

## OBSAH // CONTENTS

### ČLÁNKY PAPERS

- 199 “Provincial” universities and scientific networks in the Habsburg monarchy. Introductory remarks // „Provinční“ univerzity a sítě vědy v Habsburské monarchii. Úvodní poznámky • MITCHELL G. ASH
- 205 Absolute loyalty or the calm before the storm? Some events at the Prague University in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century // Absolutní loajalita nebo ticho před bouří? Z dění na pražské univerzitě v první polovině 19. století • MILADA SEKYRKOVÁ
- 217 Communicating politics in the dissecting room. The influence of medical students and physicians from Prague Charles-Ferdinand University on the liberal model of human progress at Vienna University // Politika v pitevně. Vliv studentů medicíny a lékařů z českých zemí na liberální model lidského pokroku na Vídeňské univerzitě • FELICITAS SEEBACHER
- 229 Gathering Experience Abroad. The study-tours of students and teachers from the Technical University of Budapest 1899–1914 // Získávání zkušeností ze zahraničí. Studijní cesty studentů a vyučujících z Technické univerzity v Budapešti v letech 1899–1914 • ÁTTILA SZILÁRD TAR
- 240 The dichotomy of students and university teachers of Slovenian descent between academic careers and the expectations of the Slovenian nationalists. From the March revolution to the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy // Dichotomie studentů a univerzitních vyučujících slovinského původu mezi akademickou kariérou a naděje slovinských nacionalistů od březnové revoluce po rozpad habsburské monarchie • ANA CERGOL PARADIŽ – ŽELJKO OSET

- 259 Alma mater Carolo-Ferdinanda – Alma mater Jagellonica. Mutual inspirations and contacts between Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague and Jagiellonian University in Cracow 1882–1918 // Alma mater česká Carolo-Ferdinanda – Alma mater Jagellonica. Vzájemné inspirace a kontakty mezi českou Karlo-Ferdinandovou univerzitou v Praze a Jagellonskou univerzitou v Krakově v letech 1882–1918 • MAREK ĎURČANSKÝ
- 274 Turning „province“ to a „centre“? Ambitions to establish institutionalized network of Slavic scientists at the turn of the 19th century // Změna „provincie“ na centrum? Ambice vytvořit institucionalizovanou síť slovanských vědců na rozhraní 10. a 20. století • SOŇA ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ

## RECENZE REVIEWS

- 311 Leah DeVun: Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time. John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages // Proroctví, alchymie a konec času. John of Rupescissa v pozdním středověku. Columbia University Press, 2014 • VLADIMÍR KARPENKO

## ZPRÁVY REPORTS

- 314 Zprávy z literatury // Reports from literature
- 316 Recenzní řízení v roce 2015 // Review procedure in 2015

The issue is dedicated to the 7th International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science to be held in Prague, 22–24 September, 2016

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150th anniversary of the presentation Gregor Johann Mendel's research

## **“Provincial” Universities and Scientific Networks in the Habsburg Monarchy**

### **Introductory Remarks**

**MITCHELL G. ASH**

The papers in this issue were originally presented at a symposium held as part of the sixth International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science in Lisbon in September 2014. The conference location was, in a way, quite appropriate; for in Portugal, too, and not only in East Central Europe, issues of “center” and “periphery” have long been topics of discussion and debate, both in the political and the cultural spheres. For many years, scholarship on scientific and scholarly networks tended simply to accept attributions of “central” or “peripheral” status from the political sphere, that is, simply to follow political and economic power relations more or less uncritically.

More recently, awareness has grown that both terms in this duality require justification, differentiation and perhaps even modification. To cite a well known example: as the case of seventeenth-century London shows, political and economic centers could become centers of science and scholarship, *inter alia* through the work of the Royal Society, long before any universities were located there. To reverse the perspective: certain universities with high reputations, such as Oxford, Cambridge, the Sorbonne or later the University of Berlin, have consistently been regarded as academic “centers”, whether or not they were located in the capital cities of their respective states. However, certain apparently “provincial” locations could suddenly become “centers” when a charismatic teacher or researcher moved there; the case of physician Hermann Boerhave in Leiden is one of many such examples. Perhaps more important for the present discussion is that places regarded as “provincial” when seen from imperial “centers” such as Paris or Vienna can and have become themselves “centers” when viewed from a more localized perspective.

The papers in this issue address multiple aspects of this complex topic, focusing specifically on academic and scientific activities outside Vienna within the education and science systems of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1800 to 1918. In the following remarks I discuss each contribution briefly in more or less chronological order.

**Milada Sekyrková** modestly subtitles her contribution “Some events at the Prague University in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”. In her paper she addresses the long held claim that at the university in Prague, as elsewhere in the Habsburg monarchy, the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of absolute state control, in which universities lacked freedom of scientific investigation or any free expression of opinion in teaching. As she shows, theology was the academically weakest faculty in this period, though professors there and in the Faculty of Law did produce contributions to Czech history. The Faculty of Medicine was the only one engaged in scientific research in the modern sense. The Faculty of Arts (Philosophical Faculty) appears at first to have changed the least during this period, remaining merely a preparatory for studies at the other three faculties. The well-studied affair around philosopher Bernhard Bolzano’s dismissal in 1819 for advocating liberal views in his sermons and writings, and the vehement protest of the faculty senate against this act indicated the potential for disturbing new ideas. After this event and the rigorous suppression of student protests following the Paris revolution of 1830, the situation appears on the surface to have become as quiet and unoriginal as traditional historiography has suggested. The fact that lectures had to be submitted in advance to authorities in Vienna for approval indicates nearly complete dependence on the political “center”; surviving records of academic staff meetings indicate that teaching appointments remained highly politicized. First indications of change to come included the establishment of the habilitation as a teaching qualification, first in medicine (1842) and later in law (1847). That discontent had been building below the surface became abundantly clear when students and faculty demanded academic as well as political freedoms in March 1848.

In her paper, **Felicitas Seebacher** moves, so to speak, from the “periphery” to the “center,” focusing on the role of Bohemian medical students and physicians in advocating and spreading liberal ideals in science and politics at the University of Vienna even before the Revolution of 1848. As she argues, medical students of liberal background, such as Karl Rokitansky and Josef Škoda, who first had to complete a philosophical preparatory course before beginning medical studies, were impressed by Bolzano’s lectures and tried to carry on his ideas. Disappointed with the low level of most of the lectures at the Medical Faculty, many of them left Prague for Vienna in search of greater academic freedom. For those who sought social mobility, study and an academic career at the Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna was a desirable goal in any case. Due to poor prospects in Bohemia or Moravia, these students and young physicians developed an increasingly strong oppositional attitude against the authoritarian government headed by Prince Metternich. The more political engagement was banned in

the “pre-March” period, the more fiercely physicians engaged in campaigns for reforms in medicine. Seebacher claims that the Revolution of 1848 in Vienna was prepared in the dissecting rooms of the Medical Faculty, where political discussions could take place without state control. Rokitansky and Skoda, who in the meantime had become professors in Vienna, showed their support for the Revolution and their own egalitarian politics by enlisting in the “Academic Legion” as common soldiers, rather than accepting officers’ commissions.

As Seebacher also writes, after the Revolution’s defeat Škoda, Rokitansky and others continued their efforts to establish science-based medical curricula within the context of reformed university structures. Vienna thus took full advantage of the intellectual capital from Prague. However, the durability of this Prague-Vienna linkage came into question in the 1870s, as newly appointed German professors introduced “German” models of research and training.

In his paper, **Attila Szilárd Tar** presents a brief overview of study-tours by students and teachers from the Technical University of Budapest in Europe from 1899 to 1914. The Technical University of Budapest was a young institution at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, having been founded in 1871, though it had some forerunners from the 1840s. As Tar suggests, Hungarian technical schools tried to copy the German model, but to do this they needed information about this type of higher education. He outlines several modes of information-collection and academic exchange: inquiries to German technical colleges and universities in letters; arranging excursions to partner institutions; and honorary doctoral degree awards, as well as memberships granted to Hungarian professors in German scientific academies or societies.

Focusing mainly on study tours of students and teachers to German institutions in order to gain knowledge and practical experience, Tar shows that the Hungarian Ministry for Education and Religion granted stipends to support these tours, but insisted on a detailed, formalized procedure for applying for these stipends, required interim and final reports of the results, and also expected that participants would return and put their new knowledge to use in Hungary. In addition to education institutions, students and younger faculty members also visited factories, public institutions and non-university research institutes. The documents in the archives list 17 people who were sent abroad from the Technical University of Budapest during this period; in addition one teacher was sent three times within 15 years. The main destination of these tours was Germany, but sometimes German locations were included as part of a wider Central-European journey. Further research is needed to determine exactly what technical or scientific knowledge these Hungarians brought back with them, and how this knowledge may have been transformed in new contexts.

**Ana Cergol Paradiž** and **Željko Oset** address the ambivalent situation of students and university teachers of Slovenian descent, caught as they were between the demands of academic careers and the expectations of the Slovenian national camp in the period from the March Revolution to the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. This case is similar in some respects to that of other East-Central European lands; for Slovenian scholars and scientists, too, had to decide or compromise among the claims of emerging national identity and those of academic research careers.<sup>1</sup> However, in other respects the situation of Slovenians was quite different, because their home territory lacked institutional infrastructure for science and scholarship. Though a Slovenian Literary Society was founded as early as 1864, a Slovenian university was not realized until 1919. Slovene-speaking students in this period therefore studied mostly at Austrian universities; by far the most studied in Vienna and Graz, some also in Prague and at other universities.

The authors offer an overview of the number of Slovenian students at individual Austrian universities from the second half of the 19th century until the First World War, and follow this with illuminating biographical examples of the situations of students and scientists of Slovenian descent in this period. As they show, Slovene-speaking students and scholars often functioned as important carriers of cultural transfer from more developed urban centres, in particular Vienna, to an under-developed homeland that was not completely ethnically homogeneous. But their role was not always supported or understood, because nationally oriented opinion-makers saw in them possible propagandists for opposing ideological ideas, and occasionally criticized them for their lukewarm attitude towards the national question. In the case of Vienna physicist Jožef Stefan, criticism of his popular scientific writings led him to cease writing in Slovenian, and later to his disappearance from Slovenian historical memory. After 1919, Slovenian scientists and scholars, such as chemist Maks Samec, established themselves successfully at the University of Ljubljana and maintained international reputations; but others, such as mathematician Josip Plemelj and zoologist Boris Zarnik, achieved this at the cost of leaving science behind and emphasizing teaching and organizational work.

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<sup>1</sup> For an examination of such ambivalences in the Czech case, see Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. Patriotism, Nationalism and Internationalism in Czech science. Chemists in the Czech revival. In Mitchel G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848–1918)*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 138–156.

**Marek Ďurčanský** discusses relations between the universities of Prague and Cracow from 1882 to 1918, considering both formal and informal contacts. This is a case not of center-periphery relations, but rather of relations among two regional “centers”. When the Prague University was divided into German and Czech institutions in 1882, the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (together with the other Galician university in Lwow) became a potential ally of and inspiration for professors at the newly created Czech Charles-Ferdinand University. The organizers of the only Czech national university sought quickly to establish the institution, ensure its material background and re-create its identity. Both Galician universities, where the teaching language was Polish since the 1860’s, had already faced similar tasks and problems. Moreover, the Jagiellonian University had the tradition of being the oldest Polish university, and there was a long history of contacts between Prague and Cracow since the mediaeval beginnings.

These aspects were emphasized in formal contacts between both universities. The most significant example was the visible Czech participation in the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the second foundation of the Jagiellonian University in 1900. Czech professors who took part in the celebrations, such as slavistic Jan Gebauer and historian Jaroslav Goll, had real scientific and social contacts with their colleagues in Cracow, which influenced the makeup of the relevant university departments. The paper documents such working, partly non-official contacts among historians, philologists, and also anthropologists. As they show, some of these contacts began as scientific and ended as political ones.

Finally, **Soňa Štrbářová** presents yet another, original perspective on the “center-periphery” issue by addressing ambitions to establish an institutionalized network of Slavic scientists at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As she shows, the Czech scientific community had gradually established a linguistically Czech institutional and communication base, including Czech-speaking universities, scientific and learned societies and journals, and had in the process become a self-assured minority within the Habsburg Monarchy during the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Building on this foundation, and supported by economically and politically strong strata of the Czech population, Czech academics, especially chemists and physicians, then attempted to establish their own autonomous representation on the international scene, making serious efforts to strengthen the position of Czech science and medicine not only within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also outside its territory. One instrument of this effort consisted in bringing together Slavic scientists with a vision of establishing a Slavic scientific community around a new centre, Prague.

The programme of Slavic scientific cooperation, which took shape especially during the Prague congresses of Czech naturalists and physicians from 1880 to 1914,



included establishing Slavic scientific journals, creating common Slavic scientific nomenclature, publishing terminological dictionaries and Slavic bibliographies, organizing regular Slavic congresses, founding Slavic scientific societies, and exchanging Slavic students. However, this extensive programme of Slavic scientific integration never materialized, in part because of persistent language problems and the absence of a Slavic lingua franca, and also in part due to the indifference or active opposition of Russian (and in one case, also German) scientists and officials. Nonetheless, Štrbáňová establishes that these efforts can be understood as a historical attempt to integrate the supposed “periphery” and to create a new centre, in this case of “Slavic science”. She also suggests that this effort can also be considered a special, albeit unsuccessful example of the nationalization of scientific knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

Taken together, these papers suggest among other things, (1) that Vienna, though clearly important, was not the only “center” of orientation for scientists, scholars and technical academics in East Central Europe in the last years of the Habsburg monarchy; in Hungary and elsewhere, links to colleagues and institutions in other nations were utilized as counterweights to dependency on Vienna. In addition, the papers show (2) that scientific and cultural interactions among “centers” in the Slavic provinces took on increasing significance over time; and (3) that while efforts existed to utilize such interactions in order to create a pan-slavic (cultural) “nation,” Russian opposition to such efforts and the forces of monolingualistic nationalism in the provinces themselves proved stronger.

In the case of Slovenia after 1919, successful engagement of scientists and scholars trained in Vienna, Germany and elsewhere in the development of new local institutional and cultural-linguistic infrastructures for science and scholarship appears to have come at times, though not always, at a high cost in scientific productivity and quality. Whether such trade-offs took place elsewhere as well – that is, whether the successful efforts of formerly “peripheral” regions to become nation states and thus “centers” in their own right in the other successor states and provinces of the Habsburg Empire after World War I came at a similar cost – is still an open, and potentially controversial question.

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<sup>2</sup> Mitchel G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848–1918)*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

# Unflinching loyalty or calm before the storm? Some events at the Prague University in the first half of the 19th Century

MILADA SEKÝRKOVÁ

**Abstract.** In terms of the position of universities in the Habsburg monarchy, historiography usually views the first half of the 19th century as a period of absolute state control, lack of freedom of scientific investigation, and suppression of any expression of free opinion in teaching. Was this situation in reality uncomfortable for the teachers? Did they want the freedom to act, or did they prefer to obey the dictates of Vienna? In the given period, two faculties were significant among four faculties of the Charles-Ferdinand University: the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Medicine. Can we consider the Faculty of Arts merely a preparatory for studies at the other three faculties? Was its staff just an obedient executor of Vienna's decisions and its blind advocate after the departure of Bernard Bolzano?"

The Faculty of Medicine is considered as one with relatively free development of scientific research in the first half of the 19th century. In what ways were new ideas and knowledge coming from abroad and other parts of the Monarchy appropriated at the Faculty? What negotiations of the teaching staff took place in this respect? To answer these questions, the paper will focus mainly on the debates of professorial staff of the philosophical and medical faculties regarding the various curricular decrees and regulations coming from Vienna. It will analyze the staff's position as well as the opinions of individual professors, and consider their loyalty versus attempts to introduce independent views and modify (where possible) the regulations. The paper will be based on an analysis of procedural protocols of the professorial staffs of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Medicine of the Prague University in the 1820s and 1830s of the 19th century.

**Absolutní loajalita nebo ticho před bouří? Z dění na pražské univerzitě v první polovině 19. století.** První polovina 19. století je z hlediska postavení univerzit v habsburské monarchii a výuky na nich historiografií nahlížena jako období absolutní státní kontroly, nemožnosti svobodného vědeckého bádání a potlačování projevů vlastních názorových vkladů do výuky. Článek se zaměřuje na tyto a další otázky: Bylo to pedagogům opravdu nepohodlné? Měli zájem svobodně vystupovat, nebo se rádi podřídili vídeňskému diktátu?

Tedy byly ze čtyř pražských fakult nejvýraznější filozofická a lékařská fakulta. Byla filozofická fakulta stále „pouhou“ přípravkou pro studium na ostatních třech fakultách? Byli učitelé po odchodu Bernarda Bolzana jen poslušnými

vykonavateli rozhodnutí a jejich slepými obhájci. O lékařské fakultě se hovoří jako o jediné, kde se mohla relativně svobodněji rozvinout vědecká bádání. Jak probíhala jednání o zavádění nových metod a jak se poznatky ze zahraničí a ostatních částí státu dostávaly na půdu fakulty? Článek se zaměřil zejména na projednávání studijních a dalších nařízení z Vídně na půdě profesorských sborů filozofické a lékařské fakulty pražské univerzity. Pokusil se stanovit, jakým způsobem se k nim sbory stavěly, a zda je možné vysledovat i individuálně u jednotlivých profesorů z tehdy nepočtených profesorských sborů míra loajality, resp. pokusy vnést vlastní pohled a případně nařízení modifikovat a úspěšnost těchto snah.

**Keywords:** Charles University in Prague • history of education • 19<sup>th</sup> century • Bernard Bolzano

The period between the Josephinian reforms and the events of 1848 so far has not attracted much interest among historians of science and technology in the Czech Lands<sup>1</sup>. The Napoleonic wars and the political conservatism of Metternich's system were seen as spreading a sense of immobility and torpor even into the area of scientific and technological ideas. Nonetheless, new research shows that this was a time when under a seemingly motionless surface industry expanded and grew, new technologies were being introduced, and the organisation of the entire society was about to change.<sup>2</sup> All of these developments, however, were not as yet accompanied by formal changes which are easy to describe and analyse, which is also why most studies dealing with this period focus on partial issues.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ivana ČORNEJOVÁ (ed.). *Dějiny UK II 1622–1802* [History of the Charles University, Vol. II, 1622–1802]. Praha, Karolinum, 1996, 286 pp.; Jan HAVRÁNEK (ed.). *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy III, 1802–1918* [History of the Charles University, Vol. III, 1802–1918]. Praha, Karolinum, 1997, 392 pp.; Peter STACHEL. Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918. In Karl ACHAM (ed.). *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften*. Vol. 1: *Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*. Wien, Passagen Verlag, 1999, p. 115–146; Richard MEISTER. *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens*. Wien, Böhlhaus Nachf., Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> Pavla HORSKÁ – Eduard MAUR – Jiří MUSIL. *Zrod velkoměsta. Urbanizace českých zemích a Evropa* [The Birth of a Metropolis. Urbanisation in the Czech Lands and Europe]. Praha, Paseka, 2002, 352 pp.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand SEIBT (ed.). *Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom Klassizismus zur Moderne*. München – Berlin – Frankfurt am Main, 1995; Frank BOLDT. *Kultur und Staatlichkeit. Zur Genesis der modernen politischen Kultur in den böhmischen Ländern im Widerspiel von kulturellem und politischem Bewusstsein bei den böhmischen Tschechen und Deutschen*. Praha,

In science and technology, innovations were introduced into the Czech Lands mainly by private entrepreneurs, who were at this time still mostly of aristocratic origin. These people were interested in improving the productivity of their agricultural estates, expanding their existing industrial enterprises and creating new ones.

In cases, however, when entrepreneurs from the ranks of the aristocracy or the Church hierarchy<sup>4</sup> personally attended university, they tended to study law or theology. This is why they needed experts educated mainly in technical areas. They looked for them among their serfs whose education they supported or among scholars in towns, who could also help them to improve their estates.<sup>5</sup> Aristocratic or ecclesiastical entrepreneurs could also become active in politics, and thus indirectly influence the economy, including the areas they were interested in. As an example of this phenomenon, let us mention the interest of the Šternberks in mining or the Buquoyos in glass-making.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, according to new directives, increasing numbers of positions in state administration were supposed to be filled by persons with higher education in the relevant area. There was a growing need for regional physicians and engineers and interest in education in these areas was thus naturally also on the increase.

