

Alma mater Carolo-Ferdinanda bohemica – Alma mater Jagellonica

Mutual inspirations and contacts between Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague and Jagiellonian University in Cracow 1882–1918

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Abstract. As Charles-Ferdinand University was divided into German and Czech part in 1882, Jagiellonian University in Cracow (together with the other Galician university in Lwow) became the potential allies and inspirations for the Czech part of the university in Prague. The article is focused on the forms of mutual collaboration and influence (for example the questions of language, structure of the university and relationship with scientific academies) in the frames of the “nationalization of scientific knowledge” conception.

Alma mater česká Carolo-Ferdinanda – Alma mater Jagellonica. Vzájemné inspirace a kontakty mezi českou Karlo-Ferdinandovou univerzitou v Praze a Jagellonskou univerzitou v Krakově v letech 1882–1918. Když byla v roce 1882 Karlo-Ferdinandova univerzita rozdělena na německou a českou část, krakovská Jagellonská univerzita (spolu s další haličskou univerzitou ve Lvově) se stala možným spojencem a inspirací pro českou část pražské univerzity. Článek je zaměřen na formy vzájemné spolupráce a vlivu (například v otázkách jazyka, struktury univerzity a vztahů s vědeckými akademii) v rámci koncepce „nacionalizace vědeckého poznání“.

Keywords: Czech Charles-Ferdinand University • Jagiellonian University • Czech-Polish relations • history of universities

The adjective “bohemica” in the name of one of two Prague universities in the last three decades of the existence of Austria-Hungary symbolizes the turning point of higher education in the Czech lands and of the process of its nationalization: namely the dividing of the old studium generale in Prague into a Czech and a German part.¹ This was a big victory for Czech national oriented

¹ The basic synthetic work on the history of Charles University on the occasion of its anniversary in 1998: František KAVKA – Josef PETRÁŇ (eds.). *Dějiny Univerzity*

professors, but it took them several years to establish its economic and organizational basis and to make the international community used to the fact of the division. The Polish scientific milieu in Galicia had much more understanding for this event than the one in Western Europe. A significant example can be cited. In January 1883, i. e. already in the beginning of the existence of the divided university in Prague, came a letter from Lemberg – the second Polish university in Galicia.² In the name of its academic senate, the rector send some reprints to the Czech university in Prague, and welcomed it among other universities in Cisleithania as a “national institution”. Five years later the ancient university in Bologna celebrated eight hundred years of its existence. Nobody in the organizing committee in Bologna noticed that there were two Charles-Ferdinand Universities in Prague, so only one invitation was sent. It was delivered (due to a mistake of the post) to the German University.³ When the information reached the rector of the Czech University (only by accident via the official board of the German University), he made a quick attempt to receive a separate invitation for his school. Thanks to the understanding of the organizers in Bologna, who even apologized for the confusion, the situation ended happily and both Prague universities sent delegates to the anniversary.

Karlovy [History of Charles University], 4 vol. Praha, Karolinum Press, 1995–1998. Later appeared also an abridged English translation: František KAVKA – Josef PETRÁN (eds.). *History of Charles University, 2 vols.* Prague, Karolinum Press 2001. Jagiellonian University in Cracow has no modern synthetic work on its history; cf. at least popular monograph Krzysztof STOPKA – Andrzej Kazimierz BANACH – Julian DYBIEC – Teresa BALUK-ULEWICZOWA. *The History of the Jagiellonian University.* Cracow, Jagiellonian University Press, 2000. Recently a valuable monograph on the followed period was released: Maria STINIA. *Uniwerytet Jagielloński w latach 1871–1914. Modernizacja procesu nauczania* [Jagiellonian University 1871–1914. A Modernization of the Education Process]. Cracow, 2014.

² Institute of the History of Charles University and Archive of Charles University in Prague, collection Akademický senát University Karlovy [Academic Senate of Charles University] 1882–1952, Addenda, box nr 29, a letter from the rector of Lemberg University B. Radziszewski to the rector of Czech Charles-Ferdinand University W. W. Tomek, 11. 1. 1883, Lemberg.

³ „...*ich von verflossenen Dezember eine Einladung an die Prager Universität ohne einer nähere Bezeichnung abgeschickt habe. Ich bekam eine höfliche Antwort von der deutschen C. Ferd. Universität, nicht wissend, daß in Prag zwei Universitäten wären, so bin glaubte ich daß alles richtig wäre.*“ Ibidem, Addenda, box nr 29, a letter from the rector of University of Bologna to the rector of Czech Charles-Ferdinand University, 20. 5. 1888, Bologna (original and translation of the letter from Italian to German language).

