

Turning “Province” to a “Centre”?

Ambitions to Establish an Institutionalized Network of Slavic Scientists at the Turn of the 19th Century

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Abstract. In the last two decades of the 19th century, the Czech scientific community made serious effort to strengthen its position not only within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also outside its territory. An instrument of this endeavour was bringing together Slavic scientists with a vision of establishment a Slavic scientific community around a new centre – Prague. The programme of Slavic scientific cooperation, which was taking shape especially during the Prague conventions of the Czech naturalists and physicians in Prague 1880 to 1914, and the analogous Polish conventions (1869–1911), included establishing of pan-Slavic scientific journals, creating common Slavic scientific nomenclature, publishing terminological dictionaries and Slavic bibliographies, organizing regular pan-Slavic scientific congresses, exchange of Slavic students, and so on. In these efforts the Czech scientists (especially the physicians supported by economically and politically influential strata of the Czech population) played the role of a hegemon motivated by both scientific and political goals. The extensive programme of Slavic scientific integration never materialized as it did not correspond to political and social reality and the existing international tensions, but we may discuss it as a historical attempt of integrating the periphery and creating a new centre, in this case of “Slavic science”. The endeavor to launch an institutionalized cooperation of the Slavic scientists can also be discussed in terms of building a Slavic identity through formation of a Slavic scientific community, as well as a special case of nationalization of scientific knowledge as treated recently in the volume edited by M. Ash and J. Surman (see Note 1).

Změna „provincie“ na centrum? Ambice vytvořit institucionalizovanou síť slovanských vědců na rozhraní 10. a 20. století. V posledních dvou desetiletích 19. stol. se česká vědecká obec snažila o posílení svého postavení nejen v rámci rakousko-uherské monarchie, ale též mimo její území. Toto úsilí se opíralo o úzké propojení slovanských vědců s cílem vytvořit slovanskou vědeckou komunitu kolem nového centra – Prahy. Program slovanské vědecké spolupráce, který se zformoval zejména v průběhu pražských sjezdů českých přírodovědců a lékařů v letech 1880–1914 a analogických polských sjezdů (1869–1911), zahrnoval zakládání všeslovanských vědeckých časopisů, vytvoření společného slovanského vědeckého názvosloví, publikování terminologických slovníků a slovanských bibliografií, organizování pravidelných všeslovanských vědeckých

kongresů, výměnu slovanských studentů apod. V tomto dění hráli čeští vědci (zejména lékaři, podporovaní ekonomicky a politicky vlivnými vrstvami české populace), motivovaní vědeckými i politickými cíli, roli hegemonu. Extenzivní program slovanské vědecké integrace nebyl nikdy uskutečněn kvůli existujícím mezinárodním rozporům, ale i proto, že neodpovídal politické a společenské realitě, lze však o něm diskutovat jako o historickém pokusu o integraci periferie a vytvoření nového centra, v tomto případě centra „slovanské vědy“. Snaha realizovat institucionalizovanou spolupráci slovanských vědců může být chápána též jako budování slovanské identity cestou formování slovanské národní vědecké komunity nebo též jako zvláštní případ nacionalizace vědeckého poznání, o kterém nedávno pojednávala kniha editovaná M. G. Ashem a J. Surmanem (viz pozn. 1).

Keywords: History of Slavic science • nationalization of science • scientific conventions • conventions of Slavic scientists

Introduction

It is the aim of this study to show that scientific “centre” and “periphery” are not invariant qualities and point to some particular circumstances capable of transforming “periphery” into “centre” in international dimensions. Such instances can be demonstrated in the case of the efforts of the Czech scientific community, which attempted, at the turn of the 19th century, to create in Prague a centre of Slavic science. This endeavor had its roots in the Czech National Revival and the constitution of the linguistically Czech scientific community in the second half of the 19th century, which included the creation of the Czech scientific language and the establishment of a complete Czech scientific institutional and communication base.¹ Consequently, the Czech scientific community became a self-contained and a self-assured body, whose aim was to integrate into the European scientific community as a full-fledged member. Starting from the 1880s, encouraged by its accomplishments, the Czech scientific community made serious efforts to strengthen its impact not only within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also outside its territory and take a central position among the linguistically related Slavic scientific communities in Central and Eastern Europe. This endeavor manifested itself especially in activities connected with

¹ See e.g. Jan JANKO – Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. *Věda Purkyňovy doby* [Science in Purkyně's time]. Praha, Academia, 1988; Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. Patriotism, Nationalism and Internationalism in Czech Science: Chemists in the Czech National Revival. In Mitchell G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848–1918)*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 138–156.

the institutionalization of Slavic scientific cooperation and the creation of a Slavic scientific centre in the Czech Lands, namely in Prague. Conventions of Czech naturalists and physicians and analogous meetings of other Slavic scientific communities will be regarded in this paper as main platforms of cooperation and starting points of potential integration.²

The Conventions of the Society of German Natural Scientists and Physicians as Prototype of National European Scientific Conventions

In the course of the 19th century, scientific societies and their meetings played an ever more important role in scientific communication and formation of scientific communities. One of the most influential scientific societies in Europe became the Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte, whose ideas had crystallized for several years in the circle of romantic natural scientists and natural philosophers around Lorenz Oken.³ Its founding meeting, which took place in Leipzig in 1822⁴, was followed by regular annual meetings called *Versammlung*

² The paper builds to a certain extent on the article Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. Congresses of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in the Years 1880–1914 and the Czech-Polish Scientific Collaboration. *Acta historiae rerum naturalium necnon technicarum*, 21, 1989, p. 79–122, which contains abundant literature related to this topic. The translation of the article into Polish included a few new facts and corrections; see Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. Zjazdy czeskich przyrodników i lekarzy w latach 1880–1914 oraz czesko-polska współpraca naukowa. In Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA – Jan. JANKO (eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*. Warszawa, Wektory gospodarki, 1990, p. 62–90. Another important source to the history of the conventions is the article Duchoslav PANÝREK. Sjezdy českých přírodníků a lékařů [Conventions of the Czech naturalists and physicians]. In *Věstník V. sjezdu českých přírodovědcův a lékařů v Praze od 29. května do 3. června 1914*. Praha, 1914, p. 5–10, 63–68. For recent literature see, for instance, Jarosław CABAJ. *Walczyć nauką za sprawy Ojczyzny. Zjazdy ponadzaborowe polskich środowisk naukowych i zawodowych jako czynniki integracji narodowej (1864–1917)*. Siedlce, Akademia Podlaska, 2007. It is necessary to highlight that my paper does not deal with the scientific side of the conventions focusing mainly on the aspects outlined by the topic of the paper.

³ Lorenz Oken (1779–1851), German physician, biologist and philosopher, one of the protagonists of the so-called Naturphilosophie.

⁴ Information about the conventions of the German naturalists and physicians can be found in http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gesellschaft_Deutscher_Naturforscher_und_%C3%84rzte#Geschichte; Die Geschichte der GDNÄ on website http://www.gdnae.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Website_Geschichte.pdf ;

deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte which convene until today. Both the society and its meetings became a model of scientific communication and integration of scientists which gradually spread all over Europe.⁵ Marianne Klemun⁶ attempted to show that the conventions⁷ of the German Natural Scientists and Physicians, which took place within the borders of the [so called] ‘German Bund’⁸, acted as an instrument of integration of German speaking scientists or even of the “imaginary or imagined nation of Germany” on various levels: ”(1) on a political-geographical and national level (2) a public-political level, and (3) a cognitive level, but also on a level of consciousness, by trying to reunite all the natural sciences.”⁹ It is necessary to point out, however, that these congresses were not German in the strictly political sense of word. Their annual congregations in

Hermann LAMPE – Hans QUERNER – Ilse GÄRTNER (eds.). Die Vorträge der allgemeinen Sitzungen auf der 1.–85. Versammlung 1822–1913 [der deutschen Naturforscher und Aerzte]. *Schriftenreihe zur Geschichte der Versammlungen deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte. Bd. 1.* Hildesheim, Gerstenberg, 1972; official website of the Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte, see <http://www.gdnae.de/>; the overview of the conventions is on <http://www.deutsches-museum.de/archiv/bestaende/institutionenarchive/verzeichnis/gdnae/versammlungsuebersicht-1822ff-chronologisch/>; the websites were visited in February and March 2015.

- ⁵ I would like to thank Jan Surman for mentioning to me the fact me that while the German conventions were of crucial importance, other national conventions were also taking place in the first half of the 19th century, like the British ones in the Victorian era; see e.g. Louise MISKELL. *Meeting Places: Scientific Congresses and Urban Identity in Victorian Britain.* Farnham, Ashgate, 2013.
- ⁶ Marianne KLEMUN. Natural Science and Geology as a Medium of Integration: The Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte in Prague in 1837 and the Meetings of German Natural Scientists and Physicians during the ‘Vormärz’ (1822–1848). *Centaurus*, 48, 2006, p. 284–297.
- ⁷ The German expression “Versammlung”, the Polish “zjazd” and the Czech “sjezd” are usually translated in various papers as “conference” “meeting”, “congress” or “convention”. Klemun uses the words “meeting” and “congregation”. In my opinion the term “convention” captures most aptly the meaning of the word “Versammlung”, therefore the paper uses in the official titles of the meetings the word “convention”, while in the text also other synonyms are occurring.
- ⁸ The new political order of Germany after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 united various territorial entities with different legal traditions (one empire, five kingdoms, four large cities, etc.) under one political roof, namely the ‘German Bund’. Austria and Prussia brought to the Bund those territories that had previously belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.
- ⁹ KLEMUN, op. cit., 2006, p. 285–286.

various European cities were attended by scientists and physicians of various nationalities, including the Slavic ones, especially because they offered an excellent opportunity of exchange and dissemination of information and ideas and substituted for the then nonexistent specialized international scientific congresses. The participants came not only from the “German speaking” territories, but also from many other European and even overseas countries (as shown in Fig. 1 taken from the congress book of the 10th convention in Vienna in 1832).

Particularly two conventions went beyond the “German integration” concept accentuated by Klemun, both taking place in the Czech Lands. The Prague congress in 1837 emphasized “the timeless ahistorical universal character of the importance of the sciences”¹⁰ and the spirit of unification of Czechs and Germans under the slogan – “neither ‘Czechs nor Germans, but only Bohemians’”¹¹ in accordance with the Bohemian patriotism prevailing in the Czech Lands before 1848.¹² Fifteen years later at the 34th Karlsbad Congress in 1862 an entirely different atmosphere reigned due to profound political changes. The abolition of the Bach Absolutism in 1860 allowed the rise of the Czech national institutions and the constitution of a linguistically mature Czech scientific community, but also brought on escalating nationalism in the Czech national movement with a widening gap between the Czech and German scientific communities.¹³ Political symbols and ideas found their way into science quite soon, and therefore it should not surprise us that the foremost Czech physiologist Jan E. Purkyně (Purkinje, 1787–1869), one of the founders of the Society of the German Natural Scientists and Physicians, used the congress as a tribune for a strong political pronouncement, unthinkable at the previous meetings, in which he called for the creation of a Slavic science independent of the German one:

“In brotherly mutuality the Slavic nations are being brought closer to each other and it will not take a long time, you may rest assured, that Slavic science will measure up to the science of other nations! As we do not want to be your

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 290.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The various conceptions of the Czech nation which were altering with the political and social transformations are treated e.g. in Otto URBAN. *Česká společnost 1848–1918* [Czech society 1848–1918]. Praha, Svoboda, 1982, see especially pp. 32–44 and 437–46; see also Jan KŘEN. *Konfliktní společenství: Češi a Němci 1780–1918* [Conflicting communities: Czechs and Germans 1780–1918]. Praha, Academia, 1990.