Historiography of science and technology during this period still, however, tends to focus on only a few issues, such as Bernard Bolzano,<sup>7</sup> the National

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Karolinum, 1996; Jiří KORÁLKA – Milan HLAVÁČKA – Jiří KAŠE – Jan P. KUČERA – Daniela TINKOVÁ. *Velké dějiny země Koruny české XI b, 1792–1860* [The Great History of Lands of the Czech Crown, XI b, 1792–1860]. Praha, 2014; Jitka LNĚNÍČKOVÁ. *České země v době předbřeznové* [Czech Lands Before March 1848, 1792–1848]. Praha, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Milan MYŠKA (ed.). *Historická encyklopedie podnikatelů Čech, Moravy a Slezska do poloviny 20. století* [Historical Encyclopaedia of Entrepreneurs in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia Until Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century], I –II. Ostrava, 2003, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Jan JANKO – Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. *Věda Purkyněovy doby* [Science in Purkynje's Time]. Praha, Academia, 1988; Miroslav HROCH. *Na prahu národní existence. Touha a skutečnost* [On the Threshold of National Existence. Desire and Reality]. Praha, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Jiří MAJER. *Kašpar Šternberk*. Praha, Academia, 1997; *Buquoyové sklo v Čechách* [Buquoy Glass in Bohemia]. Praha, Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum v Praze, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Jaromír LOUŽIL. *Bernard Bolzano*. Praha, 1978; Marie PAVLÍKOVÁ (ed.) *Bernard Bolzano. Vlastní životopis* [Bernard Bolzano. His Own Biography]. Praha, 1981; Arnošt KOLMAN. *Bernard Bolzano*. Praha, 1958; Jaroslav FOLTA. *Život a vědecké snahy Bernarda Bolzana* [Life and Scientific Aims of Bernard Bolzano]. In *Matematika a fyzika ve škole*. Vol. 12, 1981–1982, p. 85–95; Irena SEIDLEROVÁ. *Sociální a poli-*

Museum,<sup>8</sup> or perhaps also the humanities and their representatives. The abovementioned trends are usually treated only marginally or in different contexts.<sup>9</sup>

The situation at Prague University has most recently been summarised in a four volume history of the Charles University, which was published in the 1990s and whose second and third part touch upon the period we are interested in.<sup>10</sup> The years following the forced departure of Bernard Bolzano from the Faculty of Philosophy in 1819 are described there as a period of calm and stillness, and

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*tické názory Bernarda Bolzana* [Bernard Bolzano's Social and Political Views]. Praha, Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1963; Kamila VEVERKOVÁ. K problematice studia osvícenství u nás a pramenů týkajících se některých Bolzanových žáků [On the Subject of the Study of Enlightenment in Our Lands and Sources Pertaining to Some of Bolzano's Students]. In R. SVOBODA – M. WEIS – P. ZUBKO (eds.). *Duchovní a myšlenkové proměny druhé poloviny 19. století*. [Intellectual Changes and Changes of Thoughts in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. Studie TF JČU, Vol. 40. České Budějovice, 2006, p. 25–47; Helmut RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*. Wien, Böhlau, 2000; Kateřina TRLIFAJOVÁ (ed.). *Osamělý myslitel Bernard Bolzano* [Solitary thinker Bernard Bolzano]. Praha, Filosofía, 2006; Jan BERG (ed.). *Briefe an František Příborský 1824–1848*. 3 Vol. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2005; Eduard WINTER. *Der Briefwechsel B. Bolzano mit F. Exner*. Praha, Královská česká společnost nauk, 1935.

<sup>8</sup> Karel SKLENÁŘ. *Obraz vlasti, příběh Národního muzea* [The Image of Motherland, Story of the National Museum]. Praha, 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Miloslava MELANOVÁ. Vzdělanci a podnikatelé – formování občanské elity v průmyslovém městě v době předběžnové [Scholars and Entrepreneurs – The Formation of Civil Elites in Industrial Towns before the March Time]. In *Svět historie. Historikův svět. Sborník profesoru Robertu Kvačkoví*. Liberec, Technická univerzita v Liberci, 2007, p. 177–195; Zdeněk BEZECNÝ – Milena LENDEROVÁ. Elity v Čechách 1780–1914 [Elites in Bohemia 1780–1914]. In *Studie k sociálním dějinám*, 1999, č. 3 (10), p. 35–37; Ralph MELVILLE. *Adel und Revolution in Böhmen. Strukturwandel von Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz, 1998; Eva LISÁ (ed. Milada SEKYRKOVÁ). *Karel hrabě Chotek. Nejvyšší purkrabí Království českého*. Praha, Národní technické muzeum, 2008, 115 pp.; Ivo CERMAN. *Chotkové: příběh úřednické šlechty* [The Choteks: A Story of Administrative Nobility]. Praha, 2008; Radana ŠVARÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ. *Rodinné strategie šlechty: Mensdorffové-Pouilly v 19. století* [Noble Families and Their Strategies: Mensdorff-Pouilly in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. Praha, 2007 etc.

<sup>10</sup> Ivana ČORNEJOVÁ (ed.). *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy II, 1622–1802*, [History of the Charles University, Vol. II, 1622–1802], Praha, Karolinum, 1996; Jan HAVRÁNEK (ed.) *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy III, 1802–1918* [History of the Charles University, Vol. III, 1802–1918]. Praha, Karolinum, 1997.

with the exception of the Faculty of Medicine<sup>11</sup> also as a time lacking in new ideas or any scientific progress. Most links between the university (and the Polytechnic) with institutions we would nowadays see as focusing on research – such as the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, the Patriotic Museum (Vlastenecké muzeum), and the Patriotic Society for Economy (Vlastenecko hospodářská společnost), which focused exclusively on practical applications of new scientific research especially in agriculture – took the form of personal relations and the doubling of functions. František X. M. Zippe, for example, custodian of mineralogy collections of the Patriotic Museum, was at the same time professor of mineralogy and geology at the Polytechnic,<sup>12</sup> while brothers Jan Svatopluk and Karel Bořivoj Presl, active collaborators of the museum, lectured on natural sciences at the university<sup>13</sup>.

All three regular faculties and the preparatory Faculty of Philosophy of Prague University were under strong pressure of state censorship. This situation started changing only in 1848, when the university and people connected with it became actively involved in the events in Prague and the rest of the country. On March 11, 1848 several hundred people met for the first time to express their dissatisfaction with the political situation in the country and their intention to change it. They gathered in the Saint Wenceslas Spa (Svatováclavské lázně) in Prague and agreed on a petition which demanded:

- ☐ The strengthening of a connection between the lands of the Bohemian Crown, i.e., a closer administrative union;
- ☐ Establishment of an elected assembly;
- ☐ Equality of the Czech and German nationality and language;
- ☐ A reform of judicial administration;
- ☐ The end of corvée (statute labour);
- ☐ A reform of provincial administration;

<sup>11</sup> Ludmila HLAVÁČKOVÁ – Petr SVOBODNÝ. *Dějiny pražských lékařských fakult 1348–1990* [The History of Medical Faculties in Prague], Praha, 1993; Ludmila HLAVÁČKOVÁ. Priority pražské lékařské fakulty v procesu specializace lékařských oborů v 1. polovině 19. století [Priorities of the Prague Medical Faculty in the Process of Specialisation of Medical Fields in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. In Jaroslav FOLTA (ed.). *Dějiny vědy a techniky: semináře pro vyučující dějinám věd a techniky v českých zemích 1996–1997*. Praha, Národní technické muzeum, 1997, p. 85–87.

<sup>12</sup> Josef HAUBELT. F. X. M. Zippe (1791–1863) und Polytechnisches Institut des Königreichs Böhmen. In *Z dějin hutnictví*, 31, 2002, p. 90–99.

<sup>13</sup> JANKO, Jan – ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, Soňa. *Věda Purkyněovy doby* [Science in Purkyně's Time]. Praha, 1988; Eva HOFFMANNOVÁ. *J. S. Presl – K. B. Presl*. Brandýs nad Orlicí, 2007.

- ☐ Introduction of a requirement of proficiency in both languages of the province for officials;
- ☐ Freedom of the press;
- ☐ Tax reform;
- ☐ Freedom of assembly;
- ☐ Freedom of religion.<sup>14</sup>

The definitive text of the petition was the work of František Brauner (1810–1880), a lawyer. It was presented to the assembly by Alois Pravoslav Trojan (1815–1893), also a lawyer. The assembly was attended, among others, by numerous students of the Prague University and the Prague Polytechnic.

In the days that followed, another meeting took place in Prague. This gathering called for changes specifically in academia. The students demanded:

- ☐ Freedom of religion for teachers and students;
- ☐ Freedom in teaching;
- ☐ Equality of Czech and German as a language of instruction;
- ☐ Permission to study at foreign universities;
- ☐ The requirement of state examinations for select professions and offices;
- ☐ A fusion of the Prague University and the Prague Polytechnic;
- ☐ Introduction of physical education into the curriculum;
- ☐ Permission for students to gather in clubs and associations.<sup>15</sup>

The meeting was an immediate reaction to current events, but both the university and the Polytechnic had been heading towards a crisis for some time. Ever since the Josephinian reforms, both of these institutions were subjected to strict state supervision, which manifested itself in censorship of material which was taught, state-prescribed curricula based on prescribed textbooks, etc. On the other hand, religious tolerance allowed non-Catholics (including Jews) into academia at least formally, since they were subject to the same rules as Catholics. These people were then in a position to somewhat widen the range of opinions. The most famous (and first) Protestant professor at the Prague university was August Gottlieb Meissner (1753–1807).<sup>16</sup> While the official language of instruction was German, some courses were still taught in Latin, whole other subjects – such as pastoral theology and courses for midwives – were taught in

<sup>14</sup> František ROUBÍK. *Český rok 1848* [Czech Year 1848]. Praha, Ladislav Kuncíř, 1948.

<sup>15</sup> Jan HAVRÁNEK (ed.). *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy III, 1802–1918* [History of the Charles University, Vol. III, 1802–1918]. Praha, Karolinum, 1997, p. 91.

<sup>16</sup> Arnošt KRAUS. August Gottlieb Meissner. *Athenaeum*, 5, 1888, č. 6, p. 153–163.

Czech. The university aimed at educating state officials loyal to the regime and its graduates, if they followed the rules, could relatively easily find adequate professional positions. Teachers, too, were seen and evaluated as part of the centralised state administration.

Ever since their foundation in the Middle Ages, the three regular university faculties and the preparatory Faculty of Philosophy had similar administration and formally functioned in a like manner. Their inner life, however, had undergone substantial changes since the time of the Josephinian reforms, which set them on diverging courses of development.

In the traditional view, which persisted for centuries, first among the faculties was the Faculty of Theology.<sup>17</sup> Enlightenment reforms, however, changed the position and functioning of Church institutions in the state and that naturally led to a decline in this faculty's influence. Expansion of crafts and industry and the support they received from the state meant that many students from poorer families, who may have previously seen the Church as a secure living, now preferred other studies. Many opted for the Prague Polytechnic, which had recently been reorganised (in 1803–1806), since it offered the study of a wide range of practical fields and its graduates easily found good positions. All in all, in the first four decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Faculty of Theology lost several dozen percent of its students and henceforth remained the smallest faculty of the Prague University.

During the period of our interest, teachers at the Faculty of Theology were academically not above average, and some were known more for their cultural activities than for their scholarship. For example, Jakub Beer (1796–1866), professor of dogmatic theology, was an active co-organiser of academic celebrations in 1848, while Maximilian Millauer (1784–1840), professor of pastoral theology and historiographer of the faculty, became known for his numerous works on Czech history.

The Faculty of Law has always been the richest faculty. Its teachers and students were mainly people from the higher ranks of the society. The four year study of law and politics, as it was officially called, was during the period of our interest attended by a relatively stable number of students. The slight rise in the number of students is rather a sign of generally increasing interest in university education in the society as a whole. Moreover, ever since Jewish persons could attend the university, their representation at this faculty also grew.

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<sup>17</sup> Peter STACHEL. Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918. In Karl ACHAM (ed.). *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften*, Vol.1: *Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*, Wien, Passagen Verlag, 1999, p. 117.



Among teachers who importantly influenced the Faculty of Law during this period, we ought to mention at least Josef Helfert (1791–1847), professor of Church law and father of the historian Josef Alexander Helfert, and the Kopetz brothers, of whom Adolf Martin K. (1764–1832) taught natural law as well as state and international law, and Václav Gustav (1781–1857) wrote a treatise on Austrian legislation pertaining to craftsmen and small businesses.<sup>18</sup>

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Faculty of Medicine was the only faculty of the Prague University which engaged in scientific research proper. It was subjected to less political control than the other schools and during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its administration successfully introduced the extension of study to five years and closer links to clinical practice, i.e., a connection between theoretical studies and teaching at the clinics. Throughout the entire period, graduates of both external and internal medicine found employment relatively easily. The director of studies at the Faculty of Medicine was also a ‘protomedicus’, i.e., a person supervising health throughout the province. The most important of these directors was doubtless Ignác Nádherný (1789–1867), a typical example of a gifted man and able organiser of modest background, whose hard work eventually won him an important position. Nádherný was a leading personality of the faculty for many years. He managed to introduce numerous organisational changes, making studies at the Faculty of Medicine more modern than the study at other faculties of the Prague University.<sup>19</sup>

Regarding its organisation, it would seem that the Faculty of Philosophy<sup>20</sup> had undergone less change than the other faculties. It still prepared students for their study at the other three faculties and its student numbers remained more or less stable. Regarding the intellectual influence on the Prague and Bohemian society of the time, however, it played a leading role within the university.

Among the most influential figures of the Faculty of Philosophy during the period of our interest was the abovementioned Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848),

<sup>18</sup> Dušan HENDRYCH (ed.). *Právnická fakulta Univerzity Karlova 1348 – 1998* [The Faculty of Law of the Charles University 1348–1998]. Praha, 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Ludmila HLAVÁČKOVÁ – Petr SVOBODNÝ (ed.). *Biografický slovník pražské lékařské fakulty 1348–1939* [Bibliographic Dictionary of the Prague Medical Faculty 1348–1939], Vol. 2, L – Ž. Praha, 1993.

<sup>20</sup> Josef PETRÁŇ, Josef. *Nástin dějin Filozofické fakulty UK* [Outline of the History of Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University]. Praha, 1983, p. 95–143; Peter STACHEL. Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918. In Karl ACHAM (ed.). *Geschichte der österreichischen Humannwissenschaften. Vol. 1: Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*. Wien, Passagen Verlag, 1999, p. 121–123, 133.

who lectured here during the first and the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bolzano was appointed professor of philosophy of religion in 1805.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, he also served as a preacher in the St. Salvator Church. In his lectures, he flouted various directives and did not follow the state curriculum which was based on the textbook of Jacob Friedrich Frint (1795–1827). He taught his own ideas. He had this privilege thanks to the intervention of M. J. N. Grün, director of studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and since 1812 Rector of the Prague University.

Bolzano's views regarding equality among people, progress, the functioning of society, equitable division of property, and national issues were close to the ideas of the French Revolution. They became popular not just among students but also among other people of Prague, who frequented his sermons in great numbers. His teaching significantly diverged from the officially promoted views and finally in 1819, as soon as a good enough excuse for his deposition was found, he had to leave both his academic and his preaching posts and withdraw from Prague to the countryside. Even so, his ideas remained influential and many of his students stayed at the university. One of them was Michael Josef Fesl (1788–1863), who was, however, soon afterwards also banned from teaching and even imprisoned for several years.<sup>22</sup>

It took some time to find a suitable excuse for removing Bolzano from his posts, since he was a very popular man. In the end, among the reasons listed as causes of his removal was an alleged increase in disorder at university faculties which was said to be a consequence of Bolzano's lectures.<sup>23</sup> This unruliness was said to have become most apparent in November 1818 when Bolzano's accuser Wilhelm, director of studies of the Faculty of Philosophy, read out the rules of discipline of the Faculty of Philosophy.<sup>24</sup> This allegation was unanimously opposed by professors of all faculties of the Prague University. They expressed their view in a message sent to Vienna, according to which discipline at the Prague University had been improving ever since the dissolution of the Jesuit Order.<sup>25</sup>

After Bolzano's departure, the Faculty of Philosophy was under the strictest police supervision of all the Prague University's faculties and in the years that followed, no professor achieved influence comparable to Bolzano's. Some of

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<sup>21</sup> See footnote 7.

<sup>22</sup> Eduard WINTER. *Bolzano a jeho kruh* [Bolzano and His Circle]. Praha, 1935.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

his friends, however, stayed at the university, such as Josef Stanislav Jandera (1776–1857), professor of mathematics,<sup>26</sup> and briefly – until his appointment in Vienna – also František Xaver Němeček (1766–1849), successor of Professor Karl Heinrich Seibt (1735–1806) in the chair of practical and theoretical philosophy.<sup>27</sup>

In the two decades that followed, the university seemed to have turned into a routinely running mechanism where lectures met the demands of official curricula and teachers were loyal state employees with minimal freedom of expression.<sup>28</sup> Until 1848, none of Bolzano's former colleagues attempted anything in the way of a public and free expression of his views. Lectures followed curricula prescribed by the study committee at the Viennese court. These curricula reflected the ruler's notions about a desirable form of the sciences taught. They formed a theoretical basis of lecture series which took place in individual universities during individual academic years. Lists of lectures were then a link between the theory coming from the Imperial court and the actual lectures; they are the furthest traceable official documents regarding actual teaching practice.<sup>29</sup>

On the outside, it was the students who were most vocal. Despite all the preventive efforts of the state apparatus, the German nationalist movement found its echoes in Prague. One can learn more about this from police archives, because the police frequently had to react to various manifestations of students'

<sup>26</sup> Josef DURDÍK. *Řeč při odhalení pamětní desky na rodném domě profesora J. L. Jandery v Hořicích* [Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial Plaque on the House where Professor J. L. Jandera was Born in Hořice]. Jičín, self-published, 1877.

<sup>27</sup> Karel VÍT. Karl Heinrich Seibt a estetika napodobování. Kapitola z dějin obecné estetiky na pražské Karlo-Ferdinandově univerzitě [Karl Heinrich Seibt and the Aesthetics of Imitation. Chapter from the History of General Aesthetics at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague]. In *Sborník prací FF Brněnské univerzity. Studia Minora Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis*, H 19–20, 1984, p. 27–31; Jan JANKO – Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ. *Věda Purkyněovy doby* [Science in Purkyně's Time]. Praha, 1988, p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Peter STACHEL. Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918. In ACHAM, Karl (ed.), *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften*, Vol. 1: *Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*. Wien, Passagen Verlag, 1999, p. 119.

<sup>29</sup> Aesthetics was taught according to two plans of philosophy studies proposed by Emperors Francis I and II, namely the *Philosophical Plan of Studies* (Philosophischer Studienplan), declared by a decree of the Imperial office on August 9, 1805, and a *New Teaching Plan for Philosophical Studies* (Neuer Lehrplan der philosophischen Studien), declared by a decree of the study committee of the Imperial court on October 2, 1824. The last plan published during the period of our interest, i.e., the plan of philosophical studies, was decreed in 1846.

high spirits.<sup>30</sup> Reports, most frequently filed by neighbours of these establishments, speak of noise coming from student pubs where students not only played dice and cards but also expressed their political views. We know which parts of attire students used to express their sympathies with their colleagues abroad (broad black cloaks, eye-catching collars, berets) because the police repeatedly banned the wearing of these articles of clothing by various directives.

A certain turning point in developments at the university prior to March 1848 came with the November 1830 uprising in Poland, which demanded more autonomy for so-called 'Congress Poland' within Russia. The uprising was swiftly and harshly put down and most of the autonomy which Poland hitherto had was lost. Many activists fled from persecution through the Czech Lands further West, mostly to France. Bohemian society became divided in its views on the issue but especially in academic circles sympathisers with the Polish cause prevailed. They organised help to Polish refugees who were fleeing through Bohemia and Moravia. Among well-known organisers of such initiatives we find various well-known persons, such as the poet Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–1836), then student of the Faculty of Philosophy.<sup>31</sup>

Records from meetings of senior academic staff of Prague University's faculties during this period survive only in fragments (due to transportation of the university archive in 1945) and in many cases,<sup>32</sup> all that is left are just excerpts from debates on particular points hidden in other material. These notes show that these meetings dealt almost exclusively with internal administrative affairs, the personnel situation in particular departments, etc. But even these terse records indicate that these issues were highly politicised.

In the 1840s, the atmosphere at the university started to change. Students became more active and teachers published more and were increasingly active in public life. Staff meetings quite inconspicuously started including various political subjects, but greater emphasis was also placed on professional ability and reorganisation of the system of teaching, the first sign of which was the

<sup>30</sup> Milada SEKYRKOVÁ. Ze stížností na pražské studenty v první polovině 19. století [From Complaints Against Prague Students in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. In *Město a intelektuálové od středověku do roku 1848. Documenta Pragensia XXVII*. Praha, Scriptorium, 2008 (vyšlo 2009), p. 959–969.

<sup>31</sup> Vladimír ŠTĚPÁNEK. *Karel Hynek Mácha*. Praha, 1984, 377 pp.; Aleš HAMAN – Radim KOPÁČ (eds.). *Mácha redivivus (1810 – 2010). Sborník ke 200. výročí narození K. H. Máchy* [Mácha Redivivus (1810–2010). Anthology for the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of K. H. Mácha's Birth]. Praha, 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Karel KUČERA – Miroslav TRUC. *Archiv UK. Průvodce po archívních fondech* [Archive of the Charles University. Guide to the Archive Collections]. Praha, SPN, 1962.

establishment of the position of Privatdozent, first at the Faculty of Medicine<sup>33</sup> and later also at the Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Law.<sup>34</sup>

The 1840s also witnessed the first preparations for the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the university, which was coming up in 1848. These preparations involved not only the faculties but also representatives of various other provincial and state institutions. Yet despite all the preparations, the actual course of the celebrations was determined not by these carefully laid plans, but by the events of March 1848.

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<sup>33</sup> First: Personal Stand des akademischen Senates und der Fakultäten-Lehrkörper an der kais. königl. Universität zu Prag, Prag 1842, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> First: Personal Stand des akademischen Senates und der Fakultäten-Lehrkörper an der kais. königl. Universität zu Prag, Prag 1847, p. 14, 22.

# Communicating Politics in the Dissecting Room

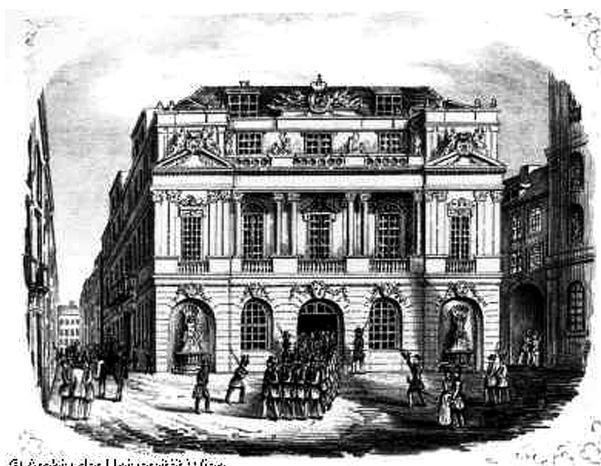
## The Influence of Medical Students and Physicians from Prague Charles-Ferdinand University on the Liberal Model of Human Progress at Vienna University

FELICITAS SEEBACHER

**Abstract.** In the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, universities in the Habsburg Monarchy were supervised by the government and patronized by the state. The philosopher Bernard Bolzano, professor at the University of Prague, had to leave, as he had incited liberal ideas among students. Due to the lack of career prospects in Bohemia or Moravia, quite a few of them left Prague for Vienna. Believing in the ideals of liberty and equality, especially medical students and young physicians developed a strong oppositional attitude against the government and its university system. In order to put down important liberal ideas in society, the Prague Community in Vienna was deeply involved in the Doctors' Revolution of 1848. With the university reforms of 1849, a reform process was initiated towards political participation and a modern civil society.