There were two main aspects which deepened ties between Czech and Galician higher education institutions. First there was the common frame of Cisleithania, the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Jagiellonian University in Cracow and the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in the period of the late 19th and early 20th century were both k. k. – „königlich-kaiserliche“ – institutions. Secondly there was the consciousness of common Slavic origin of both nations and their languages. Of course, not all the members of the academic staff were enthusiasts of the idea of Slavic solidarity, but in both academic centres in the end of the 19th century there were several influential scholars who did their best to make Czech-Polish contacts better. The Neo-Slavic movement in the beginning of the 20th century had more influence among Czech scholars⁴ than among Polish ones, who remained suspicious of this ideology which originated in Russia and was supported only by less-influential personalities in Russian public life.⁵ The most important manifestation of Neo-Slavic feelings was the preliminary Slavic Convention in Prague in 1908. The Polish participants (including professors from Cracow and Lemberg, philosopher Marian Zdziechowski and economist Stanislaw Grabski) emphasized the equality of the Slavic nations and the need to preserve their individuality.⁶

The relationship between universities in Cracow and Prague⁷ was strong also due to their historical contacts originating in the middle ages and due to their geographical situation: they were both founded in the historical capitals of medieval states. In the case of Cracow the role of cultural centre was emphasized by the fact that early modern Poland was divided into three parts, and that the Austrian

⁴ They also edited the significant volume that was influenced by the Neo-Slavic movement. Cf. Jaroslav BIDLO – Jiří POLÍVKA (eds.). *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* [Slavs. A picture of their history and present]. Prague, 1912.

⁵ Jaroslav BIDLO. *Dějiny Slovanstva* [A History of the Slavs]. Praha, 1928, p. 225.

⁶ *Jednání I. přípravného Slovanského sjezdu v Praze 1908* [Proceedings of the preliminary Slavic Convention in Prague 1908]. Praha, 1910 (on Zdziechowski and Grabski see pp. 41 and 68).

⁷ The overview of older contact between Prague university and Poland was published by Henryk BARYCZ. *Dziejowe związki Polski z Uniwersytetem Karola w Pradze* [Historical Relationships between Poland and Charles University in Prague]. Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1948. Cf. also Lesław GRUSZCZYŃSKI. *Związki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego z nauką czeską w okresie autonomii Galicji (1867–1918)* [Relationships of Jagiellonian University with Czech Science in the Era of the Galician Autonomy (1867–1918)]. In Irena ŚTASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA – Jan JANKO (eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych* [On the History of Polish-Czech and Polish-Slovak Scientific Contacts]. Warszawa, 1990, p. 5–33.

regime after 1860 was the mildest in comparison with Russia and Prussia. Cracow became the monument of Polish national sentiment and the local university one of its most visible symbols.

There is a significant disproportion between official and non-official (or let's say half-official) contacts among representatives of Prague and Cracow universities. The minutes of the proceedings of the academic senate of the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University contain only a few references to Cracow, mostly in connection with other universities of Cisleithania. We can explain this with loyalty to the throne of the Habsburgs in the official agenda, which did not fit together with manifestations of other loyalties. The most visible demonstration of the relationship between both universities was Czech participation in the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the 2nd foundation (or renewal) of the Jagiellonian University. We will return to this topic later.

Less official contacts were much more intensive and constant. I will focus mainly on scholars specialized in the humanities; the situation in the sciences was already treated in the studies of Soňa Štrbářnová.⁸ One aspect should be emphasized at once – Czech-Polish relations were closely bound to Czech-Russian and Polish-Russian relations. In the Russian empire most of the Poles saw the worst enemy, who suppressed uprisings in 1831 and 1863. The echo of these clashes divided Czech society, which originally admired the distant Slavic nation in the East. But then a significant proportion of Czechs sympathized with their Northern neighbours who were fighting a much stronger enemy.⁹ As a result of this antagonism, almost none of the Czech scientists and humanists who showed greater sympathy for Russia had the possibility of gaining the

⁸ Soňa ŠTRBÁŘNOVÁ, Sjezdy českých přírodovědců a lékařů v letech 1890–1914 [Congresses of Czech Natural Scientists and Physicians in the Years 1890–1914]. In Jan JANKO – Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA (eds.), *K dějinám československo-polských vědeckých styků* [On the History of Czechoslovakian-Polish Scientific Contacts]. *Práce z dějin přírodních věd* 25, 1989, p. 87–122; IDEM. Zjazdy czeskich przyrodników i lekarzy w latach 1880–1914 oraz czesko-polska współpraca naukowa [Congresses of Czech Natural Scientists and Physicians in the Years 1880–1914 and Czech-Polish Scientific Cooperation]. In *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*, c. d., p. 62–95.

