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## The beginnings of *Studium Ruthenum*. A contribution to the history of the ukrainian education in Galicia, 1779–1787

This article describes the beginnings of *Studium Ruthenum*, the Institute of Theology and Philosophy, operating within the University of Lviv. The background for the analysis is the educational reforms carried out in Austria by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The author focuses on the relationship between diocesan seminaries and the General Seminary in Lviv, and deals with the issue of the language of instruction and the teaching of the German language.

**Keywords:** theological seminaries, *Studium Ruthenum*, Ukrainian, German

In the seventies and eighties of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Viennese authorities introduced a number of reforms to modernize the Habsburg empire. With regard to the subject of this article, reference should be made to the educational reforms that took place in the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the reforms was not only to adapt the social functions of the clergy to the needs of the Austrian state, but in the case of Galicia, also to create a counterbalance to the Polish political movement. The reforms led to an increase in the level of education of the Greek Catholic clergy and opposed it to the Roman Catholic clergy representing Polish culture. Although the separation of the two denominations was not the aim of the reforms, the prospect of Polish irredentism after Galicia was joined to Austria prompted actions conducive to the development of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) elite. While in the the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Uniate Church was already much overwhelmed by Latin symbolism, and the Polish language was widely used by the clergy, in the Austrian state the Uniates

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<sup>1</sup> The new name indicated a balance between the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. It was introduced by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774.

found themselves in new political conditions and – as it turned out – thanks to the expansion of the educational base, they could expect more prominent subjectivity. This study indicates the circumstances of the establishment of the Ruthenian Institute operating within the University of Lviv in the context of the relationship between the diocesan system of educating seminarians and the state educational system created under the Teresian-Josephine reforms.

The general literature on the subject of the history of the Greek Catholic Church is extensive, in the case of this article it is useful rather in terms of presenting the background of the discussed events than in presenting the details of the genesis of *Studium Ruthenum*. Certain information contained in this literature can be used to better understand the diocesan structure of the Greek Catholic Church, to better comprehend its influence on the formation of the Ukrainian elite, to identify the social determinants of priests' origin, and finally to assess the attitudes of hierarchs and their private lives as well as their relations with the authorities of the Galician Governorate or the Vienna court. With regard to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is possible to mention the works of Polish and Ukrainian researchers such as A. Ładyżyński, S. Nabywaniec, Bernadetta Wójtowicz-Huber, Ł. Prokopenko, B. Stuparyk and many others.<sup>2</sup> Old Ukrainian literature, today a collection of classics of historiography, both the memoirs by the alumni and professors of *Studium Ruthenum*,<sup>3</sup> and the studies published in the Annals of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, turned out to be particularly helpful in relation to the issues raised in this article. The works by A. Androkhovych stand out in particular among the latter, as he was the first to pay attention to the connections between diocesan and general seminaries, especially in Lviv, with the process of creating *Studium Ruthenum*.<sup>4</sup> Mentions about the functioning of the then Ukrainian education concerning the language of instruction, textbooks, curricula can be found in the old publications by Y. Holovatsky, A. Petrushevych, I. Ohonovsky, M. Tershakovec, I. Levytsky,

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<sup>2</sup> Exemplary studies: A. Ładyżyński, *Galicyjskie szkoły główne w latach 1774–1869* [w:] *Studia z dziejów oświaty XVIII–XX wieku*, Wrocław 1993; S. Nabywaniec, *Plany józefińskiej regulacji parafii w greckokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej*, „Resovia Sacra. Studia Teologiczno-Filozoficzne Diecezji Rzeszowskiej” 7, Rzeszów 2000; B. Stuparyk, *Shkilnytsvo Halychyny (1772–1939)*, Ivano-Frankivsk 1994; L. Prokopenko, *Dosvid rozvytku derzhavnoho hromadskoho upravlinnia osvitoiu v Ukraini u XVIII-nershii polovyni XIX sm.*, „Dnipropietrovskii Rehionalnyi instytut derzhavnoho upravlinnia NADU” 2011, nr 2.

<sup>3</sup> I. Harasevych, *O predpodavaniakh na ruskom yazytsie v vseuchylyshchi Lvovskom zavedenykh vsemilostyvieishim Imperatorom Iosyfom II*, „Zoria Halyska”, Lvov 1851, nr 61.

<sup>4</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, „Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka”, t. 131, Lviv 1921, tenże, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, „Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka”, t. 132, Lviv 1921; tenże, *Videnske Barbareum. Istoriia korolivskoi Heneralnoi hreko-katolyckoi seminarii pry cerkvi sv. Varvary u Vidni z pershoho periodu ii isnuvannia (1775–1784)* [w:] *Hreko-katolytska dukhovna seminariia u Lvovi*, cz. 1, Lviv 1935.

