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Space

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Preface

Between 1848 and 1918 the universities of the Habsburg Monarchy underwent significant changes which corresponded closely with the political and social development of the state and its culture(s). Beginning with the 1848 revolutions, the ethnic concept of identity gradually gained importance, slowly replacing state loyalty as the guiding political principle. The Austrian Empire – from 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – experienced this disintegration of state power and authority in many ways. The autonomy of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, the detachment of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, the collapse of the German Confederation, the growing self-governance of Galicia and manifold nationality conflicts shaped the region, its history and historiography. At the same time though, the Habsburg Empire stood at the crossroad of cultural projects – most importantly but not exclusively All-German, Pan-Slavic, Polish and Ukrainian – which extended beyond its boundaries; the state borders marking the political territory thus crossed other communicative and ideological entities.

The idiosyncrasy of the Empire – often adduced while talking about its memory – is analyzed here from a unique angle, that of institutional academic culture, and the universities in particular. As institutions of higher education and science – which are closely related but not identical – universities played a special role in Central Europe.¹ Tension between the fostering of officials and of scholarship can be regarded as an issue of the identity of institutions, shaped by manifold and often conflicting social and political rules and expectations. In an increasingly decentralized empire, they were thus to meet two needs, educating loyal citizens and fostering cultural identity, and although these are not necessarily in contradiction, they grew ever more apart. This tension was most visible in Galicia as both Poles and Ruthenians/Ukrainians gravitated to cultural identities extending beyond the Empire the fostering of which would inevitably end in a conflict with the Crown. On the other hand, Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian, and other projects were geographically confined within the Habsburg borders and thus manifested themselves in politically different ways. All-Germanness, in versions up to 1918, also confronted the mainline policy of

¹ Havránek, Jan, "Nineteenth Century Universities in Central Europe: Their Dominant Position in the Science and Humanities." In *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert = Education and social structure in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*, edited by Victor Karady and Wolfgang Mitter, Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1990, 9-26.

monarchic loyalty, inscribed however into the power relations of the Monarchy whose pluricultural character was confronted with politically induced monolingualism.

Changing loyalties, malleable or multiple identities, nation-building, tensions and conflict, are the historical cornerstones on which this work is based. It is concerned, however, with a particular aspect of imperial reality – academic institutions – or to be more precise it follows the changes of the structure of academia based on its imperial features. The original purpose of this work was to analyze a network of university instructors over a period of sixty years, a time at which nations confronted empire, altering its cultural pattern. At the same time, scientific development towards internationality worked against this model; while political development forged division, the scholarly one worked towards contact and communication.

The particularity of the field analyzed here is thus the schizophrenic tension between supposedly supra-national science and national scholarship. This tension, one can argue, is the product of the inscription of science into the cultural project of the nation. To a large extent the present historiography falls under the allure of patterns developed during this time – the Empire in its geographical totality is divided across linguistic, cultural, historical entities with its own scientific keystones. Viewed from the perspective of the now dominant national historiographies, the Empire disentangles, thus creating loosely adhesive scientific narratives – with the prominent exception of analytic philosophy, whose analysis underscores its multinational existence. On the other hand the ‘special conditions’ of multiculturalism have gained more and more attention in the last decades, tracing the patterns of the influx of cultural conflict into scholarly publications.² Special conditions bracketed, as the conflicts paradigmatic for the Habsburg Empire can be found across the globe at this time and their importance for this particular empire is itself a product of cultural memory.

Thus what seems to be a study of empire through the prism of scholarship is here a study of scholarship through the prism of empire – or rather through several prisms, as the kaleidoscope of imperial memory is far from univocal. The proposed perspective therefore places a particular network in the foreground, concentrating on

² Most recently Feichtinger, Johannes, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt. Von Bolzano über Freud zu Kelsen: Österreichische Wissenschaftsgeschichte 1848-1938*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010.

the several thousand careers spanning the historical moments of the Empire, beginning with the institutionalization of philosophical faculties at the universities accompanied by the 1848 revolution. Thus in 1848 not only were national wishes expressed, but scientific integration and regulation began – up to this time, sciences (apart from medicine) were largely excluded from the academic walls, finding their place in the seclusion of private or imperial institutions. The number of academies and universities did not change significantly over the next years, the so called Thun reform providing a solid basis for higher education even beyond the Monarchy. Universities in Cracow, Chernivtsi (from 1875), L'viv, Graz, Innsbruck, Prague (in dual-language form from 1882), Vienna and until 1856, Olomouc, as intersections of networks are not the only places of inquiry, however. As the Monarchy was a crossroads of manifold boundaries, so was the academy. The distance between Munich and Vienna or Warsaw and Cracow was constantly being redefined, just like the distance between Vienna and Budapest, which seems to have grown rapidly in the 1860s.

The network analyzed here thus achieves a new quality as a part of a constantly changing academic structure across (at least) Central Europe, closely interwoven with other empires and states which shared either cultural/linguistic traits or which – as, for example, the Principality of Bulgaria – invited scholars from the Habsburg Empire. The object here is thus an analysis not only of an imperial space, but also of a scholarly one; I thus prefer to speak of academic space as the object of inquiry – space, as a social entity stretched across political boundaries, but accommodating networks which superseded them. Moreover, this space is not a static entity; changing relations between the state, culture and science/education affected the social components of the institutions examined here, which in turn influenced knowledge exchange, exemplified here in individual migration.

Entangled space represented in disentangled memories, requires particular attention in order not to reproduce any particular narrative – although a certain subjectivity cannot be omitted. The project was thus trans-nationally oriented from the beginning and should represent, or at least consider, the internal plurality of the object. The one exception here is that the Monarchy, from 1867 consisting of Austrian and Hungarian halves, has been reduced to Cisleithania. On another occasion I justified this step by showing that there was nearly no overlap between the networks already from 1861, thus an academic space would be a rather artificial object for this

timeline.³ While other language communities grew apart as well, the set of official rules and controls (and, as I will show later, other characteristics as well) gives the legitimacy to call Cisleithania – all ambiguities included – one scholarly space.

An important trait of the imperial history of science is its partition into convenient pigeonholes according to national and imperial narratives.⁴ This should not be read as an issue of quality, but as both the unavoidable social situatedness of this particular historical endeavor and its context of justification, which is a similarly unavoidable inscription into one or the other shelf. Some scholars are conveniently forgotten as not fitting into the cultural/institutional/disciplinary memory – others are mummified and depicted as having the proper characteristic of the respective narrative, paradigmatic examples of scientific *lieux de memoires* (Pierre Nora). The same process can be observed with particular scholars showing ‘imperial’ traits: Freud, Mendel, Wittgenstein and Malinowski could be considered as such, as could Ludwik Gumplowicz, whose nationally-imperial social theories – and personal traits suitable for *multikulti* paradigm as well – earned him a place in several pantheons. Although exemplified by particular scholars, here the particularities of space and milieus should be in the foreground, commemoration is rather a by-product and ‘necessary evil’ of this approach.

To overcome the multivocality of narratives also means engaging a broad range of literature and I would like to thank the institutions which allowed me access to it, especially the Vienna Initiativkolleg “The Sciences in Historical Context”, the Center for Austrian Studies in Minneapolis, the Institute for History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (Instytut Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Nauk), the Institute for Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Science in Prague (Ústav pro soudobé dějiny Akademie věd České republiky), the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in L’viv (Центр міської історії Центрально-Східної Європи), the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, and

³ Surman, Jan, "Cisleithanisch und transleithanisch oder habsburgisch? Ungarn und das Universitätssystem der Doppelmonarchie." In *Österreichisch-ungarische Beziehungen auf dem Gebiet des Hochschulwesens*, Székesfehérvár, Budapest: Kodolányi János Főiskola, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, 2010, 235-252.

⁴ Not going into details on the memory construction one can easily perceive than respective interest in the empire goes from the respective center only slowly embracing intercultural networks of the respective empire – with exception of particular versions of post-colonial studies and non-involved scholarship; in this respect otherness blind means not always engaging into different narratives of multicultural past and thus communicational-asymmetric.

finally the Austrian Research Association (Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft), which generously awarded me a MOEL Scholarship for research in Cracow, Warsaw and L'viv. For support with archival work in Ukraine I wanted to especially thank Tarik Cyril Amar from the Center for Urban History in L'viv whose generous help allowed me to get through the obstacles of acquiring permission to use the The State Archive of L'viv Oblast, as well as Serhiy Osachuk (Серій Осачук) from Bukovina-Center, for support of my search for the holdings of the State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast. I am also grateful to the Cultural Bureau of Carinthia Provincial Government for help with obtaining copies from Bukovina.

My particular thanks go also to Peter Goller from Innsbruck for providing me manifold glimpses into Tyrolean scholarly past and Kurt Mühlberger from Vienna for generously providing me with materials about scholars from the Philosophical Faculty of Vienna University; Gerald Angermann-Mozetič from Graz I want to thank for continuous support over the years. Parts of this work have been presented in Budapest, Boston, Cracow, Darmstadt, Graz, L'viv, Prague, Sofia, Vienna, and Warsaw, and I want to thank all the discussants for their valuable comments, in particular colleagues and faculty from Initiativkolleg "The Sciences in Historical Context" and Doktoratskolleg "Austrian Galicia and Its Multicultural Heritage" (as well as associated fellows Philipp Hofeneder and Börries Kuzmany) in Vienna and the Institute for History of Science in Warsaw whose comments have been particularly important. I am also indebted to archivists and librarians, whom I continuously harassed and who allowed me to overcome time restraints.

My particular thanks goes to my supervisors, Mitchell G. Ash and Soňa Štrbáňová, whose generous comments helped me to conceptualize and organize the present study, as well as to Gary Cohen, who agreed to be a referee for the dissertation; Mitchell Ash's support for the past years made this study possible in the first place. I am also indebted to Matthew Konieczny, whose invaluable comments and language corrections made this text straight and readable; all remaining mistakes and imperfections come from my tendency to continuously work on the text. Johannes Feichtinger and Klemens Kaps supported me with their ideas and expertise throughout recent years and their comments heavily impacted this text. Finally, I cannot thank my family enough for their inspiration and for always being there.

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Note on Language Use

Geographical or personal names were in the nineteenth century – and remain to some extent still today – markers of identity and belonging, and thus contested by confronting nationalist discourse. In many cases especially nationally ambiguous individuals changed their names according to context; when scholars published in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, changing transcription/translation rules led to the names under which scholars are currently known differ from the ones used during their lifetimes. To avoid unwieldy formulations, this work uses the English names currently in use when appropriate. Alternative names used of people and places in other languages are noted at the first appearance of the name. This applies also to titles and designations that are mentioned in the text and used consistently for all the languages involved. The not-so-common use of Cyrillic names in the main text seems to be justified as many of persons/places/organizations dealt with here are in fact hard to identify if only Latin transcription is provided. As some of the terms used in this work or in quotations have an ambiguous meaning not easily transferrable into English, in several cases termini are similarly adduced with the respective originals.

Note on the Attached Databases

The databases, which are attached to this dissertation (in printed version on the CD, in the electronic version under the links listed below, in both cases as MS-Excel documents), consist of data for scholars teaching at the medical and philosophical faculties of Habsburg universities 1848-1918 (with exception of Vienna Philosophical Faculty, where an amended database compiled by Kurt Mühlberger, Archive of Vienna University, was used and not attached). The databases are based on ministerial documents and personal catalogues by respective universities. Although compiled with the utmost scrutiny, some bibliographic information is missing and some was not collected due to the bounds of this dissertation. Thus the databases should not be used instead of proper bibliographically researched aids. For sources used, please see the corresponding part of the literature section.

The databases are an integral part of this project and as such the same restrictions apply. If used, please cite them accordingly.

Permanent Links:

University of Chernivtsi, Philosophical Faculty 1875-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104428>

Jagiellonian University, Medical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104429>

Jagiellonian University, Philosophical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104430>
Graz University, Medical Faculty 1863-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104431>
Graz University, Philosophical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104432>
Innsbruck University, Medical Faculty 1869-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104433>
Innsbruck University, Philosophical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104434>
L'viv University, Medical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104435>
L'viv University, Philosophical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104436>
Czech University in Prague, Medical Faculty 1883-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104437>
Czech University in Prague, Philosophical Faculty 1882-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104438>
German University in Prague, Medical Faculty 1883-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104439>
German University in Prague, Philosophical Faculty 1882-1918:
<http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104440>
Prague University, Medical Faculty 1848-1882: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104441>
Prague University, Philosophical Faculty 1848-1881: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104442>
Vienna University, Medical Faculty 1848-1918: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104443>

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List of Archive and Journal Abbreviations

AGAD, MWiO – Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, fond Ministry of Religion and Education (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, C.K. Ministerstwo Wyznań i Oświaty = Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht)

AHIPM – Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny

AHY – Austrian History Yearbook

AUC-HUCP - Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis

AUI – Archive of the University Innsbruck (Universitätsarchiv Innsbruck)

AUJ – Archive of Jagiellonian University (Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego)

AUK – Archive of Charles University (Archiv Univerzity Karlovy)

AUG – Archive of the University Graz (Universitätsarchiv Graz)

AUW – Archive of the Vienna University (Archiv der Universität Wien)

ČLČ – Časopis lékařův českých

DALO – State Archive of L'viv Oblast (Державний архів Львівської області)

FF NU – fond Philosophical Faculty of the German Universty in Prague (Filozofická Fakulta Německé Univerzity v Praze, Archiv Univerzity Karlovy)

MF – Medical Faculty (in quotation of archival materials from Graz and Innsbruck)

MF NU – fond Medical Faculty of the German Universty in Prague (Lekarská Fakulta Německé Univerzity v Praze, in quotation of archival materials from Prague)

MZA Brno – Moravian Land Archive in Brno (Moravský zemský archiv w Brně)

NA, MVK/R – National Archives (Prague), fond Ministry of Religion and Education 1882-1918(1923) (Národní archiv, Ministerstvo kultu a vyučování Vídeň 1882-1918(1923) = Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht)

PA – Personnel Record (Personalakte, akt osobowy)

PF – Philosophical Faculty (in quotation of archival materials from Graz and Innsbruck)

ÖStA, AVA, MCU – Austrian State Archives, General Archive of Administration, fond Ministry of Religion and Education, (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht)

SOA Litoměřice/Děčín – State Regional Archives Litoměřice - Děčín Branch (Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích, pobočka Děčín)

TsDIAL - Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L'viv (Центральний державний історичний архів України, Львів)

WMW – Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift

Note on the archival notation: for the sake of brevity of the reference system, archival materials are referred to using abbreviations used by respective archives, the full titles of the records are not included. Notations used in the Ukrainian archives (fond, opis, sprava) are abbreviated as respective numbers of fond/opis/sprava; in the case of bond act files, respective page numbers are added.

Glossary

Agricultural Academy – Hochschule für Bodenkultur, Akademia Rolnicza

Associate professor – außerordentlicher Professor, profesor nadzwyczajny, mimořádný professor

Auxiliary professor – Supplent, zastępca profesora, suplující profesor

Full professor – ordentlicher Professor, profesor zwyczajny, řádný professor

Ministry of Religion and Education – Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht

Readership/reader – Lektorat/Lektor

Technical Academy – Polytechnisches Institut/Technische Hochschule, Akademia Techniczna/ Szkoła Politechniczna, Vysoká škola technická

Utraquisation – (from Latin *uterque* = both) making of two languages official languages of instruction

1. Imperial Geography of Knowledge - Introduction

The last decennia have witnessed the growth of the importance of the geography of knowledge and spaces of knowledge in the history of science. With the established eminence of science as a social endeavor, lacking the universalist claims of the middle 20th century, a growing literature on both local appropriation of knowledge and local conditions of its production brought about reconsideration of scientific space(s) and the processes underway within it.¹ Space as a new paradigm also aroused the interest of geographers; geography of knowledge, as proposed for example by David Livingstone or Peter Meusbürger,² largely extends the scope of the classic historiography of science. At the same time, the spatial turn brought about a reconsideration of the influence of power relations in the scientific process – research on colonial and imperial sciences has illustrated the complexity of the process of mediation of different knowledge forms, which lead (or not) to their stabilization as ‘scientific knowledge’.

The present work calls another space to attention: academia of the late (i.e. post 1848) Habsburg Monarchy and more precisely its Cisleithanian (“Austrian”)³ part. Not acknowledged as an Empire *sensu stricto*, the area enclosed by imperial boundaries witnessed in sixty years between the ‘Spring of Nations’ and ‘War of

¹ For the recent overviews see Finnegan, Diarmid, "The Spatial Turn: Geographical Approaches in the History of Science." *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, no. 2 (2008): 369-388; Shapin, Steven, and Adi Ophir, "The Place of Knowledge: A Methodological Survey." *Science in Context* 4, no. 1 (1991): 3-22; Meusbürger, Peter, Michael Welker, and Edgar Wunder, eds. *Clashes of knowledge: orthodoxies and heterodoxies in science and religion*. Dodrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 2008; Meusbürger, Peter, David N. Livingstone, and Heike Jöns, eds. *Geographies of Science. Academic Mobilities, Knowledge Spaces, and Public Encounters*. Dodrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 2010.

² Livingstone, David N., *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2003; Meusbürger, Peter, *Bildungsgeographie. Wissen und Ausbildung in der räumlichen Dimension*. Heidelberg: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag, 1998.

³ While used in the denomination of the Empire (*Kaisertum Österreich* 1804-1867; *Österreich-Ungarn* from 1867) Austria was only 1915 adopted the official name for Cisleithania – that is the lands westwards (literary “at our side”) from the Leitha River, historical boundary with Hungarian (Transleithanian) part of the Empire; the 1867 constitutions calls the non-Hungarian part of the Empire “the Kingdoms and Lands represented in the *Reichsrat*” and while Austria is commonly used is only later adopted; For the lack of names better corresponding with this division, Cisleithania is used here as regional denomination, while Austria, depending on the context, means either territorial belonging to current Austria or the national project; notwithstanding the recent critics on Dual Monarchy being the empire, this name, alternating with Monarchy, is used here to denominate the geopolitical entity for both pre and after 1867 period. See Stourzh, Gerald, *Der Umfang der österreichischen Geschichte : ausgewählte Studien 1990 – 2010*. Wien, Graz, Köln: Böhlau 2011, esp. 11-105 and 283-322.

Nations' a nexus of concurrent imperialism and nationalism, or centripetal and centrifugal tendencies.⁴ At the same time it was itself a victim of differing geographical projects, as the more and more stabilized 'cultural nations' exceeded the Monarchy's boundaries, and more and more bound to their spaces as the Monarchy allowed national autonomies. The identity issue of being a loyal national and imperial subject (either both or one or the other) – the two were no means mutually exclusive⁵ – was experienced both collectively and individually through inscriptions in everyday procedures, communication and ideology networks, outbreaks of ceremonial patriotism, etc. To a large extent the identity projects were different due to historical situation and cultural implementation – for example, the resuscitation of the idea of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or Pan-German ideology; on the other hand they had a common pattern of interdependent developments subsumed under the banner of change from civic-cum-territorial to ethno-cultural nationalism.⁶

Given its idiosyncrasies, the Habsburg Monarchy has recently been the subject of extensive research, in which the contemporaneousness of these putatively exclusive processes has been analyzed. The history of science, however, only recently took notice of this peculiar imperio-national space, being confined to national narratives, and often merely produced recollections of particular institutional pasts in its function as archivist of particular local memories. While the shift has turned recently from nation to empire,⁷ I argue that concentration of parallelism and interaction of nation

⁴ See Cohen, Gary B., "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914." *Central European History* 40, no. 2 (2007): 241-278; Judson, Pieter, "L'Autriche-Hongrie était-elle un empire?" *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 63, no. 3 (2008): 563-596.

⁵ See esp. Judson, Pieter, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the language frontiers of imperial Austria*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006; Miller, Aleksej I., and Alfred J. Rieber, eds. *Imperial Rule*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2004; Unowsky, Daniel, "'Our gratitude has no limit': Polish Nationalism, Dynastic Patriotism, and the 1880 Imperial Inspection Tour of Galicia." *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003): 145-171.

⁶ For the last critical appropriation of Hroch's A-B-C schema see *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 38, no. 6 (2010) resp. on Polish case Porter, Brian, *When nationalism began to hate imagining modern politics in nineteenth century Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; more on Habsburg / German Austria Judson, Pieter, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996.

⁷ Buklijas, Tatjana, and Emese Lafferton, "Science, medicine and nationalism in the Habsburg Empire from the 1840s to 1918." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007): 679-686; Gellner, Ernest, *Language and solitude: Wittgenstein, Malinowski, and the Habsburg dilemma*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Klemun, Marianne, "Wissenschaft und Kolonialismus – Verschränkungen und Figurationen." *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 9, no. 1 (2009): 3-12; Ash, Mitchell G., and Jan Surman, eds. *The Nationalisation of Scientific Knowledge in the late Habsburg Monarchy (1848-1918)*.

and empire sheds a more interesting light on the socio-geographical character of knowledge in the Central European ‘laboratory of world history’ than an either-or choice.⁸ This work thus concentrates on the development of science in the space between the projects of empire and of nations. The mediations and tensions which occurred between the needs and demands of scholarship and education serve as an example of scientific inter-academic mobility in which the spatial ambiguities can be best visualized.

1.1. Space and Place – on the Sociality of a Geographical Approach

The modern theory of space, on which this work is also based, begins with writing of French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who in 1974 conceptualized space as a socially produced:⁹

Social space can never escape its basic duality... Is not social space always, and simultaneously, both a *field of action* (offering its extension to the deployment of projects and practical intentions) and a *basis of action* (a set of places whence energies derive and whither energies are directed)? It is at once actual (given) and potential (a locus of possibilities) is it not at once quantitative (measurable by means of units of measurement) and qualitative (as concrete extension where unreplenished energies run out where distance is measured in terms of fatigue or in terms of time needed for activity). It is also a collection of materials (objects, things) and an ensemble of materiel (tools, the procedures necessary to make efficient use of tools and of things in general).¹⁰

This conceptualized arrangement dispatched natural predefined space (absolute space) bringing forward conceptions of spatialization (l’espace) as social formation of (in the Lefebvre case urban) space according to political and cultural hegemonies and mediations. This space, however, was not only a mute product, but equally “a tool of thought and of action [...] means of control, and hence of domination, of power.”¹¹ In the set of social relations, agreed conventions, space cannot be seen as undermining the societal order but acts as a regulative instance of interaction. At the same time, the French savant obliterated the individual-society distinction: the triad of perceived, conceived and lived space as constitutive for self-production of the individual and the

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming.

⁸ I argued the merits of such approach more broadly in Surman, Jan, "Imperial Knowledge? Die Wissenschaften in der späten Habsburgermonarchie zwischen Kolonialismus, Nationalismus und Imperialismus." *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 9, no. 2 (2009): 119-133.

⁹ Lefebvre, Henri *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 (first French edition 1974); see also Goonewardena, Kanishka, and et. al, eds. *Space, difference, everyday life : reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

¹⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 191.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 26

social are not to be distinguished; the space as an imposed absolute entity does not exist but is continuously (re)produced through social action.

Martina Löw, following Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, pointed out that spaces owe their creative potential to the forces of their reproduction, and recently augmented this particular idea of space as the main social sphere:

To speak of a duality of space is to express the idea that spaces do not simply exist but are created in (generally repetitive) action, and that, as spatial structures embedded in institutions, they guide action. Together, the routines of day-to-day activities and the institutionalization of social processes ensure the reproduction of social (and thus of spatial) structures.¹²

The example of language can help to visualize this idea. With few exceptions, all members of a language community use the same rules and linguistic practices. In talking they reproduce these rules, which render speech possible in the first place.¹³ Löw included actants in her theory, defining space as the ordering of objects and actors through spacing and synthesis. While actors are here space-constructors, materiality is neither dependent nor controlled through their actions: as scholars of actor-network theory argued, actants can act socially independent, that is to say, cause unforeseen consequences.

As spaces (and networks) exist only through repetitions and stabilization efforts, the question follows: why does a singular spatial imagination become a collective entity, and what are the processes that structure spaces? Lefebvre already assured the existence of the representation of space, that is, space individually imagined. Bourdieu, holding to the idea of representation, acknowledged that space was also a group-phenomenon in which actors actively define, regionalize, conserve or modify space through acts of classifications, and which in themselves represent desired interest and power relations.¹⁴ Chantal Mouffe on the other hand conceives the space itself as an interdependence of identities and interrelations, space as a generalization of individual imaginations of it.¹⁵ Partly following this idea Doreen B.

¹² Löw, Martina, "The Constitution of Space. The Structuration of Spaces Through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception." *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no. 1 (2008): 25-49, here 40

¹³ Giddens, Anthony, *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

¹⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre, "The social space and the genesis of groups." *Theory and Society* 14, no. 6 (1985): 723-744.

¹⁵ Mouffe, Chantal, *On the political*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Massey proposed in *For Space* to conceive spatial identities, like places or nations, as relational. Only in a mesh of negotiations is their internal integrity is, but the processuality of mutual interaction between spaces creates an openness and fluidity of spaces.¹⁶ “Space” is a “sphere of co-existing multiplicity” and “sphere of active interaction.”¹⁷ Her concept thus changes the focus from space to spatial practices, while the ‘absolute’ space ceases to exist in its infinitesimal temporality.

Spaces in themselves are anything but homogenous, as every actor plays a role and constitutes different spaces with his or her own internal logic. One can relate this to the concept of “multiple identities” and their action scope. Following Bourdieu the *habitus* is a merging of even supposedly contradictory identity categories, with actors playing the identity differently according to the social situations; this idea has been explored in sociology in many ways.¹⁸ The multilevel character and interwovenness of social spaces and it being interwoven thus can be theorized on both individual and collective level. In an interesting example of such an approach, Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk has shown how multiple identities (as woman and national subject) can result in creation of divergent microspaces but also in a unified space, and furthermore claimed that such spaces are not per se exclusive and while their rules can include contradictions mediation is possible.¹⁹ Thus microspaces can create a space, but a space does not automatically consist of microspaces, as spaces create both inclusivity and exclusivity at the same rate.

But this phenomenon does not only relate to interspatial relations, but also the spatial inner logic. As John Allen claims, “power is inherently spatial [and] spatiality is imbued with power”,²⁰ and this constitutes an alteration of Foucault’s approach, in which power is homogenous and equally distributed. Taking different forms of power (domination vs. authority) and practices of power (manipulation, inducement, seduction) one can thus analyze the influence of power in different temporal and

¹⁶ Massey, Doreen B., *For Space*. London: SAGE, 2005.

¹⁷ Massey, Doreen B., “Spaces of Politics.” In *Human Geography Today*, edited by Idem, John Allen and Philip Sarre, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999, 279-295, here 281-282.

¹⁸ Paradigmatically Goffman, Erving, *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday, 1959; for an interesting discussion of the dilemma see Todd, Jennifer, “Social transformation, collective categories, and identity change.” *Theory and Society* 34, no. 4 (2005): 429-463.

¹⁹ Leszczawski-Schwerk, Angélique, “Frauenbewegungen in Galizien um 1900 – Raum zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation?” In *Galizien - Fragmente eines diskursiven Raums*, edited by Doktoratskolleg Galizien, Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2009, 63-82.

²⁰ Allen, John, *Lost Geographies of Power* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, 3, accentuations omitted.

spatial arrangements. Doreen Massey accentuated in her concept of power-geometry the spatial differences of power, but similarly as in space itself, proposed a geography of power-*relations* instead of a geography of power. Some places have the resources to exert power, but their power is exercised relationally, in interaction with other places.²¹

Accepting this premise does not automatically mean the rejection of the center-periphery concept, although one should bear in mind their temporality and malleability. Two such opposing models were proposed by Michel Foucault and Yuri Lotman. Foucault argues for a conservatism of discourse, in which the periphery is tightly controlled by the center, which inhibits innovation at the cost of centrality. While in this model close supervision and centralization stay in the foreground, Yuri Lotman developed a contrary model of spatial power relations.²² In his mind, the periphery is a space of intensified intellectual productivity, because it lacks the homogeneity of the center, thus enabling cross-boundary relations impossible in the center. While for Foucault periphery-center dualism is essential for knowledge and power transmission, it is not for Lotman, as a lack of supervision results also in lack of feedback; knowledge produced in a non-central space does not find its way into the center-controlled canon. This duality of concepts is represented also in works of Bruno Latour and Kapil Raj, analyzing power relations in science. Latour's concept of center of calculation implies a resource-rich center, which is capable of draining other places, mobilizing and captivating their resources, and finally sending actors to transfer knowledge to the center.²³ Kapil Raj, on the other hand, focuses on the 'periphery', stating that while knowledge was transferred according to the centers of calculation model, where and how it originated is of more importance.²⁴ The encounter of different knowledge systems on the diversified periphery originated

²¹ Massey, Doreen B., *World City*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

²² Lotman, Yuri M., *Universe of the mind: a semiotic theory of culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2000; Buckler, Julie A., "Writing in a polluted semiosphere: everyday life in Lotman, Foucault, and De Certeau." In *Lotman and cultural studies: encounters and extensions*, edited by Andreas Schönle, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006, 320-344; See also the conceptual approach proposed by Saart, Tõnis, "Construction of Peripheries: Foucault vs. Lotman and potential peripherization of new member states in the EU." In *III International Summer School on European Peripheries, Pécs, 17-24 July 2007*. 2007 (accessible online: <http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/iss/monnetcentre/peripheries3/SaartsFinal.pdf>, last access: 18.8.2010).

²³ Latour, Bruno, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987, esp. 220-230.

²⁴ Raj, Kapil, *Relocating Modern Science. Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

knowledge, which could not be produced in homogenous centers. Stabilization of this knowledge and its transformation into ‘science’ was made possible though only through a hierarchical and hegemonic system.²⁵ In addition, one could argue here that transformations and transfers are highly selective procedures, influenced by a varying set of presuppositions, stereotypes and other sorts of social and cultural selection mechanisms.²⁶ One should bear in mind though, that center and periphery are exclusively relative categories, as the one cannot exist without the other. And similarly the cascade-like chain of peripheralization likely means that every periphery has a periphery of its own and *vice versa*.

1.2. Place, Space and Science Studies

Although in the last years the concept of space has gained popularity in science studies, it is for the most part not treated as a social space as conceptualized above, but rather as a place,²⁷ a setting of the story being told. In this regard, the most important places analyzed were laboratories, academies or, recently, cities.²⁸ If social spaces are taken into account, like family, generation²⁹ – or equally, laboratory or university as social-spatial arrangements³⁰ – this is mostly limited to an analysis of social interactions, and not the way in which those interactions are structured in space. Yet, even looking at scientific institutions, one can discern architectonic influence on (social) space. The Salk Institute in La Jolla, one of the most important institutes for biological studies in the US, is favored for its interior without wall-divided laboratories, an arrangement which enables intensive cooperation: “It’s like one lab. That would be difficult to do in a conventional setting where the laboratories are

²⁵ Although Raj concentrates on East-West relations, such transformations could be made characteristic for all knowledge systems.

²⁶ Schiebinger, Londa, and Robert N. Proctor, *Agnology The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

²⁷ For the distinction see Finnegan, Diarmid, "The Spatial Turn: Geographical Approaches in the History of Science." *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, no. 2 (2008): 369-388; for a still up-to-date overview Ash, Mitchell G., "Räume des Wissens. (XXXVI. Symposium der Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 13. bis 15. Mai in Ingolstadt)." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 23 (2000): 235-242.

²⁸ See e.g. Levin, Miriam R., Sophie Forgan, Martina Hessler, Robert Kargon, and Morris Low, eds. *Urban modernity: cultural innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2010.

²⁹ Coen, Deborah R., *Vienna in the age of uncertainty: science, liberalism, and private life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

³⁰ Galison, Peter, and Emily Ann Thompson, *The architecture of science*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999.

divided by walls and doors. Here, it's like moving from room to room in a house,"³¹ stated Walter Eckhard, senior cancer researcher at the institute commenting on interdisciplinary in the institute.

Still, a large amount of research concerning spatial production and dissemination of knowledge was produced in the last years, which for the most part is divided into science in place (science in situ) and the transmission of knowledge.

The question of science in situ is mostly dealt with in an analysis of local space in which knowledge is produced. In this regard, laboratories are not of the first concern, but rather museums, botanical and zoological gardens. Through their function as both places of aesthetic display and of research – in comparison to the laboratory, in which controlled space is created – such places offer space orderings according to the different social roles those places play. For example, Sophie Forgan's comparison of two London museums, Owen's Natural History Museum and the Museum of Practical Geology, led her to conclude that the buildings were more than simply shells within which scientists had to manage as best they might.³² The internal arrangements and architecture of both institutions provided structure for different negotiations of the disciplinary territory. Emma Spary, in another case, has shown how the heterogeneity of botanical gardens (here *Jardin du Roi*) influenced the production of knowledge in the space which was above all representational.³³ The unstructured, in fact scientifically uncontrolled, space gave scholars the possibility to engage in the mobilization and transformation of knowledge not possible elsewhere, *bricolage* instead of control.

Similar to the above works, several publications engage with hospitals or mental asylums;³⁴ the ongoing development of architecture from pavilions to single building was a reaction to changing ideas of the spread of illnesses and also the

³¹ Quoted after Cohen, Jon, "Architecture Discovers Science." *Science* 287, no. 5451 (2000): 210-214.

³² Forgan, Sophie, "'But Indifferently Lodged ...': Perception and Place in Building for Science in Victorian London." In *Making space for science. Territorial themes in the shaping of knowledge*, edited by Crosbie Smith and John Agar, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998, 195–214.

³³ Spary, Emma C., *Utopia's garden. French natural history from Old Regime to Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

³⁴ See e.g. Topp, Leslie, James Moran, and Jonathan Andrews, eds. *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment: Psychiatric Spaces in Historical Context*. New York: Routledge, 2007; Adams, Annmarie, *Medicine by design the architect and the modern hospital; 1893 - 1943*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008; Prior, Lindsay, "The Architecture of the Hospital: A Study of Spatial Organization and Medical Knowledge." *British Journal of Sociology* 39, no. 1 (1988): 86-113; Brandt, Allan M, and David C Sloane, "Of beds and benches: building the modern American hospital." In Galison, Thompson (eds.), *The architecture of science*, 281–305.

interdisciplinarity with which practitioners were to engage in their work in order to fulfill their social assignment. The need of practical medicine created or divided disciplinary spaces, enabling or hindering the reconfiguration of disciplinary boundaries. The modern hospital, more like a factory than a pavilion, responded to the belief in a unitary scientific endeavor in which the patient is an object of a wholesale bodily medical treatment, as opposed to the disunity of medicine that concentrated on individual symptoms.

Another branch of spatial research has concentrated on how certain places can be related to the credibility of knowledge produced in them. Steven Shapin studied broadly the emergence of the laboratory as a certified place, in which the possibility of control of the factors important for conducting experiments was translated into the claim of the objective knowledge being produced there, in comparison to non-controlled spaces that were thought to be prone to aberrations. Thomas Gieryn named such places “authenticating places” or “truth spots,” while extending their scope: his spaces are delimited geographical spaces that lend credibility to claims, extending from the laboratory to chosen field sites as well.³⁵ Knowledge produced there has a greater potential for being perceived, accepted and being seen as reliable; the same practices at another place may well give the same outcomes no credentials. Socially constructed trustworthiness is not person-bound, but related to the place of the emergence of knowledge.

The prevalence of certain spaces for the production of knowledge was analyzed also following Bruno Latour’s idea of “centers of calculation”: central places in networks, attracting and bounding the resources (both material and living). Most recently, Heike Jöns demonstrated through work on German-American scientific cooperation how such centers are socially constructed through both political premises and cumulative prestige.³⁶ Such places are maintained through reproduction, but at the same time they change in time; such changes are either abrupt due to political processes (as Gábor Palló exemplified on changing relations of Hungarian

³⁵ Gieryn, Thomas F., "Three truth-spots." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 38, no. 2 (2002): 113-132; Idem, "City as Truth-Spot." *Social Studies of Science* 36, no. 1 (2006): 5-38.

³⁶ Jöns, Heike, *Grenzüberschreitende Mobilität und Kooperation in den Wissenschaften: Deutschlandaufenthalte US-amerikanischer Humboldt-Forschungspreisträger aus einer erweiterten Akteursnetzwerkperspektive*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Heidelberg University: Department of Geography, 2003; Idem, "Academic travel from Cambridge University and the formation of centres of knowledge, 1885-1954." *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 2 (2008): 338-362. I wanted to thank Nina Wolfeil for referring me to this publication.

Scholars in the 20th century³⁷), but more generally are structured through long-term development and the stabilization of social relations.

In this way the question of macrosociological analysis of spatial relations arises. Here, recent studies emphasize the local appropriation of scientific or literary knowledge, which interact with local conditions producing hybridity. Most thoroughly researched is the reception of Darwinism. Darwin's theory interacted with local setting, rules, *Zeitgeist* or a general scientific atmosphere, which in large extent determined its practical adoption and its transformation into public knowledge.³⁸ Polish-language scholars, for example, mobilized Darwin into the Polish-German national conflict, in which using and popularizing the appropriated version of "survival of the fittest" strengthened claims for independence.³⁹

To a large extent, however, studies on knowledge transfer begin with a simple model of linear transmissions, of disconnected places which approach each other only in moments of direct contact. In comparison, in recent years cultural historians speak of "l'espace culturel franco-allemand", analyzing how two cultures reacted to each other, converged, or emphasized a demarcation reconfiguring their own premises.⁴⁰ This cultural relational space was a hybrid per se, but also regulated and limited through the density of relations; thus there was unity in its hybridity.

While in science studies the concept of hybridity is widely used, the constitution of bi- or multicultural contact spaces remains, as mentioned, very one sided, as mostly the "recipient" side is taken into account. Kapil Raj's *Relocation of Modern Science* on the interrelations between colonial and indigenous knowledge is an exception. On the other hand – with the exception of Meusburger – theoretical approaches to spatial relations are difficult to find in the literature, represented mostly

³⁷ Palló, Gábor, "Deutsch-ungarische Beziehungen in den Naturwissenschaften im 20. Jahrhundert." In *Technologietransfer und Wissenschaftsaustausch zwischen Ungarn und Deutschland. Aspekte der historischen Beziehung in Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, edited by Holger Fischer and Ferenc Szabdváry, München: Oldenbourg, 1995, 273-289; Idem, "Wo ist das Zentrum? Emigration ungarischer Naturwissenschaftler. Wissenschaftliche Felder und Karrieren." In *Habitus, Identität und die exilierten Dispositionen*, edited by Anna Wessely, Károly Kókai and Zoltán Péter, Budapest; Wien: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó; VKM Verein für Kultur- und Migrationsforschung, 2008, 121-137.

³⁸ Livingstone, David N., "The geography of Darwinism." *Interdisziplinäre Science Reviews* 31, no. 1 (2006): 32-41; Engels, Eve-Marie, and Thomas Glick, eds. *The reception of Charles Darwin in Europe*. 2 vols. London: Continuum, 2008.

³⁹ Schümann, Daniel, "Struggle for or Against Participation? How Darwinism Came to Partitioned Poland." In *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 244-258.

⁴⁰ As brief examples Espagne, Michel, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999; Nies, Fritz, ed. *Spiel ohne Grenzen? Zum deutsch-französischen Transfer in den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften*. Tübingen: Narr, 2002.

in the works on transfers and entanglements of Zimmermann, Espagne or Matthias Middell.⁴¹

Straying from the European narrative, colonial space is interesting in this regard, as its space structure shows not only hierarchically structured relations, but also a meeting of culturally – and linguistically – disparate systems of knowledge.⁴² The hierarchical structure of the colonial situation reflects the ordering and inscriptions of power relations into culturally coded values. As the book *Agnology* recently proposed, power relations largely influence the way in which knowledge is transmitted; what counts as knowledge in one culture can be seen as unnecessary, uncertified, or is not perceived as ‘knowledge’ at all in another one.⁴³ While criticism of the selectivity of science has been raised not only from a postcolonial perspective but also from a feminist standpoint,⁴⁴ a point of importance here is that selectivity cannot be limited to epistemic operations, but must also include their codification. Dipesh Chakrabarty coined the term “provincializing”⁴⁵ as a postcolonial “writing-back” paradigm – an answer to the previous provincialization of respective peripheries; simultaneously perspective change was voiced from feminist critics as well. Selectivity of historiography is also problem of sources and here historians of respective subalterns have voiced concerns as to if and how it is actually possible to write a symmetric history given the asymmetry of sources.⁴⁶

⁴¹ The best overview on this topic can be found on the pages of journal *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung*, on theoretical approaches especially vol. 1/2000 (Kulturtransfer und Vergleich) and more Central Europe oriented: 2/2008 (Ostmitteleuropa transnational), 1,2/2010 (Verflochtene Geschichten: Ostmitteleuropa).

⁴² To mention the pivotal publications in this area: Raina, Dhruv, "Reconfiguring the centre: The structure of scientific exchanges between colonial India and Europe." *Minerva* 34, no. 2 (1996): 161-176. Prakash, Gyan, *Another reason: science and the imagination of modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

⁴³ See e.g. Schiebinger, Londa, "West Indian Abortifacients and the Making of Ignorance." In *Agnology: the making and unmaking of ignorance*, edited by Idem and Robert N. Proctor, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2008, 149-162. Mayor, Adrienne, "Suppression of Indigenous Fossil Knowledge from Claverack, New York, 1705, to Agate Springs, Nebraska, 2005." *Ibid.*, 163-182;

⁴⁴ E.g. Harding, Sandra G., *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998; Clarke, Adele E., *Disciplining Reproduction: Modernity, American Life Sciences, and 'the Problems of Sex'*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

⁴⁵ For the article expressing the ideas which were later developed into the *Provincializing Europe* book see Chakrabarty, Dipesh, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?" *Representations* 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (1992): 1-26, here 20.

⁴⁶ Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, ed. *Silences of the Middle Ages - A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992; Bretelle-Establie, Florence, ed. *Looking at it from Asia: the Processes that Shaped the Sources of*

The (post)colonial space is an extreme example of a constructed asymmetry of scientific space – which, as postcolonial critics remind us, is an ongoing process of ‘silencing’ the indigenous against ‘world languages’.⁴⁷ It is worth noting though that this process took place in other contexts as well, for example in the professionalization of academic disciplines and the respective boundary work delineating science from ‘pseudo-science’.⁴⁸ In particular, in the case of science, both kinds of boundary work are in fact quite coexistent, one could even say interwoven through the consolidation of culturally defined centers, norms and paradigms at the margins of ‘big science’ and the controllable environment⁴⁹ as a presupposition of ‘modern’ knowledge.

Pointing to postcolonialism should not be understood univocally as inscription of postcoloniality onto the Habsburg case, but an (in fact not particularly original) argument of the critics of Latour’s network approach, which excludes this particular power relationship.⁵⁰ Networks are not only centered around ‘centers of calculation’, but rather centers of calculations come into being because the networks and the allocation of resources are uneven.

1.3. Empire and its Spaces

The qualities of space and inscribed power relations lead inevitably to the question of how to apply these frameworks to Central Europe. As mentioned, the Habsburg Monarchy is not a particularly colonial setting, while the late Habsburg Monarchy is usually not considered an empire at all.⁵¹ Two exceptions can be noted here: in the

History of Science. Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

⁴⁷ Canagarajah, A. Suresh, *A Geopolitics of Academic Writing*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002.

⁴⁸ Rupnow, Dirk, Veronika Lipphardt, Jens Thiel, and Christina Wessely, *Pseudowissenschaft - Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008.

⁴⁹ Controllable here means not fully controlled but rather following Gieryn manageable and definable environment of actants and actors.

⁵⁰ See Redfield, Peter, "The Half-Life of Empire in Outer Space." *Social Studies of Science* 32, no. 5-6 (2002): 791-825.

⁵¹ For the latest see Judson, "L’Autriche-Hongrie était-elle un empire?"; Wendland, Anna Veronika, "Imperiale, koloniale und postkoloniale Blicke auf die Peripherien des Habsburgerreiches." In *Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen*, edited by Claudia Kraft and Alf Lüdtke, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2010, 215-235; interesting perspective on the interrelations between empire and nationalism in Cisleithania and Transleithania was recently drawn in Cohen, Gary B., "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914." *Central European History* 40, no. 2 (2007): 241-278.

Polish historiography, the 1795-1918 period is a semi-colonial period per se, beginning with the partitions of the Commonwealth. Habsburg Galicia was annexed in 1772/1795, Cracow 1846, which differs from the enlargement of an empire through marriages and inter-dynastic connections. How well Galicia was integrated into the Empire in comparison to other provinces is interpreted differently in the historiography, and Galicia as an imperial problem was a continuing topos of the nineteenth century.⁵² Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was annexed in the late nineteenth century, was altogether different and is a privileged field of 'Habsburg postcolonial' studies.⁵³

On the other hand, the shift in perspective from a social to cultural understanding of postcolonialism⁵⁴ allows us to analyze the process of cultural differentiations, stereotypizations etc., which took place in the Monarchy similarly to processes of establishing and sustaining colonial rule. The result is that this approach should be used symmetrically and not exclusively through a "Germans vs. the others" perspective, but include, for example, Polish-Ruthenian relations in Galicia.⁵⁵ Postcolonial racial inscriptions, which constitute difference (*othering*) are in this case not always present (although they often resonate in the background⁵⁶) but are nevertheless discernible if one looks, for example, to the use of language in state structures or cultural inscriptions (e.g. peasant culture).⁵⁷ These differences have been managed differently – exaggerated, alleviated or reframed – by various actors with

⁵² For differing views on this problem see Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien: eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. München: IKGS-Verlag, 2007 versus Wolff, Larry, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

⁵³ See Ruthner, Clemens, Diana Reynolds, Ursula Reber, and Raymond Detrez, eds. *Wechselwirkungen. The Political, Social and Cultural Impact of the Austro-Hungarian Occupation on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918*. New York et al: Peter Lang, forthcoming; several papers from this book are accessible online at www.kakanien.ac.at.

⁵⁴ Ruthner, Clemens, "K.u.k. Kolonialismus als Befund, Befindlichkeit und Metapher: Versuch einer weiteren Klärung." In *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis*, edited by Johannes Feichtinger, Ursula Prutsch and Moritz Csáky, Innsbruck etc.: Studienverlag, 2003, 111-128, esp. 114.

⁵⁵ See Janion, Maria, *Niesamowita słowiańszczyzna : fantazmaty literatury*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2006; Sosnowska, Danuta, *Inna Galicja*. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy "Elipsa", 2008; Simonek, Stefan, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen postkolonialistischer Literaturtheorie aus slawistischer Sicht." In Prutsch, Feichtinger, Csáky, eds., *Habsburg postcolonial*, 129-139.

⁵⁶ Fuchs, Brigitte, "Rasse", "Volk", *Geschlecht: anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850 – 1960*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003; Surynt, Izabela, *Postęp, kultura i kolonializm. Polska a niemiecki projekt europejskiego Wschodu w dyskursach publicznych XIX wieku*. Wrocław: ATUT, 2006.

⁵⁷ Рябчук, Микола, *Від Малоросії до України: парадокси запізнілого націєтворення*. Київ: Критика, 2000; for the second point see Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

respect to ideologies, needs or expectation at various times. Thus, if not clearly definable – in a form of amorphous texture – they constituted nevertheless a mental map of ‘us’ and the ‘others’ which especially after 1848 took the form of national cleavages. While not wanting to reduce this division (which a postcolonial analysis might accentuate) to nationalities,⁵⁸ a few examples should illustrate the idea presented here of the uneven distribution of cultural privileges and the conflicts over them.

Likely the most important space-(re)producing factor in Cisleithania was the *Reichsrat*. Existing from 1867, it consisted only of the non-Hungarian part of the monarchy, of the part which was to this time called “The Kingdoms and Lands represented in the *Reichsrat*.” Although with gradual regionalization it gave some authority to provincial diets, it constituted nevertheless representation of the multiplicity of the ‘Austrian’ half of the Empire. But in representing this space, it also reproduced its pathologies. Each deputy could deliver addresses in his mother tongue, but such speeches were most of the time neither translated nor protocolled, making discussion in fact possible only in German. This presents a problem for historians as well, who face discussions represented by the names of the speakers and note of language spoken without record of the content. This system was indeed not only Vienna-based; the *Galician Diet* was also de jure bilingual (speeches were protocolled in Polish and Ruthenian), but in order to function reproduced the power relations of Polish hegemony.⁵⁹

The *Kronprinzenwerk* (*Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures – Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*), published between 1886 and 1902, was probably the last project of this sort. Intended to give a “complete picture of our fatherland and its tribes (*Volksstämme*)” in an ethnographical manner it was to serve practical needs as well, as “through the growing insight in the amenities and particularities of each ethnographical groups and their mutual dependence on each other, the feeling of solidarity, which is to join all folks of the fatherland, has to

⁵⁸ See Uhl, Heidemarie, "Zwischen Habsburgischem Mythos und (Post-)Kolonialismus. Zentraleuropa als Paradigma für Identitätskonstruktionen in der (Post-)Moderne." In Prutsch, Fechter, Csáky, eds., *Habsburg postcolonial*, 2003, 45-54.

⁵⁹ Polish and Ruthenian were then more intelligible than now Polish and Ukrainian so the communication was certainly possible, probably most Ruthenian deputies spoke also Polish (certainly less than the other way round); with growing nationalism one can suspect however tensions growing, especially in medially prominent Diet (like at the L’viv University – see below on the case of Hrushevsky).

be strengthened.”⁶⁰ With carefully chosen scholars, history, architecture and folklore was adopted to show the monarchy as combination of multiple ethnicities, which peacefully coexisted and coexist within the Empire, but without Jewish culture and populations, which were omitted in most volumes. This was linked in the first place with chosen scholars who hardly represented the communities they described in an obvious attempt to alleviate nationalistic emotions.⁶¹ Moreover, on a symbolical level, *Kronprinzenwerk* lacked the spatial representations, i.e. maps, which were seen as too politically precarious through the visualization of linguistic and cultural terrains.⁶²

One of the more interesting stories on space and its representation was a quarrel on the cartography of Galicia, between the physiographic commission of the Cracow Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Imperial Geological Survey (*k.k. geologischen Reichsanstalt*) in Vienna on publishing of the multivolume *Geological Atlas of Galicia* (Atlas geologiczny Galicji). In 1891, the Viennese institution accused Cracow of using their maps and publishing them as their own; the answer from Cracow on the other hand was that maps made in Vienna were far more imprecise than the ones produced by Polish geologists, and Galicia not only had the right to produce maps of their own, but that Viennese geologists would do well to use them, as they represent the peculiarities of the province much better. For several years, the *Reichsanstalt* was said to have blocked the printing of the maps in the Military Geographical Institute (*k.k. Militärgeographisches Institut*), claiming that the maps should be accompanied by a text, and that they were made based on maps of the *Reichsanstalt*. Galician scholars on the other hand fiercely rejected this claim, as in their eyes maps from Vienna were rather a “negative example how not to make maps”⁶³ due to a considerable lack of detail. The question arose however as whether to publish the atlas at all, as several maps have been produced in Vienna, which were

⁶⁰ Erzherzog Rudolf, "Einleitung." In *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Auf Anregung und unter Mitwirkung Seiner kaiserlichen und königliche Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Kronprinzen Erzherzog Rudolf*, vol. I. Übersichtsband. Wien: k.k. Hof- und Stadtdruckerei, 1887, 5-18, here 5-6.

⁶¹ See, for example, on the Galician volume Franić, Mirosław, "Österreichisch-Polnische Begegnungen der Historiker." In *Österreich–Polen: 1000 Jahre Beziehungen*, edited by Józef Buszko and Walter Leitsch, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1996, 509-525, here 523-525

⁶² Bendix, Regina, "Ethnology, cultural reification and the dynamics of difference in the Kronprinzenwerk." In *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in the Habsburg Central Europe*, edited by Nancy M. Wingfield, London: Berghahn, 2003, 149-165.

⁶³ Łomnicki, M. *Sprawozdanie Komisji Fizjograficznej* 31 (1896): VI-VIII, here VII. Discussion on the atlases spreads through the 1890's up to 1902 and is carefully recorded in the above quoted journal; I am indebted for the information on this conflict to Stefan Alexandrowicz, Cracow.

found to be detailed enough, and no further improvements were seen as necessary. The conflict of how detailed a map should be, moving here between the nationalists and imperialists, points to the fact that different allegiances often neglected conflicting interests which were in fact more and more difficult to mediate.

Habsburg space is occupied by the irony of contesting spatiality. Divided in 1867 into territories centered around the “Garden” and the “Workshop,”⁶⁴ the rise of nationalities brought about new forms of spatial conflict, between staging the empire and staging the nation.⁶⁵ This duality slowly developed over time. When in 1851 professors of the Jagiellonian University greeted Franz Joseph in their traditional togas instead of prescribed clerk uniforms, this was seen as a sign of stressing the independent tradition which was meant to fade in the melting-pot empire. Less than 30 years later, however, Galicians took part in the commemoration of the Siege of Vienna of 1683 – with separate festivities in Cracow and Vienna that underscored the perceived differences in the historical importance of this event.⁶⁶ The space changed with changing political affiliations as well; in 1907 universities in throughout the monarchy protested against the violation of university autonomy in the case of Ludwig Wahrmund, which also provoked the first demonstration of Czech and German students since 1859. Here the existence of a common enemy (conservative clericals) largely overcame national differences, representing a unity within the Monarchy.

The nineteenth century was also a time when the Habsburg space gradually lost consistency from the unity of Empire, held together by the monarch and the German language, towards the political dualism of one monarch and two distinctive parliaments of respective halves, characterized by different state-languages – German and Hungarian. The texture of languages and politics – and also of language of education – grew apart not only along Cis- and Transleithanian divisions but also within these semi-autonomous entities, with national languages growing in

⁶⁴ Hanák, Péter, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest. With a preface by Carl E. Schorske*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

⁶⁵ Prokopovych, Markian, "Staging Empires and Nations: Politics in the Public Space of Habsburg Lemberg." In *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes. Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, edited by Peter Stachel and Rudolf Jaworski, Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007, 427-453;

⁶⁶ See esp. Dabrowski, Patrice M., *Commemorations and the shaping of modern Poland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004; for general overview see Bucur, Maria, and Nancy Meriwether Wingfield (eds.), *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001.

importance and the German language – the *de jure* non-national language of the Empire – endowed with imperial and national allure, witnessed a decrease in its practicality, being opposed by nationalists.⁶⁷ Academia was directly included in this process, being both influenced and itself an influential actor.

With the growing autonomy of nations, the projects of consolidation of imperial space could not therefore be induced by the center, although they were still considerably co-influenced by it.⁶⁸ One example of how structuration led to conflicts can be seen in the Badeni Crisis of 1897. The introduction of compulsory bilingualism in the Bohemian offices led to serious opposition from the side of German-speaking politicians and activists, who saw this measure not as issue of equality, but an undermining of their privileged position. While for the Czechs this would allow better communication and thus a leverage of their position, German nationalists fiercely opposed it, as it would cause in their eyes a loss of privileges.

At the same time, national space was growingly constituted and more intensively represented as different from the imperial one, having its own boundaries, and distinct (and not regional) history and culture. František Palacký created, for example, an ethnicity-based history of Bohemia, in which Czechs and Germans constituted historically disparate factors, divided by language, religion or folklore.⁶⁹ Polish-language scholarship energetically pursued research based on the space of the Commonwealth, although political issues limited such endeavors. Oskar Kolberg, for example, worked between 1857-1890 on monumental ethnographical works, including the regions of three empires.⁷⁰ Zygmunt Gloger published in 1903 his *Historical Geography of Terrains of Old Poland* (*Geografia historyczna ziem dawnej Polski*), beginning with the 10th century and listing all provinces which at any time

⁶⁷ Fellerer, Jan, *Mehrsprachigkeit im galizischen Verwaltungswesen (1772-1914). Eine historisch-soziolinguistische Studie zum Polnischen und Ruthenischen (Ukrainischen)*, Bausteine zur Slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte 46 Köln; Weimar: Böhlau, 2005.

⁶⁸ For the theoretical background of spatial conflict within empires see Berger, Stefan, and Alexey Millner, "Nation-building and regional integration, c. 1800-1918: the role of empires." *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'histoire* 15, no. 3, June (2008): 317-330; see also King, Jeremy, "The Nationalisation of East Central Europe. Ethnicism, Ethnicity and Beyond." In Bucur, Wingfield (eds.), *Staging the Past*, 112-152, esp. 131-133 and Ther, Philipp, "Das Europa der Nationalkulturen. Die Nationalisierung und Europäisierung der Oper im "langen" 19. Jahrhundert" *Journal of Modern European History* 5 (2007): 39-66.

⁶⁹ On changing idea of 'culture' in the 19th century see Fillafer, Franz Leander, "The "Imperial Idea" and Civilising Missions." In *Kulturpolitik und Theater in europäischen Imperien: Der Kulturstaat Österreich im internationalen Vergleich*, edited by Philipp Ther and Peter Stachel, München: Oldenbourg, forthcoming.

⁷⁰ *Lud. Jego zwyczaj, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce*, 86 vols., 1857-present.

were part of “Poland” (a synonym with the Commonwealth). The legal distinctiveness and historical non-Habsburg state traditions were topics of treatises already in the first half of the 19th century. A similar strategy can be seen among late 19th century (Ukrainian) Ruthenians, whose historically based ethno-spaces encompassed two empires (for example the historiography of Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Oleksandra/Aleksandra Yefymenko, Stepan Rudnyts’ky’s geography).⁷¹ In comparison to Czech nationalists, who imagined autonomy within the Monarchy, both Polish and Ruthenian nationalists’ imagination went beyond Galicia’s boundaries, especially among Polish nationalists who early on envisaged reunification of the Commonwealth. It should be recalled that the Commonwealth did not automatically mean a kind of independent national state, as austro-slavism and loyalty were popular in Galicia, in large part because of the often referred to and commonly codified threat of Russian imperialism.

What was, however, the Habsburg scientific space as imagined and practiced by the scholars? A brief glance at strategies and institutions should clarify this point.

The spatial role of science policy was pronounced by the opening of the *Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts* (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste) in 1847. Minister of state Klemens Metternich saw it both as a stately controlled “valve” for scholars and mean to better the Habsburg standing in international competition, as notable academies were already importantly at stake.⁷² In the discussions on the creation of the Academy, its supra-regional character was decided, which was somewhat disputed, however, both by proponents of a strong Viennese centre for science, as well as those, who desired the Viennese Academy to be on the same level as provincial learned societies of the time. Among the nominees in 1847 and early 1848 were not only Viennese scholars, which constituted about half of nominees, but also Czech-Bohemian, Hungarian and Italian scholars, who would represent the unity of the Habsburg scientific community of the time.⁷³ Galicia –

⁷¹ See Киян, Олександр, *Володимир Антонович: історик й організатор “Київської історичної школи”*. Київ: РВЦ КДПУ ім. В. Винниченка, 2005; Rudnitsky, Stephen, *Ukraine. The Land and Its People. An Introduction to Its Geography*. New York: Rand Mc Nally, 1918 [original 1910] (analyzed in Hausmann, Guido, "Das Territorium der Ukraine. Stepan Rudnyts'ky's Beitrag zur Geschichte räumlich-territorialen Denkens über die Ukraine." In *Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, edited by Andreas Kappeler, Köln: Böhlau, 2011, 145-158.