⁹ Karel KREJČÍ. První krise českého slovanství. Vliv polského povstání listopadového na české národní obrození [The First Crisis of Czech Slavism. The Influence of Polish November Uprising on the Czech National Revival]. *Slovanský přehled*, 20, 1928, p. 13–22, 108–122, 177–201, 249–272; Václav ŽÁČEK. *Oblas polského povstání r. 1863 v Čechách* [The Echo of the Polish 1863 Uprising in Bohemia]. Praha, Slovanský ústav, 1935.

confidence of his Polish colleagues. This can be also shown in the next example.

One of the subjects that developed quickly at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University was history. Actually there is a wave of re-thinking of this period of Czech historiography, earlier associated mostly with so called “Goll historical school”.¹⁰ Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929) represented positivist, analytical oriented trends in historiography. The measure of his influence on the students is sometimes disputed, but what is in my opinion underestimated is his contribution to Czech-Polish scientific and cultural contacts.¹¹ It is significant that Goll’s sympathy for Poland was initiated by Polish romantic poetry, especially by the works of Adam Mickiewicz, and not by pragmatic calculation. It was Goll who introduced the poem “Sir Thaddeus”, Mickiewicz’s masterpiece, to the broader public through his translations in the popular magazine “Květy”.¹² Goll’s knowledge of Polish literature and music as well as his knowledge of Polish historiography was esteemed by his Polish colleagues. His contacts had solid roots – already during his studies at the University of Göttingen he met Stanisław Smolka (1854–1924),¹³ later a leading member of the so called Cracow Historical School, professor at the Jagiellonian University and general secretary of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow (Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie). They both attended the historical seminar of professor Georg Waitz and took inspiration from his method for their own use in national historiography. Goll personally knew many prominent Polish humanists and scientists. It is interesting that he visited Cracow for the first time in the summer of 1881 as a participant in the Conference of Polish Natural Scientists and Physicians.¹⁴ At that time he

¹⁰ Cf. Bohumil JIROUŠEK – Josef BLÜML – Dagmar BLÜMLOVÁ (eds.). *Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci* [Jaroslav Goll and his Students]. České Budějovice – Pelhřimov, Jihočeská univerzita – Nová tiskárna Pelhřimov, 2005; Bohumil JIROUŠEK. *Jaroslav Goll. Role historika v české společnosti* [Jaroslav Goll. The Role of a Historian in Czech Society]. České Budějovice, Jihočeská univerzita – Nová tiskárna Pelhřimov, 2006.

¹¹ Marek ĎURČANSKÝ. Szkoła historyczna Golla i jej przedstawiciele (Goll, Pekař, Bidlo) na tle stosunków czesko-polskich [Goll’s Historical School and its Representatives (Goll, Pekař, Bidlo) on the Background of Czech-Polish Relations]. In *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU*, vol. VIII, 2007, p. 237–274.

¹² Jaroslav GOLL. *Mickiewiczův “Pan Tadeusz”* [Mickiewicz’s “Sir Thaddeus”]. *Květy*, 1, 1871, p. 306–310.

¹³ M. ĎURČANSKÝ. Szkoła historyczna Golla, p. 240–241.

¹⁴ Stanisława SOCHACKA (ed.). *Listy Lucjana Malinowskiego do Jaroslawa Golla. przyczynek do dziejów czesko-polskich kontaktów naukowych w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* [Letters from Lucjan Malinowski to Jaroslav Goll. A Contribution to the History of Czech-Poli-

probably played the role of unofficial delegate for the Czech part of the (not yet divided) Charles-Ferdinand University. His older colleague Jan Kvičala (1834–1908), professor of classical languages and deputy in the Imperial Council in Vienna, instructed him on this occasion: “Let me congratulate you cordially, that you are in Cracow and you can explain to brother Poles the real state of our case. Let you emphasize in your explanation, please, that we Czechs consider Poles to be our natural and most faithful friends and that for all the favours they will do to us, we will pay them our gratitude not by words, but also by deeds. In the Imperial Council only Poles were my best friends and on the question of the university they treated us really chivalrously. Professor Rittner¹⁵ was a member of the subcommittee and he stood by us in all litigable things.”¹⁶ The opinions expressed in the letter of Jan Kvičala surely could not be interpreted as referring to all Czech professors at the Charles-Ferdinand University. But without doubt they show that at least part of them saw Poles as the closest allies in their efforts. These efforts belonged to the process, which is currently described as the nationalization of universities in the Habsburg monarchy.¹⁷

But also some Czech humanists and scientists, who served as officials in Austrian ministries or came to Vienna as politicians, were engaged in the questions of Polish science and culture. The most visible moment in this area is the founding

sh Scholarly Contacts in the second half of 19th Century]. Opole, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Śląskiego, 1975, p. 39, 41.