M. Vozniak and others.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the achievements of Ukrainian historiography regarding *Studium Ruthenum* are not extensive; especially in contemporary literature there are more publications about other manifestations of the functioning of Ukrainian education in the researched period, e.g. about the schools of the Stauropogon Institute.<sup>6</sup>

Polish historiography is even poorer in this respect. So far, the subject of *Studium Ruthenum* is a part of wider studies devoted to the history of the University of Lviv. There are a few sketchy outlines in which the authors used the work of Ukrainian researchers, but did not refer to the influence of diocesan and general seminaries as well as Vienna and Lviv seminaries on the process of creating *Studium Ruthenum*. The well-known study by L. Finkel and S. Starzyński, in which there is a separate chapter on *Studium Ruthenum*, should be mentioned here. A monograph edited by A. Redzik, published in Krakow in recent years, includes a study which does not contain any threads pointing to the relationship of seminars with this institution. These publications are informative in nature, but do not go into the details of the social and political conditions of the genesis of *Studium Ruthenum* and do not discuss the influence of this institution on the development of the Ukrainian national movement or the formation of the literary Ukrainian language. Moreover, they agree that the Ukrainian language did not exist at that time.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, there are dissertations by Ukrainian authors devoted to *Studium Ruthenum*, published in Polish.<sup>8</sup>

As far as the archives are concerned, published collections<sup>9</sup> and sources discussed in old Ukrainian publications have been partly used. The archives indicated there require verification, as the old literature is arranged according to old catalog numbers. I have used some of the sources stored in the Central State Historical Archives to outline the functions of the lower-organized schools educating candidates for *Studium Ruthenum*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Zob. wykaz literatury na końcu artykułu.

<sup>6</sup> Np. I. Orlevych, *Stavropihiiskiy instytut u Lvovi (kinets XVIII – 60-ti rr. XIX st.)*, Lviv 2001; O. Kyrychuk, I. Orlevych, *Systema ukrainskoi hromadskoi osvity u Skhidnii Halychyni (na prykladi Stavropihiiskoi shkoly u Lvovi, „Galicja. Studia i materiały” 2015, t. 1, Rzeszów 2015, s. 176–198.*

<sup>7</sup> Zob. L. Finkel, S. Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, Lwów 1894; *Studium Ruthenum (1787–1804)* [w:] *Academia Militans. Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie*, red. A. Redzik, Kraków 2015, s. 94 (II wydanie 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Np. M. Ilkiw-Swydneycki, W. Kaczmar, *Pierwsze katedry (1784–1805)* [w:] *Historia w Uniwersytecie Lwowskim. Badania i nauczanie (do 1939 roku)*, red. J. Maternicki, J. Pisulińska i L. Zaszkiłniak, Rzeszów 2016.

<sup>9</sup> *Materiialy do kulturnoi istorii Halyskoi Rusy XVIII i XIX viku*, Lviv 1902.

<sup>10</sup> Centralne Państwowe Archiwum Historyczne we Lwowie (Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorichnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. Lvovi – dalej CDIAL), zespoły: Lvivskii stavropihiiskiy instytut,

Already in the last decades of the the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Uniate bishops felt the lack of education among parish priests and took steps to raise the level of their education. It is worth recalling the initiative of the Lviv bishop, Lev Sheptytsky (Leon/Lew Szeptycki) from the 1860s, who imposed a condition for candidates for priests that they should demonstrate a certificate of completion of rhetoric classes in Latin before ordination. For many candidates, these criteria must have seemed excessive, since the bishops of Chełm and Lutsk (Łuck) did not impose any conditions, but only charged an appropriate fee. This led to the popularization of the belief that Uniate priests had a low level of education, which led to the creation of their derogatory nicknames of “kholmshchak” and “lutsak”. Nevertheless, Basilian fathers conducted well-organized education, but during the 18<sup>th</sup> century they became almost completely polonized. Moreover, they educated mainly celibate priests and Polish nobility. Basilians had a number of their own schools and sent their novices to study in Rome, Vilnius and other foreign centers, but they did not affect the level of education of married parish priests. On the contrary, the internal division within the ranks of the Uniate clergy into the “rich” Basilians and the “poor” clergy originating from the lower social classes was gradually deepening. This state of internal disintegration in the Uniate Church overlapped with the educational reforms carried out by Austria, which had a fundamental influence on the establishment of *Studium Ruthenum*.

## DIOCESAN SEMINARIES AND THE GENERAL SEMINARY

Pastoral theology, focused on the practical work of priests with the faithful, developed as part of the reform of theological studies in Austria, according to the design of Franz Stephan von Rautenstrauch. The cult aspect of religious life was rejected, while religious moral values were promoted, which was supported by the ruling spheres interested in educating obedient and loyal citizens.<sup>11</sup> In 1774, Empress Maria Theresa established in Vienna the Greek Catholic General Seminary at the Church of St. Barbara, hence its name “Barbareum”.<sup>12</sup> It was

m. Lviv, f. 129, op. 2, spr. 5; Protoihumenat monastyriv chynu sv. Vasyliia velykoho, m. Lviv, f. 684, spr. 3617.