⁷² Kadletz-Schöffel, Hedwig, *Metternich und die Wissenschaften*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna 1989, 266-319, here 299

⁷³ 18 Nominees came from Vienna, 7 from Lombardy and Veneto, 6 from Bohemia, 4 from Hunagry and Transylvania, 2 from Styria, 2 from Tirol, one from Upper-Austria. After Denkschrift 1, 1850.

symbolically incorporated through the person of Josef Russegger, geologist and administrator of the salt mines in Wieliczka/Großsalze (corresponding member 1848) – was officially excluded due to political turmoil stemming from the first appointments. Michał Wiszniewski, professor of Polish literature in Cracow, proposed for corresponding member 1848, was rejected confirmation through the Emperor.⁷⁴ The first Polish and Ruthenian scholars were chosen only in the late nineteenth century.

The idea that the Academy was to be imperial – its name *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* – was only a mirage, as it in actuality never was. Looking at the geography of authors, non-germanophone authors rarely published in its periodicals or participated in book series. Creating the picture of a monarchy united in its history (history of contact and transfer as proposed by Alexander Helfert), the series *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* included sources on imperial spaces, although centred on Vienna; it also included Bohemia in the fifteenth century, edited by František Palacký in 1860 (volume 20). Apart from cloisters, most attention was given to Venetia, part of the monarchy that Habsburgs were gradually losing at the time; one can also find documents on/from Carniola, Istria, Transylvania, but not from Galicia. Volumes *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Bohemicarum, Polonicarum* (!), *Hunaricarum* and *Italicarum*,⁷⁵ were planned, but the presented idea oscillated between local and state-history, and was soon replaced by *Austriacarum* meaning rather *Habsburgicarum*. The introduction and the description of objectives were soon removed from the volumes, after occupying several pages in the first ten volumes. Reactions to this endeavour were nationally based editions of sources – like Augustyn Bielowski's 6 volumes (*Monumenta Poloniae Historica* = *Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, began in 1863, which opened with documents on Slavs in Vistula region) or *Monuments of Old Polish Laws* by Antoni Helcel (*Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, from 1856), envisaging clearly an empire-transgressing space. *Monumenta*

⁷⁴ Meister, Richard, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1847-1947*. Wien: Adolfs Holzhausens Nfg., 1947, 56.

⁷⁵ "Vorbericht." In *Urkunden zur Geschichte von Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Görz, Triest, Istrien, Tirol : aus den Jahren 1246 - 1300; aus den Originalen des Kais. Kön. Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archives* (= *Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Österreichische Geschichtsquellen*, herausgegeben von der Historischen Commission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Zweite Abtheilung Diplomataria et Acta I. Band. Diplomatarium Miscellum Seculi XIII), edited by Joseph Chmel, Wien: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1849, V-XXXI, here V; for definition of Austria XXXI.

historiae Bohemica (with a secondary title in Czech – *Staré paměti českých dějin*) was published under the supervision of Anton (as Antonín) Gindely from 1865 in Prague.

While the idea of an imperial Academy imagined it as a kind of supra-academy, which would synthesise forces concentrated so far in the local academies, its mutation into an ‘Austrian’ Academy proved to be a communicational obstacle. To begin with, it had different competences than the local, especially national academy. As James McClellan has shown, the academies across Europe had very similar structures, competences and scope.⁷⁶ What he missed though, were the proto-academies. The most important such organisations in the Habsburg Monarchy were in fact built differently and had other aims. The Cracow Scientific Society (*Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie*) and the Patriotic/National Museum in Bohemia (*Vaterländisches Museum in Böhmen / Vlastenecké muzeum v Čechách*)⁷⁷ – having the role of regional academies of science, were after 1848 institutions aimed at the development of science and scholarship in their national tongues. The Society of Patriotic Museum in Bohemia (*Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen*, est. 1818), was at the beginning a multicultural Bohemian institution, but soon under the reign of František Palacký turned into publishing predominantly on the past and present of Czechs of Bohemia. *Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie* (1815, incorporated 1846 in Galicia) from the beginning aimed at the development of Polish-language science, in the first place through literary research, and in the second by the development of a scientific language. While membership in the first institution was limited to Bohemians (especially aristocracy), the second consisted mostly of professors of the Jagiellonian University. Nevertheless they did not actually function as societies of a multicultural space, since by concentrating on the national language they restricted the possibilities of other scholars for both publishing and lecturing. The reorganisation of these societies into fully developed academies (both Franz-Joseph’s of course) assured the division of national spaces. Members of the Czech society were forbidden to publish in languages other than Czech in the academy journal, but were obliged to publish in them in order not to lose their affiliations. Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Akademia Umiejętności*, from 1919 Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences)

⁷⁶ McClellan, James E., *Science reorganized: scientific societies in the eighteenth century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

⁷⁷ Agnew, Hugh LeCaine, "Czechs, Germans, Bohemians? Images of Self and Other in Bohemia to 1848." In Wingfield (ed.), *Creating the Other*, 56-80; esp. 66 on the question of the name of the society.

stood even more awkwardly, as the area of potential of recruitment exceeded the monarchy's borders, but the legal system differentiated between state-defined 'provincial' (krajowy) and 'foreign' (zagraniczny), with both sections limited. Here, the imperial boundary intersected the national geography; one of the main points of critique of the academy was its concentration on a locality not representing the cultural space, i.e. not including the most renowned scholars. Similarly the Shevchenko Scientific Society in L'viv (est. 1873) was formally restricted to Galicia, although it in fact included Ukrainians of both Empires. In 1907 a carbon-copy scientific society was opened in Kiev; its first head was Hrushevsky, who transferred not only the structure of the society, but also the journals – from 1907 the *Literary-Scientific Herald* (Literaturno-naukovy vistnyk, Літературно-науковий вістник) was published in Kiev.

The issue of *Vistnyk* may be considered an exception, but the nationalist efforts to exceed the imperial space were exactly of symbolical importance. One of the most important ideas was the symbolic reassurance of non-imperial space, for example, through cooperation in printing issues, since when the dissemination of books from other empires was restricted, some books could be printed in two or three publishing houses. Helcel's *Starodawne prawa* are an example of such symbolical duality – they were published in Warsaw but with type from Cracow.⁷⁸

This symbolical creation of a space of scholarship cannot be restricted only to national spaces however. Especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, the idea of a 'Slavic' brotherhood united Slavs of the Habsburg Monarchy. Perceiving a lack of a qualified public, several journals addressed 'Slavs' as an existing public, but as a public that was capable of reading each others languages. The *Scholarly Quarterly* (Kwartalnik Naukowy), edited by Helcel from 1835 to 1837, included on its board of editors Jernej Kopitar, Václav Hanka, Jan Evangelista Purkyně and Gustav Adolf Stenzel, and, with a pronouncedly anti-nationalist esteem, strived to review Slavic literature at the same level as literature in other languages.⁷⁹ The Czech-language journal *Krok: Public General Scientific Journal for the Educated People of the*

⁷⁸ Helcel, Antoni Zygmunt, *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki poprzedzone wywodem historyczno krytycznym tak zwanego Prawodawstwa Wiślickiego Kazimierza Wielkiego w texcie ze starych rękopism krytycznie dobranym*. Kraków, Warszawa: Drukarnia C. K. Uniwersytetu ; nakładem Księgarni Gustawa Sennewalda, 1856.

⁷⁹ See the introduction of Helcel, in which he hails the end of nationalistic particularity in science, Helcel, Antoni Zygmunt, "O teoretycznej i praktycznej oświacie." *Kwartalnik naukowy, wydawany w połączeniu prac miłośników umiejętności* 1, no. 1 (1835): 1-26.

Czech-Slav Nation (*Krok: Weřejný spis všennaučný pro vzdělance národu Česko-Slowanského*, 1821-1840), similarly addressed a non-German space, oscillating between a Czech (ethnic space), Czech-Slovak (language space) and Slavic space (ironically defined in the introduction to the first volume as seen by Germans). It was also ironic that this space lacked a precise definition. In the introduction, Jan Svatopluk Presl defined Slavs in opposition to Germans, but acknowledged at the same time, that this was a foreign definition, as Slavs are internally very distinct.⁸⁰ The definition of Pan-Slavic, at the beginning as a counterpart to Pan-German, introduced another space of interaction, which was to be tightened in order to create a space reminiscent of the German Confederation. The Pan-Slav movement did not actually go beyond this definition – it lacked not only a mythology, but also a communicative basis and most importantly practiced interaction. The concentration of nationalists on national language threw the claim of unity of ‘Slavic’ language into oblivion; this was visible already at the first Pan-Slavic Congress of 1848, and then repeatedly confirmed afterwards.

One can observe two processes in the period 1848-1918 – one the diffusion of the imagination of what is Pan-Slavic, the second a clarification of the rights, gains and functioning of national and later inter-national space. The imagination of nationalism and internationalism replaced the still forming Slavic space, which from communicational and functional space turned into a symbolic space of a mythologized past and language, a subject of inquiry but not of action. Action was to take place nationally, then internationally (also to support national cause), and only scant gains of a Pan-Slavism as a kind of limited internationality were seen. From the 1820s, as international cooperation was limited through imperial boundaries, Pan-Slavism was seen as a possible communication network which would create a sense of unity that would contest the German one. From the 1860s, though the creation of unity in a politically conflicted Monarchy was seen as unnecessary; Polish and Ukrainian nationalists sought rather for a trans-imperial unity, Czechs (and Croatians), were in fact the only ones who actively proposed Pan-Slavic cooperation; even they however, doubted if they would have considerable gains from it. Purkyně saw, for example, the Pan-Slav space as not enough to propagate Czech science.

⁸⁰ Presl, Jan Svatopluk, "Oznámení." *Krok. Weřejný spis všennaučný pro vzdělance národu Česko-Slowanského* 1, no. 1 (1821): 7-18.

Tomáš Masaryk, on the other hand, saw it only as complimentary, but viewed the cooperation as limited to the strengthening of visibility on the international level.⁸¹ Apart from symbolic acts of (international!) cooperation, contacts between Slavs (at least as science is concerned) remained scarce with respect to the appointments to universities and in academies. Ironically, the years in which Slavic mutuality was blooming was a time of imperial stabilisation (neo-absolutism) in which this movement was viewed sceptically (due to certain pro-Russian tendencies), but it nonetheless created a vivid space of interaction.

A Pan-Slavic academy of science never really came into being, though it was discussed several times. Pan-Slavic scientific congresses, begun in the 1880s, were of short durability. At this time the spheres of interaction began to multiply (local, national and international), and in the middle of the 1880s in Bohemia and Galicia the internationalisation of science (in the ‘world-languages’) was intensified in order to support the national cause. Ironically, a Pan-Slavic science ended precisely at the moment it was politically possible. From the 1860s, the politics of language were loosened, and interest diverged from Pan-Slavic cooperation to exclusively national ones. What was left was the interest in diverting scientific power relations from German/French/English science to local contact, through intensified reviews in journals. Although reviews of German publications prevailed, mutual interactions between Slavs were in fact very well represented on this level. Less intensive were other forms of cooperation, like co-authored books or articles; translations did not focus on current research but rather on classics. In 1911 a “Commission of Slavic Physicians” was created, with Matěj Pešina as president, but this organisation too remained symbolic, although it succeeded in editing several volumes of an all-Slavic medical bibliography, printed in Prague.⁸²

1.4. University and Empire – Concepts of Hierarchy

Over the sixty years with which this work is concerned, the most important changes concerning asymmetries of power took place surrounding education and language use.

⁸¹ Kratochvíl, Milan, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně a jeho snahy o reformu české školy*. Praha: SBN, 1987; Masaryk, Thomas Garrique, "Jak zvelebovati naši litaraturu náukovou? Clánek III *Athenaeum*. *Listy pro literaturu a kritiku vědeckou* 2, no. 9 (1885): 270-275.

⁸² Martinczak, Franciszek, "Geneza zjazdów Związku Lekarzy Słowiańskich." *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* XLIII, no. 1 (1980): 37-43.

German, the language of communication and the Empire, became more and more connoted as a language of the dominant ethnic group. The educational privileges of other languages, therefore, were advocated more strongly, often successfully, for example in educational matters. A similar situation of language reevaluation occurred in Galicia between Polish and Ruthenian nationalists. There is much from the point of social history to be said here, for example, that German was the language of elites, was widely spoken (and regularly taught in all schools) and continuously used. It was contrasted with languages which were seen even by fierce nationalists as unqualified for school education, and moreover it was not necessarily a foreign language, according to current (and then nationalist) definitions. These questions were however largely negotiated before 1848; from this time (and earlier in some cases) a symbolic act assured the “literacy” of Czech, Polish and Ruthenian, as they were announced as languages of instruction at the university and in gymnasia per governmental decree, that is, symbolically accepted as cultural and literary languages throughout the Empire. Although the processes of delimitating and debate about the ‘culturality’ of language continued, the social argument could hardly be made any longer and the language-defined nation was officially acknowledged to be not a social but a cultural and territorial phenomenon.⁸³ Of course this did not lead directly to the nation state or autonomy, nor were territorial deliberations carried on; ideas on the imagination of relation between state and the nation and the nation vs. literary language were indeed very diverse. Ján Kollár, for example, saw literary language as something different than national dialect. In 1850 in the *Vienna Literary Agreement*, South-Slavs adopted a structure similar to the German Confederation with a supra-national literary language (Serbo-Croat) and independent dialects.⁸⁴ The clear acceptance of nationalities in whatever form, provides however a good point for further examination (continued in chapter I) as an official and codified statement, which was announced and heard throughout the Habsburg Empire.

With the statement of 1848 in mind one can look at the practices of dealing with language in the school system, which as was often shown were not treated equally, especially before 1867. While national allegiances did change, transform and

⁸³ On the persistence of social codification of cultural otherness in early 20th century see Kwiecińska, Magdalena, "Drobna szlachta w Galicji - między polskim a ukraińskim ruchem narodowym." *Sprawy Narodowościowe. Nowa Seria* 34 (2009): 83-97.

⁸⁴ Greenberg, Robert D., *Language and Identity in the Balkans. Serbo-Croatian and its Disintegration*. Ney York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

mediate with loyalty to the state, on the discursive level they remain acknowledged as language inscriptions. The issue of ‘Germanness’ and its differing perception across the Monarchy⁸⁵ did not negate the stability of cultural *différance* in nationalist discourse, nor did the mental map of which ‘nations’ populated the monarchy, even if the particular negotiations over territory and ethnicity were undertaken later as well. One can think here of the Silesians whose position ‘in between’ meant in fact that they could not be either-or, of course once more in nationalists’ (and to a large extent politicians’) eyes.⁸⁶

National indifference was a phenomenon which was probably as widespread as national sentiment across the populace.⁸⁷ popular historical terms like ‘Altösterreicher’ or ‘Gente Rutheni Nazione Poloni’ with their notorious ideological connotations suggest that the national boxes Central Europe was divided into did not well suit the actual complexity of relations.⁸⁸ At the same time they cannot grapple with the phenomenon since they begin with an assumption that one has to have a nationality according to nationalist narratives and linguistic affiliation, disregarding the phenomenon of multilingualism. The nation however was formed at both the collective and individual levels and it is interesting to see which forces were used to forge or to reduce it, or, on the other hand, which formative processes led to the solidification of national narratives and their acceptance.⁸⁹ Education and the creation of ‘modern’ elites and middle-class (*Bildungsbürgertum*, intelligentsia etc.) through gymnasias and universities deserve special consideration, as incessant debates on the languages of education that characterized the second half of the nineteenth century

⁸⁵ Judson, Pieter, "Changing Meanings of 'German' in Habsburg Central Europe." In *The Germans and the East*, edited by Charles W. Ingrao and Franz A. J. Szabo, Purdue University Press: West Lafayette, Ind., 2008, 109-128, and other papers in this volume.

⁸⁶ Kamusella, Tomasz, *Silesia and Central European Nationalisms: The Emergence of National and Ethnic Groups in Prussian Silesia and Austrian Silesia, 1848–1918*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006.

⁸⁷ Zahra, Tara, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2008; Bjork, James E., *Neither German Nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008; King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans : a local history of Bohemian politics, 1848 - 1948*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.

⁸⁸ The use of these terms is hardly regulated and has oscillated between positive and negative, self-ascription and *othering*, nostalgia and postcolonial critique. To my knowledge there is no literature providing a multiperspective analysis of these concepts and their ambivalence, although as a tool they are sometimes analyzed while being used.

⁸⁹ On nation and its narratives see Müller-Funk, Wolfgang, *Die Kultur und ihre Narrative. Eine Einführung. Zweite und überarbeitete Auflage*. Wien, New York: Springer, 2008, e.g. 4-5, 100-101.

brought the unforeseen results of mediation between cultural, imperial and national inscription and auto-identifications.⁹⁰

On the other hand, the manifestations of the national among the university lecturers are of a slightly different nature; even if they were often not nationalists in an exact sense, they can hardly remain a-national, that is, they either referred to themselves as belonging to this or that nation, or were seen as such in public – with language of publications increasingly becoming the marker. This process went hand in hand with the acknowledgment of the importance of science and scholarship for ‘culture and civilization’ and the entrance of particularity into the university in the form of German replacing Latin and the inclusion of a Philosophical Faculty. It was also not a coincidence that the intensification of national conflict began with the inclusion of a Philosophical Faculty into the university.

While in the later part of this work the phenomena of indifference, inclusion and exclusion will be discussed through several examples, I return here to the question of why the imperial scientific space was asymmetric and which languages constituted the subaltern. One of the easiest answers would be that the subaltern is the one who changes the language of publication in order for his work to be read, that is, in this particular case (one of) his language(s) would not be received in the community to which he belongs. Scholars writing in so called ‘world languages,’ did not face this obstacle. This is of course an ad hoc situational definition to achieve descriptive asymmetry in Central Europe, with several shortcomings. In the first place, the communicational structure was constantly changing (see French and German compared with English today). Secondly it too easily excludes bilingualism. Thirdly it presupposes Science as a sphere in which scholars strived to participate. The third issue is especially problematic and often overseen – there are a range of disciplines that did not have ‘supra’ networks, but aimed at ‘localized enlightenments,’⁹¹ and those local aims easily and quite often proved to be more

⁹⁰ See fort he Habsburg Empire esp. Cohen, Gary B., *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996; Pacholkiv, Svjatoslav, *Emanzipation durch Bildung. Entwicklung und gesellschaftliche Rolle der ukrainischen Intelligenz im habsburgischen Galizien (1890-1914) Schriftenreihe des Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Instituts; Bd. 27*. München: Oldenbourg, 2002; on Polish lands Jedlicki, Jerzy, ed. *Dzieje inteligencji polskiej do roku 1918* 3 vols. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2009; for other influential insights in the relation between education system, state and culture(s) see esp. Charle, Christophe, *Naissance des 'intellectuels' 1880 - 1900*. Paris: Éd. de Minuit, 1990.

⁹¹ Surman, Jan, "Science and its publics. Internationality and national languages in Central Europe." In Ash, Surman, eds., *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge*, forthcoming.

important for scholars than international writing. In the Habsburg case, though, we have predetermined notions of imperial language and provincial languages,⁹² a hierarchy which was indeed accepted as far as scholarship was concerned and corresponded quite well to the proposed model of defining the subaltern. Remaining in the sphere of the cultural construction of subalternity, a similar hierarchical structure was reproduced between Polish and Ruthenian, in which the German language meant in fact emancipation.⁹³

The hierarchization of cultures as the particularity of imperial space coincides here with another types of academic hierarchy. Analyzing Spanish academic structure, Jean-Louis Guereña mentions the differentiation between the capital university in Madrid and provincial universities, which could in his eyes serve only as universities of transfer to better equipped and funded institutions.⁹⁴ Using a similar scheme Marita Baumgartner has claimed that the interuniversity mobility of scholars was closely bound with their prestige and accumulated cultural capital, which in turn was increased through mobility.⁹⁵ The career-conditional movement between universities of entrance, promotion and final station (*Einstiegsuniversität*, *Promotionsuniversität*, *Endstationsuniversität*) established thus a prestige hierarchy leading to a further accumulation of symbolic capital. One could note though, that the factual centers were also disciplinary bound, but conditioned through cultural

⁹² See broader discussion of this topic in Burger, Hannelore, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867 bis 1918*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995.

⁹³ For an interesting approach see Simonek, Stefan, "Redefining Ukrainian Space – Ivan Franko's "Ein Dichter des Verrathes" (1897) under Postcolonial Eyes." In *Redefining Ukrainian Space". Conceptualisations in Regionalism, History, Literature and Language. International Conference on Ukraine, 26th – 28th January 2009*, edited by Skriptenkommission HSG St. Gallen, St. Gallen, 2009.

⁹⁴ Guereña, Jean-Louis, "L'université espagnole vers 1900." In *Sozialer Raum und akademische Kulturen: Studien zur europäischen Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* = *A la recherche de l'espace universitaire européen* edited by Jürgen Schriewer, Edwin Keiner and Christophe Charle, Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 1993, 113-131, see p. 121 : « Les stratégies universitaires étaient ainsi clairement orientées. L'Université de Madrid pouvait apparaître comme l'Université type pour terminer sa carrière universitaire, et les petites Universités de province, bien moins dotées en personnel et moyens, comme des Université de simple passage, des tremplins vers d'autres Universités plus prestigieuses. »

⁹⁵ Baumgarten, Marita, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert: zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* ; 121. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997; see, for a more refined view on academic mobility in a multicultural environment Ash, Mitchell G., "The Natural Sciences in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: Institutions, Networks, Practices." In *The Global and the Local: The History of Science and the Cultural Integration of Europe. Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the European Society for History of Science. Cracow 2006*. [E-book; accessible online: http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/2ICESHS_Proceedings/Chapter_14/R-6_Ash.pdf, last access 30.11.2011] Cracow: The Press of of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2007, 380-383.

inscriptions, which for studies of the German system were religion (Protestant vs. Catholic, limited acceptance of Jewish scholars) and the disappearing but still durable *Landespatriotismus* in favor of a ‘German’ university system.⁹⁶ Interestingly, this went hand in hand with the mythical process of standardization of academic education and thus an institutional tradition that allegedly began with Humboldt.⁹⁷

At the same time, though, this particular asymmetry of mobility was caused also by politics. In the case of universities in the German Empire during the so called ‘System Althoff’⁹⁸ the director of Prussian Ministry of Education, Friedrich Althoff, was able to largely affect university development and in the first place appointment policy in Prussia contributed to the rapid enhancement of their quality through inclusion of a large number of informants from the disciplines.⁹⁹ Althoff’s Prussia-centered policy hints thus towards the personal influence which ministers or even individual politicians had in the university system and more largely the political interests in what are now called centers of excellence.

⁹⁶ See the excellent Wagner, Frank, *Die ordentlichen Professoren der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin 1810 bis 1918. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Betrachtung*. Wissenschaftliche Hausarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades im Fach Mittlere und Neuere Geschichte an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, 2002; for the province vs. empire identity see Paletschek, Sylvia, *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition. Die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*. Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag, 2001.

⁹⁷ Paletschek, Sylvia, "Verbreitete sich ein ‚Humboldtsches Modell‘ an den deutschen Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert?" In *Humboldt international. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Basel: Schwabe, 2001, 75-104; more on the historical influence of mythos Humboldt in Ash, Mitchell G., ed. *Mythos Humboldt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten*. Wien: Böhlau, 1999.

⁹⁸ Brocke, Bernhard vom, "Hochschul- und Wissenschaftspolitik in Preußen und im Kaiserreich 1882–1907: das ‘System Althoff’." In *Bildungspolitik in Preußen zur Zeit des Kaiserreichs*, edited by Peter Baumgart, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980; Idem, "Von der Wissenschaftsverwaltung zur Wissenschaftspolitik. Friedrich Althoff (19.2.1839 – 20.10.1908)." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 11 (1988): 1-26; Klinge, Matti, "Teachers." In *A History of University in Europe. Vol. 3. Universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1800-1945)* edited by Walter Rüegg, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 123-162, here 135-138; Bruch, Rüdiger vom, *Gelehrtenpolitik, Sozialwissenschaften und akademische Diskurse in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, esp. 205-220; for the international relations see Höflechner, Walter, "Zum Einfluss Des Deutschen Hochschulwesens auf Österreich in den Jahren 1875-1914," and Wendel, Günther, ""Aktivitäten Althoffs zum »Wegenetz europäischen Geistes«. Die Einbeziehung ost- und südosteuropäischer Universitäten in das »System Althoff«." In *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Wissenschaftspolitik im Industriezeitalter. Das „System Althoff“ in Historischer Perspektive*, edited by Bernhard vom Brocke, Hildesheim: Lax, 1991, 155-183 and 123-154.

⁹⁹ Exemplary for influence of Althoff on disciplinary development and his techniques see Ash, Mitchell G., "Academic Politics in the History of Science: Experimental Psychology in Germany, 1879-1941." *Central European History* 13, no. 3 (1980): 255-286.

The second type of academic hierarchy is – to use the metaphor of Finnegan – the one in situ, the professional stratification of university positions.¹⁰⁰ The question of transition between *Privatdozent* and full professor is influenced differently – one could call attention to the cultural issues (religion, nationality), contacts and networks of support, previously mentioned ministerial influence, and finally ephemeral ‘scientific excellence.’¹⁰¹ These factors are largely interwoven and in the particular case of the Habsburg Empire, in which the faculty proposed scholars to be appointed in *terna*, the idea of scientific excellence was dependent on questions not only of which, whose, for whom and against whom, but also on how – that is, how to argue for the choice to the Ministry, which had the right to change the order of the list or even to propose a scholar not mentioned in it.¹⁰² It would therefore be gullible to think that excellence was a culturally invariable category enabling access to higher positions. While there was a certain correlation between academic productivity and professional progress, it was also true that an academic position enabled excellence (measured by e.g. publications, cultural capital, school-building) in the first place. Academic instructors, as mentioned in countless studies, underwent as well a transition from a (more or less) hermetic family-university or province-university, entering the wider networks with elitist aspirations of topping the societal hierarchy, which included self-defining conditions of entry to this profession.¹⁰³ Although one

¹⁰⁰ From theoretical approaches to relation between academic hierarchies and scholarly development see for example Bourdieu, Pierre, "The specificity of the scientific field and the social conditions of the progress of reason." *Social Science Information* 14, no. 6 (1975): 19-47; Idem, *Homo academicus*. Translated by Bernd Schwibs. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988; Galtung, Johan, "Struktur, Kultur und intellektueller Stil. Ein vergleichender Essay über sachsonische, teutonische, gallische und nipponische Wissenschaft." *Leviathan* 11 (1983): 303-338;

¹⁰¹ On the Habsburg policy as examples: Müller, Albert, "Grenzziehungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft: Habilitationsverfahren 1900-1950 (am Beispiel der Universität Wien)." In *Soziologische und historische Analysen der Sozialwissenschaften (=Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderband 5)*, edited by Christian Fleck, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000, 287-307; Fleck, Christian, *Rund um »Marienthal«. Von den Anfängen der Soziologie in Österreich bis zu ihrer Vertreibung*. Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989; Preglau-Hämmerle, Susanne, *Die politische und soziale Funktion der österreichischen Universität : von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1986.

¹⁰² On the appointment policy see Kolář, Pavel, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Zentraleuropa. Die Universitäten Prag, Wien und Berlin um 1900*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2008; see also on this topic Urbanitsch, Peter, "Zur "Peregrinatio academica" von Wiener und Prager Professoren in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts." In *Magister noster. Sborník statí věnovaných in memoriam prof.PhDr. Janu Havráňkovi, CSc. / Festschrift in memoriam Prof.PhDr. Janu Havráňek, CSc.*, edited by Michal Svatoš, Luboš Velek and Alice Velková, Praha: Karolinum, 2003, 297-314 and Grodziski, Stanislaw, "Le rôle de l'université de Lemberg dans la vie scientifique de la monarchie des Habsbourg." *Études danubiennes* 4, no. 1 (1988): 29-39, here 33 and 36.

¹⁰³ See esp. Ringer, Fritz K., *The decline of the German mandarins: the German academic community*,

could say that this was to a lesser extent due to different historic conditions of institutional esteem, this intersection between social and intellectual hierarchies was visible in the Habsburg Monarchy as well – for example in the Jewish question, which was defined in the famous book of Theodor Billroth as a social-cultural phenomenon. Similar social order debates over the openness of the academy were fought with respect to women's admittance as students and later as instructors.¹⁰⁴

As far as the Monarchy is concerned, a wide range of analyses of networks at individual universities shows the influence of cultural and political factors in appointments, and the subject has been the topic of manifold works ranging from those concerned with individual faculties or disciplines to universities in their entirety.¹⁰⁵ Tatjana Buklijas, for instance, has shown how the appointment policy in anatomy intertwined with demarcations between 'Austrian' and 'German' scientific

1890-1933. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969; Charle, Christophe, *La république des universitaires*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 1994,

¹⁰⁴ To my knowledge there are no comparative studies on this topic and no consistent analysis of the debates across the Monarchy or questionnaires, which were sent several times by the Ministry to all academies bringing interesting parallels (although were never univocally answered by the faculties). For the overview on the debates of this time from Czech, Polish and Austrian perspective see Hulewicz, Jan, *Sprawa wyższego wykształcenia kobiet w Polsce w wieku XIX*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1939; Steibl, Maria, "Die Universität als "Vorschule für die verschiedenen Berufszweige des männlichen Geschlechts" (1877). Darstellung von Problemen des Frauenstudiums auf der Grundlage bisher unveröffentlichter Dokumente der Universität Innsbruck (19. Jahrhundert)." *Tiroler Heimat* 50 (1987): 219-248; Heindl, Waltraud, and Martina Tichy, eds. *Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück ... "Frauen an der Universität Wien (ab 1897)* Wien: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1993; Perkowska, Urszula, *Studentki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1894-1939 : w stulecie immatrykulacji pierwszych studentek*. Kraków: Secesja, 1994; Kernbauer, Alois, and Karin Lienhart-Schmidlechner, eds. *Frauenstudium und Frauenkarrieren an der Universität Graz*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1996; Благий, Василь, "Студентки Львівського університету в 1897-1914 роках." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 33 (1998): 132-138; Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller, Birgit, and Sonia Horn, eds. *Töchter des Hippokrates. 100 Jahre akademische Ärztinnen in Österreich*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Ärztekammer, 2000; Suchmiel, Jadwiga, *Działalność naukowa kobiet w Uniwersytecie we Lwowie do roku 1939* Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo WSP, 2000; attitude to woman aducation in the Czech circles are also broadly discussed in Malinská, Jana, *Do politiky prý žena nesmí - proč?: vzdělání a postavení žen v české společnosti v 19. a na počátku 20. století*. Praha: Libri, 2005.

¹⁰⁵ One can here sustain the remark of Georg Iggers on the catalogue-resemblance of most books in which the analytic part is mostly way behind the transcription of archival records and biographic information – at the same time the function of history of science particularly in Austria is linked with university archives whose function it is precisely to provide information not analysis; at the same time one can mention lack of such publications in Czech, Polish and Ukrainian based on sources or (re)publishing them, and abundance of ideology-concerned studies in which the social component of university policy is largely omitted. (For critique, which I extended here from particular to general: Iggers, George G., "[Rev.] Walter Höflechner, Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Graz, 1729-1848. In Publikationen aus dem Archiv der Universität Graz, Vol. III. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975. Pp. xi, 155." *Austrian History Yearbook* 14 (1978): 317-318.)

traditions and religious issues;¹⁰⁶ Pavel Kolář has analyzed the structural differences between historical disciplines at the universities in Vienna, Prague and Berlin and their influence on disciplinary innovation.¹⁰⁷ Józef Buszko hinted at the persistence of conservative Catholic ideology at the Jagiellonian University reproduced by the appointments.¹⁰⁸ Manifold studies were also concerned with the appointment policy of Leo Thun-Hohenstein, minister for Religion and Education (1849-1860), analyzing how his conservative-Catholic (and one could add non-national) approach changed universities and education in general across the monarchy, with opinions ranging from emphasizing rapid modernization which enabled the Monarchy's catching up with Germany to critics of ideological constraints.¹⁰⁹ Many studies have also traced how national conflicts in the faculties influenced appointments, for example, the German-Czech conflict in Prague,¹¹⁰ the Jagiellonian University during neo-

¹⁰⁶ Buklijas, Tatjana, *Dissection, discipline and urban transformation: anatomy at the University of Vienna, 1845–1914*, Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge, 2005; see also Seebacher, Felicitas, "Freiheit der Naturforschung!" *Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule: Wissenschaft und Politik im Konflikt*, *Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Mathematik und Medizin* 56 Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2006.

¹⁰⁷ Kolář, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Zentraleuropa*.

¹⁰⁸ Buszko, Józef, *Spoleczno-polityczne oblicze Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie autonomii galicyjskiej (1869-1914)*. Kraków Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963.

¹⁰⁹ Most thoroughly although analyzing only materials from Austrian archives Zikulnig, Adelheid, *Restrukturierung, Regeneration und Reform. Die Prinzipien der Besetzungspolitik der Lehrkanzeln in der Ära des Ministers Leo Graf Thun – Hohenstein*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graz University 2002; see also Lentze, Hans, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962; Lhotsky, Adolf, "Das Ende des Josephinismus. Epilegomena zu Hans Lenzes Werk über die Reformen des Ministers Grafen Thun." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 15 (1962): 526-549; Eggmaier, Herbert H., "Graf Thun und das Rechtsstudium an den oberitalienischen Universitäten Padua und Pavia " In *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes. Festgabe für em.o.Univ.-Prof. Dr. Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag* edited by Othmar Pickl, Herwig Ebner and Alfred Ableitinger, Graz: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1997, 107-118; Leitner, Rainer, "Das Reformerwerk von Exner, Bonitz und Thun: Das österreichische Gymnasium in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts - Kaderschmiede der Wiener Moderne." In *Zwischen Orientierung und Krise. Zum Umgang mit Wissen in der Moderne*, edited by Sonja Rinhofner-Kreidl, Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1998, 17-69; Mazohl, Brigitte, "Universitätsreform und Bildungspolitik. Die Ära des Ministers Thun-Hohenstein (1849-1860)." In *Nachklänge der Aufklärung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Für Werner M. Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus Müller-Salget and Sigurd Paul Scheichl, Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2008, 129-149.

¹¹⁰ For example Seibt, Ferdinand, ed. *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern*, München: R. Oldenbourg, 1984; Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Budování klinických pracovišť české lékařské fakulty v době rozdělení pražské univerzity. I. Jazyková otázka na lékařské fakultě před rozdělením university." *Sborník lékařský* 85, no. 2 (1983): 59-64; Idem, "Budování klinických pracovišť české lékařské fakulty v době rozdělení pražské univerzity. II. Snahy o vybudování českých klinických pracovišť před rozdělením univerzity." *Sborník lékařský* 85, no. 4 (1983): 110-115; see also Hamann, Brigitte, "Anton Gindely – ein altösterreichisches Schicksal." In *Nationale Vielfalt und gemeinsames Erbe*

absolutism,¹¹¹ the question of Italian¹¹² and Ladin¹¹³ scholars in Innsbruck, Ukrainian scholars in L'viv,¹¹⁴ and also the discrimination of Jewish scholars across the monarchy towards nationalist (including German-national *Seilschaften*),¹¹⁵ although mostly on a case-by-case basis.

Apart from the question of *othering* and division, the question of intercultural communication in antagonizing society has been raised concerning the question of how the nationally defined scientific communities interacted. An overview of the historiography on scholarly transfers illustrates (or confirms) the prevalence of commonly acknowledged centers and the communicational architecture of the northern-tendency and western-dominance.¹¹⁶ Such studies – disciplinary analyses or

in Mitteleuropa. Vorträge anlässlich der Verleihung des Anton-Gindely-Preises für Geschichte der Donaumonarchie, edited by Erhard Busek and Gerald Stourzh, Wien, München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Oldenbourg, 1990, 27-37; on the question of student's proportions see Cohen, Gary B., "Education and Czech Social Structure in the Late Nineteenth Century." In *Bildungsgeschichte, Bevölkerungsgeschichte, Gesellschaftsgeschichte in den Böhmisches Ländern und in Europa. Festschrift für Jan Havránek zum 60. Geburtstag* edited by Hans Lemberg, Litsch Karel, Richard Georg Plaschka and Györgi Ránki, Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1988, 32-45.

¹¹¹ See the introductory notes in Perkowska, Urszula, *Kształtowanie się zespołu naukowego w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim (1860-1920)*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975; Michalewska, Krzysztofa, "Habilitation w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1848-1918." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne. Zeszyt 12 LXXI* (1963): 79-133, esp. 81-85.

¹¹² Discussed for example in Bösch, Andreas, *Zwischen Franz Joseph I. und Schönerer. Die Universität Innsbruck und ihre Studentenverbindungen 1859-1918, Philosophische Dissertation*. Innsbruck, 2004; Ara, Angelo, "Le problème de l'université italienne en Autriche (1866-1914)." *Études danubiennes* 3, no. 2 (1987): 157-168.

¹¹³ Videsott, Paul, "Jan Batista Alton und die Besetzung der romanistischen Lehrkanzel in Innsbruck 1899. Quellen zur Geschichte der Romanistik an der Alma Mater (Enipontana)." *Ladinia* 32 (2008): 51-107.

¹¹⁴ Качмар, Володимир Михайлович, *Проблема українського університету у Львові в кінці XIX-на початку XX ст.: суспільно-політичний аспект*. Львів: Львівський держ. ун-т ім. Івана Франка., 1999; Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*; Michalewska, Krzysztofa, "Sprawa uniwersytetu ukraińskiego w latach 1848-1918." *Studia historyczne* 27, no. 1 (1984): 35-60; (short version of a doctoral thesis at the Jagiellonian University, accessible in the AUJ, Dokt 120/74).

¹¹⁵ Kisch, Guido, *Die Prager Universität und die Juden, 1348-1848. Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Medizinstudiums*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1969; Barycz, Henryk, "Szymon Askenazy. Wśród przeciwności i niepowodzeń życiowych i naukowych." In *Na przełomie dwóch stuleci. Z dziejów polskiej humanistyki w dobie Młodej Polski*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977; Gehler, Michael, "Studentischer Antisemitismus an der Universität Innsbruck." In *Die Geschichte der Juden in Tirol von den Anfängen bis in die neueste Zeit (Sturzflüge, Nr. 15/16, Mai-August)*, edited by Günther Pallaver, Bozen, 1986, 73-87; Oberkofler, Gerhard, *Samuel Steinherz (1857-1942). Biographische Skizze über einen altösterreichischen Juden in Prag*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2008.

¹¹⁶ For older but still viable assessments see Dybiec, Julian, "Rozwój badań nad stosunkami naukowymi polsko-austriackimi w latach 1945-1990." *Studia historyczne* 33, no. 3-4 (130-131) (1990): 479-492; Bieńkowski, Wiesław, "Uniwersytet Jagielloński w latach 1870-1914 i jego kontakty z nauką austriacką." *Studia historyczne* 33 (1990): 225-234; Höflechner, Walter, "Zum Einfluss Des Deutschen Hochschulwesens auf Österreich in den Jahren 1875-1914." In *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Wissenschaftspolitik im Industriezeitalter. Das „System Althoff“ in Historischer Perspektive*,

biographically based – were, for example, conducted for history of art,¹¹⁷ medicine, classical philology,¹¹⁸ law,¹¹⁹ philosophy etc. On the other hand, scholars have often accentuated the shifting of mobility and transfers from a Habsburg-centered to a more pluralistic and differentiated – but still westward oriented structure.¹²⁰ On one hand the shift was explained by the disciplinary traditions of Prussian excellence (e.g. in historiography or classic philology)¹²¹, tendencies among institutions to award scholarships towards heterogenization,¹²² an anti-German French tradition,¹²³ or simply because, as in the case of Polish-language scholars, scholars were educated or appointed from three empires that diversified their educational background. Another branch of research is also the interaction within the German and Slavic communities,

edited by Bernhard vom Brocke, Hildesheim: Lax, 1991, 155-183; Fischer, Holger, and Ferenc Szabdváry, "Vorwort." In *Technologietransfer und Wissenschaftsaustausch zwischen Ungarn und Deutschland. Aspekte der historischen Beziehung in Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, edited by Eidem, München: R. Oldenbourg, 1995, 7-13.

¹¹⁷ Małkiewicz, Adam, "Historia sztuki w Polsce a 'wiedeńska szkoła historii sztuki'." *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 16 (1987): 331-336.

¹¹⁸ Eglmaier, Herbert H., "Jan Kvičala, česka škola klasické filologie a předpoklady jejího rozvoje z hlediska rakouské školské politiky. Kvičalova akademická dráha až do jeho jmenování mimořádným profesorem v r. 1859." *AUC-HUCP* 26, no. 1 (1988): 37-49.

¹¹⁹ Brauner, Wilhelm, "Österreich Beitrag zur Rechtskultur." In *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften. Band 3.2. Menschliches Verhalten und gesellschaftliche Institutionen: Wirtschaft, Politik und Recht* edited by Karl Acham, Wien: Passagen, 2000, 405-446.

¹²⁰ Mandlerová, Jana, "K zahraničním cestám učitelů vysokých škol v českých zemích (1888-1918)." *DTV* 4 (1969): 232-246; Nastasă, Lucian "Le rôle des études à l'étranger dans la carrière des professeurs d'université roumains (1878-1944)." In *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris), Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Hg.), L'enseignement des Elites en Europe Centrale. 19e-20e siècle*, edited by Victor Karady and Mariusz Kulczykowski, Cracovie: Księgarnia Akademicka, 1999, 159-158.

¹²¹ Lundgreen, Peter, "Die Universität Lemberg und ihre Historiker (1784-1914). Eine vergleichende Perspektive zur deutschen und österreichischen Entwicklung." *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 8 (2005): 157-183; Svatoš, Michal, "Univerzitní působení filologa Josefa Krále." *AUC-HUCP* 22, no. 2 (1982): 65-108.

¹²² Nedza, Maria Julita, *Polityka stypendialna Akademii Umiejętności w latach 1878-1920. Fundacje Gałęzowskiego, Pileckiego i Oslawskiego, Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii Nauki, Oświaty i Techniki. Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki Tom 71*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973.

¹²³ Hnilica, Jiří, "Kulturní a intelektuální výměna mezi Čechami a Francií 1870-1925." *AUC-HUCP* 45, no. 1-2 (2005): 95-126; Erdődy, Gábor, "Die Rolle der internationalen Wissenschaft in Otto Hermanns Lebenswerk." In *Nation und Nationenbildung in Österreich-Ungarn 1848-1938. Prinzipien und Methoden*, edited by Endre Kiss and Justin Stagl, Wien: LIT, 2006, 41-58; the stereotypes of French and German has been analysed also by Cracow historian Julian Dybiec in several publications, e.g. Dybiec, Julian, "Dziewiętnastowieczne podróże do Francji i tworzenie się stereotypu francuskiego w Polsce." In *Nauka i oświata a społeczność lokalne na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Adamowi Massalskiemu w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Wiesław Caban, Ewa Kula and Cezary Jastrzębski, Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, 2003, 19-28; Idem, "Prześladowca i nauczyciel. Niemcy w nauce i kulturze polskiej 1795-1918." In *Literatura, kulturoznawstwo, uniwersytet. Księga ofiarowana Franciszkowi Ziębie w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Bogusław Dopart, Jacek Popiel and Marian Stala, Kraków: Universitas, 2005, 455-468.

ranging from German-Austrian relations,¹²⁴ Czech-Polish¹²⁵ contacts, the influence of Czechs on Bulgarian or Croatian¹²⁶ scholarship, the influence of the Kiev-school of historiography or the broader scientific culture of the Russian Empire on Galicia¹²⁷ – not including the manifold case studies of migrating scholars. Studies of student migration and mobility can be situated in this vein, which similarly point to the polycentrality and a preponderance of German-speaking institutions,¹²⁸ while accentuating the growing division of academic cultures into nationally-codified student circles and

¹²⁴ E.g. Höflechner, "Zum Einfluss Des Deutschen Hochschulwesens auf Österreich in den Jahren 1875-1914."

¹²⁵ Janko, Jan, and Irena Jasiukowa-Stasiewicz, eds. *K dějinám československo-polských vědeckých styků* (= *Práce z dějin přírodních věd* 25). Praha, 1989; Žáček, Václav, "Přispěvky Jagiellonské a Karlovy University Národním, Politickému a Revolučnímu hnutí Čechů a Poláků v XIX Století." *AUC-HUCP* 5, no. 1-2 (1964): 173-210; Baron, Roman, "Z kontaktów polskich i czeskich historyków u progu nowoczesnej historiografii." In *Naród - państwo, Europa Środkowa w XIX i XX wieku : studia ofiarowane Michałowi Pułaskiemu w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej* edited by Artur Patek and Wojciech Rojek, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006, 211-220.

¹²⁶ Petr, Jan, "Přínos Univerzity Karlovy k rozvoji slovanské jazykovědy na univerzitě Klimenta Ochridského v Sofii od doby jejího založení do současnosti." In *Práce z dějin slavistiky XIII*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1989, 7-41; Bečvářová, Martina, "Czech Mathematicians and Their Role in the Development of National Mathematics in the Balkans." In *Mathematics in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Budapest on August 1, 2009 during the XXIII ICHST*, edited by Idem. and Christa Binder, Praha: Matfyzpress, 2010, 9-31.

¹²⁷ E.g. Киян, Володимир Антонович; Зашкільняк, Леонід, "Наука." In *Історія Львова. У трьох томах, т. 2*, edited by Ярослав Ісаєвич et. al, Львів: Центр Європи, 2007, 353-371 – the financial support from the Russian Empire was especially vital for the ukrainophiles.

¹²⁸ See for example two volumes of *Wegenetz europäischer Geistes* published by Richard Georg Plaschka and Karlheinz Mack in Vienna in 1987/1990 and for theoretical perspectives Karady, Victor, "La migration internationale d'étudiants en Europe, 1890-1940." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145, no. décembre (2002): 47-60; Idem, "Les logiques des échanges inégaux. Contraintes et stratégies à l'oeuvre dans les migrations d'étudiants en Europe avant les années 1930." In *Universitäten als Brücken in Europa. Studien zur Geschichte der studentischen Migration*, edited by Rüdiger Peter Hartmud and Natalia Tikhonov, Frankfurt, Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2003, 17-34; for case studies of rather general sort; Kulczykowski, Mariusz, ed. *Peregrination academiques : 4ème Session scientifique internationale : Cracovie 19-21 mai 1983*. Warszawa: PWN, 1989 ; Molik, Witold, *Polskie peregrynacje uniwersyteckie do Niemiec : 1871-1914*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1989; Бардах, Юлиуш et. al, ed. *Польские профессора и студенты в университетах России (XIX - начало XX в.)*. Варшава: Upowszechnianie Nauki Oświata "UN-O", 1995; Brzeziński, Tadeusz, *Polskie Peregrynacje po dyplomy lekarskie (od Średniowiecza po odzyskanie niepodległości w 1918 r.)*. Warszawa Retro-Art, 1999; Karady, Victor, "Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg." In Lemberg, Litsch, Plaschka, Ránki (eds.), *Bildungsgeschichte, Bevölkerungsgeschichte, Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 177-207; Mészáros, Andor, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai egyetemeken 1850-1918*. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2001; Андреев, Андрей Юрьевич, *Русские студенты в немецких университетах XVIII – первой половины XIX в.* Москва: Знак, 2005; Fata, Maria, Gyula Kurucz, and Anton Schindling, eds. *Peregrinatio Hungarica : Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert ; [internationale Tagung an der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 17.-18. Oktober 2003]*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006. I am not aware of larger prosopographic studies on Czech or Ukrainian students in the 19th century apart from singular works on national organizations at different universities (see from the quoted volumes esp. Plaschka/Mack and Kulczykowski), which hint toward sociability but do not allow any systematic trend research.

societies.¹²⁹ Division, with few exceptions, is a recurring picture, especially when scholarship in the boundary regions is concerned.¹³⁰

The picture of dependence and change – often infused with idea of belatedness (of Slavs vs. Germans and in general Habsburg Empire facing Prussia) – would be all too easy to accept; similarly, the reasons for imagined and socially codified dependence(s) seem clearly related to politically caused belatedness, be it through the restrictive policies of Metternich or German-based imperialism in general. This picture begins, however, by axiomatizing “Germany” (which often means Prussia or more precisely an epitomized Berlin) and its development as a model to be followed. Moreover, such images follow the presentist view of scientific development, which, it should be kept in mind, was the result of the acceptance of certain development patterns. If science, as is commonly claimed, is a culture, this raises the question of the social and cultural causes for otherness and distinctiveness, together with the question of how to define the two abovementioned categories. Moreover, scholarly transfers are not simply taking a ‘blackboxed’ knowledge and transplanting it to a new location, but engaging in a mediation which affects all actors involved.¹³¹ The mediation between the local and that which is transferred thus reveals the societal

¹²⁹ See the articles in Plaschka/Mack, and exemplary Petritsch, Wolfgang, *Die slovenischen Studenten an der Universität Wien (1848-1890)*. Unpublished dissertation at the Philosophical Faculty, Vienna University, Vienna, 1972; Ergetowski, Ryszard, *Studenckie organizacje Polaków na Uniwersytecie Lipskim w latach 1872-1919*. Wrocław, Gdańsk et al: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982; Nowak, Ewa, *Polska młodzież w Austrii w XIX i XX wieku : migracje, edukacja, stowarzyszenia*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2007; not migrational but similarly sustaining the idea of divisions in cultural life are the examples of the Jewish students, see e.g. Pešek, Jiří, "Jüdische Studenten an den Prager Universitäten 1882-1939." In *Franz Kafka im sprachnationalen Kontext seiner Zeit. Sprache und nationale Identität in öffentlichen Institutionen der böhmischen Länder*, edited by Marek Nekula, Ingrid Fleischmann and Abrecht Greule, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007, 213-227; for the interesting case of Bukovina (which could be observed in L'viv as well) see contrasting views in Trebici, Vladimir, "Relațiile dintre societățile studentești române și germane de la Universitatea din Cernăuți ca model de înțelegere interetnică (1875–1938)." *Analele Bucovinei* 4, no. 2 (1997): 281–286; Дутчак, Інна Григорівна, "Участь українського студентства Буковини в загальноукраїнському студентському русі в другій половині XIX - на початку XX ст." *Питання історії України. Збірник наукових статей* 4 (2000): 273-278.

¹³⁰ See for example Schroubek, Georg R., "Isolation statt Kommunikation. Forschungsinteressen der deutschen und der tschechischen Universitäts-Volkskunde in Prag." In *Georg R. Schroubek. Studien zur böhmischen Volkskunde. Hrsg. und eingel. von Petr Lozoviuk*, Münster, New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann, 2008, 141-163. A great exception concentrating on largely ignored contacts is Vodrůzková-Pokorná, Lenka, *Die Prager Germanistik nach 1882. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lebenswerkes der bis 1900 an die Universität berufenen Persönlichkeiten*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.

¹³¹ See the theoretical deliberations in Espagne, *Les transferts culturels* and Ash, Mitchell G., "Wissens- und Wissenschaftstransfer – Einführende Bemerkungen." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 29 (2006): 181–189

construction of cultures linked through such transfers.¹³² Notwithstanding the pluralization of perspectives that can be achieved through a new focus away from the traditional objects of inquiry,¹³³ the concept of space used here helps to describe internal differentiation without neglecting structural and cultural differences, allowing to (re)define the centrifugality and centripetality of the cultural imagination in and of the Empire.

1.5. Overview of the Chapters

The first chapter of this work examines broadly the development of the pre-1848 scientific infrastructure, thus beginning with the conceptual analysis of the defining and positioning of language and nation as categories dominant in the nineteenth century. In the atmosphere of the rupture between the Enlightenment and romanticism, language is situated within the pivotal category of scientific production but also as a category of *othering*, not only among nationalists, but as the sermons of Bolzano pointed out, within the public discourse as well. Nationalisms, differences notwithstanding, codified folk languages as the purest form and thus epistemologically required, defining willingly or unwillingly the geographical scope of the imagined nation itself. The replacement of Latin at the end of the eighteenth century by German and Polish (the latter announced but unrealized for political reasons) as imperial languages, that is, languages that would enable communicational functioning or opposition to their functions, introduced the arguments used a century later as well.

Scholarship of the Habsburg Monarchy prior to 1848 is usually described as a victim of the Metternich system of oppressive censorship. This view lacks a flexible perspective, as the universities were certainly not the primary component of scientific networks; rather it was museums or state cabinets that were privileged places of knowledge production at the time. A short look at the development of scholarship at this time gives more insight as to how it was possible to recruit scholars for the philosophical faculties newly introduced after 1848 and who apart from human sciences were mostly Habsburg-educated instructors. At the same time several

¹³² See exemplary for such flexible perspective Fleck, Christian, *Transatlantische Bereicherungen. Die Erfindung der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2007.

¹³³ For this claim for the historiography of empires see Csáky, Moritz, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2010.

important scientific trends – like the prevalence of natural law and imperial historiography – establish a scientific tradition in the humanities which would later be contested in the process of the post-1848 proclaimed modernization of academia, but remained influential beyond the revolution.

The reduction of institutional diversity and the move towards a model of the Philosophical Faculty is the topic of the second chapter. The so called Thun-Exner reform as a mediation between Habsburg ideological currents which often stay in blatant contrast created an institution which would later be detrimental for the Empire. Humanistic disciplines were cornerstones in the process of the cultural revival proposed by Herbart and held sway over Exner and the Bolzano-influenced Thun. This changed the profile of university education: while universities had been higher vocational schools in the *Vormärz*, the implementation of an organic cultural-educative paradigm with universities as pivotal institutions in the educational processes paved the way for the cultural conflicts which characterized the late nineteenth century. A strong humanistic alignment induced a shift in the function universities had in the public sphere; they became the main producers of cultural norms, which, as culture became more and more nationally codified, led to conflicts over the language of instruction and more generally over the identity of institutions.

Linguistic disintegration began in fact already in 1848, as lectures in national languages were allowed at the university, and appointments prior to Thun's tenure included scholars working within the national framework. Thun – on whom the next chapter concentrates – was however as minister heavily influenced by several scholars whose impact on the academic culture after 1848 is hard to be overestimated. Alexander Helfert and Pavel Jozef Šafárik, Catholic-conservative historians, and Prague Archbishop Friedrich Schwarzenberg were pivotal in the implementation of humanistic sciences, which were to strengthen the loyalist national emotions of unity in ideological diversity. Ideology was pivotal in most appointments, which for human sciences largely included carefully chosen scholars from the non-Austrian German Confederation. In contrast, natural sciences and philosophy (joined in one discipline with pedagogy and ethics), which similarly entered the universities, were based on Habsburg scholars, as was medicine, a field in which continuity prevailed over reforms. At the same time though, modernization was contested, for example, from conservative circles, fearing the negative moral influence of Protestant scholars or the ravaging materialism coming from Germany. With increasing counter-revolutionary

sentiment in the government, structural changes affected universities as well: German – under fuzzy but not directly politically ordered circumstances – returned to its status as the language of education, creating a possible uniform space for knowledge transfer. The mobility of instructors remained limited, however, as political circumstances were clearly taken into consideration in order not to ignite the conflict, and bilingual scholars were clearly promoted to universities with multilingual students. While the long-term outcome of this appointment policy was negative, with many non-Habsburg scholars leaving universities and their positions, and Thun taking a defensive position in the liberal period, the a-nationalistic historiography of Tomek or Walewski or the herbartian philosophy of Zimmermann influenced the Habsburg landscape long into the nineteenth century.

History and philosophy remained closely politically supervised disciplines during the liberal period as well, at which time the autonomy of the universities was largely practiced according to the liberal laws. At the same time, the German-speaking Habsburg universities were increasingly isolated from the German Empire – due both to faculty appointment policy and governmental influence; in most cases when the Ministry violated the *ternas*' order, the nominees were non-Habsburg candidates opposed not only on ideological ground but also simply for financial reasons. The limitation of Habsburg universities' involvement with German Empire networks strengthened their internal hierarchization, however, which, though equalizing on the financial level, was handed down through reproductive practices. On the other hand those processes affected only a limited number of scholars, as the *Privatdozenten* were largely immobile both with respect to geography or their career. The inner differentiation also affected the structure of faculties, with the university in Vienna having the highest percentage of *Privatdozenten* and Innsbruck with a predominance of professors. This was caused by the reciprocity of professorial posts, which were to be created at all universities at once. Notwithstanding additional categories of "... with title of ..." and *ad personam*, reciprocity discriminated against universities with more students (Vienna, later also Czech Prague and Cracow) which accommodated numerous *Privatdozenten* for whom higher posts were rarely available. This also caused scholarly migration from Vienna to smaller universities with fewer young academics, while in turn the capital university appointed prominent scholars – almost exclusively full professors – from the provinces. This policy also resulted in unification of the disciplinary nexus; while most innovations were implemented in

Vienna and Prague, provincial universities were bound to canonical disciplines, which led to professorships only for a limited number of scholars.

The change of direction of appointments is discernible also in Galicia. Instead of resulting in a reservation of professorial ranks for Galicians, this led to an opening of positions towards Polish speakers from the two neighbouring empires, which increased from the 1870s. Cracow and L'viv inscribed themselves largely into the national space thus transgressing the imperial boundaries, with simultaneous rare exchange with germanophone universities in the Monarchy, which was a diametrically different situation than in the 1850s. Prague's Czech University, recruiting its cadres largely anew in 1882 and even earlier through political actions, similarly drew from Bohemian and Moravian institutions with almost no exchange with the rest of the Monarchy. At the same time universities in Prague and Galicia underwent a process of internal inner-faculty differentiation across ideological conflict-lines, which grew stronger towards 1900.

With the ongoing division of academic spaces, religious issues remained a question with which similarly ideologically oriented universities dealt. It was in the first place a question of Jewish scholars, who although admitted as instructors were underrepresented among higher positions. Increasingly frequent anti-Semitism, not seldom violent in Innsbruck, Graz and Prague, inhibited appointments of Jewish scholars from Vienna where numerous *Privatdozenten* were Jewish, creating glass ceilings and 'invisible ghetto walls' in their careers. At the same time the question of Jewishness was redefined from religious to ethnic and cultural categories. While conversions were a possible loophole in legal anti-Semitic policy of the 1850s, the boundaries of the late nineteenth century were more ethnically defined and though for many being Jewish and German was not a contradiction, the populist discourse across the Monarchy tended toward exclusive definitions.

Another example of a unifying feature of the Habsburg academia was the reaction to the Wahrmond Affair of 1907, in which the conservative-Catholic public confronted liberals and socialists over the question of censorship and university autonomy. Student protests all across the monarchy, unifying even the Czech and German students of Prague University for the first time after 1859, are an indicator both of loyalty to political imperial space and of ideological similarities of constitution of academia.