¹³ The dynamic changes in scientific development of the Czech Lands during the Czech National Revival are captured in JANKO – ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, op. cit. 1988.

disciples forever! We have enough power and abilities to stand on our own feet to cultivate art and science independently and relying on our own strength.”¹⁴

Thus paradoxically, the conventions of the German speaking scientists inspired a new generation of Czech academicians and intellectuals to create a regular forum, independent from the German one, where scientific ideas could be exchanged and political demands presented. Purkyně’s speech evoked the vision of establishing not only an independent Czech forum, but even a Slavic scientific community. The example of the German conventions was taken up by the Czechs along with their function as a tool for political unification which became transformed into the idea of bringing together Slavic scientists as a political instrument. Yet, the road to independent Czech or even Slavic scientific congresses and to the creation of a Slavic scientific community proved to be long and intricate, especially due to the political circumstances in which the Slavic nations lived, and the disparities in their scientific advancement.

In the Slavic world the Russian and the Polish scientific communities succeeded earlier than the Czechs in organizing conventions analogous to the German ones in spite of the complex political circumstances in their countries.¹⁵ Institutions of higher education existed in Russia since the 18th century, but the creation of the scientific societies was only possible after the 1860s thanks to the political reforms of Tsar Alexander II.¹⁶ The first Convention of Russian Naturalists

¹⁴ From Purkyně’s speech at the 34th Convention of German Naturalists and Physicians (Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte) in Karlsbad on September 25, 1862. The speech was published in the Czech daily newspaper *Národní listy*, No. 2, September 28, 1862, and reprinted several times, for instance in Jan Evangelista PURKYNĚ. *Opera omnia 9*. Praha, Academia, 1965, p. 131.

¹⁵ The Hungarian scientists were ahead of the Czech ones, too; they organized since 1841 the so called *Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók Vándorgyűlései* – Travelling Conventions of the Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists, which were taking turn in different Hungarian cities; before 1914 had convened 34 such meetings, among them 8 in Slovakia. See Éva K. VÁMOS. Chapter 8, Hungary: Scientific Community of an Emancipating Nation: Chemical Societies in Hungary before 1914. In: Anita KILDEBÆK NIELSEN – Soňa ŠTRBÁNOVÁ (eds). *Creating Networks in Chemistry. The Founding and Early History of Chemical Societies in Europe*. Cambridge, RCS Publishing, 2008, p. 161–183; Milada HOLECOVÁ. Z historie entomologie na Slovensku [From the history of entomology in Slovakia]. *Živa*, 62, No. 6, 2014, p. 42–44.

¹⁶ Marina LOSKUTOVA. Public Science as a Network: The Congresses of Russian Naturalists and Physicians in the 1860s–1910s. *Baltic Journal of European Studies Tallinn University of Technology*, 1, 2010, p. 196–212, visited March 12, 2015 on <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/22515308/marina-loskutova-public-science-as-a-network-the-institute-for->

and Physicians¹⁷ started on 14th December 1867 in St Petersburg, and in the years from 1867 to 1913 was called a total of thirteen times. In politically divided Poland, Polish higher education establishments only operated on the territory of the Austrian partition, while on the territory of Prussian/German partition no Polish universities and scientific societies existed officially. However, this politically unfavorable environment did not prevent the creation of numerous linguistically Polish scientific societies which also assembled intellectuals from the Prussian/German partition and had lively activities both in the Russian and Austrian partition territory.¹⁸ The Conventions of Polish Physicians and Naturalists,¹⁹ attended by professionals from all partitions, gathered ten times in the years 1869–1911 (see Table 1). In contrast, in the Czech Lands, where the linguistically Czech scientific community assembled in flourishing professional associations since the 1860s²⁰, the congresses of Czech naturalists and physicians were launched with a considerable delay, due to the resistance of official circles which were aware of the possible political impacts of such gatherings.

Conventions of the Czech and Polish Naturalists and Physicians: Starting Point of Slavic Cooperation

In January 1864, less than two years after Purkyně's speech at the Carlsbad congress, Bohumil Eiselt,²¹ one of the leading personalities of the Association

¹⁷ In Russian *Съезд русских естествоиспытателей и врачей*, see http://panevin.ru/calendar/otkrilsya_perviy_sezd_russkih_estestvoispytateley.html

¹⁸ Lichocka enumerates at least 15 Polish scientific societies active before 1914 which also embraced chemists, see Halina LICHOCKA. Chapter 11, Poland: Chemists in a Divided Country. The Long-lasting Genesis and Early History of the Polish Chemical Society, 1767–1923. In Anita KILDEBÆK NIELSEN – Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ (eds). *Creating Networks in Chemistry. The Founding and Early History of Chemical Societies in Europe*. Cambridge, RCS Publishing, 2008, p. 236–256 and table p. 253.

¹⁹ In Polish *Zjazd lekarzy i przyrodników polskich*.

²⁰ The most important Czech scientific societies founded in the 1860s were the Spolek lékařů českých [Association of the Czech Physicians] founded in 1862; also established in 1862 Spolek pro volné přednášky z matematiky a fyziky [Association for Free Lectures on Mathematics and Physics], renamed in 1869 Jednota českých matematiků [Union of the Czech Mathematicians]; 1866 Spolek chemiků českých [Society of the Czech chemists], formerly Isis. These scientific societies turned out to be especially active in organizing the first conventions of Czech scientists and physicians.

²¹ Bohumil Eiselt (1831–1908), Purkyně's pupil, professor of surgery and pathology, obstetrician, founded the *Časopis lékařů českých* (Journal of the Czech Physicians) in 1862 and at the time of the proposal was the secretary of the Association.

of the Czech Physicians, proposed convening a congress of the Czech physicians, apparently at the instigation of Purkyně, then President of the Association. The proposal was unanimously accepted and the organizing committee established.²² The intention of the Czech physicians to call a convention of physicians analogous to the German ones was immediately noted by the *Berliner Medizinischer Wochenschrift* with the statement that the “competing” Czech congress will have “scientific but also national purposes” and convene mainly because the Czechs intend to use the congress to push for the introduction of Czech lectures at the “oldest German university”.²³ Such politically tinged intentions of the organizers could have been one of the reasons why the meeting was banned by the “high k. k. state ministry” on the pretext that the charter of the Association does not mention organizing conventions.²⁴ [Fig. 2] At the end of 1865, the Association of the Czech Physicians announced its new plans to call in 1866 a convention of the Czech physicians, natural scientists and technologists, which failed, too.²⁵ As early as 1865, the Czech Medical Association even considered organizing a meeting of the Slavic naturalists in Prague.²⁶ In 1871 the Union of the Czech Mathematicians²⁷ convened the 1st Congress of Czech Friends and Cultivators of Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Technology²⁸ with about 200 participants,

²² Spolek českých lékařů. Schůze 74tá dne 4. ledna 1864 [Association of the Czech Physicians. 74th meeting, January 4, 1864]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 3, 1864, p.6–7, see p. 7.

²³ The article meant the Prague Charles University which used German as the main language of instruction. The quotations were taken from the *Časopis lékařů českých* (Journal of the Czech Physicians) which intended to inform the Czech readers about the reaction of the German medical community to the decision to organize a Czech convention of physicians in Prague; see Drobnosti [Brief Reports]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 3, 1864, p. 71.

²⁴ Letter of the Prague Police Directorate dated May 27, 1864, submitted and discussed at the meeting of the Czech Medical Association May 30, 1864. See Zprávy [Reports]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 3, 1864, p.6–7, and p. 176.

²⁵ The preparatory committee established on October 14, 1865, was headed by Purkyně, and its members were leading physicians, natural scientists and technologists; see Zprávy [Reports]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 4, 1865, p. 354. It is not known why these plans were not implemented.

²⁶ Zpráva p. dra. Staňka, jednatele Spolku českých lékařů [Report of Dr. Staňek, secretary of the Czech Medical Association]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 4, 1865, p. 229.

²⁷ Jednota českých matematiků.

²⁸ In Czech called 1. sjezd českých přátel a pěstovatelů věd přírodních, mathematických a inženýrských. See František HOUDEK. *Dějepis jednoty (sic) českých matematiků* [The

but afterwards for almost ten years all attempts to organize major meetings of the Czech scientific community proved to be unsuccessful. In the meantime, however, the Czech scientific and medical institutions, societies and individuals were establishing multiple informal contacts with their Slavic counterparts which were taking shape in hosting university professors²⁹ and studies of Slavic students at the Prague University, exchange of books and journals between scientific societies, mutual elections of honorary members of associations and learned societies,³⁰ and also participation of Czech scientists and physicians in the Russian³¹ and Polish conventions.

While only a few individual Czech scientists attended the Russian conventions, much closer contacts were developing between the Poles and the Czechs, especially due to similar languages, territorial proximity, common traditions and historical experience. The main exponent of Czech-Polish cultural and scientific contacts had been the renowned physiologist J. E. Purkyně who spent most of his professional life in the Prussian Breslau (former Polish Wrocław) in a Polish environment³².

history of the Union of the Czech mathematicians]. Praha, Jednota českých matematiků, 1872, p. 34. I am indebted for this information to Assoc. Prof. Alena Šolcová.

²⁹ See for instance Lesław GRUSYCZYŃSKI. Związki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego z nauką Czeską w okresie autonomii Galicji (1867–1918) [The Jagellonian University connections with the Czech science in the period of 1867–1918 during the Galician autonomy]. In Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA – Jan JANKO (eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*. Warszawa, Wektory gospodarki, 1990, p. 5–33.

³⁰ See for instance ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, op. cit. 1989, p. 80–81, and op. cit. 2008 and 2012; Julian DIBIEC. Związki Akademii umiejętności w Krakowie z nauką czeską i słowacką w latach 1873–1918. In Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA – Jan JANKO (eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*. Warszawa, Wektory gospodarki, 1990, p. 34–61.

³¹ We only have inconsistent information on the participation of the Czechs in the Russian conventions, but apparently they attended them irregularly and only as individuals, like the chemist Bohuslav Brauner known for his Russophilia; see Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. Nationalism and the Process of Reception and Appropriation of the Periodic System in Europe and the Czech Lands. In Masanori KAJI, Helge KRAGH, Gábor PALLÓ (eds.). *Early Responses to the Periodic System*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2015, p. 121–149.

³² Purkyně founded in Breslau (Wrocław, then Prussia) the world's first independent physiological institute in 1839. Although a Prussian professor, he also published several of his scientific papers in Polish. From the Polish side, Purkyně's friend Józef Majer (1808–1899), anthropologist and physiologist, professor of the Jagellonian University in Cracow was an early initiator of the Czech-Polish scientific cooperation.

After his death in 1869, Czech academics³³ followed in his footsteps, considering the Polish colleagues natural partners and “allies” in promoting the Czech professional and political interests. Particularly from these Czech-Polish interactions crystallized the project of unification of Slavic scientists.