¹⁵ Edward Rittner (1845–1899), Professor of Law Faculty in Lemberg, later one of Austrian ministers of education.

¹⁶ “Já gratuluji nám upřímně, že Vy dlíte v Krakově a že ústně a důkladně můžete bratřím Polákům pravý stav věci vyložiti. Račte, prosím, při výkladě svém také veliký důraz položit na to, že my Češi pokládáme Poláky za své přirozené a nejspolehlivější přátele a že za všechny dobré služby, které nám oni poskytnou, vděčnost nejen slovem, nýbrž i skutkem osvědčíme. Na říšské radě byli právě Poláci mně soudruhy nemilejšími a v universitní otázce počínali si k nám vpravdě rytířsky. Prof. Rittner byl členem subkomitétu a ve všech věcech při nás stál.” Masaryk Institute and Archive of the Academy of Sciences of Czech Republic in Prague, Personal Papers of Jaroslav Goll, box nr 3, inventory nr 193, letter from J. Kvičala to J. Goll, 16. 7. 1881, s. 1. [Peruc?].

¹⁷ Mitchel G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848–1918*. Basingstoke – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Jan SURMAN. Uniwersytety Galicyjskie w Monarchii Habsburskiej: nacjonalizacja edukacji i internacjonalizacja nauki? [Galician Universities in Austrian Monarchy: Nationalization of Education and Internationalization of Science?]. In *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU*, vol. XI, 2012, p. 39–52.

of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow (Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie) in the beginning of the 1870's. This scientific society was supposed to represent Polish culture from all three parts of divided Poland, but the adjective "Polish" was not added to its name until 1918. The Academy was created from an older institution, the Cracow Scientific Society (Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie) that was founded already in the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁸ One of the main supporters of this metamorphosis was Josef Jireček (1825–1888), Czech historian of literature and in 1871 Austrian minister of education.¹⁹ It was he who presented the proposal for the creation of the academy to emperor Franz Josef in May 1871. No wonder that Jireček was elected one of its first members.

The Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow preceded the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, officially the Czech Academy of the Emperor Franz Joseph I. for Sciences, Literature and Art (Česká akademie věd a umění; Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa I. pro vědy, slovesnost a umění) by almost two decades. The most prestigious of Czech national institutions in the field of science and culture was founded in 1890. Both academies soon had the reputation of being mostly conservative institutions,²⁰ loyal to the emperor and to the dynasty, despite their strong national orientation. Both academies also had close relations with the universities that resided in the same city.

Table 1 – Polish members of Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (1890–1918)

Polish members / Class	I. Social Sciences	II. Mathematics – Natural Sciences	III. Philology	IV. Arts	Together
Polish members in general	8	3	4	1	16 ²¹
Polish members from JU Cracow	5	2	2	0	9

¹⁸ Danuta REDEROWA. *Z dziejów Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego 1815–1872. Karta z historii organizacji nauki polskiej pod zaborami* [From the History of the Scientific Society in Cracow 1815–1872. A Page from the History of the Organization of Polish Science in the Times of Annexation]. Kraków, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1998.

¹⁹ See Jan HULEWICZ. *Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie 1873–1918. Zarys dziejów* [The Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow 1873–1918. An Outline of its History]. Kraków, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2013 (2nd edition), p. 17, 28–29, 178–179.

²⁰ On Cracow Academy cf. J. SURMAN. *Uniwersytety Galicyjskie*, p. 44–45.

²¹ Michał Bobrzyński, Edward Rittner, Karol Olszewski, Kazimierz Morawski, Stanisław Smolka, Oswald Balzer, Fryderyk Zoll, Tadeusz Browicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Leon

Table 2 – Czech members of Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow (1872–1918)

Czech members / Class	I. Philology	II. History – Philosophy	III. Mathematics – Natural Sciences	Together
Czech members in general	5	7	2	14 ²²
Czech members from Czech C–FU	2	6	2	10

Two tables show the number of members from the Czech lands in the Cracow academy and vice versa.²³ In both cases the position of humanities and social sciences was quite strong. This fact can be interpreted as one indication of the nationalization of Czech and Polish science. This proportion changed in the interwar period, when both academies went through the opposite process and tried to become intermediaries between national and international science. Of the 16 Polish members of the Czech Academy, 9 of them were professors at the Jagiellonian University and 4 of them at the University in Lemberg. The next three Polish members were: Aleksander Brückner (1856–1939), professor at the University of Berlin, novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz (1849–1916) and Marie Curie-Skłodowska (1867–1934). Both of the last mentioned members were Nobel Prize winners, and Curie-Skłodowska represented for several decades the only woman among the foreign members of the Czech Academy. In the case of the 14 Czech members of the Cracow Academy, the domination of the Charles-Ferdinand University was even more visible (10 of 14); but on the other hand this was easily explicable, because there was no other university centre in the

Sternbach, Aleksander Brückner, Ludwik Ćwikliński, Bolesław Ulanowski, Marian Sokołowski, Marie Curie-Skłodowska, Stanisław Kutrzeba.