The final part of the dissertation is concerned with the question of scientific transfers pervading Habsburg Space. While the political-linguistic limits to access and the alterations in space described in the previous chapters seriously changed interuniversity mobility, the question emerges, to what extent and in what way was intercultural transfer presented in recent historiography and how could it be analyzed beyond summarizing case-by-case studies or narratives of cultural dependence. This is quite a pervasive picture if one looks to the existing literature, both for ‘German-Slavic’ and ‘German-Austrian’ relations. The chapter thus consciously aims to expose the faint cultural intersections and instead of posing answers to the social question of the reasons for or existence of various dependencies (which as the previous chapters have suggested were largely linked to the power-persistence of hierarchic structures and intercultural mediality of the German language in comparison to other languages in the Monarchy), searches for individualized and exemplified consequences of intercultural intercession. Beginning with the question of the representation of entanglements in the *Jubiläumsschriften*, through the intercultural role of schoolbooks as transmitters of knowledge and ideologies, I then follow the question of influence, but also of acceptance and rejection of migrating intercultural scholars. Three politically engaged scholars – Masaryk, Hrushevsky and Dietl – provide interesting cases, being cultural migrants who influenced national discourse and later became national heroes, but who also antagonized by their otherness. The question of ‘imported nationalism’ is more thoroughly exemplified through national discourses in Bukovina. Romance philologists became important figures for national interests there, but so too did Theodor Gartner influence Ukrainian, Romanian and later also Rhaeto-Romance (Ladinian) discourses, hinting towards the influence of Bukovina’s multicultural-landscape on individual interests. The next parts illustrate more broadly the influence transfer had on scholars who in the later nineteenth century adopted new languages and ‘assimilated’ to the social and cultural life of their new region, with scholars moving to ‘national’ as well as ‘imperial’ universities. Universities in Cracow in L’viv were part of larger linguistic spaces, and the transfers in this direction show – as Hrushevsky’s example had already hinted – the different ideological and political constellations which conflicted upon meeting. The final part engages with the second half of the century in Galicia and Bohemia, questioning common narratives of national divisions. Individual scholarly interest, but also proximity here conveys exchange and influence. Reciprocity exemplified in the

Bohemian case, however, brings into question solidified national and ideological distinctions and shows both nationalizing cultures largely entangled on the academic level.

2. Institutionalising ‘Modernity’: Language, Nation, Science and the Empire

In the nineteenth century, serious changes restructured the scientific environment in Central Europe. National languages were slowly replacing Latin, which had been the lingua franca of the elites and which facilitated communication across cultural and political boundaries. After German was introduced at numerous universities in the lands of the former Holy Roman Empire, Central Europe, an increasingly nationalist landscape, was confronted with the question to what extent this process of nationalization impacted both scientific production and communication. This “cultural incident with tacit, but immense influence”¹ – as Ernst Walter Zeeden characterized the replacement of Latin with vernacular– altered the idea of science as well.² No longer confined to the socially limited circulation Latin allowed, at around the end of the eighteenth century, science began to occupy a place in the public discourse; even if readership of scientific publications still remained exclusive, it grew wider and slowly lost its elitist character.³ While the movement of the sciences into the *agora*⁴ was certainly neither a linear nor uncontested process, the growth of popular scientific publication, popular education (*Volksbildung*) or public debates over science allow one to speak of a growing scientific interest in the communication of scientific discoveries to the public. At the same time, however, the social composition of the student body – the primary addressees and source of recruitment of future scholars – began to shift as the enrolment of middle classes began to outpace that of the aristocracy. The social issues at stake were however only of secondary importance with respect to the introduction of German as scientific language. As the main

¹ Zeeden, Ernst Walter, "Die Freiburger Philosophische Fakultät im Umbruch des 18. Jahrhunderts. Von der thesesianischen Reform bis zum Übergang des Breisgaus an Baden (1805). Ein Stück Universitätsgeschichte." In *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Freiburger Philosophischen Fakultät*, edited by Clemens Bauer, Ernst Walter Zeeden and Hans-Günter Zmarzlik, Freiburg im Breisgau: Albert 1957, 9-139, here 102.

² See also Wögerbauer, Michael, "Vernakularizace – alternativa ke konceptu národního obrození?" *Česká literatura* LVI, no. 4 (2008): 461-490, on the concept of vernacularization.

³ On the elitist character of university education in 18th century cf. Klingenstein, Grete, "Akademikerüberschuss als soziales Problem im aufgeklärten Absolutismus. Bemerkungen über eine Rede Joseph von Sonnenfels aus dem Jahre 1771." In *Bildung, Politik und Gesellschaft*, edited by Grete Klingenstein, Harald Lutz and Gerald Stourzh, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik Wien, 1978, 165-204.

⁴ Nowotny, Helga, Peter Scott, and Michael Gibbons, *Re-thinking science: knowledge and the public in an age of uncertainty*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

proponents of language replacement, Christian Wolff or Christians Thomasius argued, the shift in the language of education was to be an outcome of a scientific program, a 'boundary work', in which 'modern science' (in the vernacular languages) was confronted with Latin's scholastics.⁵ This inner-scientific philosophic debate is thus different from socially and a politically driven project rooted in the interest of the betterment of society, as was the case in nineteenth-century Central Europe. At the same time, these two processes largely intertwined; replacement of Latin by – in this context – German, met with opposition, questioning to which extent this change was adequate in multicultural regions. Argumentation, which grew stronger as higher education and thus also sciences became less elitist.

Coinciding with these developments in the scientific realm, nationalism was slowly but appreciably becoming the driving ideological force behind the cultural processes in the region. In the current work of political scientists, nationalization is presented as a variety of social, political and cultural reconceptions and reorganizations aiming at 'ethnic' or linguistic state uniformity, concluding, however in neither. The cases of Slovakian, Ukrainian or Silesian nationalism illustrate this approach most clearly. However, the nineteenth century witnessed a significant change in the meaning of 'nation' and its importance as subject of history. In the late Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the eighteenth century, for example, the civic nation, cultural nation and ethnolinguistic nation could be called 'Poland'; 'Poles' of these respective projects may have spoken various 'dialects', or in the concept of the cultural aristocratic nation, even languages, although the enforcement of Polish as the language of communication prevailed in the late eighteenth century. Karol Libert spoke in 1848 of nations (*narody*, e.g., the Slavic or German nation) consisting of nationalities (*narodowości*) and tribes (*szczyepy*). Joachim Lelewel wrote of a Polish national entity consisting of "Ukrainians, Kaschubians, Rusyny [Ruthenians – J.S.], Great- and Littlepolans, Lithuanians, Podolians, Samogitians, Masurians, Volhynians and of any piece of former commonwealth", speaking "Lithuanian, Ruthenian and Polish"⁶ an eminently historical and political entity, with Poland being both a state

⁵ Schiewe, Jürgen, *Die Macht der Sprache. Eine Geschichte der Sprachkritik von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Beck, 1998, 86-90.

⁶ Lelewel, Joachim, "Legitimacy of the Polish Nation." In *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770-1945 Vol. 2. National Romanticism. The Formation of National Movements*, edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2006 [1836], 35-41, here 36.

and a linguistic identity – although not synonymously. Ján Kollár spoke at the same time of Slavs as a nation, with different dialects (*Mundarten*) of *Völkerstämme*, drawing parallels with the function High German had for the German nation.⁷ The “Slavic reciprocity” (*slavische Wechselseitigkeit*), pivotal to this conception, was defined by linguistic and ethnic affinities, but was also constituted by contrasting Slavic languages/dialects with German and Hungarian.

One would be too hasty, however, in concluding that the introduction of vernaculars as scholarly tongues and the assurance of their cultural importance abruptly changed modes of scientific production and educational matters. Even the causal relationship between the developments indicated in the title of this chapter and post-1848 nationalist ideologies is largely imaginary, or alternatively, imagined and self-ascribed by historians, populists or politicians seeking to ensure the continuity of nationalist thought or pursuing the condemnation of the *Vormärz* and Josephinism.⁸ Language was becoming a marker of collective cultural distinction, but not automatically of political or cultural separatism. Scientific knowledge in its different forms was largely decentralized, lacking a central site of propagation or diffusion, but with the aristocracy which supported it for self-serving purposes. The state-controlled universities, on the other hand, produced – to use crude functionalism – what the Empire needed and what it was responsible for creating, i.e. skilled physicians, loyal officials and state-conservation ideology.⁹

⁷ Maxwell, Alexander, "Jan Kollár's Literary Nationalism." In Jan Kollár, *Ueber die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation. Reciprocity between the Various Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic Nation. Translated, Edited and with an Introduction by Alexander Maxwell*, Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica Publishers, 2008, 1-68.

⁸ Fillafer, Franz Leander, "The “Imperial Idea” and Civilising Missions." In *Kulturpolitik und Theater in europäischen Imperien: Der Kulturstaat Österreich im internationalen Vergleich*, edited by Philipp Ther and Peter Stachel, München: Oldenbourg, forthcoming.

⁹ On the problematic of the composite monarchy and its forms of fostering patriotism/nationalism see Trencsényi, Balázs, and Márton Zászkaliczky, eds. *Whose Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

2.1. From Vernacular Humanism to Linguistic Nationalism

proprior est [societas] eiusdem gentis, nationis, linguae, qua maxime homines coniunguntur
(Cicero, *De officiis*, I 17, 53)

parmi les gens de science il n'y a pas de mots, il y a des idées
(unknown source, attributed to a French chemist from 19th century)

In *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke speaks of the “second ‘discovery of language’”, focused on its “unity, and linked to the discovery, or, as some scholars prefer to say, the ‘invention’ of nation.”¹⁰ However, the nationalization of language (or more precisely of “langue” in saussurian terms) cannot be regarded exclusively as a political project; the activation of this process is a result rather than a causal agent of scholarly developments. While the marriage of language and nationality remained at the time far from obvious¹¹ – with a complicated and fluid relationship, and with religious and social identities playing an important role – the development of nations and (their) languages was an interdependent process, with a sense of unity emerging only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Miroslav Hroch called the crisis of identity the “dawn of nations,” resulting in a search for new forms of collective identification. As religious legitimacy weakened and feudal and patriarchal bonds were shattered by the revolutionary movements, the nation brought a new form of collective security.¹² One can also say that the existence of imperial projects in Central Europe fostered an exclusive identity, and language was presented in many ways as the criterion of separation. The steadily growing interest in ‘folk’ (as *lud*, *Volk* or *lid*) from the French Revolution onwards, was certainly fostered by socialist and liberal movements, pleading for an ‘organically grown’ society as fundamental to social and cultural development. Based on the ideas

¹⁰ Burke, Peter, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 164.

¹¹ See e.g. Sayer, Derek, "The language of nationality and the nationality of language: Prague, 1780-1920." *Past and Present* 153 (1996): 164 – 210; Kamusella, Tomasz, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe." *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no. 2 (2001): 235-251.

¹² Hroch, Miroslav, "National Romanticism." In *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770-1945 Vol. 2. National Romanticism. The Formation of National Movements*, edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2007, 4-18, here 7; see also on the practical implementation of similar approach to nationality as collective security Заярнюк, Андрій, *Ідіоми емансипації «Визвольні» проекти і галицьке село в середині XIX століття*. Київ: Критика, 2007.

of the French Enlightenment and the increasingly perceived failure of Latin as language communication, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth introduced German and Polish respectively as languages of education and bureaucracy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During the reforms of Maria Theresa in the Habsburg Monarchy, German replaced Latin as the language of instruction in schools and at universities. The primary and secondary school systems were extended after the Jesuit order was deprived of its privileges and dismantled in the monarchy. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Polish language was introduced during the Four Years Diet in the early 1790s as the sole state language. Due to the partitions of the Commonwealth in the late eighteenth century, this change was only partially enforced. Language was perceived not only as a guarantee of the continuity of the state, its homogeneity and its functionality, but equally as a means of social and political disciplinization of political subjects to the monarch, as Rousseau's political theory of state patriotism claimed. At the same time, language functioned symbolically, defining cultural discrepancies and marking cultural distances; depending on the ideological and political position of the arguer, one or the other function was elevated and functionalized in political discourse in support of state, nation, or different conceptions of culture and progress. Thus the universalism of the German language connoted not only the abolition of the culturally and historically independent status of the provinces (as in the case of Hungary and Tirol) and the suppression of revolutionary movements (in Galicia), but also the growing power of the enlightened state (represented by its bureaucracy), which permeated existing hierarchies and threatened the existing social order.

The political writings on Galicia at this time represent this duality of views very clearly: in "Considerations on the Galician Government" (published in German in 1790) the Polish nobility presented the German language as a threat to the political and social welfare of the province, which under the Polish rule allowed peaceful coexistence of peasants and nobility. German-language publications, on the other hand, accentuated the miserable conditions and lack of cultural and social development, but stressed also the linguistic heterogeneity of three culturally distinct groups – Poles, Ruthenians and Jews, emphasizing the interdependence of poverty and linguistic deficiencies.¹³ At the same time Polish could be linked with the

¹³ Wolff, Larry, "Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland."

aristocracy, Catholicism, or enlightenment-driven struggle for emancipation from political oligarchy. In political pamphlets the Polish and German languages were increasingly associated with exclusive 'elements' (*żywioły*), of "Germanentum" and "Slaventum." The languages were culturally valued and described with judgmental opinions, representing respectively the Kingdom of Prussia/Habsburg Empire and the Commonwealth. This movement was reinforced by the popularity of Herder's idea of the nation as an organic, inborn entity, characterized by language and cultural distinctiveness. Both Herder and Rousseau advocated similar measure for national disciplinization – the standardization of the language of education, the universalization of culture, and assimilation, represented though distinct political programs.¹⁴ While Herder advocated the state as a representation of the nation, for Rousseau the nation was fostered through the state – nonetheless, both scholars regarded the cultural uniformity as an indispensable means of ensuring the functionality of the state. In this regard, the popularly used terms of "*Staatsnation*" versus "*Kulturnation*", civic patriotism vs. nationalism, marked different national starting points, but embraced a similar idea of cultural exclusiveness as the culmination of the process. This point is reinforced through the cultural valuation of languages – labeling them merely 'dialects' invoked civilizational backwardness, a lack of culture and social stability. As the state reforms at the end of the eighteenth century (Josephinism, the Commission of National Education) were understood also as civilizing missions; the imposition of language was inextricably linked with cultural domination.

The imposition of language was perceived also as an enforcement of the integration with foreign *Leitkultur*, be it through a central political or religious power. After the partition of the Commonwealth, the turn to the Polish language by the elites meant resuscitating forgone statehood in opposition to new government policy, but the attractiveness of the duality of *gente/natione* expressed in *gente Lituanus, natione Polonus / gente Ruthenum, natione Polonus* was abruptly fading in the crossfire of folk ideologies and the socio-political conditions of the new bourgeoisie.¹⁵ At the

Slavic Review 63, no. 4 (2004): 818-840.

¹⁴ Cf. Wiborg, Susanne, "Political and Cultural Nationalism in Education. The ideas of Rousseau and Herder concerning national education." *Comparative Education* 36, no. 2 (2000): 235-243.

¹⁵ Cf. Magocsi, Paul R., "The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement in Eastern Galicia." In *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont.*, Toronto-London-Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002 [1982], 83-98; Vardys, Vytas Stanley,

same time, this process of linguistic state integration resulted in the growth of patriotic museums (*Landesmuseen*, *vaterländische Museen*), framing the cultural and political individuality of regional estates. This process would take also a turn toward linguistic distinctiveness. The expanding importance of museums in the political processes and the growing interest in the folk, increasingly included in the new form of governance, enabled them to function as representations of both regional patriotism and linguistic nationalism. For example, the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia (*Vaterländisches Museum in Böhmen / Vlastenecké muzeum v Čechách*), with its drive to embrace patriotism, encouraged the national institutionalization of nationalist Czechs.¹⁶ Similarly Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński's project of universal enlightenment, embodied in Ossoliński Scientific Institute in L'viv (*Zakład Naukowy im. Ossolińskich*, also *Zakład Narodowy...*, i.e. *National*), soon became symbol of Polishness and subsequently ethnic national unity in multicultural *Leopolis*.¹⁷ On the other hand, the 'Studium Ruthenum', a Greek-Catholic seminary designed as a successor to the *Barbareum* in Vienna, became not only a forge of Ruthenian priesthood, but was a widely recognized assertion of Ruthenian religious and cultural distinctiveness.¹⁸ In its walls originated for example the *Ruthenian Triad* (*Руська трійця*), although it was not welcomed by the high clergy.

Concerning language, the eighteenth century brought numerous innovations, which greatly influenced the nationalization process, making a 'perfect' language a signum of culture at the personal and collective level. Following Locke and Leibnitz, the precision of language had been linked with the precision of thought and ideas, and although the relation of thought and language remained disputed, the esthetical value of purity both in scholarly work and literature became prominent in the following years. The systematic development of German as a language of science was the first endeavor of its kind in Central Europe, initiated by Leibnitz followers Christian Wolff

Lithuania : the rebel nation. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997, here 16-18.

¹⁶ See Raffler, Marlies, *Museum - Spiegel der Nation? Zugänge zur historischen Museologie am Beispiel der Genese von Landes- und Nationalmuseen in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wien etc.: Böhlau, 2007, 189-246.

¹⁷ Puchalski, Lucjan, "Vom Parnassus Ossolinus zur Nationalschatzkammer. Die Ossolińskie Bibliothek und ihr Gedächtniserbe." In *Speicher des Gedächtnisses. Bibliotheken, Museen, Archive 2: Die Erfindung des Ursprungs – Die Systematisierung der Zeit*, edited by Moritz Csáky and Peter Stachel, Wien: Passagen, 2001, 57-80.

¹⁸ On the importance of priesthood see e.g. Wójtowicz-Huber, Bernadetta, '*Ojcowie Narodu*'. *Duchowieństwo greckokatolickie w ruchu narodowym Rusinów galicyjskich (1867–1918)*. Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: Warszawa, 2008.

and Christian Thomasius.

Christian Wolff's project however was not only philosophically driven, but merged the political objections to Latin as a language of scholastics and to French as political project. The application of German was regarded as a realization of an enlightened version of the popularization of science.¹⁹ Wolff's project of establishing German as the language of education proved to be successful at the level of university education, with a growing number of students and increasing interest in his works. Wolff's project nevertheless denoted the still firm opposition against vernacular scholarship. His enlightened-scholar ideas, forging vertical communication and precision in an articulation on the cost of horizontal universalism in science (and its still strong theological marriage) had great influence in Russia (e.g., through his pupil Mikhail Lomonosov (Михаил Ломоносов)).²⁰ In the germanophone lands, however, it found acceptance only after several decades, having failed in establishing an ideological substance which would allow to emancipate the scholarship from the elitist universalism of *lingua franca*.²¹

The linguistic transformation in scholarship solidified at the moment the understanding of scholarship changed and science became a part of the societal and political betterment process. But at the same time language advanced to be not merely a secondary tool, but philosophy *sensu stricto* through grammar: "it is [a duty] of philosophers to regulate the language as it is for fine writers to fixate it"²² wrote Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert in *Éloge de M. du Marsais* opening the seventh volume of *l'Encyclopédie*. *La genie du langue* and *la genie du nation* became interdependent, or even synonymous. Language, regarded as a signum of civilizational and cultural development, also represented a process of disciplinization, which enabled individuals to become cultural beings. This applied to ethical categories as well, as understood by the eminent theoreticians of language Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Étienne Bonnot de Condillac. Condillac posited that the linguistic perfection – "the genie of language" –

¹⁹ Ricken, Ulrich, "Zum Thema Christian Wolff und die Wissenschaftssprache der deutschen Aufklärung." In *Linguistik der Wissenschaftssprache*, edited by Harald Weinrich and Heinz Leonhard Kretzenbacher, Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995, 41-90, here 53-55.

²⁰ Okenfuss, Max Joseph, *The rise and fall of Latin humanism in early-modern Russia: pagan authors, Ukrainians, and the resiliency of Muscovy*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995, 168-169.

²¹ Schiewe, *Die Macht der Sprache*.

²² Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert, *Éloge de M. du Marsais*, in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1757) quoted after Florczak, Zofia, *Europejskie źródła teorii językowych w Polsce na przełomie XVII i XIX wieku: studia z dziejów teorii języka i gramatyki*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978, 107.

is formed in the folk (peoples), but it did not complete its development without the help of “good writers”.²³ But language, developed and stabilized solely by the “grands écrivains” is conservative; it bears the ideas of political or religious supremacies, which present an obstacle to social reform processes. But on the other hand, the cultural development, “the favorable conditions to growth of geniuses”, in a nation is present only when the language “begins to have fixed principles and a settled character. Such time is an epoch of famous people (grand hommes).”²⁴ And Rousseau wrote in *Émile ou de l'éducation*, that “[t]he Spirit of each language has its peculiar form, and this difference is doubtless partly the cause and partly the effect of national characteristics. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by the fact, that among all the nations of the earth, language follow the vicissitudes of manners, and is preserved pure or is corrupted as they are”²⁵ While there exist universal laws of grammar (*grammaire universelle*), languages became at the same time subject and object of social and cultural improvement, replacing universal Latin through distinctiveness, although still based on universal human principles.

Somewhat different principles evolved among germanophone linguists, with Johann Christoph Adelung, Johann Christoph Gottsched and Johann Gottfried Herder as the main advocates, intrinsically linking language with political, cultural and ethnic distinctiveness. Adelung divided languages according to ‘Völker’ and ‘Stände’, presented languages as historically grown entities in culturally, rather than ethnically, diversified groups (influenced by climate, customs, politics), which were ranked on the basis of the development of the folk culture of each; in Germany he valued High German, which was the self-evident basis for a high culture.²⁶ Adelung bestowed languages with historicity, argued that languages should follow their line of development, rejecting borrowings and be driven by actual use and historical examples, rather than by abstract rules of scholarly grammar. In the introduction to *On the History of German Language (Über die Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache)*,

²³ Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de, *Œuvres complètes de Condillac. t. 1. Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. Paris: Lecointe et Durey, 1822 [1746], 325.

²⁴ Ibid., 326

²⁵ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Émile ou de l'éducation*. Amsterdam: Jean Néaulme, 1762, 262, here after translation Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Rousseau's Émile or Treatise on Education*. Translated by William Harold Payne. London: Appellton & co 1908, 74.

²⁶ Adelung, Johann, "Vorrede." In *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart, mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der oberdeutschen*, Bd.: 1, A - E, edited by Franz Xaver Schönberger, Wien: Ph. Bauer, 1811, IV-VIII.

he revaluated the historicity of language: "Only the German language with its northern sisters knew how to sustain in its old purity, and how to enrich and develop through inner treasures, rather than to borrow from the others. Though in exchange it had to hear more than once a charge of barbaric language called by the lightheaded neighbors."²⁷ Language, as a shared value, linked the aristocracy with the common people, although Adelung promoted strongly a unification of a language of communication, leaving freedom for dialects.

Herder as well rejected the French idea of the perfection of language and moreover objected vehemently to the use of French in various situations as imprecise and aphilosophic, corresponding more with *belles lettres* than scholarship, as too grammatically rigid.²⁸ Language for Herder was more a culturally distinct idiom, which originates from the ordinary people, blossoms among them, and is historically regulated (and limited) by artistic prose. The ideal language, as expressed by preeminent philosophers, achieves its perfection primarily through etymology, a turn to the past and foremost by imitation of spoken idiom. Herder's ethnic understanding of nation, its internalization—rendering the nation not a geographical or political entity, but a community of belief and belonging--rejected top-down nation making and replaced it through a nationalism originating from the folk. In this proposition, language and nation coincided, united through an inborn, natural quality.

The tension between franco- and germanophone theories of language relates to the socio-political climate in which both linguistic models were created, especially in the demarcation process of French and German intellectuals and the rejection of cultural dominance of the French language in the late eighteenth century. *Lingua franca* as a metaphysical and political concept only later recovered from the disinterest of the philosophers, whose attention turned to (re)vitalizing and

²⁷ Adelung, Johann Christoph, *Über die Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache: über Deutsche Mundarten und Deutsche Sprachlehre*. Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1781, 13. Unchanged introduction was included also into Adelung's influential *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache zur Erläuterung der deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen* (Vol. 1. Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1782). The Slavic names for German evoke the barbarity as well, deriving from "the one that cannot speak", similar semiotic construction as barbarum.

²⁸ See on Herder in this context: Adler, Hans, and Wulf Köpke, eds. *A companion to the works of Johann Gottfried Herder*. Rochester, Suffolk: Camden House, 2009; La Vopa, Anthony J., "Herder's Publikum: Language, Print, and Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Germany." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995): 5-24; Loužil, Jaromír, "K zápasu o J. G. Herdera u nás." *Česká literatura* 5 (2005): 637-653; Moroz-Grzelak, Lilla, "Herderowska filozofia dziejów w 'przebudzeniu' narodów słowiańskich." *ΣΟΦΙΑ, Pismo Filozofów Krajów Słowiańskich* no. 6 (2006): 15-26.

establishing 'national' languages. The tension between linguistic universality and particularity is manifested in the debate between Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Georg Sulzer in 1759. Sulzer pleaded for a universal philosophical grammar with which the completeness of language could be measured and dreamt of a common global language similar to mathematics, to facilitate communication. Lessing criticized both ideas for their tendencies to simplify and limit languages. Moreover a universal language would be utterly complicated (in Lessing's figurative theory of language) and elitist, failing thus to fulfill its communicational function.²⁹ Similar deliberations can be found for example in Jędrzej Śniadecki's "On logics and rhetorics" (*O logice i retoryce*), Ruthenian *Alphabet Wars*, or in late-nineteenth-century discussions on the language of science, though these embraced language already from an emotional, politicized viewpoint.

* * *

The language question emerged in Habsburg universities during the Enlightenment, as a result of Gottsched's influence and of the perceived weakness of Latin. The interest in a unified High German, visible for example in the creation of professorships in German language (called *deutsche Beredsamkeit*, *deutsche Wohlredenheit*, *Geschäftsstil* etc.), was motivated both by practical reasons of governance and by the conflict over political primacy within the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the first professor of *deutsche Wohlredenheit* at the Vienna University, Johann Popowitsch / Janez Popovič (1753), an adversary of Gottsched, advanced a conception of 'Austrian German'. Popowitsch not only criticized Leipzig scholars for advocating an unusable, incomplete grammar, which made teaching at schools in German impossible, but also pleaded for Austrian cultural autonomy, based on its history and local conditions.³⁰ Despite his efforts to create a concise dictionary, which could serve as a basis for identity building, the work remained unfinished and unpublished,³¹ failing thus to create basis for communicative language which could suppress High German and serve as a foundation for teaching, and, more importantly, for bureaucracy in the multilingual Empire. It also remains questionable whether

²⁹ Florczak, *Europejskie źródła teorii językowych*, 133-134.

³⁰ Faulstich, Katja, *Konzepte des Hochdeutschen der Sprachnormierungsdiskurs im 18. Jahrhundert*, *Studia linguistica Germanica* 91. Berlin; New York Walter De Gruyter, 2008, 58, 127-128. See also Reutner, Richard, "Zur Geschichte der Bezeichnung »österreichisches Deutsch«." *Zagreber Germanistische Beiträge*, no. 15 (2006): 191-213.

³¹ Writings of Popowitsch were published from 2000 in Vienna by Richard Reutner.

Popowitsch's regionalized language could be accepted for political reasons in a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The political interest in language unification on the basis of German was prominent already in 1750, as Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi read Gottsched's *Sprachkunst* at the Theresianum, making it the *de facto* common bond for the Habsburg nobility. In the 1760s, influential scholar Johann Anton Riegger together with Joseph Sonnenfels, Karl Heinrich Seibt and Wilhelm Bauer created the German Society (*Deutsche Gesellschaft*) in Vienna, whose aim was to facilitate High German as a language of scholarship, arts, administration and court. In his opening speech, Sonnenfels especially underscored the meaning of German for natural sciences and mathematics, and in subsequent writing this argument for the vernacularization of scholarship was repeated, together with calls to reform theatre and administration.³² Scholars originating from the society achieved high academic rank – Sonnenfels was appointed professor for *Polizeywissenschaft* in Vienna, Riegger professor in Freiburg im Breisgau and Seibt professor in Prague.

Riegger, the first professor to teach in German at a Law Faculty in the Monarchy (appointed 1765), pronouncedly introduced German as a language of instruction for the future in his area, Roman law. In his inaugural lecture Riegger stressed the patriotic motives of his decision, stating that through the acceptance of *Landessprache* a scholar can serve the whole state, as he accepts the language as teacher of sciences. "The scholar in his study room" can be compared with soldiers on the battlefield, both serving their nation in patriotic endowment. Though there were also practical reasons: science should concentrate on praxis, teach its pupils to love the subject, "[w]hole pedantry, whole Orbilius' elation, whole school tyranny must be banished from the scholarship"; scholarship – as Riegger assured – should fall into the arms of muses – German language should be based on writings of (Protestant) poets.³³ Nevertheless Latin should not be abandoned – it (that is, the Latin of Cicero, Caesar,

³² Stachel, Peter, "Ein Staat, der an einem Sprachenfehler zu Grunde ging. Die »Vielsprachigkeit« des Habsburgerreiches und ihre Auswirkungen." In *Das Gewebe der Kultur. Kulturwissenschaftliche Analysen zur Geschichte und Identität Österreichs in der Moderne*, edited by Johannes Feichtinger and Peter Stachel, Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2001, 11-45; Van Horn Melton, James, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, e.g. 84-90,

³³ Riegger, Joseph Anton Stephan, *Einleitungsrede in seine akademischen Vorlesungen über die Justinianischen Institutionen* Freyburg i. Br.: Satori, 1765, quoted after Mertens, Dietzer, "Joseph Anton von Riegger (1742-1795) als Erforscher des oberreinischen Humanismus." In *Zwischen Josephinismus und Frühliberalismus: Literarisches Leben in Südbaden um 1800*, edited by Achim Aurnhammer and Wilhelm Kühlmann, Freiburg/B: Rombach, 2002, 613-638.

Terence or Cornelius Nepos) was the basis of cultivated German style, helped the students to learn how to clarify and discipline their thoughts (“Sorgfalt der Gedankenführung”) and taught the style of proper and concise writing.³⁴

Karl Heinrich Seibt, pupil of Christoph Gottsched and Christian Gellert in Leipzig, the first professor to hold lectures in the German language in Prague, stressed that his students should know how “to articulate in German in pure, accurate, graceful and dignified way, [...] to make their knowledge available for practice and benefit to public, and help in this way to aggrandize the number of practical scholars and useful members of state.”³⁵ This vernacularization of language, the increasing importance of state culture, enlightened ideals and, above all, the unifying value of German as a language of teaching, were warmly welcomed by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, who aimed at reorganizing and secularizing the system of education in order to create a well functioning bureaucratic state. In 1770, German replaced Latin and regional languages in schools, and after the liquidation of the Jesuit Order at the universities as well. Whilst subsequent political developments of both the pre- and post-revolutionary periods contested the achievements of Josephinism for differing reasons, the political power of the monarchy became more and more linked with the German language, which had clearly been negatively connoted among the Slavic protonationalists and activists, bringing forth hostile tendencies towards the central power. Even if comprehensive cultural imperialism was not intended, it was seen as such by non-German-speaking nationalists, being coded as antinational (or, in Polish denational – from ‘wynarodowienie’) germanisation.³⁶ The Hungarian and Bohemian (Czech) languages were ranked second and third in the hierarchy of official languages, although their practical value was acknowledged by the establishment of chairs of language and literature at the foremost academies and the appointment of Johann Wenzel Pohl (Jan Václav Pól) as teacher of Czech language for Josef II.

The establishment of German as a central language in the Monarchy remained uncontested for only a short time. The last quarter of the eighteenth century is

³⁴ *De cultu Latini sermonis a iure consulto haud neligendo*, Friburgum Brisgoviae, 1772, quoted. Ibid.

³⁵ Seibt, Karl Heinrich, *Von den Hilfsmitteln einer guten deutschen Schreibart*, Prag 1773, quoted in Wotke, Karl, *Karl Heinrich Seibt: der erste Universitäts-professor der deutschen Sprache in Prag, ein Schüler Gellerts und Gottscheds. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutschunterrichts in Österreich*. Wien: Selbstverlag, 1907, 143.

³⁶ A good example of such simplistic view is Napierała, Piotr, "Konflikt dwóch światów. Tereźjańscy i józefińscy biurokraci w Galicji (1772-1790)." In *Polacy wobec wielości kultur. Wczoraj-dziś-jutro*, edited by Grzegorz Pelczyński and Klaudiusz Święcicki, Gniezno: KMB-DRUK, 2009, 91-102.

characterised by an increase in ‘apologies’ for Slavic languages, aiming at a revaluation of linguistic hierarchies within the monarchic public and political sphere.

The highly acclaimed *Apology of the Czech language against slanderers as well as many countrymen negligent and indolent in the practice of the language* (Obrana gazyka českého proti zlobiwým geho vtrhačům, též mnohým vlastencům, w cwičenj se w něm liknawým a nedbalým sepsaná, 1783) by Karel Thám was written in the same vernacularistic tones as germanophone appellations for abandoning Latin. Thám underscored the importance of Czech (as ‘Nationalsprache’ but this should be understood rather as the provincial language of estates) in administration and the school system and believed that a German-Czech dictionary should be an important step to guarantee Bohemian governmentality. At the same time, in Czech, Thám argued in a very ‘landes-patriotic’ manner, accusing the nobility and freemen of forgetting the language of their “famous ancestors”, and not caring for the purity of language. Czech, which “in terms of completeness and pithiness [...] towers above the other; for, just in our reason rejoices in the fact that it understands and comprehends things like they are in themselves, so, too language, when it expresses things as they naturally occur, such as the natural voice, clamour, [...] seems almost an echo in our ears, by means of which its essence acquires its features and is formed in our minds.”³⁷ And this purity of language meant – in accordance with the humanistic cultural ideals of the time – clarity of thought, which, as pointed out by Seibt for example, was an aesthetic principle. The object of his jealousy and at the same time the symbol of a newly forming linguistically led cultural domination was German, and his orientation toward German ideas can be clearly seen. It was actually Johann Adelung, who wrote the preface to *Thám’s German-Bohemian National Lexicon* (*Deutsch-böhmisches National-lexikon*, 1788), expressing his sympathy for Slav languages. Presenting Czech, as a language, which deteriorated after the time of Charles IV and Rudolf II, when it was developed enough “that almost all sciences could have been lectured in it,”³⁸ Adelung reasserted the historical glory of the

³⁷ Thám, Karel Ignac, *Obrana gazyka českého proti zlobiwým geho vtrhačům, též mnohým vlastencům, w cwičenj se w něm liknawým a nedbalým sepsaná*. Praha: J. F. ze Schönfeldu, 1783, quoted after translation of Derek Paton in Trencsényi, Balázs, and Michal Kopeček, eds. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770-1945 Vol. I. Late Enlightenment - Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2006, 205-209 (title translated as *Apology of the Czech language against slanderers as well as many countrymen negligent and indolent in the practice of the language*).

³⁸ Adelung, Johann, "Vorrede." In Thám, Karl Ignaz, *Karl Thams Deutsch-böhmisches Nationallexikon*,

language and claimed that its perfection could be regained through scholarship.

It was nevertheless Josef Dobrovský, whose argument for the Czech language became the explicit starting point in its 'revival.' In his address to Joseph II 1791, Dobrovský once more stressed the importance of Czech for the functioning of the monarchy, presenting the equal rights of Czech as condition of their loyalty.³⁹ Dobrovský saw Czech only as a dialect (*Mundart*) of Slavonic languages (which included 10 idioms) and saw Slavic mutuality as a key not only to understand language, but also reassess modern politics. His writings – mostly in German – stressed the importance of the development of national language as well as his interest in Czech, and transgressed the boundaries of unengaged patriotism.⁴⁰ Especially in his criticisms of loanwords, he repeatedly warned that imitating German (or Latin) will disrobe Czech of its historicity and make it incomprehensible for the Bohemian people:⁴¹ "When one goes on like this, one will not write Bohemian, but German with Bohemian words."⁴²

Dobrovský's account of the Czech language, however, was never entirely optimistic, as the slavist did not consider the language developed enough for scholarly literature. Similarly, the first professor of Czech literature at the Prague University (1792) Franz Martin Pelzel (František Martin Pelcl), objected to writing his history of Bohemia in Czech and pessimistically perceived the language as doomed to extinction.⁴³ Hailed for his research, Dobrovský was for this reasons mistrusted with respect to his identity and lived his last years in conflict with the young slavist generation "We were mistaken about Dobrovský" – wrote Josef Jungmann on critics of Dobrovský on the authenticity of manuscripts of *Dvůr Králové* and of *Zelená Hora* – "he is not a Czech, but *slavisierender Deutscher*".⁴⁴

Prag, Wien: Schönfeld, 1788, not paginated.

³⁹ Dobrovský, Josef, *Ueber die Ergebenheit und Anhänglichkeit der Slawischen Völker an das Erzhaus Oesterreich*. Prague, 1791.

⁴⁰ E.g. Krueger, Rita, *Czech, German, and noble : status and national identity in Habsburg Bohemia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 105-106.

⁴¹ Cf. Thomas, George, "The Role of Calques in the Early Czech Language Revival." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 56, no. 4 (1978): 481-504.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 494.

⁴³ Kalousek, Joseph, *Geschichte der Königlichen Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften: sammt einer kritischen Übersicht ihrer Publicationen aus dem Bereiche der Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie, aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Jubelfestes der Gesellschaft 1884 in ihrem Auftrage verfaßt von ...* Prag: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1885, 25.

⁴⁴ Jungmann on Dobrovský in a letter to Antonín Markov from 13 February 1823, quoted in Brandl, Vincenc, *Život Josefa Dobrovského*. V Brně: Nákl. Matice Moravské, 1883, 202. Emphasis in original; emphasized text written in German (rest in Czech); more on conflict in Fryščák, Milan,

Dobrovský's impact in Bohemia is not to be underestimated. In his work he proposed the basis of Czech grammar, converted into praxis by Josef Jungmann, František Palacký, Václav Hanka or Václav Matěj Kramerius, and he actively cooperated on Kramerius' journal (*Pražské poštovské noviny*, 1787; from 1791 *Krameriussy c.k. vlastenecké Noviny*), which was the arena of Czech national awakeners at the turn of the century.

It was Josef Jungmann, however, who, with the translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1811), fuelled the Czech linguistic revival through an assertion of the applicability of Czech for high literature. Jungmann, student of Dobrovský, was also the creator of first comprehensive Czech-German dictionary (1834-1839, 5 volumes), active nationalist and translator. His linguistic approach was promoted as early as 1803, and included the merging of language and nation (*národ*). In *On Czech Language* (O jazyku českém) Jungmann depicted a fictional dialogue in which he criticized germanophone participants of the Czech nation. Through this position, described as obviously archaic, the author rejected the traditional link between cultural distinctiveness and social status and proposed instead culturally, that is, linguistically, defined boundaries of a nation (with Czechs, Germans and Jews in Bohemia).⁴⁵ But for him, Czech was at the same time a community of belief, in which only expressed and uncritical nationalism was accepted, as the above quoted words regarding Dobrovský show. Jungmann severely criticized Bohemian cosmopolitanism, that is the national 'uncertainty' of the nobility, and requested they take the lead in Bohemian cultural conflict. And at the same time, he reevaluated languages with respect to their historicity, stating that in the quest for a 'better' literary language, an intense striving for the betterment of the Czech language can outweigh the longer development period of German.⁴⁶ He announced that using national languages augments productivity and only this way can the Czech nationality acquire its place in a European concert of cultures and confront Germans in Bohemia. Jungmann – influenced by Herder⁴⁷ – pleaded also for a pan-Slavic confederation,

"Kopitar and Dobrovský." In *Papers in Slavic Philology 2., To Honor Jernej Kopitar 1780-1980*, edited by Rado L. Lencek and Henry R. Cooper, Ann Arbor, 1982, 41-54, here 51-52.

⁴⁵ Jungmann, Josef, "O jazyku českém." [1803] In *Josefa Jungmanna Sebrané drobné spisy: veršem i prosou*, edited by Národní Bibliotéka, Praha: I. L. Kober, 1873, 3-29.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ For similarities and differences between Herder and Jungmann cf. Stern, J.P., "Language consciousness and nationalism in the age of Bernard Bolzano." *Journal of European Studies* 19 (1989): 169-189.

through which national cultures could find their political and geographical place.

Jungmann established the basis of Czech word formation as well, which rejected accepting loanwords and grammatical constructions, and argued that the accordance of words with historical Czech and the 'spirit of language' should take precedence over the actual use. At the same time, Jungmann did not reject borrowing from Polish and other Slav languages and although, as a final resort, to *Lehnübersetzungen* and *Lehnübertragungen* from German, which he saw indispensable for scholarship.⁴⁸

The publications of Jungmann's followers exhibit a twofold characteristic. National culture should encompass all social strata – from the common people to the nobility. Moreover, it was ultimately the nobility and the new intellectual class that have to learn from the previously underprivileged strata, which was presented as soil of the nation and which has preserved the national culture from early times, protecting it from the damaging influence of cosmopolitanism. Word building was in this approach reoriented towards vernaculars, as was the scholarship it represented – which led in practice to an uncontrolled creation of a large number of short living neologisms and paleologisms;⁴⁹ in the case of scholarly language, this created abundance of synonyms which rather caused chaos in publication than cultural and scientific uniformity which vernacularization was to bring for Czech scholarship and culture.⁵⁰ With a more democratic reorganization of the semantics of 'nation',

⁴⁸ Prior to 1848, the Czech scientific nomenclature (with the rules sketched above) was largely codified through Jungmann and his followers: Josef Presl for chemistry (*Lučba čili chemie zkusná*, Praha 1828-1835) and mineralogy (*Nerostopis čili mineralogie*, Praha 1837), physics by Josef Vojtěch Sedláček (*Základové přírodnictví aneb fyziky a matematiky potažené neboli smíšené*, Praha 1825-1828), astronomy by Josef František Smetana (*Základové hvězdosloví čili astronomie*, Plzeň 1837; *Silozpyt čili fysika*, Praha 1842) and anatomy by Václav Staňek (*Základové pitvy (anatomie)*, Praha 1840). See e.g. Jedlička, Alois, *Josef Jungmann a obrozenská terminologie literárně vědná a jazykovědná*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1948; Orloš, Teresa Wanda, *Polsko-czeskie związki językowe*. Wrocław: PAN; Ossolineum, 1980, esp. 39-44.

⁴⁹ Kolari, Veli, "Notes on Jan Svatopluk Presl as terminologist." *Scando-Slavica* 19, no. 1 (1973): 187 – 195; Batušek, Jaroslav, "Zur Problematik der deutsch-tschechischen Beziehungen im Bereich der Geschichte der tschechischen physikalischen Terminologie." In *Deutsch-tschechische Beziehungen im Bereich der Sprache und Kultur. Aufsätze und Studien II*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek and Rudolf Fischer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968, 85-95; Janko, Jan, and Soňa Štrbáňová, "Uplatnění nového českého přírodovědného názvosloví na českých vysokých školách v průběhu 19. století." In *Misto národních jazyků ve výuce, vědě a vzdělání v Habsburské monarchii 1867-1918 / Position of National Languages in Education, Educational System and Science of the Habsburg Monarchy 1867-1918*, edited by Harald Binder, Barbora Krivohlavá and Luboš Velek, Praha: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2003, 297-312.

⁵⁰ Macura, Vladimír, "Problems and Paradoxes of National Revival." In *Bohemia in history*, edited by Mikuláš Teich, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 182-196, goes so far to call the Czech literature of the time creating its own semiosphere. For a broader context of the

however, scholarship had to abandon its previously exclusive orientation towards the betterment of culture in the abstract and was directed in nationalists' writings towards the practical aim of serving the nation. Presl for example, in the introduction to *Nerostopis, čili, Mineralogia* argued that knowledge, previously limited to the "powerful and learned" (*mohovitých a učených*) should spill over to the folk (*národ*), as the power of nation is not measured among the elite, but in widespread education.⁵¹

The popularization of a new vocabulary in the natural sciences (and the creation of a national-scholar community) was implemented, apart from monographic publications, mostly by the semi-academic, pan-Slavic journal *Krok* (1821-1840, ed. Jan Evangelista Purkyně) and the more humanistic *Muzejník – Journal of Bohemian Museum* (*Muzejník – Časopis Českého Museum*, from 1827, František Palacký). Both journals published exclusively in Czech and were largely attributed with the stabilization of both the social and the linguistic basis of the Czech scholarship.

At the same time even the word "Czech" changed its meaning: whilst previously related to Bohemia, the 'revival' slowly included Moravia as a part of Czech nation, culture and language. The Czech language, as envisioned by Dobrovský or Jungmann, was oriented toward Bohemian dialects, and in the scientific dictionaries of the first half of the nineteenth century Moravian was alternatively mentioned as a distinct language or Czech dialect. In 1780 Dobrovský heavily criticized Johann Wenzel Pohl's dictionary, stating that "a Moravian [...] can be almost never certain which word is practicable (in Bohemia) and which is newly created"⁵² and went on to state that a Moravian is not entitled to compose a (Czech) Bohemian dictionary. While Pohl's publications were an epitome of a 'bad' Czech, Dobrovský's critique states that it is actually territorially wrong Czech, that is, not Bohemian. The German expression for the Czech language, used also by the Czech patriots was "böhmische Sprache", evoking the geographical identity, although one can find also the German expression *Čech* as distinctive from *böhmisch*. This ethnic distinction however was not accepted. Neither was a distinction accepted in similar situations in Galicia (*Lakhi* or Lechitians vs. *Poles*) or in Hungary (*Uhor* vs. *Magyar*),

thesis cf. Macura, Vladimír, *Znamení zrodu : české národní obrození jako kulturní typ*. Praha: H&H, 1995, especially the critics of abundance of Czech word formations from the viewpoint of structuralism, 51-52.

⁵¹ Presl, Jan Svatopluk, *Nerostopis, čili, Mineralogia*. W Praze: Jan Spurný, 1837, IV.

⁵² *Böhmische und Mährische Litteratur auf das Jahr 1780*, Prague, 1780-84, vol. 2, p. 110, quoted after Thomas, "The Role of Calques in the Early Czech Language Revival," 492

which were abandoned accordingly in the interest of the dominant culture.⁵³ In the early nineteenth century however, regional and political distinctiveness was acknowledged, but no longer the cultural difference on the linguistic level. The possibility of Moravian becoming an established literary language was clearly envisioned by patriots in Bohemia and seen as a threat to the common cause of culturally opposing Germans.⁵⁴ The volume *Voices on the need of a unitary literary language for the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks* (*Hlasové o potřebě jednoty spisovného jazyka pro Čechy, Moravany a Slováky*)⁵⁵, published in 1846, was directed towards Ľudovít Štúr's efforts to establish a Slovak literary language. It rebuked equally the attempts of František Dobromysl Trnka, Vincenc Pavel Žák and František Kampelík to create a Moravian literary language, which were seen as threatening to the "Czech" identity.⁵⁶ As the title suggests, Slovak was not an accepted language in the *obrození*, and the Czech-Slav (*česko-slovanský*) or Czech-Slovak (*česko-slovanský*) language, nation and identity were mentioned often as identical with the Czech language. Arguments on historical, cultural or ethnical cohesion were also linked in this program, striving for the political rearrangements and the emancipation

⁵³ For an interesting insight on this process cf. Maxwell, Alexander, "Magyarization, language planning, and Whorf: The word *uhor* as a case study in Linguistic Relativism." *Multilingua - Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 23, no. 4 (2005): 319-337.

⁵⁴ The double identity of Moravians was still a vital topic around 1900. Cf. Hanuš, Josef et al., *Literatura česká devatenáctého století*. Praha: Jan Laichter, 1905, 165-168, where the threat of Moravian literary separatism is still a concern for cultural unity; see also Bláha, Ondřej, "Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext." *Studia Moravica. Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis Facultas Philosophica Moravica*, no. 3 (2005): 293-299.

⁵⁵ *Hlasové o potřebě jednoty spisovného jazyka pro Čechy, Moravany a Slováky*. W Praze: Nákladem České museum, V kommissi u Kronbergra i Řiwnáče, 1846.

⁵⁶ Moravian nationalism of the nineteenth century remains unresearched, although according to the 1991 census 13.2 per cent of population of the Czech Republic declared Moravian nationality, the number reduced drastically according to the subsequent census (3,72 per cent in 2001). Jan Rychlík speaks in this regard of "land consciousness" (*zemské vědomí*) and describes it as different from cultural consciousness that is belonging to a nation (Rychlík, Jan, "The consciousness of the Slavonic Orthodox population in Pirin Macedonia and the identity of the population of Moravia and Moravian Slovakia." *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 31 (2007): 183-197, here 194). František Bartoš spoke around 1900 in his publications of Moravian as a Czech dialect, Czechs being though only one of five ethnic groups in Moravia, reflecting the double usage of the word 'Czech' as an ethnic category but at the same time more capacious cultural category (and indirectly the geographical entities of *Čechy* (Bohemia) and *Morava* (Moravia), cf. Bartoš, František, "Kapitola z prstonárodní geografie a etnografie moravské." In *Lid a národ; sebrané rozpravy národopisné a literární*, Velké Meziříčí: J. J. Šásek, 1885, 296-312; Idem, *Diaktologie moravská*. Brno: Matice Moravská, 1886; Kamusella, Tomasz, *Silesia and Central European Nationalisms: The Emergence of National and Ethnic Groups in Prussian Silesia and Austrian Silesia, 1848-1918*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006, esp. 119-125. One has to keep in mind though, that the existence and qualification of Slovak as a language distinct from Czech was at that time not obvious.

of Slavs in the Hungarian Kingdom.⁵⁷ Czech-Slovak as an ethnic identity with two cultural parts was proposed as a solution, whilst Czech in this regard meant nationality with Bohemian and Moravian as regional loyalties. The language should be either Czech or Czech-Slovak, although the linguistic composition of the languages did not dramatically change with respect to the different projects. Czech was regarded as rather analogous to High German as a supra-regional literary language, which should counterbalance germanophone and hungarophone influences and create a political and cultural Czech entity, with various regional dialects at the level of spoken language.

Whilst the developments sketched above follow the nationalist narrative, attention ought to be paid to the influence of this process on the level of practical every-day practice. On this level, the population seemed rather reluctant to embrace exclusive national inscriptions until nationalist propaganda grew intense in the late 19th century. However, the middle classes seem to have accepted the idea of a double-national structure and the exclusivity linked with it. Already in 1810, the national parties in Bohemia were so conflicted, that Catholic philosopher Bernhard Bolzano evoked in several sermons the issue of patriotism during the national conflict. Bolzano, accepting Czech and German nations as historically and culturally disparate entities, envisaged a perfect future in which Bohemia would be monolingualistic and the tribal diversity would be replaced by the unity of Bohemians led by the 'Vaterlandsliebe' (love of *patria*). An ideal Bohemian should speak both languages of the province, as the current conflict was seen as mostly a problem of communication. At the same time Bolzano rejected biological explanations of different cultural levels of Czechs and Germans, stating that the inequality originated from differences in linguistic development and he pleaded for cooperation on the betterment of both idioms.⁵⁸

Bolzano's sermons are symptomatic of growing nationalist consciousness in many ways. Most important, however, is his acceptance of a nationalistic picture of a binational, conflicted Bohemia, whose inhabitants belong either to one or another

⁵⁷ Maxwell, Alexander, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language, and Accidental Nationalism*. London: IB Tauris, 2009.

⁵⁸ Bolzano, Bernard, "Über die Vaterlandsliebe: gehalten am Feste der Reinigung Mariens im Jahr 1810." and "Über das Verhältnis der beiden Volksstämme in Böhmen: gehalten am siebenten, achten und neunten Sonntage nach Pfingsten im Jahre 1816." In *Dr. Bernard Bolzano's Erbauungsreden an die akademische Jugend*, Prag: Heß, 1850 [1810], 145-156 and 156-180.

group, leaving no room for social or religious identities. It is certainly an overly simplistic view as Czech patriots long after then struggled to establish a precise geographical and cultural idea of their nation, but it might be considered a characteristic view from the German position, in which the rejection of nationalism goes hand in hand with acknowledgment of the exclusive entity of 'nation.' as physically existing, exclusive entity. While in 1816 the Czech national narrative was not universally acknowledged among the Slav population, Bolzano's writings hint at its acceptance by the germanophone Bohemians.

* * *

The Polish language developed differently prior to 1848, resulting from the preponderance of the French linguistic tradition (Condillac, Rousseau⁵⁹) over the German, which was dominant in Bohemia, but also from the specific Polish historical social and political context surrounding the Polish language in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During the process of reform after the first partition in 1772, the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej) proposed a polonization program for the remaining territory of the Commonwealth, envisaging Polish to be the sole language of education, aiming at "making people Poles and Poles citizens."⁶⁰ Polish supplanted Latin at the universities (*Szkoła Główna Koronna/The Main Crown School* [Jagiellonian University], *Szkoła Główna Litewska/Academia et Universitas Vilnensis* [Vilnius University]) and at elementary schools, which was thought not only to facilitate the communication within the *natio* (nobility), but also with the *populus* (folk, *lud*) in the process of popular enlightenment. According to the enlightened idea of state, language, bureaucracy, and legal system should keep the Commonwealth together, transforming the monarchy from a nobility republic into a modern monarchical state, although still with a strong political preponderance of the aristocracy.

The Polish nation and the Polish language however had a very ambiguous meaning. Apart from linguistic nationalism, civic nationalism had its proponents,

⁵⁹ In the 1770 Condillac was commissioned by the Commission of National Education to write a treatise on logic to be used in schools (*La logique ou les premiers développements de l'art de penser*, 1780), translated 1802 into Polish, 2. Ed. 1818, 3. Ed. 1819. His brother, Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, was commissioned together with Rousseau (*Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*) in the 1770 to analyze the situation of Polish political system, what resulted in *Du gouvernement et des lois de la Pologne* and *De la situation politique en Pologne en 1776*.

⁶⁰ Feliks Oraczewski speaking in 1773, quoted in Klemensiewicz, Zenon, *Historia języka polskiego*. Vol. 3. Warszawa: PWN, 1972, 14.

although the division between these conceptions of nationalism was rather more fluid and gradual than its clear-cut portrayal in the historiography. Even if the civic nation was evoked, it included mostly the vision of Polish as a unifying language of culture, whereas Ruthenian or Lithuanian would be acknowledged as regional languages.⁶¹ Although most literary production of Polish national thought is to be regarded as advocating a multicultural Commonwealth rooted in a Polish civic nation, its appreciation in 19th century (apart from the polonophone elite) is fairly limited (in part because of the fact that they were almost exclusively written in Polish), and these works carried a negative connotation among other nationalistic groups for advocating Polish cultural imperialism.⁶² Such too was the reaction to Polish civic nationalism during the Slav Congress in Prague in 1848. The romantic messianic idea of the ephemeral nation as “action”, spoke to Poland as neither Germany nor Russia (in political, but also ethnic terms),⁶³ the realization of multilinguistic coexistence of ‘tribes’ (*plemiona, szczepy*) within the emotional nation, so defined, did not though evolve beyond patriotic imaginary.⁶⁴ Projects, questioning the Polish language, or revaluating the linguistic hierarchies, were far from welcome. Piotr Semeńko (Semenko) proposed in 1834, that a reborn Poland should adopt Ruthenian, the language of the majority of common people, as its official national tongue. He was subsequently forced to leave the most influential nationalist emigration organization, *Polish Democratic Society*, (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*) and was accepted only in extreme Catholic *Resurrectionist Order* (*Zgromadzenie Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa*).⁶⁵ Juliusz Słowacki also used the name Semenka in

⁶¹ On the civic and linguistic nation cf. e.g. Walicki, Andrzej, *The Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Nationhood: Polish Political Thought from Noble Republicanism to Tadeusz Kosciuszko*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989.

⁶² Cf. e.g. for Galicia Sosnowska, Danuta, *Inna Galicja*. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy "Elipsa", 2008; for Lithuanian part of Commonwealth e.g. Beauvois, Daniel, *Pouvoir russe et noblesse polonaise en Ukraine 1793-1830*. Paris: éditions du CNRS, 2003; in general: Beauvois, Daniel, *Histoire de la Pologne*. Paris: Haitier, 1996, 169-191; see also below on Ruthenian movement.

⁶³ For example historian Maurycy Mochnacki or researcher of Slavic literatures and poet Adam Mickiewicz, the theory of turanian (mongolian) origin of Russians was later developed by ethnographer Franciszek Henryk Duchński. Cf. Borodziej, Włodzimierz, Błażej Brzostek, and Maciej Górny, "Polnische Europa-Pläne des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts." In *Option Europa: deutsche, polnische und ungarische Europapläne des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Band 3*, edited by Włodzimierz Borodziej and Heinz Duchhardt, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005, 43-166, 54.

⁶⁴ On nation as action see Porter, Brian, *When nationalism began to hate: imagining modern politics in nineteenth century Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 15-42.

⁶⁵ For the project cf. Porter, *When nationalism began to hate*, 19-21; for Semenka's exclusion see Borodziej, Brzostek, Górny, "Polnische Europa-Pläne des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," 63.

the patriotic drama on the Polish-Ukrainian question, *Salomea's dream of silver* (Sen Srebrny Salomei, 1843), denoting the leader of the anti-Polish Ruthenian haydamaks, symbol of treason of Polish-educated Cossacks. The ambivalence of Polish nationalism, characteristics of a country, which at the same time was "colonized [...] and colonizing brotherly Slavs"⁶⁶ is too vast to be analyzed here,⁶⁷ but anticipates the positions that will be seen throughout the nineteenth century. It is worth keeping in mind, however, that the historical positions sketched in the sections on the Polish and Ruthenian languages illustrate the double-sidedness of nationalization processes.

With Polish nationalism bound up in the tensions between nation and territory (without a state, but recurring to borders of the Commonwealth), the language was not necessarily revitalized from the folk culture, although various authors often referred to it. In contrast to Czech, Polish-language scholars tended to draw a straight line of scholarly and linguistic tradition originating from the middle ages, affirming that Polish does not have to be resuscitated but gradually improved and perfected.⁶⁸

In the years 1778-1785 Onufry Kopczyński published his *System of Grammar for National Schools* (Układ grammatyki dla szkół narodowych), commissioned by the Commission of National Education, which can be considered the first comprehensive overview on the grammar of the Polish language.⁶⁹ In contrast to the Czech situation, the recreation of the Polish language was attempted less through collections of fairy tales, legends or accounts of historical language, but rather codified from used idiom. More precisely, Kopczyński rejected the historicization of language, and derived his vocabulary and rules from the *parole* of Warsaw-bound nobility. This was however not the only grammar proposed: Jan Śniadecki proposed

⁶⁶ Janion, Maria, "Rozstać się z Polską." *Gazeta Wyborcza / Gazeta Świąteczna* 02.10.2004 – 03.10.2004.

⁶⁷ See for example Janion, Maria, *Niesamowita słowiańszczyzna : fantazmaty literatury*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2006; Tazbir, Janusz, *Polska przedmurzem Europy*. Warszawa: Twój Styl, 2004; Stępnik, Krzysztof, and Dariusz Trzeźniowski, eds. *Studia postkolonialne nad kulturą i cywilizacją polską*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo: Uniwersytet Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie, 2010; *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne*. Special Issue *Galicja postkolonialnie, możliwości i granice*, edited by Jan Surman and Klemens Kaps, Kraków: Komisja Historyczna PAN, Oddział w Krakowie, forthcoming.

⁶⁸ Surman, Jan, "Symbolizm, komunikacja i hierarchia kultur: Galicyjski dyskurs hegemonii językowej początku drugiej połowy XIX wieku." In Surman, Kaps, eds., *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne*. Special Issue *Galicja postkolonialnie, możliwości i granice*, forthcoming.