It is noteworthy that the Poles who lived in a politically divided territory and whose political rights had been curtailed were able to build up a linguistically developed Polish scientific community represented by numerous scientific societies, and set up their scientific conventions much earlier than the Czechs in spite of the disadvantageous political environment. The Polish conventions became important means of association of Polish academics from all three partitions, and for some time even substituted for the missing Czech conventions which only started in 1880. In the years 1880–1914 a total of five conventions of Czech naturalists and physicians convened, backed by an economically strong and culturally emancipated Czech society.

The conventions had many features in common. All of them, organized by the self-contained Czech scientific community supported actively by the Czech intelligentsia, politically and economically influential social strata and cultural circles, attracted much public attention. The participants presented their papers in numerous scientific sessions standing for most scientific fields. The political and economic aspects of the congresses found their expression in plenary speeches by Czech scientists and foreign delegates and festive addresses during the glamorous banquets in which top notch representatives of political and entrepreneurial circles participated. Excursions, concerts and opera performances facilitated personal contacts of participants from various countries with the politicians, industrialists, artists and other Czech personalities. Each convention published its materials. The first two congresses in 1880 and 1882 had a simple so called *Oznamovatel* (Announcer) and the second convention also a commemorative volume *Památník* (Memorial);³⁴ the congresses in 1901, 1908 and 1914 published

³³ Among the strongest protagonists of Czech-Polish cooperation and enthusiastic organizers of the Czech conventions were Purkyně’s pupils the pathologist Bohumil Eiselt and the pharmacologist Karel Chodounský (1843–1931).

³⁴ *Oznamovatel sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců v Praze 1880*. Praha, Výbor sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců, 1880; *Oznamovatel druhého sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců v Praze 1882*. Praha, Výbor sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců, 1882; *Památník druhého sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců*. Praha, Nákladem komitétu sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodovědců, 1882. See also Prokop MÁLEK. První sjezd českých lékařů a přírodovědců v Praze o letnicích roku 1880 [The First Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in Prague at the Pentecost of 1880]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 119, 1980, p. 1225.

series of comprehensive bulletins *Věstník* with detailed program, abstracts of papers, lists of participants and various informative and historical articles and reviews.³⁵ The Polish congresses, which, as stated above, assembled participants from all partitions, resembled the Czech ones in their scientific character, accentuation of national spirit and festive atmosphere, but their political aspects were mostly suppressed.³⁶ Both the Czech and the Polish congresses convened at irregular time intervals, but while the Czechs called until 1914 only four conventions, the Poles succeeded in organizing a total of eleven.

The first Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in 1880³⁷ with a total of about 500 in attendance, took place under increasing nationalistic tensions in all strata of the society in the Czech Lands, and therefore it became above all a patriotic demonstration of the qualities of Czech science, which demanded the establishment of a Czech university.³⁸ Although only Czechs participated in the congress, the meeting was not overlooked in the Slavic world, as documented by six Polish salutatory telegrams from Lemberg and one in Russian from St.Petersburg.³⁹ Interest in closer cooperation with the Slavic scientists was voiced in the toast of the Nestor of the Czech chemists Vojtěch

³⁵ *Věstník III. sjezdu českých přírodovědců a lékařů v Praze*. Praha, III. sjezd českých přírodovědců a lékařů, 1908; *Věstník IV. sjezdu českých přírodovědců a lékařů v Praze konaný 6.–10. června 1908*. Praha, IV. sjezd českých přírodovědců a lékařů, 1908; *Věstník V. sjezdu českých přírodovědců a lékařů v Praze od 29. května do 3. června*. Praha, V. sjezd českých přírodovědců a lékařů, 1914. These volumes are the most important sources of information about the conventions of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians. Additional sources will be cited separately.

³⁶ We may deduce this from the descriptions of the conventions by their Czech visitors, mostly physicians, who regularly published their reports in the *Časopis lékařů českých*, but also elsewhere. The relevant sources will be cited further below. Self-control in political utterances at the Polish congresses was obviously motivated by the effort not to provoke official circles.

³⁷ The main events of the convention are recapitulated in the report Sjezd českých lékařů a přírodovědců [Convention of the Czech physicians and naturalists]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 19, 1880, p. 361–370. It also reprints the speech of V. Šafařík at the banquet on May 16, 1880, where he outlined the relations of linguistically Czech science to Slavic science (namely Russian and Polish) and world science.

³⁸ Numerous patriotic and nationalistic speeches reprinted in the convention materials reveal this position.

³⁹ PANÝREK, op. cit., 1914, p. 8.

Šafařík,⁴⁰ the son of the prominent Slavist Pavel Josef Šafařík, at one of the banquets: “We received no greetings from the old educated West, only our Slavic brethren remembered us. This fact and the way they remembered us, however, compensate for the disinterest of others... Having three universities, two of which are Polish only, and their own academy of science, the Polish nation occupies an honorable place in the field of sciences. Thus, gentlemen, I am toasting the Russian and Polish naturalists and the Slavs in general, and also the lasting mutual relations with them.”⁴¹

The Prague convention in 1880, although not attended by the Poles, evoked an enthusiastic response on their side. The Czech scholars were invited to participate in the 3rd Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Cracow in 1881, with the goal of strengthening relations of the Slavic nations in the Austrian monarchy.⁴² The invitation was published in Czech professional journals and in the *Journal of the Czech Physicians* even in the Polish language,⁴³ most likely to demonstrate the negligence of language barriers between the Czechs and the Poles and to symbolize the closeness of the two nations: “The time has come to unite more closely not only politically, but also culturally with the closest consanguine nation”, declared the Czech Physicians.⁴⁴ Eventually the convention in Cracow was attended by about 20⁴⁵ distinguished Czech physicians and natural scientists who “received a royal welcome”,⁴⁶ read six papers in Czech, chaired several sessions, and participated in scientific exhibitions and excursions.

⁴⁰ Vojtěch Šafařík (1829–1902), Czech chemist and astronomer, one of the founders of the linguistically Czech chemistry.

⁴¹ Quotation see *Sjezd českých lékařů*, op. cit. 1880, p. 366–367.

⁴² New opportunities of extensive cooperation between the Czech and Polish scientific communities had opened up in 1875, when the 2nd Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Lemberg accepted changes in the statutes which enabled future participation of other Slavic nationalities in the Polish conventions. See Jaroslav OBERMAJER. Česko-polské lékařské styky v rámci prvních sjezdů českých a polských lékařů a přírodopytců v letech 1881–1901 [Czech-Polish medical contacts in the frame of the first Conventions of the Czech and Polish Physicians and Naturalists in the years 1881–1901]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 110, 1971, p. 375–379.

⁴³ Sjezd lékařů polskich [The convention of the Polish physicians]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 20, 1881, p. 93; Zprávy. Schůze spolková dne 21. února [News. The meeting of the association on February 21]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 20, 1881, p. 141–142.

⁴⁴ Sjezd lékařů, op. cit., 1881, p. 93.

⁴⁵ Some sources state 17, some 20 Czech participants.

⁴⁶ Words from Chodounský's toast at the 2nd Convention of the Czech Physicians and Naturalists, see *Oznamovatel druhého sjezdu*, op. cit. 1882, p. 43.

The importance of this meeting for the Czech – Polish negotiations is attested in two detailed accounts. K. Chodounský wrote a report for the *Časopis lékařů českých*,⁴⁷ and his personal impressions depicted in a separate brochure the notable Czech journalist and publisher František Šimáček (1834–1885), who accompanied the scientists to Cracow and sent reports about the convention to the Prague newspaper *České noviny* (Czech Newspaper).⁴⁸ The Czechs were the only non-Polish participants, but they were not treated as strangers; for instance Antonín Frič⁴⁹ was elected among the Vice-Presidents of the meeting (Henryk Jordan⁵⁰ became the President). Thanks to these writings detailed information is available especially on the rich social program prepared for the Czech delegation and its warm affectionate reception by Polish scientific and cultural circles.

Although we only have indirect evidence about negotiations on future joint actions of the Czechs and Poles, they seem quite plausible in the light of future events. Both accounts of the convention (and even more the one designed for the Czech press), emphasize the kinship (or even national unity) of the Poles and the Czechs and the necessity of mutual political and cultural support. Šimáček, the journalist, speaks about a “single nation with a common intellectual wealth and economic capital” and necessity of “joint defense [of national rights?] and joint intellectual and physical actions”.⁵¹ A. Frič in his farewell speech invited the Polish colleagues to the upcoming 1882 Prague convention and announced the expected establishment of the Czech University in Prague “from where with all strength enlightenment⁵² will be disseminated in a Slavic spirit”.⁵³ In the undertone

⁴⁷ Karel CHODOUNSKÝ. Třetí sjezd polských lékařů a přírodopytčů v Krakově 1881 [The third Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Cracow 1881]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 20, 1881, pp. 503–512, 521–528, 534–544, 555–560.

⁴⁸ [František ŠIMÁČEK]. *Důkazy bratrství při slavném uvítání a pohoštění Čechů v Krakově. Památka na III. sjezd polských lékařů a přírodopytčů v měsíci červenci 1881* [Evidence of fraternity at the famous welcome and entertainment of Czechs in Cracow. Tribute to the 3rd Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists in the month of July 1881]. Praha, Šimáček, 1881.

⁴⁹ Antonín Frič (1832–1913), Czech geologist and palaeontologist, professor of the Charles University, one of the most significant Czech scientists of the 19th century.

⁵⁰ Henryk Jordan (1842–1907), Polish physician, gynaecologist, professor of the Jagellonian University in Cracow, organizer of science, politician, known especially as a pioneer of the children's physical education.

⁵¹ ŠIMÁČEK, op. cit., 1881, p. 12–13, quot. p. 13.

⁵² Frič uses the Czech word “osvěta”, which also can be translated as “education” or “public education”.

⁵³ CHODOUNSKÝ. Třetí sjezd, op. cit., 1881, p. 558.

of these and other pronouncements sounded the ambitions of the Czechs and Poles to associate and create a supranational Slavic scientific network. Chodounský stated some years later that at the Polish convention in Cracow in 1881 “the Czech-Polish association celebrated its foundation”⁵⁴ and thus it became a milestone also in the attempts to create a Slavic scientific community in the years to come.⁵⁵

Advancement of Czech-Polish scientific cooperation

The almost complete separation of the Czech and German scientific communities in the 1880s and 1890s⁵⁶ impelled Czech academics to find partners among the scientists of the Slavic nations. The Czech participation at the Polish convention in Cracow became not only a promise of reciprocal Polish participation in the future Prague conventions, but also an impetus for establishing closer partnership between the Czech and other Slavic scientific communities. The conventions of the Czech naturalists and physicians were to become means towards this objective.

⁵⁴ Karel CHODOUNSKÝ, Jubileum dvacetipětileté Spolku českých lékařů dne 24. ledna 1887 [The 25th anniversary of the Czech Medical Association on January 24, 1887]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 26, 1887, p. 67–70.