²² František Palacký, Josef Jireček, Antonín Randa, Václav Vladivoj Tomek, Jan Gebauer, Jaroslav Goll, Emil Ott, Zikmund Winter, Jan Kvičala, Jaromír Čelakovský, František Vejvodský, Bohuslav Brauner, Karel Kadlec, Vladimír Vondrák.

²³ The data are based on the handbooks: Alena ŠLECHTOVÁ – Josef LEVORA, *Členové České akademie věd a umění 1890–1952* [Members of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts 1890–1952]. Praha, Academia, 2004 (2nd edition); Rita MAJKOWSKA (ed.), *Poczet członków Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w latach 1872–2000* [Index of Members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts and Polish Academy of Sciences and Arts in the Years 1872–2000]. Kraków, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2008. See also Marek ĎURČANSKÝ, *Członkostwo zagraniczne polskich i czeskich uczonych w akademiach narodowych: PAU i ČAVU* [Foreign Membership of Polish and Czech Scientists in the National Academies: PAU and ČAVU]. In *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU*, vol. VI, 2004, p. 177–211.

Czech lands until the end of the monarchy. In the interwar period this proportion among Czech members of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Arts also changed.

Membership in a learned society as well as a honorary doctorate from a university belonged to the most visible demonstrations of respect accorded to a scholar. Both possibilities were used frequently during the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the renewal of the Jagiellonian University in 1900, which was already mentioned.²⁴ The jubilee took place under favourable political circumstances. The Czech Charles-Ferdinand University was invited in March 1900. Originally it was supposed that the rector will take part in the anniversary, accompanied with one colleague. Thanks to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances, the rector for the academic year 1899/1900 was linguist Jan Gebauer (1838–1907), one of the first Czech members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow (since 1888). There was a big interest in the anniversary, so that each of the four faculties sent a delegate in the end. The official delegates were accompanied by numerous Czech scholars, who decided to take part in the Third Congress of Polish Historians, which took place in Cracow at the same time as the university jubilee.²⁵ Three Czech scholars were awarded the honorary doctorate of the Jagiellonian University and three others were elected members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow (among others Jaroslav Goll, who also played the role of honorary president of the Historical Congress). I deliberately mentioned more details concerning this anniversary to show that it can be considered a real highlight of the solidarity between both universities or even between the Czech and Polish academic milieus in the Habsburg monarchy. As such it was later remembered in official and private sources.

The last kind of contacts and mutual inspirations concerns the organizational questions which were sometimes similar in both universities. This was also the case of anthropology at the Faculty of Medicine of Czech University in Prague.

²⁴ On the jubilee see Urszula PERKOWSKA. *Jubileusz 500-lecia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* [Anniversaries of the Jagiellonian University]. Kraków, Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia “Secesja”, 2000, p. 197–270; Theodor SYLLABA. Česká účast na 500. jubileu Jagellonské univerzity v Krakově [Czech Participation at the 500th Anniversary of Jagiellonian University in Cracow]. In Oldřich Tůma (ed.). *Historické studie. K sedmdesátinám Milana Otáhalo*. Praha, Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1998, p. 195–205.

²⁵ Jaroslav BIDLO. Třetí sjezd historiků polských v Krakově [The Third Congress of Polish Historians in Cracow]. *Český časopis historický*, 6, 1900, p. 268–277; Adolf ČERNÝ. Krakovské sjezdy a slavnosti [The Congresses and Anniversaries in Cracow]. *Slovanský přehled* 2, 1900, p. 466–471.