⁶⁹ Two other linguistic publication from the time (W. Szylarski, *Początki nauk dla narodowej młodzieży to jest Grammatyka języka polskiego ucząca, a tym samym pojęcie obcych języków jako: Łacińskiego, francuskiego, niemieckiego, włoskiego i innych, ułatwiająca* Lwów 1770; S. Nałęcz-Moszczeński, *Snadna, gruntowna, obszerna grammatyka francuska krótko zebrana dla uczących się języka francuskiego w Akademii Wileńskiej*, Wilno 1774) remained only locally influential.

historicizing Polish to the sixteenth-century language (similar to the Czech case), and when his proposal was rejected, he offered an ideal language based on Eastern Commonwealth differing significantly from the one Kopczyński had chosen.

It is also striking that the national purity of language was seen as a means of sustaining civilization and culture and the emerging Polish political nation. Śniadecki and Kopczyński, as well as many theoreticians of the time, referred to ancient Greece and Rome, linking their demise with the end of linguistic purity and a rise of *vocabulum barbarum*. Although the idea of one language should still be considered characteristic of *natio* (i.e. nobility) and not encompassing all inhabitants of the multicultural empire; the one state – one language policy was openly propagated.

For Kopczyński, who entered into Polish history as the “Polish Vaugelas or Dumarsais,”⁷⁰ language was both universal and distinctive: it is universal, as it relates to people’s nature and thoughts which are “always uniform and unchangeable”⁷¹ – but at the same time distinctive through unique linguistic traditions. This continuation of the ideas of Nicolas Bauzée and Rousseau can be seen also in Kopczyński’s stress on grammar. Words originate in inborn signs (*znaki wrodzone*), given by God – namely “migi” (movements) and “głos” (voice – pre-language). Words themselves are manifest thoughts (i.e. things that are manifested in thought): “The nature of speech is painting of thoughts; in painting, one needs signs similar to the things”⁷², but at the same time signs that will be understood. Thus: “Every word in every language has as nearer reason liking of the nation, for a further reason, on which the liking of the nation is based, is any resemblance of word to the thing.”⁷³ Loanwords from foreign language are possible or advisable only if they are directly related to the thing – but even then, they have to be adapted to the vernacular Polish through suffix or prefix.⁷⁴ A newly constructed word should in the first place be related to what it depicts and should be understandable to everyone (evident meaning) and only in the second place related to the existing national language.⁷⁵ Translation for Kopczyński is simple, as language relates to thoughts and things which are universal, and scientific translation is, in his word “historical” – reaching to the genesis of thought and repainting it in

⁷⁰ Zielinski, Józef, *Histoire de la Pologne*. Vol. 2. Paris; Genève: Barbezat, 1830, 413.

⁷¹ Kopczyński, Onufry Andrzej, *Treść gramatyki polskiej napisanej przez Onufrego Kopczyńskiego służąca za wstęp do nauk filozoficznych*. Wilno: Józef Zawadzki, 1806, 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 27

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 28

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 51

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 52

different colors.⁷⁶ As for scholarship – seen by Kopczyński as vehicle of national well-being – only a well structured, reality-related language can ensure its functioning: “The darkness of scholarship and mistakes of scholars nestle mostly in words [if they don’t represent reality];”⁷⁷ the translation’s integrity is ensured only by the epistemic precision of language. Kopczyński’s ideal is the refinement of science through language critics (grammar) in order to achieve its purest possible version.

Jan Śniadecki, influential universal scholar, empiricist (educated partially in Paris) and propagator of Polish terminology in the sciences, defined various functions of language. Śniadecki drew partly on Condillac’s philosophy of language (language’s constitutive role in the formation of ideas from impressions, its autonomy from sensations), but rejected the analogy of language and mathematics, stating that from the mathematician’s point of view Condillac is wrong in describing language’s analytical function and refusing synthesis. Language cannot be seen as a purely logical system guided by laws, but neither can it be esthetical driven rhetoric.⁷⁸

For Śniadecki, language was foremost a cultural resource, indicating whether or not the nation is developed: “when language is dark and coarse, modest in words [...] a nation did not develop out of the wilderness, did not enter the group of enlightened nations.”⁷⁹ But language also had a descriptive value in its representation of concepts. “Language should serve thinking and not constrain and restrain it”⁸⁰ – first is thought or object and not the (translated) word.

Śniadecki was, as far as language is concerned, a conventionalist; he rejected tendencies of translating all words into Polish, as “a good macaronism is better than a poor translation,”⁸¹ and further “language is not a work of metaphysical rummage, nor a system of individual imagination; we should not search it in imitation of foreign folk, nor in our illusions, but in the national tongue, generally accepted and

⁷⁶ Ibid., 66-68

⁷⁷ Kopczyński, Onufry Andrzej, *O duchu języka polskiego : na posiedzeniu publicznem dnia 16 listopada 1804*. Warszawa, 1804, 10.

⁷⁸ Śniadecki, Jan, "O logice i retoryce." In *Pisma rozmaite Jana Śniadeckiego, Tom III. Zawierający listy i rozprawy o naukach*, Wilno: Józef Zawadzki, 1818, 185-203.

⁷⁹ Śniadecki, Jan, "O języku polskim." In *Pisma rozmaite Jana Śniadeckiego, Tom III. Zawierający listy i rozprawy o naukach*, Wilno: Józef Zawadzki, 1818, 1-121, here 6.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

⁸¹ Ibid., 15; on the idea of macaronism see Lemberg, Hans, "Die Einführung der deutschen Unterrichtssprache in den deutschen Universitäten und ihre Auswirkungen auf Ostmitteleuropa." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek (eds.), *Místo národních jazyku*, 169-182, here 173.

understood.”⁸² Words for Śniadecki were representations of concepts (things and thoughts), and served two functions in language: one for the eye (representation) and one “for the ear, for presenting this knowledge in written and oral form, that is, words and names in national language.”⁸³ One can also apply here Śniadecki’s idea of language as an interface of logic and rhetoric. According to this concept, the introduction of new nomenclature should be guided by principles that ensure a balance between epistemic precision and linguistic variability, and draw its models from “old books written in candid Polish.”⁸⁴ At the same time, however, these principles ensure that a relationship with other words is maintained – both with respect to the original (if it is a translation, than primarily to Latin) and with words in use (existing in popular or scientific language).⁸⁵

Jan Śniadecki’s brother, Jędrzej, also a philosopher as well as a chemist, applied a new approach to the chemical and medical vocabulary. He remained however sceptical on the use of national language in all case, e.g., during medical rounds with students. He believed that the debate on the state of the ill and injured should be conducted in Latin so as not to disturb them or necessitate leaving the patient’s presence for the debate (knowledge of Latin was obviously the “first of the learned languages”).⁸⁶ Similar to his brother, Jędrzej Śniadecki sought words in the linguistic tradition and proposed an intuitive nomenclature of chemical substances based on existing vocabulary, though with some analogy to the French classification system of compounds, whose suffix and prefix system he partially imitated the.⁸⁷ On can say that Jan and Jędrzej Śniadecki’s approach to language established a tradition of Polish purism remained dominant during the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ The Śniadeckis’

⁸² Śniadecki, "O języku polskim," 22.

⁸³ Śniadecki, Jan, "O języku narodowym w matematyce. Rzecz czytana na posiedzeniu Literackiem Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego dnia 15. Listopada roku 1813. v.s." In *Dziela Jana Śniadeckiego, tom 3*, edited by Michał Baliński, Warszawa: Emanuel Glücksberg, 1837 [1813], 183-204, here 195.

⁸⁴ Śniadecki, "O logice i retoryce," 199.

⁸⁵ For practical implementation see Śniadecki, Jan, "O obserwacjach astronomicznych." *Rocznik Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk* 1 (1802): 432-526; Śniadecki, Jan, *Jeografia, czyli opisanie matematyczne i fizyczne ziemi*. Wilno: Józef Zawadzki, 1818. Cf. also Waniakowa, Jadwiga, "Historia polskiego podstawowego słownictwa astronomicznego na tle słowiańskim." *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 39 (2004): 157-178.

⁸⁶ Śniadecki, Jędrzej, "Przedmowa do Dziennika Medycyny, Chirurgii i Farmacji przez Cesarskie Towarzystwo Lekarskie w Wilnie roku 1830 wydawanego." In *Dziela Jędrzeja Śniadeckiego, tom III*, edited by Michał Baliński, Warszawa: Emmanuel Glücksberg, 1840 [1830], 7-22, here 16.

⁸⁷ Cf. Letter to the editor by Jędrzej Śniadecki, *Pamiętnik Warszawski, czyli Dziennik Nauk i Umiejętności* 7, (1817), 385-401.

⁸⁸ Cf. Biniewicz, Jerzy, *Rozwój polskiej terminologii chemii nieorganicznej*. Opole: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna im. Postaciów Śląskich w Opolu 1992; Idem, "Kategoryzacja a naukowy obraz

work can was also employed as a slogan; their writings were often used as rhetorical devices in supporting patriotic claims and programs, without clear reference to their philosophical tradition of empiricism.

* * *

The Ruthenian language (only later unified as Ukrainian) did not develop a significant scholarly terminology until 1848, but the development of the language nevertheless illustrates important features of the process of nation building in Eastern Galicia after 1772. At the time Galicia was 'invented',⁸⁹ polonisation of the region as foreseen by the Commonwealth's officials was halted and the small strata of early Ruthenian nationalist intellectuals became visible as political and cultural actors propagating loyalty to the Monarchy, which functioned also as a vehicle of emancipation from Polish influences.⁹⁰ This development was fiercely linked with confessional changes, as the Greek Catholic Church was officially acknowledged and given the rights previously reserved for Roman Catholic and state financed institutions – the *Barbareum* (Vienna) and later the *Studium Ruthenum* (L'viv) – were opened to educate the clergy in Old Church Slavonic. Around those institutions, and the similarly church-controlled *Stauropegion Institute* in L'viv (Stavropihiys'ky Instytut, Ставропігійський інститут, est. 1788)⁹¹ the first centres of Ruthenian national movements in Galicia developed, although subsequent development of Ruthenian (later Ukrainian) identity showed emancipation from clerical influences.

From 1787 to 1809 the newly reinstalled L'viv University included the *Studium Ruthenum*, in which primarily the clergy for the Greek Catholic Church was taught in Old Church Slavonic. The *Studium* was divided into two-years of philosophical school and five years of theological, and was seen as a supplement for

świata (słownictwo nauk ścisłych)." In *Językowy obraz świata i kultura* (= *Język a Kultura*, 13), edited by Anna Dąbrowska and Janusz Anusiewicz, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000, 111-118.

⁸⁹ Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*.

⁹⁰ Мудрий, Мар'ян, "Австрорусинство в Галичині: спроба окреслення проблеми." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 35-36 (2000): 571-604.

⁹¹ Est. 1788, center of Ruthenian Church literature in early 19th century. Cf. Палюх, Ольга, "Українське книговидання у Львові XIX ст.: роль друкарень Ставропігійського інституту та Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка." *Записки Львівської наукової бібліотеки ім. В. Стефаника Збірник наукових праць* 16, no. 1 (2008): 54-72, especially 54-58; about Institute's influence in the early 19th century see Орлевич, Ірина Василівна, "Діяльність Львівського Ставропігійського Інституту (кінець XVIII – 60-і рр. XIX ст.)." Дисертація... Інститут Українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича Національної академії наук України [Unpublished dissertation at the Ivan Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies; Ukrainian National Academy of Science]. (2000).

both the university (where lectures were taught in German) and the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary (est. 1784). Foreseen only as a provisional school, the *Studium* was abolished 1809, partially due to the resistance of its students, who believed they were denied the full educational profits of the university because of poorly prepared textbooks.⁹² Thus, given the situation in elementary schools where Polish and German were taught, the Greek Catholic Seminary was an exclusive educational institution with cultural autonomy. Because the Ruthenian language was taught only in Greek Catholic parish schools,⁹³ and the Galician metropolitanate, restored in 1808, took a very active part in the intellectual and political life in Galicia, the linkage of religion and cultural emancipation was strengthened, although it was only in the late nineteenth century when the marriage of religion and nation advanced to be one of the main criterions of cultural cleavages in Galicia.

The beginning of an institutionalised Ukrainian language is commonly associated with Ivan Kotlyarevsky's (Іван Котляревський) poem *Eneyida* (Енеїда, 1798), Taras Shevchenko's (Тарас Шевченко) *Kobzar* (Кобзар, The Bard, 1840) etc. While those poets showed the possibilities of vernacular Ukrainian as a literary language, the emancipation from Polish, Russian and Church Slavonic was manifold and included cultural positioning among prevailing cultures. Galicia brought in this respect only a few elements for modern Ukrainian prior to 1848.⁹⁴ Nevertheless one of the most important features of the language – its written form – has been fiercely discussed among Ukrainian nationalists. The “First War over the Alphabet”, established a measure of national self-consciousness in Ruthenians in Galicia and at the same time significantly contributed to their neighbors' view on the process of Ruthenian cultural separatism.

Nevertheless, Ruthenian cultural emancipation from the leading cultures in

⁹² For a short account see Галенко, Іраїда, "Мовознавча славістика у Львівському університеті (1787–1939)." *Проблеми слов'янознавства* 54 (2004): 44–60, contextualization can be found in Kozik, Jan, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, 1815–1849*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986; different version of closure can be found in Петраш, Осип, *'Руська трійця': М.Шашкевич, І.Вагилевич, Я.Головацький та їхні літературні послідовники*. Київ: Дніпро, 1972, 13.

⁹³ Moser, Michael, "Die sprachliche Erneuerung der galizischen Ukrainer zwischen 1772 und 1848/1849 im mitteleuropäischen Kontext." In *Contemporary Cultural Studies in Central Europe*, edited by Ivo Pospíšil and Michael Moser, Brno, 2004, 81–118, here 83.

⁹⁴ Шевельов, Юрій, *Внесок Галичини у формування української літературної мови*. Київ: Видавничий дім "КМ Академія", 2003 [first edition 1949].

Galicja followed a complicated path, which is beyond the scope of this study.⁹⁵ Around 1848, the Ruthenian nationalists grouped around the *Supreme Ruthenian Council* (*Holovna Rus'ka Rada*, *Головна Руська Рада*) were powerful enough to seriously propose the partition of Galicja into Polish and Ruthenian regions. However, at the same time another political pro-Ruthenian organization, *Ruthenian Congress* (*Sobor Ruskyi*), opposed this project, stating that Ruthenians should remain attached to Polish culture.⁹⁶ Whilst the first organization consisted (exclusively) of Greek Catholics, the other included members of the nobility (*gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*), envisaging the retention of a *natio* vs. *populus* division (in the mode: Ruthenian + higher education = Pole⁹⁷). It is worth noting, that while the journal of the first group, *Galician Star* (*Зоря Галицька*, *Zoria halyts'ka*), was published in the Cyrillic alphabet, the latter *The Ruthenian Daily* (*Dnennyk Ruskij*), alternated between Cyrillic and Latin. Although this did not mean that the alphabet was the only distinguishing feature (it might not even be of secondary significance), the fact that *Rus'ka Rada* considered Cyrillic as a vital part of Ruthenian cultural and political identity, while *Sobor Ruskyi* did not, throws light on the institutionalizing of the Ruthenian language in eastern Galicja.

The question of alphabet was fiercely debated for several years beginning in 1834, linked with the cultural emancipation of Ruthenians around 1830.⁹⁸ Yosyp Lozyns'ky (Йосип Лозинський, Józef Łoziński), Yosyp Levyts'ky (Йосип Левицький), Denys Zubryts'ky (Денис Зубрицький) and Markiyan Shashkevych (Маркіян Шашкевич) engaged in a fierce debate over the representation of Ruthenian identity in writing. The initial point of the conflict was the article by Lozyns'ky, *On the Introduction of Polish Alphabet into Ruthenian Writing* (*O wprowadzeniu abecadła polskiego do pismnictwa ruskiego*), in which he postulated the replacement of the Cyrillic alphabet by that used in written Polish.

⁹⁵ For most interesting overviews see Hrytsak, Iaroslav, "Ruslan, Bohdan and Myron: Three Constructed Identities among Galician Ruthenians/Ukrainians, 1830-1914." In *Extending the Borders of Russian History. Essays in Honor of Alfred J. Rieber*, edited by Marsha Siefert, Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2003, 97-112; Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions."

⁹⁶ In the recent years the identity formation around 1848 has been thoroughly researched by L'viv historian Mar'ian Mudryj, see for example Мудрий, Мар'ян, "Gente Rutheni в польській Центральній Раді Народовій 1848 року." *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. Львів*, 2008. Том CCLVI: Праці Історично-філософської секції (2008): 244-281.

⁹⁷ Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions," here 114.

⁹⁸ This section is largely based on argumentation by Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement*.

Invoking Jerner Kopitar, he stated that the Ruthenian language was at a crossroads at which it must be decided whether it would adopt Latin or Cyrillic characters (the first comprehensive grammar of Ruthenian was published only that year by Levyts'ky in German, and used old Church Slavonic characters). Polish letters seemed to Lozyns'ky to be the most suitable for phonetic reasons through the existence of graphemes like *ś* or *ł*, which would "convey every Ruhenian sound."⁹⁹ Lozyns'ky stated that the currently used Cyrillic alphabet, based on Old Church Slavonic, did not reflect the peculiarities of the spoken vernacular, on which the writings should be based. The claim that in order to institutionalize a modern national language, Ruthenian had to emancipate itself from the church language was made even clearer in his later grammar and articles, in which he proposed a modernized version of Cyrillic. Moreover, the use of the Latin alphabet would facilitate the communication with other Slavic nations (especially Polish 'neighbors'), and enable Ruthenian children to learn more easily other literatures, forging a "europeanization"¹⁰⁰ of the Ruthenian language. Lozyns'ky's argumentation is however less antinational and belies a more practical concern, as it seems to be a reaction on Jernej Kopitar's review of Wacław Zaleski's *Polish and Ruthenian songs of Galician nation/folk* (*Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego*, 1833), where the Viennese linguist appreciated the use of the Polish alphabet for Ruthenian songs. Several months after the review, Lozyns'ky published *On the introduction of alphabet* (*O wprowadzeniu abecadła*) and changed the alphabet of the ready-to-publish collection *Ruthenian Wedding* (*Ruskoje Wesile*, 1833) and his Ruthenian grammar¹⁰¹ to a Latin transliteration.¹⁰² In his concern for a phonetic equivalent of vernacular, Lozyns'ky changed his position in autumn 1834, several months after the publication of an initial article, stating that vernacular Cyrillic corresponds better with spoken Ruthenian. Lozyns'ky's proposition, later denounced as Polish serfdom and anti-Ruthenian Polish propaganda, did not meet with positive reviews, although a few publications did apply his

⁹⁹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Райківський, Ігор, "Розвиток українського народознавства в Галичині у першій третині XIX ст." *Українознавчі студії* 8-9 (2007-2008): 278-295, here 284.

¹⁰¹ Which was however finally published 1846 with Cyrillic alphabet.

¹⁰² Moser, Michael, "Die sprachliche Erneuerung der galizischen Ukrainer zwischen 1772 und 1848/1849 im mitteleuropäischen Kontext." In *Contemporary Cultural Studies in Central Europe*, edited by Ivo Pospíšil and Michael Moser, Brno, 2004, 81–118, here 102-104.

alphabet.¹⁰³ The introduction of the Polish alphabet was propagated mostly by writers like Wacław Zaleski, August Bielowski or Antoni Dąbcański, who opted for assimilation of Ruthenians with the Poles.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, the article did circulate widely and its ideas were broadly discussed. Yosyp Levyts'ky answered Lozyns'ky stating that the Ruthenian language had its firm basis in the old writing of Old Church Slavonic and several historical publications. Thus an alphabet based on a historical one would be the most suitable to building a functioning literary language. Levyts'ky drew on the tradition of Oleksiy Pavlovs'ky (Олексій Павловський), Ivan Mohyl'nyts'ky (Іван Могильницький) or Mykhailo Luchkay (Михайло Лучкай, Michaelis Lutskey), whose grammars based on Church Slavonic (although with vernacular influences) were already available, and to some extent hailed Church Slavonic as a new literary ideal.¹⁰⁵ This argumentation can also be found in his *Grammar of Ruthenian or little-Russian language in Galicia* (*Grammatik der ruthenischen oder klein russischen Sprache in Galizien*, 1834), where Levyts'ky regarded historical church writing as the best sustained grammatically correct examples of the Ruthenian language. Until this time no generally accepted grammar or vocabulary existed; regionally confined dialects were taken as a basis for literary activities: "Herewith, a source for division of literature was born."¹⁰⁶ The representation of vernacular in historical Cyrillic not only facilitates the communication between different Ruthenian dialects, but was in his eyes the only solution to the alphabet question that could respond to phonetic differences of vernaculars without exorbitantly enlarging the alphabet.¹⁰⁷

A different criticism came from Markiyan Shashkevych, the leader of the *Ruthenian Triad* (*Rus'ka Trijtsa*), a group of students of the L'viv Greek Seminary,

¹⁰³ Apart from Lozyns'ky's *Ruskoje wesile*, the most important writer using Latin script was Tomasz Padura (Тымко Падурра, Томаш Падура).

¹⁰⁴ Magocsi, Paul R., "The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement in Eastern Galicia." In *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont*, Toronto-London-Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002 [1982], 83-98, here 89-90.

¹⁰⁵ Danylenko, Andrii, "Myxajlo Luckaj A Dissident Forerunner of Literary Rusyn?" *The Slavonic and East European Review* 87 (2009): 201-226; Moser, "Die sprachliche Erneuerung der galizischen Ukrainer zwischen 1772 und 1848/1849 im mitteleuropäischen Kontext."

¹⁰⁶ Lewicki, Joseph, *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder klein russischen Sprache in Galizien*. Przemyśl: Griechisch-Katholische Bischöfliche Buchdruckerei, 1834, XII.

¹⁰⁷ For a critical appreciation of Levyts'ky and description of his argumentation in the 1840s, especially concerning vernacular of *Rusalka Dnistrova* see Мозер, Михаель [Michael Moser], "Йосиф Левицький як борець за культуру «руської» (української) мови." In *Confraternitas. Ювілейний збірник на пошану Ярослава Ісаєвича*. Відп. ред. Микола Крикун, заступник відп. Ред. Остап Середя, Львів, 2006-2007, 447-460,

pursuing the goal of establishing a Ruthenian language on the basis of vernacular with limited Old Church Slavonic influences. Shashkevych insisted that there were neither practical nor historical reasons for applying the Latin alphabet to written Ruthenian. Ruthenian literature had its glorious examples in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* (Слово о плъку Игоревѣ)¹⁰⁸ or *Rus'ka Pravda* (Руська Правда)¹⁰⁹ which in their linguistic composition were nearer the vernacular than Church Slavic and could thus be used as basis of a modern language. The old Cyrillic letters, according to Shashkevych, were better representations of the spoken language than the Latin alphabet, as they derived from the vernacular, and their usage did not require phonological reductionism. Another Slavic languages – Serbian – successfully used Cyrillic in its writings, and its use had been “approved” by scholars who shared the thinking of Jernier Kopitar. This also made the Slavic languages heterogenic, so the exclusive use of the Latin alphabet by Ruthenians would only not fully facilitate communication. Even if the Slavic languages were all using the Latin alphabet, learning of the letters was the smallest obstacle in understanding foreign languages. Such Latinized Ruthenian would “become the property of only a few so-called European literati and will therefore miss its primary goal,”¹¹⁰ which Shashkevych saw in expressing the life, the manner of thought and the soul of the nation. A Ruthenian alphabet also should neither imitate Polish (which, according to “a not shallow thinking Pole” was failing to express even Polish sounds) nor *hrazhdanka*¹¹¹, a claim which can be understood as Shashkevych’s manifesto for representing Ruthenian cultural identity through alphabet. If one considers, that Moravian (using Gothic letters to write Czech) and Austrian (different graphic representation of *ß* in fracture) also tried to graphically represent their regional autonomy, the value of alphabetical differences in the nineteenth century were highly ideological.¹¹²

Lastly, another option for written Ruthenian was advocated by Denys

¹⁰⁸ *Igor's Campaign* is dated for the end of the twelfth century, was reprinted/published 1800 in St. Petersburg. Its authenticity is still under question as the original manuscript burned in Moscow 1812.

¹⁰⁹ The legal code of Kievan Rus' from 11th century onwards, first parts were found and published by Vasiliy Tatishchev (Василий Татищев) in the first half of the 18th century.

¹¹⁰ Quoted after Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, 93.

¹¹¹ The common name in Ruthenian literature for civil Cyrillic alphabet, introduced in the Russian Empire by Peter I.

¹¹² Kamusella, *Silesia and Central European Nationalisms*, 120; see also Auty, Robert, "Orthographical Innovations and Controversies among the Western and Southern Slavs during the Slavonic National Revival." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 46, no. 107 (1968): 324-332.

Zubryts'kyi, associated with the *Stauropegion Institute*. Zubryts'kyi saw Ruthenians only as one of the branches of the Rus' nation, and their language as one dialect of it, reminiscent of the German situation with over 90 local dialectical varieties maintaining a functional communicative structure. Thus, retaining an Old Church Slavonic alphabet would in the first place protect Ruthenian from Polish influences, which (e.g., the Philomath movement) he saw as disturbing the peaceful Ruthenian people, and in the second place allow unification with Russia. In his historical writings (published partially in local versions of Russian and Polish), Zubryts'kyi underscored regional and ethnic disparities (using expression like *słowianorusini*, *rusko-słowiański naród*, *Galician-Rus'* etc.) and promoted Ruthenian distinctiveness from Poles, but at the same time historical and cultural affinities with Rus'.¹¹³ Published in Polish (and Russian), Zubryts'kyi, in the same vein as Palacký writing his Bohemian history in German, was read and discussed in both cultures, creating and expressing his monumental historical nationalist narrative not on the margins of the still-leading high culture, but in its centre. Although his works, like the chronicle of L'viv or the account of Halych, were fiercely rejected for their anti-Polish tendencies, they were valued for their scrutiny, in balancing narrativity and "objectivity", Zubryts'kyi succeeded in winning over readers he would not have in Ruthenian, fostering an image of historically conflicted cultures among both linguistic groups. In Ruthenian communication, not yet unified and lacking the infrastructure for Cyrillic-printed publications and censorship, Polish served as an unwanted vehicle for nationalist discussion. This situation strengthened Polish considerations of their cultural superiority and the image of Ruthenians as part of Polish nation. On the other hand, as a medium of mutual presentation of stereotypes, claims and histories, it enabled a transitional space between two exclusive nationalisms to emerge. It is worth noting, that while the emotion over the alphabet was strong, the battle was waged in Polish. The language, used as a rhetorical figure of cultural oppression as well as a medium of communication, thus retained the quality of regional *lingua galiciana*.

Balancing between politics and orthography, this ideological debate died out after two years, without decisive conclusion, as the political branches of the

¹¹³ In his reminiscence of Zubryts'kyi, Władysław Zawadzki recalls the rejection Zubryts'kyi's among literary circles in Galicia, it is though rather a subsequent development, and Zubryts'kyi's position and popularity in 1830 was still considerable. Cf. *Literatura w Galicji (1772-1848). Ustęp z pamiętników Władysława Zawadzkiego*. Lwów: Nakładem Władysława Webera, 1878, 109-110.

Ruthenian national movement continued to use their own alphabets. The practical applications of the alphabets remained limited as well. *The Nymph of the Dniester* (Русалка Днѣстровая, 1837), published anonymously in Buda by Shashkevych, Yakiv Holovats'ky (Яків Головацький, Jakub Głowacki, later Яков Головацкий, 1814-1888) and Ivan Vahylevych (Вагилевич Іван, later also Iwan Wahylewycz, 1811-1866) set the standards for vernacular. In the face of strong opposition of the church authorities, however, it found fewer successors than intended, especially as the three authors were sent as priests to small villages, which hindered their activity. Due to the rejection by a Galician censor for Ruthenian literature, professor for moral theology Venedykt Levyts'ky (Венедикт Левицький), *The Nymph* was published in Buda to escape the Galician censorship, but, to be sure it would not circulate, L'viv metropolitan Mykhaylo Levyts'ky (Михайло Левицький) bought almost the entire run of the edition.¹¹⁴ In 1848 Shashkevych was dead and Vahylevych moved closer to Polish patriots and advocated adoption of the Polish alphabet (but without giving up the national identity). Holovats'ky advocated a pro-Ruthenian but increasingly Russophile position in public, but also against his brother Ivan, who after 1848 moved towards a pro-Russian orientation.¹¹⁵

The position of the high clergy, defending Church Slavonic and rejecting vernaculars, hindered the crystallization of civil Cyrillic until 1848, as many manuscripts were rejected by Venedykt Levyts'ky, and religious intelligentsia was reprimanded personally and through pastoral letters.¹¹⁶ At the same time, the Ruthenian nationalists rejected Church Slavonic, claiming that the cases of other nations proved that historicized vernacular was best suited for diffusion of national ideas. Nevertheless, their number remained fairly limited, distant from mass-movements, as well as lacking strong political representation. This situation changed in 1848 when the introduction of Ruthenian in schools and political liberty accelerated the codification

¹¹⁴ Moser, "Die sprachliche Erneuerung der galizischen Ukrainer zwischen 1772 und 1848/1849 im mitteleuropäischen Kontext," 106-107.

¹¹⁵ Holovats'ky wrote anonymously several patriotic articles in Ruthenian and German, depicting national conflict and its historical roots in Galicia; Vahylevych published till 1848 influential grammar (as J. Wagilewicz, *Gramatyka języka matoruskiego w Galicyi*, 1845) and several ethnological articles in Czech and Polish. Cf. Brock, Peter, "Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866) and the Ukrainian National Identity." In *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, edited by Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982, 111-148.

¹¹⁶ Moser, "Die sprachliche Erneuerung der galizischen Ukrainer zwischen 1772 und 1848/1849 im mitteleuropäischen Kontext."

of secular writing and fostered the development of scholarly literature.

* * *

The development of (at least theoretically) vernacular-oriented languages and their implementation in scholarly publications remained largely an unfinished business, but began to create an intellectual disruption to the cultural life with culture, previously vertically limited and denoting over-regional social groups extending towards horizontal popularization within geographically delimited nations. The eighteenth-century cameralists abandoned Latin-based scholarship, introducing new ways of popularizing knowledge for different broad publics, inducing the growing rejection of the republic of scholars and moving more towards a vertically oriented science for the folk as part of cultural health – a model which was followed throughout the nineteenth century. With languages altering between communicational and symbolical function, the perception varied among different groups – with German and Polish being also representational languages of loyalty, in the first case to the Habsburg Empire, in the second to the no longer existent Commonwealth, but in both cases to ideologies of (ethnic) nationalism, albeit much later. The ‘new science’ – to abuse the term – was mostly locally oriented, encompassing descriptive and ethno-historic disciplines and aiming for a broader fostering of culture. But at the same time it lacked a public, an issue that will be discussed even later in the century. Nationalized scholarship, however, did not by any means stand as a fierce opponent to state institutions. These were tuned towards other educational scientific models, to the dismay of many who envisioned freedom and liberalism, irrespective their cultural or ideological background.

2.2. Science in the hallway¹¹⁷

There is no freedom of discussion and of thought, for each science there is one compulsory [...] textbook, from which nowhere and never, not even by the oral commentaries, one is allowed to drift. The memory of student is invigorated on costs of his thinking, his head will be filled with abundance of unbeneficial, unpractical things, so that no room is for thinking left, - his character, his moral education are totally neglected. [...] That is why the Austrian schools find few or none students, which were called there by the love of science, interest on the acquired, almost all attendants see the studies as necessary evil, as an non-avoidable mean to arrive some day to the function, or more to the remuneration, which envisions all of them in the distance as the only aim their golden dreams

Viktor Andrian Werburg, *Österreich und dessen Zukunft*¹¹⁸

The above estimation of Habsburg universities, published anonymously by liberal politician Viktor Andrian-Werburg, introduces the question on the position of science and universities prior to 1848. As I will show later, in the ongoing nineteenth century, the questions what 'science' was, what place it would have in the university, and what the function of the university would be, were raised several times leading to quite different results. But a simple conceptual imposition of the post-1848 idea of academia, with its aims and problems, or even comparison to the often paradigmatically mentioned 'German' (i.e. 'Humboldt') universities, obscures rather than highlights the functional dualism of scholarship during the first half of the nineteenth century: universities were institutions of loyalty, but those not under the Viennese political gaze had much freedom and privilege, which were abandoned during the second half of the century.

From the time of the Enlightenment, universities have been restructured from autonomous units into state agencies in which "scholarly education (*Gelehrte Ausbildung*) turned into a form of 'state production.'"¹¹⁹ Through Maria Theresa's educational reforms, the universities had been subordinated to the *Studienhofkommission* which served, with a short intermezzo of late Josephinism, as a supreme education board. In the following period, universities were defined primarily as a place of education and disciplinization. Joseph II wrote in his resolution of 25 November 1782 that

¹¹⁷ Karl Gutzkow, "Wiener Eindrücke." In Idem, *Gesammelte Werke, Bd., 3*, Frankfurt am Main 1845, 310, Quoted in Kadletz-Schöffel, Hedwig, *Metternich und die Wissenschaften*. Unpublished philosophical dissertation, University of Vienna. Vienna, 1989, 18.

¹¹⁸ Anonym [Andrian Werburg, Viktor von], *Österreich und dessen Zukunft*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1843, 55-57.

¹¹⁹ Schelsky, Helmut, *Einsamkeit und Freiheit, Idee und Gestalt der deutschen Universität und ihrer Reformen*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963, 18.

[i]t must not be taught the youth, what they later use as strange or not at all for the well being of state, or could employ, as the most important studies at the university serve the education of state functionaries, and are not dedicated to breed scholars, which, when they acquire the first principles, should qualify themselves, and believe not, that you an example sees, that from a mere chair someone could be one.¹²⁰

Seven decades later, Franz II was supposed to formulate similar ideas, once more reassuring the place universities were to play as educational institutions:

I will have my subjects learn all those things that are useful in common life, and likely to keep them attached to our persons and their religion. I don't want teachers who fill the heads of my students with that nonsense which turns out the brains of so many youths in our days.¹²¹

The primary place of the production of scientific knowledge were very differentiated; museums, state-collections, libraries, botanical and zoological gardens, pharmacies, more or less formal societies and clubs, etc., played a more central role than universities and their benches. Growing interest in science among the aristocracy brought forward several scholars of European standard, who could publish and travel unconstrained by governmental policy. A particular role among institutions of knowledge was played the museums: *Bohemian Museum* in Prague, *Joanneum* (Graz, Styria), *Moravian-Silesian Museum* (Mährisch-Schlesisches Museum, Brno, Moravia) or *Ossoliński Institute* (with one of its branches, *Lubomirski Museum*, L'viv), organized by the aristocracy with the pronounced aim of forging both science and local patriotism.¹²² The aristocratic patronage enabled museums to be internationally active and forge scientific development irrespective of political limitations.¹²³ Initially

¹²⁰ Joseph II., Resolution zum Vortrag der Studienhofkommission. v. 25.11.1782, quoted after Wangermann, Ernst, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung. Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens 1781-1791*. Wien: Verlag für die Geschichte und Politik, 1978, 25-26.

¹²¹ Quoted in [Sealsfield, Charles,] *Austria as it is: or, Sketches of continental courts, by an eye-witness*. London: Hurst, Chance and Co, 1828, 75.

¹²² There are only few usable history books on these institutions, as they are mostly described as place of forging national thought in the period of Germanization. Some research shows though, that their role as place of international relations is underestimated. Cf. Puchalski, "Vom Parnassus Ossolinus zur Nationalschatzkammer. Die Ossolińskische Bibliothek und ihr Gedächtniserbe," Krueger, *Czech, German, and noble*, 161-191.

¹²³ Schweizer, Claudia, "Migrating objects: The Bohemian National Museum and its scientific collaborations in the early nineteenth century." *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 2 (2006): 187-199.

nationally indifferent, regional estate institutions, museums were progressively inscribed in nationalistic policies and their resources were used in propagating different national positions. Paradigmatic here is the Bohemian Museum. Science could be a means of peaceful coexistence, e.g., for Franz Kolowrat¹²⁴ or Leo Thun,¹²⁵ but at the same time the museum largely contributed to the establishment of Czech nationalism by opening its publications for czechophone authors. From 1827 on, the Bohemian Museum published *The Society of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia Monthly*, in Czech and German versions (*Monatsschrift der Gesellschaft des Vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* and *Časopis Společnosti vlastenského museum w Čechách*), both edited by František Palacký. Although both journals were established to “foster enlightened knowledge among the people (*lid*)”¹²⁶ the differences in contents shows that *Časopis* dealt mostly with Czech literature and history (publishing both analysis, as well as, for example, poems), which was evoked already in the editorial to first edition: “Often proclaimed and felt in our nation was the need for such a journal, which adapted to the knowledge of the more enlightened [people] from folk, fills the gaps and deficiencies existing in our language and literature [...] the content of the journal will be: firstly the broad scope of useful sciences and arts, then the knowledge of the homeland, and finally and especially the answer to the needs of our language and literature.”¹²⁷ The germanophone publication also included a wide range of historical and philological studies concerned with the Czech nation and Slavic culture, but met with only marginal interest, having fewer than 200 readers per issue. In 1830 the journal began to appear quarterly, and in 1832 it was cancelled and the readers were informed that from then on the journal would appear irregularly, which meant de facto the end of its existence.¹²⁸ The Czech journal was renamed *The Journal of the Bohemian Museum* (*Časopis Českého Museum*), and

¹²⁴ “The history of all people (*Völker*) identifies epochs, in which the energy of nations, directed outwards, excited by long tempests, when calmness returns, reclaims itself, reconciles bedraggled muses and elevates arts and sciences to flourish.” Kolowrat, Franz Graf von, “An die Vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften.” *ISIS oder Encyclopädische Zeitung*, no. I - IV (1818): 1100 – 1103, here 1100; reprinted in Kolowrat, Franz Graf von, “An die vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften.” *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 1 (1823): 18-24.

¹²⁵ Thienen-Adlerflycht, Christoph, *Graf Leo Thun im Vormärz. Grundlagen des böhmischen Konservatismus im Kaisertum Österreich*. Graz, Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 1967.

¹²⁶ “[Editorial].” *Časopis Společnosti vlastenského museum w Čechách* 1 (1827): 3-8, here 4.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹²⁸ “Nachricht über die Fortsetzung dieser Zeitschrift im J. 1832.” *Jahrbuch des Böhmischen Museums für Natur und Landeskunde, Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur* 2 (1832).

due to financial problems was put under the patronage of *Matice česká*, an autonomous branch of the museum concerned with literature and a printing house, which published among other works, Jungmann's *Czech-German Dictionary* (*Slovník česko-německý*, 1834-1839) and Šafárik's *Slav Antiques* (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1836).

Despite this institutional variety, the esteem given to Habsburg science (apart from medicine¹²⁹) remained extremely limited. Lorenz Oken for instance, commenting on the inauguration of the *Museum* in 1818, stated that pure collections would not produce scientific development if they were not included in the communicatory network of science. Oken regarded collections in Graz, Prague or Vienna as among the most interesting in Europe, though: "What do you do with it? Nothing. Nothing. And once more nothing." Finally, Oken held repressive censorship responsible for the passivity of Habsburg scientists: "But why do the scholars do nothing? There is the rub. Here we come to our old song. Restraint of the press, restraint of mind [...] Do you not realize that everything in the world is so reciprocal, that a scholar stimulates scholar. If you had a lively general literary life and work [...] they [scholars – J.S.] would be allowed to write everything that the wind whispers in their ears."¹³⁰

The lack of centralized scientific institutions was especially severely criticized in the first half of the nineteenth century, not only by Habsburg scholars, but also foreigners, like British surgeon William Wilde. Wilde, reporting from his journey to the Monarchy in 1843, saw Vienna as a city with lively scholarly production, especially in medicine (pathological anatomy and ophthalmology), and profound scholarly history. Wilde wrote, "it is more than Egiptian (sic!) blindness in them [Austrian monarchy and the ruling house – J.S.] to remain passive spectators of the overpowering efforts of the Slaves [sic!, i.e., Slavs – J.S.] and Magyars, and not to strengthen and bind together ... the German elements of the constitution." And he continued: "Is it not an unaccountable and unwarrantable neglect of the German race, whose scientific worth and capability is so much underrated in comparison with the

¹²⁹ See the chapters on First Vienna Medical School in Lesky, Erna, *The Vienna Medical School of the 19th Century*. Translated by L. Williams and I. S. Levij. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976; for an example of international acknowledgment see Chahrour, Marcel, "'A civilizing mission'? Austrian medicine and the reform of medical structures in the Ottoman Empire, 1838-1850." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38, no. 4 (2007): 687-705.

¹³⁰ Annotation of Oken to Kolowrat, "An die Vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften," here 1103.

Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians, to whom academies are permitted [...]”¹³¹ Wilde’s words – whether the second sentence is true or not – are a good characterization of what the German-Austrian scientific landscape lacked in comparison with international (here British) standards. Despite the existence of scientific productivity, it was not directed through journals under the auspices of a centralized academy, which could place on it its stamp, for example, through the exchange of publications. Nor was there a possibility to work interdisciplinary, there were no meetings for “mutual instruction” of scholars working solely on their own agendas.¹³² Secondly, Wilde saw science as a presentation of the cultures, which he called races. And Vienna, a symbol of the German culture in the Monarchy and at the same time of the German Confederation, lagged in the eyes of the Briton behind Pest, Prague, Milan or Venice in intellectual productivity. For Wilde, the Monarchy was an ongoing conflict of clearly-defined cultures and not a multicultural ensemble of peaceful cooperation.

Wilde clearly grasped some of the main characteristics of the Empire, in which languages coexisted, but scientific transfer was limited by linguistic skills of the scholars. The ongoing process of the development of national bibliographies, dictionaries, and growing scholarly and literary production in national languages limited the perception of the monarchy to a composite of regions. Clearly this was not only a Slavic problem: in 1830 Franz Sartori criticized the germanocentrism of the Monarchy: “the *German* language is also *not the sole* language in Austrian Empire”¹³³ and pleaded for cultural cooperation and the overcoming the linguistic boundaries. Although the idea of ‘Gesammt-Monarchie’ was pronounced at the time in various ways, it rarely went so far as to include educational multilingualism with acknowledgment of the multitude of literary languages suitable for higher education. Sartori is also unique in showing interest in peripheral cultural life from the political centre (such projects so far were directed to the centre), in order to stress the cultural autonomy and productivity to germanophone readers.

The lack of central scientific institutions, however, was experienced more in

¹³¹ Wilde, William, *Austria, its literary, scientific and medical institutions with notes and a guide to the hospitals and sanatory establishments of Vienna*. Dublin: Curry, 1843, xxii.

¹³² Ibid. 84.

¹³³ Sartori, Franz, *Historisch-ethnographische Übersicht der wissenschaftlichen Cultur, Geistesthätigkeit und Literatur des österreichischen Kaiserthumes nach seinen mannigfaltigen Sprachen und deren Bildungsstufen in skizzierten Umrissen bearbeitet. Erster Theil*. Wien: Carl Gerold, 1830, IX, emphasis in original.

Vienna than in the provinces. In Bohemia, the *Private Society in Bohemia for the Development of Mathematics, Fatherland's History, and Natural History* (Private Gesellschaft in Böhmen, zur Aufnahme der Mathematik, der vaterländischen Geschichte und der Naturgeschichte) an aristocratic organization including among others Ignaz Born, Francis Josef Kinský, Josef Dobrovský and Franz Martin Pelzel (František Martin Pelcl) was constituted around 1771. It was strictly a regionally bound institution, whose aim was to foster research on provincial/regional particularities and catch up with 'German' cities, where universities were reinforced by the academies, as Ignaz Born wrote in the introduction for the first volume of the society's proceedings.¹³⁴ In 1784 Joseph II and the *Studienhofkommission* denied the society status as a learned academy. The society was allowed, however, to use university facilities (and received one room in the Prague *Carolinum* and, from 1828, two) and its bylaws were approved. From 1791 the society was awarded 'royal' status by Leopold II, as bilingual Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences (Königliche böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften / Královská česká společnost nauk) uniting scholars of different cultural background and nationality.¹³⁵ The society published *Gelehrte Nachrichten* (1771-1772) and later *Abhandlungen*, and had, due to its aristocratic linkages, a stable financial situation, which allowed it to bestow awards, subventions and scholarships.¹³⁶

In Galicia,¹³⁷ Cracow's learned society was established in 1815 as the *Cracow Academic Society Linked with the Cracow University* (Societatis Litterariae cum Universitate Studiorum Cracoviense Conjunctae, Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim połączone), the aim of which was the betterment of national literature. It was not before 1840, however, when Józef Brodowicz restructured the society based on other academies, limiting the number of active members, strengthening the links with the university and obligating active members to publish and hold lectures at regular meetings.¹³⁸ The *Society* published a yearbook

¹³⁴ Quoted in Kalousek, *Geschichte der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 43.

¹³⁵ Krueger, *Czech, German, and noble*, 104-105, Pokorná, Magdaléna, "Královská česká společnost nauk." In *Bohemia docta: k historickým kořenům vědy v českých zemích*, edited by Alena Mišková, Martin Franc and Antonín Kostlán, Praha: Academia, 2010, 58-144.

¹³⁶ Kalousek, *Geschichte der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*.

¹³⁷ At that time Cracow was a Free City, previously in the Habsburg Empire and from 1809 in the Duchy of Warsaw established by Napoleon I.

¹³⁸ Hübner, Piotr, ed. *Od Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego do Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności: refleksje jubileuszowe Mieczysława Offmańskiego, Tadeusza Sinki, Stanisława Wróblewskiego, Stanisława Kutrzeby*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2002, 226.

annually, beginning in 1817 (Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim Połączonego), which was from its first edition almost exclusively in Polish. To be precise, however, Polish scholarly societies remained transimperial, and in the period before 1863 it was rather Grand Duchy of Posen/Poznań (Großherzogtum Posen, Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie), Congress Poland (Царство Польское, Królestwo Polskie) later restructured as Vistula Land (Привислинский Край, Kraj Nadwiślański) and the Free City of Cracow where scholarship thrived, escaping the censorship of Metternich.¹³⁹ While the 'powerful and learned' thus transgressed state boundaries, the important role of education and specifically popular education in Galicia was the domain of L'viv University together with church institutions,¹⁴⁰ with the *Ossolineum* established only in the late 1820s.¹⁴¹

Apart from those societies, there existed a number of officially recognised progress-oriented societies, like the *Moravian-Silesian Society for the Furtherance of Agriculture, Natural History and Geography* (k.k. mährisch-schlesische Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaues, der Natur- und Landeskunde) in Brno, and museums took over the organization of research at the time.¹⁴² In eastern Galicia, the first secular cultural organizations with Ruthenian alignments, *Scientific-literary Society Halyts'ko-Rus'ka Matytsia* (Науково-літературне товариство "Галицько-руська матиця") and *Narodny Dim* (Народний дім) were established only in 1848, after the Ruthenians obtained political representation.

The existence of the regional centers of professionalized science might have in fact even been an obstacle to the creation of the central academy in Vienna, since, for example, the Bohemian aristocracy complained that the creation of a central learned society would diminish the importance of very well functioning regional societies and lead to unwanted centralization.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Suchodolski, Bogdan, ed. *Historia nauki polskiej. T. 3, 1795-1862*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, Zakład Historii Nauki, Oświaty i Techniki, 1977; the freedoms within these regions as compared to Galicia were recently newly revaluated by Maciej Janowski and Jerzy Jedlicki in Jedlicki, *Dzieje inteligencji polskiej do roku 1918*, vol. 1: *Narodziny inteligencji (1750-1831)* and vol. 2: *Błędne koło 1832-1864*.

¹⁴⁰ Röska-Rydel, Isabel, *Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburger Reiches : die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772 bis 1848*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993, especially 170-204.

¹⁴¹ Puchalski, "Vom Parnassus Ossolinus zur Nationalschatzkammer. Die Ossolińskie Bibliothek und ihr Gedächtniserbe."

¹⁴² Krueger, Rita A., "Mediating Progress in the Provinces: Central Authority, Local Elites, and Agrarian Societies in Bohemia and Moravia." *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 49-79.

¹⁴³ Meister, Richard, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1847-1947, Denkschriften*

A Viennese academy, already proposed by Leibnitz, had not only aristocratic opponents, but Metternich as well, who at first opposed the idea of autonomous science and could only acknowledge the academy if it would be in the political interests of the Empire. The political role of science was clearly pronounced by the opening of the Imperial¹⁴⁴ Academy of Sciences and Arts (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste) in 1847. Its aim, beyond forging science, was „to secure the [...] beneficial knowledge and experience [...] as well as to support the government’s functions through answering questions and problems, which belong to the scope of scholarship.“¹⁴⁵ Metternich saw it as both a state-controlled outlet for scholars and a means to better Habsburg standing in international competition, as notable academies were already highly valued.¹⁴⁶ In the discussions on the creation of the Academy, its supra-regional character was decided, which was however not undisputed, both by proponents of a strong Viennese centre for science, as well as those who desired a Viennese academy to be on the same level as provincial learned societies of the time, that is mostly their noble patrons.¹⁴⁷ Among the nominees in 1847 and early 1848 were not only Viennese scholars, who constituted about half of the nominees, but also Czech-Bohemian scholars Šafárik, Palacký, Presl and František Petřina, Hungarian scholars like Teleki József and Kemény József and Italian scholars, all representing the unity of the Habsburg scientific community of the time.¹⁴⁸ Galicia – symbolically included through the person of Josef Russeger, geologist and since 1843 administrator of the salt mines in Wieliczka / Groß Salze (corresponding member in 1848)¹⁴⁹ – was officially excluded from the first nominations due to the political turmoil in the province. Michał Wiszniewski, professor of Polish literature in Cracow, proposed for corresponding membership in 1848, was denied confirmation through the Emperor.¹⁵⁰ The first Polish and

der Gesamtakademie. Bd. I. Wien: Adolfs Holzhausens.

¹⁴⁴ To take it strictly by the name, it was to be restricted to Austria, as concluding from the long title of the majesty, Ferdinand I. was Emperor of Austria, and King/(Arch)Duke/Prince/Margrave/Lord etc. of other provinces; usually this duality was noted as famous k.k. (royal and imperial).

¹⁴⁵ *Wiener Zeitung*, 17.3.1847.

¹⁴⁶ Kadletz-Schöffel, *Metternich und die Wissenschaften*, 266-319, here 299

¹⁴⁷ Meister, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

¹⁴⁸ 18 nominees were from Vienna, 7 from Lombardy and Veneto, 6 from Bohemia, 4 from Hungary and Transylvania, 2 from Styria, 2 from Tirol, one from Upper-Austria. After *Denkschrift* 1, 1850.

¹⁴⁹ In 1850 Russeger was nominated director of the Mining and Forestry Academy at Banská Štiavnica/ Schemnitz / Selmezbánya (Berg- und Forstakademie, Bányászati-kohászati és erdészeti akadémia, Banicka a lesnícka akadémia).

¹⁵⁰ Meister, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 56.

Ruthenian scholars were acknowledged only in the late nineteenth century.

To guarantee control over the Academy, Archduke John of Austria was appointed as curator and the Academy was subjected to censorship, although already on 13 March 1848 the Academy was freed from censorship due to its inefficacy. The first president of the Academy, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, already in conflict with politicians due to his involvement with a famous memorandum *The Present Conditions of Censorship in Austria* (*Die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Österreich*, 1845),¹⁵¹ argued that the Academy is neither a political nor educational body, but has to deal with science itself. The Academy further refused to lend its name to political gatherings, like the Frankfurt Parliament, claiming that its aim was to deal not with politics but science.¹⁵²

Highlighting the education-scholarship dualism which as noted before was pivotal for the imperial-statist understanding and constitution of universities, is not to say that there was no place for 'science' within the university walls; a glance at the names of, for example, physicists or chemists – especially in Vienna – reveals modern and well acknowledged scholars, who were also well linked internationally. However, the lack of funding, institutes and research possibilities, made the exchange of knowledge between students and professors hardly realizable. The supervision of *Studiendirektoren*, censorship of schoolbooks, and strong political control over the contents of learning all led to a situation in which the reform of the university was one of the most expected and vocal demands during the 1848 revolution. In the first place, the freedom of learning and teaching, as evidenced in other countries, should replace the controlled and regulated system, allowing broader access to education and knowledge, which liberals saw as important factor for imperial culture and its well-being. The critique was of course differently framed – nationalists hoped for more national autonomy, liberals for liberties; conservative scholars were, on the other hand, skeptical of the potential of reform and after 1848 clearly criticized the new Ministry for neglecting the moral values education should embody. Before going into detail on the post-revolutionary structural and ideological conundrum, it is important to note the role universities were to play in the enlightened absolutism.

¹⁵¹ On Purgstall see Sutter Fichtner, Paula, "History, Religion, and Politics in the Austrian *Vormärz*." *History and Theory* 10, no. 1 (1971): 33-48.

¹⁵² Huber, Alfons, *Geschichte der Gründung und der Wirksamkeit: der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften während der ersten fünfzig Jahre ihres Bestandes*. Wien: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1897, 79.

The number of universities and their faculties varied over time but remained closely linked to these educational premises. After the universities (apart from Vienna, Prague and Pest) were mostly demoted to *Lyzeen* in the late eighteenth century, Franz I reinstalled universities in L'viv (1817), Innsbruck (1826), Graz (1827) and Olomouc (1827) – but without medical faculties. Medical studies were taught at university-connected *Medical-Surgical Studies* (Mediko-Chirurgische Lehranstalten), with limited numbers of teachers and oriented towards practical education of accoucheuses and surgeons (Wundärzte) without the right of promotion. The *Medical-Surgical Josephs-Academy* (k.k. medizinisch-chirurgische Josephs-Academie) in Vienna, established 1785, had the same practical designation and in the 1820's advanced to a second Medical Faculty of the university, while not being a part of it. As for the Medical Faculty, it was divided into a two-year-long *Surgical study for civil physicians and surgeons* (*Chirurgisches Studium für Civil und Wundärzte*, including also courses for accoucheuses) structured as at the *Lehranstalten*, and a five-year *Study of Pharmacology and Higher Surgical Arts* (*Studium der Arzneykunde und höheren Wundarzneykunst*). This well reflected the duality between practical and 'higher' education.

The 'Philosophical Faculty' had the same semi-university status as *Lehranstalten*, being the preparatory level between gymnasium and university.¹⁵³ *Philosophicum*, as a preparatory program for university and a link between gymnasium and academia, was established in 1805. Special consideration was given to philosophy, which was defined as a "medium of high intellectual culture" and "groundwork-science for all others vocational sciences,"¹⁵⁴ and was clearly denoted as preparation for the subjects which were to be taught at the university. The program of preparatory study consisted of logic, ethics and metaphysics (philosophy of religion), elementary and higher mathematics, physics, natural history, world history,

¹⁵³ For the Philosophical Faculty before 1848 cf. Rüdiger, Erika, *Die philosophischen Studien an der Wiener Universität 1800 bis 1848*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vienna University, 1964; Stachel, Peter, "Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918." In *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften. Bd.1: Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*, edited by Karl Acham, Wien: Passagen Verlag, 1999, 115-146; see also Widmann, Eva S., "Vormärzliches Studium im Spiegel autobiographischer Quellen." In *Österreichische Bildungs- und Schulgeschichte von der Aufklärung bis zum Liberalismus*, edited by Gerda Mraz, Eisenstadt: Institut für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1974, 118-137.

¹⁵⁴ Meister, Richard, *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens. Teil II Dokumente*. Wien: Böhlhaus Nachf., Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1963, 33.

auxiliary sciences of history, and the Greek language. In 1813 the practical orientation of philosophical study was once more clearly stated, as the professors were reminded that their aim was “not to educate scholars,”¹⁵⁵ and the duration of *Philosophicum* was reduced from three years to two.

University lectures were held – or more accurately, read – on the basis of the so-called *Vorlesungsbücher*, textbooks which had to be approved by the Ministry, and accordance to its text was more or less strictly controlled. Disobedience was severely punished: Bernhard Bolzano (Prague), Andreas Benedict Freimoser (Innsbruck) or Leopold Rembold (Vienna) were removed from the University for violating this rule.¹⁵⁶ Although the professors were allowed to submit their books as a basis for lectures, only several of them decided to do so, as this path was highly complicated and insecure. Only in the late 1820s was the free lecture based on a lecturer’s own manuscripts allowed for non-compulsory subjects.¹⁵⁷

The possibility to study abroad (inclusive of non-Austrian parts of the German Confederation), which was especially tempting for non-Catholic students, was strongly limited in the year 1829; foreign courses and diplomas were not accepted, and authorization by the police was requested from students crossing the border.¹⁵⁸ The government was seemingly alarmed that through the freedom of learning and teaching, which was introduced at some foreign universities, a channel by which liberal or anti-absolutist ideas could travel would be opened.¹⁵⁹ Students who wanted to study outside the Monarchy could bribe functionaries and travel, but they had to be aware that this could bring problems with the police.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, students from other Habsburg provinces could study at the Vienna University only as extra-mural students (*Hospitanten*) and were not allowed to take exams. Only students from the Hungarian Kingdom could freely study Protestant theology in the capital city, which was linked with government’s conviction that they could in this way be

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. on Bolzano: Winter, Eduard, *Der Bolzanoprozess. Dokumente zur Geschichte der Prager Karlsuniversität im Vormärz*. Brunn, München, Wien: Rohrer, 1944; see also on the political atmosphere at the universities Litsch, Karel, "Zur Rechtsstellung der Prager Universitätsprofessoren in der ersten Hälfte der 19. Jahrhunderts." In Lemberg, Litsch, Plaschka, Ránki (eds.), *Bildungsgeschichte, Bevölkerungsgeschichte, Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 3-17.

¹⁵⁷ Meister, *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens*, 58-68;

¹⁵⁸ Rüddeger, *Die philosophischen Studien an der Wiener Universität*, 55.

¹⁵⁹ Novak, Clemens, and Martin Haidinger, *Der Anteil der organisierten Studentenschaft an der Märzrevolution 1848 in Wien und die Bedeutung dieses Ereignisses für die Korporationen von Heute*. Wien: Akademischer Corporations-Club, 1999, 13f.

¹⁶⁰ Arneth, Alfred, *Aus meinem Leben, 1, 1819–1849*. Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1891, here 200.

prevented from studying abroad; there was no Protestant Faculty in Transleithania at the time.¹⁶¹

Restrictions on the exchange of ideas were reinforced on other levels as well. The libraries produced lists of banned books from 1815, which could not be read in the library and which included, for example, Fichte's *Staatslehre* or Joseph von Hormayr's *Pocket Book for History of Fatherland* (*Taschenbuch für vaterländische Geschichte*, 1811-1848). Authors like Goethe, Schlosser or Kant could be read *erga schedam* – only with permission from the local police department.¹⁶² Moreover, in Metternich's liberalophobia, the correspondence of universities with foreign schools was banned.¹⁶³

The development of Galician universities was more complicated. The Cracow Academy (which was later named the Jagiellonian University) was the provincial university (*Landesuniversität*) for Galicia 1805-1817, while at the time L'viv University was a lyceum. After 1817, when Cracow was named a Free City, L'viv University was restored as Franz I University along the lines of Habsburg universities, with German the language of instruction and with a chair for the Polish language installed in 1817 but filled only in 1827 by Mikołaj Michalewicz.¹⁶⁴ The Cracow Academy was at that time a semi-autonomous body, controlled by protector states (Habsburg, Prussia, Russia), with extended rights which included the possibility to accept students from other regions of the pre-partition Commonwealth. This privilege was revoked in the aftermath of November Uprising (1831), as the university was regarded as important place for forging revolutionary national ideas and contacts.¹⁶⁵ At this time, the Academy remained a small and provincial institution with some 200 students, compared with 1,400 in L'viv. The curriculum was based on that of the Habsburg universities with a preparatory Philosophical Faculty. Only the Law Faculty

¹⁶¹ Kalmar, János, "L'université hongroise au temps des réformes." *Études danubiennes* 3, no. 2 (1987): 141-146, here 143.