⁵⁵ Important facts on Czech-Polish contacts are taken in this paper also from Jaroslav OBERMAJER. Zabroniony zjazd lekarzy i przyrodników polskich w roku 1898 [Prohibited convention of the physicians and naturalists in 1898]. *Archivum historii medycyny*, 28, 1965, p. 119–123; Stefan WESOŁOWSKI. O polsko-české spolupráci [On the Czech-Polish cooperation]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 99, 1960, p. 1570–1571; Jaroslav OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971; Stanisław BEREZOWSKI, Český vědecký přínos v programech sjezdů polských lékařů a přírodovědců [The Czech scientific contribution in the programmes of the Conventions of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 118, 1979, p. 1463–1465; Lesław GRUSZCZYŃSKI. Związki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego z nauką czeską w okresie autonomii Galicji (1867–1918) [Contacts of the Jagellonian University with the Czech science in the period of Galician autonomy (1867–1918)] In Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA – Jan. JANKO (eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*, Warszawa, Wektory gospodarki, 1990, p. 8–33; DIBIEC, op. cit., 1990. Additional sources will be cited elsewhere.

⁵⁶ Let us recall especially the division of the Karl-Ferdinands-University into independent Czech and German counterparts (1882), the establishment of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Letters and Arts (1890) and the growing number of exclusively Czech scientific and professional associations. For more on this issue and literature to this problem see ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, op. cit., 2012.

The Second Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in 1882 in Prague⁵⁷ that followed on the 1881 Cracow convention, was rightly endowed with the attribute “Czech-Polish”;⁵⁸ among the 668 participants, Polish science was represented by more than 100 scholars from all three partitions, including official representatives of 21 Polish institutions like the Jagellonian University in Cracow, scientific and technological societies, journals and publishers. About one third of the delivered papers nearly in all professional sessions were Polish and read in Polish, a gesture that intended to demonstrate the negligibility of the language barriers. Professor of the Jagellonian University the pediatrician Maciej L. Jakubowski (1837–1915), Vice-President of the convention, emphasized at the opening of the convention that the common target of both nations is “to keep the Czech and Polish name respected in the field of science and scientific cooperation. For our common task is... using the national language and making it everlasting... According to these principles our common congress of physicians and naturalists will bring a real profit.”⁵⁹ Except the Poles, only one representative of the Slavic science was present: the Croatian Zagreb University sent to the convention Gustav Janeček (1848–1929),⁶⁰ professor of chemistry with Czech roots. The convention was noted, though, by Slavic scholars: besides 60 Polish telegrams and greetings, also Russian scholars sent their salutations, among them the prominent chemist A.M. Butlerov (1828–1886) who was invited to the convention, but apologized due to other duties.⁶¹ The splendor of the convention and its hospitality to the Polish delegation definitely surpassed the meeting in Cracow. The showy demonstration of the Polish-Czech alliance

⁵⁷ For detailed report on the convention see Karel CHODOUNSKÝ. Druhý sjezd českých lékařů a přírodopytců v Praze 1882 [The Second Convention of the Czech Physicians and Naturalists in Prague 1882]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 21, 1882, pp. 363–364, 374–383, 395–396, 412–413, 428–429, 441–443.

⁵⁸ REDAKCE. Stručná retrospektiva po I., II. a III. sjezdu českých lékařů a přírodopytců [Brief retrospect after the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd convention of the Czech physicians and naturalists]. *Věstník IV. sjezdu*, op. cit., 1908, p. 73; PANÝREK, op. cit., 1914, p.10.

⁵⁹ *Oznamovatel druhého sjezdu*, op. cit., 1882, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Gustav Janeček, the pupil of A. Lieben, is considered founder of the linguistically Croatian chemistry. See *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*. Vol. 3, 1951, p. 71; Ilínka SENČAR-ČUPOVIČ. Podíl Čechů a Slováků na rozvoji chorvatské chemie ve 2. pol. 19. stol. [The share of the Czechs and Slovaks in the development of Croatian chemistry in the 2nd half of the 19th century]. *Dějiny věd a techniky*, 8, 1985, p. 159–169.

⁶¹ CHODOUNSKÝ, op. cit., 1882, p. 377. Apologies also arrived from the Austrian Minister of Culture and Education who was invited, as well (the same page).

culminated at the Congress banquet, where Prague Mayor E. Skramlík and two influential Czech politicians, members of the Imperial Council, F. Rieger for the Old Czech Party and E. Tønner for the Young Czech Party toasted the Poles, thus highlighting the political aspect of the convention.

In the background of these conspicuous manifestations of Czech-Polish partnership, informal but important negotiations about future joint actions were taking place, as follows from Chodounský's report about the Prague convention: "There is no doubt that coming closer and personal acquaintance of physicians and naturalists of both nations will influence, to a great extent further development of our literature;⁶² already in Prague various questions had been discussed and ... desire was expressed that more of our students would attend Polish universities and the Poles ours; this way a wider perspective would be gained and we would not be forced to look for universities that act against our efforts" [meant are the German universities]. Besides exchange of students, the Czechs also proposed creation of joint journals that would publish extensive theoretical medical and scientific papers.⁶³

Although the debates on cooperation focused on practical questions, they also had their political implication as the initial stage of a consistent effort to institute "Slavic science" as an effective tool of pushing through the cultural and political interests of the Slavic nations in the Habsburg Empire. This idea was also stressed by the geologist F. Krejčí who appealed at the convention banquet to unification of the Slavic nations: "As to our position as Czechs and Slavs in the vast Austrian Empire, let us remember that the idea of Slavic mutuality emerged instantly with the rebirth of our national life ... If this mutuality should not only remain a nicely sounding word, it must convert into nice action ... which cannot be realized better than in literary and scientific cooperation of Slavs... In this respect ... I have a warm wish that the Polish conventions of naturalists in Cracow and Lemberg and our Czech congresses would be joined by conventions in Zagreb and Ljubljana, where we all Austrian Slavs would greet each other under the banners of scientific progress and reinforce each other in a steadfast advance. The great number of Slavs in the vast Austrian Empire and our participation in the burdens of state matters give us equal rights with the German tribes of the Empire. These equal rights mean also equal dignity which can only be acquired by cultural and scientific work".⁶⁴

⁶² Here Chodounský means professional literature.

⁶³ CHODOUNSKÝ, op. cit., 1882, pp. 377 and 429.

⁶⁴ *Oznamovatel druhého sjezdu*, op. cit., 1882, p. 46.

The successful second Prague convention in 1882 encouraged the hopes of the Czechs in a future extensive Slavic scientific cooperation, nevertheless it took another almost twenty years before this vision began to materialize. What was happening in those years between the second convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in 1882 and the third in 1901? Why had it taken nineteen years to call another Czech convention if no obvious bureaucratic or political obstacles had been standing in the way of such meeting? We may only guess that for some time the new generation of the Czech scientists and physicians had different priorities, such as the completion of a network of Czech academic and non-academic institutions and professional associations, implementing modern teaching and research programs at the Czech universities and secondary schools, and focusing on high quality research. Nevertheless, the idea of Slavic scientific cooperation still remained alive, and the gap in the Czech conventions was filled to some extent by Polish conventions, in which the Czech scientists, particularly the physicians, continued to participate.

The 4th Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists called in 1884 to Posen, located in the Prussian partition, initially evoked great interest among Czech physicians, but eventually only a six-member delegation of the Prague Czech University Medical Faculty arrived at the meeting. According to some sources⁶⁵ the Prussian authorities had placed obstacles in the way of Czech participation, but the actual circumstances are unclear. The negative attention of the Prussian authorities might have been evoked by two actions that appeared neutral at first glance. To reduce the language barriers, Chodounský issued in 1884 a short Czech-Polish medical dictionary as an appendix to the Journal of the Czech Physicians (Fig. 3.)⁶⁶

At the same time, the Poles published a fancy festive volume celebrating the opening of the Czech Medical Faculty in Prague in 1883.⁶⁷ Czech delegations also attended the subsequent Polish conventions in 1888 in Lemberg (Russian partition) and in 1891 in Cracow (Austrian partition). While the Lemberg meeting

⁶⁵ OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971; see also the report on the Convention written by a member of the Czech delegation, Josef ZÍT. Čtvrtý sjezd lékařů a přírodopycův polských. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 23, 1884, pp. 390–394, 423–425, 441.

⁶⁶ Karel CHODOUNSKÝ. *Diferenční slovník lékařský česko-polský a polsko-český* [Differential medical dictionary, Czech-Polish and Polish-Czech]. Příloha k *Časopisu lékařů českých* ročník 1884, číslo 10. Praha, Nákladem Spolku lékařů českých, 1884.

⁶⁷ *Otmarcie czeskiego fakultetu lekarskiego w Pradze* [Opening of the Czech medical faculty in Prague], 1883. As I was not able to find this book in any library catalogue, I am referring to the secondary source OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971, p. 377.

was visited only by a small group of physicians, more than twenty physicians and naturalists participated in the Cracow convention, including official representatives of the recently founded Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Czech Medical Faculty, Association of the Czech Physicians and other principal cultural organizations. Bohuslav Raýman, the Secretary General of the Czech Academy, was elected Honorary President of the convention.⁶⁸ The sources imply⁶⁹ that in all these conventions the Czech delegations were welcomed with great fanfare and superbly treated at banquets, excursions and official receptions. Czechs were elected to presidiums of the congresses and presented their papers in the scientific program. The organizing committees received numerous telegrams from Czech cultural, scientific and political organizations and individuals. Several Czech firms presented their products at the healthcare and scientific exhibitions, like chemical glassware, physical devices, medical aids, books and other things. Nevertheless these formal manifestations were only a prelude to more fundamental events.

Politicization of the Czech-Polish Cooperation

The mid-nineties represented a turning point, not only in the quality of Polish-Czech scientific contacts, but also in Slavic scientific cooperation in general. In this context it is necessary to highlight two circumstances. The first one is the existence of two strong Czech professional communities in the Czech Lands, the chemists and the physicians, from which particularly the physicians endeavoured to constitute an organized and goal-oriented collaboration of Slavic scientists, while the chemists showed less interest. The other important condition we should be aware of is further politicization of scientific contacts due not only to increasing nationalism in the Czech Lands, but also owing to the reinforcement of various forms of nationalistic tensions in Central and Eastern Europe. The ever stronger politicizing of scientific life was also reflected in the ups and downs of Czech participation in the Polish conventions of physicians and naturalists.

⁶⁸ BEREZOWSKI, op. cit., 1979, p. 1464.

⁶⁹ OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971; BEREZOWSKI, op. cit., 1979; ZÍT, op. cit., 1884; Karel CHODOUNSKÝ. V. sjezd lékařů a přírodopytců polských ve Lvově [5th convention of the physicians and naturalists in Lemberg]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 27, 1888, p. 474–475, here starts Chodounský's long report which is published in the following issues of the journal up to p. 649; Ladislav HAŠKOVEC. 6. sjezd polských lékařů a přírodopytců v Krakově 16.–20. srpna 1891 [6th convention of the physicians and naturalists in Cracow, August 16–20, 1891]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 30, 1891, pp. 764–766, 785–786, 805–807, 825, 844–845, 862–863, 882, 902–903, 922–923, 965–966, 985–986, 1029–1030.