Extraordinary professor Jindřich Matiegka (1862–1941) asked his colleague from Jagiellonian University, professor Julian Talko-Hryniewicz (1850–1936), who was in the same position, to coordinate their efforts to achieve a full professorship. They were in contact probably since 1908, when they both were named associate professors of anthropology. Their contact was mediated by another anthropologist, professor Lubor Niederle (1865–1944), who received a letter from Talko-Hryniewicz immediately after he came to his duties at Jagiellonian University.²⁶ Soon Matiegka wrote to his colleague in Cracow: “As the only representatives of anthropology at Cisleithanian universities we will surely often have reason to communicate.”²⁷ Although it was not expressed exactly in Matiegka’s statement, their next cooperation had a strong Slavic allusion. Talko-Hryniewicz described it precisely in 1909 in his speech during the opening of the Czech Archeological Congress, where he was invited by Matiegka: “Your and our history has a lot of common tragic moments; Poles and Czechs lost their independent political being, but they have not lost their national individualities. [...] We lack well organized elementary and high schools, to say nothing about universities. Due to the poverty of science in the Slavic nations we have to gather crumbs from foreigners, work for them and send to their journals our works written in foreign languages, because we have no journals of our own. Such fragmentation of our powers destroys our own scientific efforts. Abroad they do not know us, they ignore our science and even ourselves, we often have no mutual knowledge on our works or we get it from German reviews. – We are pleased that science is the common property of mankind, but there is German, French and English science in Europe, only our Slavic one is completely unknown.”²⁸ Then Talko-Hryniewicz presented to

²⁶ Archive of Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Collection of personal papers nr 3 (Julian Talko-Hryniewicz), signature D-III-14, inventory number 1341, J. Talko-Hryniewicz to L. Niederle, 14. 1. 1908, Cracow.

²⁷ Archive of Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Collection of personal papers nr 3 (Julian Talko-Hryniewicz), signature D-III-14, inventory number 1342, J. Matiegka to J. Talko-Hryniewicz, s. d., s. l. [1908, Prague]

²⁸ “Przeszłość wasza i nasza ma wiele wspólnych tragicznych momentów, Polacy jak i Czesi stracili swój byt polityczny, lecz nie utracili swych narodowych indywidualności. [...] Brak nam nieraz dobrze organizowanych szkół elementarnych i średnich, nie mówiąc już o szkołach wyższych i uniwersytetach. Przy ubogiej rodzimej wiedzy każdego z oddzielnych narodów słowiańskich musimy zbierać jej okruchy u obcych, dla nich pracować, zasilać ich pracami naukowymi pisanymi w obcych językach, bo niestać nas na wydawnictwa własne. Takie rozproszenie sił niszczy nasze naukowe zabiegi, nie znają nas, i naukę naszą ignorują a często i sami wzajemnie o pracach swych nie wiemy lub dowiadujemy się o nich z niemieckich referatów. – Poczieszamy się

the participants of the Congress his idea of a Slavic Scientific Organization that would publish a representative journal in Slavic languages and support Slavic science. The speech was a bit old-fashioned in emphasizing the poverty of Slavs and possibilities of Slavic scholars to publish in their own languages.²⁹ But surely the author summed up several reasons, which motivated the admirers of the nationalization of Czech and Polish science to tighten their cooperation.

A second example should briefly illustrate that some of these scholars tried to affect also subjects that were not directly connected with their own specialization. Waclaw Sobieski (1872–1934), professor of general history at the Jagiellonian University, asked his colleague Jaroslav Bidlo (1869–1937)³⁰ in 1913 about the situation of German studies at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University. He wanted to use the information as an argument against the practice in Cracow, where the language of lectures in this subject was required to be German. Sobieski wished to change this practice and he also tried to find some new candidate for the full professorship among scholars of Slavic origin, but he was not successful. As can be seen in one of his letters, the arguments had nationalist and not scientific character: “The genesis of my dispatch is that Creizenach,³¹ professor of German literature, is leaving and we would like to have not a German, but a Pole at the department. He wants to leave a German in his place and even to create another department and put there another German. During the discussion at the faculty I took my turn to talk and with reference to your information I undermined his arguments that only Germans from Austria can lecture on German literature. I would be very thankful to you, if you could send me

tem, że nauka jest przynależnością kosmopolityczną ludzkości, a jednak w Europie istnieje niemiecka, francuska, angielska, tylko o naszej słowiańskiej nikt nie wie.” Ibidem, inventory number 1396, Mowa wypowiedziana na Zjeździe archeologicznym przez Talko Hryniewiczza [The Speech of Talko-Hryniewicz at the Archaeological Congress].

²⁹ On the question of the language of scientific communication in Galician universities see J. SURMAN. *Uniwersytety galicyjskie*, p. 45.

³⁰ The relationship between both men was quite close – they used to know each other since common studies at Jagiellonian University, where Bidlo spent the academic year 1892/1893. Cf. Marek DURČANSKÝ. *Škola historická Golla i jej představitelé (Goll, Pekař, Bidlo) na tle stávkův česko-polských* [Goll's historical school and its representants (Goll, Pekař, Bidlo) on the background of Czech-Polish relationship]. In *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU, Tom VIII, 2007*, p. 237–274.