¹⁶² Grassauer, Ferdinand, "Universitätsbibliothek." In *Geschichte der Wiener Universität von 1848 bis 1898. Als Huldigungsfestschrift zum 50-jähr. Regierungsjubiläum seiner k.k. apostolischen Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I. hrsg. vom akad. Senate der Wiener Universität*, Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1898, 367-380.

¹⁶³ Frankfurter, Salomon, *Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein, Franz Exner und Hermann Bonitz. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform*. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1893, 10.

¹⁶⁴ Finkel, Ludwik, and Stanisław Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*. Lwów: C.K. Uniwersytet Lwowski, 1894, 243.

¹⁶⁵ Mrozowska, Kamilla "Okres ucisku i darennych prób wyzwoleniczych, 1833-1850." In *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1765-1850. Tom II część I.*, edited by Mirosława Chamcówna and Kamilla Mrozowska, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1965, 182-235, here 183.

was based on the University of Berlin's curriculum. After the Cracow Uprising in 1846, the Free State Cracow was incorporated into the Habsburg Monarchy, and the University began to be restructured completely on the Austrian model.¹⁶⁶

The language of instruction in the Monarchy was Latin at the secular faculties and German at the Philosophical Faculty (exclusively from 1824 onwards), although there were also chairs of particular literatures (L'viv, Prague), practical teaching of foreign languages (readerships), education for midwives and surgeons (first cycles) in local languages. Knowledge of the local language was required at some universities for obtaining a position.¹⁶⁷ In Cracow the language of instruction was Latin (from 1833 onwards), with the exception of practical subjects and lectures at the Philosophical Faculty, in which instructors had a free choice of language apart from religion, philosophy and classical languages (Latin) and Polish literature and popular mechanics (Polish).

The circulation of knowledge was limited to the rotation in professorships, which were appointed by open concurs. The candidates, chosen by the *Studiendirektor*, were required to take an exam with three questions and hold an open lecture. The teachers who already held an appointment at other universities were exempt from the exam. The results were compiled by the *Studiendirektor* and forwarded to the *Studienhofkommision* together with opinions of the provincial government. The final appointment by the Emperor was provisory for three years, and afterwards had to be verified.¹⁶⁸ It was acknowledged, however, that the senior professors should be appointed to Vienna University as a reward for their long-lasting service and the guarantee of high scholarly standards at the central school of the Monarchy. This led also to critique of the low research standard in Vienna, because the older professors usually concentrated more on teaching than scientific production. Adolf Jüstel stated, for example, that this practice made Vienna a "honorable house of invalids,"¹⁶⁹ and Ernst von Feuchtersleben, for a short time responsible for the

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ There is though no data on this question apart from for Innsbruck University (Oberkofler, Gerhard *Die Rechtslehre in italienischer Sprache an der Universität Innsbruck*. Innsbruck: Kommissionverlag der Österreichischen Kommissionsbuchhandlung, 1975, 9)

¹⁶⁸ Engelbrecht, Helmut, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*. Bd. 3. *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984, 283. See also for an exemplary description of the procedure: Konstantinović, Zoran, "'In der praktischen Philosophie ist ihm die Menschenwürde das Wesentlichste...'" Zu Franz Miklošič' Bewerbung um die Innsbrucker Lehrkanzel für Philosophie [1838/39]. *Österreichische Osthefte* 33 (1991): 95-103.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted in Heindl, Waltraud, "Universitäten und Eliten im Österreichischen Vormärz." *Études*

universities in the 1848 chaos, criticized the Viennese Medical Faculty for being largely overaged.¹⁷⁰

The process of appointing professors was somewhat similar to that of officers in the army, as they not only had to comply with the political ideology of the monarchy, but also be able to resist or even appease the national feelings at the universities. Especially in the Polish historiographic tradition, the idea that professors appointed to L'viv and Cracow¹⁷¹ were of low quality, received their positions through political connections and presented nearly anti-Polish sentiment was and still is very widespread. It must be stressed that most German speaking nominees from other provinces did not integrate into 'national' city life, which historians tend to accentuate, and were against all reform and revolutionary movements which could lead towards revolution. But measuring scholarly quality through 'national' involvement, which only later in the century grew to be decisive, is rather wrong direction. This is especially so because at the same time the cities and their students were far from monocultural. It must be also noted that many professors did indeed participate in the 1848 revolution, and that their ideas on the role of the university were not in direct conflict with those of the students, as the issue was later presented. Thus if the Ministry wanted to eliminate liberalism from the university, 1848 proved them wrong – even given the conceptual change of loyalties during the revolution.

From 1811 universities also included the so called “nurseries for education of future professors” (*Pflanzschulen zur Bildung künftiger Professoren*), which consisted of assistants, adjuncts, prosectors, etc. In the Medical Faculty the *Pflanzschule* consisted of more or less all scientific personnel assigned to the professors, both at the university and at the hospital (assistants, secondary physicians and so on). The other faculties had a limited number of young academics – the theological two, the law one and the *Philosophicum* two.¹⁷² The announced aim of the *Pflanzschule* was preparation for a professorship, and professors were officially forbidden from

danubiennes 3, no. 2 (1987): 117-128, here 123.

¹⁷⁰ Gorceix, Paul, *Ernst von Feuchtersleben, moraliste et pédagogue (1806-1849) : contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme libéral dans l'Autriche d'avant 1848*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976, 155-156.

¹⁷¹ In Cracow several scholars from Prussia were also appointed.

¹⁷² Beck von Mannagetta, Leo, and Karl Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze. Sammlung der für die österreichischen Universitäten geltigen Gesetze, Verordnungen, Erlässe, Studien- und Prüfungsordnungen usw.* Wien: Manz'sche k.k. Hofverlags- und Universitäts- Buchhandlung, 1906, Nr. 223, 224

mistreating their younger colleagues as servants, which could impede their academic progress.

Given their educational and practical orientation, pre-1848 universities and intellectuals played an important role, however, in discussions on the ideology of the state and/or nation, as their position was certainly privileged in comparison to private scholars. Merely through elaborations on linguistics, several university scholars gained national respect, although they were rarely in the first ranks of patriots or nationalists. Brother Jan Svatopluk and Karl Bořiwog Presl, professors respectively of zoology and mineralogy, and natural history and technology in Prague, and who were also active Czech nationalists, can be regarded here as rare exceptions to the rule. To a large extent, though, universities remained higher schools for forging state patriotism for state officials, cadres who were to produce conservative and not-nationalist subjects loyal to the throne and altar.

The teaching of history at the universities can serve as an example of the merging of politics and scholarship in academic education. *Naturrecht* (natural law), introduced in 1774 as a mandatory basis of law education, described and defined the relationship between state, society and politics.¹⁷³ Carl Anton von Martini's theory defined absolute monarchy as an ideal state form, which could help to unite and bind social forces.¹⁷⁴ Martini defined democracy as the 'natural' state of society; people submit voluntarily to the sovereign, who has than no other option than to serve "the ultimate purpose of the state". Civil rights are then to be guaranteed by him. The sovereign replaces legal rights; he is the one who defines them by his responsibility to the people.

This theory constituted the doctrine of state, especially after 1790, as a reform commission, led by Martini, replaced the historical subjects at the universities through his conception of natural law, which was at the same time a historiosophical theory leading to the legitimating of absolutistic state. This theory, slightly revised, was the binding state theory until 1848. Popular history, in the form of the history of the Empire, was seen as too dangerous in the era of the French Revolution. Even though reformers of the university system like Gottfried von Swieten or Joseph von

¹⁷³ Brauner, Wilhelm, "Vom Nutzen des Naturrechts für die Habsburgermonarchie. Naturrecht und Staat." In *Naturrecht und Staat Politische Funktionen des europäischen Naturrechts (17.–19. Jahrhundert)*, edited by Diethelm Klippel, München: Oldenbourg, 2006, 145-170.

¹⁷⁴ Martini, Carl Anton von, *Allgemeines Recht der Staaten zum Gebrauch der öffentlichen Vorlesungen in den k.k. Staaten*. Wien: Möble, 1799.

Sonnenfels saw commonality and culture as the basis of *Vaterland*, their conceptions were rejected by the university educational system. From 1820 onwards, however, the history of the Austrian Empire, being linked with world history, was more influential at the universities.¹⁷⁵ Its presentation was though clearly Emperor/Empire-centred with the inclusion of moral values which were to guide the future officials and stabilize the ideological backbone of the state.

History, in the modern understanding of the discipline, however, can be found in popular presentations, such as *Austrian Plutarch, or Life and Portraits of all Regents and most celebrated Generals, Statesmen, Scholars and Artists of the Austrian Kaiserstaat* (*Österreichischer Plutarch oder Leben und Bildnisse aller Regenten und der berühmtesten Feldherren, Staatsmänner, Gelehrten und Künstler des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 1807-1820) by “Historiograph des kaiserlichen Hauses” Joseph Hormayr (actually banned in 1828 and later castigator of Metternich’s policy). Its aim, like that of other “Plutarchs,” was to establish a kind of ethical code and model for future generations.¹⁷⁶ “Plutarch” underscored the role of Catholicism and loyalty, constructed a narrative of productive national plurality as the basis of the cultural flourishing of the Monarchy: “Such an intensive see-saw, such multifarious flow back and forth, such adjacency and abundance of mutually helping force [...] feeding and strengthening the people and the lands, whose originality would soon reprobate in one, eternally rehashing uniformity.”¹⁷⁷ As mentioned before, most historiographical work was done in a patriotic guise and was certainly not interested in constructing a narrative that could successfully transform the political nation into a cultural, multilingual nation, especially since the censors did not welcome narratives pointing towards developments and political changes.¹⁷⁸ For example, these paralleled forms of exclusive nationalism or religious-criticism, were the cause of Palacký’s problems with censorship of his history of Bohemia. On the

¹⁷⁵ Matiassek, Anna, *Die Entwicklung des Geschichtsunterrichts an der Wiener Universität von Zeitalter des Humanismus bis 1848*. Unpublished dissertation at the Institute for History, University of Vienna. Wien, 1934.

¹⁷⁶ Söderqvist, Thomas, “Wissenschaftsgeschichte à la Plutarch. Biographie über Wissenschaftler als tugendethische Gattung.” In *Biographie schreiben. Proceedings from a conference held on Jan. 19, 2001 at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, edited by Heinz Bödeker, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001, 285-326, esp. 301-326.

¹⁷⁷ Hormayr, Joseph, “An die Leser des österreichischen Plutarch.” In *Oesterreichischer Plutarch, oder Leben und Bildnisse aller Regenten, und der berühmtesten Feldherrn, Staatsmänner, Gelehrten und Künstler*, edited by Idem, Wien: Anton Doll, 1807, 49-51.

¹⁷⁸ Sutter Fichtner, “History, Religion, and Politics in the Austrian *Vormärz*.”

other hand, national grand narratives in Central Europe were only beginning to be published at the time, influenced by German scholarship (for example by Herder, August Schlözer, Arnold Heeren) and French liberal school (Jules Michelet, François Guizot and others). Contrary to the political history, they concentrated on the folk instead of the state, sought for a ‘national’ golden age and only rarely dealt with the direct past.¹⁷⁹ Clearly such approaches opposed the imperial ethos irrespective of whether they related to Slavic or Pan-Germanic communities. Liberalism, as a possibility of taking an anti-imperial position, was clearly perceived as the major threat against which politics worked and education/scholarship were regarded and consciously applied as a means of stabilising loyalty.

¹⁷⁹ Baár, Monika, *Historians and Nationalism. East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

3. “Science and Education.” Universities between Politics, Education and Science

Austrian Universities were created through the sovereign as autonomous corporations, endowed with constitutional privileges and laws of property. With time they largely lost their autonomous positions and are organised now as *state* institutions, although their position as legal person has not been rescinded by legal means.

Ministry for Education and Religion, 1897¹

The revolutions of 1848, often seen as a turning point in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, spelled far-ranging changes for universities and intellectual life there. In the first place, universities were reformed according to the Prussian system, though with variations according to the cultural particularities of the monarchy. This was also a time at which universities began to teach intensively humanistic subjects – in accordance with liberal and nationalist demands, but with the same aim of the *Vormärz* in promoting a loyalist narrative, a plan which ultimately backfired. Secondly, the revolutions spawned demands for the reassessment of the boundaries of the German Confederation on the part of Bohemia, a change of the structure of political relations from the Hungarians, federalisation, and secession by the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia, all of which illustrated the instability of imperial space and political structures, both across the Empire as well as within the provinces themselves. Thirdly, the constitutional reforms as well as the liberalisation of cultural life – even if brief and followed by a neoabsolutistic regime – brought a reconfiguration of the structure of governance and also of the discourse of loyalty and culture’s influence on it. The Frankfurt Parliament, the Krems Parliament, the Prague Slavic Congress, the April Laws in Hungary, the Petition of Liptovský Mikuláš (Liptau-Sankt-Nikolaus, Liptószentmiklós) and other acts remained without practical importance, but publicly presented the points of agreement of different parties; this along with the abolition of censorship enabled the creation of an active public sphere and of an open discussion of how the monarchy should be structured. For universities and scholarship in general, changes in the political sphere did not mean a complete revolution, but a set of gradual

¹ Beck von Mannagetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 1.

transformations triggered by the atmosphere engendered by 1848, including a free flow of literature, accentuation and acceptance of cultural diversity and political interest in managing it, and finally the relaxation of border regimes, which elevated the importance of cultural-cum-linguistic spaces while lessening the influence of the state frontiers.

As the Habsburg Monarchy was shaken by the wave of revolutionary movements and outbreaks, students were among the first on the revolutionary barricades in Cracow, Prague or Vienna. Their teachers often joined or even led the political reaction against absolutism, proving that political supervision was either unsuccessful or not as grim as often claimed. This was of course not the first openly political movement against the government in which scholars participated, transgressing pure discussion. In Cracow, for example, scholarly political activism had a longstanding tradition: two years before 1848, professors of the Medical Faculty served the insurgents on the battlefield, and professor of Polish language and literature Michał Wiszniewski was, for one day, the self-proclaimed leader of the uprising in the semi autonomous Free City, though he strove to conclude the rebellion through political mediation, against the will of nationalistic organisations.² In the other regions, groups of scholars and intellectuals fuelled political liberalism, demanding the liberalisation of public and cultural life, but without open anti-governmental action to the level of revolution. These demands were not only used in manifestos; they stood on the barricades as well.

In university cities, students formed so called *Studentenlegionen*, whose aim was to aid the revolutionaries through active participation in the revolutions. At the beginning of the movement, national issues sat decidedly in the second row behind the political calls for coup d'état against Metternich's oppressive regime, in favour of liberalism, and national demands. In Prague, Bohemian students fought hand in hand, forgetting cultural conflicts and differences and turning against government. Paradoxically, this meant turning against Count Leo (Leopold) Thun Hohenstein, who

² Wiszniewski imprisoned Piotr Tyssowski, who had acted as a 'dictator' on behalf of National Government of Polish Republic (*Rząd Narodowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*), a political organization with backing of emigrational organizations, being acknowledged by them as the continuation of Polish statehood. After one day dictatorship, Wiszniewski was turned down by Edward Dembowski. Mrozowska, „Okres ucisku i daremnych prób wyzwolenicznych, 1833-1850,” 208; Lewicki, Karol, “Katedra Literatury Polskiej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w latach 1803-1848.” In *Dzieje Katedry Historii Literatury Polskiej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim*, edited by Mirosława Chamcówna et al., Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 1966, 43-83, here 68-69.

shortly before had been named governor of Bohemia.³ Viennese students supported the petition for utraquisation of the Charles University and polonisation of Cracow University, etc.⁴ Only in Galicia did the supranational idea of political revolution lose out to national divisions, as Ruthenian nationalists fiercely rejected cooperation with the Polish national party.⁵

Already before the revolution, the Vienna *Juridical-Political Reading Association* (Juridisch-Politische Leseverein), known as the educated “second society”, whose members were among others students and professors like Anton Hye, Karl Giskra or Stephan Endlicher, played an eminent political role in promoting antiabsolutistic policy. This contributed largely to the abolition of censorship on 13 March 1848 and the declaration of autonomy for universities.⁶ In Innsbruck, professors, Albert Jäger and Alois Flir among others, stood at the centre of the struggle over the question of Tyrolean autonomy.⁷ In Cracow, academic legions were organized by professor of library sciences Józef Muczkowski and physiologist Józef Majer; at L’viv’s university librarian Franciszek Stroński, and chemist at the Technical Academy Friedrich Rochleder led the Polish academic legion. However, political participation brought negative outcomes for the universities as well: for example the buildings of Vienna and L’viv universities were closed, the first due to a political decision designed to counter the possibility of students gatherings in the city centre, the latter due to serious damages during the bombardment of the city by the army

³ Thun was held captive in Carolinum and could be released only by mediation of Šafařík. Štaif, Jiří, “Palackýs Partei der tschechischen Liberalen und die konservative Variante der böhmischen Politik.” In *1848/49 Revolutionen in Ostmitteleuropa. Vorträge der Tagung des Collegiums Carolinum in Bad Wiessee vom 30. November bis 1. Dezember 1990*, edited by Rudolf Jaworski and Robert Luft, München: Oldenburg 1996, 57-73, here 65.

⁴ On the political participation of students in the revolution cf. Havránek, Jan, “Karolinum v revoluci 1848.” AUC-HUCP 26, no. 2 (1986): 35-75; Maisel, Thomas, *Alma Mater auf den Barrikaden. Die Universität Wien im Revolutionsjahr 1848*. Wien: WUV Wiener Universitätsverlag 1998; Molisch, Peter, *Eduard Neussers studentische Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1848. Eingeleitet und Herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Molisch*. Wien: [Sonderabdruck aus den Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Bd XIII/XIV] 1933; Finkel, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, 297-306.

⁵ It is though not clear as to the influence of the legions, as they were badly armed and undisciplined. Cf. Majewski, Przemysław, “Gwardie narodowe w Galicji w czasie Wiosny Ludów.” In *Per aspera ad astra Materiały z XVI Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Historyków Studentów w Krakowie 16-20 kwietnia 2008. t. VII: Historia Polski pod zaborami*, edited by Adam Świątek. Kraków: Koło Naukowe Historyków UJ, AT Group 2008, 31-48.

⁶ On the Association see Brauner, Wilhelm, *Leseverein und Rechtskultur. Der Juridisch-Politische Leseverein zu Wien 1840-1990*. Wien: Manz 1992.

⁷ Heiss, Hans and Thomas Götz, *Am Rand der Revolution. Tirol 1848/49*. Bozen: Folio Verlag 1998.

under the command William Friedrich Hammerstein.⁸

Petitions remained the most useful and effective tool in the revolution, following along the lines of the growing success of political mediation, which gradually took the place of mutiny-defined revolutionary outburst issuing unconditional, and thus barely acceptable, demands. Even if appeals raised in the petitions were not entirely fulfilled, the mediation of multiple interests showed more promise than the military movement, although both the success of dialogue and its subsequent changes remained closely connected to the political assessment of the revolution and revolutionary demands. What to include in the petitions remained not entirely clarified however, leading to dissention in the faculty conferences, whose discussions brought to light the variety of approaches as to the function of university and scholarship.

The Jagiellonian University proved to be a most complicated case in this regard, as several drafts were discussed. The first address to the Emperor, composed by rector Józef Brodowicz and accepted by students and professors in March, aimed at the reintroduction of university autonomy of 1818, freedom of teaching and learning, and exclusive legal control over students – *intra* and *extra moenia*. Furthermore, the project pleaded for restitution of funds and lands (also those from other parts of partitioned Commonwealth) and for subsuming all educational facilities in the city under university's governance with a guarantee that "apart from the university and establishments linked with it, no other establishments would be found without its knowledge and explicit consent," which should concern especially religious corporations. The petition claimed particularly "that no Jesuit or ex-Jesuit ever finds himself in any teachers' corporation, and moreover, that this order, most fatal for human kind, never sets foot on this soil."⁹ This project thus aimed at reclaiming the privileges the university enjoyed in the eighteenth century, when it virtually controlled the Polish part of the Commonwealth and successfully blocked the establishment of other academic institutions. This resolution however never left the building due to a conflict between Brodowicz and students. The next petition, proposed in autumn by

⁸ Csáky, Moritz, "Altes Universitätsviertel. Erinnerungsraum, Gedächtnisort. " In *Die Verortung von Gedächtnis*, edited by Idem and Peter Stachel, Wien: Passagen, 2001, 257-277; Finkel, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, 300-306.

⁹ "Adres do cesarza," reprinted in Brodowicz, Józef, *Ważniejsze dokumenta odnoszące się do swojego udziału w sprawach i losach Zakładów naukowych b. W. M. Krakowa i jego Okręgu. Zebrał i objaśnił jako przyczynek do historyi tychże wysłużony profesor Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*. Kraków: nakładem autora, w drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1874, 77-80.

Józef Majer, included the abolishment of courses on religion, Polish as language of instruction in all subjects, the introduction of the history of Poland and, similar to Brodowicz's proposal, financial demands. This project met with opposition also, especially due to the questions of religion and language it raised. Canonical jurist Feliks Leliwa Słotwiński, for example, opposed it stating that religion should guard the students from "errors of philosophy" and exclusiveness of Polish language would not only be negative for disciplines like Austrian, Roman, Civil and Church Law, but also would "attest national hate [...] and affront the first rule of Christian religion."¹⁰ Majer's petition was finally presented to the new governor of Galicia, Wacław Zalewski, and also included postulations for new chairs, including the history of Poland, Polish law, and eastern languages. Some of these demands were fulfilled, especially the question of Polish language, acknowledged on 11 October 1848 by the governor, who asked also for recommendations for the Polish-speaking assistants, to be appointed to support those germanophone professors who taught and were supposed to remain at the university.¹¹

Already several months before, Franz Stadion, the governor of Galicia and later minister of the interior, allowed partial use of Polish in L'viv for *Privatdozenten*, but the main language of instruction was to remain German, with open prospects for Ruthenian, which was apparently envisioned to slowly replace German as language of instruction in Eastern Galicia.¹² The partial privileges for Polish in this part of the province were abandoned shortly after change of prime ministers at the end of 1848, with the argument that the majority of inhabitants in Eastern Galicia was more averse to Polish than German.¹³ The issue of language at secondary schools was one of the

¹⁰ Quoted in Mrozowska, "Okres ucisku i daremnych prób wyzwolenicznych, 1833-1850," 215.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Finkel, *Historia*, 303; Качмар, Володимир Михайлович, *Проблема українського університету у Львові в кінці XIX- на початку XX ст.: суспільно-політичний аспект*. Дисертація кандидата історичних наук: Львівський державний університет ім. Івана Франка. Unpublished dissertation at the Institute for History, Ivan Franko State University in L'viv, 1999, 36.

¹³ Cf. the appellation of deputy Alexander Borkowski from L'viv during the Constitutive Imperial Congress in Kroměříž (Kremsier) online in "Officielle stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des österr. Reichstages. Neunundsiebzigste (XXVII.) Sitzung des österreichischen constituirenden Reichstages in Kremster am 26. Jänner 1849" (accessible online: <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1848urrs/stenprot/079schuz/s079001.htm>, last access 02.02.2010); Interesting is the information on participation of professor Jan Szlachtowski in this process. Szlachtowski demanded successfully 1848 Polish language of instruction while in 1850 he enjoyed friendship with Thun, he was removed from the L'viv University for overt nationalism in 1852. For one of the interpretations on Szlachtowski's political contacts and problems see Estreicher, Karol, *Dr. Jan Kanty Szlachtowski : rzecz czytana na posiedzeniu c. k. Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego dnia 5 lutego 1872 roku*. Kraków: Kraj, 1872, esp. 19-32.

critical questions already by the time of the Prague Slavic Congress, where it was greatly discussed between Polish and Ruthenian nationalist organizations, each envisaging its respective language as leading in cultural matters in L'viv.

The issue of cultural equity was also at stake in Prague. Students, who prepared the petition, accepted afterwards by the faculty, foresaw freedom of religion and teaching at the fore, but included university autonomy in legal questions, inclusion of the technical schools to the university (as the fifth faculty) and freedom of assembly according to the laws of Munich University.¹⁴ The petition, forwarded to the government in the second half of March, was answered already on 2 April: as in L'viv, the *Privatdozenten*¹⁵ were allowed to teach in Czech, German “or any other language,”¹⁶ freedom of teaching and religion was approved and the students were allowed to study at foreign universities.

While national equality was a widely discussed topic in the nationalist circles, being seen as a part of the liberalisation of academia, in Vienna political reorganization was the main issue with respect to the structural liberalisation of the educational system. This restructuring was, however, to include language equity as a means of stabilising loyalty. Between the beginning of the revolution and June 1849 the Ministry changed several times, depending on political alliances; beginning with Franz Sommaruga, Ernst Feuchtersleben (*de jure* “Unterstaatssekretär”), several interregna with Ministry subordinated to or joined with other departments, and finally Leo Thun Hohenstein, arriving in office directly after his rather unfortunate reigns in Bohemia. Among possible candidates for the office, František Palacký – an acknowledged Bohemian patriot; (in)famous for his refusal of the invitation to the Frankfurt Parliament, critic of Bohemia's membership in the German Confederation; a signee of the Slavic Congress in Prague; and a Protestant – attracted the most interest. The “insane” action of the Pillesdorf government, who offered the position to “the most impossible of impossibles, the man [...] who has to response for the lion's

¹⁴ Havranek, "Karolinum v revoluci 1848, " 38-39.

¹⁵ “All doctors are allowed from now on, after a provisional registration by the academic senate, to teach scientific lectures.” Letter of Count Stadion to the Academic Senate, 2. April 1848, announcing the ministerial decree from 31. March 1848, Z. 252. AUK, 8a, Senát Varia, Kart. 149, Inv.č. 227. See also ministerial confirmation in "Cirkular-Verordnung des k.k. böhmischen Guberniums vom 5. April 1848. In Bezug auf die Lehr- und Lernfreiheit, Z. 89, " reprinted in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft* 3, 1848, 92.

¹⁶ Ibid.

share of current Bohemian tumults”¹⁷ was seen by the germanophone as well as the Catholic press as a “mockery of sanity and reason” and responsible for the “assassination of our great German fatherland,”¹⁸ which was threatened by such appointments as turning Austria into “a Slav state.”¹⁹ Pillersdorf was willing however to include Palacký in his government, probably as a symbolic act of recognition of the loyal Slavic spokesman into the political body of the monarchy. It was Palacký who rejected the overture, stating that he could serve the fatherland better on other fronts.

The idea of university reform underwent several stages during the revolution and its direct aftermath. The initial step was political advancement in the freedom of teaching and learning in March,²⁰ followed in June by the announcement of plans to reform the educational system, formulated by Franz Exner and liberal *Unterstaatssekretär* Ernst Feuchtersleben. They envisioned universities as a part of the cultural and not the political arena, thus breaking with pre-1848 withdrawal of academia from public life. Feuchtersleben expressed corporatist ideals of the university as a unity of professors and academics. In his eyes, the “caste-like enclosure” of teachers should be especially avoided: “the necessity of a connection with the scientific folk life (*wissenschaftliches Volksleben*) ... is to be adamantly defended and fought for.”²¹ In October 1848, Feuchtersleben resigned, with countless unfinished projects and only one half-completed, namely the regeneration of the Vienna Medical Faculty through pensioning of five, in his eyes, older professors.²²

The most important manifestation Feuchtersleben’s commitment to liberalism was the proposal prepared by Exner, overtly liberal and oriented to German models, but on the most general question of the function and position of the university still in the tradition of the *Vormärz*, and leaving to interpretation how the general aims were to be achieved. The education system was to remain a representation of the ‘Volk,’ and its main function was to prepare functionaries and teachers for future careers.

¹⁷ *Der Humorist*, 11. Mai 1848, 466.

¹⁸ *Allgemeine Österreichische Zeitung*, quoted in Kořalka, Jiří, *František Palacký (1798-1876) : der Historiker der Tschechen im österreichischen Vielvölkerstaat*. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, 282. Palacký claimed, that Franz Exner informed him later, that if he would become the minister his life would be seriously threatened.

¹⁹ *Humorist*.

²⁰ *Rede des Ministers des öffentlichen Unterrichtes Dr. Franz Freiherrn von Sommaruga gehalten in der Aule der Wiener Universität am 30. März 1848*, 1848.

²¹ Anonymous commentary in the *Wiener Zeitung*, 15. August 1848, quoted in Eggmaier, Herbert H., *Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben als Bildungspolitiker*. Klagenfurt: Abteilung für Historische und Vergleichende Pädagogik, Universität Klagenfurt 2000, 12-13.

²² *Ibid.*, 27-28.

Universities thus stood not yet as representatives of scientificity but of the political (and national) needs of provinces. Moreover, the universities, Exner wrote, “are in the first place educational establishments. It is of utmost importance not to impose on them any services, which would endanger their primary purpose.”²³ Exner proposed an educational structure on the basis of Herbartian pedagogy, centred on gymnasia, with universities clearly subordinated to the needs of the secondary education. Together with the nominee from Szczecin/Stettin, Protestant classical philologist and educational reformer Hermann Bonitz, he remained responsible for the gymnasium curricula as well, which by the late nineteenth-century were more criticized than praised.²⁴ His role in the reform of the universities certainly diminished after the initial initiation, but he remained popular among university professors, and his reform projects were finally acknowledged as more liberal than what was ultimately introduced. Franz Krones formulated a metaphor, which corresponds with the change of political atmosphere between 1848 and 1849, stating that the final reform related to Exner’s project like “the imposed constitution [of 1849 – J.S.] to the April Constitution.”²⁵

It was, however, conservative Catholic reactionary, Leo Thun Hohenstein, with his like-minded entourage in the *nomen est omen* Ministry for Religion and Education (Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht), who initiated the final steps of reform movement.²⁶ The newly appointed minister encountered already elaborated liberal projects, Exner being in fact his close friend from his early years in Prague where both were also supporters and followers of Bolzano.²⁷ In Bohemia Thun was

²³ Exner, Franz, "Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Oesterreich." *Wiener Zeitung*, 21. Juli. 1848. Cf. also § 62: the function of the university is to forge the education in general sciences, prepare for the civil service on the basis of “Fachwissen” and finally help in the process of betterment of youths’ character through scholarship and discipline.

²⁴ On gymnasia cf. Leitner, Rainer, "Das Reformerwerk von Exner, Bonitz und Thun: Das österreichische Gymnasium in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts - Kaderschmiede der Wiener Moderne." In *Zwischen Orientierung und Krise. Zum Umgang mit Wissen in der Moderne*, edited by Sonja Rinhofner-Kreidl, Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1998, 17-69.

²⁵ Krones Ritter von Marchland, Franz Xaver, *Geschichte der Karl-Franzens Universität in Graz. Festgabe zur Feier ihres dreihundertjährigen Bestandes* Graz: Leuschner u. Lubensky, 1886, 545.

²⁶ Detailed information on Thun and his Catholic background in Mayer, Gottfried, *Österreich als katholische Grossmacht. Ein Traum zwischen Revolution und liberaler Ära, Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie Band XXIV*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989; Lhotsky, Adolf, "Das Ende des Josephinismus. Epilegomena zu Hans Lenzes Werk über die Reformen des Ministers Grafen Thun." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 15 (1962): 526-549.

²⁷ Palouš, Radim, *Česká zkušenost: příspěvek k dějinám české filosofie: o Komenského škole stáří, o Bolzanově významu v našem duchovním vývoji a o Masarykově filosofickém mládí - se závěrečným*

befriended by Czech patriots and possessed a lively interest in Czech literature and history.²⁸ With respect to his political persuasion Thun was something of a Habsburg noble Catholic-conservative liberal (a combination which was probably possible only at this time and place). Shortly after his nomination as minister, in a pamphlet entitled “Observations Concerning the Current Affairs, Especially in Regard to Bohemia” (*Betrachtungen über die Zeitverhältnisse, insbesondere im Hinblick auf Böhmen*, published first in Czech and then ‘translated’ into German, while Thun himself stated in the introduction that he did not know Czech well enough),²⁹ he demanded the “real equal status” of the Slavic nations and their languages in the Monarchy. Thun, however, saw the interests of the state as paramount to national emotions, for example in the question of Austrian Littoral.³⁰ In this regard, Thun rejected federalization as proposed by the austroslavists and especially the nationalism of the Poles – who in his eyes strived for reconstruction of the Commonwealth – and depicted an idealized view of a multicultural monarchy. His insights on education, however, followed later versions of hierarchical cultural dualism that appeared in stronger form in the German nationalistic discourse in Bohemia, which equated “German” with “culture and civilisation” and was in stark conflict with the demands of nationalistic movements that challenged the universality of such opinions. The Czech national liberals (particularly Karel Havlíček Borovský) especially regarded the brochure as a direct assault on their policy.³¹ This longer quotation shows the main traits of both Thun’s “Staatsnationalismus” and his policy as minister:

The conditions obtaining until now have had the effect – and the Slavs are not at fault for this – that the number of Slavic men who unite solid scholarliness with the ability to disseminate it in their mother

odkazem k Patočkovi. Praha: Academia, 1994, here 92-93; Mazohl-Wallnig, Brigitte, "Der Einfluß Bolzanos und der Bolzanisten auf die österreichische Universitätsreform der Jahre 1848/49." In *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik. Staat, Nation und Religion als Herausforderung für die Philosophie im Kontext von Spätaufklärung, Frühnationalismus und Restauration*, edited by Helmut Rumpel, Wien, Köln, Graz: Bozen, 2000, 221-246.

²⁸ Cf. Thienen-Adlerflycht, Christoph, *Graf Leo Thun im Vormärz. Grundlagen des böhmischen Konservatismus im Kaisertum Österreich*. Graz, Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 1967.

²⁹ According to Joseph Alexander Helfert’s memoirs, Josef Jireček, later employed in Thun’s Ministry, helped him with the translation: Helfert, Joseph-Alexander Freiherr von, "Katastrofa. Vlastní zkušenosti a paměti." *Osvěta. Listy pro rozhled v umění, vědě a politice* 27 (1897): 678-685, here 682-683.

³⁰ Thun-Hohenstein, Leopold, *Betrachtungen über die Zeitverhältnisse, insbesondere im Hinblick auf Böhmen*. Prag: J. G. Calve, 1849, esp. 21-39, quotation page 39.

³¹ Štaif, "Palackýs Partei der tschechischen Liberalen und die konservative Variante der böhmischen Politik," 65-57.

tongue is still low, whereas nobody – especially in Bohemia – reaches scientific maturity without completely understanding at least German. It is thus of great importance for the intellectual upswing of the Slavs in Bohemia that all men who are able to teach competently in the Czech language in any subjects be given the chance to do so. It is, by the way, no less in their interest to seek scientific education in German lectures. If people are satisfied with this, the number of Czech chairs will still be quite low initially, but it will be higher every year, cultivating and expanding the national forces. If, on the other hand, a completely misguided conception of equality is imposed, and a Czech chair is created beside each German one, or if complete gymnasias and university faculties in the Czech language are founded with consideration only of the sizes of the populations, the national cause may be illuminated with what seems to the ignorant eye to be a dazzling glamour, but with each passing year it will fade away. And even more importantly, true *Bildung* will be strongly impeded, even repressed. [...] Moreover, such a foolish and jealous conception of the principle of equality, which snatches only at equality of appearance, would have the consequence that, whenever means were lacking, German *Bildung*-institutions would be destroyed as Czech ones were constructed alongside them... We must oppose such pernicious aberrations and perversions, which are useful to nobody. [...] Wherever real rights are in question, equal laws should be applied, and the state should watch over and ensure that such rights are never injured or limited for the sake of national sympathy or antipathy.³²

These words, certainly drawing on Thun's noble education and slightly authoritative and snooty character (as described by his contemporaries) and notwithstanding their affirmative tones in nationality question, constituted a de facto denial of national cultural autonomy in educational questions which nationalists demanded in the revolution. Centralist Thun not only regarded state regulations to be more beneficial than subordination to nationalistic sentiments, but also claimed in a slightly paternalistic tone that German cultural superiority should be continued, rebuking and contesting the austroslavists' and nationalists' formulation of this issue. At the time of publication of the pamphlet and his nomination to his high office, Thun's ideal policy of national equalization was rather far from being generally successful, and he acknowledged what he painfully experienced in the June Uprising in Prague, where he became the object of attacks from the liberals of both nationalities, including his previous allies.³³

³² Thun-Hohenstein, *Betrachtungen*, 52-55. I wanted to thank John Michael for helping me with the translation.

³³ Judson, Pieter, *Wien brennt! Die Revolution von 1848 und ihr liberales Erbe*. Wien: Böhlau 1998, 92; Klíma, Arnošt, *Češi a Němci v revoluci 1848-1849*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova 1988, 157-220. Štaif, "Palackýs Partei der tschechischen Liberalen und die konservative Variante der böhmischen Politik," 62-66.

The so called Thun-Exner-Bonitz reform of the educational system, a pivotal step in the stabilization and regulation of acts that were enacted gradually and often regionally, envisioned a system of educational continuity encompassing establishments from “Volksschulen” to the universities, in which the latter should serve the first through the education of teachers. While academies remained the instrument of state policy and thus the primary interest of the government, and the Ministry emphasized the education of state patriots (in particular teachers, priests and civil servants),³⁴ the reforms paved the way to liberal developments in the universities as well. Already in the years of Thun’s reign, the role of the university as the preeminent scientific institution, representing the Monarchy, and at the same time as instrument of inner politics, was a tightrope walk between the minister’s beliefs and a perceived lack of Catholic scholars, forcing him to acknowledge the need to appoint academics from non-Habsburg parts of the German Confederation. In the correspondence with his trusted men across Europe, questions of conservative orientation, a-nationalism (or even antinationalism) and Catholicism were considered on a par with scientific competence, and outweighed them especially in the disciplines Thun regarded as having a vital influence on the students (in fact most legal and humanistic disciplines).

The main elements of the new law included the institution of *Privatdozenten* as certified, but not paid teachers, the reorganisation of the academic body into an autonomous, professor-controlled faculty, the weakening of the corporatist character of the university, the equalisation of the rank of the Philosophical Faculty (which included pharmacy, and several subjects taught previously at the Medical Faculty). It also included the freedom of teaching and learning, the right of faculties to propose professorial appointments and the reorganisation of curricula in loose accordance to the German ones.

In practice, but also in form, the reform remained nonetheless less than that expected by the significant political pressure groups. These groups were certainly not uniform and in many ways conflicted as to political objectives – like the demands for national languages, religious freedom or politicisation vs. university autonomy.

³⁴ This was also the opinion of Exner who participated in several commissions on the education from 1830, stating that the main function of universities was to strengthen the “reason of the folk” (Exner, Franz, *Die Stellung der Studierenden auf der Universität. Eine Rede gehalten an der k.k. Universität zu Prag*. Prag: Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1837).

On the last issue, reformers chose the mild variant of autonomy, settling particularly on political control over professorial appointments instead of practicing full autonomy as the universities had demanded. While the academic senate was the proposing side, holding the right of a *terna*-proposal, the proposed appointments were to be carefully inspected by the local government (including consultation with the police on the ‘moral character’ of the nominees) and forwarded to the minister, who was by no means obliged to follow the *terna*. The practice of autonomy thus remained the individual responsibility of the government, although not necessarily of professional politicians, but rather the high officials in the Ministry who were in charge of writing the recommendations to the Emperor signed by the minister; these officials were often scholars themselves, and in many cases proposed appointments were crosschecked with other academics as well. The Ministry had also to decide on permanent placement of scholars after a probation period of three years (a regulation dating to 1826); after this time the university was to issue a petition on the scholar’s permanence, which was examined by provincial government and police department, as after this decision scholars’ contracts were harder to terminate. This issue – including prominent scholars appointed from abroad – was a subject of critique later in the century as well.³⁵ The Ministry also retained other measures of repression, from the right to transfer professors (*Versetzung*), through enforced retirement to termination of contracts; these measures were also used several times for political reasons. More centralized were decisions in the case of *Privatdozenten*, as the Ministry could reject a habilitation without cause, propose changes, for example, in the scholarly discipline for which the habilitation was approved, or award remuneration on petition of the university. The Ministry was also by no means bound to grant faculties’ requests; this privilege was used in later years, among others, to withhold undesired habilitations, professorial promotions and chair appointments.

Thun also requested the protocols from the proceedings of the university senates and faculties, at first with the pretence of supervision of the reform’s progress up to its revision after three years, but this process continued until 1918, as indicated by the notes in the archives. The main difference from claims of the faculties was the position of students, whose status as a corporation was removed and who were

³⁵ Der akademische Senat der k.k. deutschen C.- F. Universität, *Denkschrift über die Rechtstellung der Professoren und der Universitäten*. Prag, 1896.

subordinated primarily to the civil code, with only a few matters remaining under academic jurisdiction. The right of assembly was reduced to academic issues (explicitly not regular meetings within the university building, with allowance from the dean and with presence of at least one member of the faculty) and the right of assembly outside universities and student organizations was explicitly prohibited.³⁶ In the most severe cases, students were expelled from one or all Habsburg universities, such as in 1850 when 8 Galicians, caught at the border to Transleithania on their way to assist with the revolution; in addition, these students were not included in the general amnesty and stripped of academic rights.³⁷

Political control over academia and students was the main difference from the wishes expressed in universities' memoranda, where corporatist character and extensive autonomy were desired – e.g. in *Plan of Modern Reform of Austrian Universities* from the Viennese Medical Faculty³⁸ or at the Cracow University, which pleaded for the reintroduction of extensive autonomy according to their historical rights. On the other hand, however, other models of state supervision were also proposed, which rejected the idea of broad autonomy of universities because they threatened to create states within states. The parliamentary *Kremsier Entwurf*, rejected by Franz Joseph as too liberal and federalist, placed universities under the strict control of regional governors, although the central ministry was to be consulted prior to any decisions.³⁹ In the government, especially around the review of the reform in 1853, strong centralistic claims were made to reinstall the direct control from the Ministry as in the *Vormärz*, for example, through the retention of the institution of *Studiendirektor* who would be appointed by the Ministry and control the functioning of the establishments. Some claims also included the proposition of direct church control of the universities, as proposed by Andreas Baumgartner, an influential

³⁶ Alleruntertänigster Vortrag des ... Leo Grafen von Thun, über Studienordnung, Disziplinarordnung und Einführung von Collegiengelder an den Universitäten, 30. September 1849, reprinted in Meister, *Dokumente*, 277-281.

³⁷ AUG, PF, N. 475 (Z. 303, 24.3.1850). The list of the expelled students was sent to all Habsburg universities.

³⁸ *Plan einer zeitgemäßen Reform der österreichischen Universitäten. Entworfen und dem Ministerium des Unterrichts überreicht von dem Collegium der Professoren der medic-chirurg. Studien der k.k. Wiener Hochschule*. Wien, 1848, 57.

³⁹ Entwurf des Österreichischen Reichstages welcher in der Zeit vom 22. Juli 1848 bis 4. März 1849 getagt hat, zuerst in Wien, ab dem 22. November 1848 in Kremsier ("Kremsier Entwurf"), § 107 (accessible online: <http://www.verfassungen.de/at/kremsier49.htm>, last access 22.06.2011).

conservative politician and respected physicist.⁴⁰ During the discussion on the extension of the 1849 laws, minister of interior Alexander Bach and minister of finances Phillip Krauß proposed a return to the university as an exclusively teaching institution and corporation led by the *Studiendirektoren* as in the *Vormärz*. Thun rejected this as abasing the scientific status of the professors, who would be patronized and whose morale and productivity would decrease.⁴¹

With respect to the internal structure of the corporation, the other issue of discussion was the role of the so called *Doktoren-Collegien*, the colleges of doctors⁴² and professors (both active and retired), who prior to 1848 constituted the faculty with the same rights as the professors, being at a same time the bearer of the corporatist character of the university as well as a linkage between academic theoreticians and practitioners. From 1818, the office of the dean was also under control of *Doktoren-Collegien*, and professors were not allowed to take this office as it could hold them back from teaching.⁴³ Following 1848, the corporations (not only *Doktoren-Collegien* but also “Nationen”) were fiercely criticized as radical organizations trying to “dominate them [the Universities – J.S.] anew”⁴⁴ and their role was slowly delimited. After Franz Exner in his outline of the new legislation foresaw their complete abolition in favor of pure German structures, Feuchtersleben and Thun pleaded for retaining some of their functions, like the right to oversee the graduation procedure (*Promotionsrecht*). Ultimately, the *Doktoren-Collegien* were sustained only at the Prague and Vienna universities, retained their central role in graduations, were allowed to propose rectors, and the deans of *Doktoren-Collegien* remained members of Academic Senate, although in 8:4 proportion in favor of the professors.⁴⁵ Their role

⁴⁰ Lentze, Hans, *Andreas Freiherr von Baumgartner und die Thunsche Studienreform. Sonderabdruck aus: Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Öst. Akad. d. Wiss. ; 1959, 11*. Wien: Rohrer, 1959.

⁴¹ Heindl, Waltraud, "Universitätsreform - Gesellschaftsreform. Bemerkungen zum Plan eines "Universitätsorganisationsgesetzes" in den Jahren 1854/55." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35 (1983): 134-149, here 147.

⁴² Which were not identical with all graduates, as distinct grades were awarded for e.g. surgeons or pharmacists. See Schneller, Joseph, *Historische Darstellung der Entwicklung der medicinischen Facultät zu Wien, nebst einer kurzen Uebersicht der wissenschaftlichen Leistungen des medicinischen Doctoren-Collegiums*. Wien: Zamarski, 1856.

⁴³ Heindl, "Universitätsreform - Gesellschaftsreform. Bemerkungen zum Plan eines "Universitätsorganisationsgesetzes" in den Jahren 1854/55, " 139.

⁴⁴ Cf. "Die Doktorencollegien an den österreichischen Universitäten." *Akademische Monatsschrift. (Deutsche Universitäts-Zeitung)* (1852): 57-62, 162-166, here 58.

⁴⁵ In Vienna and Prague, the Academic Senate consisted of deans and prodeans of the *Professorencollegium*, deans of *Doktorenkollegium*, Rector and Prorector (in Vienna also provost of St. Stephan Church). Deans of *Professorenkollegien* had also seats in *Doktorenkolleg* and vice versa.

was also symbolically reduced with respect to the rectors: “hence, it is to be expected with confidence, that as a rule distinguished professors will be chosen rectors” were the words used in §33 of the academic bill.⁴⁶ In fact, only in a few cases were rectors chosen who were not active professors, like, Hieronymus (Jeroným) Josef Zeidler, abbot of Stahov Closter and ex-professor of Theological Faculty in Prague 1855/56,⁴⁷ or L’viv historian Joseph Mauss, pensioned in 1849 and chosen rector in 1851/52. The decrease of the influence of the *Doktoren-Collegien* also applied to their social role as compulsory representatives of graduates (similar to the Chamber of Labor), controlling – especially for jurists and medical students – accreditation for practice. This privilege as well was abandoned in the Monarchy 1849.⁴⁸

The issue of freedom of teaching and learning (*Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*) remained similarly imprecisely formulated among the political pressure groups.⁴⁹ This freedom did not mean unconditional autonomy in the matter of what would be taught and learned, but was constructed and presented more as the antithesis of the politicization of the universities before 1848. *Lernfreiheit* meant most of all the (partial) freedom in the choice of lectures in the curriculum, free choice of lecturers and a relaxation of the exam system, with general instead of semestral and annual exams. “The freedom [to choose] the lectures, the time and the instructor whom they want to hear”⁵⁰ was, although eloquently formulated, hardly realizable in practice, and in subsequent discussions criticized by the universities (especially medical faculties) as impracticable due to the logical succession of taught subjects, and swiftly regulated by the Ministry through the prescribed curricula. In relation to *Lehrfreiheit*, *Lernfreiheit* was certainly in the second place, like in the case of replacement of *Unterrichtsgeld* (tuition fees paid per semester) by *Collegiengelder* (tuition fees paid per lecture), which was seen as a means of sustaining the *Privatdozenten*, but also of

⁴⁶ See also *Geschichte der Wiener Universität von 1848-1898*, 381.

⁴⁷ Havránek, Jan, "Univerzita, její zřízení, správa a studentstvo." In *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy III, 1802-1918*, edited by Idem, Praha: Karolinum, 1997, 89-118, here 100.

⁴⁸ Mell, Wolfgang-Rüdiger, "Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur ‘Selbstbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung der österreichischen Universitäten’." In *Selbstbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung der österreichischen Universitäten: ein Beitrag zur Soziologie der Universität* edited by Marina Fischer and Hermann Strasser, Wien: Abteilung Soziologie des Instituts für Höhere Studien und Wissenschaftliche Forschung, 1973, 1-78, here 4.

⁴⁹ See Meister, Richard, "Lehr- und Lernfreiheit in der Thunschen Universitätsreform und in der Gegenwart in Österreich." *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 15 (1957): 207-232.

⁵⁰ Erlaß des Ministers des Cultus und Unterrichts vom 13. Oktober 1849..., Z. 416, §8, reprinted in *Allgemeines Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich. Jahrgang 1849*. Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1850, 746.

assuring that students do not take thoughtlessly manifold lectures: "the fees will be, as the freedom of learning continues, a barrier to youthful improvidence, which one cannot do without anywhere, where it [the freedom of learning – J.S.] exists."⁵¹ In addition, the taking of attendance during lectures was made obligatory for professors and deans, which was repeated on several occasions. University teachers were also threatened with sanctions if they did not inform the police of abnormal absences of students or assumptions of their meetings or associations (almost always illegal in the eyes of the authorities).⁵²

Lehrfreiheit was also not without concessions to state authorities, as the Ministry had the oversight of lecture catalogues and could cancel lectures, remove teachers or transfer them to universities in which their ideological or political opinions would find little or no resonance. This tactic was used especially during the 1850s, but also later the question of who could teach which lectures at specific universities was co-decided in the Ministry. Already in the direct aftermath of granting autonomy, universities were disciplined so as not to make abusive use of their rights and especially not to include unapproved teachers as *Dozenten* without the authorisation of the Ministry. Not only did those who were approved by the universities in 1848 have to go through the habilitation process in accordance to the new rules, which led to a considerable reduction in the number of instructors, especially in Prague, but the faculties were harshly reminded that they were responsible for controlling their instructors in accordance to Ministry rules.⁵³ Furthermore, the Ministry later controlled the lectures, rejecting politically suspect ones; for example, Anton Menger's seminar on sociology at the Viennese Law Faculty, proposed in 1890, was rejected because socialist content should not be taught explicitly at the Habsburg universities.⁵⁴ It must remain open though, to which extent

⁵¹ Alleruntertänigster Vortrag des ... Leo Grafen von Thun, über Studienordnung, Disziplinarordnung und Einführung von Collegiengelder an den Universitäten, 30. September 1849, reprinted in Meister, *Dokumente*, 277-281, here 279. Cf. also the commentary on the introduction of *Collegiengelder* and their relation to the freedoms of teaching and learning in *Akademische Monatsschrift* 1850, 466-468.

⁵² These rules were viable from 1849 onwards, and were restricted in 1853; Alleruntertänigster Vortrag des ... Leo Grafen von Thun (as in the previous footnote).

⁵³ See the critique of Philosophical Faculty in Innsbruck for allowing not approved instructors Rudolf Kink and Josef Daum to teach in 1849. *AUI*, Z. 355, 24.1.1849, (ministerial number Z. 8019).

⁵⁴ Grünberg, Carl, "Anton Menger. Sa vie – Son Œuvre." *Revue d'histoire des doctrines économiques et sociales* 2 (1909): 1-40, here 9.

the actual content of seminars and lectures were or could be supervised by the authorities in practice.

The regulation from Prague on the *Lehrfreiheit* of *Privatdozenten* – “the freedom of teaching will be acknowledged in a way, that, after preliminary registration by the academic senate, it is allowed for all doctors to hold scientific lectures at the faculties which issue the doctor degree”⁵⁵ – was primarily accepted, although it included a range of ‘obstacles’ favoring professionalization but also political supervision, such as the imperative of a public colloquium, test lecture and confirmation by the Ministry before awarding teaching allowance. Habilitation was limited to the faculty and the university that approved it – with a change in either of these, the habilitation had to be repeated (with a few foreseen exceptions from this rule).⁵⁶ Moreover, the *Privatdozenten* had to have permission to use teaching aids, demonstration materials or seminars’ libraries, which made habilitation dependent on the full professors who controlled these resources. The subject (“Fach”)⁵⁷ covered by a *Privatdozent* depended on a syllabus submitted during the Habilitation, and could be expanded only with the Ministry’s approval. Similarly the professors, who were allowed in 1849 to teach “every topic of their scientific field”, could from 1851 onwards teach only “related subjects”⁵⁸ in the faculty where they were appointed; every other change was subject to Ministry approval. Loyalty to religion and state (as civil servants, professors were supposed to obtain citizenship prior to the official installation)⁵⁹ was to be proved within first three years (so called *Probetriennium* or *Provisorium*) after which the professors were “confirmed in position.”⁶⁰ Both *Lernfreiheit* and *Lehrfreiheit* were seen as concessions to the universities, which were to be awarded after fulfilling the condition of political maturity of the region – the universities in Pavia and Padua earned these privileges only with several years’ delay,

⁵⁵ "Cirkular-Verordnung des k.k. böhmischen Guberniums vom 5. April 1848. In Bezug auf die Lehr- und Lernfreiheit, Z. 89," reprinted in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft* 3, 1848, 92, here §1.

⁵⁶ Faculty could though desist from the public colloquium and test lecture.

⁵⁷ What is actually a “subject” (*Fach*) and what are its boundaries was subsequently a matter of numerous negotiations, with Ministry’s decisive vote.

⁵⁸ Specified in 1858 as “analogue and homogenous subjects.”

⁵⁹ Cf. Thaa, *Die Österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 112.

⁶⁰ “Im Lehramte bestätigt” was a common formulation in the records. This rule was retained notwithstanding protests from the universities also for the professors appointed from abroad. Ibid., 114, Allerhöchstes Kabinettschreiben vom 9. September 1826, Z. 4412.

when the political situation in the Italian provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy was settled.

The orientation towards other parts of the German Confederation, presented in the decrees and speeches as the ideal state of scientific and social development including academic freedom, remained more in the sphere of rhetoric, although even there it was by no means unconditional and did not mean adoption of the “Gross-Deutschland” model of academia. Rather, it was localized according to Austrian regional peculiarities, of which religion was certainly the biggest issue in the process of reform. Minister of education Franz Sommaruga, announcing the abandonment of censorship and the introduction of freedom of learning and teaching, saw the “German universities” as models for reform, but he clearly stated that the adoption of their structure should be implemented “only as much as the conditions in the fatherland allow.”⁶¹ At the same time, in Franz Exner’s view, it was not only the success of the „non Austrian German universities“⁶² which supported the introduction of their system; this was seen as necessary, because “future cross boundary communication between them and the Austrian universities requires it.”⁶³ Thich points towards the direction of exchange, but also redefines the desired boundaries of scientific space. Influential Prussia-born jurist and Thun’s man of confidence Carl Ernst Jarcke in his memorandum from 1849 pleaded as well for free exchange: in his view Prussia “owes its influence in Germany, which reaches far beyond its material power, mostly to the fact, that it could have gained, when it wanted, any higher talent from every corner of Germany.”⁶⁴ However, academic reciprocity could not be without limits: “I would advise, that inviting the Protestant teachers to the Austrian universities should at least not be the rule” wrote Jarcke in the same text.⁶⁵ The goal of making Austria a “Catholic counterbalance to Prussia” was hailed as one of the official tasks of the university system.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Rede des Ministers des öffentlichen Unterrichtes Dr. Franz Freiherrn von Sommaruga.*

⁶² Exner, Franz, “Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Oesterreich.” *Wiener Zeitung*, 21. July 1848, 1-2, here 1.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁴ Memorandum Jarckes über die Aufgaben eines Unterrichtsministers in Österreich vom 5. August 1849 (Thun Nachlaß C 133), reprinted in: Lentze, Hans, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962, 295-299, here 298.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Die Neugestaltung der österreichischen Universitäten über Allerhöchsten Befehl dargestellt vom dem k.k. Ministerium für kultus und Unterricht*. Wien: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1853, 62.

The picture of ‘free’, unbound science with the pronounced aim of leading the state to a cultural paradise, was certainly powerfully mobilized in the post-revolutionary period to demonstrate the positive values political changes brought about in comparison to the *Vormärz*. At the same time Thun retained and often expressed his idea of science as a panacea for the national and social problems of the composite state.⁶⁷ One could say that science and scholarship, and thus universities, became one of the favored channels of propaganda and a source of arguments to legitimize certain claims – be they loyalist, nationalist, nationalistic, etc. In Thun’s eyes the monarchy could thrive only with the acceptance of a particular narrative, which would counter the nationalistic claims. This included not only loyalty, cultural reciprocity and Catholicism as cornerstones, but also the claim that the Empire is the only guarantor of cultural ‘progress,’ an idea in which universities had the pivotal role.

Here, especially the historical disciplines (history of law, national histories, history of languages, archaeology) were to be mobilized and supported, which brought considerable changes not only through new chairs but also through the installation of seminars. “The support of humanities and familiarity with the institutions and history of the fatherland,”⁶⁸ which state secretary Joseph Alexander Helfert proposed as the leading idea of the new educational system, was in Thun’s eyes a means to promote ‘unbiased science’ (*voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft*) through renunciation of nationalist historical narratives on the one hand, and of historiosophical systems, legal philosophy and natural law, which Thun blamed for leading to the revolutionary movements of 1848, on the other hand.⁶⁹ All kinds of philosophy, from Hegel through Kant to Herbart,⁷⁰ were officially rejected, and in their place a not yet existing “philosophy, which enjoys the public acceptance of both

⁶⁷ See Thun’s manuscript on “Polish question” from around 1860 in: SOA Litoměřice/Děčín, Rodinný archiv Thun, A 3 XXI, D 637.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Lhotsky, Adolf, “Das Ende des Josephinismus. Epilegomena zu Hans Lenzes Werk über die Reformen des Ministers Grafen Thun.” *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 15 (1962): 526-549, here 534.

⁶⁹ Cf. Lentze, Hans, “Graf Thun und die deutsche Rechtsgeschichte.” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte* 63 (1955): 500-521; Floßmann, Ursula, *Österreichische Privatrechtsgeschichte. Fünfte, aktualisierte Auflage*. Wien, New York: Springer, 2005, 15.