**Politika v pitevně. Vliv studentů medicíny a lékařů z pražské Karlo-Ferdinandovy university na liberální model lidského pokroku na Vídeňské univerzitě.** V prvních dekádách 19. století spadaly univerzity v habsburské monarchii pod vládní dohled a stát je blahosklonně patronizoval. Filosof Bernard Bolzano, profesor pražské university, musel svou univerzitu opustit, když přicházel mezi studenty s liberálními idejemi. Kvůli špatným výhledům na kariérní postup v Čechách a na Moravě dost studentů odešlo z Prahy do Vídně. Zejména studenti lékařství a mladí lékaři si, protože věřili v ideály svobody a rovnosti, vypěstovali silně opoziční postoj k vládě a jejímu univerzitnímu systému. Pražská komunita ve Vídni se v „doktorské revoluci“ roku 1848 značně angažovala, aby mohla prosadit důležité liberální myšlenky ve společnosti. Reformní proces byl zaměřen na politickou účast a moderní občanskou společnost ve spojitosti s univerzitními reformami roku 1849.

**Keywords:** ideals of liberalism • education • value order • science-based medicine • medical students • political professors • revolution 1848 • university reform • modern civil society



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The Academic Legion, marching out of the auditorium of the old University of Vienna, today the main building of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

## 1. Influences on Liberal and Scientific Thinking

“What is liberalism? What does it want? It is nothing other than a striving to ennoble mankind. It follows ideals and therefore it could sometimes occur that it regards people as nobler than they are.”<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the civil society of the Habsburg Monarchy understood itself as a meritocracy, which was based on the principles of personal freedom and formal equality. Emphasis was placed on educating the youth, so that they would become mature and responsible citizens. It was this value order of the early-liberal bourgeoisie which provided everyone the chance to develop his individual personality.<sup>2</sup> Individualism was closely linked to German humanism’s ideal of “Bildung”, which can best be translated as “self-cultivation” in English. Liberalism became “a religious ideology, [...] a secular, emancipatory vision and a challenge to the ultra conservatism of the Roman Catholic Church and

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Suess, parliamentary speech, 14 February 1884, cit. in Jonathan KWAN. *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861–1895*. Basingstoke, u.a. 2013, p. X.

<sup>2</sup> Hans-Werner HAHN – Dieter HEIN. Bürgerliche Werte um 1800. Zur Einführung. In Hans-Werner HAHN – Dieter HEIN (edd.). *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800. Entwurf – Vermittlung – Rezeption*. Köln, 2005, pp. 9–27, here p. 12.

the absolute state<sup>3</sup> that strongly influenced schools and universities. Textbooks for professors were prescribed and any substantive change in content required special consent from the study commission. Medical schools were training institutions for medical practice. From this generation of professors, who were still completely bound to the authority of the Emperor, little willingness for reforms could be expected.<sup>4</sup>

Due to this enormous gap between the authoritarian academic environment and the liberal upbringing of the students, a smouldering discontent arose among the rebellious youth. Carl Rokitansky, for example, born on 19 February 1804, in Hradec Králové,<sup>5</sup> Bohemia, chose to study medicine at the University of Prague on his own initiative. His mother was a liberal and she wanted her sons to choose any profession, except the priesthood and the military. When Rokitansky became a student in 1818, he experienced student socialization in a fraternity. Fraternities were based on the principles of freedom, equality and national unity.<sup>6</sup> Describing his first years at university, Rokitansky wrote in his memoirs that “Ziegenhainer sticks”, decorated with the carving “fiat justitia pereat mundus”, were introduced to them by students from the University of Halle. However, a disciplinary order of Prague University, issued on 8 July 1819, forced students who possessed such objects to do military service.<sup>7</sup> Like professors, students were strictly controlled for political reasons. With the “Carlsbad Decrees” of

<sup>3</sup> David S. LUFT. *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna. Weininger, Musil, Doderer*. Chicago – London, 2003, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Erna LESKY. Vorbemerkung. In Carl von ROKITANSKY. *Selbstbiographie und Antrittsrede*. Eingeleitet, ed. und mit Erläuterungen versehen von Erna Lesky. Graz – Wien – Köln, 1960, pp. 5–9, here p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 34. Concerning Rokitansky’s biography see Hvězdoslav STEFAN – Olga PROCHÁZKOVÁ – Ivo ŠTEINER. *Karel Rokitanský*. Hradec Králové, LF UK v Hradci Králové, 2005; Helmut RUMPLER – Helmut DENK (edd.). *Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky. Pathologe – Politiker – Philosoph – Begründer der Wiener Medizinischen Schule des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2005; Felicitas SEEBACHER. „Freiheit der Naturforschung!“ *Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule: Wissenschaft und Politik im Konflikt*. Mit einem Vorwort von Helmut Denk und einer Einführung von Günther Hödl. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Klasse. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Mathematik und Medizin, 56, Wien, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Klaus RIES. Professoren als bürgerliche Werteproduzenten. In HAHN – HEIN (edd.). *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800*, pp. 51–68, here p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> Lebenserinnerungen Karl Rokitansky’s. Getreu nach dem Originale, kopiert von Hans Rokitansky (o. O. 1880), p. 18 f.



August 1819, State Chancellor Prince Clemens von Metternich-Winneburg finally banned fraternities and ordered that “professors, talking politics” have to be watched because they would trigger a revolution.<sup>8</sup>

On 24 December 1819, the logician and philosopher of religion, Bernard Bolzano, was dismissed from the University of Prague.<sup>9</sup> The reasons behind this decision were conflicts of power and interests. Based on his utopia “On the Best State”,<sup>10</sup> he was accused of indicating political and social reform ideas to the students, of teaching the philosophical ideas of Immanuel Kant, and of being “a rationalist and seducer of the youth”.<sup>11</sup> Like Kant, Bolzano had “put the conception of individual freedom positively as the self-legislation of rational moral laws”.<sup>12</sup> Since 1805, Bolzano had been teaching at the ‘low’ Faculty of Arts, where all students had to attend the philosophical propaedeutic for six terms, before entering the ‘higher’ Faculties of Theology, Law or Medicine.<sup>13</sup> The brilliant rhetorician showed students the road to becoming a better person and achieving a better society:

“In humanity as a whole there is visible over the centuries, and going to infinity, a progress not limited to certain arts and sciences, but a progress extending to the three most important matters: true practical wisdom, virtue and happiness.”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Jane REGENFELDER. Der sogenannte „Bolzano-Prozess“ und das Wartburgfest. In Helmut RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik. Staat, Nation und Religion als Herausforderung für die Philosophie im Kontext von Spätaufklärung, Frühnationalismus und Restauration*. Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung, 61, Wien – Köln – Graz, 2001, pp. 149–178, here p. 164.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>10</sup> See Bernard BOLZANO. *Vom besten Staate*. Ed. Arnold Kowalewski. Prag, 1932.

<sup>11</sup> REGENFELDER. Der sogenannte „Bolzano-Prozess“ und das Wartburgfest. In RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, p. 157.

<sup>12</sup> LUFT. *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna*, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Introduction. In Bernard BOLZANO. *Selected Writings on Ethics and Politics*. Translated by Paul Rusnock and Rolf George. Amsterdam – New York, 2007, pp. 1–41, here p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Bernard BOLZANO. Über das stete Fortschreiten des Menschengeschlechts in der Vollkommenheit. Am Feste der Erscheinung des Herrn im Jahre 1811, Kapitel IV. In Bernard BOLZANO. *Erbauungsreden für Akademiker*. Prag, 1813, pp. 69–88, here p. 75, cit. in Mark TEXTOR (ed.). *The Austrian Contribution to Analytic Philosophy*. London Studies in the History of Philosophy, London – New York, 2006, p. 270.

For Rokitansky, Bolzano was the “only truly great man at the Austrian Faculties of Arts”.<sup>15</sup> The philosopher, holding exhortations during Sunday services, had the possibility of “impressing upon students the need for the reform of society”. Fearing too much influence on “the future intellectual elite of Bohemia”,<sup>16</sup> the “Exhortations for Academics”<sup>17</sup> were put on the index of forbidden books in 1828.<sup>18</sup> This evoked even more resistance against the persisting system in academic circles. Bolzano’s “great truth of the permanent progress of mankind”,<sup>19</sup> strongly influenced the thinking and acting of the next generation of reformers.

## 2. The Builders of Modern Medicine and Modern Society

Several of Bolzano’s students, like Rokitansky or Joseph Škoda, left Prague for Vienna, expecting more academic freedom. Training and an academic career at the Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna was regarded as highly creditable. Both received a chair there: Rokitansky headed the Pathological Anatomical Institute, Škoda the Institute for Internal Medicine. By banning political engagement in the Premarch-period, the medical professors, characterized by the ideas of early liberalism, broke with long handed down healing methods, the conservative university system and the controlling health authorities. In their view, medicine had to have a scientific orientation. ‘The conquest of reality’ determined the progress in medicine, technology and culture and required a new understanding of the world, the society and a new image of man. It was these physicians from the crown lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, who implemented science-based medicine at the Viennese Medical Faculty. They met inside the large courtyards of the General Hospital of Vienna, where they could discuss new methods and exchange ideas. Brigitte Mazohl points out that in times of upheaval “creative elites” often form a “common sociotope”, which creates “the right spiritual

<sup>15</sup> Lebenserinnerungen Rokitansky’s, kopiert von H. Rokitansky, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Introduction. In BOLZANO. *Selected Writings on Ethics and Politics*. Translated by Rusnock and George, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> See Bernard BOLZANO. *24 Erbauungsreden 1808–1820*. Nach Originalhandschriften transkribiert und herausgegeben von Kurt STRASSER. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Introduction. In Bernard BOLZANO. *Selected Writings on Ethics and Politics*. Translated by Rusnock and George, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Margret FRIEDRICH. Bolzanos Projekt der Aufklärung. „Was zur Herbeiführung einer besseren Zeit schon durch uns selbst geleistet werden könne.“ In RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, pp. 23–48, here p. 27.

and material conditions for creative action”.<sup>20</sup> In building up new interdisciplinary institutes, they were supported by politicians of Bohemian origin with influence at the Viennese Imperial Court, in particular by Cabinet-Minister Count Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, the political antagonist of Metternich.<sup>21</sup>

The interactions between the Medical Faculties of Vienna and Prague were so close “that we should speak of the Medical School of Vienna and Prague”, as Tatjana Buklijas emphasizes.<sup>22</sup> They played a major role in politics because medicine operated at the intersection of science, society and politics.<sup>23</sup> In this sense, medical institutes became political laboratories<sup>24</sup> for social developments, where students and academics built up an intergenerational civil community.<sup>25</sup> These “creative elites” formed the intellectual and political leadership group, influencing all different political camps.<sup>26</sup> The so-called “political professors” were the “decisive pacemakers” from the origin of the civil society to its modernization. Hence the university was “one of the most important switchpoints” for discussing and implementing political and societal changes.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Brigitte MAZOHL-WALLNIG. Der Einfluss Bolzanos und der Bolzanisten auf die österreichische Universitätsreform 1848/49. In RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, pp. 221–246, here p. 224.

<sup>21</sup> Manfred FLEISCHER. *Die politische Rolle der Deutschen aus den böhmischen Ländern in Wien 1804–1918*. Studien zur Migration und Wirken politisch-administrativer Eliten. Europäische Hochschulschriften 831, Reihe III. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, 1999, p. 112.

<sup>22</sup> Tatjana BUKLIJAS – Emese LAFFERTON. Science, medicine and nationalism in the Habsburg Empire from the 1840s to 1918. In *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 38, 2007, pp. 679–686, here p. 682.

<sup>23</sup> Elena TADDEI – Franz von OTTENTHAL. *Arzt und Tiroler Landtagsabgeordneter (1818–1899)*. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2010, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> See MAZOHL-WALLNIG. Der Einfluss Bolzanos. In RUMPLER (ed.). *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, p. 224: Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig speaks about a “laboratory of acting players”.

<sup>25</sup> RIES. Professoren als bürgerliche Werteproduzenten. In HAHN – HEIN (edd.). *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800*, p. 66.

<sup>26</sup> Wolfgang GASSER. *Erlebte Revolution 1848/49. Das Wiener Tagebuch des jüdischen Journalisten Benjamin Kewall*. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2010, p. 123.

<sup>27</sup> RIES. Professoren als bürgerliche Werteproduzenten. In HAHN – HEIN (edd.). *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800*, p. 52.

### 3. The Doctors' Revolution

It was in Rokitansky's dissecting room at the Medical Faculty of Vienna, where a "striking movement" arose at the beginning of March 1848. About forty medical assistants and students formed an alliance to "stand for freedom and individuality", initiating a revolution like the one that took place in other European cities.<sup>28</sup> The Medical Faculty understood itself as the representative for the freedom of science, and was therefore much more radical than other faculties.<sup>29</sup>

Adolf Pichler reported that "we physicians in the General Hospital knew [...] day by day the foreign events far earlier than the public papers informed the readers; I remember that we sometimes discussed things right in the morning, that the Councils of State pretended not have heard at all."<sup>30</sup>

On 12 March, Viennese students from different faculties held a general assembly at the University. According to the opinion of the students, its auditorium became "the meeting-place for everybody, who wanted to hear the truth [...] and fight with open honest arms".<sup>31</sup> Using expressive rhetoric to justify the revolution,<sup>32</sup> the physicians Adolf Fischhof, Joseph Goldmark and Ludwig von Löhner demanded democratic rights like "freedom of teaching and learning".<sup>33</sup> On 13 March they held a meeting at the Medical Faculty, and it was Löhner, who suggested asking the Emperor for an armed military body in order not to allow the "proletariat to become the master of the liberal movement".<sup>34</sup> After State Chancellor Metternich was forced to resign, the provisional government, headed by Count Kolowrat, permitted the students the right to organize an armed military body. About six thousand students and academics from different

<sup>28</sup> Isidor FISCHER. *Wiens Mediziner und die Freiheitsbewegung des Jahres 1848*. Wien, 1935, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Gernot STIMMER. „Alles bewilligt!“ Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848. In Ernst BRUCKMÜLLER – Wolfgang HÄUSLER (edd.). *1848. Revolution in Österreich*. Schriften des Instituts für Österreichkunde, 62. Wien, 1999, pp. 23–54, here p. 57.

<sup>30</sup> *Aus den März- und Oktobertagen zu Wien 1848*. Innsbruck, 1850, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Archives of the University of Vienna: AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61. 148.99. Die Universität geschlossen oder Die Verschwörung der 105 schwarzgelben Manichäer gegen die Studenten. Eine wahre Geschichte zur Warnung und Belehrung aller Rechtgläubigen. Gedruckt und zu haben bei Franz Edler von Schmid, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Pieter M. JUDSON. *Wien brennt! Die Revolution von 1848 und ihr liberales Erbe*. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 1998, p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Erna LESKY. *Die Wiener medizinische Schule im 19. Jahrhundert*. Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, 6, Graz – Köln, 1965, p. 119.

<sup>34</sup> JUDSON. *Wien brennt*, p. 43 f.

universities decided to join the Academic Legion in Vienna.<sup>35</sup> The students who signed on were mostly so poor that it was impossible for them to pay their own uniforms.<sup>36</sup> Demonstrating brotherhood and unity with the students, the botanist Stephan Ladislaus Endlicher, the dermatologist Ferdinand Hebra, the anatomists Joseph Hyrtl and Carl Bernhard Brühl, as well as Rokitansky and Škoda, enrolled in the medical corps of the Academic Legion as “common people” and waived the officer’s rank.<sup>37</sup> Fischhof commanded the medical corps.<sup>38</sup> The March Revolution of 1848 was a “revolution of hope as well as despair”<sup>39</sup> for students and academics of all universities in Vienna. It became a ‘Doctors’ Revolution’, showing a “corporate representation of its ideals”.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Cosmopolitanism – Liberalism – Nationalism

By an “explosion” of pamphlets and newspapers, as well as the foundation of new civil associations, the bourgeoisie slowly perceived the values of Liberalism and opened a new political discourse.<sup>41</sup> Believing in the victory of “freedom”, the students redefined the meaning of “a free man”. One pamphlet, entitled “No nationality – cosmopolitanism! All over the world, only one nation!” predicted full of euphoria:

“The true free man must [...] discern [...] that all people are equal, only in their form they are different. Cosmopolitanism is the aim, what we are headed

<sup>35</sup> Gernot STIMMER. „Alles bewilligt!“ Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848. In BRUCKMÜLLER – HÄUSLER (edd.). *1848. Revolution in Österreich*, pp. 55–69, here p. 58.

<sup>36</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.97. Moritz Gottfried SAPHIR. Aufforderung an die edlen Bewohner und insbesondere an die hochherzigen Bewohnerinnen Wiens. In *Der Humorist. Ein Volksblatt*. Eigentümer und verantwortlicher Redakteur M. G. Saphir, 12, 97/98, 22. April 1848, p. 1. This call appealed to “the generous female inhabitants of Vienna” to support these students financially, because “intelligence and ownership usually are natural enemies”.

<sup>37</sup> Karl PORTELE. Einige Bemerkungen zu Rokitansky. In *Mitteilungen des Pathologisch-anatomischen Bundesmuseums in Wien*, Nr. 1, 1986, pp. 59–62, here p. 60.

<sup>38</sup> GASSER. *Erlebte Revolution 1848/49*, p. 73.

<sup>39</sup> Mike RAPPORT. *1848. Year of Revolution*. New York, 2009, p. XII.

<sup>40</sup> STIMMER. „Alles bewilligt!“ Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848. In BRUCKMÜLLER – HÄUSLER (edd.). *1848. Revolution in Österreich*, p. 65.

<sup>41</sup> JUDSON. *Wien brennt!* p. 14.

towards, at least we have to lay a stone for it that is the sacred duty of every educated person. Our century has to and will complete this great work.”<sup>42</sup>

On the contrary, the student’s newspaper *Der Stürmer* wanted “Everything for the sovereign people of Germany!”<sup>43</sup> Even a radical “mobile corps” was formed in the Academic Legion, with the skull as a symbol and the slogan “Free and German until death”.<sup>44</sup> Antidemocratic currents avoided the endeavours for emancipation of Jewish intellectuals like Fischhof. They were opposed by a new wave of anti-Judaism. In April 1848, numerous German and Bohemian towns were confronted with attacks on Jews.<sup>45</sup> In Vienna, anti-Judaism agitations took place mainly in the anti-Jewish press. “If the shares fall, the Jews howl”, the blame for the economic crisis was accredited to the Jews.<sup>46</sup> Pieter Judson sees in these different experiments of shaping a German national identity “a crucial basis for the explosion of German national politics at the end of the 19th century” excluding other ethnic groups such as the Czechs or denominations such as the Jews.<sup>47</sup>

When an imposed constitution was signed on 25 April 1848, the students protested again. They criticized that it was made by an “absolute imperial power” and not as a “contract” between the people and the Emperor.<sup>48</sup> Therefore they threatened to cut the first draft of the constitution “with the anatomical knife” and to intervene continuously, until the required rights would be granted.<sup>49</sup> When the government finally permitted a national assembly with a chamber system, the students demanded the selection of the representatives:

<sup>42</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.87. J. SCHEDA (Jurist). Keine Nationalität – Weltbürgerthum. Auf der ganzen Erde nur eine Nation! In *Wiener Studenten Zeitung*. *Alles für Deutschlands souveränes Volk!* Neue Folge 20 (1848), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.94. *Der Stürmer*. *Früher Studenten Zeitung*, 20. und 21. September (1848), p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.60. Die Tottenkopf-Legion, ihre Tendenz als mobiles Corps der Wiener akademischen Legion und Nationalgarde, so wie auch die famose Auflösung derselben durch Herrn Koller.

<sup>45</sup> GASSER, *Erlebte Revolution 1848/49*, p. 98.

<sup>46</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.99. Die Universität geschlossen oder Die Verschwörung der 105 schwarzgelben Manichäer, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> JUDSON, *Wien brennt!*, p. 15.

<sup>48</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.93. *Der Freimüthige*. *Für Politik, Tagesereignisse und Satire*. 1, 24 (1848), p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.99. Die Universität geschlossen, p. 2.

“Brothers! We have showed Europe what we are capable of [...] through courage, through faith in our Emperor. [...] Let us be an example for Europe [...] that we are real men of freedom, who do not judge the man by years, but according to his convictions and to his actions. [...] Therefore, brothers, if we need true representatives of the people, to which we can rely on, we must get them mainly from the University of Vienna.”<sup>50</sup>

## 5. The Intellectual Renewal

In the parliament of the Paul’s Church in Frankfurt am Main, the number of elected representatives with academic qualifications was impressive.<sup>51</sup> The rebelling scientific community had initiated a basic social transformation process in the Habsburg Monarchy. Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein, of Bohemian origin and since 28 July, 1849, Minister of Education, built his teaching and university reform on the liberal ideas of the initiators of the 1848 revolution.<sup>52</sup> He implemented it with a creative group of academics, mostly from Prague, but also from other parts of Bohemia and Moravia, who were, like Thun, strongly influenced by Bolzanism.<sup>53</sup> Professors now were entitled to have a decisive influence on the appointments of professors and to elect a dean from their faculty. The staff of the Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna decided to elect Rokitansky. He was re-elected several times. In the academic year 1852/53, Rokitansky became the first free elected rector of the University of Vienna.<sup>54</sup>

Physicians of Bohemian origin were influencing the modernization of university politics in a political era of neoabsolutism, before the liberal era finally broke through onto the Habsburg’s political landscape in 1861. Liberalism turned out to be the “transformative force” in the “period of transition between absolute monarchy and modern democratic politics”.<sup>55</sup> For the academic year 1861/62, Johann von Oppolzer, professor for internal medicine and also of Bohemian

<sup>50</sup> AT-UAW/148.1-148.99, 683/61, 148.98. N. T. Nationalgardist aus Mähren, Studenten in der Reichsversammlung! An meine Brüder der österreichischen Monarchie, p. 1 f.