Quite unexpectedly the Czech academics ignored the convention in Lemberg in 1894, and this lack of interest is evident also on the pages of the Czech professional journals, which only published very short formal announcements and no reports. The cooling of relations between the Czechs and Poles was caused according to some sources “by external political reasons unrelated to the medical community” which were not closer specified.⁷⁰

Even more intriguing are the events associated with the subsequent Polish convention which was to take place in Posen in August 1898.⁷¹ This convention was supported (unlike the previous one) by the Czechs with great enthusiasm, and on the initiative of the Association of the Czech Physicians it had not only a Polish but also a Czech organizing committee. Fifteen Czech papers were registered, and it was expected that not only professional problems would be discussed, but also “Slavic issues”, apparently in conjunction with the efforts of the Czechs to intensify Czech-Slavic cooperation. In this sense not only some Czech scientific journals,⁷² but also the Czech daily newspapers had informed about the meeting.

Concurrently, a few newspapers in Germany warned that the Posen convention is only a “manoeuvre of certain Czech politicians who under the pretext of science attempt to conduct Pan-Slavic propaganda on the soil of the German Empire.”⁷³ One month before the convention, the Prussian authorities unexpectedly banned the congress without clear justification and threatened that “every foreigner who arrives in Posen will be forcibly transported by the police to the borders of the Empire”.⁷⁴ The sources agree that the main reason for the ban was the expected participation of the Czechs in the congress. This was also in the letter of the Prussian government of July 19, 1898, which made clear that the “convention was banned because the foreign press [meaning apparently the Czech press] called for largest possible participation in the congress so that the congress

⁷⁰ OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971, p. 378.

⁷¹ Events connected with the convention were described in detail in OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1965.

⁷² The Convention was announced also in the Czech chemical journal *Listy chemické*, see Sjezd lékařů a přírodopytčů polských. *Listy chemické*, 22, 1898, p. 24.

⁷³ OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1965, p. 121.

⁷⁴ Quoted from Zprávy. VIII. sjezd lékařů a přírodních polských [News. 8th Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 37, 1898, p. 677–678. quot. p. 677.

would become a meeting place of all Slavs and be transformed into a political demonstration”.⁷⁵

The prohibition of the Polish congress evoked heated reactions both on the Polish (from the Austrian partition) and Czech sides. The Poles claimed that the Czechs should not be blamed for the conduct of the Prussian authorities, that the cause of the ban lay in the historical relation of the German and Polish nations and wherever the future convention will take place, the Poles will always count on scientific cooperation with Czech physicians and naturalists.⁷⁶ The *Przegląd Lekarski* [Medical Review] published in Cracow commented indignantly: “We could not believe that such a ban can be issued in times of peace... In 1884 a similar convention was called to Posen. The Prussian government could have been persuaded then that the Polish physicians and naturalists strictly adhered to the scientific program without any intervention from the side of the government... Also this time the Prussian government ... could clearly see that except science the 8th Convention had no room for other goals... The action of the Prussian government is a slap in the face of law ... and we insist that the action of the Prussian President in Posen which prevented the Polish physicians of the two other partitions participate in the congress is an act of international willfulness, brutal power and violence and not of right, decency and real need”.⁷⁷ Eventually the representatives of Polish scientific institutions in Galicia, as well as all leading Polish scientists in Galicia sent an agitated letter of protest to the Austrian Ministry of Interior and the National Minister for Poland (Landsmann-Minister⁷⁸), which was also reprinted in the Journal of the Czech Physicians.⁷⁹

In the letter the Poles complained about the atrocious and unjust behavior of the Prussian government which treated “men of science” as a “gathering of plotters” and appealed to the Austrian government to defend the rights of its Polish subjects and the “interests of national and international science”. If it

⁷⁵ OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1965, p. 121. The author used as his source the Polish medical journal *Przegląd Lekarski* of 1898.

⁷⁶ VIII. sjezd lékařů a přírodníkův polských [8th Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists]. *Casopis lékařů českých*, 37, 1898, p. 639.

⁷⁷ Quoted from VIII. sjezd lékařů a přírodníkův polských v Poznani [8th Convention of the Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Posen]. *Casopis lékařů českých*, 37, 1898, p. 567–568.

⁷⁸ The three chief nationalities in Cisleithania, the Germans, Poles and the Czechs, were each represented in the central government by the so-called National Minister, Landsmann-Minister.

⁷⁹ Zprávy, op. cit., 1898.

is allowed that Prussian citizens “openly encourage Austrian Germans to break ‘hard Slavic skulls’ ... then we have full right to require categorically from the government to defend from injustice part of its subjects who are not ... of an ‘inferior category’.”⁸⁰

The protest was issued in Polish and four world languages and distributed to universities, professional associations and learned societies all over the world except Germany. The Cracow daily newspaper *Nova Reforma* [New Reform] expressed its astonishment at the conduct of the German scientists who had not protested against the intervention of the Prussian government and in this way excluded themselves from international cooperation. The article even labels them “political monsters” who should remain isolated in their own society and urges Slavic scholars not to use the “comfortable beaten German track when entering the international field”.⁸¹ The Czech organizing committee, which felt a certain responsibility for this unprecedentedly escalating conflict, invited the Polish physicians and naturalists to organize an alternative congress in Prague,⁸² but ultimately the meeting was postponed and called in 1900 to Cracow which celebrated the 500th jubilee of the Jagellonian University.

It is necessary to say, however, that the severe reaction of the Prussian administration was not entirely groundless. Despite all assurances of the apolitical character of the Polish conventions, the community of Czech physicians had taken the initiative already before the Posen convention to mobilize Slavic scientists to common actions in the international field which would act as a counterweight to growing German influence.⁸³

Endeavour to Institutionalize the Pan-Slavic Scientific Cooperation at the Turn of the 19th Century: The Establishment of the Slavic Medical Committee

The affair with the unrealized Polish convention in Posen amplified the already existing tensions between the German and Slavic scientific communities and transferred them from the local to the international scene. The almost impenetrable barriers now dividing the German- and Czech speaking scientific communities

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 677.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 678.

⁸² Spolek českých lékařů, XVIII. schůze týdenní dne 11. července 1898 [Association of the Czech Physicians, 18th weekly meeting, July 11, 1898]. *Časopis lékařů českých* 37, 1898, 585.

⁸³ OBERMAJER, op.cit. 1965.

in the Czech Lands enhanced the efforts of Czech scientists to win an official national representation at the international scientific congresses independent of the German speaking scientists representing Austria-Hungary. The Czech chemists had already achieved a partial victory in getting separate representation of the Czech Lands at the international congresses of applied chemistry starting with the first one in Brussels in 1894.⁸⁴ Encouraged by their success, the Association of the Czech Physicians also attained independent representation at the international congresses of medicine, making use of a unique opportunity when the 12th International Congress of Medicine took place in Moscow in 1897 that is for the first time on Slavic territory. After complicated negotiations with the Russian organizers, a Czech National Committee was established which prepared successfully the first independent international representation of the Czech physicians. The Czech delegation comprised 131 participants (including 15 accompanying ladies) reading 32 lectures.⁸⁵ The Czech National Committee, satisfied with this success, attempted to push even further and call in Moscow a joint meeting of all Slavic physicians present at the Congress, but in this point encountered reluctance from the Russian organizers, who did not allow such meeting as they were “overly considerate towards the other non-Slavic participants of the congress”.⁸⁶ From these words, we can already sense a hint of future, more serious disagreements especially with Russian colleagues.

During the preparations for the next, 13th International Congress of Medicine in Paris in 1900, the Czech National Committee established as early as in 1898⁸⁷ a subcommittee whose task was to organize well in advance an appointment and full session of all Slavic physicians who might be present at the Congress. The subcommittee, in which the younger members of the Association of

⁸⁴ Oldřich HANČ (ed.). *100 let československé společnosti chemické, její dějiny a vývoj* [100 years of the Czech Chemical Society, its history and development]. Prague, Academia, 1966, p.30. Although this was the representation of the Czech Lands and not that of the linguistically Czech chemical community, the Czech chemists formed a majority and the only organized group among the chemists from the Czech Lands.

⁸⁵ Particulars on the international and pan-Slavic activities of the Association of the Czech Physicians were taken from Matěj PEŠINA. Slovanický lékařský komitét [The Slavic Medical Committee]. *Věstník IV. sjezdu*, op. cit., 1908, p. 257–273. Additional sources will be cited elsewhere.

⁸⁶ PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 261.

⁸⁷ It is worth mentioning that among the members of the Czech National Committee also was the famous Slovak physician Dušan Makovický (1866–1921), at that time a general practitioner in the small Slovak town Žilina, who served in the years 1905–1910 as the personal physician of the Russian writer Lev N. Tolstoy.

Czech Physicians⁸⁸ were involved, had conducted preliminary negotiations with the other Slavic national committees, which eventually resulted in a secret meeting of representatives of all Slavic national committees at the Paris congress. The agenda of the meeting was prepared by the Czech physicians and printed ahead of time in Prague in the Czech, Polish and Russian languages.

The meeting, which convened on August 2, 1900, decided to hold a General Assembly of all Slavic physicians participating in Paris, the first of its kind in history, the idea of which came entirely from the Czech national committee.⁸⁹ The assembly convened on August 6, 1900 in the large amphitheatre of the Hôtel Dieu hospital, where “perhaps all foremost Slavic medical savants of those times present at the Paris Congress assembled”.⁹⁰ The meeting was presided by J. Hlava⁹¹ from Prague, and the Honorary Presidents became V. V. Pashutin⁹² from Moscow, B. Wicherkiewicz⁹³ from Cracow, V. Subotić⁹⁴ from Belgrade, F. Gundrum⁹⁵ from Krizevec in Croatia, and Rusev⁹⁶ from Sofia, all of them well known personalities in their home countries.

The assembly and the working committees, which met again in the following days, agreed on an extensive agenda of collaboration of Slavic medical communities, which was to be implemented under the auspices of a new pan-Slavic medical association named *Comité médical slave* – Slavic Medical Committee. Elected as President was the Russian Dmitri O. de Ott (1847–1929), personal physician of the Russian Tsar and specialist in operative gynaecology, and as Vice-Presidents the Czech J. Hlava and the Pole B. Wicherkiewicz. The Secretary General became the Czech M. Pešina⁹⁷ and the Treasurer the Serb V. Subotić. Each Slavic nation

⁸⁸ Among the most active ones was Jan Semerád (1866–1926), one of the top representatives of the Association of Czech Physicians, specialist in internal medicine. See Český národní komitét pro obeslání XIII. mezinárodního sjezdu lékařského v Paříži [The Czech National Committee for the 13th International Congress of Medicine in Paris]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 37, 1898, p. 566.

⁸⁹ PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 262.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 263.

⁹¹ Jaroslav Hlava (1855–1924) founder of the modern Czech pathology.

⁹² Pashutin, Viktor Vasilievich (1845–1901), Russian biochemist and pathologist.

⁹³ Boleslaw Wicherkiewicz (1847–1915) Polish ophthalmologist.

⁹⁴ Vojislav Subotić (1859–1923), Serbian surgeon.

⁹⁵ Fran Gundrum-Oriovčanin (1856–1919), Croatian physician, health educator and popularizer of medicine.

⁹⁶ It was not possible to identify this individual.

⁹⁷ Matěj Pešina (1861–1943), one of the founders of modern Czech pediatrics.

delegated a National Secretary. This election reflects the diplomatic tactics of the prime movers, the Czechs who apparently preferred to stay in the background and pushed to the forefront the representative of the strongest Slavic nation.