⁷⁰ While Exner was a devoted Herbart pupil, the official memorandum of 1853 described Herbartianism as “a monstrosity and degeneration of the human intellect (*Geist*)” (Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform*, 251).

the science and the Church”⁷¹ should be introduced. “In the meantime, it remains the duty of the Ministry, to direct policy towards this aim as far as possible, and to prevent every manifest and veiled impulse against the Revelation.”⁷²

The issue of Catholicism and its relationship to the freedom of teaching and learning was one of the most delicate in the reform movement. While this was not an issue for Thun, whose idea of ideal scholarship was Catholic and strictly following the Catholicisation of the most important matters at the university, especially in humanities and law, it was a central question for the general character of the universities. Although the equality of confessions was a part of the *Reichsverfassung* and was not directly addressed in the academic laws, the subsequent decrease in the equality of Jews (especially as teachers and notaries) and the concordat (1855) made non-Catholics unwelcome, especially as the universities themselves were not sure as how to deal with this issue either. For example, they were unsure whether to see the *Privatdozenten* as state functionaries, who were obligated to be Christian.⁷³ Non-Catholics in Vienna were also legally stripped of the possibility to become deans and rectors,⁷⁴ although the interpretation of this did not seem very straightforward. In 1852 Thun rejected Protestant Hermann Bonitz’s nomination to be dean of Philosophical Faculty in Vienna, stating that the Catholic character of the university should be defended. The choice of the Philosophical Faculty was also fiercely discussed in the public, with mostly negative opinions underscoring the historically Catholic character of the university. Especially Sebastian Brunner, dean of theological *Doktoren-Colleg*, launched a fierce campaign against the nomination; shortly afterwards, Brunner was appointed as the university’s main priest, which shows once more how complicated these matters of academia were.⁷⁵ First non-Catholic university officials were elected (and their election confirmed by the Ministry) after Thun’s resignation from the office in the 1860s.

⁷¹ Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform*, 217.

⁷² *Die Neugestaltung der österreichischen Universitäten*, 105. Lentze (*Die Universitätsreform*, 217) claims that Thun inserted these words on his own, as they contradict the ideas of Flir.

⁷³ Cf. the query of Hermann Rosenberg directed to the university of L’viv 1854. DALO, 26/7/30, N. 208, 25.4.1854; 26/12/77, Z. 288, 15.5.1854, Z. 289, 15.5.1854; AGAD, MWiO, Kart. 117u, PA Rosenberg. Z. 9458, 4.12.1854.

⁷⁴ Allerhöchste Entschliebung from 18. January 1834. The named reasons were the obligation to participate in festive Holy Mess and dealing with religious matters during the faculty meetings.

⁷⁵ See the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* from 1852; also in retrospect Brunner recollected the conflict and his own participation, see Brunner, Sebastian, *Gesammelte Erzählungen und poetische Schriften. Band I. Woher? Wohin? Geschichten, Gedanken, Bilder und Leute aus meinem Leben. Neue Folge I, Dritte Auflage*. Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1890, 268-272

The practice of appointments and confirmations supports the central role religion was to play in the new education policy. In the first years after 1848, several Jewish *Privatdozenten* were habilitated in disciplines not directly related to moral influence, especially in the Hebrew language, but philosophy, as the previously quoted case of Rosenberg shows, was reserved for Catholics only. Protestants were appointed by Thun only for disciplines with limited cultural authority or backed with Catholic scholars, as the influence on students was regarded higher, e.g. in the teaching of history than in physics. After appointing Heinrich Grauert for the chair of history in Vienna in 1849, Thun wrote, that the professor of history “should moreover in my reverential considerations be Catholic, as the university is predominantly Catholic and the relation of the study of history and church affairs is too intimate that at such a university their care could be left to a Protestant only”.⁷⁶ But still, a number of Protestant teachers were appointed, even in the humanities, like Theodor Sickel in Vienna (associate professor from 1855, full professor only in 1867) or Ludwig Lange for the chair of classic philology in Prague in 1855. Sickel, however, was appointed after Wilhelm Wattenbach was rejected, after serious consideration, due to his confession.⁷⁷

Nor was the question of pupils attending holy mass regulated. The senate of Cracow University rejected in 1848 the obligation to control the students by their religious practices, but the issue of withholding pupils from attending mass was one of the most severe allegations against Ignác Jan Hanuš in Olomouc.⁷⁸ Finally Franz Joseph confirmed the non-obligatory academic church service (*akademisches Gottesdienst*) in 1855, and requested future arrangements to protect students from dangerous influences.⁷⁹

The deconfessionalisation of the universities, as advocated in most of the proposals from the universities, was therefore rather far from being fulfilled. Although Exner’s project stressed the freedom of confession, both for teachers and students, this was not assured for academic dignities till the 1860s. The Evangelical-Theological Faculty, from 1821 an autonomous institution in Vienna, was reformed in

⁷⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 636, PA Grauert, Z. 8791/1285, 2.12.1849.

⁷⁷ Lhotsky, "Ende des Josephinismus", 545.

⁷⁸ Mrozowska, "Okres ucisku i daremnych prób wyzwoleniczych, 1833-1850," 218; Loužil, Jaromír, *Ignác Jan Hanuš : Studie s ukázkami z díla*. Praha: Melantrich, 1971, 79.

⁷⁹ Allerhöchste Entschliessung von 25. February 1855 "über die Regelung der Universitätsangelegenheiten," reprinted in Lentze, *Reformen*, 346-348, here 348.

1850 on the basis of 1849 laws and incorporated in the system of universities (e.g. students banned from the universities, were also rejected here) as a separate faculty under direct supervision of the Ministry.⁸⁰

The Catholic Theological Faculty, on the other hand, enjoyed special treatment from the beginning: all professorial appointments had to be made in consultation with the bishop. He retained as well the right to release professors, which was seen as problematic because professors appointed with this external influence had the right to academic dignities and seats in the senate; his envoys were also entitled to sit for theological doctoral exams, which were reserved for Catholics only. During Thun's reign, a Theological Faculty was introduced in Innsbruck in 1857, in spite of fierce protests from the liberal party. This faculty was controlled by the Jesuits, enjoyed vast autonomy and was oriented mostly towards foreign students and professors.⁸¹ In Salzburg and Olomouc, after the abolition of the lyceum and the university respectively, the theological faculties retained their status. Only the Theological Faculty in Cracow remained stripped of the right of promotion from 1847 until 1881.⁸² After the conclusion of the concordat of 1855, proposals for Catholic universities in Salzburg and Innsbruck were raised, assumed to have Thun's support, but failed for financial reasons.⁸³

The reforms met with a mixed reception. The political arguments against them, laid out above, resulted in several publications through 1853 on this issue, showing also that the status of education remained contested. Georg Emmerich Haas, who in harsh words criticized the relaxation in university education and its straying from Christian rules, began the largest of the anti-Thun campaigns. The reforms – according to this Catholic journalist – were depicted in much better light than what they represented in reality: “Should the reputation of a university depend though on the *actually* read lectures, from proper scientific celebrities, on the high attendance

⁸⁰ Only in 1861 the Faculty was given the right to promote doctors, and in 1922 was incorporated into the Vienna University. Erlaß des Ministeriums für K.u.U. vom 8. Oktober 1850, Z. 8425, RGBNr. 388, reprinted in Beck von Mannagetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, nr. 630.

⁸¹ Goller, Peter, *Katholisches Theologiestudium an der Universität Innsbruck vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1857-1914)*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 1997; Rahner, Hugo, "Die Geschichte eines Jahrhunderts. Zum Jubiläum der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Innsbruck 1857-1957." In *Hundert Jahre Theologische Fakultät in Innsbruck 1857-1957*, Wien: Herder, 1958, 1-85, here 1-17.

⁸² The Faculty was already from 1830s rather only in pro-forma existence, as it lacked students and thus also professors; new ones were not appointed until 1870s. See Kanior, Marian O., "Dzieje Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1780-1880." *Analecta Cracoviensia* 25 (1993): 195-203, especially 199-201.

⁸³ Mayer, *Österreich als katholische Großmacht*, 271.

and not on numerous registrations and visits [...] when again the specific function of individual higher education institutions, as the statutes understand it, be taken into consideration [...] than the decision will barely be *in favor* and almost with certainty *against* the modern academic principles.”⁸⁴ Not only the lack of “nameable” appointees was bemoaned, but also the fact that science was drained of its earnestness, as professors and *Privatdozenten* competed for the students’ *Collegiengelder*: “so it came, that here and there science is exploited as a bait to win favor of the audience at any cost, and the aim is reduced to a mere means.”⁸⁵ The relaxation of conservative Catholic education and its disciplinisation values was certainly a thorn in Haas’ side, who turned finally to the Ministry with Faust’s words: “[What is’t, Mephisto?] Why such hurry? / Why at the cross cast down thine eyes?”⁸⁶ His words, printed in the *Augsburger Postzeitung* and as a separate booklet, were widely read, but swiftly outnumbered by articles posted either autonomously, or, more importantly, by the Ministry itself, which at the time of the definitive certification of the reform visibly tried to reach out to public opinion, due to strong opposition within the government. Anonymous U.S.W. for example was more concerned with Haas’s reliability, as he must have been either an unfortunate historian who tried unsuccessfully to habilitate at the Vienna Philosophical Faculty, or an antipatriotic tradesman; what right does he also have to question “an authority *sanctified by the monarch*,” whom U.S.W. compared almost to the almighty.⁸⁷ Similar to another reform-hailing author, Otto Hingenau, U.S.W. attested the status of celebrities to newly appointed professors, proposed statistical data on attendance and publications etc., and reached the conclusion that the new system certainly outdid the *Vormärz*. Hingenau (but other authors of the time as well)⁸⁸ depicted Haas not only as a layman, but even as a revolutionary whose interest was to reinstall the old political

⁸⁴ Haas, Georg-Emmanuel, *Ueber den Zustand der österr. Universitäten mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Wiener Hochschule*. Augsburg: Schmid, 1853, 4, emphasis in original.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸⁶ Goethe, *Urfaust*. The scene, called *Land Strasse* was not included into the final version of *Faust*. Haas, *Ueber den Zustand*, 34; words in brackets are amended from Goethe’s text. The English translation after Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *Faust: A tragedy*. Translated by Taylor Bayard. London, New York: Ward, Lock and Co., 1889, 250.

⁸⁷ U.S.W., *Randglossen zu Dr. Georg Em. Haas Flugschrift: Über den Zustand der österreichischen Universitäten mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Wiener Hochschule mit einem vertraulichen Schreiben als Einleitung*. Leipzig: Ferbel & Seydel, 1853, 5, quotation page 4.

⁸⁸ Cf. e.g. *Akademische Monatsschrift*, 1853, 285-286.

system.⁸⁹

The most memorable and influential pieces remained certainly, however, the series of articles entitled *The Question of Universities in Austria. Highlighted from the position of freedom of teaching and learning* (Die Universitätsfrage in Oesterreich. Beleuchtet vom Standpunkte der Lehr- und Lernfreiheit) printed in parts in “Wiener Lloyd” and translated into other languages as well (unsigned, but probably drafted in the Ministry) and a book *The reorganization of Austrian universities, presented by the Ministry of Religion and Education by the Highest Authority* (Die Neugestaltung der österreichischen Universitäten über Allerhöchsten Befehl dargestellt vom dem k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht). Both were parts of a propaganda campaign masterminded by Thun, which had a systematic but one-sided argumentation, contrasting the pre-1848 universities with the reform movement.⁹⁰ The freedom of teaching and learning and the opening for exchange with other German universities were hailed as the most important gains; the universities were depicted however as explicitly anti-revolutionary, conservative institutions, with education serving as salutary panacea: “Austria, which with arms in hand crushed the utmost enemies of civilization [i.e. revolutionaries from 1848 – J.S.], opened its gates for the peaceful propagators of serious science, intellectual education, moral greatness. With the increase of its intellectual (*geistig*) values, with the growth of the cultural element, external influence grows; the intellectual defense against cultureless (*geistiglos*) radicalism is being educated now”⁹¹ “It is not convenient for the radicals, that among the ‘foreigners’ [i.e. professors appointed from Germany – J.S.] are men, who only convey the interests of conservative parties in Austria, who can accelerate the collapse of radical ideas.”⁹² Universities must not nourish national separatism, which was localized in language studies, archaeology and history, but should prepare loyal subjects for state service. Teaching in languages other than German and Italian (depicted as only languages which have the first rank in “world literature”⁹³) should be possible for excellent teachers, but only as an exception, while German should be the

⁸⁹ Hingenau, Otto von, *Zur österreichischen Studienfrage. Eine kritische Beleuchtung der Druckschrift: "Ueber den Zustand der österreichischen Universitäten, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Wiener Hochschule, von Dr. G. E. Haas."* Wien: Gerold, 1853.

⁹⁰ Extensively in Lentze, *Reform*, 155-180.

⁹¹ *Die Universitätsfrage in Oesterreich. Beleuchtet vom Standpunkte der Lehr- und Lernfreiheit (Besonders abgedruckt aus dem Wiener Lloyd)*, 1853, 16.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 81.

rule.

More strict, but presenting parallel ideas, was the second publication: “The aim of the universities, now as before, can lie only in a preferably complete science which is enthusiastic for truthful religiosity. Only such universities can build rapport with the state and have a beneficent impact both through scholarly and moral influences.”⁹⁴ “Nothing harmful must be taught at public academic establishments. The harmfulness of what is being taught can be based on a dual foundation. First of all, that the chair is abused for declamations, which are not matters of scholarly instruction. It is a duty of the leadership of the educational system to prevent such abuse.”⁹⁵ The registered means of control included not only the certifications of deans and rectors and control over professorial appointments, but also insight in proceedings of the senate and faculties, affirmation of lecture programs, oversight of official correspondence (executed by the provincial governor), and eventually appointment of inspectors and *Studiendirektoren* (which should however serve only the “regeneration” of the university, like the ones recently appointed in Pest and Cracow).⁹⁶

Both writings certainly stood in contrast with the expectancies of the liberals, but show also how general attitudes towards the liberal movement changed over the years. Education was pronouncedly envisaged as hindering revolutionary potential, engaging revolutionary postulates of a cultural opening for the particularistic aims of forging loyalty and Catholicism. These writings also depict a change in the rhetoric of the writable, which in 1853 allowed, or even demanded more conservative declarations to please both strict conservatives and liberals. The political changes towards neoabsolutism from 1851 onwards stressed and restated the superiority of the German language in education and bureaucracy, encouraged censorship, and, from 1855, subordinated education (apart from the universities) to Church authorities. These developments created a new representational space of the state which depicted an almighty, perfect representation of the highest authority of the Kaiser in the publications from the period. Martini’s *Naturrechtslehre* seems to have been influential in the public discourse even after its official abandonment.

⁹⁴ *Die Neugestaltung der österreichischen Universitäten*, 22.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 52, 56.

3.1. Nation and University – Scientific Universality and National Particularity?

What should a minister of education [do], when every smaller or bigger province wants to teach in its own language, when he can neither freely command universities nor schools, nor teachers' appointments? In all provinces one wants to have only natives at the universities; for [Privat]Dozenten here, there are no aims, no career, because the bridges to Germany have been dismantled earlier due to arrogance, and not all can be professors in Vienna [...] Withal, there is much talent here [...]

From letter of Theodor Billroth to Wilhelm Lübke, 24 December 1867⁹⁷

The issue of the university as a national institution was diversely addressed in during the nineteenth century, but from 1848 the discussion around it intensified and clear and stable positions solidified. The change of language of teaching in the schooling system did not necessary mean a similar development in higher education, as language had a different status and function there, which depended nonetheless strongly on the ideological positions of the various proponents. While Gymnasia were supposed to create citizens *a'la* enlightened paradigms, the university was still an institution whose political aim was to serve the state's stability and represent its cultural development. The nationalization of the university from the point of view of the state was part of the changes in general education and the bureaucracy, which became national after 1848. It is fairly surprising that national peculiarities were largely not discussed in the reform after the privileges of 1848 were enacted. But this was grounded also in Thun's idea of annihilation of nationalistic distortions through removing the national issue from the discussions, which assumed that a kind of automatic national development could be achieved without a nationally based destabilization of the Monarchy.

Among the scholars appointed during the short period after the revolution, one can find several prominent Slavs, like Alois Sembera (reader of the Czech language, Vienna), Karol Kuzmány (theology, Vienna), Ján Kollár (Bohemian archaeology,

⁹⁷ Billroth, Theodor, *Briefe von Theodor Billroth. Achte, veränderte Auflage*. Hannover, Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1910, 72.

Vienna), František Ladislav Čelakovský (Czech language and literature, Prague), Jan Evangelista Purkyně (physiology, Prague), Jan Erazim Vokel (Bohemian archaeology and history of Art, Prague), Václav Vladivoj Tomek (Austrian history, Prague), Franc Miklošič (also Franz Miklosich, philology of Slavic languages, Vienna), Wincenty Pol (geography, Cracow), Antoni Walewski (Austrian history, Cracow) or Yakiv Holovats'ky (Ruthenian language, L'viv), and the chairs for national languages were created, notwithstanding the critical tones from the Ministry on their influence on national polarization. On the other hand however, separate chairs for national histories were not allowed, although they were requested by the faculties.

A short glance at the conditions under which the appointments took place and the national demands at the forefront show the ambiguity of national culture and the various shapes it took. While careful selection withheld nationalist scholars from chairs, the nominees for the most politicized chairs of history, Tomek and Walewski, were staunch Catholic conservative historians, supported by Thun, rather than more prominent scholars (like Palacký or August Bielowski). Sembera, Kuzmány, Kollár, Holovats'ky, Miklošič and Čelakovský were actually appointed prior to Thun's tenure as minister. In contrast, scholars appointed to ideologically seemingly unsuspicious medical chairs played a decisive role in the process of national emancipation. Jan Evangelista Purkyně's numerous writing demanding equality for the Czech language and Józef Dietl's overt patriotism and political engagement made them most important claimants of national rights in higher education after the relaxation of the neoabsolutistic regime in the late 1850s.

The issue of the languages of education was one of the most important during the Slavic Congress 1848, with all represented nations demanding equality in the secondary and tertiary education. Those demands were directed not only towards Cisleithania (Slovenes, Bohemians, Moravians, Poles, Ruthenians) but also the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (Ruthenians, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats). Among the political issues at stake, the demands of Czechs and Slovenes not to be part of the German Confederation and the introduction of a Slavic province in the Monarchy consisting of lands from both its halves, contrasted with ideas of national separatism presented by the Polish delegation. While the final announcement remained within the scope of so called Austro-slavism,⁹⁸ the discussions between Ruthenians and Poles

⁹⁸ See Moritsch, Andreas, "Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung

showed especially that the issue of national geography remained highly politicized. While claiming their historical rights and the distinctness in language and culture, the Ruthenian delegation met with Polish counter-demands to reinstall the order of the former Commonwealth with its cultural and power relations in favor of Polish nationality. The appendix to the official manifesto represented this conflict of interest, as this was the only element dealing with national relations within the province in addition to the relations of Galicia with the monarchy. This proposal also included the freedom to learn in both languages at the universities in Galicia, an elegant solution of the national claims. National universities were also to be created in Ljubljana (Slovenian), Hungary (Slovak, Ruthenian, Serb), Croatia (t.i. united provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia), and Serbia (inclusive parts of Hungary).⁹⁹

The convergence and fraternization of Slav peoples could bring only benefits to humanity and glory to us, when it occurs in a peaceful way and with defense of freedom. Therefore to begin with, the revival of literary reciprocity and cultivation of cohabitation in science and arts are in our interest. We only follow this path, when we ask for teaching all Slav dialects at each Slav academic institution. The annual scientific congresses should inspire us Slavs, like the other peoples, to a higher intellectual life and should facilitate the exchange of ideas.¹⁰⁰

These words of František Zach show clearly that the idea of the value of science, which Thun described earlier in his manifesto, were not far from Czech views. Thun evaluated the congress essentially positively: "In my opinion such congresses are not threatening to the state, as long as they remain limited to influencing public opinion and through public opinion and bring the Slav peoples in the Monarchy to a clear awareness of what their national interests demand."¹⁰¹ Thun though was of course far from what nationalists required with respect to educational demands of language equality in education and science.

Apart from complete utraquisation, more moderate demands were put forth, as

Mitteleuropas." In *Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas*, edited by Idem., Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1996, 11-23. See also Orton, Lawrence D., *The Prague Slav Congress of 1848*. New York: East European Quarterly; Columbia University Press, 1978.

⁹⁹ [Palacký, František], Adresse oder Petition des Slaven Congresses in Prag an Seine k.k. Majestät, 1848, in: Žáček, Václav, ed. *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848; sbírka dokumentů*. Praha: Nakl. Československé akademie věd, 1958, 370-375.

¹⁰⁰ [František Alexandr Zach], Manifest des zu Prag versammelten Slaven-Congresses an alle europäischen Völker, 1848, in: Ibid., 365-368, here 367.

¹⁰¹ Bericht von Thun an Doblhoff, 28. July 1848, in: Ibid., 487-490, here 490.

soon as the more excessive demands failed. But the tempering of demands was also a product of the political atmosphere fading from the revolutionary zeal. Šafárik for example pleaded in *Časopis českého musea* for utraquisation of gymnasia, with the exhaustive education in the second language as a compulsory element, and gradual utraquisation of universities, leaving the decisions of language of instruction free for the *Privatdozenten*. Only several chairs should obligatorily be doubled, like pastoral theology, catechetic, midwifery, *Staatsarzneikunde* (forensic medicine) or *Medizinalpolizei* (hygiene).¹⁰² In Galicia, Polish nationalists fiercely rejected the introduction of Ruthenian as language of instruction at Gymnasia and university, often claiming also that the nation and language were only the ideas of Franz Stadion, the governor who enacted the privileges for Ruthenian:

How many new differences will one inflate to national vanity, how many nationalities will one invent, and feed them with treacherous hopes, use them as blind instruments to antagonise and oppress all impulses for freedom, and finally throw them away and forget one after the other like squeezed lemon peel [...] not only, that one forges new nationalities from the distinction in pronunciation of a few letters, from the difference between popular speech and literary language, from the difference between round and square caps, one used even differences between distinct occupation in a state to divide the nationalities.¹⁰³

Although these words of deputy Aleksander Borkowski are certainly from the extreme of the spectrum, they represent the argumentation throughout the next years for eliminating Ruthenians from the political arena of Eastern Galicia. The rejection of Ruthenian culture and language was legitimated with the claim of their non-existence as a separate cultural entity, rejection of historical continuities, low cultural development of the language, or the fact that it is so near to Russian that the political support for their national claims will lead to their aligning with the Russian Empire.¹⁰⁴

Such claims were not only part of the political process, but also caused by the

¹⁰² At the time Šafárik wrote the text, the Philosophical Faculty was still part of gymnasia. Šafárik, Pavel Jozef "Myšlénky o provedení stejného práva českého i německého jazyka w školách českých." *Časopis českého musea* 22, no. 2 (1848): 171-197.

¹⁰³ Appellation of the deputy Alexander Borkowski from L'viv during the Constitutive Imperial Congress in Kroměříž (*Kremsier*). Online in "Officielle stenographische Berichte ..."

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Moklak, Jarosław, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców : zagadnienie języka wykładowego w szkołach ludowych i średnich w pracach galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego 1866-1892*. Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2004, 24-39.

Viennese government's publication of a specific vocabulary for gymnasia¹⁰⁵ and legal service; after the constitutional guarantees for ten *Landessprachen* were granted, their inefficiency for seamlessly covering the issues of administration, and thus for implementation of bilingualism in offices, became obvious.¹⁰⁶ Despite the efforts of the ministerial official in charge of for Ruthenian schools, author of Ruthenian grammar book for gymnasia, and member of *Supreme Ruthenian Council* Hryhoriy Shashkevych (Григорій Шашкевич), the first Ruthenian gymnasium was opened only in 1867, as the Ministry considered that Ruthenian "did not yet [1849 – J.S.] reach the level of development" necessary for dealing with scientific issues.¹⁰⁷ Similarly Ruthenian university chairs were to be created only in accordance with linguistic and cultural development – an issue that remained controversial until 1918, or even later.

The claim that the language of instruction had to be developed in order to enable a university to fulfil its function came in various forms at different times. In the early nineteenth century, the communicational value of language was seen as paramount to its symbolical value¹⁰⁸. After 1848, this question polarized scholars and questioning the level of a language's linguistic development was seen clearly as an

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Německo – český slovník vědeckého názvosloví pro gymnasia a reálné školy (Prag, 1853); Руська читанка для нижчої гімназії (1852); The government supported also the publication of Ruthenian zoological, biological and mineralogical terminology of Vasyľ Volyan: Василь Волян, Начальное основание зверословия..., Начальное основание рослинословия..., Первые понятия о царстве ископаемых. Cf. Moser, Michael, "Some Viennese contributions to the development of Ukrainian terminologies." In *Ukraine's re-integration into Europe: A historical, historiographical and political urgent issue*, edited by Giovanna Brogi-Bercoff and Giulia Lami, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005, 139–180, esp. 156-175. Volyan (as Basilius/Basil Wolan) was *Privatdozent* for forensic medicine, and was later appointed professor at the newly opened University of Chernivtsi 1875.

¹⁰⁶ Most important was the series *Legal and Political Terminology for the Slavic Languages of Austria* (*Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs*), for which a commission with (among others) Franc Miklošič, Vuk Karadžić and Pavel Šafárik was created. Cf. Nyomárcay, István, "Spracherneuerungen in Mitteleuropa im 19. Jahrhundert. Versuch der Herausbildung muttersprachlicher Terminologien in den mitteleuropäischen Sprachen." *Studia Slavica* 53, no. 2 (2008): 425-440; Datsenko, Ihor, "Das Wörterbuch der Juridischpolitischen Terminologie (1851) als Index der galizischen Realität." In *Galizien. Fragmente eines diskursiven Raums*, edited by Doktoratskolleg Galizien, Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen: Studienverlag, 2009, 131-141; Kamiš, Adolf, "Tschechisch-deutsche Beziehungen in der politischen Terminologie zu Beginn der konstitutionellen Zeit." In *Deutsch-tschechische Beziehungen im Bereich der Sprache und Kultur. Aufsätze und Studien.*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek and Rudolf Fischer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968, 71-83.

¹⁰⁷ Response of the Ministry to an enquiry of the *Supreme Ruthenian Council*, 9. January 1849, quoted in Moser, "Some Viennese contributions to the development of Ukrainian terminologies," 141.

¹⁰⁸ In 1841 Tersztyánszky Imre (Emerich), the dean of the Philosophical Faculty in Pest, claimed that the introduction of Hungarian as language of instruction would bring more harm than positives. Mészáros, Andor "Maďarština na (buda)pešťské univerzitě a v uherském školství v 19. století." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek, eds., *Místo národních jazyku*, 147-156, here 148.

antinational act. At the same time, the idea of the significance of language for the state was pushed to the background, but remained nevertheless vital in the course of the 1850s.

With the gradual introduction of neoabsolutistic policy, the German language was reinstated as a language of secondary schooling and bureaucracy in 1852. Universities also addressed this issue, as their interconnection with gymnasia and civil service meant that the nationalized universities did in fact 'produce' officials, educated and taught to perfection, but not in the language they were to use in their professional careers.

Such was the argumentation of the recently appointed professor for German literature in Cracow, Tomáš Bratranek, in his *pium desiderium* for the introduction of German as a language of instruction, dating from early 1853 and submitted to the Philosophical Faculty. Bratranek wrote that the university, the smallest in the Monarchy, could not, for political reasons, host the best Polish speaking professors and that all students spoke fluent German after gymnasium. It was therefore considered to be "in students' interest" that "already from the next semester all the matters which are in any connection to the competence for civil service should be instructed at our university in the German language."¹⁰⁹ The Jagiellonian University was at this time already stripped of its autonomy. Following reports of the local government on the revolutionary feelings of some professors, the provincial government of Galicia ordered supervision of Polish professors at the university, suspecting them of propagating political separatism.¹¹⁰ These suspicions led to the discharge of Antoni Helcel, Józefat Zielonacki, Wincenty Pol and Antoni Małecki, and revocation of autonomy by Emperor Franz Joseph, who also ordered a curator to be appointed.¹¹¹ Polish patriotism or nationalism was an issue already in 1851, as the professors wore traditional togas during Franz Joseph's visit to the university, instead of conventional Habsburg officials' uniform, which were then made obligatory by a

¹⁰⁹ Batron, Josef, *Der vergessene Mähr. Verehrer Goethes, Ph. Dr. P. Thomas Bratranek OSA, Professor an der Universität Krakau*, 1937, 11.

¹¹⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, Kart. 1105 Geschichte der Medizin, Z. 200, 21.3.1852; Z. 115, 26.3.1852.

¹¹¹ The whole situation seems to be supported by Antoni Walewski, who, after his appointment met with hostility at the Faculty, sent denunciations on colleagues who previously opposed his professorship. The straw that broke the camel's back though was overtly patriotic demonstration during the excursion in the Tatra mountains by geographer Pol. Cf. Barycz, Henryk, "Wincenty Pol jako profesor geografii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim." *Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Prace komisji historii medycyny i nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych* 3, no. 2 (1949): 43-128, here 104-110.

Ministry act shortly after the visit.¹¹²

In the *Ministerialrat*, Thun, who was confronted with the act of suspension of autonomy issued without his knowledge, unsuccessfully defended the equality of languages, which in his eyes encouraged Polish loyalty. He succeeded though against conservatives Bach and Krauß in securing his candidate for the office of curator – Piotr Bartynowski, president of the *k.k. Oberlandesgericht* in Cracow and professor of Roman law, whom conservatives in the government regarded as a “national Pole” (*Nationalpole*).¹¹³ Surprisingly, Bartynowski, together with likewise installed deans Antoni Walewski, Antoni Bryk, Edward Fierich and Leon Laurysiewicz, proposed shortly afterwards the introduction of the German language at the university. Apart from the arguments raised by Bratranek, who was in fact the scripter of the petition, the locality of education and the universality of science were brought to attention: “The university is primarily to be considered a nursery and a base of development for science; science is though of universal nature; thus its development will be held back by such establishments, which are turned towards special and besides that, very local [circumstances].”¹¹⁴ As most scientific texts were written in German, French or English, the reliance on translations for teaching is only illusory as it slows the free flow of knowledge, because translations are not only behind in comparison to the originals, but also not everything can be translated; moreover the Polish language did not possess developed scientific terminology at the time – according to the petition – and even leading Polish scientists published in German due to the lack of a Polish-reading public.¹¹⁵ The petitioners thus claimed that for the sake of science, it should be instructed in a world language, and in this case in German.

The universality of science as put forward in the petition was not a mere argumentative device to legitimize the language change. One can see here once more the argument that the scientific process is more a communication of results in the international arena and independent of language. The contrary argument was used often by nationalist and (only several decades later) by philosophers of science,

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Heindl, “Universitätsreform und politisches Programm. Die Sprachenfrage an der Universität Krakau im Neoabsolutismus,” 83.

¹¹⁴ [František Bratranek], [Der Entwurf einer Petition an das Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht], undated, identical with petition Z. 730 from 27.7.1853 (see Ibid., FN 40). Here quoted after transcription in Batron, *Der vergessene Mähr. Verehrer*. 13-15, here 13. Original in MZA Brno, fond E4 (Augustiniáni Staré Brno), kart. 191, folio 40-42 (1457), here 40.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 41.

replacing the objectivist view on science: “the scientific literature differs in its universality most sharply from the belletrist one, and as one has to hold as a merit, that it perfectly demonstrates the nationality, yet also the individuality of its bearer, a strongly objective attitude, rejecting all national and individual sympathies, is nonetheless absolutely essential for the desirable thriving of science.”¹¹⁶ This put the educational function of the university behind the imagined universality of *République des Lettres* and ‘world languages’. At the same time science as proposed here is deprived of its locality, is science in movement, although reserved only for elites; local publication and circulation is not only secondary, but also *per se* unimportant for the production of scientific knowledge in ignorance of the “learned languages.” Polish, as a language of science, is nevertheless prominently mentioned in the petition, in a way reminiscent of Bruno Latour’s concept of science in the making. It has a “lively future, that is not to be doubted,”¹¹⁷ though, “it is of importance for the studying youth, that their swift advancement in the scientific development is not impeded through philological endeavours for completion of terminology.”¹¹⁸ While the university should take care of the universalistic issues, the question of national science remained prominent in the “peculiar” (*eigenthümlich*) institution of the Cracow’s Learned Society, “whose members are for the most part professors of the k.k. University and which made the further enhancement of national interests to its primary goal. If Polish scientific literature has a germ of viable future, it will be most suitable to commit it into the care of the Society, whose enthusiasm seemed so far most laudable, and will certainly suffice to foster the beginnings of terminological accounts to prosperous development, which by no means should be duty of the university.”¹¹⁹

The petition, although only partially supported in the faculties,¹²⁰ was

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ This and following fragments are not included in Batron, quoted here after archival materials in MZA Brno. The last passage is inserted by an unidentified hand.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ The university records on this issue could not be found in any of the archives containing archival materials (Cracow, Warsaw, L’viv, Vienna), with AUJ records on language issues mostly missing for years 1848-1854, and in Warsaw missing exactly for the period the issue was deliberated at the university. The information of *Czas* (nr. 187, 18. August 1853), Piotr Bartynowski (Letter to Agenor Gołuchowski, 27. September 1827, in TsDIAL L’viv, 146/14/1, page 3) and notices in *Dziennik Podawczy* of the Jagiellonian University for 1853 state, that while the Law Faculty fully supported the petition, Medical and Philosophical faculties were divided and refused taking decisions in this issue.

successful and led to the introduction of the German language in Cracow and additionally in L'viv “for the duration of martial law [in Galicia – J.S.]”¹²¹ However the removal of Polish lectures was not complete, as two professors of the Medical Faculty, Józef Majer and Antoni Kozubowski, were allowed to teach their classes in Polish, at first for one year, and then on an annual basis until 1860. Shortly thereafter however, appointed German-speaking professors held parallel lectures and Polish lectures were made only optional. Thun's memorandum proposed also that “to give attention to the development of the Polish language, a distinct chair for Polish language and literature be appointed and left to the discretion of *Privatdozenten* to read allowed disciplines in the Polish language, and, inasmuch as a vital necessity exists, to cover this or that subject in Polish language.”¹²²

Interestingly, the Cracow conservative journal *Czas* accepted the language change as – according to several articles on this issue – it served practical purposes; this reasserted also confidence in the actions of the government – voluntarily or not, as around this time censorship was intensified in Galicia.¹²³ However, in a series of articles published coevally to the negotiations regarding language of instruction and discussing the publication on universities in *Wiener Lloyd*, journalists strongly opposed the claim that the Polish language did not have the appropriate terminology and vocabulary. The newspaper used the metaphor of a hierarchy of languages to support its argument: “*Lloyd*, classifying the languages which are spoken in Austria according to the rank they can have in European literature, omitted that a language situated in the general hierarchy even at the *second* place, can nevertheless have *first* place in the hierarchy of knowledge in its own country.”¹²⁴ While the Polish language is not among the “world languages” according to the newspaper, it is nevertheless ahead of “languages and dialects, which have neither an administrative, nor a legal, nor a scientific terminology so far, such as Magyar, Croat, Ruthenian, Slovak etc. languages.”¹²⁵

It is interesting to notice here that the distinction between the cultural developments of languages is a prominent element throughout the nineteenth century

¹²¹ AUJ, Z. 1129, 7.12.1853; Z. 1168, 23.12.1853 (“auf die Dauer des Belagerungszustandes [in Galicia – J.S.]”); martial law was in force from November 1848 until 1854.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ *Czas*, 18. August 1853, 1.

¹²⁴ *Czas*, 29. September 1853

¹²⁵ Ibid.

in various contexts. The creation of an image of cultural dependence and underdevelopment is as prominent in German arguments towards Czech or Polish as in Polish towards Ruthenian. It is not only a political argument, however, but also the state of social thought at the time. This hierarchy had entered scientific discourse via the anthropogeography of Montesquieu and was embraced in various forms in anthropology, sociology and historiography. Linguistics did not remain removed from this issue; discussions on the origin of language (and here on polygenism and monogenism), its universality and perfection date from the early Enlightenment.

Quite different was the argumentation several years later. In the course of discussions on the reintroduction of the Polish language, *Czas* argued that this is “natural, just, useful, for the youth, as well as for science,”¹²⁶ and that public education in Polish language is a “natural and inborn way.”¹²⁷ But the “science” written of here is actually not science in a limited sense, but rather education – the Polish word *nauka* includes both meanings. While in the earlier mentioned texts the terms *Wissenschaft* and *nauka* can be read as synonyms, scientific content was not within the bounds of the later debate.

The discussion on the language of instruction in Cracow intensified in the 1860s, occupying columns for several months in the leading journal *Czas* and leading to delegations carrying requests to the Emperor.¹²⁸ This was especially true after Franz Joseph’s letter to Governor Gołuchowski on 20 October 1860, in which an expert opinion on the change of language of instruction was requested. The university became an issue of national pride and was described as the most important means to national autonomy. The needs and rights of students to be taught in Polish language was equated with popular education, which would be fuelled by the aura of the university. While the needs of science and employment possibilities were mentioned as decisive in 1853, in 1860 the needs of vertical communication between professors, students and the population as a whole were stressed. And in this case, the L’viv University was included on equal terms in petitions as the “younger brother”, with

¹²⁶ *Czas*, 17. January 1861.

¹²⁷ *Czas*, 17. February 1861.

¹²⁸ First delegation (November 1860) included curator Bartynowski, head of Cracow Learned Society Franciszek Stroński, dean of Medical Faculty Dietl, and professors Fierich and Majer. Second delegation (March 1861) included Bartynowski, Dietl and Fierich. If not mentioned otherwise, the information in the next paragraphs is based on information in *Czas*, 23. October 1860 (Franz Joseph’s letter) 31. October 1860, 10. November 1860, 15. November 1860, 22 November 1860, 19. December 1860, 20. December 1860, 24. February 1861, 20. March 1861.

clear statements that the polonisation of L'viv University was as vital as of the Jagiellonian University.

On 4 February 1861, the Jagiellonian University was given bilingual status. The lectures in Medical Faculty were to be held in Polish (apart from history of medicine and medical encyclopaedia), although with special attention to German terminology and literature; the Philosophical Faculty was to have German lectures only in German language and literature, history and classical philology (for the sake of future teachers). The final two would have Polish parallel chairs, lectures and seminars in both languages. The Law Faculty remained de facto separated into "general legal subjects" like statistics, economy or Roman law with lectures in Polish, and "positive Austrian and German subjects" encompassing civil and criminal law, administration, history of German and Austrian law, etc. Moreover, professors teaching in German should possess knowledge of Polish terminology, and those without it were to be replaced within one year.¹²⁹

This situation as enacted did not fulfil the hopes of nationalists. Both those from *Czas* and the university's deputations pleaded for complete polonisation and did not stop in trying to achieve this aim. Among them were Bartynowski, Fierich and Bryk, thus vitally taking part in both 'germanisation' and 'polonisation' of the UJ.

The most interesting apologies for Polish language were written, however, by Józef Dietl and Antoni Helcel, who (re)defined the nationalist narrative through the question of language of instruction according to its educational purposes.¹³⁰ In both cases the German language was clearly described as a foreign one, education in which hindered pupils' ability to master the materials taught – a clear turn toward folk-based linguistic theories presented in the previous chapter. With the axiom of Polish language being sufficiently developed to be a learned tongue (even surpassing German in syntactic flexibility or diversity of vocabulary), the communicational value of world languages was acknowledged, but put into a secondary place. On the other hand, both scholars argued for the need to use Polish as a language of culture by (quite derogatorily described) Ruthenians, turning the previously adopted position upside down and here disregarding the symbolic and educational component.

¹²⁹ Full text in Polish language Ibid. (part 1) and *Czas*, 19. February 1861 (part 2).

¹³⁰ Helcel, Antoni, *Uwagi nad kwestyą językową w szkołach i uniwersytetach Galicyi i Krakowa, osnowane na liście odręcznym Jego C. K. Apostolskiej Mości z dnia 20 października 1860 r.* Kraków: D. E. Friedlein, 1860; Dietl, Józef, *O reformie szkół krajowych. Zestyt 1. Stanowisko szkoły, rada szkolna krajowa, język.* Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1865.

Ruthenian might be equal in rights only when sufficiently developed through contact and exchange with Polish – which in turn reminds one of the argumentation of German-speaking-scholars against the equation of languages in the Monarchy¹³¹ – although it must be said that Dietl argued that gymnasium pupils should be educated in both provincial languages.¹³²

Although Dietl enlarged the scope of foreseen university education in Ruthenian to four practical subjects and included *Privatdozenten* who could freely choose the language of their lectures, the contradiction between arguments for Polish and Ruthenian is quite obvious. In fact, the conclusion and practical implementation was not far from what Thun wrote 1849 and later when introducing German in Cracow in 1853, with similar arguments of peaceful coexistence and a final aim of linguistic duality achieved though through a preponderance of one language. As Czechs should develop German, and Poles include *Privatdozenten* for securing the development of the language in a germanised university, Ruthenians should achieve the same in L'viv through Polish culture. In contrast to Thun though, the aim to develop both cultures in Dietl's narrative was to strengthen the Slavs in opposition to the German element in Galicia.

Nevertheless this argumentation is still very mild, compared with the strong assimilationist movements, represented in the 1860, e.g. through historian and later member of Provincial School Board Henryk Schmitt or 'polonised Ruthenian' Zygmunt Sawczyński, the first rejecting the existence of a Ruthenian nation and the second regarding Ruthenian as a language exclusively of the lower strata.¹³³

The issue of Ruthenian as language of university education in the 1860s remained far from the violent form it took from 1880s and after. Neither was the issue of language solved at this time, nor was the principal belief in the functionality of Ruthenian as a scientific language clear. Even fierce patriots like Mykola/Nikolay Kostomarov (Микола/Николай Костомаров) doubted in the early 1860s whether the

¹³¹ Arguments in favor of German education were known to both scholars, Dietl for example countered in his book the arguments of Joseph Alexander Helfert's *Die sprachliche Gleichberechtigung in der Schule und ihre verfassungsmäßige Behandlung*. Prag: Tempsky, 1861.

¹³² See more detailed analysis in Surman, Jan, "Symbolizm, komunikacja i hierarchia kultur: Galicyjski dyskurs hegemonii językowej początku drugiej połowy XIX wieku." In *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne. Special Issue Galicja postkolonialnie, możliwości i granice*, edited by Jan Surman and Klemens Kaps, Kraków: Komisja Historyczna PAN, Oddział w Krakowie, forthcoming.

¹³³ Moklak, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców*, 47, 70.

time was ripe to regard Ukrainian as an independent scholarly language in the Russian Empire.¹³⁴ During the parliamentary discussion on school reforms of 1869, ukrainophile Stepan Kachala (Степан Качала, also Stefan Kaczała) partly agreed with Polish criticisms but stated that the lack of literature and the imperfection of the language should not be a reason for excluding Ruthenian from higher education. On the contrary, only through equation of languages of education could this deficiency be removed.¹³⁵ Also the petition on the regulation of the school question authored by Ruthenian national politician Yulian Lavrivs'ky (Юліян Лаврівський) did not foresee a swift utraquisation of L'viv University, mentioning the subjects that were part of teachers' education and practical for court services to be taught "for now" in Ruthenian.¹³⁶ While Ruthenian politicians criticized Poles, mentioning among other sources the memorandum of the Prague Slav Congress where the equality of rights was accepted, the decision by the Ministry in October 1869 to retain current language status at L'viv University was seen as satisfactory. Although retaining German as the language of general instruction with lectures in Polish and Ruthenian at the Law Faculty and chairs for both languages and literatures represented the failure of Ruthenian claims, it was simultaneously a rejection of the official petition of the Galician Diet (or rather its Polish majority) of September 1868 to replace German with Polish and to perpetuate the status of Ruthenian language as allowed for a few subjects.¹³⁷

After 1867 the *Staatsgrundgesetz* included the equalization of rights of language "in schools, offices and public life,"¹³⁸ the question of universities figured prominently. It took a few years and a change of government, however, to fulfil national claims. Not even one month after Galician nobleman Alfred Józef Potocki was nominated *Staatsminister* and the government realized that Poles could boycott

¹³⁴ Miller, Alexei, *The Ukrainian Question. The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2003, 79.

¹³⁵ Moklak, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców*, 71.

¹³⁶ Petition from 23. October 1869, reprinted in *Ibid.*, Załącznik 3.

¹³⁷ On the petition from 1868 see Pacholkiv, Svjatoslav, *Emanzipation durch Bildung. Entwicklung und gesellschaftliche Rolle der ukrainischen Intelligenz im habsburgischen Galizien (1890-1914)*. München: Oldenbourg, 2002, 50. On the reactions see Moklak, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców*, 86-87. The question of universities was though beyond the competences of the Galician Diet, so both memoranda have merely a symbolical character.

¹³⁸ "Staatsgrundgesetz vom 21. Dezember 1867, über die allgemeinen Rechte der Staatsbürger für die im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder (R.G.Bl. 142/1867)." In *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich*, Wien: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867, 394-396, here § 19, 396.

the Parliament as the Czechs did from 1867,¹³⁹ the Cracow University was completely Polonized on 30 April 1870. On 4 October 1870 the same was announced for L'viv Technical Academy. The trend was continued with the new minister of state Hohenwart, who similarly wanted to secure support from the "Polenklub", and Minister of Education Josef Jireček, who was already unpopular among Ruthenians due to his support of the (failed) introduction of a Latin alphabet with letters containing diacritic marks analogous to Czech, in 1859. On 4 July 1871, Polish and Ruthenian were made *de jure* equal instruction languages in L'viv. This was likely quite surprisingly as slightly more than four months before, Wincenty Zakrzewski's application for habilitation was rejected by the Ministry because he refused to submit his thesis in German and claimed a Polish one should be sufficient.¹⁴⁰ Finally, shortly after the utraquisation of Charles University in Prague in 1882, the Polish majority at the L'viv University, which had already asked the Ministry to regulate the question of language (that is to acknowledge Polish supremacy with either retention or lessening of the number of professorships with prescribed Ruthenian language of instruction), succeeded in their demands. With the ministerial decree of 5 April 1882, Polish was declared the language in which the lectures should be taught "as rule" and Ruthenian lectures should be held only with the approbation of the Ministry.¹⁴¹ By fulfilling nationalist demands for higher education, *Staatspresident* Taaffe appeased and partially gained the support of the Czech and Polish national parties for his government.

¹³⁹ Litwin, Dorota, "Udział Polaków w naczelnym organach państwa austriackiego w okresie dualistycznej monarchii." In *Polacy w austriackim parlamencie w 130. rocznicę Klubu Polskiego*, edited by Władysław Kucharski, Lublin: Multico, 1997, 103-124, esp. 110-113; Judson, Pieter, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996, esp. 102, 140.

¹⁴⁰ DALO, 26/7/148, Z. 1544, 17.3.1871.

¹⁴¹ Finkel, *Uniwersytet*, 50-54; In 1878 rector Bilinski proposed the acknowledgment of Polish as the supreme language and a gradual introduction of Ruthenian parallel chairs, which was rejected among others by Omelyan Ohonovs'ky (Омелян Огоновський). In 1880 the professors accepted the project of abolishment of Ruthenian associate professorships at the Law Faculty due to the impossibility of finding qualified Ruthenian scholars. The project with both proposals was forwarded to the Ministry by rector Xawery Liske. In the same year, the proposed appointment of associate professor Oleksandr Ohonovs'ky (Олександр Огоновський) to full professor of civil law in Ruthenian language was rejected by the Faculty as such chairs in Ruthenian language were not foreseen in the ministerial decrees. Proposal, forwarded to the Ministry included abolishment of two juridical associate chairs with Ruthenian language and appointment of Ohonovs'ky for full professor without specified language (what would of course mean that no Ruthenian professorship would be systemized, that is could be easily replaced by a Polish professor after the retirement of Ohonovs'ky). Ohonovs'ky was enacted full professor of civil law with Ruthenian language with ministerial decree in 1882.

The political assertion of the cultural and educational supremacy of Poles, brought, however, different effects than intended by Galician nationalists; that is, it resulted in the intensification of Ruthenian intellectual life and support for demands for independent academic institutions.

The first and most obvious reaction to the Polish supremacy was the practical demonstration of the vividness of Ruthenian academic life and literature outside of the university. Societies and journals with the aim of popular and professional education proliferated from the 1860's, representing, however, different and often conflicting political ideologies. The populist cultural organisation *Ukrayins'ka Besida* (Українська Бесіда, Ukrainian Discourse, est. 1861 by Lavrivs'kyj) was followed by the society *Prosvita* (Просвіта, Enlightenment), whose first president, Anatol' Vakhnianyn (Анатоль Вахнянин), at the time a teacher of Ruthenian language at the gymnasium in Przemyśl/Peremyshl and a member of commission for Ruthenian schoolbooks, had also been active in creating the first Ruthenian student association *Sich* (Січ) in Vienna and published in the journal of literature and science/education *Pravda* (Правда).¹⁴² *Prosvita* was founded as an educational-literary society, but the first part of the name was abolished in the early 1870; the educational-scientific aspect was overtaken by the closely affiliated *Shevchenko Scientific Society* (Наукове товариство імені Шевченка), established in 1873. The reference to a poet in its name, was a strong symbol of the Ruthenian cultural project against both polonophiles and russophiles.

While *Prosvita* certainly remained the most influential society, specialised in schoolbooks and popular education, issuing several journals and a specialised scholar-educational magazine *Pys'mo z "Prosvity"* (Письмо з «Просвіти»), in opposition to its Ruthenian alignment several branches of russophile and moskwophile movements activated their resources. *Stauropegion Institute*, *Kachkovs'ky Society* (Товариство ім. М. Качковського), *Halyts'ko-Rus'ka Matytsia* and *Narodny Dim* (Народний Дім у Львові) strongly engaged in the popularization of education in their versions of Ruthenian – Ruso-Ruthenian, published among others scholarly and educationally

¹⁴² Качкан, Володимир, "Анатоль Вахнянин і його роль у розвитку культури Західної України." *Народна творчість та етнографія*, no. 1,2 (2003): 15-24.

oriented journals: *Naukovy Sbornyk* (Науковий Сборник,¹⁴³ Scientific/Educational Collection; published by *Matytsia*), *Nauka* (Наука, published by Kachkovs'ky Society), *Vremennyk* (Временник, Annals, by *Stauropegion Institute*) or *Vistnyk Narodnoho Doma* (Вісник Народного Дома, from 1882 on).¹⁴⁴ It is certainly reasonable to assume that the political conflicts did in fact not slow the development of scholarly institutions, as the anti-Polish sentiment won in the end over internal divisions and the issue of demarcation from Polish culture and language prevailed over political differences among Ruthenians.

I will turn later to the question of the patriotic engagement of the scholars in the process of cultural boundary work, but certain characteristics of Ruthenian national argumentation from around the turn of the century require more careful analysis here. As noted earlier, there were two main arguments for and against language change – the first from the viewpoint of cultural dominance (instruction in national language when it is sufficiently developed) and the second for a national culture from the pedagogical position. The Ruthenian (and also Czech) argumentations take a rather different direction, arguing that a national university is not the result of cultural development, but rather a means to achieve it. Ruthenian professors opined, for example, in an open memorandum from 1907 that a Ruthenian university could “bring the conditions, which favour the peaceful development of science and further cultural development of our nation.”¹⁴⁵ Ruthenian academia was seen almost as a panacea: with the Ruthenian university „ economical development will be easier, and Moscowphilism will melt like wax in fire. The university will be the final aim and centre of political struggle for the independence of the nation. From the university the great voice of the nation will resound.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Established in 1865, from 1869 as *Литературный Сборник* (Literaturnyi sbornik, Literary Collection), from 1901 as *Научно-Литературный Сборник* (Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik, Scientific/Educational-Literary Collection)

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Киричук, Олександра, "Ставропігійський інститут у політичних змаганнях русофілів і народовців 70-90-х років XIX століття." *Україна Модерна* 4-5 (2000): 124-148; Magocsi, Paul R., "The Kachkovs'kyj Society and the National Revival in Nineteenth Century East Galicia." In Idem., *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont.*, Toronto, London, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 119-158.

¹⁴⁵ Бартошевський, Іван, Михайло Грушевський, Іван Добрянський, Станіслав Дністрянський, Олександр Колесса, Йосиф Комарницький, Тит. Мишковський, Петро Стебельський, and Кирило Студинський, "Заява руских професорів університету у Львові." *Руслан* 6.3.(19.3.)1907.

¹⁴⁶ "Боротьба о руський університет," *Свобода*, 6(19). December 1907, quoted in Качмар, Володимир, "Проблема заснування українського університету у Львові на рубежі XIX-XX ст. у контексті національного життя." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія журналістика*

The most prominent proponent of Ukrainian nationalists, Mykhailo Hrushevs'ky, professor of "General History with Special Consideration to Eastern Europe" at L'viv University, followed both in his historiography and popular writings the aim of establishing Ukrainians as an autonomous cultural nation, with a glorious past and a murky present due to Polish oppression. In his vision of cultural separatism, *наука* (nauka) had not only the aim of demonstrating cultural strength, but also of increasing the self-awareness of the Ukrainian population in Galicia and Ukraine: in his own metaphor, to help in the process of renunciation of "the culture of the knife".¹⁴⁷ The doublesidedness of *наука* is here clearly evident, but apart from education and science, *наука* evokes here culture and civilization and is synonym to progress, both as aim and as a means:

One of the main questions regarding cultural language and the fruition of national life is the question of academic education in this language. Until a language finds entrance to higher education institutions, until it is a language of university or other academic lectures, until it is a tool of scientific work in lectures and books, a nation (народність) which speaks this language will feel as it were a "low-grade," culturally-handicapped nation. It will receive from all a suspicious look, supposing that they consider it neither a cultural nation, nor its language as a cultural language. Academic, university science in one's [own] language attests culturality, it gives a stamp of cultural entitlement to a given nation, in the eyes of contemporary man. Independently from the size of the nation, or the dimension of its political, economical and cultural, practical and intellectual talents, the nation considers itself then a cultural nation, and senses the moral right to request such attendance from other [nations] – that she will be respected as a cultural nation, culturally equal with the other nations. Hence we see, that for all nations, which came to our eyes, or are just coming to their national rights or to a reputation as a cultural nation – [we see] a struggle for an independent academia (*вищу школу*), with lectures in their language, and when it is not possible then at least lectures of several subjects in their language in one university.¹⁴⁸

In the conflict about the L'viv University two claims are notorious. The Polish side claimed that freedom of learning and the possibility of *habilitation* had given

26 (2004) (accessible online: http://www.lnu.edu.ua/faculty/jur/publications/visnyk26/Statti_Kachmar.htm, last access: 28.12.2010)

¹⁴⁷ Грушевський, Михайло, "По світу. З подорожніх вражень," *Вісник*, no. 44 (1909): 11-23.

¹⁴⁸ Грушевський, Михайло, "Справа українських катедр і наші наукові потреби." In *Михайло Грушевський. Твори в 50 томах, серія «Суспільно-політичні твори», том 1. 1894-1907*, edited by Ярослав Дашкевич, Ігор Гирич, Геннадій Боряк and Павло Сохань, Львів: Світ, 2002, 458-484, here 473-474; the article was published originally in *Літературно-Науковий Вісник* no. 37 (1907): 52-57, 213-220, 408-418.

Ruthenians concessions that they did not take advantage of because of lack of qualified scholars.¹⁴⁹ The argumentation which already resounds in brochures of Dietl and Helcel, took from 1900 a more nationalistic turn, in which Ruthenian development is negated. The lack of acknowledged scholars was seen as evidence of the unviability of culture, but at the same time the university was itself a political arena, in which the professors obstructed Ruthenian claims, as they argued “in accordance with the actual laws”. The ban of Ruthenian as a language of university affairs (*Geschäftssprache*), rejection of enrolment certificates (*Inskriptionsscheine*) in Ruthenian, opposition to new Ruthenian chairs and habilitations, or, finally, the problematic participation of several professors in the right-wing nationalistic National Democracy were widely commented on in the Ruthenian press and led to a series of violent conflicts. Thus, the Polish argument of freedom was confronted with a Ruthenian claim that the Polish majority restricted the legally proscribed privileges, hindering in this way Ruthenian cultural development. In many instances Poles were presented as an imperialistic nation speaking with a forked tongue – on one side criticizing Prussia for blocking the Polish language in the province of Posen (*Provinz Posen, Prowincja Poznańska*) and on the other hindering the claims of Ruthenians for equal opportunities.¹⁵⁰ One can remark that in the moment of strongest conflict in 1907, this was not solely a Ruthenian opinion, but can be found on the pages of journals like the *Times*, *Neue Freie Presse* or *Le Figaro*.

Certain characteristics of this cultural struggle allow one to speak of Ruthenians in western Galicia as the “Czechs of the East”. This not only because of numerous Bohemian officials in Habsburg service in Galicia and strong contacts on cultural level, but also metaphorically in the analysis of cultural emancipation. Similarly to the Czechs, Ruthenians opposed a leading culture, which controlled the university, positioned as the source of intellectual and cultural well-being. At the same time, the adherence to the leading cultures and to a certain extent common

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Twardowski, Kazimierz, *Die Universität Lemberg. Materialien zur Beurteilung der Universitätsfrage*. Wien: Selbstverlag, 1907; much more emotional is the brochure entitled *Attack on the Polish University in Lvov* by a politician of National Democracy and professor of L’viv University Stanisław Głąbiński (Głąbiński, Stanisław, *Zamach na Uniwersytet Polski we Lwowie*. Lwów: Nakładem Autora, 1902)

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the analysis of such arguments in Surman, Jan, “Du « barbarisme » et « civilisation ». Le conflit entre les étudiants polonais et ruthènes en 1907 et sa construction journalistique.” In *La Galicie au temps des Habsbourg (1772-1918): histoire, société, cultures en contact*, edited by Jacques Le Rider and Heinz Raschel, Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2010, 175-188.

intellectual and cultural roots made emancipation attempts akin to tilting at windmills. Despite rhetorical claims, and also placating actions, like the Galician Diet's subsidy for *Pros'vyta*, neither Czechs nor Ruthenian nationalists could count on the fulfilment of their demands. The geographical overlap in national projects – with Prague and L'viv being desired cultural centres for all parties in question – as well as the statistically confirmed national heterogeneity and historically confirmed national pasts of both cities and institutions, made the question of political influence crucial in deciding the legitimacy of expressed wishes.¹⁵¹ As noted before, the language change at both universities was inextricably linked with securing political stability. In fact, several other language issues, like the Badeni Crisis or the gymnasium conflict in Celje (Cilli) overturned governments or ministers, and the politics of equal rights of languages led by Josef Jireček led to his removal. National control over the universities made political initiatives responsible for the national balance through the enactment of professors and chairs. As noted before, the Ministry of education was responsible for sustaining Ruthenian chairs in L'viv. Two other significant positions – one for East European History (Hrushevs'ky) and a second chair for Ruthenian Language and Literature (Kyrylo Studyns'ky) – came into being by political calculation, the first as the outcome of the Polish-Ruthenian Agreement of 1890, the second on the initiative of Governor Kazimierz Badeni against fierce opposition from the university (see chapter 4.2.2.). Similarly in Prague, the most significant gain for the Czechs after 1850 came in 1871. At this time, minister Jireček succeeded in appointing František Studnička as professor of physics with Czech as the language of instruction, and Antonín Frič, Ladislav Čelakovský and Emanuel Bořický as professors of zoology, botany and mineralogy respectively. In the documents on the appointment of the latter three scholars, Jireček stated laconically that as the professors at the Charles University in the subjects in question did not speak Czech and were thus not able to evaluate the writings of persons he proposed, he believed he might “proceed without asking the Philosophical Faculty (*Professoren-Kollegium*) on this issue.”¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ The argument of conflicting national geographies is often disregarded and leads to problematic conclusions, like Richard Reutner's opinion, that the conflicts in the Monarchy would be avoidable if language concessions were made in the 1840s. Reutner, Richard, "Die Sprachkonflikte in der Habsburgermonarchie aus diskursanalytischer Sicht. Am Beispiel deutschsprachiger Broschüren, Klage und Streitschriften." *Zagreber Germanistische Beiträge*, no. 17 (2008): 167-197.