<sup>51</sup> JUDSON, *Wien brennt!*, p. 69.

<sup>52</sup> Helmut RUMPLER, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie (= Österreichische Geschichte 1804–1914. Wien 1997)*, p. 334.

<sup>53</sup> MAZOHL-WALLNIG, Der Einfluss Bolzanos, in Rumpler (ed.), *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, p. 233.

<sup>54</sup> Lebenserinnerungen Rokitansky’s, kopiert von Rokitansky H., p. 34.

<sup>55</sup> LUFT, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna*, p. 13 f.

origin, was elected rector of the Viennese University. In his inauguration speech he once again demanded “academic freedom for teachers and students”, criticising the control of science and teaching by the government.<sup>56</sup> These physicians from the crown lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, who all felt themselves to be “Austrians”, developed “an Austrian model of medicine in the service of a multi-ethnic Empire” and against a “German cultural leadership”.<sup>57</sup>

In 1857 a Viennese medical journal stated, that “a class of honourable men, who had received their university education at Viennese or Prague institutions and had acquired a good reputation in their professions, [should not] come over undeserved, maybe in favour of foreigners”.<sup>58</sup>

Only a few years later, professors from Germany were preferred for appointment because they fitted into the political programme of the national liberals. They replaced the ‘Austrian’ medicine model with a ‘German’ medicine model. At the same time a new group of educated middle-class functionary elites emerged. Physicians in leading positions were integrated into the aristocracy. Quite a few university professors followed its lifestyle: away from the “ascetic and morally narrow principles towards an excessive life”. This characterized the “triumph of capitalism” and rejected the values of the early liberal bourgeoisie.<sup>59</sup>

Watching these social developments, the “future of mankind” looked gloomy to Rokitansky. In his opinion, “the so-called modern individualism was on the way [...] to degrade to a cult of the individual”.<sup>60</sup> In his farewell speech of 1875, Rokitansky once more pointed out the ideals of liberalism that had formed his period. Appealing to the youth, he said, “Our entire time is filled with the desire for freedom and this freedom involves equality. [...] Freedom implies both: freedom for each individual person, and taking responsibility towards others.”<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Johann OPPOLZER, Ueber Lehr- und Lernfreiheit. Festrede bei Gelegenheit seiner Installation zum Rector magnificus, in *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 1, 3 (1864), pp. 43–53, here p. 45.

<sup>57</sup> BUKLIJAS, LAFFERTON, Science, medicine and nationalism, in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007), p. 684.

<sup>58</sup> FEUILLETON. Berufung an Universitäten in Österreich, in *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 7, 41, 184–57 (1857), p. 747.

<sup>59</sup> GASSER, *Erlebte Revolution 1848/49*, p. 123.

<sup>60</sup> Josephinum. Collections and History of Medicine of the Medical University of Vienna, estate Rokitansky, handwritings collection 1.985, Carl Rokitansky, Abschiedsrede, gehalten am 16. Juli 1875, in Carl Rokitansky, *Drei Reden* (1844, 1862, 1875). Typoskript, geschrieben von Karl Rokitansky, pp. 36–48, here p. 43.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.



Only “freedom” enables “progress”, whereas everybody, bearing in mind the “freedom” of the others, must try, “if not to stand at the top, thus, on the side of progress”.<sup>62</sup> As Rokitsansky knew very well, he was speaking about a vision.

## Conclusion

The masterminds of liberalism, students and professors of different crown lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, but primarily from Bohemia, regenerated and modernized the authoritarian monarchy. The values of Liberalism set new standards. The Medical Faculties at the Universities of Prague and Vienna played a major role in changing political systems because medicine operated in a field between various academic professions as well as in new and emerging areas of cooperation of science, politics and the general public. Because political engagement was banned in the Premarch-period, they first pushed through reforms in medicine and founded a science-based Medical School. Scientific thinking shaped liberal reforms at the universities. The influence of physicians of Bohemian origin on implementing a scientific-orientated medicine at the Universities of Prague and Vienna and on constructing a modern society should be made more visible.

## Resumé

Vedoucí osobnosti liberalismu, studenti a profesoři z různých korunních zemí habsburské monarchie, ale přednostně z Čech, reformovali a modernizovali autoritářskou monarchii. Hodnoty liberalismu stanovily nové standardy. Lékařské fakulty pražské a vídeňské univerzity ve změně politického systému hrály prvořadou roli, protože medicína se pohybovala mezi různými akademickými profesemi, stejně jako v nových a vznikajících oblastech působila mezi vědou, politikou a veřejností. Politické angažování bylo ovšem v předbřeznovém období zakázáno, proto byly prosazovány reformy lékařství a zakládány lékařské školy založené na vědeckých poznatcích. Vědecký způsob myšlení pak formoval liberální reformy na univerzitách. Vliv lékařů českého původu na prosazování vědecky zaměřené medicíny na univerzitách v Praze a ve Vídni a na utváření moderní společnosti si zaslouží větší uznání a povědomost.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

# Gathering Experience Abroad

## The study-tours of students and teachers from the Technical University of Budapest 1899–1914

**ATTILA SZILÁRD TAR**

**Abstract.** The Technical University of Budapest was a young institution by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was officially founded in 1871, even though it had appeared in some forms from the 1840s. The Hungarian technical schools looked to copy the German model. To accomplish this they needed information about this type of higher education. Through studying the historical records it is possible to detect several forms of information-collection, which can be seen as forms of communication.

**Získávání zkušeností ze zahraničí. Studijní cesty studentů a vyučujících z Technické univerzity v Budapešti v letech 1899–1914.** Budapešť'ská technika byl na konci 19. století mladá instituce. Oficiálně byla otevřena v roce 1871, i když jistou prehistorii měla už od 40. let 19. století. Maďarské technické školství se co do vzorů shlíželo v německém modelu. K tomu ale potřebovalo informace o tomto typu vyššího vzdělání. V historických záznamech je možné vypátrat několik cest sbírání informací, které mohou být spatřovány jako jistá forma komunikace.

### Introduction

The necessity of the establishment of a technical university was debated in Hungary in the Reform Age following 1830 and 1848. Some results could be detected, such as the Trade School (Ipartanoda) founded in the 1840s or the Polytechnical School established in 1857. These were the forerunners of the Palatine Joseph Technical University, which was founded in 1871.<sup>1</sup> According to the foundation statutes, the university consisted of 5 departments: architecture, mechanical engineering, science of engineering, chemical engineering and civil engineering.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kornél ZELOVICH. A M. Kir. József Műegyetem és a hazai technikai felsőoktatás története. Budapest, 1922, p. 150–151.

<sup>2</sup> ZELOVICH, op. cit., p. 150–151.

In 1898 the Hungarian Minister of Trade wanted to extend the profile of the university with departments for commerce and agriculture. He also intended to reduce the proportion of theoretical mathematics.<sup>3</sup> The rector of the University refused, pointing to the German and French examples, where teaching was strictly based on theory. Furthermore he mentioned the success of contemporary German industry, and referred to recent English plans, according to which the English were about to reform their technical education by taking over the German model. In conclusion, he stated that the Hungarian education system should also lean on the German one.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the German model was mentioned again in connection with the new place of the Technical University – but this time in the Lower House of the Parliament. Some representatives referred directly to the results of the German technical higher education, saying for example that “Germany’s outstanding flourishing shown by the industry and trade was prepared by its technical higher education system.”<sup>5</sup> And arguing that “Nowadays those nations progress and succeed that are in the front line of economic development. It is acknowledged that Germany’s economic boom, which we witness today, was prepared by the intensive and widespread practice of technical education.”<sup>6</sup>

## Forms of Communication – the transfer of knowledge

Hungary was interested in taking over innovations from Germany in the field of administration and technology. Such steps were usually preceded by study tours carried out by teachers and students from the Technical University of Budapest, which was rather an indirect approach. In addition, the Technical University established direct contacts with Western-European partners by corresponding with the technical colleges, including German ones. In 1899, information was requested about the number of Hungarian students at German Technical Colleges. However, when the addressed institutions in Berlin, Hannover

<sup>3</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, fol. 18. VKM: 68018/1898.

<sup>4</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, fol. 18. 554/1898

<sup>5</sup> Quotation by Ernő Kammerer. Cited by ZELOVICH, op. cit., p. 221. Source: The Diary of the Lower House 1901–1906. VII. k.

<sup>6</sup> Quotation by Károly Hieronymi. Cited by ZELOVICH, op. cit., p. 221. Source: The Diary of the Lower House 1901–1906. VII. k.

and Brunswick (Braunschweig) replied, they gave the total number of students from Austria-Hungary.<sup>7</sup>

Another similar case helped in the reconstruction of the university's inner organisation. In 1905 the rector's office requested data from the German technical colleges about the size of their assistant staff. Appropriate replies came from Graz, Vienna, Zurich and Berlin. The same channel worked vice versa, too. For example, in 1906, the rector of the polytechnical school in Cöthen (Germany) requested information about students' associations at the Technical University in Budapest.<sup>8</sup> The response of the Hungarian institution clarified the point that the organised political and sports-life of the Hungarian students was not as lively as in Germany.

At the beginning of the 1910s, both students and teachers maintained Hungarian-German contacts by means of study-tours. There is information about these tours in the papers of the financial administration.<sup>9</sup> From 1910 excursions were registered led by Ottó Tandor and Aladár Willinger between 25<sup>th</sup> June and 11<sup>th</sup> July, and a later one led by Donát Bánki and Tibor Melczer. A tour in 1913 to Hamburg is also known.<sup>10</sup> As an example of mutual interest, a delegation from Dresden visited Hungary in 1912. The Technical University welcomed them on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1912 and entertained the guests for 3 days.<sup>11</sup>

Another form of communication between institutions was the doctor "honoris causa" award. The award was introduced to Hungary relatively late, only in 1909. Until the end of WWI only 8 people had received the title. Unfortunately this list cannot be the object of further examinations, because it contains only the names of Hungarian professors with one exception.<sup>12</sup> However, a question arises whether Hungarian scientists were rewarded abroad. Therefore "honoris causa"-titles, and also memberships in German academies or scientific societies are

<sup>7</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest, 1899, item Nr. 46, 365/1899; 998/1899; 2045/1899; 2046/1899.

<sup>8</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest, 1906, item Nr. 56, 1818/1906.

<sup>9</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest, 1910, item Nr. 40, 1292/1910; 1204/1910.

<sup>10</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest, 1913, item Nr. 5, 1850/1913.

<sup>11</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest, 1912, item Nr. 47.

<sup>12</sup> ZELOVICH, op. cit., p. 175; The Programme of the Hungarian Royal Joseph Technical University from the year 1917/1918. Budapest, 1917, p. 121.

taken into consideration here. It is generally acknowledged that between 1857 and 1919 at least 2 or 3 professors taught simultaneously at the Technical University of Budapest, who were honoured with the above mentioned titles. Their total number covered 12 persons.<sup>13</sup>

## **The study tours of the students and teachers**

Study tours by Hungarian teachers and students played a very important role in establishing and maintaining German connections of the Technical University of Budapest. During the Austro-Hungarian dualism the Hungarian government supported such studies, part-time studies and study-tours. These study-tours and excursions usually involved visits to factories, public institutions and scientific institutes. Students at the Technical University showed active participation in these projects. It is worth examining the period 1899–1914, which was a time of enormous technological development in the world.

The documents in the archives list 17 people who were sent abroad during the above mentioned period; in addition one teacher was sent three times within 15 years. The link between this group of people is that they visited some colleges, conferences but also factories or modern technical achievements. The main destination of these tours was Germany, sometimes as part of a complex Central-European journey. The participants applied for a scholarship usually granted by the ministry for education and religion. The following chart shows a summary of the tours.

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<sup>13</sup> See the Lecture-lists and the Programmes of the Technical University of the Budapest from the period 1857–1919.

STUDY-TOURS OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS FROM THE  
TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST 1899–1914<sup>14</sup>

YEAR	NAME	DESTINATIONS	AIM
1899	Oszkár Réthy, mechanical engineer	Austria, Germany, Switzerland	visit the main electric transmission centres and technical colleges <sup>15</sup>
1900	Pál Lázár, university professor	North-America	study-tour <sup>16</sup>
1900	Dezső Nagy, univ. professor	Paris	congress on material testing
1900	Sándor Rejtő, univ. professor	Paris	congress on material testing
1900	Gusztáv Rados, univ. professor	Paris	congress on mathematics
1900	Richárd Sebathiel, engineer	Munich, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Zurich, Berlin	studies in bridge-construction, visit the most famous buildings <sup>17</sup>
1900	Károly Papp, assistant teacher	Munich, Zurich	studies on geo-palaeontology
1901– 1902	Ákos Karkovány, assistant teacher	Vienna, Prague, several German cities and colleges	visits to factories, mechanical departments, technical institutes, experimental stations <sup>18</sup>
1902	István Kendi Finály, engineer	Germany	studies in water conducts, systems of canalization, seaports <sup>19</sup>
1907– 1908	Kálmán Róka, chemical engineer, assistant teacher	Technical College of Berlin	study sugar-manufacturing <sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> All references refer to the materials of the Archive of the University of Technology and Economics Budapest.

<sup>15</sup> 1899, item 35, 1746/1899.

<sup>16</sup> 1899, item 35, 1009/1899.

<sup>17</sup> 1899. item 35, 57049/1899; 46967/1899; 1900. item 1, 34695/1900, 962/1900, 1901. item 11, 1778/1900; 663/1901; 21511/1901.

<sup>18</sup> 1902. item 2, 906/1901; 934/1902.

<sup>19</sup> 1903. item 24, 31090/1903.

<sup>20</sup> 1908. 787/1908. (no item marked)

1908	Sándor Léderer, chemical engineer	Karlsruhe	researches in petrochemical industry
1908–1909	Béla Jánosi, mechanical engineer	Italy, Germany, England	insight of big power plants, industrial establishments, institutions of the workers' welfare, business life, English language <sup>21</sup>
1909	László Szathmáry	Technical College of Berlin	study the colouring compounds <sup>22</sup>
1910	Dr. Béla Bresztovszky, private-tutor	Berlin, Stockholm, London, Manchester, Zürich, Paris, Freiberg	visit experimental departments (max 45 days) <sup>23</sup>
1911	Ákos Karkovány	Germany, England	visit machine exhibition, wind-engine experimental plant <sup>24</sup>
1911	Dr. Ferenc Wittmann, university professor	Germany, Paris, London	view some college laboratories and wireless telegraph stations <sup>25</sup>
1912	József Fabinyi, student	Technical University Aachen	work at the electrochemical laboratory of the college <sup>26</sup>
1913	Adolf Czakó, university professor	Leipzig	participate in international exhibition on building industry <sup>27</sup>
1913	Ákos Karkovány, university teacher	Technical University of Dresden	view wind-engine experimental plant <sup>28</sup>
1913	Miksa Hermann, university teacher	Germany, Switzerland, England	study machine factories and machine-workshops <sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> 1910. ítem 20, 528/1910.

<sup>22</sup> 1910. ítem 20, 918/1909; 1022/1909.

<sup>23</sup> 1910. ítem 20, 16246/1910.

<sup>24</sup> 1911. ítem 3, 72/1911; 738/1911; 44103/1911.

<sup>25</sup> 1911. ítem 3, 918/1911.

<sup>26</sup> 1912. ítem 9, 67887/1910.

<sup>27</sup> 1912. ítem 28, 1299/1912.

<sup>28</sup> 1913. ítem 5, 1630/1913.

<sup>29</sup> 1913. ítem 5, 163/1913.

With the help of the chart it is clearly visible that one of the main destinations of such study tours was Germany. Numerous people went abroad with several different goals. Among the journeys there are study tours focusing on one special task, but also longer studies involving several semesters. The tours, which were led to one place, usually targeted a German technical college. The other tours, which included visits to more countries, normally involved a quite long German part, with the viewing of several German towns and technical colleges. All the main branches of the technical science can be found among the interest of the participants, such as architecture, chemistry, mechanics, but with greatest emphasis on electrical engineering.

Professors and students of the Technical University had the possibility to apply for several scholarships. In most cases the Ministry of Education and Religion offered a study-tour scholarship, but sometimes the Minister of Trade also issued scholarships.<sup>30</sup> Some prominent companies interested in technical research launched scholarship programmes during the first decade of the century, too, such as the Ganz Works,<sup>31</sup> the Petroleum Refinery,<sup>32</sup> the Hungarian Sugar Industry Joint Stock Company,<sup>33</sup> etc.

A carefully elaborated procedure led to the successful application for a scholarship. The applicant asked the senate of the university to present him to the ministry for the scholarship; if not the university senate had the right to decide, regularly in the case of company-sponsored scholarships. The rector then presented someone to the responsible ministry in the name of the senate. To each application he had to attach at least one supporting declaration by a university professor. The ministry decided on the scholarship and the conditions, together with the form of payment on the basis of the presentation, the research plan and the supporting declarations. In case of longer scholarships it was usual to pay the stipend in two instalments; half the amount at first and the other half after the first semester if the beneficiary's report was accepted. Writing a report was required after certain time, and of course at the end of the stay abroad. These reports were handed to a professor of the Technical University of Budapest for assessment. The ministry could form an exact picture about

<sup>30</sup> Éva VÁMOS. Deutsch-ungarische Beziehungen auf dem Gebiet der Chemie, der Lebensmittelchemie und der chemischen Industrie. In Holger FISCHER – Ferenc SZABADVÁRY (edd.). *Technologietransfer und Wissenschaftsaustausch zwischen Ungarn und Deutschland*. München, 1995, 223.

<sup>31</sup> 1907, item Nr. 9. – Béla Jánosi received it.

<sup>32</sup> 787/1908 – Sándor Léderer received it.

<sup>33</sup> 787/1908 – Kálmán Róka received it.



the reasonable spending of the sum. If there was no problem either with the content or with the technical circumstances, the ministry accepted the report and sent it back to the university.

There was also an indirect advantage of such international cooperation: foreign studies were supposed to serve the welfare of the nation. In the ordinance of the Minister of Trade in 1910, it can be read that one of the conditions for granting the scholarship was the prospect of making good use of the foreign studies after returning to Hungary. In the cases of Aladár Schuller and Artur Rosinger, the ministry recorded that the above mentioned scholars should return to Hungary after their scholarship, but not later than the end of the next year, and that Hungarian industry should profit from their studies.<sup>34</sup>

This particular requirement was utilized in further cases, as well. Oszkár Réthy, a mechanical engineer, wrote a report about his study-tour to the Minister of Trade, Dr. Sándor Hegeďűs in 1899.<sup>35</sup> In his report of 31st October, 1899, he described the details of his visits and summarized his experience. His aims were to visit the main electric transmission centres, power plants and laboratories of electricity in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. His route led through Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck, Munich, Schaffhausen, Winterthur, Zürich, Baden, Rheinfelden, Basel, Mannheim, Darmstadt, Strasbourg, Frankfurt and Berlin. He saw the major electric centres, power plants (“electric factories“), factories run by electricity and some college institutes.<sup>36</sup> He had the chance to view the electrotechnical or electromechanical laboratories of the technical colleges in Vienna, Munich, Zurich, Darmstadt and Berlin. In addition, he visited academic institutes, like the Electronic Research Institute (Elektronische Versuchsanstalt) in Vienna and the Imperial Institute for Physics and Technology (Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt) in Berlin. It was a rich programme carried out in a short period of time. Full of experience and new knowledge, he returned. University professor, Ferenc Wittmann gave a positive evaluation about Réthy’s journey to the department of mechanical engineering. As a result, the ministry accepted Réthy’s report.

Two months later Réthy wrote his next paper, which the rector of the university sent to the minister in the early months of 1900. According to the new report, Réthy was permitted entry to the electrotechnical factory of Siemens and

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<sup>34</sup> 1910, item Nr. 20, 233/1909.

<sup>35</sup> Oszkár Réthy received 600 Ft scholarship from the minister for trade in 1899 with the purpose of training abroad.

<sup>36</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest; item 1746/1899.

Halske in Charlottenburg, and could work there as an employee. This was a good chance to have a closer look of the latest electrotechnical improvements, but it would be impossible to complete reports frequently. Consequently the rector requested the minister to reduce the number of compulsory reports.<sup>37</sup>

Two years later, Ákos Karkovány, an assistant teacher of the Technical University was granted a scholarship. In 1902 he wrote a 49-page long full report about the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> semesters of his journey, in which he recorded, that in the 1<sup>st</sup> semester he had worked in Rudolf Sack's factory in Leipzig. He left this for an economic exhibition in Halle, where he took part in professional meetings and visited the economic institutes and the research centre of mechanics of the University. He also visited some factories. From there he went to Berlin, where he studied at the Technical College (Charlottenburg) and the College of Agriculture. He also inspected some factories.<sup>38</sup> In the second part of his tour he visited several German towns, especially industrial centres like Hannover, Poppelsdorf, Karlsruhe and Stuttgart, because of their technical or agricultural colleges. Karkovány was also in Hohenheim, where he could see the research centre of mechanical engineering. After Germany, he went to Paris, then to England to continue the study tour and to do the same as in Germany.

## Summary and Outlook

In Hungary the period between 1867 and 1914 was prosperous. It was obvious at the time that economic prosperity cannot be possible without good education in the field of natural sciences and technology. Both the Hungarian government and leading companies provided help for those who were eager to gather experience and up-to-date knowledge abroad in Western European countries. Several students and teachers of the Technical University in Budapest visited Central-European, mostly German technical colleges, research centres and modern factories with the help of the above mentioned supporters. They were young, ambitious and ready for the new things in order to enable Hungary's progress.