The program of the Slavic Medical Committee, supplemented in the years to follow, encompassed especially the following principal goals:

- 1) Establishing a Slavic Medical Union and Union of Slavic Medical Journalists;
- 2) Publishing an international periodical *Revue générale médicale slave* (proposed in 1908);
- 3) Creating a unified Slavic scientific nomenclature;
- 4) Assembling and publishing Slavic scientific bibliographies;
- 5) Organizing regular Slavic conventions of naturalists and physicians, but before proper conditions would make these possible, substitute them with Polish, Russian, Czech and other Slavic congresses where the participants will be permitted to use their native tongues.

The idea of the Czech physicians to create an institutionalized Slavic scientific community was taken up by the Czech scientific communities in other fields, as evidenced by the three conventions of the Czech Naturalists and physicians called after long pauses (and still irregularly) in 1901, 1908 and 1914, which can rightly be considered international Slavic scientific congresses. As social events of prime importance, they hosted more than 1000 participants each, and their scientific, social and political impact fully matched that of the glorious second 1882 Prague convention of the Czech naturalists and physicians. The conventions attracted numerous Slavic scientists coming not only from other parts of the Monarchy, but also from other European countries, and even scientists with Slavic roots from the USA. Besides the Poles, also Russians, Ukrainians, Slovenians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Croatians and Slovaks attended; they all were offered a platform of communication incomparable with other European international scientific meetings.

The statute of foreign guests which was embodied in §10 of the organizational rules since the 3rd convention held in 1901,⁹⁸ said: “Guests of other nationalities are welcome as members with the right to read lectures, to discuss and make suggestions in their mother tongues, or as participants”. Summaries of foreign participants’ contributions were published in the proceedings in the respective languages. This way the attendees were encouraged to use their native languages; for instance, at the 1908 convention out of total 449 presentations, 5 were read

⁹⁸ *Věstník*, op. cit., 1901, p. 5–6.

by Russians, 17 by Poles, 2 by Croatians, 2 by Serbians and 3 by Slovenians.⁹⁹ The conventions received dozens of letters and telegrams from the whole Slavic world, which were printed in the original languages in the convention materials, and the conventions were recognized by numerous articles in the press, both the professional and political, in several countries.¹⁰⁰

Since the 4th and 5th Czech conventions (1908 and 1914), the official congress organs encompassed Slavic Committees: Bulgarian, Croatian, Polish, Russian, Slovenian,¹⁰¹ Serbian and Ukrainian (Fig. 4). If we look at the membership of the Slavic Committees¹⁰² we can see names of prominent Slavic scientists, at random for instance Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger (1856–1936), Croatian geologist, paleontologist, and archeologist; Gustav Janeček, Czech chemist (1848–1929), founder of the modern Croatian chemistry; the Poles Boleslaw Wicherkiewicz (1847–1915), internationally recognized ophthalmologist, and August Kwaśnicki (1839–1931), pediatrician and historian of medicine; among the Russians Vladimir Bekhterev (1857–1927), the famous neurologist, Nikolai N. Beketov (1827–1911), physical chemist; Evgenii Ozarkevich (1861–1916), founder of the modern Ukrainian medicine; Jovan Danić (1854–1924), the founder of the Serbian neuropsychiatry; and even the small and repressed Slovak nation was unofficially represented by Dušan Makovický (1866–1921), the personal physician and friend of the famous Russian writer Tolstoy.

The ceremonial speeches often praised the initiative of the Czechs to call their Slavic colleagues to intensive cooperation and offer them a platform for encounters. Here is one quote for all: “The warm and fraternal heart of the Czech sons did not want to stay lonely in these great days, but invited all its Slavic brothers. It did not call them to empty entertainment and celebrations, but because it wanted to bring closer the scattered brothers to ... work in the field of science. Last year [1900], the Czech brother had realized the successful Slavic medical congress in Paris, and now he again grouped us at the Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physician in the golden Prague... The Czech brothers were those who have awakened us from our lethargy, they resolutely accepted

⁹⁹ *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 532.

¹⁰⁰ For instance the actions of the 4th convention in 1908 were mentioned in the following Czech newspapers: *Národní listy*, *Národní politika*, *Den*, *Venkov*, *Čas*, *Moravská orlice*, *Pokroková Revue*; in the Polish *Słowo Polskie*, *Przegląd lekarski*, *Lwowski tygodnik lekarski*, the Russian *Novoe vremja*, and others. See *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 538–539.

¹⁰¹ Only at the 5th Congress.

¹⁰² *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 5–6, and op. cit., 1914, p. 32.

the leadership.”¹⁰³ It is necessary to point out that the Czechs actually perceived themselves as the initiators of the pan-Slavic scientific cooperation, as declares the following quotation: “We were gladdened by another feature of the ceremonial opening, namely its purely Slavic nature. The abundance of Slavic delegates, among them workers of world fame, is the best tribute of the Slavic world to the Czech science.”¹⁰⁴

The Serbs, apparently inspired by the other Slavic conventions, called their 1st Congress of Serbian Physicians and Naturalists in 1904.¹⁰⁵ Their invitation clearly stated that anybody who dealt with medicine or natural sciences and belonged to a Slavic nation can participate and lecture in any Slavic language.¹⁰⁶ In spite of this chance, only five Bulgarians came from outside the Yugoslav region, but once more a large Czech delegation signed up for the meeting,¹⁰⁷ presented nine papers in the Czech language, and the Czechs were also represented in the honorary presidium.

Unrealized Plans of Slavic Cooperation

Although the Slavic congresses of scientists and physicians radiated optimism about the pan-Slavic scientific cooperation, in reality most actions were confronted with serious obstacles and the results failed to meet the expectations of its stakeholders.

In spite of decades of strenuous effort by Czech scientists supported especially by the Poles, the ambitious program of pan-Slavic cooperation became implemented only to a limited extent. Although meetings of the Slavic Medical Committee took place during all three subsequent Prague congresses in 1901, 1908 and

¹⁰³ Speech of M. Čačkovič, the editor of the medical journal in Zagreb, at the ceremonial opening of the 3rd Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians. *Věstník*, op. cit., 1901, p. 140.

¹⁰⁴ *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 541.

¹⁰⁵ See Dragiša ATANACKOVIĆ. Devedeset godina od prvog kongresa srpskih lekara [Ninety years from the first congress of the Serbian physicians]. *Medicinski pregled*, 48, 1996, p. 353–356; Dragiša ATANACKOVIĆ. Odjek prvog kongresa srpskih lekara i prirodnjaka u tadašnjoj slovenskoj javnosti [Echo of the First Congress of Serbian Physicians and Naturalists in the Slavic public of that time]. *Medicinski pregled*, 48, 1996, 375–458.

¹⁰⁶ See PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 269–270.

¹⁰⁷ According to Pešina, *ibid.* p.270, 46 Czechs originally signed up, but 23 came to the congress.

1914, its actual work was stagnating, especially because by far not all members of the Committee showed similar enthusiasm as the Czechs. The Poles, the Russian chairman Prof. Ott¹⁰⁸ and the other Russian affiliates practically ignored the operations of the Committee. Most outlined projects were for different reasons partial or total failures. This concerned, for instance, the restricted use of other Slavic languages (for political reasons especially Polish) at the Russian scientific meetings due to official state policy and also to the reluctance of Russian physicians to fulfill the resolutions of the Slavic Medical Committee. Although the 11th Convention of the Russian Naturalists and Physicians in 1902 formally agreed with presentations in all Slavic languages, at the 9th Pirogow Congress of physicians in 1904 part of the Russian physicians refused to accept the membership of other Slavic nations. M. Pešina in his report on the activities of the Slavic Medical Committee even expressed the opinion that the “...hostile behavior of part of the Russian community of physicians against our legitimate and progressive proposal had caused that the well developing idea of rapprochement of Slavic physicians was retarded and suffered considerable damage”.¹⁰⁹ Also the internal organization of the Slavic Medical Committee was incomplete, due to the fact that only the Czech, Bulgarian, Polish (Cracow branch), joint Croatian-Slovenian and Serbian national working committees were constituted, while the Russians and Ukrainians did not react to any appeals.

Prompted by the Paris decree, J. Semerád started to publish on his own initiative in 1899 the Slavic Medical Bibliography. His ambitions were high: he intended to begin with a complete bibliography, including monographs, dissertations, etc., but his final goal was publishing a regular Slavic scientific journal *Revue slave de médecine*.¹¹⁰ These plans were never realized. An incomplete bibliography

¹⁰⁸ For instance, the transcripts of the committee meetings in 1901 document that Ott did not participate in its sessions, though he was present at the Prague convention; in 1908 he ignored most sessions and had to be persuaded to stay President, and he did not attend the session in 1914. See Zprávy ze slovanských sjezdův [News from the Slavic conventions]. In Jan SEMERÁD. *Slovanská bibliografie lékařská a revue, II. ročník 1901*[Slavic medical bibliography and revue. 2nd volume 1901]. Praha, Spolek českých lékařů v Praze, 1901; PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908.

¹⁰⁹ PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 269. Pešina tried to excuse the behaviour of the Russian colleagues by the complicated political situation in Russia that is “movements which started to churn the surface of the whole Russian society, like the wars in Far East, revolutionary storms and social upheavals”.

¹¹⁰ Jan SEMERÁD. Přehledy redakci zaslaných tiskopisův [Reports on materials sent to the publisher]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 39, 1900, p.70.

was published only in the years 1899–1902¹¹¹ (Fig.5), and then the project came to an end for financial reasons and due to the disinterest of the Slavic contributors; in these three years Semerád only received Czech and Croatian and occasional Polish contributions.

Even less promising were the prospects of a unified Slavic medical terminology as a prerequisite of other planned actions, namely constituting the Slavic Medical Union and the Union of Slavic Medical Journalists. Terminological commissions were established only by the Czechs, Poles and Ukrainians; some incomplete material was also compiled by the Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians, while the Russians did not send any information.¹¹² The differences in Slavic languages proved to be an almost insurmountable obstacle in establishing a pan-Slavic scientific press which would disseminate the results of the Slavic scientific production not only in the Slavic speaking world, but also within the non-Slavic scientific communities where the use of German, English or French languages prevailed.

Terminological problems were discussed, for instance, at the 5th Czech convention in 1914. The debate brought forward the possibility to introduce a Slavic *lingua franca* or publishing in all Slavic languages; but in such a case the secondary schools would have to introduce teaching of all Slavic languages, an unrealistic solution that was likely to meet with political and economic obstacles. The use of “the most educated Slavic languages, Czech, Polish, Russian and one south Slavic,” which would then be translated in official translation centers, was regarded as the most appropriate but improbable option. The discussions also pointed to the necessity of transforming into the Latin alphabet all Slavic languages and to the unwillingness of Russians to comply with any of these potential solutions, because for them the “scientific production of many Slavic nations was not worth the expended work”.¹¹³

Despite many good intentions and extensive plans, the activity of the Slavic Medical Committee steadily declined. A report from the only meeting called, at

¹¹¹ In 1899 the bibliography appeared in the Journal of the Czech Physicians at the end of each odd number. Then it was published in three volumes as an appendix of the Journal, and afterwards, for some time in 1901, again at the end of odd numbers of the journal. Compare Jan SEMERÁD. *Slovanská bibliografie lékařská* [Slavic medical bibliography]. Vol. 1, Praha, Spolek českých lékařů v Praze, 1900; Vol. 2, ibid., 1901; Vol. 3, ibid., 1902.