<sup>11</sup> Zob. J. Müller, *Der pastoraltheologisch-didaktische Ansatz in Franz Stephan Rautenstrauchs „Entwurf zur Einrichtung der theologischen Schulen“*, Wien 1969.

<sup>12</sup> Regium generale Seminarium Graeco-Catholicum Viennae ad Sanctam Barbaram. Zob. A. Androkhovych, *Videnske Barbareum, passim*; F. Steblii, *Barbareum* [w:] [http://resource.history.org.ua/cgibin/eiu/history.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=EIU&P21DBN=EIU&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=eiu\\_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=TRN=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=Barbareum](http://resource.history.org.ua/cgibin/eiu/history.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=EIU&P21DBN=EIU&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=eiu_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=TRN=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=Barbareum) [dostęp 8.02.2021].

conducive to the promotion of a new cadre of well-educated clergymen, and some of them became professors of *Studium Ruthenum*, but it was an institution established by the Viennese government, in line with the Austrian pro-state policy. Barbareum was liquidated by order of Emperor Joseph II in 1784 not because it did not fulfill its task; on the contrary – the intention was to intensify reform efforts directly in Greek Catholic dioceses. In fact, the Vienna seminary was moved to Lviv, formally creating the Lviv General Seminary in 1783. On April 8, 1784, Mykhailo Shchavnytsky, former vice-rector of “Barbareum”, who left Vienna with eleven of his alumni, came to Lviv at the beginning of October that year, was nominated for the position of the rector of this new institution.<sup>13</sup>

Diocesan seminaries played an important social role, although as a result of the reforms carried out, they had to give way to governmental institutions. They opened their doors to less wealthy applicants for whom studying in Latin schools was too expensive.<sup>14</sup> The efforts to establish a diocesan seminary in Lviv were started by Bishop L. Sheptytsky, who was guided both by the needs of the diocese and by the decisions of synods – in Zamość (1720) and Lviv (1750), obliging bishops to establish seminaries in their dioceses, and, if it was impossible, encouraging them to send several candidates, especially sons of priests (“popovichs”) to the seminary of Theatine Fathers in Lviv.<sup>15</sup> The ambitions based on the Uniate-Roman Catholic religious rivalry had to play a role as well. Sheptytsky probably took into account the accusations made by the Latin Archbishop of Lviv, Waclaw Hieronim Sierakowski, who, protesting against the planned expansion of the structure of the Uniate diocese (new chapters in Halych and Kamianets), suggested to Sheptytsky that it was the creation of seminaries that should be undertaken.<sup>16</sup> In 1778, Empress Maria Theresa appointed the Education Commission, which was joined by Galician officials, including the governor of the governorate, Franz Knopp, initiated in the project of creating the seminary. Sheptytsky then started to prepare a suitable place near the church of St. Jur. According to A. Androkhovych, when Sheptytsky became the metropolitan of Kyiv, the matter of the diocesan seminary for some time faded into the

<sup>13</sup> Some background information on the organization of this seminary can be found in CDIAL, zob. Hreko-katolytska bohoslowska akademiia, m. Lviv, f. 451, spr. 1221. Among the students who came to Lviv was Mykhailo Harasevych, later a profesor at *Studium Ruthenum*, zob. A.S. Petrushevych, *Dopolnienie ko Svodnoi Lietopysi s 1772 do 1813 goda* [w:] *Literaturnyi Sbornik uzdavaiemyi Halytsko-Russkoiu Matitseiu pod redaktsieiu Bohdana Dieditskoho*, cz. II, Lvov 1897, s. 136.

<sup>14</sup> CDIAL, f. 129, op. 2, spr. 5, k. 25, 60.

<sup>15</sup> A.S. Petrushevych, dz. cyt., s. 147.

<sup>16</sup> Tamże, s. 4–5.

background. Only after his death, the seminary was opened in 1779 by bishop Petro Biliansky (Piotr Bielański).<sup>17</sup>

Soon after the opening of the diocesan seminary in Lviv, Bishop P. Biliansky established three smaller seminaries in Halych, Kamianets and Bar. It is not known whether the Halich seminary was located in the area of today's Halych or in nearby Krylos. Archival sources contain documents with the annotation *Haliciense Kryloszense Seminarium*. The facility in Halych operated for six years, i.e. until the end of 1785. Slightly less information about seminars in Kamianets and Bar can be found.<sup>18</sup> It can be assumed that they were dissolved simultaneously with the Halych institution, and the last alumni completed their studies in 1785.