The famous colleges and towns they visited were of touristic interest as well, yet the eyes of the students were focused on new technical innovations. They had a sense for the appropriate places and where to find them; Siemens-Schuckert electric factories, Siemens-Schuckert cable-factory, Bergmann Electric Works,

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<sup>37</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, item 696/1900.

<sup>38</sup> The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, item 934/1902.

European Weston Electrical Instrument Co., Electric Works of Berlin,<sup>39</sup> Telefunken, Vereinigte Windturbinenwerke,<sup>40</sup> etc. The Hungarian students went there, viewed new technology and returned to implement the innovations on Hungarian soil. Especially would-be doctors left the country for foreign studies, and some private scholarships provided financial help<sup>41</sup>. In closing, two figures are presented which also can inspire further thinking on this issue:

- Between 1867 and 1897 35 engineers, 17 architects and 3 mechanical engineers had a German degree accepted at the Technical University of Budapest. The degrees were mostly received in Munich.<sup>42</sup>
- Between 1890 and 1919 1626 Hungarian students were enrolled at a German technical college.<sup>43</sup> The most popular destinations were: Mittweida, Munich, Berlin-Charlottenburg, and Karlsruhe, which all proved to be suitable places to study in the age of the Second Industrial Revolution.

The Technical University of Budapest used to ask the German Technical Colleges and Universities about different matters in letter-form. Another form of this communication was the arranging of excursions to the partner-universities. Next, we can mention the doctor “honoris causa” awards, and furthermore the membership of Hungarian professors in German scientific academies or societies. And lastly are the study tours of students and teachers to mention.

In my presentation I analysed these visits by Hungarian students and professors from the Technical University of Budapest to European destinations, the purpose of which was to gather experience. It was a good period for such visits: the Hungarian government supported the studies, the part-time studies and the study-tours of Hungarian students and professors abroad. These studies usually involved the visit of factories, public institutions and scientific institutes. The students of the Technical University showed active participation in these projects.

<sup>39</sup> The list is from Béla Jánosi's report. The Archive of the University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, item Nr. 528/1910. The report was supervised by Károly Zipernowszky, a co-inventor of the transformer.

<sup>40</sup> These companies are mentioned in the reports of Ferenc Wittmann (item Nr. 918/1911) and Ákos Karkovány (item Nr. 1630/1913).

<sup>41</sup> Endre HÖGYES (ed.). *Emlékkönyv a Budapesti Királyi Magyar Tudomány Egyetem Orvosi Karának Múltjáról és Jelenéről*. Budapest, 1896, 826 pp. (About the foundations for students of the medical faculty.)

<sup>42</sup> *A Magyar Királyi József-Műegyetem Programja az 1897-1898-ik tanévre*. [The Programme of the Hungarian Royal Joseph Technical University for the year 1897–1898]. Budapest, 1897, p. 91–98.

<sup>43</sup> László SZÖGI. *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789–1919*. Budapest, 2001, p. 31. In the previous period (1867–1890): 702 – tendency increasing!

The documents of the archives list 17 people who were sent abroad during the above mentioned period, including one teacher, who was sent three times within 15 years. The link between them is that they visited some colleges, conferences then even factories or modern technical achievements. The main destination of these tours was Germany, sometimes as part of a complex Central-European journey. The participants applied for a scholarship, granted usually by the Ministry for Education and Religion.

It is worth seeing the method of applying for scholarships, the rules for the finances and the final reports on record. In my study I show these parts of the procedure and I also highlight the aim of these efforts: to benefit the Hungarian industry and transportation.

## Resumé

Technická univerzita v Budapešti se obvykle obracela na německé techniky a univerzity s různými dotazy v dopisech. Další formou komunikace a získávání informací byly exkurze na partnerské vysoké školy. Jako ještě jiné formy lze zmínit udělování titulů „honoris causa“ a dále členství maďarských profesorů v německých vědeckých akademiích a společnostech. Na konec je třeba uvést studijní cesty studentů a učitelů.

Ve článku jsou analyzovány návštěvy maďarských studentů a profesorů z Technické univerzity v Budapešti na různých místech v Evropě s cílem získat zkušenosti. Vybrané období bylo pro takové návštěvy dobré: maďarská vláda jak celá, tak částečná studia i studijní cesty maďarských studentů a vyučujících v zahraničí podporovala. Obvykle zahrnovaly návštěvy továren, veřejných institucí a vědeckých ústavů. Studenti techniky se na projektech aktivně podíleli.

Archivní dokumenty zaznamenávají 17 lidí, kteří byli posláni do zahraničí ve vytyčeném období, včetně jednoho učitele, který byl vyslán během 15 let třikrát. Spojují je návštěvy některých vysokých škol, konferencí a dokonce továren či moderních technických zařízení. Hlavním cílem těchto cest bylo Německo, někdy jako součást celkové cesty po Střední Evropě. Účastníci žádali o stipendium obvykle na ministerstvu vyučování a kultury.

Je cenné vidět metody žádostí o stipendia, pravidla pro financování a závěrečné zprávy v dokumentech. V článku jsou tyto procedury ukázány a podtrženy také cíle těchto snah: přispět maďarskému průmyslu a dopravě.

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# The dichotomy of students and university teachers of Slovenian descent between academic careers and the expectations of the Slovenian nationalists

## From the March revolution to the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy

ANA CERGOL PARADIŽ – ŽELJKO OSET

**Abstract.** The subject of our research will be a graphical representation of the number of Slovenian students at individual Austrian universities for the period from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the First World War. This will be followed (mainly through biographical method) by the analysis of the complex and ambivalent relationships between (especially natural) scientists of Slovenian descent, whose main professional goal was to successfully function in the academic field, and the Slovenian nationalists, whose long-term goal was to form the Slovenian national identity and the Slovenian nation.

**Dichotomie studentů a univerzitních vyučujících slovinského původu mezi akademickou kariérou a naděje slovinských nacionalistů od březnové revoluce po rozpad habsburské monarchie.** Předmětem výzkumu bylo grafické znázornění počtu slovinských studentů na jednotlivých rakouských univerzitách v období druhé poloviny 19. století do 1. světové války. Následovala (především biografickými metodami) analýza složitých a ambivalentních vztahů mezi vědci (zejména přírodovědci) slovinského původu, jejichž hlavním profesním cílem bylo úspěšně působit na akademickém poli, a slovinskými nacionalisty, jejichž dlouhodobým cílem bylo formovat slovinskou národní identitu a slovinský národ.

**Keywords:** students • scientists • Austrian universities • Slovenia • 19<sup>th</sup> century • Jožef Stefan • Franc Miklošič • Angela Piskernik • Boris Zarnik • Maks Samec • Josip Plemelj

## Slovenian political demands and the founding of Slovenian literary society (Slovenska matica)

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Slovenian demands were aimed at ensuring a constitutionally warranted equality. At the outbreak of the revolution, these demands were articulated exactly by the Slovenian students and young doctoral

students in Vienna and Graz. Looking also to other national groups, they demanded: national equality in education, public life, and the founding of (Slovenian) university in Ljubljana as the land capital of Carniola with majority Slovenian population.<sup>1</sup>

Student demands, acknowledged as their own by Slovenian patriots, were addressed to the government in a memorandum by the Carniolan provincial assembly. In view of the circumstances, the government granted some minor concessions, among others the funds for civil law lectures in Slovenian at the University of Graz, which took place between 1849 and 1854.<sup>2</sup>

After a decade of calm in the 1850s, Slovenian demands were articulated again at the beginning of the constitutional period. As a rule, the government was reserved toward Slovenian politicians' demands, rejecting them with the argument that there was no need to introduce Slovenian textbooks, nor were there qualified Slovenian teachers, and no established terminology existed. Arguing that there were no trained officials, it also opposed the functioning of public offices and courts in Slovenian.<sup>3</sup> Etbin Costa perceived the government's stance as a vicious circle, hindering the development of Slovenian nation, and rendering impossible the enforcement of constitutionally warranted equality. Therefore, Costa suggested founding an association for the publishing of expert Slovenian books, the Slovenian Literary Society (*Slovenska matica*), which was to function following the examples of the Czech (1831), Serbian (1826), and Croatian (1842) literary societies (*maticas*). Costa and other Slovenian nationalists looked up to the Czech national-representative institutions and literary society (*matica*) respectively, due to their success,<sup>4</sup> and due to Czech political strength in the national assembly. Croatian national-representative institutions or literary society (*matica*), also represented a model because of the geographical proximity and the social network of Slovenian cultural workers and teachers who worked in Croatia at

<sup>1</sup> Stane GRANDA. *Prva odločitev Slovencev za Slovenijo* [Slovenes' first decision for Slovenia]. Ljubljana, 2000. Helmut RUMPLER – Martin SEGER. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Sozialen Strukturen: Bd. IX/2*. Wien, 1910, pp. 64–65.

<sup>2</sup> Janko POLEC – Bogumil SENEKOVIČ. *V senčičski zbornik* [College Miscellany]. Ljubljana 1902, pp. 106–298.

<sup>3</sup> Vasilij MELIK. *Slovenci 1848–1918* [Slovenes 1848–1919]. Maribor, 2002, pp. 78–85, 127–140.

<sup>4</sup> Etbin Henrik COSTA. Die 'Academia Operosorum' in Laibach. *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereines für Krain*. June 1861, pp. 41–46; Joka ŽIGON. *Veliko pismo slovenske združitve. Ustanovitev Slovenske matice*. [The great letter of Slovenian unification. The founding of Slovenian Literary Society]. Ljubljana, 1935, pp. 10–26.

the time, especially in Croatian high schools. It was these very teachers who also authored the majority of the first high school textbooks issued in Slovenian during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>5</sup>

The textbooks were written with Croatian ones in mind, whereas high-school textbooks in Slovenian language issued after the March revolution served as linguistic examples. Thus, a linguistic standard for the Slovenian language was established, conceived in the bilingual German-Slovenian official gazette published during 1849–1851, where Franc Miklošič and Matej Cigale among others collaborated<sup>6</sup>.

The plan to found a Yugoslav academy of sciences and arts also had important influence on the founding of the Slovenian Literary Society as the first Slovenian scientific association in 1864. Most politically active Slovenian cultural workers supported the founding of the Literary Society. They wished the society to perform the tasks of a Slovenian academy of sciences – that is, the collecting and processing of material for the publishing of Slovenian literary language dictionary – and to collaborate with Croatian national-representative cultural institutions as an equal central Slovenian cultural institution. A smaller group, however, opposed the founding of the Literary Society (*matica*), and suggested collaboration in establishing an academy in Zagreb. This debate ceased when Josip Juraj Strossmayer, an initiator of founding the Zagreb Yugoslav academy of sciences and arts, financially supported the founding of Slovenian Literary Society with a donation.<sup>7</sup>

Collaboration between Slovenian and Croatian cultural workers began to decline after 1867, since the majority of Slovenian professors and officials had been moved to the Austrian part of the monarchy. Deeper political and cultural collaboration reoccurred at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

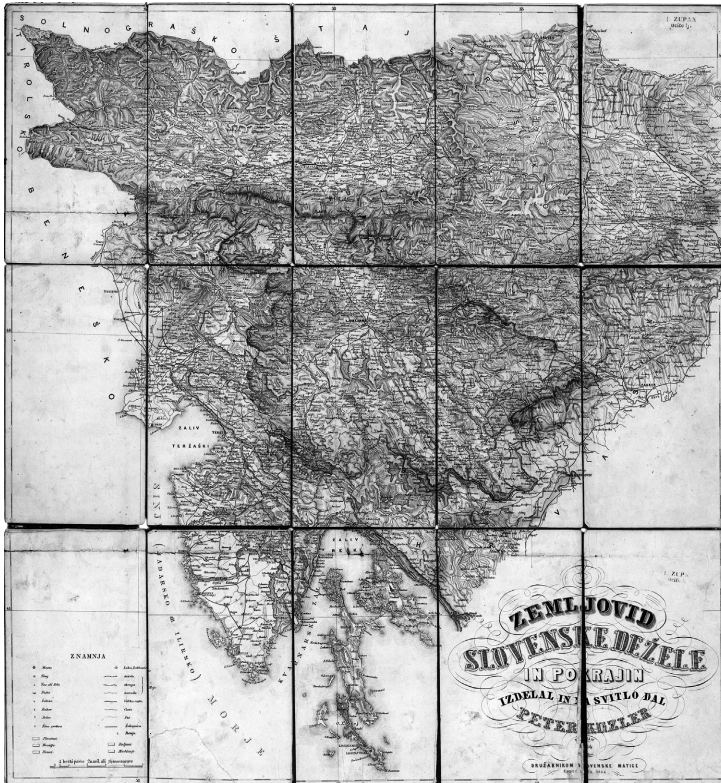
<sup>5</sup> J. ŽIGON. *Veliko*, pp. 17–18; V. MELIK. *Slovenci*, pp. 222–244, 687–694.

<sup>6</sup> Janez KRANJC. Prispevek Frana Miklošiča k oblikovanju slovenske pravne terminologije v prvem letniku dvojezičnega izhajanja državnega zakonika in vladnega lista avstrijskega cesarstva [Contribution of Fran Miklošič to the forming of Slovenian legal terminology in the first bilingual volume of state code and government gazette of the Austrian empire]. In Jože TOPORIŠIČ (eds.): *Miklošičev zbornik* [Miklošič miscellany]. Ljubljana, 1992, pp. 117–134.

<sup>7</sup> Željko OSET. *Zgodovina Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti* [The history of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts]. Ljubljana, 2014, pp. 35–38.

<sup>8</sup> Ž. OSET. *Zgodovina* [History], pp. 35–41; Andrej RAHTEN. *Zaveznitva in delitve. Razvoj slovensko-brvaških političnih odnosov v habsburški monarhiji 1848–1918* [Alliances and divisions. Development of Slovenian-Croatian political relations in the Habsburg monarchy 1848–1918]. Ljubljana, 2005.

The Slovenian Literary Society (*Slovenska matica*) functioned as an organizational hub, connecting a geographically dispersed network of national Slovenian societies. In the first two decades, it had between 1000 and 2500 members, but after 1890, the membership constantly increased, rising to approximately 5000 society members before the war. In the fifty years before First World War, the society published around 100 scientific and around 200 belletristic books. By publishing scientific works, it decisively influenced the formation of Slovenian expert terminology in the fields of geography, botany, geology, and history. An important turning point in the process was the issuing of a dictionary of Slovenian scientific terminology, the life work of Mateja Cigale, in 1880.<sup>9</sup> Systematic efforts to publish



The map “Zemljovid Slovenske dežele in pokrajin” [of Slovenian land and provinces] made by Peter Kozler in 1853.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> France BERNIK (ed.). *Slovenska matica 1864–1964* [Slovenian Literary Society 1864–1964]. Ljubljana, 1964.

<sup>10</sup> ARS, AS 621, b. 69, no. 1271.



an integral natural dictionary occurred after 1900, following the strengthening of efforts to found a university in Ljubljana. Of course, the society importantly contributed to the forming of the national self-image, historical memory, and Slovenian nationalist conceptions. This is proven by the fact that the Society handed its members as a present the the map “Zemljovid Slovenske dežele in pokrajin” [of Slovenian land and provinces], made by Peter Kozler in 1853.<sup>11</sup>

The activities of Croatian and Czech national-representative institutions were strongly reflected in those of the Slovenian Literary Society. Especially worth pointing out is the foundation of the Franz Josephs Czech Academy of Sciences, Literature and Arts in 1890, called only the Czech Academy of Science and the Arts (Česká akademie věd a umění) after 1918, and the Association for the Fostering of German Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia (Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen, founded according the model of the Czech Academy in 1891. Reforming the Slovenian Literary Society was opposed by the majority of members, who were afraid of the belletristic publishing program being tarnished. Since the Society board had not managed to secure adequate state support equivalent to that received by the academies of sciences in the monarchy, the plan failed. A Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts was only established in 1938. Likewise, the Slovenian university in Ljubljana was founded only after the First World War. Until then, Slovene students had to study at other (Austrian) universities.<sup>12</sup>

## Slovene students at Austrian universities

Between 1875–1911, there were also students who had stated Slovene as their mother tongue (Muttersprache) in all of the universities in Cisleithania. According to the data of the Austrian statistics, 56 % of “Slovene” students<sup>13</sup> attended the university in Vienna, 34 % the one in Graz, and 8 % the universities in Prague (the German and Czech universities together) in that period. Only a few of all “Slovene” students attended the university in Krakow, or the universities in Innsbruck, Lvov, and Chernivtsi (see Chart 1).<sup>14</sup>

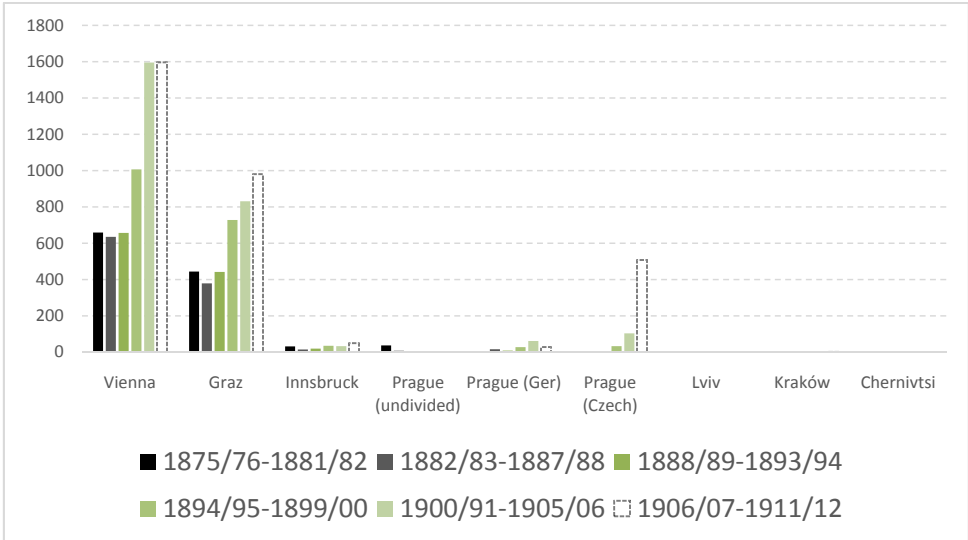
<sup>11</sup> Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (ARS), AS 621, box 1–2, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Ž. OSET. *Zgodovina*, pp. 38–96.

<sup>13</sup> “Slovene” students refers to those students, who had stated Slovene as their mother tongue (Muttersprache).

<sup>14</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch. Für das Jahr.* Wien, 1875–1881; *Österreichische Statistik.* Wien, 1882–1912.

**Chart 1** Number of “Slovene” students at Austrian universities (*Statistisches Jahrbuch. Für das Jahr. Wien, 1875–1881. Österreichische Statistik. Wien, 1882–1912*)



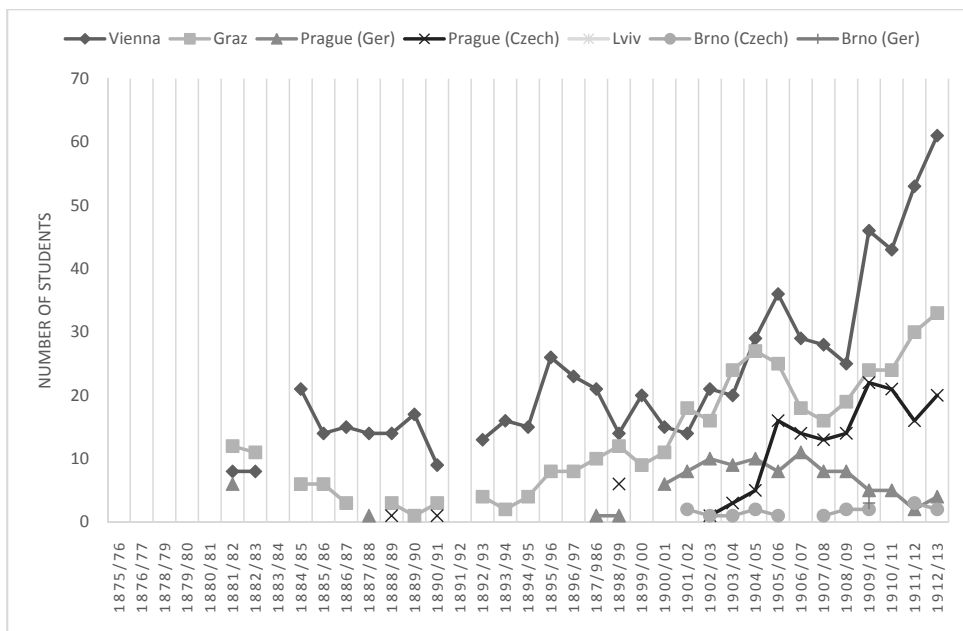
Of course, some “Slovene” students also studied beyond the borders of Cisleithania, or even the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but they were very few. A similar distribution of “Slovene” students in individual towns of Cisleithania is shown by the Institutes of Technology (Technische Hochschulen) (See Chart 2),<sup>15</sup> or by analyzing where the professors, who immediately after 1919 taught at the University of Ljubljana, completed their studies (see Chart 3),<sup>16</sup> and also by analyzing where the first members of the Slovenia Academy of Sciences and Arts (founded in 1938) completed their studies (see Chart 4).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch. Österreichische Statistik*; Vasilij MELIK – Peter VODOPIVEC. Slovenski izobraženci in avstrijske visoke šole 1848–1918 [Slovenian intellectuals and Austrian colleges 1848–1918]. *Zgodovinski časopis* [Historical Review], 1986, no. 3, pp. 269–282.

