v.

132 APF Acta SC. Vol. 53. Fol. 248/r.-v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 484. Fol. 282r.-283/v., Fol. 285/r.-v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 71. Fol. 6/v.-7r., Fol. 83/v.-84r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 57/r.-v.; APF Lettere SC. Fol. 123r.-124r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 318r.-319r., Fol. 371r.-372r., Fol. 378r.-381/v., Fol. 462r., Fol. 465/r.-v.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 2. Fol. 134r.-135r.; APF SC Fondo MPR. Vol. 2. Fol. 179/r.-v.; AAV ANV. Vol. 177. Fol. 126/v.-128r., Fol. 129/v., Fol. 131r.; AAV Segretaria di Stato. Polonia. Vol. 185. Fol. 6/v.-7r.; AGT CL. Portfolio 2. (Without folio numbers).

4. *Summary*

The foundation of this educational institution in 1664 undoubtedly signalled a turning point in the consolidation of the Armenian church-union in Lviv. Over time, the Armenian College came to be a steady and predictable counterbalance to Archbishop Torosowicz's erratic ecclesiastical policies. With its activities, it helped to buttress church-union and practically brought about the foundation of the Armenian Catholic Church. Besides theology, the Theatine fathers teaching there put a premium on the instruction of languages and history. Within its walls, monks of wide learning, such as Clemente Galano, Louis Marie Pidoux d'Olon or Francesco Giambattista Bonesana, taught – individuals who were not only involved in founding and running an educational institution but created a real scholarly workshop as well: They would publish academic works on Armenian language, history and culture, in line with the standards of their day<sup>133</sup>. The foundation of the Armenian College would after a while also make its positive impact felt. The institution became an important initiator and supporter of Catholic missionary work commencing among the Armenians in the Armenian Motherland, Crimea, Transylvania, and Moldova<sup>134</sup>. In addition, the Armenian College contributed to the foundation of the Uniate Mechitarist Order (also known as the Armenian Benedictines), as well as to the creation of the Armenian Catholic Catholicosate in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Armenian College of Lviv provided a steady supply of the Armenian Uniate clergy in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in Transylvania and, from

133 *Inter alia*, see: Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, Vol. 1–2, Romae, 1661–1690.

134 APF Lettere SC. Vol. 72. Fol. 1/v.–2r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 370/r.–v., Fol. 378r.–381/v.



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1709, opened its doors to Greek Catholic Ruthenians, too<sup>135</sup>. Thus, it also played a prominent part in educating new generations of Greek Catholic priests in Galicia and Transcarpathia. Therefore, it is safe to state that the Armenian College of Lviv not only became the cradle of the Armenian Catholic Church or of modern Armenology but stood firmly behind the Greek Catholic Church of Galicia and Transcarpathia (Upper Hungary) as well.

<sup>135</sup> Edward Tryjarski, “Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczakim Ormianpolskich III – Katalogi alumnów Kolegium teatyńs we Lwowie”, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 24 (1961), No. 1, 43-96.