The system of educating seminarians in the Przemyśl diocese was much less developed. There was only one seminary there – in Przemyśl, although it is necessary to verify the reference contained in one of A. Androkhovych's publications, in which he expressed the assumption that a seminary in Sambor could also exist on a similar basis as Halych, Kamianets and Bar for the Lviv diocese.<sup>19</sup> The history of the Przemyśl seminary is not well known. More information is available about the later Przemyśl theological seminary established in 1845 than about the institution established in the early 1770s by bishop Atanasii Sheptytsky (Atanazy Szeptycki), located at the church of St. Trinity. The seminar had two small buildings at Dobromilska Street. Professors lived in one, and didactic classes were held in the other.<sup>20</sup> The sources cite the names of professors Yakov Lapchynsky and Hnat Vitoshynsky. They both taught theology, and Lapchynsky later became a professor at *Studium Ruthenum*. The fact that the Przemyśl seminary was established earlier than the Lviv seminary may draw considerable attention. Also, the end date of the operation of the Przemyśl institution, given by Androkhovych (1791 or 1792), confirms the long period of its influence on the Ruthenian society. However, opinions are divided among Ukrainian researchers. A. Petrushevych, one of the greatest bibliophiles in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wrote that the Przemyśl diocesan seminary was dissolved in 1784.<sup>21</sup>

The years 1783–1784 were crucial in the process of creating *Studium Ruthenum*. Not only was the “Barbareum” closed at that time and the General Seminary in Lviv was established, but at the same time Emperor Joseph II issued a decree

<sup>17</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 131, Lviv 1921, s. 132–133.

<sup>18</sup> According to Androchowycz, 115 seminarists studied at the Kamieniec seminary and 96 at the seminary in Bar. Zob. tamże, s. 174, 187.

<sup>19</sup> The basis for such assumptions is the origin of Bishop Atanazij Szeptycki, who was born in Straszewice near Sambor and died there. Zob. tamże, s. 186.

<sup>20</sup> Tamże.

<sup>21</sup> Tamże, s. 186–187.

on the liquidation of diocesan seminaries. The Viennese authorities intended to concentrate the entire process of educating the Greek Catholic clergy in a center close to the Ruthenian settlement and independent of the influence of the bishops. However, organizational problems during the creation of the General Seminary, unresolved issues regarding premises and staff, and the lack of an appropriate number of alumni in the new facility forced the parallel operation of diocesan seminaries and the General Seminary. Only the educational programs developed according to Rautenstrauch's instructions, which Bishops Petro Biliansky in Lviv and Maksymilian Ryllo (Ryńło) in Przemyśl had to comply with, were changed.<sup>22</sup> The attempt to marginalize the importance of diocesan seminaries and the creation of the Lviv General Seminary should be treated as activities directly related to the establishment of *Studium Ruthenum*.

Although Emperor Joseph II issued a decree dissolving diocesan seminaries, the seminaries in Lviv and Przemyśl continued to operate.<sup>23</sup> This situation only seemingly indicates the inconsistencies of the introduced reforms, as the changes in relation to the original imperial decisions were forced by the situation in which religious education was placed. Understanding the two-track education of seminarians, on the one hand in diocesan seminaries and on the other hand in the General Seminary, facilitates a better identification of the background of the creation of *Studium Ruthenum*. It should be noted that thanks to the above-mentioned seminaries, it is possible to talk about seminary structure in the period before the regulations made by Joseph II. Diocesan seminaries were established on a local initiative and reflected the bishops' genuine concern for the fate of the Church, while the General Seminary was a governmental initiative with the goal of forming a clergy loyal to the state. Especially the Lviv facility operated in difficult conditions, because in the initial period of its existence it had to compete with the prestigious institution of Theatine Fathers, educating, among others, Greek Catholic alumni.

## **STUDIUM RUTHENUM**

The reason for the foundation of *Studium Ruthenum* was the attitude of the imperial court and the Galician Governorate to the diocesan education subordinate to the Greek Catholic bishops. The decree of Emperor Joseph II of March 9, 1787 established a separate Russian Theological and Philosophical Institute at the University of Lviv with Ruthenian as the language of instruction (*Studi-*

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<sup>22</sup> From the 1784/1785 school year, lectures on logic, ethics and metaphysics were introduced, zob. tamże, s. 187–188.

<sup>23</sup> Tamże, s. 175.