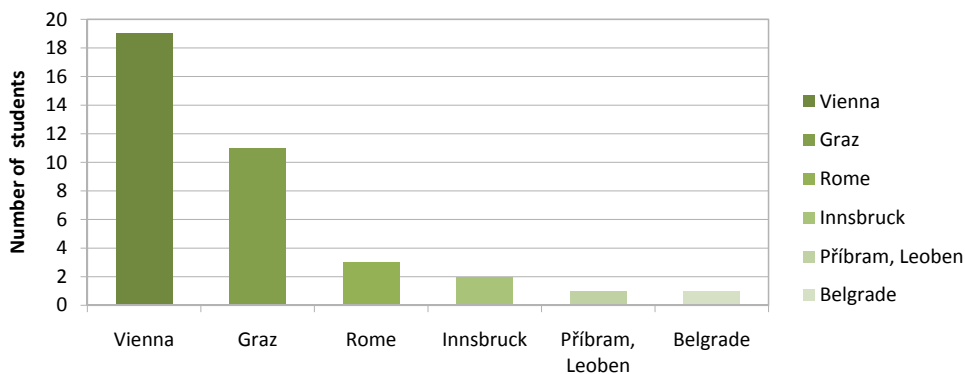
<sup>16</sup> <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/>.

<sup>17</sup> Ž. OSET. *Zgodovina*, pp. 68–100.

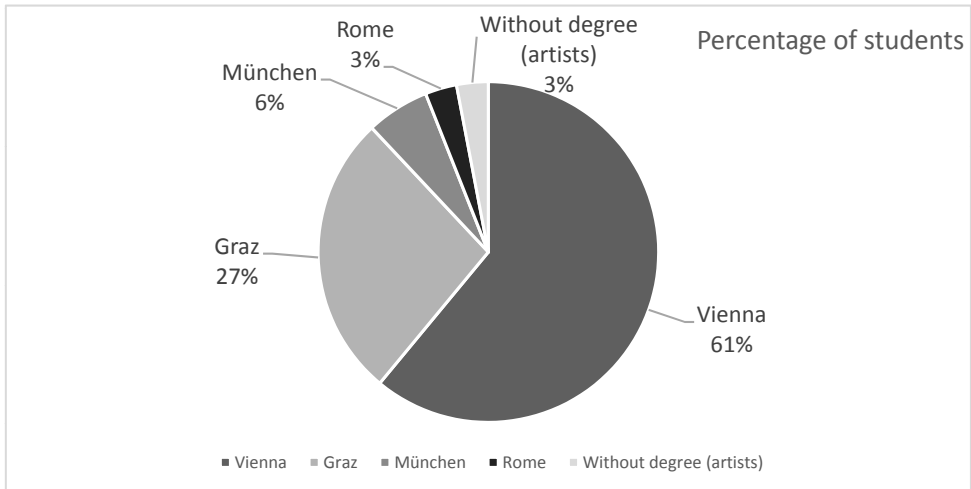
**Chart 2** Number of “Slovene” students at Austrian Institutes of technology (*Statistisches Jahrbuch. Für das Jahr. Wien, 1875–1881. Österreichische Statistik. Wien, 1882–1912*)



**Chart 3** Chart that shows where the “Slovene” professors, who immediately after 1919 taught at the University of Ljubljana, completed their studies (<http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/>)



**Chart 4** Chart that shows where the first members of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (founded in 1938) completed their studies (Ž. Oset: *Zgodovina*, pp. 68–100)



Why did Slovene students prefer to study in Vienna, even though the universities of Graz and Zagreb were closer? Vienna had the advantage of being the political and cultural center of the Monarchy, and offered more opportunities for subsistence. In Vienna, the support association for Slovene students was formed earlier than at other university centers (1888). Another reason for not choosing the nearby university in Zagreb was its location in the other half of the state. Hence, if they wanted to work in Cisleithania later, they would need to have their diplomas certified or take differential exams.<sup>18</sup>

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Slovene students generally increased, most rapidly in Prague.<sup>19</sup> Due to the escalating national conflict with the Germans, Slovene students increasingly chose Slavic towns for their studies. Studies in “liberal” Prague soon became a problem for the Slovene Conservatives, who had the political supremacy in Slovenian lands. Slovene Conservatives preferred to send students to the more Catholic-oriented Krakow. However, their initiative did not have a major impact.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> V. MELIK – P. VODOPIVEC. Slovenski izobraženci, pp. 269–282.

<sup>19</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch. Österreichische Statistik.*

<sup>20</sup> V. MELIK – P. VODOPIVEC. Slovenski izobraženci, pp. 269–282. On Slovenes at University of Vienna see also Alojz CINDRIČ. *Študenti s Kranjske na dunajski univerzi 1848–1918* [Carniolan Students at Vienna University]. Ljubljana, 2009.

The agitation for Krakow was not the only way in which Slovene Conservatives tried to steer the opinion of Slovene students in this period (1848–1918). Here is another example. In 1865, there was an initiative in support of the chancellor of the University of Graz, who was a strong supporter of evolutionary theory. Some Slovene students welcomed the initiative, but the conservative Slovenian newspapers did not approve of their reaction and tried to obstruct them. A suggestion was even written that parents should stop offering material support to their children if they advocated evolutionary theory. Due to these narrow ideological standpoints, several promising young intellectuals separated themselves from the nation.<sup>21</sup>

Lastly, the statistical data reveals another speciality of Slovene students. It can be seen from the chart that the majority of them chose to study humanities.<sup>22</sup>

Table 1 Number of »Slovene« students at Austrian faculties (*Statistisches Jahrbuch. Für das Jahrb. Wien, 1875–1881. Österreichische Statistik. Wien, 1882–1912*)

	Number of “Slovene” students
<i>Theological Faculties and Theol. Schools</i>	7441
<i>Faculties of Law</i>	6686
<i>Faculties of Medicine</i>	1764
<i>Faculties of Arts</i>	2602
<i>Technical learning centres</i>	1645
<i>»Berg-Akademie« (Academy of mining)</i>	345
<i>»Hochschule für Bodenkultur« (College for Soil Culture)</i>	109
<i>Veterinary school</i>	144

<sup>21</sup> Željko OSET. Acceptance of modern scientific achievements in Slovene communication network. Example of evolution theory and the formation process of the Slovene technical terminology. In Peter VODOPIVEC – Aleš GABRIČ (eds). *The role of education and universities in modernization processes in Central and South-Eastern European countries in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century*. Ljubljana – Wien, 2011, pp. 181–197.

<sup>22</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch. Österreichische Statistik.*

This was to a certain degree due to the influence of Slovene opinion leaders, who believed that an educated humanistic workforce would significantly contribute to the formation of the Slovene nation.<sup>23</sup> The relatively lower number of Slovene natural science students proved to be a problem when the University of Ljubljana was founded after the First World War. Since Slovene lecturers in these disciplines could not be found, the University of Ljubljana employed refugees from Russia who had fled to Yugoslavia, and also Czech professors, who lectured in German at first.<sup>24</sup>

## Working at »foreign« universities

We have thus presented some data on students. We will continue by focusing on “Slovene” university professors. Special attention will be paid to natural scientists, who have so far remained on the margins of the historiographical interest and subject to the stereotype that, due to the nature of their work, they were less involved in national disputes than humanists.

In the academic field, a clear national definition and the associated political engagement was more of a hindrance than an advantage for a professor in the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore, it is not surprising that, until the 1890s, there were relatively few nationally conditioned disagreements among university professors. However, at the end of the century, nationalism found its way into the academic field. This is proven by the example of Gregor Krek, a Slovene full professor of Slavic studies at the University of Graz. After the protest of German student against Slovene demands for the introduction of some Slovene departments at the university in 1900, Krek chose early retirement. As he wrote in a letter to his son, he could no longer bear the attacks of German nationalist students, who had the support of an important part of professors and the government.<sup>25</sup>

Beside Krek, it is also necessary to mention Franc Miklošič, a professor of Slavic studies at the University of Vienna, a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and an avid supporter of Slovene demands during the outbreak of the March Revolution. Miklošič soon distanced himself from political demands, but as a university professor he participated in forming Slovene legal terminology

<sup>23</sup> Milan VIDMAR. *Spomini* [Memoirs]. I. Maribor, 1964, pp. 192–194.

<sup>24</sup> Milan VIDAR (ur.). *Zgodovina slovenske univerze v Ljubljani do leta 1929* [The history of Slovenian university in Ljubljana until 1929]. Ljubljana, 1929, pp. 309–314, 501–533.

<sup>25</sup> ARS, AS 812, box 1, Letter to Bogumil Krek (16. 3. 1902).

and in writing Slovene textbooks for high schools.<sup>26</sup> Because of his restrained attitude towards Slovene political demands, Miklošič was labeled the “prodigal son of mother Slavija” and even a “German pig” by Slovene nationalists. They specifically blamed Miklošič for being strongly opposed to the invasion of nationalism in the scientific sphere. However, the homeland’s attitude towards Miklošič changed significantly in the 1880s. The opinion prevailed that with his work he drew the attention of the cultural world to Slovenes and Slavs, and thus indirectly contributed to the nation’s cause.<sup>27</sup>

A serious personal dilemma between the demands of national engagement and those of an academic career was also confronted by other natural scientists of Slovene descent. An excellent example was Jožef Stefan (1835–1893), who, as a young student in Vienna, wrote several patriotic songs and substantial articles, through which he got involved in Slovenian nation-forming activities. Already at the age of 19, he advocated, e.g. in the article *O domačem slovstvu* (*On home literature*), the need for an educational role of home literary production, which should also focus on the popularization of natural and technical knowledge. He then personally contributed to this goal by publishing popular science articles on a wide variety of topics. After 1858, however, he completely abandoned publishing in the Slovenian language. He presumably reached such a decision mainly because of the demands of research work, but also because Slovenian cultural space was not particularly receptive to his popular science writing. In the same year a polemic appeared in *Glasnik Slovenski* (Slovene Herald), where Stefan also published, on the need to publish natural scientific texts in Slovenian. The editor, Valentin Janežič, pointed out that Slovenians were falling behind in this area. Up until then, that is 1858, only four natural scientific monographs had been issued in Slovenian: a book on viticulture and farming chemistry, a book on veterinary science, another on economics and the first physics textbook, written by Karl Robida, Stefan’s high school teacher. Janežič called in his article for the Slovenian press to pay more attention to such writing, but sided entirely with *applied science*, declaring that research science was commendable, but useless or not (yet) achievable for Slovenes. He also intervened in the discussion on natural scientific terminology, and called for naming common to all Yugoslav nations.

Writer Fran Levstik responded sharply to the article by Janežič, opposing excessive purism in terminology and the adoption of new »jargonisms« from Yugoslav languages. Above all, he believed that Slovenes do not yet need natural

<sup>26</sup> J. KRANJČ. Prispevek [Contribution], pp. 117–134.

<sup>27</sup> Ž. OSET. *Zgodovina*, p. 47.

science, with the argument that one should first strive for general literacy, which was easier to achieve through belles-lettres, and only then publish more demanding educational literature.

One may assume that Jožef Stefan felt shoved away to a later time upon these affirmations of a Slovenian literary authority, Fran Levstik,<sup>28</sup> and that the »nationalization of science«<sup>29</sup> had not advanced enough in the Slovenian cultural environment of the time. However, it was not the high expectations of the nationalists that discouraged Stefan from writing in Slovenian, but rather the *absence* of such expectations, and the fact that he did not have a suitable scientific terminology at his disposal, as he himself wrote: “I stand before you with a large pile of German knowledge and a fistful of Slovene words.” Stefan then decided to devote himself to his academic career and abandon nationalist aspirations, and thus his “trail was lost” in Slovene historical memory. The first extensive article about him was only published in 1950. However, today the largest Slovenian research institute is named after him.<sup>30</sup>

## Working at home

Slightly different dilemmas were experienced by the generation of Slovenes who had already been intellectually formed in the time of the Habsburg Monarchy, but also continued their work after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia).<sup>31</sup> Among them was, for example, Josip Plemelj.

Josip Plemelj (1873–1967) decided to study mathematics at the University of Vienna. After obtaining a doctorate degree in 1898, he was employed as an assistant at the statistical institute, which was then considered as a wellspring of professorial staff. In 1899, he earned a travel scholarship for the University of Berlin, and next year for Göttingen as well. Especially the latter proved to be a turning point in his academic career. In Göttingen, the local mathematicians

<sup>28</sup> Sandi SITAR. *Jožef Stefan*. Ljubljana, 1993.

<sup>29</sup> Term adopted after: Mitchell G. ASH – Jan SURMAN (eds.). *The nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg empire, 1848–1918*. Houndmills, 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Lavo ČERMELJ. *Josip Stefan. Življenje in delo velikega fizika* [The life and work of the great physicist]. Ljubljana, 1950. Anton PETERLIN. My scientific life. Vili BUKOŠEK (eds.). *Anton Peterlin 1908–1993. Življenje in delo/His Life and Work*. Ljubljana, 2008, pp. 29–30.

<sup>31</sup> Ervin DOLENC. *Med kulturo in politiko* [Between culture and politics]. Ljubljana, 2008.



were intensively dealing with linear integral equations. Plemelj published several papers about the problem, which attracted the attention of the mathematical community. This is how a door opened for him into the academic world; he became a private lecturer at the College of Engineering (Technische Hochschule) in Vienna. The peak of his career is represented by his solution of the so-called Riemann problem in 1908. He later became an associate and then full professor at the university in Chernivtsi. Since Plemelj was publicly known as a Slovene nationalist, and thus spiritually belonged to the new generation of professors, which, unlike the older generation, did not avoid expressing its national definition, the process of appointing him an associate and then full professor was quite lengthy. He was appointed only after the intervention of his professor, Georg von Escherich, who stressed Plemelj's international reputation and the possibility of scandal if he was not chosen.<sup>32</sup>

Plemelj had problems because of his clear national definition in 1916 as well, when the police suspected him of “russophiler Gesinnung” (Russophile attitude), for which he was interned and put under the watchful eye of the police. He was then helped by a colleague, who provided him a job in Vienna. After the war, Plemelj returned to Ljubljana, despite the invitation of the Romanian Government to continue to lecture at the university in Chernivtsi. Afterwards, he became the first chancellor of the University of Ljubljana, founded in 1919. However, since he was not a good organizer, according to his own assessment, he could not adapt to this position.<sup>33</sup> He was becoming unsatisfied with the situation at the university, so he considered accepting the offer for a position at the University of Graz in 1927. But when, in 1928, he was conferred a high state decoration and promised additional resources by the ministry, he rejected the position in Graz.<sup>34</sup> In letters to Georg Faber, a German mathematician whom he met in Göttingen, he lamented over his loneliness in Ljubljana, and wrote about his awareness that the peak of his career was already behind him.<sup>35</sup>

Just the opposite is true for Maks Samec, who, like Plemelj, studied in Vienna, made the first steps of his academic career there and, after the war, returned to Ljubljana, where he succeeded. He became a full professor at the University, and the founder of the Slovene school of chemistry. Samec hoped that, in this challenging venture, he would be helped by his professor Wolfgang Pauli, but the university council objected to his appointment explaining they

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<sup>32</sup> ARS, AS 2012, box 1, no. 1–13.

<sup>33</sup> ARS, AS 2012, box 1, no. 12–13.

<sup>34</sup> Archives of Yugoslavia, AJ 66, 66-228-230, 1931, no. 4/31.

<sup>35</sup> ARS, AS 2012, b. 10, no. 188.

did not want a Jew among them. In organizing the study of chemistry in Ljubljana, Samec followed the Vienna model. As is often the case in science, the biggest obstacle was modest funding. Since public funds were insufficient, he collected high student fees for the period from 1919 to 1945 as head of the Institute of Chemistry, because he wanted relevant scientific literature and well-equipped laboratories to be available in Ljubljana.<sup>36</sup>

Like other professors of the University of Ljubljana, Samec also remained attached to the intellectual and collegial network formed before the First World War. Due to his successful research on starch and his good collegial contacts, he regularly received invitations to symposiums and lectures from Germany, France and Austria. In 1922, he founded with his German colleagues the *Kolloid Gesellschaft*, based in Cologne. He received numerous awards: Due to his reputation and the cooperation with German scientists, he received an invitation to move to the Reich in the autumn of 1941, when the Italian army occupied Ljubljana, but he refused. In the autumn of 1943, he also rejected the offer of the German occupation authorities to become the mayor of Ljubljana. After the war, also because of the mentioned awards and offers during the war, the new communist authorities deprived him of habilitating at the University of Ljubljana. As a distinguished expert and organizer, he was allowed to found a chemical institute within the Slovenia Academy of Sciences and Arts.<sup>37</sup>

For Samec, it is clear that he strongly wanted an academic career, and was thus looking for a position in Vienna. He was never given this kind of opportunity, but, after the war, at the newly established university in Ljubljana, where there were poor conditions for research, he shone as a scientist who had gained an international reputation. A completely different example is Plemelj, who experienced his academic peak before First World War, but could not return on his track afterwards and was no longer as successful. The paradox is that Plemelj was a very conscious Slovene and nationalist, while Samec did not pay much attention to the matter. This suggests that national definition was not always a factor that would have a decisive impact on the success of research work. However, it is important to note that the national orientation of Slovene scientists was in itself often fluid and changed through time.

A complicated, ambivalent, and somewhat varying attitude to Slovenity is reflected in the already presented biography of Jožef Stefan, but also in the career and life of biologist/zoologist Boris Zarnik. Zarnik, who was an assistant at

<sup>36</sup> Tanja PETERLIN-NEUMAIER (eds.). *Življenje in delo akad. prof. dr. Maksa Samca* [Life and work of acad. prof. dr. Maks Samec]. Ljubljana, 2015 (in print).

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

the biologist Boveri in Würzburg, preserved contact with the Slovenian intellectual environment at first, in spite of his studies (Jena, Cluj-Napoca, Würzburg) and work abroad.

He had his doctorate certified in 1906 at the University of Innsbruck because, as he himself wrote, there was talk about founding the Slovenian University in Ljubljana.<sup>38</sup> He also published in Slovenian newspapers, and edited a scientific column.<sup>39</sup> However, his popular science writings were not always met with a favourable response in the conservative Slovenian environment. In the years 1904–1907, as a result of the articles on Weissman and Häckel, he got involved in controversy with the Catholic newspaper *Slovenec* [Slovene].<sup>40</sup>

In 1911, Zarnik became an assistant professor at the University of Würzburg. On the occasion, the German newspaper in Graz, *Tagblatt*, was appalled by the fact that a Slovene obtained a position at a German university.<sup>41</sup> Zarnik himself quickly responded to *Tagblatt*'s article with a letter, in which he wrote that his father was ethnically conscious “but that he had never been an arrogant Slovene”<sup>42</sup> and that “he drew all of his erudition from German sources (...).” He even emphasized that, over time, “he has (...) become a good Bavarian.”<sup>43</sup>

The affair between Zarnik and the *Tagblatt* was described in detail by a liberally oriented Slovene daily newspaper, *Jutro* [Morning], which took advantage of the affair to use it as a starting point for presenting the general problems of Slovenes in gaining the habilitation at various foreign universities – quote: “if a Slovene habitates at a German university, he is attacked by the Germans, if he habitates at the Slavic Czech University, he is attacked by Slovene clericalists”.<sup>44</sup> When mentioning the attacks of the clericalists, the reporter referred to the controversy regarding the habilitation of the Slovene psychologist Mihajlo Rostohar at the Czech Charles University in Prague the same year. The appointment of Rostohar in fact upset the Slovene conservatives, because they did not want the “liberal” Prague to become the university centre that would “germinate” the

<sup>38</sup> Archives of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), Boris Zarnik (personal folder).

<sup>39</sup> *Veda*. 1911, no. 1; *Veda*. 1915, no. 5.

<sup>40</sup> See for example: Boris ZARNIK: Katoliška polemika [Catholic polemic]. *Slovenski narod* [Slovenian nation], 17. 4. 1907, pp. 1–2.

<sup>41</sup> Nemška in slovanska kratkovidnost [German and Slavic short-sightedness]. *Jutro* [Morning], 30. 8. 1911, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

human resources for the future Slovene university.<sup>45</sup> However, due to political and personal reasons, Rostohar did not teach at the University of Ljubljana later.

As for Zarnik, he was appointed associate professor at the University of Würzburg in 1915. But due to the intensified war circumstances and because of his Slovene origin, he (just like Plemelj) did not acquire the position quite smoothly. In fact, at the beginning of the war, he was under a military-police control. He was denounced by Anton Chorust, a historian from Graz. Consequently, his appointment was at first rejected, but then most of the faculty council, especially Boveri, sided with him.<sup>46</sup> So Zarnik got the position in spite of complications, but he left for Constantinople the same year. After the war, with the desire to work in his homeland, he moved to Zagreb (even in 1918 he still did not believe that establishing a Slovene university was possible). On this occasion, Zarnik again showed a shift in his attitude toward the national question. If he had been relatively in favour of Slovenian national aspirations in the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century as the editor of a Slovenian column, and later publically declared himself to be a “good Bavarian”,<sup>47</sup> he was now, in 1918, closer to the idea on a common Yugoslav nation. It was in this spirit that he also advocated the aim that the lectures be held in Serbo-Croatian instead of Slovenian at the university in Ljubljana, when it was founded in 1919. As a consequence, he presumably lost the favor of the autonomist or Slovenian oriented founders of the university, and did not get an opportunity in Ljubljana. He was more welcome at the university in Zagreb, where he obtained a lecturer position already in 1918.<sup>48</sup> At the newly founded faculty in Zagreb, he then taught biology, histology and embryology, and helped build the modern morphological and biological institute. He organized the institute following the example of the anatomical-biological institute in Berlin, led by Hertwig,<sup>49</sup> who was, like Zarnik, Haeckel’s student.<sup>50</sup>

Organizational and pedagogical work prevented Zarnik from doing intensive research work after returning to Zagreb, as was the case with many other Yugoslav or Slovene scientists. His most original and important scientific studies are thus

<sup>45</sup> Kaj to pomeni? [What does it mean?]. *Slovenec* [Slovene], 12. 8. 1911, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> SASA, Boris Zarnik (personal folder).

<sup>47</sup> Nemška in slovanska kratkovidnost [German and Slavic short-sightedness]. *Jutro* [Morning], 30. 8. 1911, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Library of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, R 46/III-74:5.

<sup>49</sup> Zdravko LORKOVIĆ. Boris Zarnik. *Lijecnicki vjesnik* [Medical Courier], 1945, pp. 44–47.