¹⁵² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1129, PA Fric, Z. 768, 11.10.1871.

The structure of the arguments in the Czech-German discussion on university education exhibits traits in common with the Polish-Ruthenian case. In a feuilleton "The Assassination of the Prague University" (*Das Attentat auf die Prager Universität*), Leopold Wittelshöfer asserted the equal rights of languages, but claimed that through equal rights at the university, politics would destroy not only the German university, but the dominant culture and science in Bohemia of the nineteenth century: "But to try to take possession of the oldest *German* university through ruses and through completely unnatural coalitions in the Diet, is an assassination attempt on nineteenth century science and culture, a pillage and destruction of a 500 years long strenuously acquired intellectual property." Czechs should be able to have their own university, but this should come from their cultural work and not through political machinations.¹⁵³ The renowned journal *Vienna Medical Weekly* (*Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift*) published a series of anti-Czech articles, finally resuming their campaign in 1882 with the words "Not that we fear that German science could be dimmed by the Czech one, but she will be put to death through these influences, which originate in lack of knowledge, greed and termagantism,"¹⁵⁴ and shortly afterwards: "There could be no doubt on which side the 'stronger lineage' (*das 'stärkere Geschlecht'*) is, and some names, which one hears as the future professors of the Czech Medical Faculty, appear to us very incredible. There are times in which also the professors are scarce as hen's teeth."¹⁵⁵ Milder, but still negative, were opinions from the faculty, e.g. of Leopold Hasner, who argued, that any legal utraquisation would be detrimental to the quality of scholarship, and if there are literary and scientific achievements, the Czech scholars would be accepted to the university.¹⁵⁶ And in a memorandum of the German professors of the Medical and Philosophical Faculty, the acceptance of Czech as a language of instruction was depicted as favouritism of nationality over science ("serious damage to scientific interests"),¹⁵⁷ not only because of the "rich literature" of which such change will

¹⁵³ [Wittelshöfer, Leopold], "Das Attentat auf die Prager Universität." *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 16, no. 20 (1866): 323-326; see also Seebacher, Felicitas, "Freiheit der Naturforschung!" *Carl Freiherr von Rokitsky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule: Wissenschaft und Politik im Konflikt*. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2006, 115-116.

¹⁵⁴ "Das Ende der deutschen Universität in Prag." *WMW* 7 (1882): 197-198.

¹⁵⁵ "Prager Briefe." *WMW* 44 (1882): 1315-1316.

¹⁵⁶ Goll, Jaroslav, *Rozdělení Pražské university Karlo-Ferdinandovy roku 1882 a počátek samostatné University české*. Praha: Nakl. Klubu historického, 1908, 24-25.

¹⁵⁷ The memorandum, dated December 1879, was reprinted in *Ibid.*, 83-87.

bereave the Czechs, but also because all students speak German and only a minority speaks Czech. The proposed solution of a “complete detachment” (vollständige Trennung) of the universities – “if it should seem for any reason necessary, to create a space for the Czechs to fulfil their national needs”¹⁵⁸ – was also primarily accepted by Czech professors, but envisioned for not sooner than 10-20 years in the future, as they still lacked qualified academic teachers.¹⁵⁹ It was precisely the germanophone professors, who – according to the memorandum of Czech scholars – obstructed the development of Czech academic activities; moreover their ideal of science is described as a “dead printed letter” (*todtes bedrucktes Papier*) that ignored the fact that the scientific betterment of the university can be achieved only through multiplication and (cultural) diversification of the teaching staff, and that science as described in the German memorandum inherently includes the nationalistic claim that as scholars Germans need not to read Czech literature, while Czechs should read the German one.¹⁶⁰

The Czech nationalist side proposed utraquisation of the university e.g. in the Bohemian Diet in 1866 (proposed by František Ladislav (Franz Ladislaus) Rieger, accepted and forwarded by Diet’s president Leo Thun), but these proposals were rejected by the Ministry.¹⁶¹ In the next years utraquisation was proposed several times, but the German Bohemians, who saw the university as a historical monument of German culture, stood in fierce opposition to this project.¹⁶² The petition of Czech medical doctors summarized the claims: “The Bohemian Nation has an entitlement to a Bohemian university not only through natural law, but also because of its intellectual development and education.”¹⁶³ Nationalists argued that a Czech university would be epoch making for the Czech culture (František Studnička, Jan Kvíčala),¹⁶⁴ bring peaceful national coexistence (Purkyně)¹⁶⁵ etc.. And after the

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ See also Čedík, Miloslav, "Národnostní otazka a rozdělení pražské univerzity." *AUC-HUCP* 22, no. 1 (1982): 15-25, esp. 15-21.

¹⁶⁰ Reprinted in Goll, *Rozdělení Pražské university Karlo-Ferdinandovy*, 88-93, quotation p. 89.

¹⁶¹ See Litsch, Karel, "F.L. Rieger o univerzitní otázce v českém sněmu roku 1866." *AUC-HUCP* 22, no. 1 (1982): 27-33.

¹⁶² Schmied, Erich, "Die altösterreichische Gesetzgebung zur Prager Universität. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Prager Universität bis 1918." In *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern*, edited by Ferdinand Seibt, München: Oldenbourg, 1984, 11-24, here 18-19.

¹⁶³ Petition from 1872, reprinted in Goll, *Rozdělení*, 78-83, here 79.

¹⁶⁴ Studnička, F[rantišek] J[osef] "O rozvoji naší literatury fysikální za posledních padesát let." *Časopis musea království českého* Jg. 50 (1876): 35-46, here 46; on Kvíčala’s argumentation

Czechs had succeeded in gaining a national Prague University, the claims were raised once more for a second Czech university in Brno or Olomouc, with similar arguments: “The second university would bring more freedom for the students and partially for professors, would accelerate and strengthen scientific (*vědecký*) development”¹⁶⁶ wrote Masaryk in 1894. Goll argued similarly for the second university as a “cultural necessity” (*Kulturnotwendigkeit*) for the Czechs.¹⁶⁷

In the case of national clashes, the objective trinity – law, history and statistics – were mobilized. However, the ‘facts’ of the existing legal order, and ‘just’ historical claims for the building and name as well as numerically supported claims were as different as the arguments used. So was the L’viv University established in 1784 as a provincial (and also nationally neutral) institution according to Ruthenians; Poles on the other hand claimed 1661 as the year of foundation and ‘Polish’ King Jan II Casimir as the founder.¹⁶⁸ While the establishment of Prague University 1348 was not brought into question in the Czech-German interchange, the person and aims of the founder remained controversial. Whether with the establishment of the Latin university Karl IV founded consciously “a centre for German scholarliness in Prague”, or whether Karel IV was motivated by the love for literature, “which was nearest to his heart” that is, Czech, remained highly controversial¹⁶⁹ and led to the final “doubling” instead of the creation of a new university for one of the nations.¹⁷⁰ In the discussion on the new universities, one of the most common arguments remained statistics, with its wide range of applications. While Czechs and Ruthenian

(statement in the Bohemian Diet, May 1881) see Brix, Emil, "Menatlität ist gut - die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882." *Österreichische Osthefte* 30, no. 3 (1988): 371-382, here 375-377.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Kratochvíl, Milan, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně a jeho snahy o reformu české školy*. Praha: SBN, 1987.

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in Mandlerová, Jana, "K boji za zřízení 2. české university w Brně 1882-1918 (Příspěvek o impulzech a struktuře české vědecké politiky na sklonku Rakousko-uherské monarchie)." *AUC-HUCP* 10 (1969): 95-116, here 97. See also Burešová, Jana, "Úsilí o obnovení Univerzity v Olomouci ve druhé polovině 19. a na začátku 20. století." *Historická Olomouc* 11 (1998): 153-160.

¹⁶⁷ Goll, Jaroslav, *Der Hass der Völker und die österreichischen Universitäten*. Prag: Bursík & Kohout, 1902.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Lane, Hugo Victor, *State Culture and National Identity in a Multi-ethnic Context: Lemberg 1772–1914*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Michigan, 1999, 226-236.

¹⁶⁹ For this argument see Kalousek, Joseph, *Über die Nationalität Karl's IV. Entgegnung auf einen von Prof. Dr. J. Loserth unter demselben Titel in den "Mittheilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen Böhmen" veröffentlichten Aufsatz*. Prag: W. Nagel, Selbstverlag, 1879. First quotation p. 15 (as quotation from Loserth's article), second p. 17. The reason for this particular controversy was Kalousek's monograph (Kalousek, Joseph, *Karel IV, otec vlasti: Ku pětistoleté památce jeho umrtí ...* Praha: Jos. R. Vilímek, 1878) where he claimed Charles IV was of “Czech nationality” and lively interested in Czech culture.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. the discussion in Vaněček, Václav, "'V Praze budou ... dvě university...'" (Zák. z. 28.2.1882, č.24, Ř.z., § 1)", *AUC-HUCP* XXII, no. 1 (1982): 7-14.

used census statistics to claim their rights to have new institutions of higher education,¹⁷¹ the counter-argument was the statistics of students in gymnasia, the nationality of university students',¹⁷² or – as in the case of Adolf Gürtler – fiscal statistics, showing that “the non-German intelligentsia is nursed at the cost of Germans.”¹⁷³

In the end, neither a Ruthenian university nor a second Czech one were created, the only acquisition in Cisleithania being Alma Mater Francisco Josephina Czernovicensia¹⁷⁴, established in 1875, in the city whose name – if taking statistics seriously – should be written טשערנאוויץ.¹⁷⁵ To make the mythical (and mythologized) multiculturalism of Chernivtsi more visible, the university, with German as instruction language, was hailed as an oasis of civilization and a German outpost in Slavic “Half-Asia,”¹⁷⁶ a Ruthenian refugee against polonisation of L'viv university¹⁷⁷ and the only university for the Romanian minority in Bukovina. The Greek-Orthodox Theological Faculty (and now the whole university) was placed in the residence of Greek-Orthodox Metropolit of Bukovina, an eclectic masterpiece built by Czech architect Josef Hlávka, a prominent philanthropist, whose support was decisive in the establishment of the Franz-Joseph Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Česká*

¹⁷¹ Cf. e.g. Romanczuk, Julian [Юліан Романчук], *Die Ruthenen und ihre Gegner in Galizien*. Wien: C. W. Stern, 1902, esp. 25-30.

¹⁷² E.g. Twardowski, *Materialien*, claimed that the number of Ruthenian students at the secular faculties of the L'viv University diminished in the last years prior to 1907.

¹⁷³ Gürtler, Adolf, *Deutsche Hochschulnot in Österreich. Referat erstattet in der Monatsversammlung der Vereinigung deutscher Hochschullehrer in Graz am 12. Februar 1913*. Graz: Im Selbstverlage der Vereinigung, 1913, 10.

¹⁷⁴ Official German name: Franz-Josephs-Universität Czernowitz, from 1918-40 Universitatea Regele Carol I din Cernăuți (Romania), from 1940 Чернівецький Державний Університет, from 1989 Чернівецький Державний університет ім. Юрія Федьковича, from 1990 Чернівецький національний ім. Юрія Федьковича (Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University).

¹⁷⁵ Jiddisch remained until the end of the Monarchy not an official “national language,” although such proposals were made precisely in Chernivtsi in 1910. Lappin, Eleonore, “Die Czernowitzer Sprachkonferenz (1908) und der Streit um die jüdische Nationalsprache.” In *Minikosmos Bukowina – Kulturleistungen eines Landstriches. Beiträge der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz anlässlich des 130. Jahrestages der Czernowitzer Universität am 3.-4.10.2005 / Мінікосмос Буковини: Матеріал Міжнародної наукової конференції, присвяченої 130-річчю Чернівецького ун-ту (3-4 жовтня 2005 р.)*, edited by Österreich Kooperation / Науково-дослідний Центр Буковинознавства при Bukowina Zentrum an der Nationalen Jurij-Fedkowitsch Universität Czernowitz and Австрійська кооперація Чернівецькому національному університеті ім. Юрія Федьковича, Czernowitz / Чернівці: Selena Bukowina / Зелена Буковина, 2006, 260-270.

¹⁷⁶ Franzos, Karl Emil, *Aus Halb-Asien – Zweiter Band. Dritte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage*. Stuttgart: Adolf Bonz & Comp., 1889.

¹⁷⁷ Burger, Hannelore, “Das Problem der Unterrichtssprache an der Universität Czernowitz.” In *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie. 120 Jahre Universität Czernowitz; Eine Veröffentlichung des Österreichischen Ost- und Südeuropainstituts*, edited by Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, Wien etc.: Peter Lang, 1998, 65-82, here 66.

The cultural variety of the city was actually raised by the *spiritus movens* of the establishment, Constantin Tomaszczuk, born of parents with different ‘national,’ but similar cultural background and (according to the secondary literature) with different national allegiances attested. Tomaszczuk insisted that the “political nationality of Austrianness” (*politische Nationalität des Österreicherthums*) is created through common education (*gemeinsamer Bildungsgang*). This hints already at the direction that education should take: “German science has the claim of universality. And only because German education has universal standing, the non-German sons of Bukovina strive for a German university.”¹⁷⁹ The minister of education at that time, Stremayr, greeted the project positively, himself seeing the Austrian mission as bringing culture to the East.¹⁸⁰ In the petition to Franz Joseph, he stressed once more the importance of German “Bildung”, considering, among other locations, Olomouc, Brno, Opava (Troppau, Opawa) or Bielsko (Bielitz, Bilsko) for the erection.

The main reason for the choice of Chernivtsi, apart from the needs of the Ruthenians, was the Romanians attracted at the time by the enlarged University in Iași: “especially the Romanians of neighboring countries will be pulled once more strongly towards German ‘Bildung’, and thus a step will be made towards the retrieval of the historical Austrian influence on this nation.”¹⁸¹ One should bear in mind that at this precise time, Romania was still a province of the Ottoman Empire, although striving for independence and having Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as hereditary ruler (*Domnitor*); the political implications of the assertion of the “cultural significance” should thus not be underestimated. Tobias Wildauer, speaker of the parliamentary budgetary commission on this issue, similarly augmented, that after Galician universities “have lost their universal significance and took on the character

¹⁷⁸ On Hlavka see the introduction to Beran, Jiří, *Vznik České akademie věd a umění v dokumentech*. Praha: Ústřední Archiv ČSAV, 1989.

¹⁷⁹ All quotations after Turczynski, Emanuel, "Czernowitz, eine vom Bildungsbürgertum errungene Universität im Dienst staatlicher Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsförderung." In *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation: sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen*, edited by Peter Wörster, München: Oldenbourg, 2008, 209-225, here 215.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. fragments of Stremayr's argumentation for the Austrian parliament from 9. December 1874 in *Die Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz im ersten Vierteljahrhundert ihres Bestandes. Festschrift, herausgegeben vom Akademischen Senate*. Czernowitz: Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, 1900, XVII

¹⁸¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, Kart. 1101, Z. 15700, 1874. See also Livezeanu, Irina, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000, 227-231, especially 229.

of camp establishments [...] the whole widely stretched East of the Empire lacks a universally accessible site for fostering science.”¹⁸²

Finally, German was made the language of instruction and administrative affairs (apart from several subjects at the Greek-Orthodox Faculty), though through the petitions of Ruthenian and Romanian deputies special chairs for both languages were created.¹⁸³ The existence of these chairs facilitated the later organization of various national organizations, in which intellectuals played an important role. The growth of associations like Jewish “Hasmonäa,”¹⁸⁴ Romanian “Arboroasa”, Ruthenian “Січ” or German “Verein der christlichen Deutschen” meant on one side nationalist/religious mobilization across imagined boundaries, but on the other side can be regarded as the beginning of modern national movements in Bukovina. Through the activities of professors Stepan Smal'-Stots'kyj (Степан Смаль-Стоцький), Oleksandr Kolessa (Олександр Колесса), Theodor Gartner, Raimund Kaendl or Sextil Pușcariu, the national groups gained points of reference at the university and – since most of those named were participants or cofounding fathers of national organizations – also beyond it.¹⁸⁵ German as a language of instruction was not welcomed, however, by every group, and became increasingly seen as a foreign body and source of German nationalism through the rejection of clear statements for one or the other nationality. The university in Chernivtsi remained, for example, the only one which rejected Ruthenian students who left the L'viv University in 1901 due to a year-long Ruthenian boycott of east-Galician university.¹⁸⁶

While the Slav question remained the most accentuated of the national questions in the late Habsburg Monarchy, its western part did not remain immune from the national problem. While in Galicia, the ‘Tiroleans of the East’ struggled for

¹⁸² Quoted after *Die Franz-Josephs Universität*, XXIII.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, XXIII-XIX. Romanian took the place of the chair of “oriental languages”, which was in many cases Hebrew.

¹⁸⁴ Established 1891 with help of Lazar Elias Igel, at the time Chief Rabbi of Bukovina (previously *Privatdozent* in L'viv). In contrast to the majority of Jewish cultural organizations in Galicia, *Hasmonäa* remained oriented on the German-language culture, see Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press 2010, 41.

¹⁸⁵ Hausleitner, Mariana, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina. Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918 - 1944*. München: Oldenbourg, 2001, esp. 50-82, with presentation of different national organizations.

¹⁸⁶ Качмар, Володимир, "Суспільно-політичне відлуння сецесії українських студентів з Львівського університету в грудні 1901 року." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 34 (1999): 289-299; see also Мудрий, Василь, *Змагання за українські університети в Галичині*. Львів, Нью-Йорк, 1999 [1923/1948], 54-58.

their university, in Tirol the ‘Welschtiroler’ (Italians) were imagined by historian of law in Innsbruck Ernst Hruza as Slavs who wanted to challenge the German cultural boundaries in the province.¹⁸⁷ After Pavia and Padua dislocated from the Habsburg Monarchy, Innsbruck University was the only one in which Italian-speaking Habsburg citizens could study. In the years prior to 1864, Italian *rigorosa* could have been taken at the Law Faculty, and several lectures took place in Italian at all faculties. Although both the Tyrolean Diet and the university claimed the equality of the Italian language at the university (but without comprehensive utraquisation), the number of Italian lectures diminished and the political atmosphere around them grew dense. As in the 1860s the creation of parallel chairs in Italian language at the Law Faculty resulted in projects proposing its reorganization with additional rights for the Italian language, but only to such extent that it does “not imperil the unity of German faculty [and] excludes the lame incubus of utraquisation,”¹⁸⁸ as German-speaking professors claimed. On the other hand, the demands for midwives’ instruction in Innsbruck, formulated by the Medical Faculty and the Diet, remained unheard in the Ministry.¹⁸⁹ The growing national conflict around the turn of the century, with serious clashes among students, brought in 1904 the withdrawal of all privileges for Italian language and the conversion of the chair of Italian language into a readership position.¹⁹⁰ The importance of Italian legal studies was discussed throughout the century, with seriously considered proposals for the creation of a law academy or faculty in Trieste remaining unresolved, although the creation was decided shortly before the First World War.¹⁹¹ It was clear that the proposed places were

¹⁸⁷ Oberkofler, Gerhard *Die Rechtslehre in italienischer Sprache an der Universität Innsbruck*.

Innsbruck: Kommissionverlag der Österreichischen Kommissionsbuchhandlung, 1975, 46. Similar argument was used several times in Graz towards Southern Slavs, see e.g. *Denkschrift für die Vervollständigung der k.k. Karl-Franzens-Universität zu Graz*. Graz: Josef A. Kienreich, 1861, 4.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Bösch, Andreas, *Zwischen Franz Joseph I. und Schönerer. Die Universität Innsbruck und ihre Studentenverbindungen 1859-1918*. Unpublished philosophical dissertation at the Department of History, Innsbruck University. Innsbruck, 2004, 165.

¹⁸⁹ For the first time discussed in 1877 after the death of Mayrhofen, who also taught in Italian (UAI, MED, 1876/77, 29.6.1877), one of the reasons being the creation of *Birth and Foundlings Institute in the Italian Parts of Tirol* (Gebär- und Findelanstalt in italienischen Theile von Tirols). The same claim can be found during the discussion on the disciplinary commission against Kleinwächler. See claims of Tyrolean Diet in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, Kart. 1123, PA Stark, 3.12.1880, Z. 4131; 19.11.1880, Z. 5739;

¹⁹⁰ Kostner, Maria, *Die Geschichte der Italienischen Universitätsfrage in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie von 1864–1914*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Innsbruck University, 1970, 81-83, 338-339.

¹⁹¹ Weinzierl, Erika, "Aehrenthal and the Italian university Question." In *Intellectual and social developments in the Habsburg empire from Maria Theresa to World War I : essays dedicated to Robert S. Kann*, edited by Stanley B. Winters and Robert S. Kann, Boulder, New York, London:

multinational and the projects were carefully considered due to the possibility of claims of other national movements in the cities in question: Slovenes in Trentino, or Czechs in Vienna.¹⁹² While both “Tyroleans of the East“ and “Welsch-Tiroleans“ had national universities promised (and budgeted) for the second half of the second decennium of the twentieth century, due to the First World War neither of these projects was realized.

* * *

The ‘Schillerfeier’ of Friday 11 November 1859 was for students at the universities a day of political demonstrations and reiteration of claims for the abolition of neoabsolutism after the Hasbsburgs had been defeated in Sardinia and the freedom of student associations was on the agenda. While it was (as the Czech legends say) the last common manifestation of Czech and German students in Prague, on the same day Polish patriot, germanophone Jew Moritz Rappaport lauded Schiller at the L’viv University.¹⁹³ To this another Jew, Polish nationalist Ludwik Gumpłowicz bluntly commented: “He’s such a prick!” (“Das ist aber ein Schwanz!“).¹⁹⁴ At the same time German-nationalist Tobias Wildauer in Innsbruck talked vividly: “from his [Franz Joseph’s] hand the German spirit gained complete freedom across all the parts of the vast Reich. It will march through them and accomplish the mission, which the spirit of history so doubtlessly assigned it.”¹⁹⁵ Between Innsbruck and L’viv, the 1000 kilometers being almost the width of the Monarchy, the polysemy of “the German poet” can be taken as symbol of the variety of cultural loyalties and nationalization projects of the time.

The debates on national universities show similar characteristics, alternating between the function of the university and the function of science/scholarship as a whole. In the first debates in the 1850s, the university as a place of education was

East European Quarterly, 1975, 241-270.

¹⁹² Kostner, *Die Geschichte*, 383; Ara, “Le problème de l’université italienne en Autriche (1866-1914).”

¹⁹³ Rappaport, Moritz, *Prolog zur Feier des 100-jährigen Geburtstages Friedrich Schillers*. Lemberg: Poremba, 1859. On Rappaport’s idea of nationality see Klanska [Kłańska], Maria, “Moritz Rappaport als Brückenbauer zwischen der deutschen, jüdischen und polnischen Kultur.” *Trans. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 15 (2004) (accessible online: http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/03_5/klanska15.htm, last access 03.03.2010).

¹⁹⁴ Ludwik Gumpłowicz’s letter to Philipp Mansch from 28. Oktober 1859, printed in Polish translation in Surman, Jan, and Gerald Mozetič, eds. *Dwa życia Ludwika Gumpłowicza. Wybór tekstów*. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2010, 121-123, here 122-123; original in the National Library of Israel. Department of Archives, Schwadron Autograph Collection.

¹⁹⁵ Wildauer, Tobias, *Festrede zu Schillers hundertjährigen Geburtstag bei de von der k.k. Universität zu Innsbruck veranstalteten Feier in der Aula am 10 November 1859*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1859, esp. 30-31.

decisive in the university reforms. The argument of the scientific character of the institution that requires certain developments to be achieved was a defensive argument against both nationalistic and conservative claims. In the debates between Thun and Baumgarten, or in the germanophone petitions in Cracow, the universality of “Wissenschaft” is underlined and an imagined (germanophone) cultural space is created, disentanglement from which would bring more harm than good.¹⁹⁶ This metaphor is certainly related to political projections, but also to perceived cultural disparities. It is rather hard to believe that the Senate of the Jagiellonian University claimed to desire German education because it supported German cultural-imperialism, let alone antinational movements. As in 1853, the communicational value of language was underscored. In the 1860s the symbolical value of language was already giving the tone to demands. National language as both a better means of education and a better epistemic tool took over the public discourse. This development had a crucial influence on scientific production in the regions in question, including a turn to new publics and topics – national ones. Notwithstanding a few exceptions,¹⁹⁷ this was directed also against pan-Slavic communication. But even scholars with clear-cut definitions of national identity like Hrushevs’ky, Masaryk or Ksawery (Xaver, Xawery) Liske,¹⁹⁸ argued with both ‘universalist and ‘nationalist’ parts in mind, claiming in their writing that a complete linguistic separation in university education was neither possible nor wise and accentuating practical bilingualism. In Czech and Ruthenian nationalist discourse the argument of utraquisation preceding complete separation was certainly much more widespread than the idea of instantaneous separation, and the idea of the creation of a new university was supported by the argument of the university becoming a national battlefield remained rather an argument from the other side, that is, German and Polish (against Ruthenians). The two politically and socially dominant cultures not only contrasted the universality of their scholarship to particularity expressed in

¹⁹⁶ See on this argument especially Helfert, *Die sprachliche Gleichberechtigung*.

¹⁹⁷ See e.g. "O vědecké literatuře slovanské vůbec a o lékařské zvláště." *Časopis lékařův českých* Jg. 6., no. 1 (1866): 16; Kratochvíl, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně*, 100.

¹⁹⁸ Masaryk, Thomas Garrique, "Jak zvelebovati naši litaraturu náukovou? Článek čtvrtý." *Athenaeum. Listy pro literaturu a kritiku vědeckou* Jg. 2, no. 12 (1885): 76-78; Крип'якевич, Іван, "Історично-філософська секція НТШ під керівництвом Михайла Грушевського у 1894-1913 роках." *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. - Том CCXXII. Праці Історико-філософської секції* (1991): 392-411; Liske, Xawer, *Der angebliche Niedergang der Universität Lemberg. Offenes Sendschreiben an das Reichsrathsmitglied Herrn. Eduard Dr. Suess, Prof. an der Universität Wien*. Lemberg: Gubrynowicz & Schmidt, 1876.

national movements, but evoked in their argumentation the semantics of culture and civilization, expressing that the acceptance of their respective language as a language of culture was beneficial to the less developed nationality. This claim reminds one strongly of colonial rhetoric, and so it was perceived in the nationalistic organizations, which found in it forced denationalization and the denial of their national projects. However, the arguments of dominant cultures were expressed within the scope of nationalization projects and/or with political or institutional support which certainly make them more suspicious in the eyes of the national movements, in which any rejection of the support for the national project was regarded as opposition. It is certainly one of the outcomes of the growth of universities, that from a certain point they are regarded rather as parts of cultural politics than of science per se; Thun's mythical coalition of research and teaching left the door open for the development of both, in positive and negative senses.

4. From Governance to Autonomy? Scientists' Mobility and its Limits

Dear count, do you still amuse yourself teaching at the university?

Franz Joseph to Stanisław Tarnowski, professor of history of Polish literature at the Jagiellonian University¹

Doctor of medical science, magister of obstetrics, Moravian corporate full public professor of general natural history and agricultural economics, plus deputizing professor of Bohemian language and literature. In this written title you have the typical representative Austrian scholarly figure.

From letter of Wilhelm Kergel to Frierdich Haase, 19. December 1849.²

With respect to the geography of appointments, changes between 1848 and 1918 resulted in the formation and conscious construction of increasingly homogenous spaces of communication, which soon became primary references for inner-cultural hierarchical differentiation embracing non-Habsburg territories. Scholars were increasingly mobile within these spaces, though only seldom transgressing the boundaries defined by language, nation and finally religio-nationality. With the diminishing importance of state boundaries at the academic level and with linguistic dissolution – especially after the political transformations from 1860's, as the ideas pronounced and enacted directly after the revolution were implemented and practiced – universities shared the same generational structure, caused by appointments in and around the 1848. At no time however, was the freedom of academic movement complete; rather, it was structured not only by institutional and cultural hierarchies, but also by ideological constraints that did not change until they did so abruptly after the Great War.

The processes of putting university education in a national guise have an additional important feature. With the opening of culturally and linguistically differentiated universities in the Monarchy, the geography of scientific transfer changed, elevating the spaces of linguistic affinities over the political boundaries of existing empires. Alongside the freedom of learning and teaching the admission of

¹ Podraza, Antoni, "Dobry, Lepszy, Bobińska. Wysłuchała i opracowała Rita Pagacz-Moczarska." *Alma Mater*, no. 63 (2004): 48-50, here 48.

² Reprinted in Schneider, Alfred, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrter aus den Jahren 1849-1862. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform." *Archiv für österreichischen Geschichte* 113 (1936): 171-304, on pages 237-243, quotation, regarding Jan/Johann Helcelet, p. 239.

non-Habsburg citizens as lecturers was accepted and even underscored as an intellectual opening due to the free flow of knowledge in contrast to the intellectual constrictions of the Metternich Era. The first opening to non-Habsburg citizens included non-Austrian German lands – with appointments including Czech-speaking Bohemians (Purkyně, Čelakovský, Šafárik). As a consequence of this program, Polish-Galician universities could claim equal treatment for both the areas under control of the Prussian and Russian empires and émigrés from France or Britain. The appointments of émigrés remained rather problematic, however: Adam Mickiewicz, Seweryn Goszczyński, Adam Raciboski, Wiktor Szokalski, Nikodem Felician Bętkowski or Hiacynt Ludwik Gąsiorowski, to name several distinguished scholars discussed in the faculties or proposed around 1850, were known participants of the November Uprising, and thus immediately politically disqualified as active proponents of independent Polish state. Another prominent writer, Wincenty Pol, also a participant of the uprisings, received and accepted a call. However, apart from his friendship with Thun, from 1844 on, Pol was thoroughly monitored with respect to his loyalty to the Monarchy and conservatism prior to his appointment.³ Open hostility against the political and territorial unity of the monarchy, in whatever form, was a serious obstacle to a career, although here absolution could be granted. Scholar of the German language Franz Stark, for example, a Bohemian liberal who remained in the Frankfurt Parliament after official departure of Habsburg envoys and participated in “Stuttgart *Kampfparlament*” (i.e. *Rumpfparlament*) presenting “hostile attitude against Austria”⁴, encountered severe problems following his career at Habsburg universities. Striving for several years for habilitation in Vienna, he succeeded only in 1859, having repeatedly refuted his earlier political position and acquired support from within the university.

Three important political agendas voiced in 1848 – the idea of Polish unity, the Greater-German position, and Slavic federalism as pronounced by some during the Prague Slav Congress – were seen by the political authorities as anti-state policies, threatening the consistency and unity of the Empire. Mere participation in the Frankfurt Parliament or Slavic Congress, which were, at least initially, accepted by

³ Correspondence of Leo Thun-Hohenstein with Wilhelm Paweł Radziwiłł, Franc Miklošič and Jan Szlachtowski, SOA Litoměřice/Děčín, Rodinný archiv Thun, A 3, III, D 13, 1.11.1849, D 17, 24.11.1849, D 32, 21.1.1850; Barycz, “Wincenty Pol”, 48.

⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCA, fasc. 645, PA Stark, 25.11.1858.

the Habsburg government, did not mean exclusion from teaching positions. On the contrary, several scholars achieved permanent posts or retained influential positions. Heinrich Glax, Alois Flir or Theodor Karajan were members of the Habsburg representation in Frankfurt. Pavel Jozef Šafárik, Karol Szajnocha or Lucjan Siemieński participated in the Slavic Congress. Michał Wiszniewski, who finally rejected Thun's invitation to return as professor of Polish language and literature in Cracow, played an important role in the 1846 uprising. Although not always successful as academics, their mere inclusion in state service meant that at least immediately after 1848, the tolerated political spectrum of university professors or even of Thun's associates (for example Flir or Šafárik) was quite broad, although not fully liberal.

Also after Thun's time proposed appointments were very carefully checked, but the criteria for who would be allowed or rejected underwent change, and especially the ideological position of foreign scholars was carefully examined. In the nineteenth century allegiances to the Polish independence movement, socialism, nationalisms (German, Polish, Ruthenian or Ukrainian), Russophilism – or more broadly materialism, positivism and anticlericalism – were more developed abroad than in the Monarchy. The possibility of their importation was thus strongly minimized, though without such intensity as in the *Vormärz* and with less consistency as to which Ministry saw what positions as unwelcome. In this case, reports from the provincial governments were decisive, but left much freedom for decisions at the political level. Several reports on the political attitudes of scholars indicate the political limitations for prospective scholars at different times: Jan Szlachetkowski, removed from the L'viv University for overt nationalism in 1852, was a “talented scholar” who has, however, “crossed the limit of the laws in his public behavior [...] In the first place it is worrisome, that in the position of professor for Polish language and literature he would easily find the opportunity to win over the academic youth more and more for his specific national endeavors.”⁵ During the revolution of 1848, Ferdynand Kopczyński (forensic medicine), appointed in 1860, was “cautious and reserved, gave though no guarantee for his uncritical political attitude.”⁶ Mykhailo Hrushevs'ky, appointed for chair of history in L'viv in 1894, “[belongs] to young-

⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 117u, PA Szlachetkowski, Z. 12651, 15.3.1852

⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCA, fasc. 1103, PA Kopczyński, Z. 14960, 13.10.1860.

Ruthenian t.i. Ukrainian party and is adherent neither of pan-Slavic tendencies nor of an unjustified national chauvinism.”⁷ On Philosopher Wiesław Mieczysław Kozłowski, whose habilitation was rejected in Cracow in 1901 and 1909: “the past life of the candidate during his days in Russia suggests undoubtedly his very turbulent political temperament and affinities to the tendencies of social democracy [...] if he would achieve an official teaching position at the k.k. university, he would not be restrained enough not to appeal negatively in the social and political direction to the knowingly sensitive minds of the youth.”⁸ Botanist Władysław Rothert, who rejected a transfer from Odessa to Cracow in 1911, had “during his stay in Odessa approached in his political attitude the utmost leftists and took active part in the revolutionary movement through participation in numerous meetings [...] at this university only appointments of such professors seem righteous, who can assure, that they will contradict such movements through their influence, or at least do not fully support them.”⁹ Finally, in 1916, Alois Frinta was an anti-Catholic and pacifist and thus not acceptable for the university in Prague.¹⁰ It is rather apparent that the argumentation of a respective minister or provincial government was the decisive factor and alleged nationalism or socialism did not fully disqualify academics. So, for example, Ludwik Rydygier was – according to the memorandum of provincial government from 1881 – in his youth punished for Polish-nationalist agitation and changed his name from the German sounding Riediger as an act of nationalism. However, he later on distanced himself from nationalistic agitation in Prussia.¹¹ Stanisław Grabski, who received habilitation in 1903 in L’viv for philosophy and methodology of social sciences, “gave reasons for extensive reprimands by the Prussian and Austrian security agencies as a result of his revolutionary-socialistic conflicts in his youth,”¹² but in the following years became conservative and obedient to Prussian politics. Political obstacles to the transfers between germanophone Habsburg universities were mentioned as well. Otto Löwi’s appointment to Graz in 1909 was combined with the

⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 118u, Z. 9018, 14.1.1894.

⁸ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 119u, PA Kozłowski, Z. 120595, 22.11.1901.

⁹ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 68u, PA Rothert, Z. 20019, 23.1.1911.

¹⁰ NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 111, PA Frinta, Z. 40026, 12/16.12.1916, including negative opinion of provincial government (12.12.1916, Z.11/A – 435/6, St.Z. 301.239) and of the Ministry, confirming non-acceptance of habilitation (16.12.1916, Z. 40026).

¹¹ See the records on his proposed appointment from 1881 and appointment in 1887 in AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 52u, PA Rydygier.

¹² AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 66u, PA Grabski, Z. 73060, 27.6.1903.

following: "It gives reason for concern, that Löwi's belonging to the Jewish confession, visible already through his name, could impede his teaching activities at the Graz University and lead at the most to insalubrities."¹³ Alexius Meinong was suspected in 1886 of German nationalism and participation in radical student organizations, but the provincial government did not confirm these suspicions.¹⁴ The Prague provincial government even noticed in one memorandum that a professor was fined several times for hazardous bicycling; this dark side of modernism did not, however, lead to any serious consequences.

After the first phase of appointments from non-Habsburg lands during Thun's era, this option grew less and less popular in the Ministry. Not only changing political circumstances, but also the fact that foreign scholars demanded a higher salary, which would have to be accepted also by the Minister of Finance, were responsible for the reduction; which of those two was decisive in particular cases is an open question. With certainty the appointments of returning academics were approached differently from the selection of foreign-born professor, having more perspectives for success. It was rather obvious that in this case the Ministry was conservative and supported the continuation of traditional branches of scholarship, and the words 'tradition' or 'school' are frequently used in the documents. This approbation, or rather patronage of scientific institutions was most apparent in the case of Vienna Medical School, which was also seen as exporting graduates, both within and beyond the Monarchy.

Following Thun's neoabsolutist regime, the Ministry, allowing greater autonomy to the universities, altered the handling of proposed appointments, changing in its political function from a prescribing to a controlling agency. Paradoxically, loosening the control over academia led to the aggravation of conflict, as the universities faced ever more political radicalism, nationalism and religious conflicts. Universities increasingly became an arena for fighting through political differences, polarizing the public sphere. At the same time, the nation became the point of identification in self-conception at both the collective and personal level. While at the German-language universities such developments only later began to structure academic coexistence, Slavic universities faced forced nationalism as an

¹³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 885, PA Löwi, Z. 4944, 16.10.1909. ("Bedenken vermochte der Umstand zu erregen, daß die schon durch den Namen kenntliche Zugehörigkeit Löwis zur jüdischen Konfession seine lehramtliche Wirksamkeit an der Grazer Universität erschweren und allenfalls sonst zu Unzuträglichkeiten führen könnte.")

¹⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 889, PA Meinong, Z. 8062, 30.10.1882.

outcome of perceived political oppression in the 1850s. This was not only because scholars were among the proponents of nations, highly intertwined among the groups leading in the nation-building processes, but also because members of the intelligentsia (*intelligence*, *inteligencja*, *інтелігенція*) were part of the social strata traditionally considered to be leaders in political processes – distinctive from the German tradition of the “ivory tower.”¹⁵ While not going into details on the political representation of academics in different parts of the Monarchy, one can observe the differences in worldviews by looking at university buildings across the monarchy. While it is acknowledged that representative institutions were to show similarities across Austria-Hungary¹⁶ – above all the railway stations¹⁷ – university buildings represented many of the differences already discussed. In Chernivtsi,¹⁸ Graz, Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague standardized buildings were retained or erected, showing unmistakable similarities in style to the supposed ideal of humanism (in the neoclassical style). The *Collegium Novum* in Cracow, built in 1887, was neo-gothic, although due to internal conflicts of more ‘English’ than ‘Polish’ style, but provincial authorities decided it should definitely not be built in the ‘German style’.¹⁹ In L’viv, a modernist-cubist project of Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz and Maksymilian Burstyn won the contest for the new main building in 1912.²⁰ The project chosen for realization was by Ludwik Wojtyczko and Kazimierz Wyczyński, which was reminiscent of a

¹⁵ See Ringer, *The decline*; for comparative perspectives see *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 44, no. 2. Special Issue: Historycy europejscy o inteligencji i intelektualistach (2000) and Sdvižkov, Denis, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz: zur vergleichenden Geschichte der Gebildeten in Europa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

¹⁶ See e.g. Hadler, Simon, "Das Ausverhandeln des Stadt-Bildes. Ambivalenz, Wandel und die longue durée des Krakauer Images um 1900." In *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung in Zentraleuropa*, edited by András F. Balogh and Helga Mitterbauer, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Kubinszky, Mihály, *Bahnhöfe in Österreich: Architektur und Geschichte*. Wien: Slezak, 1996; Idem, Ferenc Horváth, Zsuzsanna Kiss, and Tibor Vörös, *The Architecture and the Hungarian Railway*. Budapest: MÁV, 1999; Rymar, Marta, *Architektura dworców Kolei Karola Ludwika w Galicji w latach 1855- 1910*. Warszawa: Neriton, 2009.

¹⁸ The old building of the university is now the building of the Philosophical Faculty (on the Uniwersytets’ka Street 28); the new central building (in Josef Hlávka’s orientalist style on Kotsiubyns’ky Street 2) was previously seat of the Metropolitan.

¹⁹ See Balus, Wojciech, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne: zur Geschichte der Architektur und der öffentlichen Grünanlagen im 19. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003, 39-43, with discussion on the architectonical composition of the building; on the ceremony of the opening and its reception see Dybiec, Julian, "Krakowskie uroczystości otwarcia Collegium Novum i ich ogólnopolskie echa." In *Collegium Novum 1887-1987. Materiały z sesji naukowej (2 czerwca 1987 roku)*, edited by Maria Bartel, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1991, 27-38.

²⁰ The new building for the main university was though newer erected, currently the university is located in the previous seat of the Galician Diet, where it moved after the World War I; before the War the main building (Hrushevs’koho Street) and institutes (Kirila i Methodiya Street) were classic.

neoclassical palace, consciously recollecting the Polish architectural style of the Commonwealth.²¹ In Prague, the Czech and German universities decided to erect two buildings, and although both architects, Josef Zasche and Jan Kotěra, consulted each other in order to embed their buildings into Prague architecture, their projects (neo-baroque and modernist respectively) remained inscribed in the national codification of architectonical styles.²²

4.1 The making of a Catholic university. Leo Thun Hohenstein and his science policy

An einen Unterrichtsminister.
Einen Selbstmord hab' ich euch anzusagen.
Der Cultusminister hat den Unterrichtsminister todtgeschlagen.

(Franz Grillparzer, around 1855)²³

The first appointments at the Habsburg Universities after 1848 were directed strongly toward the rejuvenation of the academies and the Ministry looked toward German universities to recruit the new faculty, especially in the humanistic disciplines, whose development was limited for political reasons in the Habsburg lands prior to 1848. Not only were infrastructural improvements desired, but also a convergence with the supposedly more developed and successful network of universities of the German Confederation. This symbolic involvement of 'German' universities was not unconditional, however; following the 1848 revolutions, the Habsburg Empire was divided on the question of territorial unifications, facing different forms of the idea of 'Germany,' overlapping with national divisions inside the Empire.²⁴ 'German' was in this context more a supranational inscription, allowing differing representations both

²¹ Lewicki, Jakub, *Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Architektura Lwowa lat 1893-1918*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami / Neriton, 2005, 173-178.

²² Marek, Michaela, *Universität als 'Monument' und Politikum: die Repräsentationsbauten der Prager Universitäten 1900-1935 und der politische Konflikt zwischen 'konservativer' und 'moderner' Architektur*. München: Oldenbourg, 2001; on the consultations between the two universities see *Denkschrift des akademischen Senates der k.k. deutschen Karl Ferdinands-Universität in Prag. Über die Notwendigkeit eines neuen Universitätsgebäudes*. Prag: Karl Bellmann, s.a.

²³ "To the minister of education. / I have to announce a suicide. / The minister of religion has murdered the minister of education." Franz Grillparzer on concordat of 1855, quoted in Prinz, Friedrich, "Graf Leo Thun." In *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder, Band 2*, edited by Karl Bosl, München, Wien: Oldenbourg 1976, 139-168, here 162.

²⁴ For example the Czech-Bohemian nationalists or Slovenian nationalist opposed inclusion of 'their' provinces into the German Confederation.

of religion and nationality, and the appointments for Habsburg universities clearly show how this ‘Germanness’ was mobilized in order to achieve particular, state-national building aims.

Early in 1849, minister Franz Stadion (or rather Joseph Alexander Helfert, who was named *Unterstaatssekretär*, and remained in this position during Thun’s time, and afterward, as an interim director under state minister Anton Schmerling till 1863)²⁵ wrote that the appointments for the main universities in Prague and Vienna should not only take the scholarly qualities of the nominees into considerations, but be directed by political considerations in order to guide the youth against revolutionary tendencies.²⁶ In the first half of the 1850s, the Ministry followed this advice, concentrating most of all on transformation in the humanities and historical legal subjects, where a number of carefully checked appointments were conducted.²⁷ In addition to this, seminars, a new academic institution in the Monarchy, were created for history (although as a philological-historical seminar, focused on classical languages as required for the teachers at gymnasia²⁸) and modern languages. Although Thun was certainly responsible for this direction, he followed the project of his close friend Helfert, who envisioned that the main function of the universities was to join “the fostering of humanities and familiarity with institutions and history of the fatherland”²⁹ in order to produce new forms of patriotism. Helfert, prior to 1848 a jurist and historian of church law, who stood behind the creation of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,

²⁵ Weinzierl, Erika, "Helfert, Joseph Freiherr von." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 8, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1969, 469-470.

²⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1128, PA Celakovsky, Z. 2388/371, 11.4.1849.

²⁷ See Lentze, Hans, "Graf Thun und die deutsche Rechtsgeschichte." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte* 63 (1955): 500-521; Eggmaier, "Graf Thun und das Rechtsstudium an den oberitalienischen Universitäten Padua und Pavia;" Kernbauer, Alois, "Konzeptionen der Österreich-Geschichtsschreibung 1848–1938." In Ebner, Roth (eds.), *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes*, 255-273.

²⁸ In 1850 Vladivoj Tomek criticized the philological focusing of the seminar to strongly on philological issues, which was in his opinion unfruitful for the forging of patriotism. See Tomek, Václav Vladivoj, *Paměti z mého života. Díl I.* Praha František Řivnáč, 1905, 335-360, especially 353-361. More on seminars see Mühlberger, Kurt, "Pflanzstätten der Wissenschaft. Zur Einführung von Seminaren und Instituten in den Universitätsbetrieb in Österreich nach 1848." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (forthcoming) (printed version of *Pflanzstätten des Wissens. Die Einführung von Seminaren und Instituten in den Universitätsbetrieb nach 1848*, paper presented on the 25. Österreichische Historikertag, 16th-19th September 2008, St. Pölten); Höflechner, Walter, "Das Historische Seminar der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz." Graz: Elektronische Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 2007 (accessible online: <http://gams.uni-graz.at:8080/fedora/get/o:wissg-hs/bdef:Navigator.fs/get/>, last access 12.12.2010).

²⁹ Quoted in Lhotzky, *Das Ende des Josephinismus*, 534.

further IAHR), saw the ‘patriotic practical’ direction of education as the only possibility to create a feeling of non-ethnic national unity, turning especially toward the Middle Ages and early modern history to common enemies of the Central European populace like the Mongolians; he also positively embraced the marriage policy of the Habsburgs, which in his eyes created larger states for protection of the population, as in the case of Albrecht II’s unification of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia in 1438: “Cannot a pragmatic correlation be found here? Can one oversee the inner imperative of historical development, a certain predestination?”³⁰ Such a construction of the Habsburg Monarchy as a state which came into being by historical imperative also required the writing of histories of particular provinces, in order to substantiate their development as naturally leading to the creation of ‘Greater Austria.’³¹ However, such analysis first required the historical sources of all the provinces to be collected and edited, which Helfert saw as necessary prior to any attempt of analysis and was also hitherto seen as a basis of historiography.³² The difference with previous trends was not limited only to methodical issues but also thematically the past was reduced to the ‘glorious’ Middle Ages, while the more recent history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries remained clearly in the background. Despite Helfert’s declarations on the linearity of historical development, cultural memory was to be selective and not include, e.g. Josephinism, but be based more on the uniting force of Catholicism that the conservatives propagated.

With his approach to historiography as a patriotic (i.e. also Catholic) activity, Thun created new chairs for Austrian history in Vienna and Prague and appointed to the chairs for general history scholars specialized in the Middle Ages and the early modern history of the Monarchy. In his eyes, this would create a new school of historical thinking, but at the same time a strong orientation toward historians specialized in the editing of sources and rejecting historiosophical analysis put aside generalizations and promoted projects researching minutiae. Especially with the creation of the IAHR, this direction of research gained special attention. While the chairs for Austrian history were filled with historians born in the Habsburg Monarchy – Albert Jäger in Vienna, Heinrich Glax in Innsbruck and Václav Vladivoj Tomek in

³⁰ Helfert, *Über Nationalgeschichte*, 59.

³¹ See the volumes of *Austrian History for the People* (Österreichische Geschichte für das Volk, 17 vols.), originating from Helfert’s ideas and published under his supervision from 1864 onwards.

³² This views were not Helfert’s only, other man of confidence of Thun, like Joseph Chmel and Albert Jäger, proposed similar constructions.

Prague – the minister did not hesitate to promote foreign scholars to cover the lectures in general history. Among the new full professors of history, one can find Heinrich Grauert (Münster to Vienna) and after his early death, Joseph Aschbach (appointed from Bonn), Johann Baptist Weiß (Freiburg to Graz), Grauert's and Aschbach's pupil Julius Ficker (Bonn to Innsbruck), Karl Adolf Konstantin Höfler (Munich to Prague), or legal historians Georg Phillips (Munich to Innsbruck, transferred to Vienna University 1851) and his successor Ernst Moy de Sons (Munich to Innsbruck, who lived from 1848 in Tyrol).

With the new role history was to play in the creation of collective consciousness, it is not surprising that the newly appointed professors for the humanities were either Catholic, or focused research strongly on church history. The most prominent historian supported by Thun, Benedictine monk Albert Jäger, was appointed because of conflict in Innsbruck with his abbot, who hindered his historical work; the Ministry thus decided to support him and appointed him to Vienna in 1851 to “finally establish a school of Austrian History.”³³ Weiß was suspended in 1848 from the University of Freiburg for joining a radical Catholic party. Aschbach was editor of *General Church-Lexicon* (*Allgemeines Kirchenlexicon*, published from 1846), while Höfler, Phillips and Moy de Sons were engaged in serious conflict in Bavaria where they lost their positions due to involvement in conservative-Catholic protests against Ludwig I's affair with Lola Montez.³⁴ In historical subjects, Thun's men of confidence, historians Josef Feil and Joseph Chmel,³⁵ corresponded with austrophile librarian and historian in Frankfurt am Main, Johann Böhmert, who, known for his strong aversion to Prussian Protestantism, influenced, among others,

³³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 637, PA Jäger, Z. 4724/345, 16.5.1851; see also Jäger, Albert, "Graf Leo Thun und das Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung." *Österreichisch-Ungarische Revue* VIII Neue Folge (1890): 1-22.

³⁴ All three were also members of Görres-Circle, an anti-liberal movement propagating political Catholicism; See also Höfler's critics of Ludwig I in *Concordat und Constitutionseid der Katholiken in Baiern* (1847).

³⁵ Amateur-historian and learned jurist Feil was in 1848 named functionary in the Ministry, being responsible for historical subjects and especially for the Institute for Austrian Historical Research; Canon Regular of St. Augustine and in the *Vormärz* first archivist of State Archive in Vienna, Chmel, belonged from 1847 to the Academy of Science and led its Historical Commission, serving as the first editor of *Monumenta Habsburgica*. On their biographies see Hörmann, Margareta, *Joseph Feil (1811-1862). Leben und Werke*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vienna University. Wien 1959; Lhotsky, Alphons, "Joseph Chmel zum hundertsten Todestage." *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 23 (1958): 324-347.

the appointments of Aschbach and Ficker.³⁶

Although the Catholic alignment was obvious and the position of the head of the newly established Institute for Austrian Historical Research was filled by Jäger, here as well the Ministry did not hesitate to back his activity with the foreign-educated historian, Protestant Theodor Sickel, Prussia-born specialist for the auxiliary sciences of history who studied in Berlin and Halle. Sickel, who left Prussia after 1848 for political reasons, was not Thun's first choice, however, and was appointed only after Thun unsuccessfully proposed the appointment of Wilhelm Watterbach. The young scholar, who spent several years in France, working also at the *École des chartes*, and lived in Vienna from 1855, was specialized in auxiliary sciences of history which were rather underrepresented in the Monarchy prior to 1848. During his activity the IAHR grew into the Habsburg centre of this specialization, its proclaimed direction being to rebuff the teleological philosophical approaches which had predominated in historical research prior to 1848.

The universities in Prague and Galicia also experienced new trends of historiographic research. However, as Thun searched in this field for bilingual scholars ideologically prone to support his idea of Catholic state-patriotism, the search for adequate candidates was not always easy. Especially in Galicia it proved difficult, as most known Polish-speaking historians had either been involved in Polish uprisings, or actively supported Polish nationalism, and were thus unsuitable from the beginning. The most prominent historian in Bohemia, Palacký, a Czech-Bohemian who emphasized the distinctive role of Protestantism and especially of excommunicated medieval theologian Jan Hus, also presented a strongly nationalistic version of history.

The first appointment – and actually the first chair of Austrian history, although not as a full professor – was Václav Vladivoj Tomek. The Czech historian knew Thun well from Prague, and through his influence resulted in a scholarship to travel to Göttingen and Paris (*École des chartes*) in order to prepare the reorganisation of historical seminars in the Monarchy, and although he did not achieve the creation of a historical seminar for Prague, his opinions were later the basis for the enactment

³⁶ Jung, Julius, *Julius Ficker (1826-1902): ein Beitrag zur deutschen Gelehrten-geschichte*. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1907, 134-148.

of the IAHR.³⁷ With Tomek, Thun gained a Czech-lecturing historian, whose writings were not only conservative and Catholic envisioning history as leading to the creation of the Habsburg Monarchy, but also promoted a positive picture of German-Czech relations, differing from ‘the historian of the Czech nation’ Palacký.³⁸ “Patriotism” and a “process oriented approach” were referred to first in the appointment records, even before mentioning scholarly abilities.³⁹ Being initially close to Thun, and consulted in several matters regarding Czech scholars – for example, on the moral behaviour of Ignaz Hanuš – Tomek was appointed full professor only three weeks before Thun’s resignation. This was officially due to financial reasons, but he was also gradually turning in the 1850s against Thun’s neoabsolutistic politics, and notwithstanding the friendship with ministers’ associates Helfert and Josef Jireček was for several years overlooked in appointments policy.⁴⁰

In the case of Cracow, several Polish-speaking candidates, mostly gymnasium teachers like Jan Rymarkiewicz from Poznań/Posen and Walenty Kulawski from Cracow, had applied for the position of professor of general history. The two named were proposed in the *terna* as the best qualified, due to their training at German universities, although serious concerns were raised regarding historical activities up to the time. Led by the fact that none of the candidates had published major books, the committee proposed also Karol Szajnocha, who had recently completed a major work on the first King of Poland Bolesław Chrobry (crowned 1025), but had been politically active since the 1830s, which closed the doors for academic positions in the *Vormärz*. Another applicant, Antoni Walewski, who was finally appointed by Thun, disregarding the strong opposition in the faculty due to his lack of formal education, was described in the faculty’s memorandum as a historian whose publications mistook historical for political arguments and who has published so far

³⁷ Jiroušek, Bohumil "Historik W. W. Tomek" In *W. W. Tomek, historie a politika (1818 – 1905). Sborník příspěvků královéhradecké konference k 100. výročí úmrtí W. W. Tomka.*, edited by Miloš Řezník, Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, 15-29.

³⁸ Rak, Jiří, "Obraz Němce v české historiografii 19. století." In *Obraz Němců, Rakouska a Německa v české společnosti 19. a 20. století*, edited by Jan Křen and Eva Broklová, Praha: Karolinum, 1998, 49-75, especially 57-59.

³⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1132, PA Tomek, Z. 7547/838, 25.9.1850.

⁴⁰ See for example critic voiced in private letters to close associate of Thun Josef Jireček, in Řezník, Miloš "Český a rakouský politik W. W. Tomek" In *W. W. Tomek, historie a politika (1818 – 1905). Sborník příspěvků královéhradecké konference k 100. výročí úmrtí W. W. Tomka.*, edited by Miloš Řezník, Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, 31–57; see also Kučera, Rudolf "Historik a politika. V. V. Tomek a ministerstvo kultu a vyučování 1848 – 1863." In *Ibid.*, 59-67.

only on legal history.⁴¹ Walewski, a truly conservative Catholic, remained the only professor of history in Cracow in the Thun era and was active also in the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow. His political publications stigmatized and overshadowed his activities however, and he is depicted in the historiography not only as a weak and barely influential writer, who composed his books only to support the righteousness of the partition of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also as a formal secret agent of the Habsburg Government, whose aim was to undermine the Polish character of the Jagiellonian University, for example in the action against allegedly nationalist agitation of several professors.⁴²

In L'viv, the proposals of the faculty similarly included only gymnasium teachers; Thun considered only Anton Wachholz (also Antoni Wacholz; his first name and surname can be found in different combinations) from Chernivtsi and Thomas Kunzek from Przemyśl (Peremyshl/ Перемишль, Premissel) for the chair. His final decision, for the Austrian-Silesian-born Wachholz, the minister wrote in a supporting annotation that he spoke not only German, but also, among other languages, Polish and Ruthenian, while Kunzek was fluent in German and classical languages only.⁴³ Wachholz remained in L'viv as the only professor of history, and was moved (literally in the records – *versetzt*) to Cracow as the chair of general and Austrian history only a few days before the Ministry was dissolved in October 1860.⁴⁴ This appointment was not a great ministerial success, although Wachholz remained at the university after polonization, lecturing in Polish from 1870 onwards.

With the strengthened role of philological and historical education – which were united in one seminar – classical philology grew in importance and was prominently refurbished. Similar to the German universities, classics had been elevated to a main humanistic subject in the Habsburg Monarchy, serving as a point of departure for humanistic education. As in history, German education was highly valued. Franz Stadion (Helfert), who appointed Hermann Bonitz to Vienna and Georg

⁴¹ AUJ, WF II 135, Bericht der Kommission aus 9.8.1850.

⁴² For the historiosophy of Walewski see below. For an example of discourse on Walewski see Baczkowski, Krzysztof, "W służbie dworu Habsburskiego. Antoni Walewski (1805-1876)." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 132 (2005): 99-108, where, as in other literature quoted in the article, the idea of Walewski as a Habsburg secret agent is based on allegations of the time.

⁴³ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 117u, PA Wacholz, Z. 1190, 4.1.1850.

⁴⁴ AUJ, WF II 2, writing of the Ministry from 27.9.1860/61, Z. 2.

Curtius to the “second university in the Monarchy,”⁴⁵ Prague, positioned classical philology as one of the most important scholarly subjects, whose development in Germany should be followed also in the Habsburg Monarchy:

The science of Greek and Latin philology plays one of the most important roles in the system of public education since the revival of sciences in Europe, that is for more than half of the century. [...] While Germany achieved and constantly holds a good reputation of having the best philologists and pursues classical studies with greater success than any other nation, Austria experienced their highly pitiable neglect.⁴⁶

With Bonitz, Habsburg officials gained not only an engaged scholar, but also a person actively involved in the reform of gymnasia and universities,⁴⁷ serving as a contact for classical philology, where he corresponded with philologist Friedrich Haase in Breslau/Wrocław.