*um Ruthenum*).<sup>24</sup> The institute was to exist until the necessary number of Latin-speaking priests were educated, capable of studying theology and philosophy at universities. The thematic scope and time of study were to be the same as for those studying at *Studium Latinum*. The decree ordered to inform candidates for the clergy that they would not be ordained priests without knowing Latin.<sup>25</sup> The financing of the Institute was secured by the religious fund of the governorate with the support of the state fund.<sup>26</sup> To some extent, the Institute continued the teaching process in the dioceses, but nevertheless, teaching at *Studium Ruthenum* was closely related to the pro-governmental General Seminary in Lviv, and, ultimately, the diocesan seminaries were to be dissolved. Sources indicate that not only state authorities were interested in the liquidation of diocesan seminaries, but also the authorities of the newly established General Seminary, especially the person of M. Shchavnytsky, who carried out the task of concentrating the education of seminarians in a state-dependent institution.<sup>27</sup>

The efforts to dissolve the diocesan seminaries caused disputes within the Greek Catholic clergy. The administrators of diocesan seminaries (mainly in Lviv) and the management of the General Seminary argued with each other. Both sides presented their own arguments against the authorities of the Galician Governorate to justify the purposefulness of the existence of the institutions they managed. There were also personal conflicts, for example between Antin Anhelovych (Anton/Antoni Angełowicz), later a metropolitan, and M. Shchavnytsky.<sup>28</sup> According to A. Androkhovych, Shchavnytsky criticized the curriculum in diocesan seminaries, claiming that Bishop Biliansky ordained such candidates for priests who did not even graduate from the seminary. He accused the bishop of educating the clergy outside the control of the state according to his will and allowing the lectures to be given by professors who did not have state examinations. He argued that teaching logic and pastoral theology was insufficient and that the German language was not taught at all. Consequently, diocesan seminaries were completed by graduates without proper

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<sup>24</sup> M. Ilkiw-Swidynecki, W. Kaczmar, *Pierwsze katedry (1784–1805)*, s. 52–53; J. Moklak, „*Studium Ruthenum*” jako struktura szkolnictwa wyższego w XVIII wieku, „Nowa Ukraina. Zeszyty historyczno-politologiczne”, nr 15, Kraków 2015, s. 7. Zob. T. Vinkovskiy, *Iosyf II a uniwersytet Frantsa I u Lvovi (Z nahody novoho stolittia)*, Lviv 1917.

<sup>25</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 132, s. 186.

<sup>26</sup> L. Finkel, S. Starzyński, dz. cyt., s. 86–87; A. S. Petrushevych, dz. cyt., s. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Nur sey die Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt nicht in den bisherigen ruthenischen Diocesanseminarien fortzusetzen, sondern mit dem hierortigen Generalseminarium dieses Ritus zu vereinigen. Zob. A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum*, t. 131, s. 192–193.

<sup>28</sup> K. Studynskiy, *Prychynok do istorii diialnosti Ant. Anhellovycha*, “Ukrainsko-Ruskyi arkhiv”, t. XII–XIV. „Materialy do istorii kulturnoho zhytia v Halychyni v 1795–1857 rr.”, u Lvovi 1920, s. V.

preparation for pastoral work.<sup>29</sup> Objections formulated in such a way coincided with the opinions expressed by the authorities of the governorate and at the imperial court. Of course, the bishops made their own arguments supporting the need to maintain diocesan seminaries. They indicated shortcomings in the ranks of the parish clergy, the shortage of candidates for priests who knew Latin, and the lack of volunteers to pursue long-term studies at the General Seminary in a situation where, after graduation, most frequently they had only the prospect of taking up a rural parish. Finally, they raised the issue of the high costs of maintenance of the General Seminary, incomparable to the costs incurred by diocesan seminaries, where professors were usually not paid because they held different positions in diocesan structures at the same time, and seminarians supported themselves.<sup>30</sup>

After the decree of March 9, 1787 was announced, talks began between the rector of the General Seminary, M. Shchavnytsky,<sup>31</sup> Bishop P. Biliansky, the dean of the philosophical faculty, Ignacy Martynowicz,<sup>32</sup> the dean of the theological faculty, Jan Finsinger, and the Education Commission along with the authorities of the Galician Governorate. Following these discussions, the Education Commission issued a decree on March 22, which described the temporary nature of *Studium Ruthenum* and announced financial support for Greek Catholic parishes to allow parish priests to send their sons to schools with the Latin language. Having a certificate of graduation from such schools was a condition for undertaking philosophical and theological studies. In turn, without completing these studies, candidates for the clergy could not receive positions in diocesan structures, the consistory, the chapter, deaneries or lucrative parishes. In addition, the governorate authorities demanded from the bishops of Lviv and Przemyśl to create a register of seminarians studying in their respective seminaries, and informed about the announced recruitment to *Studium Ruthenum*.<sup>33</sup> Following the regulation of the Education Commission, the Lviv Greek Catholic consistory also sent a letter to its subordinate clergy on June 12, 1787, in which it presented the conditions of recruitment. Access to *Studium Ruthenum* was granted to candidates of at least 17 years of age who did not study in Latin-language schools. It was a logical condition of admission, arising from the temporary nature of the Institute, which was to operate until the knowledge of

<sup>29</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 131, s. 191, 193.