<sup>50</sup> Compare: <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi856618/> and <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v163/n4146/abs/163596a0.html>

from the time when he was still working in Würzburg.<sup>51</sup> However, Zarnik, then a Yugoslav nationalist and even a zealous advocate of eugenics,<sup>52</sup> did not regret his later deviation from scientific work. As he wrote, he “willingly sacrificed those years because he worked for a nation that was in greater need of doctors than of scientific works”.<sup>53</sup>

## Conclusion

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ethnic struggles started to be increasingly reflected at the level of universities. Slovene nationalists expressed their expectations from Slovene students: in accordance with the national interests, they tried to influence their choice of the place and field of studies. Even scientists of Slovene descent were repeatedly required to declare themselves nationally or politically. They responded differently. We have presented examples of scientists who contributed to the development of Slovene scientific terminology (Jožef Stefan), publicly opposed anti-Slavic initiatives at Austrian universities (Miklošič, Krek), and later participated in the establishment of the Slovene university (Josip Plemelj) or in the pursuit of political goals of Slovene nationalists in general. However, Slovene scientists frequently encountered problems because of their ideological beliefs or because of the discord *within* the nationalist camp (between liberals and conservatives). Because of this, and due to personal or professional reasons, some of the academics discussed here distanced themselves from the demands or some of the requirements of Slovene nationalists *temporarily or permanently*. Consequently, they were faced with accusations by national notables (Miklošič), or their scientifically important work did not receive appropriate recognition in Slovene collective memory temporarily (Jožef Stefan).

Scientists of Slovene descent, who tried to build a career at foreign universities, occasionally found themselves under pressure from foreign, especially German opponents of the Slovene national movement (Plemelj, Zarnik). However, this did not jeopardize their academic careers in the long-term, because they had the support of their mentors and German academic colleagues who put scientific interests in the first place and were thus not involved in national disputes (Boveri in case of Zarnik).

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<sup>51</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>52</sup> See for example: Boris Zarnik. »Zemelji i ciljevi eugenike«. *Priroda*, 21, 1931, pp. 35–47.

<sup>53</sup> SASA, Boris Zarnik (personal folder), Curriculum vitae.

Slovene scientists maintained intense scientific contacts with German colleagues even after the First World War, when they were already working at Yugoslav universities. Their previous involvement in the German intellectual milieu remained decisive for them. They brought to Slovenian space German scientific schools (such as Pauli's school), organizational models, and academic standards. Once again, we have to stress the primacy of Vienna, where most of them were granted the doctorate. Even before, Slovenian intellectuals searched for examples and connections in Croatian and Czech intellectual environments. Especially noteworthy is the Croatian and Czech example in forming the Slovenian Literary Society and the forming of Slovenian scientific terminology, especially in writing the first school textbooks.

Working within the new state framework led to new challenges for Slovene scientists. They were faced with demanding organizational work and low research funding. In such situations, some Slovene scientists assessed that they had already reached the peak of their research career before the war (Josip Plemelj, Boris Zarnik). The ones to succeed were especially those who had proven to be capable organizers, and those who were still significantly involved in the Central-European scientific network (for example Maks Samec).

## Summary

Although Slovene nationalists were constantly striving for the establishment of a Slovenian university in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this was not realized until 1919. Therefore, Slovenian-speaking students mostly studied at Austrian universities. By far the most studied in Vienna and Graz, while some studied in Prague or other university towns. Slovenian-speaking scholars, who had previously studied at Austrian universities, often functioned as important carriers of cultural transfer “from the centre to the periphery”, that is from more developed urban centres (campuses), Vienna in particular, to Slovenian lands. But their role was not always supported and understood, since the opinion makers saw them as possible propagandists of liberal ideas. Also, they were occasionally criticized for their lukewarm attitude towards the national question.

However, not all Slovene scientists were reluctant to be involved in the pursuit of political goals of the Slovene nationalists. Participating *in the nation forming* process in different ways, contributing to the development of Slovene scientific terminology, they wrote Slovene popular science articles, publicly opposed anti-Slavic initiatives at Austrian universities, and later helped establish the Slovenian university.

The establishment of the Slovenian university after the First World War *brought new opportunities to Slovene scientists*, but new challenges as well. Although

in a different way, they still remained torn between their academic careers and national aspirational.

## Resumé

Ačkoli slovinští nacionalisté stále usilovali o ustavení slovinské univerzity během druhé poloviny 19. století, vznikla až v roce 1919. Proto dříve slovincky mluvící studenti převážně chodili na rakouské univerzity. Většina studovala ve Vídni a Grazu, ale někteří byli také v Praze a v dalších univerzitních městech. Slovincky mluvící vědci, kteří původně studovali na rakouských univerzitách, často působili jako důležití nositelé kulturního přenosu „z centra na periferie“, tedy z vyvinutějších městských center (kampusů), především vídeňských, do Slovinska. Ale jejich role nebyla vždycky podporována a chápána vzhledem k tomu, že je autority utvářející veřejné mínění považovali za propagátory liberálních idejí. A také byli občas kritizováni za své vlažné postoje k národnostním otázkám.

Nicméně ne všichni slovinští vědci odmítali být zahrnuti do sledování politických cílů slovinských nacionalistů. Podíleli se na procesu *formování národa* různými způsoby, přispívali k vývoji slovinské vědecké terminologie, popularizovali vědecké články ve slovinštině, veřejně oponovali antislovanským iniciativám na rakouských univerzitách a později pomohli založit slovinskou univerzitu.

Ustavení slovinské univerzity po 1. světové válce přineslo nové příležitosti pro slovinské vědce stejně jako nové příležitosti. Nicméně stále byli rozpolce- ni mezi akademickou kariérou a národními aspiracemi, ačkoli jiným způsobem.

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Željko Oset

# **Alma mater Carolo-Ferdinanda bohemica – Alma mater Jagellonica**

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

**MAREK ĎURČANSKÝ**

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

There were two main aspects which deepened ties between Czech and Galician higher education institutions. First there was the common frame of Cisleithania, the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Jagiellonian University in Cracow and the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in the period of the late 19th and early 20th century were both k. k. – „königlich-kaiserliche“ – institutions. Secondly there was the consciousness of common Slavic origin of both nations and their languages. Of course, not all the members of the academic staff were enthusiasts of the idea of Slavic solidarity, but in both academic centres in the end of the 19th century there were several influential scholars who did their best to make Czech-Polish contacts better. The Neo-Slavic movement in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had more influence among Czech scholars<sup>4</sup> than among Polish ones, who remained suspicious of this ideology which originated in Russia and was supported only by less-influential personalities in Russian public life.<sup>5</sup> The most important manifestation of Neo-Slavic feelings was the preliminary Slavic Convention in Prague in 1908. The Polish participants (including professors from Cracow and Lemberg, philosopher Marian Zdziechowski and economist Stanislaw Grabski) emphasized the equality of the Slavic nations and the need to preserve their individuality.<sup>6</sup>

The relationship between universities in Cracow and Prague<sup>7</sup> was strong also due to their historical contacts originating in the middle ages and due to their geographical situation: they were both founded in the historical capitals of medieval states. In the case of Cracow the role of cultural centre was emphasized by the fact that early modern Poland was divided into three parts, and that the Austrian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>13</sup> M. ĎURČANSKÝ. Szkoła historyczna Golla, p. 240–241.

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

probably played the role of unofficial delegate for the Czech part of the (not yet divided) Charles-Ferdinand University. His older colleague Jan Kvičala (1834–1908), professor of classical languages and deputy in the Imperial Council in Vienna, instructed him on this occasion: “Let me congratulate you cordially, that you are in Cracow and you can explain to brother Poles the real state of our case. Let you emphasize in your explanation, please, that we Czechs consider Poles to be our natural and most faithful friends and that for all the favours they will do to us, we will pay them our gratitude not by words, but also by deeds. In the Imperial Council only Poles were my best friends and on the question of the university they treated us really chivalrously. Professor Rittner<sup>15</sup> was a member of the subcommittee and he stood by us in all litigable things.”<sup>16</sup> The opinions expressed in the letter of Jan Kvičala surely could not be interpreted as referring to all Czech professors at the Charles-Ferdinand University. But without doubt they show that at least part of them saw Poles as the closest allies in their efforts. These efforts belonged to the process, which is currently described as the nationalization of universities in the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>17</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

further information 1) what are the names of these two professors of your university<sup>32</sup> and 2) whether they have a right to make explanations in Czech as well as German during their lectures, because according to our arrangements the language of these lectures is only German. Unfortunately Creizenach has not trained Poles to become associate professors and we are now helpless having no qualified candidate who could take over the department. In the end we will probably give the place after Creizenach to some German on a 5-year contract (maybe some younger Czech would compete?), but we will unconditionally entrust the other department to some Pole. If the place after Creizenach would be taken over by some Czech, it would be guaranteed that in 5 years he will raise for us a Polish professor.”<sup>33</sup> Let us add that already in the next year Sobieski asked his colleague in Prague for information concerning the language of communication with ministries in Vienna. He tried to strengthen the role of the Polish language not only at Cracow, but also at Lemberg university.<sup>34</sup>

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

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

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

Such contacts and radical opinions as the above mentioned examples can be described as mostly unofficial, and I found the both above mentioned cases by accident, while gathering sources for other topics. The official relations between both universities had outwardly a more neutral form as far as the national question was concerned. Generally we can say that Galician universities in Cracow and Lemberg were the only Polish ones in the national sense, so that only they could institutionalize their contacts towards Czech academic circles. Intellectual contacts between the two other areas of the former Polish-Lithuanian state, actually under German<sup>35</sup> and Russian rule, and the Czech scientific milieu were even more limited to individuals.

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

## Summary

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

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

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

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

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

## Resumé

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

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

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

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# Turning “Province” to a “Centre”?

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

SOŇA ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ

**Abstract.** In the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century, which included the creation of the Czech scientific language and the establishment of a complete Czech scientific institutional and communication base.<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

In the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Its founding meeting, which took place in Leipzig in 1822<sup>4</sup>, was followed by regular annual meetings called *Versammlung*

<sup>2</sup> 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 přírodopýtcův 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.

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

<sup>4</sup> 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](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](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.<sup>5</sup> Marianne Klemun<sup>6</sup> attempted to show that the conventions<sup>7</sup> of the German Natural Scientists and Physicians, which took place within the borders of the [so called] ‘German Bund’<sup>8</sup>, 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.”<sup>9</sup> It is necessary to point out, however, that these congresses were not German in the strictly political sense of word. Their annual congregations in

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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-1822-ff-chronologisch/>; the websites were visited in February and March 2015.

- <sup>5</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.
- <sup>6</sup> 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.
- <sup>7</sup> 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.
- <sup>8</sup> 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.
- <sup>9</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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”<sup>10</sup> and the spirit of unification of Czechs and Germans under the slogan – “neither ‘Czechs nor Germans, but only Bohemians’”<sup>11</sup> in accordance with the Bohemian patriotism prevailing in the Czech Lands before 1848.<sup>12</sup> Fifteen years later at the 34<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.”<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> Institutions of higher education existed in Russia since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the creation of the scientific societies was only possible after the 1860s thanks to the political reforms of Tsar Alexander II.<sup>16</sup> The first Convention of Russian Naturalists

<sup>14</sup> From Purkyně’s speech at the 34<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> 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 Physicians<sup>17</sup> started on 14<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> The Conventions of Polish Physicians and Naturalists,<sup>19</sup> 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 1860s<sup>20</sup>, 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,<sup>21</sup> one of the leading personalities of the Association

<sup>17</sup> In Russian *Съезд русских естествоиспытателей и врачей*, see [http://panevin.ru/calendar/otkrilsya\\_perviy\\_sezd\\_russkih\\_estestvoispytateley.html](http://panevin.ru/calendar/otkrilsya_perviy_sezd_russkih_estestvoispytateley.html)

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> In Polish *Zjazd lekarzy i przyrodników polskich*.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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”.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> [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.<sup>25</sup> As early as 1865, the Czech Medical Association even considered organizing a meeting of the Slavic naturalists in Prague.<sup>26</sup> In 1871 the Union of the Czech Mathematicians<sup>27</sup> convened the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of Czech Friends and Cultivators of Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Technology<sup>28</sup> with about 200 participants,

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

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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.

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> Jednota českých matematiků.

<sup>28</sup> 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 professors<sup>29</sup> 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,<sup>30</sup> and also participation of Czech scientists and physicians in the Russian<sup>31</sup> 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 environment<sup>32</sup>.

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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.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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 academics<sup>33</sup> 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);<sup>34</sup> the congresses in 1901, 1908 and 1914 published

<sup>33</sup> 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).

<sup>34</sup> *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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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 1880<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> Interest in closer cooperation with the Slavic scientists was voiced in the toast of the Nestor of the Czech chemists Vojtěch

<sup>35</sup> *Věstník III. sjezdu českých přírodovědcův a lékařů v Praze*. Praha, III. sjezd českých přírodovědcův a lékařů, 1908; *Věstník IV. sjezdu českých přírodovědcův a lékařů v Praze konaný 6.–10. června 1908*. Praha, IV. sjezd českých přírodovědcův a lékařů, 1908; *Věstník V. sjezdu českých přírodovědcův a lékařů v Praze od 29. května do 3. června*. Praha, V. sjezd českých přírodovědcův 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> Numerous patriotic and nationalistic speeches reprinted in the convention materials reveal this position.

<sup>39</sup> PANÝREK, op. cit., 1914, p. 8.

Šafařík,<sup>40</sup> 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.”<sup>41</sup>

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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> The invitation was published in Czech professional journals and in the *Journal of the Czech Physicians* even in the Polish language,<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> Eventually the convention in Cracow was attended by about 20<sup>45</sup> distinguished Czech physicians and natural scientists who “received a royal welcome”,<sup>46</sup> read six papers in Czech, chaired several sessions, and participated in scientific exhibitions and excursions.

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

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

<sup>42</sup> New opportunities of extensive cooperation between the Czech and Polish scientific communities had opened up in 1875, when the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> Sjezd lékařů polských [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.

<sup>44</sup> Sjezd lékařů, op. cit., 1881, p. 93.

<sup>45</sup> Some sources state 17, some 20 Czech participants.

<sup>46</sup> Words from Chodounský's toast at the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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*,<sup>47</sup> 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).<sup>48</sup> The Czechs were the only non-Polish participants, but they were not treated as strangers; for instance Antonín Frič<sup>49</sup> was elected among the Vice-Presidents of the meeting (Henryk Jordan<sup>50</sup> 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”.<sup>51</sup> 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 enlightenment<sup>52</sup> will be disseminated in a Slavic spirit”.<sup>53</sup> In the undertone

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> [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.

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

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> ŠIMÁČEK, op. cit., 1881, p. 12–13, quot. p. 13.

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

<sup>53</sup> 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”<sup>54</sup> and thus it became a milestone also in the attempts to create a Slavic scientific community in the years to come.<sup>55</sup>

## Advancement of Czech-Polish scientific cooperation

The almost complete separation of the Czech and German scientific communities in the 1880s and 1890s<sup>56</sup> 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.

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

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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 Prague<sup>57</sup> that followed on the 1881 Cracow convention, was rightly endowed with the attribute “Czech-Polish”;<sup>58</sup> 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.”<sup>59</sup> Except the Poles, only one representative of the Slavic science was present: the Croatian Zagreb University sent to the convention Gustav Janeček (1848–1929),<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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

<sup>57</sup> 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.

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

<sup>59</sup> *Oznamovatel druhého sjezdu*, op. cit., 1882, p. 18.

<sup>60</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century]. *Dějiny věd a techniky*, 8, 1985, p. 159–169.

<sup>61</sup> 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;<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

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".<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Here Chodounský means professional literature.

<sup>63</sup> CHODOUNSKÝ, op. cit., 1882, pp. 377 and 429.

<sup>64</sup> *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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 sources<sup>65</sup> 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.)<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, the Poles published a fancy festive volume celebrating the opening of the Czech Medical Faculty in Prague in 1883.<sup>67</sup> 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

<sup>65</sup> 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.

<sup>66</sup> 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.

<sup>67</sup> *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.<sup>68</sup> The sources imply<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> BEREZOWSKI, op. cit., 1979, p. 1464.

<sup>69</sup> OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971; BEREZOWSKI, op. cit., 1979; ZÍT, op. cit., 1884; Karel CHODOUNSKÝ. V. sjezd lékařů a přírodopytců polských ve Lvově [5<sup>th</sup> 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 [6<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

Even more intriguing are the events associated with the subsequent Polish convention which was to take place in Posen in August 1898.<sup>71</sup> 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,<sup>72</sup> 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.”<sup>73</sup> 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”.<sup>74</sup> 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

<sup>70</sup> OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1971, p. 378.

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

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

<sup>73</sup> OBERMAJER, op. cit., 1965, p. 121.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted from Zprávy. VIII. sjezd lékařů a přírodníkův polských [News. 8<sup>th</sup> 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”.<sup>75</sup>

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.<sup>76</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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”.<sup>77</sup> 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-Minister<sup>78</sup>), which was also reprinted in the Journal of the Czech Physicians.<sup>79</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>78</sup> 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.

<sup>79</sup> 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’.”<sup>80</sup>

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”.<sup>81</sup> 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,<sup>82</sup> but ultimately the meeting was postponed and called in 1900 to Cracow which celebrated the 500<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup>

## **Endeavour to Institutionalize the Pan-Slavic Scientific Cooperation at the Turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 677.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 678.

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

<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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”.<sup>86</sup> From these words, we can already sense a hint of future, more serious disagreements especially with Russian colleagues.

During the preparations for the next, 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Medicine in Paris in 1900, the Czech National Committee established as early as in 1898<sup>87</sup> 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

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> 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.

<sup>86</sup> PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 261.

<sup>87</sup> 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 Physicians<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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”.<sup>90</sup> The meeting was presided by J. Hlava<sup>91</sup> from Prague, and the Honorary Presidents became V. V. Pashutin<sup>92</sup> from Moscow, B. Wicherkiewicz<sup>93</sup> from Cracow, V. Subotić<sup>94</sup> from Belgrade, F. Gundrum<sup>95</sup> from Krizevec in Croatia, and Rusev<sup>96</sup> 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. Pešina<sup>97</sup> and the Treasurer the Serb V. Subotić. Each Slavic nation

<sup>88</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Medicine in Paris]. *Časopis lékařů českých*, 37, 1898, p. 566.

<sup>89</sup> PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 262.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. p. 263.

<sup>91</sup> Jaroslav Hlava (1855–1924) founder of the modern Czech pathology.

<sup>92</sup> Pashutin, Viktor Vasilievich (1845–1901), Russian biochemist and pathologist.

<sup>93</sup> Boleslaw Wicherkiewicz (1847–1915) Polish ophthalmologist.

<sup>94</sup> Vojislav Subotić (1859–1923), Serbian surgeon.

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

<sup>96</sup> It was not possible to identify this individual.

<sup>97</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> convention held in 1901,<sup>98</sup> 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

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<sup>98</sup> *Věstník*, op. cit., 1901, p. 5–6.

by Russians, 17 by Poles, 2 by Croatians, 2 by Serbians and 3 by Slovenians.<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup>

Since the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Czech conventions (1908 and 1914), the official congress organs encompassed Slavic Committees: Bulgarian, Croatian, Polish, Russian, Slovenian,<sup>101</sup> Serbian and Ukrainian (Fig. 4). If we look at the membership of the Slavic Committees<sup>102</sup> 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

<sup>99</sup> *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 532.

<sup>100</sup> 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.

<sup>101</sup> Only at the 5th Congress.

<sup>102</sup> *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 5–6, and op. cit., 1914, p. 32.

the leadership.”<sup>103</sup> 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.”<sup>104</sup>

The Serbs, apparently inspired by the other Slavic conventions, called their 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of Serbian Physicians and Naturalists in 1904.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup> 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,<sup>107</sup> 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

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

<sup>104</sup> *Věstník*, op. cit., 1908, p. 541.

<sup>105</sup> 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.

<sup>106</sup> See PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 269–270.

<sup>107</sup> 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. Ott<sup>108</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> Convention of the Russian Naturalists and Physicians in 1902 formally agreed with presentations in all Slavic languages, at the 9<sup>th</sup> 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".<sup>109</sup> 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*.<sup>110</sup> These plans were never realized. An incomplete bibliography

<sup>108</sup> 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> volume 1901]. Praha, Spolek českých lékařů v Praze, 1901; PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908.

<sup>109</sup> 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".

<sup>110</sup> 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 1899–1902<sup>111</sup> (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.<sup>112</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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”.<sup>113</sup>

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

<sup>111</sup> 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.

<sup>112</sup> SEMERÁD, op. cit. 1901, p. 231–232.

<sup>113</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> Convention of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in Prague in 1914,<sup>114</sup> criticized the unsatisfactory work of the Committee, which according to B. Wicher-kiewicz could not even convene at the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> Convention of the Czechoslovak Naturalists, Physicians and Engineers.<sup>115</sup> In Prague also took place the 1<sup>st</sup> Convention of the Slavic Geographers<sup>116</sup> and two congresses of Slavic botanists, in 1921 and 1928<sup>117</sup>, 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 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Medicine in Paris. If we add the other initiatives of the Czech

<sup>114</sup> *Věstník*, op. cit., 1914, p. 173.

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

<sup>116</sup> These conventions continued until at least 1936, when the 4<sup>th</sup> 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](http://www.sci.muni.cz/bot_zahr/BOTANIKAdějiny.pdf), visited April 22, 2015.

<sup>117</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> 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,<sup>118</sup> 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

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<sup>118</sup> These issues are discussed in detail in ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ, op. cit., 2012. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>119</sup>

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.<sup>120</sup> 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

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<sup>119</sup> PEŠINA, op. cit., 1908, p. 264.

<sup>120</sup> 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.

19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup>

## Remark

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

## Acknowledgement

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<sup>121</sup> 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.

<sup>122</sup> See Note 120.