³¹ Wilhelm Creizenach (1851–1919) graduated at the University of Leipzig; in the years 1883–1913 he was the director of the German Studies Seminar at Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

further information 1) what are the names of these two professors of your university³² and 2) whether they have a right to make explanations in Czech as well as German during their lectures, because according to our arrangements the language of these lectures is only German. Unfortunately Creizenach has not trained Poles to become associate professors and we are now helpless having no qualified candidate who could take over the department. In the end we will probably give the place after Creizenach to some German on a 5-year contract (maybe some younger Czech would compete?), but we will unconditionally entrust the other department to some Pole. If the place after Creizenach would be taken over by some Czech, it would be guaranteed that in 5 years he will raise for us a Polish professor.”³³ Let us add that already in the next year Sobieski asked his colleague in Prague for information concerning the language of communication with ministries in Vienna. He tried to strengthen the role of the Polish language not only at Cracow, but also at Lemberg university.³⁴

³² Most probably Arnošt Vilém Kraus (1859–1943) and Josef Janko (1869–1947).

³³ “Geneza mej depeszy jest ta, że Creizenach, profesor niemieckej literatury, ustępuje a mybyśmy chcieli nie Niemca, ale Polaka na tej katedrze. On pragnie Niemca zostawić na swem miejscu a nawet utworzyć jeszcze jedną katedrę i drugiego Niemca wsadzić. W czasie dyskusji na wydziale zabrałem głos i powołując się na Twoją wiadomość, podkopałem jego wywody, jakoby tylko Niemiec z Austrii mógł wyklądać niemiecką literaturę. Bylbym bardzo wdzięczny, gdybyście mi jeszcze przysłali rychło informacye 1) jak się ci dwaj profesorowie Waszego uniwersytetu nazywają, i 2) czy wykładając mają prawo obok języka niemieckiego wplatać objaśnienia w języku czeskim, gdyż u nas jest rozporządzenie, że językiem wykladowym na tej katedrze ma być tylko język niemiecki. Całe nieszczęście, że Creizenach nie wychował Polaków – docentów i stoimy bezradni wobec braku Polaka, kandydata ukwalifikowanego, któryby te katedry zajął. Prawdopodobnie skończy się na tem, że w miejsce Creizenacha obsadzi się za kontraktem 5-letnim tę katedrę jakimś Niemcem, (może ktoś z młodych Czechów by kompetował?) ale drugą katedrę to już bezwarunkowo Polakiem kiedyś obsadzimy. Gdyby miejsce Creizenacha zajął Czech, tobyśmy mieli gwarancję, że za 5 lat wychowa nam Polaka – profesora.” Masaryk Institute and Archive of the Academy of Sciences of Czech Republic, Collection Jaroslav Bidlo, inventory nr 580, W. Sobieski to J. Bidlo, s. d., s. l. [autumn 1913, Cracow].

³⁴ “Czy nie byłbyś tak dobry i coś bliżej o tem mi napisał, jak u was postępują, abym mógł na podstawie Twego materiału tę kwestyę poruszyć na wydziale naszym (a względnie i Lwów poruszyć). Precz z Germanią! [Would you be so kind and write to me something more about how you proceed, so that on the basis of your material I could mention this question at our faculty (and eventually also in Lemberg). Away with Germany!]” Ibidem, W. Sobieski to J. Bidlo, 14. 1. 1914, Cracow.

Such contacts and radical opinions as the above mentioned examples can be described as mostly unofficial, and I found the both above mentioned cases by accident, while gathering sources for other topics. The official relations between both universities had outwardly a more neutral form as far as the national question was concerned. Generally we can say that Galician universities in Cracow and Lemberg were the only Polish ones in the national sense, so that only they could institutionalize their contacts towards Czech academic circles. Intellectual contacts between the two other areas of the former Polish-Lithuanian state, actually under German³⁵ and Russian rule, and the Czech scientific milieu were even more limited to individuals.

Without doubt the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University and the Jagiellonian University played a central role in Czech-Polish scientific contacts in the period 1882–1918. In this period both universities represented the most respected and traditional institutions of national cultures of knowledge. Such relations found expression not only in official contacts (with the highlight of the Cracow jubilee in 1900), but also in unofficial contacts. Mutual inspiration of individual Czech and Polish scholars sometimes had (or was expected to have) impact on the structure and functioning of both universities. The whole topic can be interpreted also within the framework of the “nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg Empire”.

Summary

When the Charles-Ferdinand University was divided into German and Czech parts in 1882, the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (together with the other Galician university in Lwow) became potential allies and inspirations for Prague professors, who bound their career with the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University. These men had to quickly establish the institution as the only Czech national university, ensure its material background and re-create its identity. Both Galician universities, where the teaching language was Polish since the 1860's, faced earlier similar tasks and problems. Moreover: the Jagiellonian University had the tradition of the oldest Polish university.