<sup>30</sup> Tamże, s. 193.

<sup>31</sup> In the same year, Shchavnytsky left for Mukachevo, where he became the director of the theological seminary (1787), and A. Anhelovych, later rector of the University of Lviv, took his place in the Lviv seminary.

<sup>32</sup> In the source materials, we can find information that in the years 1787–1788 Martynowicz taught mathematics and physics in Ukrainian at that time. This was denied by Omelan Ohonovsky. Zob. O. Ohonovskii, *Istoriia literatury ruskoi*, cz. 2, Lvov 1889, s. 50.

<sup>33</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 132, s. 187–188.

Latin was spread among candidates for priests. The candidate also had to show that he came from a family sanctified by the matrimonial sacrament.<sup>34</sup>

Another imperial decree of May 12, 1787 announced detailed organizational solutions. It ordered competitions for filling the chairs at the faculty of theology and philosophy.<sup>35</sup> It defined the status of professors as associate professors, but in practice they were employed as full professors. Competitions were held on July 1, and professor nominations were announced on July 15. The chair of theoretical and practical philosophy was taken over by Petro Lodii (Piotr Łody), the chair of physics – Andrii Pavlovych, the chair of mathematics – Jan Zemantsek, the chair of the history of the Church – Fedir Zakhariasevych, the chair of the Hebrew language and hermeneutics of the Old Testament was taken over by the Basilian Arsenii Radkevych. The professors' salaries were set at 500 florins a year.<sup>36</sup>

*Studium Ruthenum* was the most organized educational institution in the system of Ukrainian education at that time. On the one hand, it was based on the heritage of diocesan seminaries, and on the other hand, it weakened their social function. Further research, which this article is intended to encourage, should better recognize the relationship between diocesan seminaries and pro-governmental institutions. As part of the reform of Greek Catholic education, the authorities established new departments, from “Barbareum”, through the General Seminary in Lviv to *Studium Ruthenum*, giving them political functions. Still unknown in Polish historiography, the influence of diocesan seminaries on the changes in the Ukrainian education system in Galicia in the 1880s remains in the background of the process of reforms.

## LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND TEXTBOOKS

The issue of the language of instruction at *Studium Ruthenum* is closely related to the genesis of this institution and its further functioning. The widespread lack of knowledge of Latin among candidates for Greek Catholic priests forced the introduction of the Ruthenian language into the lectures. The then written Ruthenian (Ukrainian) language differs significantly from the modern Ukrainian language. It was dominated by historical Old Church terminology, but it was used in Uniate

<sup>34</sup> Tamże, s. 193.

<sup>35</sup> At the department of philosophy: logic, ethics and metaphysics; mathematics; physics. At the department of theology: history of the Church (Orthodox Church); Hebrew language and Old Testament hermeneutics; dogmatics; moral theology; canon law. Zob. A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 132, s. 189.

<sup>36</sup> L. Finkel, S. Starzyński, dz. cyt., s. 88–90.

and Orthodox research institutions. In the archives of the Josephine University, there are records that some Austrian officials did not distinguish the language used by Ruthenians from the Old Church and Russian languages. This phenomenon is best illustrated by the names used to describe the language of instruction and the Institute: *rutenische Sprache, in russischer Sprache, ruthenischen Studium (...), in der Landessprache*.<sup>37</sup> The sources also contain information that some Viennese officials did not even distinguish between the national languages, i.e. Polish and Ruthenian, which is mentioned in the monumental work by L. Finkel and S. Starzyński. The terminological ambiguity in the Institute's documentation and the difficulties in distinguishing between the Ruthenian and Russian languages by officials, as well as the lack of knowledge about the importance of Old Church Slavonic in the formation of modern East Slavic languages have an impact on the present perception of the language of instruction used in *Studium Ruthenum* by researchers. This language is sometimes called Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Slavic-Ruthenian, and even Russian.<sup>38</sup>

The complicated linguistic issue can be clearly seen in the example of textbooks and handwritten notes prepared by lecturers. The Education Commission selected the textbooks and commissioned the selection of translators to the rector of the General Seminary, M. Shchavnytsky. For the lectures on philosophy, the Education Commission chose a textbook by the German scholar, Friedrich Christian Baumeister,<sup>39</sup> which had to be translated or imported from Russia. Petro Lodii translated this textbook in Latin into a language that was a mixture of Old Church, Russian and, to a lesser extent, the language used by Ruthenians in everyday life. Lodii came from Transcarpathia and knew the local dialects better than the Galician ones. His translation (*Христіана Баумайстера наставлення любомудрія нравоучительного*)<sup>40</sup> filled the gap in the lack of textbooks, and although it was far from the modern Ukrainian language (just like the whole body of Ukrainian writing at that time), it contributed to the development of contemporary Ukrainian language, by introducing specialist philosophical terminology.<sup>41</sup> Before this handbook was published, Lodii conducted lectures from his own notes in the same language (*Наставлення логики, Краткое введение в метафизику*). Some of the handwritten lectures are kept in the Library of

<sup>37</sup> Tamže, s. 87.