¹¹² SEMERÁD, op. cit. 1901, p. 231–232.

¹¹³ For the debates on this issue see for instance Jan SEMERÁD. Problém všeslovanského vědeckého tisku [The problems of the all-Slavic scientific press]. *Věstník*, op. cit., 1914, p. 707–708.

the 5th Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in Prague in 1914,¹¹⁴ criticized the unsatisfactory work of the Committee, which according to B. Wicher-kiewicz could not even convene at the 17th International Congress of Medicine in London in 1913, “as some members were not present at the Congress and ...others [especially the Russians] could not be persuaded to attend the meeting”.

Epilogue

World War One paralyzed pan-Slavic scientific cooperation, but the idea surfaced again after the war. In 1925 the Pan-Slavic Medical Union was established in Dubrovnik, whose first convention met in 1927 in Warsaw and the second one in Prague in 1928 at the occasion of the 6th Convention of the Czechoslovak Naturalists, Physicians and Engineers.¹¹⁵ In Prague also took place the 1st Convention of the Slavic Geographers¹¹⁶ and two congresses of Slavic botanists, in 1921 and 1928¹¹⁷, the second one hosted by Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians. In the entirely new postwar political constellation, however, the conventions lost their political character and there seemed no need of reviving the Slavic professional press, as Slavic scientists mostly got rid of the nationalistic pressures of the past and joined the international communication network. Eventually, the emergence of Nazism and the threat of war pushed the issues of Slavic scientific cooperation into the background.

Conclusions

This paper indicates that pan-Slavic scientific cooperation was promoted above all by the community of Czech physicians within an official institutional base, the Slavic Medical Committee founded in 1900 during the 13th International Congress of Medicine in Paris. If we add the other initiatives of the Czech

¹¹⁴ *Věstník*, op. cit., 1914, p. 173.

¹¹⁵ II. sjezd Všeslovanského lékařského svazu [2nd Convention of the Pan-Slavic Medical Union]. In *Věstník VI. sjezdu československých přírodovědců, lékařů a inženýrů v Praze 1928*, p. 568–572.

¹¹⁶ These conventions continued until at least 1936, when the 4th Convention of Slavic Geographers and Ethnographers was called to Sofia. Some data about the Slavic conventions were taken from Vladimír VACEK –Petr BUREŠ. *Botanika, dějiny oboru na Masarykově univerzitě v Brně* [Botanic, the history of the field at the Masaryk University in Brno]. Undated, http://www.sci.muni.cz/bot_zahr/BOTANIKAdějiny.pdf, visited April 22, 2015.

¹¹⁷ The 3rd Convention of Slavic Botanists took place in 1931 in Warsaw.

scientists (not only of the physicians), especially the effort to turn the Czech conventions into all-Slavic conventions, lobbying of Czech delegations at the other Slavic conventions, attempts to create a pan-Slavic scientific press, and other activities, we may rightly consider the Czech scientific community as the hegemon of an endeavor to create a Slavic scientific community with Prague as its center.

The long-lasting endeavor of Czech scientific circles to establish an institutionalized Slavic scientific network, which culminated at the turn of the 20th century, must be perceived especially in the light of the strengthening purposeful effort of the Czech academic circles to get rid of the domination of the linguistically German scientific community in the Czech Lands. We should see these activities also in the context of the political and social environment in the Czech Lands, with the strong demarcation line between the Czech and German scientific communities existing since the 1880s and the artificial language barrier created by anti-German chauvinism in the Czech Lands, which prevented Czech scientists from publishing in German (the *lingua franca* in those times). These circumstances which threatened to drive the Czech scientific community into international isolation, evoked the need to look for adequate allies and partners for cooperation in Europe. The natural allies proved to be the other Slavic scientific communities, and with their assistance the Czech scientists hoped to attain dominance over the German scientific community in the Czech Lands and stay “patriotic” without being internationally isolated. Creation of a new “patriotic” science, “Slavic science”, seemed to be a good compromise which was able to lift the linguistically Czech science from domestic isolation to European cooperation as a member of the large transnational Slavic scientific community.

We must point out, however, that not all professional communities in the Czech Lands perceived these problems with the same urgency. While Czech chemists were well prepared and ready for international cooperation,¹¹⁸ physicians were underrepresented in the European medical community and felt very urgently the necessity to seek adequate (in this case Slavic) partners. At the same time they denied any chauvinistic motivations, as evidenced by the following quote: “Our intentions were and are purely idealistic, to serve only the welfare of all Slavic nations. We are aware that even today we might be criticized for chauvinism which is always the weapon against us if we intend to unify more Slavic tribes for

¹¹⁸ These issues are discussed in detail in ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, op. cit., 2012. At the turn of the 20th century, the natural scientists, especially the chemists, unlike the physicians, had intensive interactions with Western science, especially the French and British, and were not avoiding contacts with German chemists.

joint work. At these occasions we make use of the known slogan which has been often used against us Slavs – science is international and must stay international.”¹¹⁹

The extensive project of Slavic scientific integration and the creation of a transnational Slavic scientific community, initiated and coordinated by the Czech scientific community (especially the physicians), whose implementation had started in the 1880s, never fully materialized. Its failure, especially the fiasco of the programme of the Slavic Medical Committee, was caused by multiple reasons. One of them was the language issue, namely the inability to agree on the mode of communication and dissemination of the scientific results in a multilingual community, just at a time when the use of national scientific languages had grown in importance simultaneously with the strengthening of international cooperation.

Using Slavic languages to overcome potential international isolation turned out to be a blind alley.¹²⁰ We also must take into account that the existence of a functioning Slavic scientific international organization did not correspond to political and social reality and the existing international tensions which reflected themselves also in the work of the Slavic Medical Committee. From this perspective the disinterest in the program, or even quiet opposition to it, of the key partner, the Russian scientific community whose active participation was indispensable for the success of the project, should be understood. In fact, indifference and even obstructions from the side of the Russians was one of the main factors that greatly impeded most of the joint activities.

The insufficient motivation of the Russian scholars had its concrete political reasons, like the animosity between the Russians and Poles due to the Russian annexation of Poland, or the state of affairs driving Russia and Austria-Hungary to opposite sides of the European political barricade. The sources also document that the traditional Russophilia of the Czechs was vanishing at the end of the

¹¹⁹ PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 264.

¹²⁰ Jan SURMAN in his article *Divided Space – Divided Science? Closing and transcending scientific boundaries in Central Europe*. In Boyd RAYWARD (ed.), *Information beyond borders: International cultural and intellectual exchange in the Belle Époque*. Burlington-Surrey, Ashgate Publishing, 2013, p. 69–84, points to “practices that were employed to overcome isolation at a time of increasing nationalization [of science]”, namely “the practice of publishing in languages other than the local or institutional language” (p. 71). He also shows, similarly to my article, that using Slavic languages for this objective did not turn out to be a useful solution. Surman discusses in this respect the case of the journal *Archives Slaves de Biologie* established in Paris in 1887, which published articles in Slavic languages with the “explicit aim of bridging linguistic boundaries to allow Slavic scholars to participate more directly in the development of universal science” (p. 75), but eventually only four volumes were issued.

19th century, being replaced by inclination toward other Slavic nations, especially the Poles, and a critical approach to the Russians. Thus identification with a “Slavic nation” as a unifying principle proved to be illusory, as the Great War fully revealed.

The extensive program of pan-Slavic scientific integration can be considered as a unique, though unsuccessful, historical attempt of integrating the periphery and creating a new centre, in this instance Prague (or the Czech Lands) as a center of “Slavic science”. The endeavor to launch an institutionalized cooperation of the Slavic scientists can also be discussed in terms of building a Slavic identity through formation of a Slavic scientific community, as well as a special case of nationalization of scientific knowledge, in this case “Slavic nationalization” as treated recently in the volume edited by M. Ash and J. Surman.¹²¹ Moreover, it could be debated in relation to practices that were employed in the Slavic scientific communities to overcome political and linguistic borders at a time of increasing nationalization of science.¹²²

Remark

The translations of Czech, Polish and other quotations into English were done by the author.

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¹²¹ Mitchell G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848–1918)*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; compare in this connection especially, Mitchell G. ASH – Jan SURMAN. *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Europe: An Introduction*, p. 1–29, and Jan SURMAN. *Science and its Publics: Internationality and National Languages in Central Europe*, p. 30–56.

¹²² See Note 120.

XV. Aus dem Königreiche Preussen. Baumgarten - Crusius Brewer Buch, von Burdach Coverden, van Damerow Dulk Frick Glocker Göppert Harless Hövel, von Kuh Müller	Oppenheim Osann Otto Rose, G. Rose, H. Sachs Schlesinger Scholtz Stosch, von Wagenmann Zellner Zeune XVI. Aus dem Kaiserthume Russland. Simon	XVII. Aus dem Königreiche Sachsen. Ammon, von Hänel, Albert Hänel Rumpelt Weigel XVIII. Aus dem Grossherzogthume Sachsen-Weimar. Froriep, von	XIX. Aus der Republik Schweiz. Brunner XX. Aus dem Königreiche Spanien. Folch Rubio XXI. Aus der Turkey. Maurocordato, Prinz XXII. Aus dem Königreiche Würtemberg. Gutbrod
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C. Aus fremden Welttheilen.

I. Vom Cap der guten Hoffnung. Fleck	II. Aus dem Freystaate Monte-Video. Vilardebo	III. Aus den vereinigten Staaten v. Nordamerika. Frick
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ÜBERSICHT.

A. Aus den k. k. österreichischen Staaten 333, nämlich:

I. Aus Oesterreich 239	VII. Aus Krain 1	XIII. Aus Siebenbürgen 2
II. » Böhmen 15	VIII. » dem Küstenlande 2	XIV. » Steyermark 5
III. » Croatien 1	IX. » der Lombardie 10	XV. » Tirol 1
IV. » Dalmatien 2	X. » Mähren 9	XVI. » Ungarn 33
V. » Gallizien 6	XI. » Salzburg 1	XVII. » Venedig 4
VI. » Kärnthen 1	XII. » Schlesien 1	

B. Aus den übrigen europäischen Staaten 82, nämlich:

I. Aus Bayern 10	IX. Aus Hessen 2	XVII. Aus Sachsen 5
II. » Bremen 1	X. » dem Kirchenstaate 1	XVIII. » Sachsen-Weimar 1
III. » Finnland 1	XI. » Krakau 4	XIX. » der Schweiz 1
IV. » Frankfurt a. M. 2	XII. » Mecklenburg-Schwerin 1	XX. » Spanien 2
V. » Frankreich 3	XIII. » Neapel 1	XXI. » der Turkey 1
VI. » Grossbritannien 6	XIV. » Parma 1	XXII. » Würtemberg 1
VII. » Hamburg 6	XV. » Preussen 26	
VIII. » Hannover 5	XVI. » Russland 1	

C. Aus fremden Welttheilen 3, nämlich:

I. Aus Afrika 1.	II. Aus Amerika 2.
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Summe 418.

Fig. 1. Number of participants from various countries at the 10th Convention of the German Natural Scientists and Physicians in Berlin in 1832 (from *Amtlicher Bericht über die Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte zu Wien 1832, Wien 1833*, p. 42)

polovici šourku, kterou jsme profizli a značnou část
dobrého hnisu vypustili. Tři dni později jsme druhou
o něco menší hlizu vedle první otevřeli.