<b>XV. Aus dem Königreiche Preussen.</b> 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  <b>XVI. Aus dem Kaiserthume Russland.</b> Simon	<b>XVII. Aus dem Königreiche Sachsen.</b>  Ammon, von Hänel, Albert Hänel Rumpelt Weigel  <b>XVIII. Aus dem Grossherzogthume Sachsen-Weimar.</b> Froriep, von	<b>XIX. Aus der Republik Schweiz.</b> Brunner  <b>XX. Aus dem Königreiche Spanien.</b>  Folch Rubio  <b>XXI. Aus der Turkey.</b> Maurocordato, Prinz  <b>XXII. Aus dem Königreiche Würtemberg.</b> Gutbrod
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**C. Aus fremden Welttheilen.**

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

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

I. Aus Osterreich . . . . . 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 profízlí 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 dotýčnou 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 dalsí 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 kříž 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.



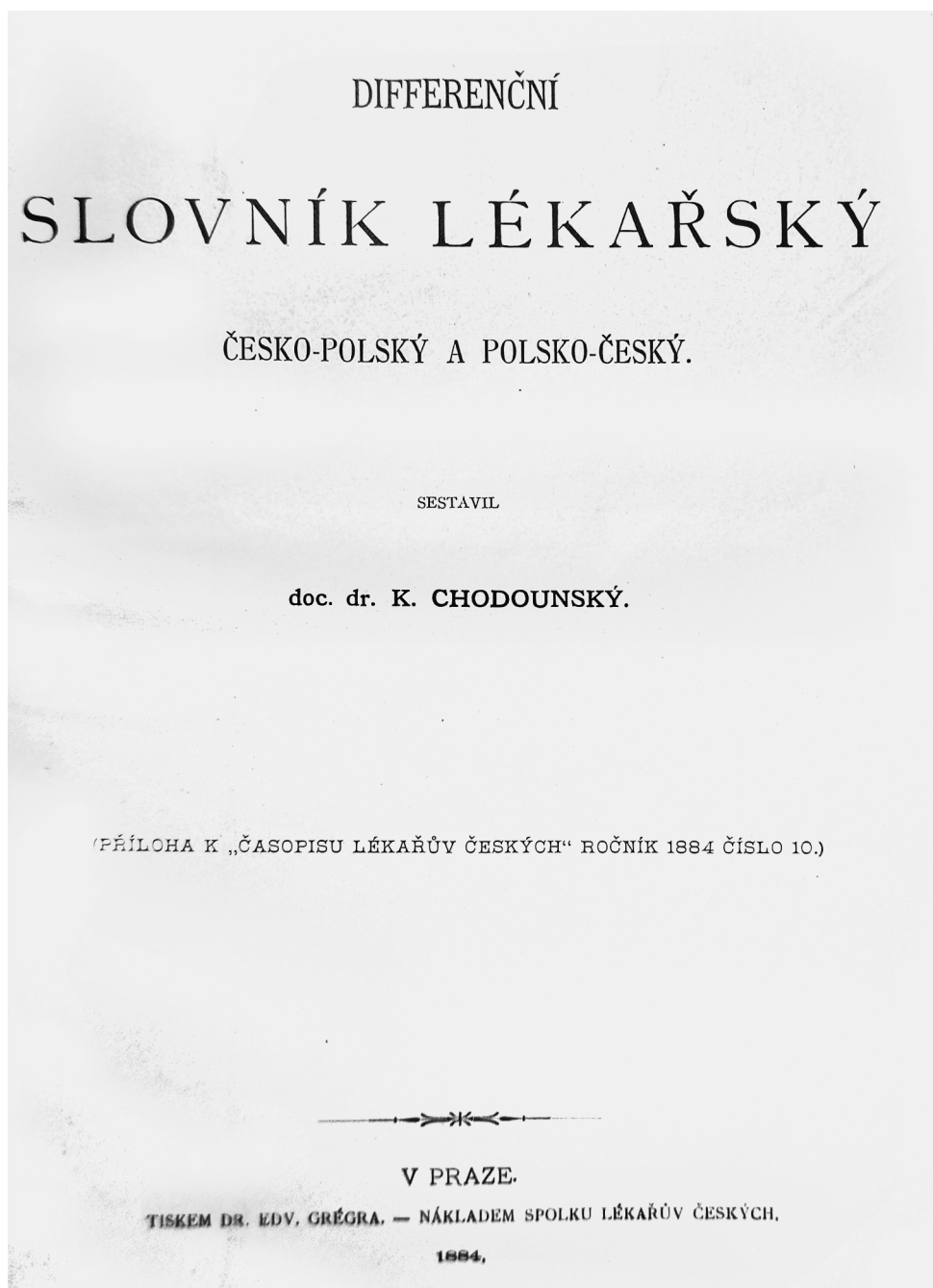


Fig. 3. Chodounský's *Czech-Polish Differential Medical Dictionary* published in 1884.

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:*

Předseda: dv. r. prof. dr. WICHERKIEWICZ, předseda lék. komory krakovské.  
 Dr. AUG. KWASNICKI, předseda pšístho X. sjezdu lékařů a přírodnků 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 přírodopzpytců a lékařů, Praha 1908, p. 10.

SLOVANSKÁ  
**BIBLIOGRAFIE LÉKAŘSKÁ**  
A R E V U E.

Pořádá

Dr. JAN SEMERÁD.

**II. ročník 1901.**

Zvláštní otisk z Časopisu lékařů českých.

**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.

**Leah DeVun: Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time. John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages.** Columbia University Press, 2014, 255 str., ISBN 978-0-231-14589-8 (ISBN 978-0-231-51934-2, e-book).

V posledních přibližně dvaceti až třiceti letech výrazně ožila aktivita historiků zabývajících se dějinami alchymie, což mimo jiné souvisí s nástupem mladší generace odborníků, kteří současně s historií mnohdy vystudovali rovněž některý přírodovědný obor. Pro tento obnovený zájem je typické, že se nejednou přehodnocují starší názory v souvislosti s tím, jak se objevují fundované rozborů děl dosud málo prozkoumaných nebo docela neznámých. Ostatně i starší díla bývají podrobena nové analýze. Nepříliš povzbudivé pro Evropany je konstatování, že řada děl vskutku klíčových je americké provenience – v USA dnes působí skupina odborníků, kteří jsou skutečně špičkovými znalci evropské alchymie a jejich práce jsou do značné míry určující pro další vývoj historiografie této oblasti. Trochu nenápadně se k této skupině připojil dr. Leah DeVun (Texas A&M University), a to knihou vydanou již roku 2009. Tato recenze vychází z vydání 2014.

Nejprve k parametrům útlé knížky čítající pouhých 255 stran, kde navíc při bližším pohledu zjistíme, že textu jsou jen 163 strany. Zbytek tvoří podrobný rejstřík (10 stran), bibliografie (20 stran) a skutečně impozantní poznámkový aparát (57 stran). Pouhé čtyři ilustrace prakticky znamenají, že knize dominuje text. Uvedená statistika naznačuje, že jde o dílo zpracované velmi pečlivě, v němž je shromážděn rozsáhlý materiál.

Jak podtitul doplňuje, kniha je věnována Johannu z Rupescissy, méně známému též pod jménem Jean de Roquetaillade, jedné z nejvýznamnějších postav pozdního evropského středověku. Druhé ze jmen neklamně dokládá francouzský původ. Máme co činit s osobností delší dobu pokládanou spíš za problematickou, a to dokonce do té míry, že ji historiografie alchymie občas ještě v první polovině minulého století řadila mezi anonymní či snad pseudoanonymní autory (např. J. M. STILLMAN. *The Story of Alchemy and Early Chemistry*. 1924, s. 296; autor působil na Stanfordově universitě). Dnes již nepochybujeme o tom, že Rupescissa je skutečná postava, jen chybějí přesnější životopisná data, především rok narození. Najdeme často jen „začátek 14. století“, případně „? 1310“, v horším případě pouze onen otazník. Úmrtí je datováno dost přesně: 1365/1366. Naštěstí jsou známa aspoň další podstatná data života tohoto muže.

Zvýšený zájem o Rupescissu je do značné míry dán diskusí o počátcích iatrochemie, tedy použití umělých chemicky či alchymicky připravených preparátů pro medicínské účely. Tradičně se počátky této oblasti protochemických aktivit spojovaly s Paracelsem (1493/1494–1541), jehož zásluha je nesporná, zvláště

pak skutečnost, že svým velmi rasantním způsobem prosadil iatrochemii definitivně. Ale jak se dnes ukazuje, počátky tohoto trendu sahají do vzdálenější minulosti, přibližně do přelomu 13. a 14. století, a byl to právě Rupescissa, kdo jim dal klíčový impuls, který přesáhl staletí. Recenzovaná kniha prochází podrobně životní osudy tohoto muže a především zpracovává jeho názory v širokém dobovém kontextu.

Rupescissa začal patrně roku 1327 studovat na univerzitě v Toulouse, roku 1332 vstoupil do františkánského řádu, načež se o pouhých dvanáct let později ocitl v klášterním vězení, nikoli jediném. Místa se střídala, v lepším případě šlo přinejmenším o internaci. Do konce života již tyto nepřívětivé prostory neopustil. Důvody jeho izolace byly hned dva, do jisté míry propojené. Prvním byla kritika vlastního františkánského řádu, volání po návratu k původní skromnosti. Byla to kritika mírná, již by se dala učinit přítrž pokáráním. Rupescissa se však velmi aktivně zapojil do tehdejšího trendu apokalyptických předpovědí, což bylo horší.

V této činnosti nebyl první. Recenzovaná kniha to velmi podrobně probírá – proroků apokalypsy byla tehdy řada, ale Rupescissa je dnes pokládán za nejoriginálnějšího z nich. Rozhodně bylo předpovídání příchodu Antikrista počínání riskantní. Jeden z Rupescissovyých předchůdců v této aktivitě byl proslulý katalánský lékař a rovněž amatérský teolog Arnald z Villanovy (asi 1240–1311), jenž sepsal mimo jiné dílo *De tempore adventus Antichristi* a nejen za to málem skončil na inkviziční hranici tím spíš, že ve svých spisech označoval papežské buly za dílo lidské a nikoli božské. Zachránila ho zřejmě žlučnicková kolika Svatého otce, kterou pan Arnald zažehnal, takže pak dostal darem hrad. Zmiňujeme se o tomto muži podrobněji, protože právě na něj se Rupescissa ve svém díle často odvolával.

Rupescissu mohly jeho názory rovněž přivést na hranici, kupodivu unikl inkvizici, přesněji byl sice vyslýchán, ale zůstalo jen u jeho věznění. DeVun hledá vysvětlení, jak to bylo možné (s vědomím toho, že žlučnickový záchvat v pravou chvíli je co do pravděpodobnosti opravdu zázrak). Navíc, na rozdíl od Arnalda, který sice byl vězněn, ale krátce, Rupescissa prožil ve vězení desítky let, ovšem přitom právě tam začal psát svoje nejproslulejší traktáty a ty se dostávaly do světa. Ne všechny, nicméně řada z nich vyšla postupně v různých jazycích.

Originalita Rupescissy spočívala v jeho tvrzení, že vládu Antikrista (kladl ji do let 1365–1370) lidstvo sice přečká podle očekávání s pomocí Boží, ale samo může rovněž nemalou měrou přispět k dílu své záchrany. To byl základ jeho úvah. Podle nich je k přežití zapotřebí peněz a zdraví. Proto mimo jiné napsal spis, jak vyrábět zlato alchymickou transmutací, kde tvrdil, že nebude nic skrývat (ovšem nebylo co). Mnohem vlivnější, pro další vývoj skutečně klíčové, bylo jeho dílo *De consideratione quintae essentiae omnium rerum*, v němž se věnoval otázce zachování zdraví. V klasické podobě měla být *quinta essentia* (dále používáme

českou verzi, tedy kvintesence) substancí světa supralunárního, jak soudil Aristotelés, zatímco náš, sublunární svět, stál na čtveřici elementů (voda, oheň, země a vzduch). Především však se tyto elementy mohly vzájemně proměňovat, což byl základ všech probíhajících dějů, zatímco kvintesence byla věčná, neměnná. Podaná pak vhodnou formou lidem, alespoň v malém množství, by patrně přinejmenším zpomalila onu proměnu elementů projevující se navenek nemocmi, upevnila by zdraví a zkvalitnila život – samozřejmě pouze na dobu, kterou Bůh určí, což Rupescissa neopomínal dodat.

Podstatné a nové v jeho úvahách bylo, že svět vesmírný a pozemský nejsou dokonale oddělené, takže se kvintesence v malém množství přece jen dostává ze supralunárního prostoru na zem. Našel ji v podobě preparátu vyráběného destilací vína. Byl to on, kdo dosavadní název alkoholu, *aqua vitae*, opustil, a psal o kvintesenci, která se stala jedním z pilířů medicíny. Kromě čisté začal připravovat kvintesenci z bylin, později také z kovů. V prvním případě to byly prostě extrakty, což s bylinami není problém, ovšem s kovy to snadné není. Tak kvintesence zlata se měla vyrábět zhášením rozžhavených zlatých plíšků v alkoholu. Toto byl nový trend v medicíně, kořen iatrochemie, který zaznamenal mimořádný úspěch. Přípravu řady kvintesencí, právě kovy nevyjímaje, popsal například Andreas Libavius (po 1555–1616) ve svém proslulém díle *Alchemia* z roku 1597.

Rupescissa byl tedy skutečně průkopníkem nových myšlenek a nových přístupů. Jak soudí DeVun, byla to originalita mnichových úvah, která vedla k tomu, že sice byl vězněm, ale směl studovat (i když ne vždy) a hlavně psát. Jeho spisy se podle všeho těšily i skrytému zájmu církevních autorit, které jistě neměly radost z vyhlídky na příchod Antikrista, když navíc jejich vězeň jakoby byl dobrým prorokem. Třeba předpověděl dosti přesně válku Francie a Anglií, která pak trvala sto let. Proto se tato díla dostávala za zdi klášterních vězení. Na Rupescissovy úvahy medicínské navázaly další generace a slavný mnich je dnes díky svým kvintesencím pokládán za skutečného zakladatele iatrochemie. Ale navázaly na něj i další generace náboženských mystiků (např. chiliastů).

Potud alespoň náznak šíře záběru recenzované knihy, k níž lze uvést jen drobnou výtku v pasáži věnované minulosti alchymie. Není pravda, že egyptské papýry Leiden X a Stockholm (3. stol. n. l.) jsou alchymické. Jde o řemeslnické receptáře, kde není slova o transmutaci kovů, ale o jejich napodobování, takže zde najdeme například návod nadepsaný „Padělání zlata“, dokládající, že neznámý autor si byl vědom svého počínání. Slavný arabský alchymista se nepíše al-Rází, nýbrž ar-Rází, jak recenzenta poučili arabisté. Nicméně forma al- tvrdošíjně přežívá i ve vědecké literatuře.

L. DeVun je zaměřením historik, čemuž odpovídá obsah jeho knihy soustředěný na náboženské a filosofické názory Rupescissovy a na symbolickou stránku alchymie. Alchymické spisy tohoto mnicha s jejich návody na umělou výrobu

zlata zatím čekají na hluboký a fundovaný rozbor. V každém případě však je recenzovaná knihy svým širokým záběrem jedním z významných příspěvků studiu pozdně středověké kultury, filosofie a náboženství.

VLADIMÍR KARPENKO

## ZPRÁVY

**Jiří Raboch, Alan Gintel a Rita Hildprantová (eds.). S anděly nad hlavou.** K poctě psychiatra profesora MUDr. Vladimíra Vondráčka, DrSc., 1895-1978. Praha, Gasset, 2015, 255 s., 44 obrázků a fotografií 44. ISBN 978-80-87079-45-4.

Název editoři zvolili podle Vondráčkova citátu z jeho vystoupení při oslavě jeho pětasedmdesátin a vydali ji k 120. výročí Vondráčkova narození.

Profesor Vondráček za svůj život obsáhl tři obory: farmakologii, klinickou psychologii a psychiatrii, které se věnoval nejdéle. O jeho akademické kariéře svědčí to, že byl dvojnásobný docent (farmakologie a lékařské psychologie) a dvojnásobný mimořádný profesor (pro stejné obory) Univerzity Karlovy. Teprve roku 1962 získal vědeckou hodnost doktora lékařských věd (DrSc.) na základě obhajoby disertační práce. Přitom už od poloviny 50. let, kdy se „velké“ doktoráty sovětského typu zaváděly, řada vědců jej dostala bez předložení disertace, jak by si jistě

zasloužil i Vondráček. Pokud kalendárium životní cesty v knize uvedené je přesné, do řádné profesury ho žádný československý prezident nejmenoval, což je při nejmenším podivné. S Univerzitou Karlovou byl Vondráček svázán v různých funkcích a v různých ústavech 50 let.

Knihy má 5 kapitol. Předchází jim malá úvaha o velké osobnosti V. Vondráčka z pera Jiřího Rabocha. První kapitola dala název celé knize. Obsahuje již zmíněné kalendárium, údaje o Vondráčkově rodině, o Vondráčkových učitelích, o přátelích, o druhém Vondráčkově domovu – Senohrabech, letním venkovském sídlu a v podstatě nekrolog napsaný profesorem Dobiášem. Druhá kapitola „Očima druhých“ jsou v podstatě vzpomínky Vondráčkových žáků. Třetí kapitola je nazvána Vondráčkovy texty z pozůstalosti, je nejobsáhlejší a zřejmě obsahově nejvýznamnější. Čtvrtá kapitola je dokument – úvahy o pokroku psychiatrie. Závěrečná 5. kapitola je věnována Vondráčkovu nástupci prof. J. Dobiášovi. Editoři knihy udělali dobře, že v poznámkách vysvětlili významy odborných

a psychiatrických termínů a příslušných osobností medicíny, jichž je kniha plna.

Dávny čtenář Vondráčkových memoárů na dobu 1895–1945 knihu laickým i odborným čtenářům vřele doporučuje. Jjí obsah je velmi poučný a odstraní některé staré názory na psychiatrii a na „blázný“ vůbec.

J. JINDRA

## Šarlatáni v centru pozornosti

**Tina Asmussen – Hole Rößler (eds). Scharlatan! Eine Figur der Relegation in der frühneuzeitlichen Gelehrtenkultur.** Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, 17, 2013, Heft 2/3, s. 122–368.<sup>1</sup>

Zeitsprünge je časopis zaměřený na bádání o raném novověku, jehož vydavatelem je Forschungszentrum Historische Geisteswissenschaften se sídlem ve Frankfurtu nad Mohanem. Některá jeho monotematická čísla se obrací velmi zasvěceně i k problematice spadající do rámce dějin vědy – to ostatně už před několika roky dokázal sborník přibližující fenomén učené polemiky v raném novověku.<sup>2</sup>

Další z monotematických čísel časopisu

je opět takového druhu. Zaměřuje se na obohacení raně novověkého diskursu tehdejší vzdělanecké společnosti o figuru šarlatána, jež byla užívána k zesměšnění a difamací osob, které se sice do tehdejší „res publica litteraria“ hlásily, ale podle názoru jiných do ní nepatřily a bylo třeba se proti nim ostře vymezit. Vzdělanecká elita si v době, kdy se rodila představa o budoucí exaktní vědě, prostřednictvím této figury sama vytvářela představu o svých nosných mezích a oddělovala se vědomě od zástupů tehdejších mastičkářů, prodavačů lektvarů, chiromantů, tvůrců horoskopů a kartářů. To byla však jen jedna strana mince, protože figura šarlatána se mohla stát velmi mocnou zbraní i při očerňování osobností, s nimiž si někdo potřeboval vyřídit účty nebo které prostě jejich doba nebyla schopna/ochotna pochopit. Hole Rößler ve své vstupní studii rozeznává tři hlavní typy figury šarlatána používané v 17. století: outsidera, stojícího mimo hlavní proud, vetřelce, který představuje nekalou konkurenci, a konečně renegáta, který vědomě zrazuje vědecký pokrok. Konkrétní dobové užívání této figury blíže specifikuje studie Tiny Asmussen, která se zaměřuje na tvrdé odsudky alchymistů z pera jezuitského učence Athanasia Kirchera (1602–1680). Jessica Korschanowski se věnovala ve studii nazvané „Mundus vult decipi“ způsobům zobrazování mastičkářů a podobných profesí v nizozemské žánrové malbě 17. století.

Další autoři sborníku se pak zaměřují na některé osobnosti, na které padlo v jejich době podezření ze šarlatánství. Tak je tu konkrétně rozebírán Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (1531–1596), osobní lékař braniborského kurfiřta Johanna Georga, který byl zesměšňován

<sup>1</sup> Zprávu zveřejňuje DVT znovu, protože v minulém čísle byla bohužel otištěna neúplně.

<sup>2</sup> Kai BREMER – Carlos SPOERHASE (eds). Gelehrte Polemik. Intellektuelle Konfliktverschärfungen um 1700. *Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit*, 15, 2011, Heft 2/3, s. 107–440.



hlavně kvůli svým diagnostickým metodám, spojeným s vyšetřováním moči pacienta (autorem studie o něm je Tobias Bulang), známý merkantilista v habsburských službách Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682), který byl zároveň horlivým alchymistou (studie Michaela Lorbera) či průkopník letectví Tito Livio Burattini (1617–1681), který působil na dvoře polského krále Vladislava IV. Wasy (o něm píše Hania Siebenpfeiffer). Klara Vanek ve své studii rozebírá anonymní spis „Macchiavellus Medicus“ z konce 17. století, v němž se dávaly rady lékařům, jakým způsobem dostat ze svých pacientů co největší zisk;

jde tedy o téma, které je nám důvěrně známé ne-li z vlastní zkušenosti, pak tedy jistě z Moliérova Zdravého nemocného, který měl ostatně premiéru v roce 1673. Sympatický sborník vesměs mladších autorů otevírá nečekaný pohled na období, které se snažilo v pohledu na svět smířovat či alespoň sblížovat velké teorie, odvozené často z úctyhodných kosmologických a světonázorových konstrukcí, se světem drobných, každodenních poznatků, k nimž se dopracovávali praktici pracující s ohněm, vodou i lidským tělem.

A. KOSTLÁN

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