<sup>38</sup> Tamže, s. 88, 95.

<sup>39</sup> Zob. F.Ch. Baumeister, *Institutiones filozofiae rationalis: methodo Wolfii conscriptae*, Vitembergae 1735.

<sup>40</sup> I. Melnyk, *Petro Lodii, filosof* [w:] <https://zbruc.eu/node/22367> [dostęp 11.02.2021]. Zob. J. Holovatskii, *O piervom literaturno-umstviennom dvizheniu Rusynov v Halitsii*, Lvov 1865.

<sup>41</sup> Zob. M. Vozniak, *Do kharakterystyky Petra Lodiia*, „Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka” 1913, t. 113, s. 148–55.

W. Stefanyk in Lviv and were analyzed by Ukrainian researchers.<sup>42</sup> It is worth leaving the assessment of the language of instruction and the language of the textbooks to linguists, but at this point it is important to emphasize the natural direction of the development of the written Ukrainian language, which was based on the Old Church language and gradually absorbed the terminology used in colloquial speech.<sup>43</sup> Undoubtedly, the creation of *Studium Ruthenum* influenced the development of the Ukrainian language.

Despite Shchavnytsky's feverish actions, difficulties arose with the preparation of textbooks. Due to the unprofitability of the project, Josef Kurzböck, the court printer from Vienna, refused to cooperate and, initially, it was not possible to reach an agreement with the Lviv printing houses. For this reason, on September 1, 1787, i.e. on the day the classes began, *Studium Ruthenum* did not have printed textbooks.<sup>44</sup> The aforementioned textbook by Baumeister in Łodii's translation was not published until 1790 in the printing house of the Stauropegion Institute. In the same year, a textbook on the history of the church (*Исторія Церковная*) translated by Fedir Zakhariasevych was also published in a language that was a mixture of the Orthodox Church, Russian and the so-called colloquial language.<sup>45</sup> Until then, in addition to their own notes, lecturers used textbooks imported from Russia.<sup>46</sup> The translated and imported textbooks were censored. In the years 1780–1787 the censor on behalf of the diocesan authorities was the canon, Ivan Horbachevsky, the parish priest of the Dormition Church in Lviv, and from 1787 Mykola Skorodynsky, a professor of theology at the university.<sup>47</sup>

## THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Already in diocesan seminaries, the German language played an important didactic and educational role. By a decree of September 27, 1784, the chair of the German language was established in both general seminaries, the Roman

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<sup>42</sup> Zob. I. Kravchuk, *Movna spetsyfika filosofskoi spadshchyny Petra Lodiia* [w:] *Mizhnarodna naukova konferentsiia (12–13 kvitnia 2006 r). Materialy dopovidei ta vystupiv*, Kyiv 2006, cz. II, s. 20–21.

<sup>43</sup> D. Wiczorek, *Ukrainskiy yazyk. Slavia Romana – Slavia Byzantina. Ocherki po glagol'nosti*, Wrocław 1997, s. 17; J. Moklak, „*Studium Ruthenum*” jako struktura szkolnictwa wyższego w XVIII wieku, s. 5.

<sup>44</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum*, t. 132, s. 193.

<sup>45</sup> M. Vozniak, dz. cyt., s. 155.

<sup>46</sup> I.E. Levytskyi, *Pohliad na rozvii nyzshoho i vysshoho shkilnytstva v Halychyni v rr. 1772–1800 i rozvii rusko-narodnoho shkilnytstva v rr. 1801–1820*, Lviv 1903, s. 23.

<sup>47</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum*”, t. 132, s. 191.

Catholic and the Greek Catholic one. The authorities of the Galician governorate closely followed the process of teaching German. Seminary rectors were instructed to persuade seminarians to conduct conversations in German on days off, and were even urged to inform the rector of situations in which other languages were spoken.<sup>48</sup> The authorities of the diocesan seminaries and the General Seminary had to respond to reminders of the governorate, by ensuring that not only did the seminarians learn German according to the program, but they were also instructed to speak German “during dinners”. In order to encourage seminarians to become more involved, it was announced that the knowledge of the German language would have an impact on obtaining a lucrative parish. Already the imperial decree of foundation of March 9, 1787 obliged the seminarians of *Studium Ruthenum* to learn the German language, as did the seminarians studying at *Studium Latinum*.<sup>49</sup> This requirement was in line with the actions taken against all nationalities of the monarchy and was a means of linking church institutions with the state.