Dne 14. prosince nastaly opět bolesti v levém

chorobným. Dne
cela zdravém stavu,
lze namakati tvrdý
ořech velký zbytek

III. Z p r á v y.

Spolek českých lékařův.

Schůze 92há dne 30. května 1864.

Došel list úřední: Č. 1613 P. P. *Bl.* p. dr. *J. Purkyněvi*, c. k. professoru fysiologie a předsedovi spolku lékařův českých.

Vysoké c. k. státní ministerstvo nepovolilo spolku lékařův českých v Praze ohledem na spolkové stanovy svolání lékařů českých, do spolku nepřislušících, do Prahy, které ve hromadě dne 4. ledna t. r. odbývané uzavřeno bylo a ve stanovách podstaty nemá. Což se Vám, vyřizujíc dotýcnou žádost, následkem výnosu c. k. náměstnictví od 23. května t. r. č. 31279 ve vědomost uvádí. Přílohy nadzminěné žádosti se vám vrací.

Od c. k. policejního ředitelství v Praze dne 27. května 1864.

Ullmann m. p.

Jaké kroky další by se měly státi, aby vys. vláda povolila sjezd lékařův, ponecháno poradě v některé jiné schůzi, proto že p. předseda prof. *Purkyně* k cís. akademii věd do Vídně co řádný člen odejel.

P. dr. *Staněk* vypravuje případ úplavice močové cukrové.

P. dr. *Špott* mluví o případech tělocvikem léčených.

Změny ve stavu vojenských lékařů.

Jmenování: Za nadlékaře vych. akad. *Štěp. Klempa* u 55. pl., za ranlékaře *J. Blume* u 5. pl. hus.

Přesazeni: I pl. ke kadet. ústavu nem. v Komárně, *A. pl.*; nadlékaři: *A. pl.*, *A. Herzka* od 2 pl., *Ferd. Laufberger* pl. hus. k 46. pl., p k 8. pl. dělostř.

Na odpočine

Za služby výte obdržel řád Frant. J kríž s korunou dr. *Fr. Agler*, a *Fr. Sch* lékař *K. Neuer*. Za ských v Schleswigu v 3. třídy prof. *Esman* dr. *Snestern-Paulý*, studenti *Bliefert* a *Salomon* a hanovers *Schuster*.

Prof. botaniky v rytířským řádu Leopo

V stolec Aradsk 1. května r. t. 1827 Mor dobytí v

Fig. 2. Report from the *Časopis lékařův českých* 1864 (Journal of the Czech Physicians) with the official letter announcing the ban of the planned congress of the Czech physicians.

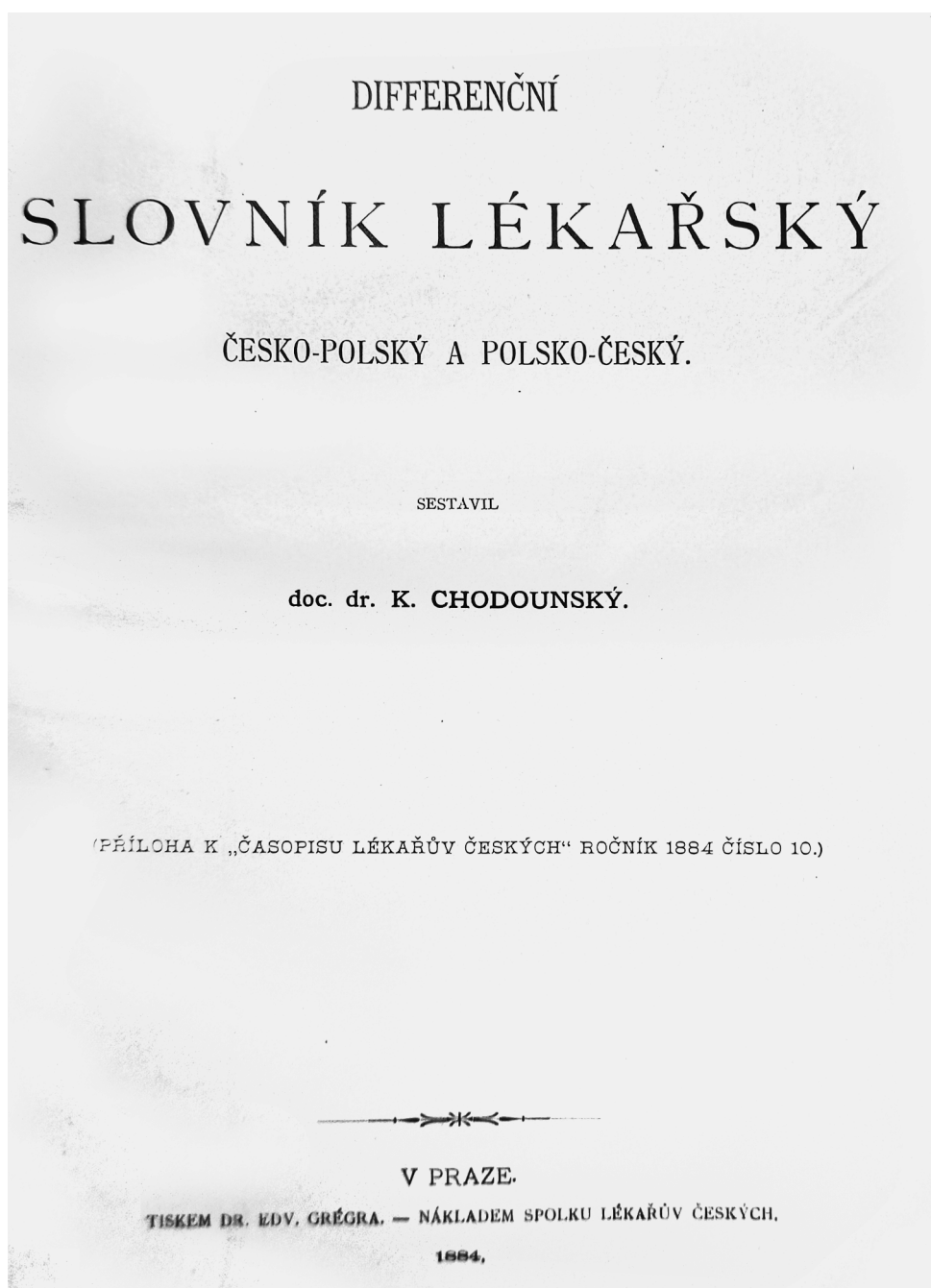


Fig. 3. Chodounský's *Czech-Polish Differential Medical Dictionary* published in 1884.

SLOVANSKÉ KOMITÉTY.

Komitéť bulharský:

Předseda: dr. MAXM. RUSSEV, ředitel ústavu pro ochranu veřejného zdraví.
Sekretář: dr. CHRISTO DARLENSKI, náčelník identifik. bureau při polic. ředitelství v Sofii.
Členové: dr. G. ZOLOTOVIČ, předseda vrchní medicínské rady, dr. IVAN MICHALOV, ředitel stoličné městské sanitární služby.

Komitéť charvatský:

Předseda: dr. MIROSLAV ŠI. ČAČKOVIČ, primář nemocnice v Zááhřebě.
Sekretář: dr. VLAD. JELOVŠEK, sekundář nemocnice v Zááhřebě.
Členové: Ph. dr. DRAGUTIN GORJANOVIČ-KRAMBERGER, král. ř. universitní profesor, prof. VINKO HLA-VINKA, ř. prof. lesnické akademie, Ph. dr. GUST. JANEČEK, kr. ř. univ. profesor, MUdr. IVAN KOSIRNIK, primář a ředitel nemocnice, Ph. dr. OTON KUČEŘA, ř. prof. lesnické akademie, BOGOSLAV ZJEVAČIČ, kr. komitátní zvěrolékař, Ph. dr. IVAN POLASEK, lékárník, dr. DRAGUTIN SCHWARZ, primář, dr. NIKOLA WINTERHALER, zubní lékař.

Komitéť polský:

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Dr. AUG. KWASNICKI, předseda pátého X. sjezdu lékařů a přírodních polských, dr. E. BORZECKI, primář, předseda Towarzystwa lekarskiego krakowskiego, prof. dr. STANISLAW CIECHANOWSKI, redaktor „Przeglądu lekarskiego“.

Komitéť ruský:

Prof. BEKETOV (Akademie věd), prof. BORGMAN, rektor Petrohradské university, prof. BOTKIN, z voj. lékař. akademie, prof. N. BORODIN (Akademie věd), prof. VELJAMINOV (Akademie věd), prof. VLADIMIROV, člen ústavu pro pokusnou medicínu, prof. A. INOSTRANCEV, prof. geologie na petrohr. univ., prof. PAVLOV, petrohr. univ., prof. PODVYSOCKIJ, -fed. úst. pro pokusnou medicínu, prof. SAVANTOV, žensk. lékař. úst. v Petrohradě, prof. SALAZKIN, žen. lékař. ústav v Petrohradě, prof. TILING, ředitel klin. ústavu velkokněžny Heleny Pavlovny, prof. TIŠENKO z petrohr. univ., prof. FAVORSKIJ, z petrohr. univ., prof. CHLOPIN ze žensk. lékař. učiliště v Petrohradě.

Komitéť slovinský se sestavuje.

Komitéť srbský:

Předseda: Dr. JOVAN DANIČ.
Členové: dr. LJ. STOJANOVIČ, nemocniční lékař, dr. E. MICHEL, prosektor, dr. JIŘÍ NEŠIČ, oční lékař.

Komitéť ukrajinský:

Dr. EVGENIJ OZARKÉVIČ.

PŘEDSEDOVÉ A TAJEMNÍCI SEKCI:

I. SEKCE: *Anatomie, srovnávací anatomie, zoologie, anthropolgie.*

Prof. Dr. František Vejdovský, Prof. Dr. Alois Mrázek, Prof. MUDr. Otakar Srdínko,
 tajemník.
 (Vinohrady, Karlova tř. 17.)

II. SEKCE: *Botanika, agrikulturní botanika a fytopathologie.*

Prof. Dr. František Bubák, Docent Dr. Karel Domin,
 tajemník.
 (Botanický ústav na Šlupci.)

III. SEKCE: *Fysiologie, pathologie, fysiologická a experimentální pathologie, toxikologie.*

Prof. MUDr. Karel Chodounský, Prof. Dr. Bohumil Němec, Prof. MUDr. Edvard Babák,
 tajemník.
 (Smíchov, Skalka 800.)

Fig. 4. Slavic Committees at the 4th Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in Prague in 1908. From Věstník 4. sjezdu českých přírodopýtců a lékařů, Praha 1908, p. 10.

SLOVANSKÁ
BIBLIOGRAFIE LÉKAŘSKÁ
A R E V U E.

Pořádá

Dr. JAN SEMERÁD.

II. ročník 1901.

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Nákladem Spolku českých lékařů v Praze.

Tiskem dr. Edv. Grégra v Praze.

Fig. 5. The second volume of the Slavic Medical Bibliography compiled by J. Semerád in 1901.