There was a long history of contacts between Prague and Cracow since the mediaeval beginnings. These aspects were emphasized in formal contacts

³⁵ For the relationship of the Greater Poland and the Czech lands see Witold MOLIŃ. *Velkopolané a české národní hnutí v 19. a počátkem 20. století [Greater Poland and Czech national movement in the 19th and 20th centuries]*. Kuděj – Časopis pro kulturní dějiny 6, 2004, nr 2, p. 31–43.

between both universities. The most significant example was the visible Czech participation in the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the second foundation of the Jagiellonian University in 1900. The professors of Czech Charles-Ferdinand University, who took part in the celebrations (Jan Gebauer, Jaroslav Goll), mostly had real scientific and social contacts with their colleagues from Cracow. The paper is focused will be focused especially on such working and partly non-official contacts. Several examples are described will be described to illustrate the above mentioned statements. The professor of Slavic Philology in Cracow Lucjan Malinowski (1839–1898) was permanently interested in the functioning of the Slavic Seminar at Prague University, which was directed by his colleague Jan Gebauer (1838–1907). Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929), the professor of history in Prague, served as a mediator in this case. He had contacts with many personalities of Galician political and scientific life, e. g. the historian of law Michał Bobrzyński (1849–1936), later Austrian minister. Some of these contacts, which began as scientific, ended as political ones. There were further contacts in the fields of anthropology (Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, Lubor Niederle, Jindřich Matiegka) which influenced the appearance of the relevant departments at universities.

The form or even the existence of a department at one university was sometimes used as an argument for the Viennese ministries to accept a similar situation at the other university. The article is focused also on the role of learned societies in the development of contacts between universities and vice versa. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries professors of both universities presented the most influential members of national academies of sciences – Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow (Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie, founded in 1873) and the Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences (Česká akademie věd a umění, founded in 1891). Before 1918 mostly the same personalities were active in the contacts between both academies and universities.

Resumé

Když byla v roce 1882 Karlo-Ferdinandova univerzita rozdělena na německou a českou část, krakovská Jagellonská univerzita (spolu s další haličskou univerzitou ve Lvově) se stala možným spojencem a inspirací pro pražské profesory, kteří svou kariéru spojili s českou univerzitou. Ti ji museli rychle ustavit jako jedinou českou národní univerzitu, zajistit jí materiální zázemí a obnovit její identitu. Obě haličské univerzity, na nichž se vyučovalo polsky od 60. let 19. století, čelily už dříve podobným úkolům a problémům. A navíc: Jagellonská univerzita měla tradici nejstarší polské univerzity.

Kontakty mezi Prahou a Krakovem mají dlouhou historii od jejich středověkých počátků a byly potvrzeny vazbami mezi oběma univerzitami. Nejvýraznějším příkladem byla viditelná česká účast na oslavách pětistého výročí druhého založení Jagellonské univerzity v roce 1900. Profesori české Karlo-Ferdinandovy univerzity, kteří se oslav zúčastnili (Jan Gebauer, Jaroslav Goll) většinou už měli skutečné vědecké i sociální kontakty se svými kolegy z Krakova. Článek se zaměřil zejména takové pracovní a částečně neoficiální kontakty. Popsáno bylo několik příkladů, aby tyto kontakty ilustrovaly. Profesor slovanské filologie v Krakově, Lucjan Malinowski (1839–1898) se stále zajímal o činnost slovanského semináře pražské univerzity, který vedl jeho kolega Jan Gebauer (1838–1907). Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929), profesor historie v Praze, v tomto případě fungoval jako prostředník. Měl styky s mnoha osobnostmi haličského politického a vědeckého života, např. s právním historikem Michalem Bobrzyńským (1849–1936), pozdějším rakouským ministrem. Některé tyto styky, které začaly jako vědecké, skončily na poli politiky. Další kontakty byly například na poli antropologie (Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, Lubor Niederle, Jindřich Matiegka) ty pak ovlivnily utváření relevantních stolic na obou univerzitách.

Forma nebo dokonce existence stolice na jedné univerzitě byla občas použita jako argument pro vídeňské ministry, aby byla akceptována obdobná situace na druhé univerzitě. Článek se zaměřil také na roli učených společností ve vývoji kontaktů mezi univerzitami a vice versa. Na konci 19. a na počátku 20. století profesori obou univerzit byli nejvlivnějšími členy národních akademií věd – Akademie Umiejętności w Krakowie, založené v roce 1873, a České akademie věd a umění, založené roku 1891. Před rokem 1918 byly ponejvíce tytéž osobnosti aktivní ve stycích jak obou akademií, tak univerzit.

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