Since 1787 German was taught by the highly esteemed Kazimierz Wohlfeil.<sup>50</sup> To make it easier for seminarians to learn this language, Wohlfeil was instructed to teach in Polish.<sup>51</sup> The Polish language played an auxiliary role in didactics and in this role it fulfilled its task well. However, there were situations in which the authorities were not satisfied with the educational progress of the clerics and did not hesitate to criticize Bishops Biliansky and Ryllo.<sup>52</sup>

The focus of the attention of school and administrative authorities on the German language started the process of Germanization in the public life of the Habsburg monarchy and led to attempts to remove this subject from the curricula. Such attempts were made both in seminars and in *Studium Ruthenum*. This situation is well illustrated by the famous decision of Metropolitan Anhełłowycz of November 14, 1809, who forbade the teaching of the German language in seminaries, after for many years seminarians and professors displayed reluctance for the German language.<sup>53</sup> Regardless of the increasingly frequent criticism of this language, the process of Germanization in educational establishments continued, but on the other hand, the knowledge of German was conducive to the formation of a new Ukrainian elite, at first clergy, and in subsequent generations also a secular one, able to defend its national interests in contacts with the Viennese government.

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<sup>48</sup> Tamże, s. 216.

<sup>49</sup> Tamże, s. 187.

<sup>50</sup> I.O. Levytskyi, *Prikarpatska Rus*, t. 1, Lviv 1898, s. 43.

<sup>51</sup> A. Androkhovych, *Lvivske „Studium Ruthenum”*, t. 132, s. 216.

<sup>52</sup> Tamże, t. 131, s. 195.

<sup>53</sup> Tamże, t. 132, s. 217.

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The lack of knowledge of Latin by candidates from the social lowlands forced the temporary nature of *Studium Ruthenum*, but when examining the genesis of this institution, particular attention should be paid to the background of the Theresian-Josephine reforms. The reforms were initiated by Maria Theresa, who founded the “Barbareum”, while in the times of Joseph II, the process of abolishing the diocesan higher education created by the Greek Catholic bishops began. This paved the way for the establishment of a new system of training for clerics, fully under the control of the state. *Studium Ruthenum*, regardless of its merits in the field of the development of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the Ukrainian language, printing, etc., was created as a result of reforms implemented by the Viennese court in order to further centralize the monarchy. The students obtained a good education, but their personal attitude and skills were supposed to characterize the officials who were devoted to the state: parish priests, church hierarchs, professors, etc. Such conclusion can be drawn not so much from the requirement of having the command of the Latin language, but the imposed by the authorities and the strictly required teaching of the German language.

Referring to the rivalry between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic hierarchs mentioned in the introduction, arguing about the methods of pastoral work, one should emphasize the phenomenon of the formation of the Ukrainian elite, which, despite the unity within the Catholic Church, was aware of religious distinctiveness and the resulting political consequences. The changes in the national identity of the then Ruthenians were revealed with full force when, during the Napoleonic army’s stay in Galicia, the Greek Catholic hierarchs refused to mention Napoleon’s name in the liturgy, as was the case with Roman Catholic priests. A number of graduates and lecturers of *Studium Ruthenum* showed loyalty to Austria, and some, such as Mykhailo Harasevych, Antin Anhelovych, Mykhailo Levytsky, were awarded the orders of Leopold for their loyalty to the Habsburgs. At the same time, they showed reluctance to the project of restitution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, remembering the Romanization of the Eastern Rite and comparing the location of the Greek Catholic Church in Austria with the Uniate Church from before 1772. It is difficult to state unequivocally whether leaving diocesan seminaries to their natural development, without state interference, would be more beneficial for the development of Ukrainian culture in Galicia in the eighties of the eighteenth century; after all, it was influenced by a number of other factors. Nevertheless, examining this relationship will enable a better recognition of the importance of *Studium Ruthenum* for the development of Ukrainian education in subsequent decades.

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**Początki *Studium Ruthenum*. Przyczynek do dziejów  
szkolnictwa ukraińskiego w Galicji, 1779–1787**

*Streszczenie*

Artykuł opisuje początki *Studium Ruthenum*, Instytutu Teologicznego i Filozoficznego, działającego w ramach Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego. Tłem dla analizy są reformy oświatowe przeprowadzone w Austrii przez Marię Teresę i Józefa II. Autor koncentruje uwagę na relacjach między seminariami diecezjalnymi a Seminarium Generalnym we Lwowie oraz podejmuje zagadnienie języka wykładowego i nauczania języka niemieckiego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** seminaria duchowne, *Studium Ruthenum*, język ukraiński, język niemiecki