Curtius, appointed director of the philological seminar, together with associate professor of comparative linguistics August Schleicher appointed shortly thereafter, built not only a counter balance for the scholarly unproductive full professor, Michael Canaval, but worked on comparative linguistics, which through emphasis on similarities and contacts among languages was clearly political in the multinational monarchy. One can clearly perceive the political dimension of this innovation both in Schleicher’s linguistic *Stammbaumtheorie* (family-tree theory) and Curtius’ research on classical philology. While Schleicher promoted the close kinship of Lett-Slav and Germanic as Indo-Germanic “sister languages”⁴⁸ in his publications, Curtius wrote that “comparative linguistics has proven that countless centuries before the beginning of Greek and Italian history, the common ancestors of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic people, Slavs and Celts built one folk,”⁴⁹ which is strongly

⁴⁵ From appointment records of Georg Curtius, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1128, Z. 2731/404, 27.3.1849.

⁴⁶ From appointment records of Hermann Bonitz, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 634, Z. 377/72, 16.1.1849.

⁴⁷ See Leitner, Rainer, "Das Reformwerk von Exner, Bonitz und Thun: Das österreichische Gymnasium in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts - Kaderschmiede der Wiener Moderne." In *Zwischen Orientierung und Krise. Zum Umgang mit Wissen in der Moderne*, edited by Sonja Rinhofner-Kreidl, Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1998, 17-69.

⁴⁸ Schleicher, August, *Die Formenlehre der kirchenslawischen Sprache, erklärend und vergleichend dargestellt*. Bonn: H.B. König, 1852. Schleicher knew also several Habsburg scholars prior to 1848, and was lively interested in Czech language prior to his appointment in Prague, see Lemeškin, Ilja, "August Schleicher und Praha." In *Lituanistinis Augusto Schleicherio palikimas. / Das lituanistische Erbe August Schleichers*. Vol. 1., edited by Idem and Jolanta Zabarskaitė, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2008, 103-149.

⁴⁹ Curtius, Georg, *Die Sprachvergleichung in ihrem Verhältniss zur classischen Philologie*. Zweite

reminiscent of visions of the past that historical research was to provide according to the political imagination of the conservatives. After Curtius left to Kiel in 1854, a *Privatdozent* from Göttingen Ludwig Lange, recommended by his predecessor, took his place.⁵⁰ In the *terna* proposed by the faculty, Lange was placed second, behind Karl Halm from Maximiliangymnasium in Munich. Notwithstanding his Protestantism, Thun preferred Lange, since “despite his outer religious commitment [to Protestantism], he lacks nothing of genuine Catholic conviction,” while Halm is only Catholic by denomination and his influence on the youth would be “more alarming than the one of a Protestant.”⁵¹ However, Thun’s argument is, as in many other cases only rhetoric; Halm was proposed by the minister only two years later for the chair in Vienna, although he finally rejected the call due to his appointment at the University of Munich, opening the way for Johannes Vahlen.⁵² Lange was certainly an ideologically appropriate choice for Prague. In his introductory lecture from 1855, he proposed the analysis of the role classical philology should play at the university, which included a version of a political program towards nationalities, which ought to unite in spite of cultural differences in pursuit of the higher aim of humanity. Greek and Roman ideals are a “spiritually refining force [...] in a present dampened by materialism, especially for youth, [which is] receptive to all things good and beautiful.” Moreover, “[w]e can learn from the Romans, how one can remain fully national and nonetheless achieve humanity. As Romans did not become Greeks, the new nations (*Völker*), be they Slavs or Germans, should not dismiss their national peculiarities, if they are valuable; nationality should only be cleansed of the muck in the acid test of attempts for humanity.”⁵³

Apart from the Greek-language specialist Bonitz, the specialist in Latin language, a teacher from Catholic gymnasium in Köln, Josef Grysar, was entrusted with classical philology in Vienna. Together with Bonitz and Grauert, whom Grysar knew from Bonn, where both studied in the 1820s and who mediated between the Ministry and gymnasium scholar,⁵⁴ Grysar was responsible for the historical-

vermehrte Auflage. Berlin: Wilhelm Besser, 1848, 9.

⁵⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Lange, Z. 17544/13191, 7.1.1855.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 645, PA Vahlen, Z. 830/CUM, 4.7.1858.

⁵³ Lange, Ludwig, *Die klassische Philologie in ihrer Stellung zum Gesamtgebiete der Wissenschaften und in ihrer inneren Gliederung. Eine Antrittsvorlesung, gehalten am 24. April 1855 in Prag*. Prag: Calve, 1855, 10.

⁵⁴ See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 636, PA Grysar, Z. 6456/732, 4.8.1850, and its attachments.

philological seminar and preparations of the reform of the gymnasia. He was thus another philologist included in the reform process and involved in both academic and political activities.

The appointments to Graz and Innsbruck took a slightly different turn, with more reliance on local scholars and more frequent changes of teachers. In Styria, Haase's pupil, Emanuel Hoffmann, was appointed in early 1850, together with Karlmann Tangl, professor for esthetics and classical philology relocated from L'viv University as a replacement for Albert Muchar, who died in June 1849.⁵⁵ Due to his duties in the examination commission, Hoffmann moved to Graz only in 1852. With two professors covering the same subject – although Tangl was predominantly active as a historian – Thun was cautious whether both would attract enough students and suggested in his recommendation to the Emperor that if he should prove to be dispensable, he could join the east Galician university as a replacement for Tangl. However, Hoffmann moved to Vienna in 1856, appointed as full professor of classic philology. Next year, son of Vienna librarian Theodor Karajan, Max, earned habilitation and took over Hoffmann's lectures until Karl Schenkl's arrival from Innsbruck in 1863.

In Innsbruck, Catholic priest Alois Flir, professor for aesthetics and classical philology from 1833, was supported in 1852 by Karl Libor Kopetzky, who was dislocated after the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Olomouc was closed. Notwithstanding Kopetzky's opposition to this change, not only because he was Moravian and did not want to be moved into the far west of the monarchy, but also because for financial reasons, Thun neither agreed to let Kopetzky take a position at the University of Vienna, nor to become an official in the Ministry.⁵⁶ Both Kopetzky and Tangl were, as described by their younger colleagues Hoffmann and Bernhard Jülg, boring teachers, whose lectures and work was based on translations of ancient texts, failing to grasp the interest in exegesis or grammar.⁵⁷

Similarly as Kopetzky to Innsbruck, Wilhelm Kergel was dislocated from Olomouc and sent to L'viv. Haase's pupil, appointed on his recommendation to Moravia in 1849, remained at the Galician university until its polonisation in 1871,

⁵⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 899, PA Hoffmann, Z. 72/6, 28.1.1850.

⁵⁶ Muth, Robert, "Karl Libor Kopetzky, Professor der Philologie, der Klassischen Literatur und Ästhetik an der Universität Innsbruck 1852 bis 1870." *Acta philologica Aenipontana* 2 (1967): 7-16.

⁵⁷ Schneider, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrter aus den Jahren 1849-1862. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform," for example 237-238,

and was memorialized as one of the more popular 'German' professors. His interest in the development of gymnasium education and engagement with teaching clearly prevailed over scholarly issues and his scarce publications were concerned with the pedagogy of classical philology.⁵⁸ The Protestant Kergel was also dean of the Philosophical Faculty directly after Thun's left the office in 1862. For several years, he was also the only Protestant and a lone teacher of classical philology, after his colleague and former fellow student, Bernhard Jülg, appointed to Galicia in 1849, was relocated to Cracow in 1853 as a replacement for Antoni Małecki, who had been recently released.

Małecki, a gymnasium teacher from Poznań, was appointed associate professor in Cracow in 1850. Berlin-graduated, he was in fact a historian of literature, and did not publish philological studies apart from his dissertation on the Platonic school, written under supervision of Karl Lachmann. The second chair, with a specialization in classical literature, was filled by Marburg-born Gustav Linker, a *Privatdozent* from Vienna, where he habilitated in 1851 and worked as a replacement for Grysar until 1858.

Shortly after Flir left Innsbruck in 1853 for the reorganization of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rom, Małecki, living after his release in Poznań, received the offer of the vacated chair.⁵⁹ After the Polish professor returned to Galicia in 1856, Moravia-born gymnasium teacher Karl Schenkl, a student of Hermann Bonitz, was appointed professor – notwithstanding the lack of habilitation.⁶⁰

The prominent role of comparative linguistics in the appointments of the 1850s was visible not only in the cases of Schleicher or Curtius, but was a popular and politically used mechanism of accentuating national interconnections. In particular, it was supported through highlighting the role of research on Old Church Slavonic as the language of origin of the Slavs. Compared with research on particular language formations and vernaculars, writing on Old Church Slavonic as the basis from which the Slavic languages evolved brought the common element shared by

⁵⁸ More on Kergel in: Karajan, Max Theodor von, "Wilhelm Kergel." *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Alterthumskunde* 15 (1892): 73-75.

⁵⁹ Finkel, *Historia*, 335, Muth, "Karl Libor Kopetzky, Professor der Philologie, der Klassischen Literatur und Ästhetik an der Universität Innsbruck 1852 bis 1870;" ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1106, PA Małecki, Z. 11946, 11.11.1853, in the same writing the Ministry announced the appointment of Józafat Zielonacki as professor of Roman Law to Innsbruck.

⁶⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 900, PA Karl Schenkl, Z. 21126/1407, 4.12.1857. On Małecki's relocation, on his own proposition, see AUI, PF, Z. 141, 23.6.1855, Z. 178, 10.9.1855.

these languages into the foreground. Similarly, as in the case of the development of the Ruthenian language (see above) Old Church Slavonic was the antithesis of national particularism, and several projects launched in the 1850s in Vienna pointed toward the rejection of the over-vernacularization of Slavic languages. Both the series *Legal and Political Terminology for the Slavic Languages of Austria* (*Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slawischen Sprachen Österreichs*) and Slavic journals edited in Vienna were proposing approaches that softened the differences among languages instead of encouraging their divergence.⁶¹ Thus the choice of scholars working on these Vienna-based projects – mainly university professors appointed in in and around 1848 and influential austroslav linguist Pavel Jozef Šafárik, who was pulling the strings in language-based subjects – took their scholarly qualities as much as their linguistic-political alignment into account.

In his letter to Mikhail Pogodin (Михаил Погодин) from 1848, Šafárik mentioned that for the prize for comparative Slav linguistics, which he proposed for the Philological Class of the Academy of Sciences, he hoped to see whether “the gentlemen [František Ladislav] Čelakovský and [Franc] Miklošič will here achieve something.”⁶² The next year seemed to have put additional meaning to these words, as both scholars were appointed professors, when Stadion was still minister. Miklošič, who won the prize, was appointed for the chair of Slavic languages in Vienna; Čelakovský, poet and philologist, who had been promoted by Šafárik from the 1840s, received a similar position in Prague – instead of Šafárik who was at the beginning considered for this position.⁶³ The chair after Čelakovský, who died in 1852, was left unoccupied until 1861, when Martin Hattala, associate professor since 1854 and pupil of Šafárik who habilitated with Schleicher, filled the vacancy.⁶⁴ Miklošič and Hattala

⁶¹ See for example Mamić, Mile, "Das Deutsch-Slawische Wörterbuch der juridisch-politischen Terminologie (Seine Konzeption und Realisierung)." In *Balten - Slaven -Deutsche: Aspekte und Perspektiven kultureller Kontakte. Festschrift für Freidrich Scholz zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Ulrich Obst and Gerhard Ressel, Münster: LIT Verlag, 1999, 131-138; Kamiš, Adolf, "Tschechisch-deutsche Beziehungen in der politischen Terminologie zu Beginn der konstitutionellen Zeit." In *Deutsch-tschechische Beziehungen im Bereich der Sprache und Kultur. Aufsätze und Studien.*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek and Rudolf Fischer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968, 71-83; The so called Thun's journals were Vienna-edited *Slovenské noviny* and *Videňský denník*.

⁶² Letter from 13. March 1848, quoted in Kotschubinský, Al. [Александр Кочубинский], "Miklosich und Šafárik. Ein Beitrag zu ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen." *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 25 (1903): 621-627, here 624-625.

⁶³ Závodský, Artur, *František Ladislav Čelakovský*. Praha: Melantrich, 1982, 481-486.

⁶⁴ On Hattala see Zeil, Wilhelm, *Slawistik an der deutschen Universität in Prag (1882-1945)*. München: Otto Sagner, 1995, 26.

were not only scholars but also engaged scientific politicians; Hattala was influential in discussion on the state of Slovak language (see below) and Miklošič was probably the most influential researcher on linguistic mutuality, not only writing extensively on Old Slavonic which he saw as basis of all Slav languages, but also serving as Thun's man of confidence, a guiding figure during the appointment processes. Still, he remained a politically active scholar in many instances.⁶⁵ Already in 1848 Miklošič campaigned for Slovenia's autonomy as one of the authors of the manifesto *United Slovenia (Zedinjena Slovenija)*, and was a Slovenian representative at the Prague Congress and signatory of the *Vienna Agreement* creating the Serbo-Croat literary language.

While the few early chairs of Slavic philology were assigned to comparative linguists, the chairs for Slavic languages and histories were assigned differently, joining teaching capabilities with the political agenda. Czech bard and translator, Jan Pravoslav Koubek, appointed in 1848 for Slavic language and literature, was working also as censor and translator in the Prague court of justice. The official designation for his appointment, carried through several weeks after the Prague Slavic Congress, in which he took a visible part, was for Polish language. His successor in 1854 was Henryk Suchecki, a gymnasium teacher in L'viv and author of popular schoolbooks,⁶⁶ who was apparently expected to later assume the chair in Galicia and sent to Prague in order to expand his linguistic abilities according to mutuality-principles.⁶⁷ Thun emphasized in his appointment proposal, the chair's importance for future civil servants, who were to work in Galicia and should possess at least basic knowledge of the Polish language.⁶⁸ Jan Erazim Vocel, appointed in early 1850 as associate professor of Bohemian archaeology and history of art in Prague, was described as a man of consensus, who stayed away from the conflict of nationalities and was one of the few men of general education who could occupy a chair in Czech language.⁶⁹ The scholarly interests of the Bohemian writer were remnants of ancient relics in the

⁶⁵ See Sturm-Schnabl, Katja "Slowenistik an der Universität Wien als europäischer Beitrag." *Trans. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 3 (1998) (accessible online: <http://www.inst.at/trans/3Nr/sturm.htm>, last access: 10.07.2010).

⁶⁶ See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1129, PA Koubek, Z. 8562/1079, 29.8.1853.

⁶⁷ Finkel, *Historia*, 333.

⁶⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Suchecki, Z. 13955, 11.8.1856. Same reasons were named for appointing Marcell Kawecky in Vienna to teach Polish language; having around 20 students per semester, his contract was terminated in 1858. See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 638, PA Kawecky, on students number Z. 20073/1205, 10.12.1858.

⁶⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1132, PA Vocel, Z. 273/47, 30.1.1850

province and historical intercultural contacts. However, here too political engagement can be taken into consideration: as young grammarians, Vöcel and Koubek were also antagonists of Palacký in the reform of the Czech alphabet in 1848, supporting Thun's position of diminishing of disparities between Slavic languages.⁷⁰

In spring 1849, pan-Slavic writer Jan Kollár was appointed for the chair of Slavic archaeology in Vienna, together with Karol Kuzmány, who was appointed for professor of (Protestant Evangelical) practical theology and church law. With these two scholars, the idea of Slavic reciprocity as voiced by Šafárik or Miklošič was once more reinforced in Vienna, partially as a counterpoise to the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, from which both scholars had to flee in 1848. Secondly, on the practical level, Kollár and Kuzmány, two exponents of moderate Slovak nationalism, had been made professors, but took a more conciliatory position than the position of vernacular nationalist bard, Ľudovít Štúr. Kollár was also influential in the Czech opposition against creating Slovak as a distinct literary language. Several of his writings were prominent in *Voices on the need of a unitary literary language for the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks*, and he proposed the Old-Slovak language (*staroslovenčina*) for general education. This was in opposition to Štúr's vernacular, and is regarded now rather as an artificial language, more a slightly corrupted Czech than an independent language. Together with Andrej Ľudovít Radlinský and Daniel Lichard, Kollár propagated his idea in the Vienna-based, government-sponsored journal *Slovenské noviny*, which promoted Catholic-conservative Slovak nationalism.⁷¹ In turn, in 1852 Kuzmány became responsible for Slovak legal terminology in the commission led by Šafárik. The conflict between the two options for Slovak linguistic reform and thus nationality projects were mediated in *Short Grammar of Slovak* (*Krátká mluvnica slovenská*, 1852), which, although published anonymously, is linked with Martin Hattala's authorship. This language, based on Štúr's vernacular with a Czech-based alphabet, was from the fall of Bach's government slowly

⁷⁰ Kořalka, *František Palacký*, 340-344.

⁷¹ Ivantyšinová, Tatiana, and Daniela Kodajová, "Das Slowakische Pressewesen." In *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Band VIII: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft. Teil 2: Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisierung*, edited by Helmut Rumpel and Peter Urbanitsch, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, 2203–2244, esp. 2207-2211. *Slovenské noviny* was a complimentary journal for Helfert's *Videňský denník*, which was created 1850 to foster a counter narrative for the Czech 'radical' nationalist press (in particular against *Národní noviny* of Karel Havlíček Borovský).

replacing Kollár's proposal, although it did not gain political support at the time.⁷²

The situation in Cracow and L'viv seemed to be more complicated. Eastern Galicia acquired Yakiv Holovats'ky as a reader (lector) of Ruthenian in 1848, and two weeks later as a full professor, although with comparatively low payment – while a full professor earned 1200 gulden, Holovats'ky, despite countless pleas for higher remuneration, was paid only 800 gulden.⁷³ Holovats'ky, who in his later years turned to russophilism and was finally dismissed in 1868,⁷⁴ at the time was not only co-author of *Rusalka Dnistrova*, but also responsible for the severely anti-Polish article "Conditions of Ruthenians in Galicia" (*Zustände der Russinen in Galizien*, published in 1846 in the *Yearbooks for Slavic Literature, Arts and Science* [*Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft*]) – both anonymously. Moreover, the appointment of Holovats'ky was also in the interest of Šafárik, who knew the Ruthenian writer as a correspondent from the early 1830s, and several times spoke favorably of his works.⁷⁵ That the Greek-Catholic priest suited the reform movement of Thun is visible also in his vivid argumentation against the habilitation of Jewish philosopher Rosenberg in L'viv. In his opinion on this issue, Holovats'ky stated that he "sees it as a duty of his conscience not to omit the remark" that a teaching position at "a Catholic university like ours" with non-Catholic is not desirable.⁷⁶

The chair of Polish language and literature in L'viv was left unoccupied after Jan Szlachetkowski was removed for political reasons 1852. After Mateusz Szrzeniawa Sartyni, author of widely praised books on Polish vocabulary and etymology and editor of the primary Polish east-Galician daily *L'viv Paper* (*Gazeta Lwowska*), rejected the university's offer, the faculty recommended historian August/Augustyn Bielowski, at the time curator of the Ossolineum, in June 1856.⁷⁷ The Ministry, however, ignored the proposal – it is unclear whether this was due to Bielowski's

⁷² Berger, Tilman, "Nation und Sprache: das Tschechische und Slowakische." In *Nation und Sprache: die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Andreas Gardt, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2000, 825-864, here 850-851.

⁷³ DALO, 26/5/473, PA Glowacki, the appointment as auxiliary professor (supplement) was announced 27.11.1848, for full professor on 13.12.1848; for his payment see petitions on adjustments in the personal records and payment list in DALO, 26/7/33, list for 1854/55.

⁷⁴ DALO, 26/5/473, PA Glowacki, N. 139, 16.4.1868; AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 117u, PA Glowacki, Z. 4473, 1.6.1868.

⁷⁵ See for example Šafárik's letter from 1850: Кріль, Михайло, "З чеської кореспонденції Якова Головацького." *Проблеми слов'янознавства* 50 (1999): 217–222, and the literature on Czech-Ruthenian relations quoted there on page 217.

⁷⁶ See DALO, 26/7/30 (Rosenberg) and 26/12/77. Opinion of Holovats'ky in the latter, Z. 289, 15.5.1854.

⁷⁷ DALO, 26/7/22, Z. 420, 8.6.1852; DALO, 26/7/39.

participation in the revolutionary movement in the 1830s, or his lack of strictly philological publications. In 1854 the Jagiellonian University asked the L'viv Faculty directly about the chances of a timely appointment; this is surprising, if one considers the classical narrative of the 1850s, as the scholars who asked the question in 1854 were those responsible for language reform before.⁷⁸ Finally, in September 1856, Antoni Małecki was relocated from Innsbruck to L'viv in order to take over the chair, changing his primary designation from classical to Slavic philology. It seems that Małecki negotiated this directly with the Ministry without informing the faculty.⁷⁹ He had only one task before moving back to Galicia – learning the mother of all Slavic languages, Old Church Slavonic, as ordered in a private audience with Thun and in particular by Miklošič, who seem to have been charged by the minister with taking the final decision on this issue.⁸⁰

A much hotter potato was the fate of the chair of Polish language and literature at the Cracow University, as the faculty strived to achieve appointments of famous writers and poets rather than solid scholars – an idea which Thun probably could support, having appointed literati for other chairs in the Monarchy. After Michał Wiszniewski left Cracow, the chair was unoccupied for several years, with the short time replacement of poet, journalist and translator Lucjan Siemieński and the long term of gymnasium teacher Karol Mecherzyński. In December 1848, Rector Józef Kremer corresponded with Adam Mickiewicz, at the time professor of Slavic literature at the *College de France*, and famous messianic and pan-Slavic poet. Mickiewicz's candidacy was, however, not officially proposed to the Ministry, since the provincial governor Zalewski stated that in the current situation the political activity of Mickiewicz closed the door to his appointment, and proposed an elegant solution, the reinstatement of Wiszniewski.⁸¹ The first scholars Thun hoped to assume the vacancy declined. Wincenty Pol, whom Thun previously knew, asked for a less important chair in geography, but remained active in the search for a qualified scholar

⁷⁸ DALO, 26/7/39, N. 351, 9.8.1854.

⁷⁹ See UAI, PF, Z. 141, 1855/56, Małecki; DALO 26/7/56, N.2, 30.9.1856; Finkel, *Historia*, 334-335.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 335.

⁸¹ On the proposals and debates as seen from Cracow see Lewicki, Karol, "Katedra Literatury Polskiej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w latach 1803-1848" and Bielak, Franciszek, "Katedra historii literatury polskiej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1849-1870." In Chamcówna et al. (eds), *Dzieje Katedry Historii Literatury Polskiej*, 43-83 and 85-107.

to fill the post.⁸² Henryk Suchecki, apparently proposed by Miklošič, declined and asked for a professorship in a gymnasium.⁸³ In early 1850, Thun's correspondent Wilhelm Radziwiłł, a noble conservative Catholic general from Prussia, advocated Hipolit Cegielski, journalist and philologist from Poznań, who was at the time removed from his teacher position for not obeying the Prussian orders; but this proposal seems not to have gone any further.⁸⁴ At the same time, Thun was corresponding also with Wiszniewski, asking him to come back to Cracow, but Wiszniewski declined.⁸⁵

Another writer and historian, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, on whom both the university and Ministry finally agreed, was refused a Russian passport and had to decline at the very last moment. Finally, Karol Mecherzyński's position of auxiliary professor was turned into a full professorship in 1855. The correspondence between the university and the Ministry fizzled out in the interval. While in 1853 dean Walewski enquired about the possibilities of appointment, the Ministry reacted only in the middle of 1855, asking the Faculty for detailed statistics on Mecherzyński's activities and attendance in his courses, declaring the appointment for the permanent occupation of the chair to be an urgent need. The scholar was in fact placed well, if one follows the line of desired linguistic scholarship evoked here. His research was based more on language than on literature, and his publications illustrate his interest in comparative and transcultural studies, like the *History of Latin Language in Poland* (*Historia języka łacińskiego w Polsce*, 1833) or the *History of German Language in Poland* (*Historia języka niemieckiego w Polsce*, 1846), directed toward assessing the influences those languages had on development of Polish.⁸⁶

The question of chairs for German literature and language actually came after that of the field's Slavic counterpart, and the appointments for the first and most important chair – in Vienna – bore Thun's signature. As he wrote in his request to the Emperor to appoint Wilhelm Wackernagel the "creation of the chair for German

⁸² Pol proposed among others another famous emigrated poet Seweryn Goszczyński, who though almost instantly rejected; Ibid., 89-92.

⁸³ Letter of Heinrich [Henryk] Suchecki to an unknown professor, SOA Litoměřice/Děčín, Thun Family Archive, A 3 XXI D 64, 30.6.1850; see also recommendation of Miklošič, D 40, 1.4.1850.

⁸⁴ SOA Litoměřice/Děčín, Thun Family Archive, A 3 XXI D 32, 21.1.1850.

⁸⁵ Barycz, *Kraszewski*, 23-25.

⁸⁶ In 1860s Mecherzyński was opposed by the students, who proposed Szajnocha for the chair, see *Korespondencja Karola Szajnochy. Zebrał, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Henryk Barycz*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959, 355-357.

language and literature at this university is not less indispensable, yet much more important, as this subject lacked so far support at Austrian higher education institutions; German literature, which currently exceeds Slav [literature] in richness and importance and whose lectures at Vienna University must be considered as a justified demand of the German subjects of your Majesty.”⁸⁷ The professor from Basel, a comparative philologist and translator, remained in Switzerland, however, declaring that family reasons held him back from taking the chair offer.⁸⁸ The appointment of court librarian Theodor Karajan, who rejected the call before and had proposed Wackernagel as the most qualified candidate, was not much more successful. After Thun assured Catholic protestors that no academic dignity would be allowed to non-Catholics at the Viennese University, Karajan, himself Greek-Orthodox, left the university in protest. Finally, Karl August Hahn, who had been appointed to Prague from Heidelberg two days prior to Wackernagel’s unsuccessful appointment,⁸⁹ agreed to a relocation. Hahn mostly conducted research on grammar of Middle High German *a’la* Jacob Grimm, but his activity at the university ended with his death in 1857. His position was filled with another specialist for Middle German, Franz Pfeiffer, royal librarian in Stuttgart, who established his position among scholars through his critique of the established tradition of exegesis. Apart from the full professorship, Oskar Redwitz, known at best for his defense of Christian spirituality against rationalism in the popular epos *Amarath*,⁹⁰ was appointed as associate professor, but left the university after only one year.

The position in Prague after Hahn moved to Vienna was filled only in 1857 with young Heidelberg-born Würzburg professor Johann Nepomuk Kelle. Kelle was not unknown in Vienna, as he conducted parts of his research on the first Old German poet Otfrid von Weissenburg’s *Gospel Book* (*Evangelienbuch*) in the Habsburg capital, and stood in contact with Theodor Karajan and court librarian Ernst Birk, whom he thanked in the introduction to the first volume published in 1856. Together with Konstantin Höfler, Kelle was not only a scholar, but remained also an active ‘political professor.’ In Prague, in the middle between two competing nationalisms, these two German scholars openly stated the need for ‘superior’ German education

⁸⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 646, PA Wackernagel, Z. 7537/1116, 22.10.1849.

⁸⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 638, PA Karajan, Z. 113/18, 2.1.1850.

⁸⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1129, PA Hahn, Z. 7508/1111, 20.10.1849.

⁹⁰ *Amarath* was published in 1849, in 1851 already had 6th edition, achieved around 40 editions until 1900.

and affirmed Catholic greatness in their writings, opposing Hussite leanings of Czech nationalists.⁹¹

In Cracow, medievalist Karl Weinhold, proposed by Friedrich Haase, was appointed for the chair, although this call was directed more toward getting him to a Habsburg university, than toward a long-time appointment in Galicia. After only a few months, Weinhold asked for relocation from the city that he considered cultureless and underdeveloped and in which he had lost a number of manuscripts in the city fire of 1851, moving then to Graz University.⁹² His position in Galicia was filled by a Moravian Augustinian friar, František Tomáš Bratranek. Although known and valued as innovative scholar, Bratranek was nevertheless quite untypical of the appointments for this chair. Not only was he openly Hegelian and a close friend of politically suspect Ignaz Hanuš, but his work also concentrated on nineteenth century literature (especially Goethe) and aesthetics – for example in *On the Development of the Concept of Beauty* (*Zur Entwicklung des Schönheitsbegriffes*, 1841), and *Contributions to an Aesthetics of the Plant World* (*Beiträge zu einer Aesthetik der Pflanzenwelt*, 1853). Here, his close contacts with his mentor in Prague Franz Exner and his schoolfellow from gymnasium in Brno Rudolf Eitelberger, with whom he later exchanged lively correspondence,⁹³ helped him to achieve the position. Bratranek was in fact not the only one with both political and philosophical deviations from the mainstream. His friends from Olomouc and ‘Austrian-Moravian Patriots’ Jan/Johann Helcelet and Ignác Jan Hanuš gained respectable positions, the first as professor of natural history in Olomouc, and in 1850 at the technical school in Brno

⁹¹ Kelle, who was also a high official in the Ministry of Education, wrote for example *The Jesuit Gymnasias in Austria* (*Die Jesuitengymnasien in Österreich*, 1873) and jubilee-lecture from 1874, *The Educational System in Austria 1848-1873* (*Das Unterrichtswesen in Österreich 1848-1873*). Höfler cofounded the German nationalist organization *The Society for Support of German Science, Art and Literature in Bohemia* (*Gesellschaft zur Förderung Deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen*) and was engaged with ideological conflicts with Palacký and his school (see below and Mišková, Alena, and Michael Neumüller, *Společnost pro podporu německé vědy, umění a literatury v Čechách* (*Německá akademie věd v Praze*) : *materiály k dějinám a inventář archivního fondu* = *Die Gesellschaft zur Förderung Deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen* (*Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Prag*) : *Materialen zu ihrer Geschichte und Inventar des Archivbestandes* : 1891-1945. Praha: Archiv Akademie věd České republiky, 1994); cf. Also Kelle, Johann, *Das Unterrichtswesen in Österreich 1848-1873. Rede zur Feier des fünfundzwanzigsten Jahrestages der Thronbesteigung sr. Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I. Gehalten in der Aula der Universität Prag*. Prag: J.G. Calvésche k.k. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1874, e.g. 21-22.

⁹² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 902, PA Weinhold, Z. 961/68, 18.1.1851.

⁹³ The highly incomplete correspondence is kept in MZA Brno, fond E4 (Augustiniáni Staré Brno), kart. 191, VI 2, and consists of 16 letters of Eitelberger and 14 of Bratranek; sent over several decades, the letters indicate that Eitelberger spoke to Miklošič on the issue of the appointment.

(*Technische Lehranstalt/technické učiliště*), the second the chair for philosophy in Olomouc, and – although only for short time – the chair of philosophy in Prague.⁹⁴

There was however an interesting difference in handling the appointments at the antipodal universities. In L'viv, Brno-born Johann Nepomuk Hloch, teacher at an academic gymnasium in L'viv, was appointed associate professor in 1851. In Innsbruck, on the other hand, the chair for German language and literature was filled only in 1859, and also not without problems. The first proposal forwarded by the Ministry to Franz Joseph in 1858 for Ignaz Zingerle, Merano-born gymnasium teacher and librarian, known for his collection of Tyrolean tales and interest in the culture and ethnology of the province, was not entirely positive. It was accompanied by an annotation, that it was not possible to find “an individual with the necessary scientific education for this discipline in Innsbruck among inland scholars;”⁹⁵ apart from Ficker (and for a short period Małeckí), Thun appointed no non-Habsburg professors in Innsbruck. The wording was nevertheless a sign an acknowledgment that Zingerle's qualities did not give him a place among top scholars. Franz Joseph also initially rejected the proposed appointment and asked for detailed information on the attendance at literary courses and the opinion of the provincial government, which had not been included in the first proposal. The second act, accompanied by illustration of the situation of literature studies in the monarchy, was accepted without delay.⁹⁶ Up to this moment, Joseph Novotný taught both Italian and German languages as titular professor, although from 1854 only “German Style” was mentioned in the lecturers list. That the Innsbruck University gained the chair so late is even more surprising, if one considers that from 1854 the university had a chair for Italian language and literature, to which the priest Gianmaria Battaglia di Pontealto was appointed, but which was filled with Onorato Occioni, a gymnasium teacher from Trieste due to Pontealto's health problems of.⁹⁷ Paolo Perez had an equivalent chair in Graz, although after two years in the professorship he became a priest in 1856 and resigned. He was followed by Antonio Lubin, likewise a gymnasium teacher.

While the historical and philological disciplines served as mediators of state

⁹⁴ More on this connections in Loužil, Jaromír, *Ignác Jan Hanuš : Studie s ukázkami z díla*. Praha: Melantrich, 1971.

⁹⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1018, PA Ignaz Zingerle, Z. 20842/1394, 25.5.1858.

⁹⁶ Ibid. (minister's proposal), 9.8.1858 (Emperor's annotation on the proposed appointment and rejection); Z. 1786/96, 25.2.1859 (second proposal).

⁹⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1016, PA Occioni, Z. 5164/661, 19.5.1853, Pontealto was appointed on 1. October 1852.

unity and cultural diversity through supporting certain narrative strains, the choice of scholars for the chairs of philosophy shows the importance this discipline had in the conservative-Catholic project of the rejuvenation or rather alteration of intellectual culture. Different from the other humanistic disciplines, however, was the mistrust towards philosophical systems and the accentuation of historical matters that led to the continuation of the local philosophical tradition instead of the importation of professors from abroad.⁹⁸ The local tradition was also reviewed, and professors who favored speculative philosophy like Ignaz Hanuš or Leopold Hasner (moved from the chair of legal philosophy to political economy), were supervised and removed from influential positions. The chair of philosophy – usually linked with pedagogy at the time – was directed toward the history of philosophy or moral philosophy, and although scholars active in these fields worked also on logic or aesthetics, the professionalization of philosophy as a separate academic discipline was hardly discernible, especially at smaller universities.

The remark quoted above, that philosophy should be Catholic and the Ministry should do its best to ensure this direction to be developed, can actually be taken literally. For example, in 1854, when Hermann Rosenberg applied for habilitation in L'viv, the legal obstacles were largely cleared by stating that the process of habilitation should not take confession into consideration. But the final answer from the Ministry was short and precise: Rosenberg's appointment cannot be considered, as "the teaching position in philosophy can only be granted to a man of Christian belief."⁹⁹ Appointments between 1849 and 1860 showed a clear dominance of Catholic philosophy, although without a clearly discernible prevalence of one of its different (and conflicting) currents. But the domination of teachers over researchers indicated that philosophy did not automatically enter the realm of scholarship. In this case scholarly production was less important than teaching, especially as the chair holder was to cover in his activities both philosophy and pedagogy. This prevalence for pedagogical functions explains also a large number of continuities with the pre-1848 situation – e.g. in Graz, where the less than productive and now virtually unknown Lorenz Gabriel taught as the sole professor of philosophy from 1838 to

⁹⁸ See e.g. Stadler, Friedrich, *The Vienna Circle: Studies in the Origins, Development, and Influence of Logical Empiricism*. Wien, New York: Springer, 2001.

⁹⁹ Ministry's final word on the appointment can be found in DALO, 26/7/43, Z. 427, 19.9.1854.

1862.¹⁰⁰

While the first appointments, even before Thun's inauguration as minister, stood in the light of the philosophy of Johann Friedrich Herbart, during 1850 this direction grew less popular, and was replaced by Catholic philosophers – which showed the change of influence in the Ministry from Vienna towards Innsbruck.¹⁰¹ Especially after Exner's retirement from the Ministry in 1853 and his death in the same year, the weakening influence of Herbartianism was clearly discernible. Denoted as non-Catholic, speculative philosophy, it was now rejected in the official discourse just as Hegelianism was several years earlier; both remained present, however, through previously appointed instructors.

This tendency became obvious by looking at the career of Innsbruck professor for Theoretical and Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy, Georg Schenach, who worked on a system of Catholicism based metaphysics, though incorporating materialistic systems. This "philosophical walk on eggshells" (Alfons Pichler), mediating between two Austrian philosophical traditions – Friedrich Jacobi's sensualism and Anton Günther's speculative theology – gained remarkable popularity in the Ministry of Education in Vienna, helping Schenach to secure the chair of philosophy at the foremost university in 1857, several months before his death. This appointment indicated not only the importance of this approach to philosophy to Thun – Schenach was also to be his personal philosopher (*Leibphilosoph*) in Vienna – but also the influence Innsbruck scholars had in Vienna. Tyrolean conservative scholars and priests, Alois Flir and Josef Fessler, together with Ernst Moy de Sons, a historian of law appointed to Innsbruck from Munich (where he left due to the Lola Montez affair) were both often in correspondence with Thun and his guests in Vienna.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Fabian, Reinhard, and Heiner Rutte, "Vorwort." In *Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Philosophie an der Universität Graz*, edited by Thomas Binder, Reinhard Fabian, Ulf Höfer and Jutta Valent, Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2001, IX-XXIII, here XII; Ibid, 682.

¹⁰¹ On Thun's ideals of philosophy see Höflechner, Walter, "Die Auswirkungen politischer und kultureller Veränderungen auf Forschungsorientierung und Wissenschaftsorganisation." In *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band 1: Historischer Kontext, wissenssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*, edited by Karl Acham, Wien: Passagen, 1999, 149-214, esp. 161-163; Goller, Peter, *Naturrecht, Rechtsphilosophie oder Rechtstheorie? Zur Geschichte der Rechtsphilosophie an Österreichs Universitäten (1848–1945)*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern: Pater Lang, 1997, 39-80; Feichtinger, Johannes, "Positivismus in der österreichischen Philosophie. Ein historischer Blick auf die frühe Positivismusrezeption." *newsletter Moderne. Zeitschrift des Spezialforschungsbereichs Moderne - Wien und Zentraleuropa um 1900* 7, no. 2 (2004).

¹⁰² On Schenach see Goller, Peter, "Georg Schenach (1843-1853): 'Ein Vermittlungsphilosoph'." In *Die Lehrkarnel für Philosophie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Innsbruck 1848 bis*

Schenach's chair in Innsbruck was vacant for only one year; in 1858 Tobias Wildauer, a pupil of Schenach, Flir and Jäger, was appointed full professor. Here Schenach, shortly before his death, could influence Thun and the faculty, which was divided between the Catholic Tyrolean Herbartian, Wilhelm Fridolin Volkmann, from Prague, and the philologist Kopetzky. In his letter of support for Wildauer, Schenach mentioned not only his philosophical qualifications, but also the fact, that "doctor Wildauer is the new man of confidence of our new prince-bishop and of Reverend Capitular Vicarius."¹⁰³

In the capital city, Johann von Lichtenfels, a realistic philosopher influenced by Jacobi, occupied the first chair of philosophy from the mid-1830s. His rejection of speculative systems, likewise of Kant, Hegel and Herbart, and religious metaphysics, contributed to his popularity by the 1830s. His books were officially recognized for teaching at universities before 1848, with new editions after the regime change.¹⁰⁴ Aside from Lichtenfels, in January 1849, Franz Karl Lott, associate professor in Göttingen, was appointed for the second chair.¹⁰⁵ As a friend of Exner, thanks to whom he spent several years in Göttingen as a direct student of Herbart,¹⁰⁶ Vienna-born Lott became the nominee for the chair directly after receiving a call to a professorship in Bonn, and was one of two professors of philosophy not educated in Habsburg lands in the direct aftermath of the 1848 revolutions.

The second professor appointed from abroad, Frankfurt-born Hermann Karl Leonhardi, began his lectures in Prague in October 1849,¹⁰⁷ as one of the most prominent exponents of Karl Christian Krause's panentheism, an idea propagating God as an all-encompassing essence, visible in the material and immaterial world. This Christianity-based system of philosophy, seeking to counterbalance Hegel and Schelling, did not remain influential in Germany, but with Leonhardi and Heinrich

1945, edited by Idem, Innsbruck: Wagner, 1989, 17-34.

¹⁰³ Quoted in Goller, Peter, "Tobias Wildauer (1857-1896): Reichsratsabgeordneter und "Halbzeitphilosoph"." In Goller, *Die Lehrkanzeln für Philosophie*, 35-53, here 36.

¹⁰⁴ *Handbook of Logics (Lehrbuch der Logik*, 1842), *Handbook of Psychology (Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, 1843), *Handbook of Metaphysic or the Metaphysic of Conventions (Lehrbuch der Moralphilosophie oder der Metaphysik der Sitten*, 1846; Italian translation 1852), *Handbook for Introduction in Philosophy. General Introduction, Psychology, Logics (Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie. Allgemeine Einleitung, Psychologie, Logik*, 1850; 5th edition 1863).

¹⁰⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 639, PA Lott, Z. 735, 16.1.1849.

¹⁰⁶ Frankfurter, *Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*, 73

¹⁰⁷ Ureña, Enrique M. , *El Krausismo alemán : los congresos de filósofos y el krausofrobelismo (1833-1881)*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas de Madrid, 2002, 101, 239; Busch, Otto, "v. Leonhardi." *Philosophische Monatshefte* 11 (1875): 385-390.

Ahrens, appointed professor of philosophy of law in Graz in 1850,¹⁰⁸ two most prominent German-speaking followers of Krause found positions in the Habsburg Monarchy. Although neither Ahrens nor Leonhardi were wholly successful, leaving behind no students and with less influence on political theory than they had hoped, their activity made the Monarchy one of the centers of pantheism, and the theory of organic natural law of Ahrens and the natural history of Leonhardi were certainly widely read. Leonhardi also organized congresses on philosophy (mostly concerned with the intersection of religion and philosophy), but their influence was limited to Krause's students; this was also true of the journal *New Age* (*Neue Zeit*), edited by Leonhardi from 1870.¹⁰⁹

The first new professor of philosophy in Prague at the time, however, was Ignaz/Ignac Jan Hanusch/Hanuš, appointed by the short-term minister Ferdinand Thinnfeld in May 1849 to replace Exner. The *terna* – one of few of the time in the humanities – was topped by Hanuš and also included gymnasium teacher Josef Denkstein and Bolzano's student František Náhlovský, and was accepted as proposed.¹¹⁰ That Exner was replaced by his student is not surprising; that an openly Hegelian scholar was named professor was much more so. For a close friend of Exner, Augustin Smetana, who was his assistant in Prague and expected in 1848 to be his successor, a mixture of Hegelianism, political engagement as dean of Philosophical Faculty 1848 and especially his leaving the church (and subsequent excommunication) closed the door both to the university and the gymnasium. As a provisional teacher at the university, Smetana read Kant directly after the revolution; his lecture on Hegel, which he planned for the second semester and which he printed the same year as a brochure, was cancelled by the Ministry.¹¹¹ Notwithstanding his extensive networks, including Franz Exner, whom Smetana directly asked for support, and scholars abroad, the young philosopher could not get a position, neither at the university nor at a gymnasium, especially after his conflict with church authorities, which seems to have separated him from Exner.¹¹² Financial difficulties,

¹⁰⁸ On Ahrens see Goller, *Naturrecht*, 46-54.

¹⁰⁹ Ureña, *El Krausismo alemán*.

¹¹⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1129, PA Hanusch, Z. 3553/546, 24.5.1849.

¹¹¹ Smetana, Augustin, *Geschichte eines Excommunicirten: Eine Selbstbiographie von Augustin Smetana. Aus dessem Nachlasse herausgegeben mit einem Vorwort von Alfred Meißner*. Leipzig: Grunow, 1863, 152-153.

¹¹² See Smetana, Augustin, *Příběh jedné exkomunikace a doprovodné texty. Vybrala, sestavila, přeložila a poznámkovým aparátem opatřila Irena Šnebergová*. Praha: Filosofia, 2008; letters to Exner (in

disappointment with the withdrawal of political and religious liberalism, and longstanding health problems caused his death in 1851. Despite political and church antagonism, Smetana's funeral turned into a liberal manifestation, causing problems and political consequences for participants that could be identified and for the university, which was represented by the banner of the Philosophical Faculty, as Smetana was a member of the *Doktorenkollegium*.¹¹³ Hanuš as well – a student and friend of Smetana, who was also said to have guarded his bed against church officials, as the dying philosopher had asked his friends to be on his deathbed so that the church authorities would not be able to spread rumors that he had returned to the church in the last moments of his life¹¹⁴ – was present at the funeral and asked his students to come. This situation caused problems in his relations with both the police and Catholic professors.¹¹⁵ Shortly after the funeral, Hanuš was suspended, probably due to the intrigues of a Prague priest, Václav Svatopluk Štulc, and the court pastor and ex-professor in Olomouc, Johann Baptist Rudolf Kutschker, who accused Hanuš of antireligiosity and Hegelianism. Backed by the opinion of Tomek, who confirmed the accusations, Thun released Hanuš at the beginning of winter term in 1852.¹¹⁶

Church influence on philosophy in Prague did not end there though. The question of Hanuš's successor was resolved through an elegant solution, mediating the interests of two Catholicisms, that of Thun/Exner and that of Prague archbishop Schwarzenberg, resulting in the installation of philosophers of two conflicting approaches – Herbartianism, with Robert Zimmermann as a full professor, on one side and Güntherianism with Johann Heinrich Löwe as associate professor on the other side.

The vacant position of Hanuš was briskly filled with Robert Zimmermann, whose career at the Austrian universities was very unusual. After his habilitation in Vienna in 1849, the young scholar was appointed to Olomouc for the chair after Hanuš, whose letters to Jan Helcelet from the time show that he was very much in favor of this decision.¹¹⁷ Zimmermann's proud Herbartianism helped him with this

German) 471-500, on losing Exner's favor see Smetana's letter to Moritz Wilhelm Drobisch, *Ibid.*, 503-505.

¹¹³ Křivský, Pavel, *Augustin Smetana*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1990, 311-326, 317-326.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹¹⁵ Loužil, *Ignác Jan Hanuš*, 78-79.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Hanuš to Helcelet from November 1849 and 12. October 1849, printed in: Vávra, Vincenc, "Dr. Ignác Hanuš a Dr. Jan Helcelet." *Hlídko. Měsíčník vědecký se zvláštním zřetelem k*

speedy appointment – although the Faculty proposed, among others, Bonitz's student from Stettin/Szczecin, Richard Volkmann, or František Náhlovský – as did the backing from his brother-in-law, the librarian in Olomouc and school inspector, Jan/Johann Šilhavý, earlier librarian in Prague where he worked among others with Robert's father and Šafárik.¹¹⁸

Achieving the appointment of the second professor of philosophy, Löwe, and of Johann Ehrlich for professor of moral theology, Prague archbishop Friedrich Schwarzenberg helped to introduce the philosophical direction of his teacher of philosophy, Anton Günther, in Prague.¹¹⁹ Günther's philosophical theology strived to overcome the division between knowledge and faith, creating an anthropocentric and philosophical theology, balancing theological dogmas and scholarship. The scientificness of his approach, the rationalization of theology and its equalization with philosophy provoked strong opposition from the side of scholastic theology, leading finally to the declaration of Günther's philosophy as a heresy and putting his publications on the Index in 1857.

The third professor of philosophy in Prague was Wilhelm Fridolin Volkmann, from 1849 *Privatdozent* for aesthetics and its history, and later psychology, who was among the first generation of Exner's students and was occupied predominantly with mediating psychology and Hebartianism.

In this way, Herbartianism, which was dominant among philosophers, developed to be at the same time both cherished and contested in Bohemia, as the followers of Günther bitterly fought against Exner's interpretation of Herbart, and criticized the reforms of the universities and Thun's appointment policy, which were leading toward the promotion of a different theological philosophy.¹²⁰

A slightly different situation was underway in Galicia, where both professors of philosophy, Józef Kremer (Cracow) and Mikołaj Lipiński (L'viv), appointed

apologetie a filosofii IV (XVI) (1899): 91-96, here 91-94.

¹¹⁸ "Johann Nepomuk Dithmar Šilhavý, k.k. Gymnasialinspector und Schulrath." *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 3 (1852): 924-925; Schneider, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrter aus den Jahren 1849-1862. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform," especially correspondence of Kergel, e.g. 246.

¹¹⁹ Simons, Thomas W., Jr., "The Prague Origins of the Guntherian Converts (1800-1850)." *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 22, no. 1 (1977): 245-256; for the differences between Herbartianism and Günther see Tretera, Ivo, *J.F. Herbart a jeho stoupenci na pražské univerzitě*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1989, 147-150.

¹²⁰ Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform*, e.g. 84; Weiß, Otto, "Bolzanisten und Güntherianer in Wien 1848-1851." In *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik*, edited by Helmut Rumpler, Wien: Böhlau, 2000, 247-282.

directly after 1848, remained in their chairs as the only professors in their discipline. Kremer, who studied in Berlin under Hegel and in Paris under Victor Cousin, was an openly Hegelian philosopher, art historian and writer and brought out (in Warsaw and Vilnius) several publications quite openly propagating Hegel's aesthetic and phenomenology of spirit, albeit in a pronouncedly Catholic-messianic version. After his appointment as a full professor in 1850 – he had been teaching at the university from the 1830s, but had no doctoral degree and was without a permanent position – student groups pleaded as well for the appointment of nationally engaged messianic philosopher Karol Libelt for professor at the Philosophical Faculty. Kremer, described in the petition as old fashioned in comparison with the progressive Libelt, was to make way for Libelt by being relocated to the Law Faculty.¹²¹ This proposal, unrealistic due to Libelt's political past, was at first rejected by the philosopher from Poznań. Thus Kremer worked as the only philosopher at the Jagiellonian University, although he linked his function with a teaching position at the *Cracow School of Drawing and Painting* (Szkoła Rysunku i Malarstwa).

Mikołaj Lipiński remains a quite unknown figure, having been a teacher at the gymnasium in Tarnów (Tarnau, Тарнів, Torna). He was appointed full professor in L'viv in September 1848. Probably more of a teacher,¹²² Lipiński did not publish much; his only book publication hinted at the direction of scientific psychology.¹²³ In 1851, the Ministry rejected Lipiński's nomination for rector in favor of Wolff, which shows that his political position was regarded as not entirely faultless.¹²⁴

While the development of humanities and philosophy at the universities show great mobility and reformist tendencies, the natural sciences and medicine were far from being renewed through involvement of non-Habsburg scholars at the time, but, with some prominent exceptions like Ernst Brücke, show rather a large amount of inner-Habsburg migration and 'home appointments' from scientific institutions. While one can see the break in the local traditions in the humanities, natural sciences were continuously developed without turning to scholars from abroad. This shows not

¹²¹ Struve, Henryk, "Życie i Twórczość Józefa Kremera." In Józef Kremer, *Wykład systematyczny filozofii obejmujący wszystkie jej części w zarysie : dla miłośników tej umiejętności pragnących dokładniej się z nią obeznać. T. I, Fenomenologia, logika*. Warszawa: S. Lewental, 1877, 1-175, here 56-58.

¹²² Finkel, *Historia*, 318.

¹²³ Bobrowska-Nowak, Wanda, *Początki polskiej psychologii*. Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich/PAN, 1973, 115-124.

¹²⁴ DALO, 26/7/14, protocol of the Academic Senate from 25.11.1851, N.11, 16.10.1851.

only that in Thun's politics of education, humanities and legal subjects played an enormously important role, for which the Ministry was prepared to appoint scholars from abroad notwithstanding the protests from the faculties and conservative critique, but also that the natural sciences of the *Vormärz*, even if not present at the universities prior to 1848, were much more highly valued, with medical studies continuing the university tradition.

There are, however, three additional reasons for which the home appointments be more appropriate. In the first place, geography, mineralogy, zoology and biology were at this point local sciences, which linked theoretical background with descriptive analysis of the specifics of the local environment. Thus, even in the later nineteenth century, specialization or interest in the particularities of the natural world of the province the given university was in was seen as an asset both by faculties and the Ministry. Secondly, as mentioned before, appointments from abroad were linked with higher salaries, and apart from the time directly after the revolution, the Ministry was confronted with demands to cut expenses. Newly appointed professors would have also to accept infrastructure at the universities either insufficient or outsourced to independent institutions. The question of institutes and their equipment was mentioned several times in the appointment records from the 1870s onward and played an obvious role in the natural sciences. Especially prominent scholars, pleading for extensive research and wanting to relocate equipment and assistants, were handicapped, as in many cases less prominent young or local scholars were simply cheaper.

Finally, already at this time the conflict between the Catholic Church and the sciences was taking place in the form of so called *Materialismusstreit*, revolving around the question whether and to what degree the new development in the sciences, especially biological sciences, conflicted with Catholic doctrines, e.g. the relationship between mind and brain, continuity in natural history, or the position of humans as inside vs. outside of the animal kingdom.¹²⁵ Shortly after the controversy over the choice of Bonitz as dean of the Philosophical Faculty, the influential spokesman of the conservatives, Sebastian Brunner, began publishing a series of articles depicting an

¹²⁵ Cf. Bayertz, Kurt, Walter Jaeschke, and Myriam Gerhard, eds. *Weltanschauung, Philosophie und Naturwissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: Der Materialismusstreit: Band 1*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2007; Tilman M., Schröder, *Naturwissenschaften und Protestantismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Die Versammlungen der Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte und ihre Bedeutung für die Evangelische Theologie*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008.

infiltration of the university by forces “in part religiously indifferent, in part Josephine-superstitious, in part humanistic-anti-Christian liberalism.”¹²⁶ From Anton Günther’s position, Brunner sought a Catholic science, criticizing severely the evolutionism and materialism that he perceived in the biosciences and geosciences at the university:

When shabby newspapers (in the moral sense of the word) preach materialism to the people, when newspapers declare humans to be somewhat-elevated orangutans and orangutans somewhat-regressive humans – and with that, pass off the earth as a great, big zoo and states as menageries, that makes one wonder; – but when professors at so-called Catholic universities go on for years and years presenting truly beastly theories – and teach youths a view of nature and the world that is the same as was taught by the Freemasons, for good reasons, before the French Revolution – then – minds like ours are boggled.¹²⁷

With such critics in the government and in the public, further appointments from abroad for chairs in which local research traditions existed was certainly a risk for the Ministry, especially as it would be hard to present such appointments as having to do with the prevention of revolution as was done in the humanities. It was also precisely natural sciences that were condemned the most in the official presentation of the Ministry *Die Neugestaltung der österreichischen Universitäten*: “The natural science, which denies the existence of man’s soul as such and chokes all what is spiritual with materialism, exceeds everything [else] in its harmfulness [to the youth – J.S.].”¹²⁸

* * *

With the reorganization of the philosophical faculties, the natural sciences were in many cases academically institutionalized and professionalized in form and content for the first time. While in meteorology and astronomy, for example, scientific traditions existed and the transfer of teachers to the university with coeval restructuring in the infrastructure was only a step toward their academic professionalization, other subjects were institutionalized at the universities for the first

¹²⁶ Sebastian Brunner, “Zur Wiener Universitätsfrage.” *Wiener Kirchen Zeitung*, January 1 1852, 2-3, quoted in Gliboff, Sander, “Evolution, Revolution, and Reform in Vienna: Franz Unger’s Ideas on Descent and Their Post-1848 Reception.” *Journal of the History of Biology* 31, no. 2 (1998): 179-209, here 201.

¹²⁷ [Brunner, Sebastian], “Der österreichische Vogt-Büchner-Moleschott,” *Wiener Kirchen Zeitung*, January 4, 1856, 9-10, quoted in: Ibid., 205. ‘Vogt-Büchner-Moleschott’ was Franz Unger.

¹²⁸ *Die Neugestaltung*, 20.

time. Chemistry and botany, for example, were taught as one subject at the Medical Faculty prior to 1848, without seriously taking into consideration the scholarly interest of the teacher, as he was bound to cover in his lectures a broad range of more and more disparate matters. At the same time education in the technical academies covered a similar range of subjects, which made the question of how to reform both without creating conflict a very viable one.¹²⁹ In several cases the Ministry accentuated the importance of natural sciences being the transmitter between theory and practice at the university, encompassing thus the symbolic boundary between technical education and the humanities-led universities – a division visible, for example, in the division of practical secondary education (*Realschule*) from the humanistic gymnasium. Natural sciences were in this way included into the idea of cultural development of the Monarchy, in which universities were to have the pivotal role in all areas of scholarship. Thus, the appointment of chemist Franz Pless to L'viv was accompanied by an emphasis on the chair covering practical matters as well: For “the aim of contemporary development of industrial activity” the professor should not only be a theoretician, but also be familiar with the “practical requirements.”¹³⁰ Similarly, in the appointment records of Heinrich Hlasiwetz to Innsbruck in 1851, the minister mentioned that such a chair was necessary not only due to the importance of chemistry in university education, but also because “some questions from practical life, particularly in the interest of craft and industry, which need an answer from representative of this science, could not have been asked.”¹³¹

Although technical academies were in conception practice-oriented, transfers in several chairs were possible, especially in chemistry. This led also to the question of whether or not to incorporate the polytechnic into the university as a Technical Faculty – which was raised in several petitions in 1848 but not followed afterwards. Although the reform of technical academies was not completed during Thun's Ministry, they were professionalized through the division between the polytechnic and the preparatory *Realschule*, which had been incorporated into the technical academies until 1852, as well as through the admission of *Privatdozenten* and

¹²⁹ The question of inclusion of the technical schools into universities was raised several times, see for example Havranek, “Karolinum v revoluci 1848,” 38-39; Urbański, Wojciech, “Projekt reorganizacji Uniwersytetów we Lwowie i Krakowie ze względu na techniczne akademie.” *Dziennik Polski*, 12.10.1869.

¹³⁰ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 117u, PA Pless, Z. 7716, 6.8.1851.

¹³¹ Quoted after Rosner, Robert, *Chemie in Österreich 1740-1914. Lehre - Forschung - Industrie*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2004, 165-166.

enlargement of the number of instructors. Competition between technical academies can be included in the issue of infrastructure. Although the laboratories had already been constructed at polytechnics, they had to also be constructed at the universities after 1848 in order to enable teaching and natural science research and education of prospective teachers educated at the philosophical faculties. Although not under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education, but of respective provincial governments, the financial issue has to be taken here consideration into, as well as the political value of technical academies – for example, in Brno, the Technical Academy was the only tertiary school in Moravia after the dissolution of the Olomouc University.¹³² The Ministry showed a lively interest in the founding of this institution from the middle of the 1840s, relocating in 1847 the *Collegium Nobilium* (Ständische Akademie, Stavovská akademie) from Olomouc to Brno; in 1849, shortly after Thun became minister, the Collegium was transformed into technical academy.¹³³ With the introduction of teachers of foreign languages, the technical institutes were not only producing locally bound engineers, but imagined their export abroad, similar to that of physicians, whose influence had reached even the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁴

Coming back to the role technical academies played in the 1850s, the transfer between them and universities was intensive – for example through mathematicians Wilhelm Matzka (Prague), Andreas Ettinghausen (Vienna), Ignaz Lemoch (L'viv) physicist Christian Doppler (Vienna), zoologist Ludwig Schmarda (Graz, later Prague), chemists Friedrich Rochleder (Prague) and Gustav Wolf (L'viv), mineralogist Franz Zippe (Vienna) etc. (see also table 7). Several other institutions also provided professors for natural scientists at the faculty. In Vienna, the Imperial Cabinets (*Hofkabinetten*) were the main sources of professors for natural sciences,¹³⁵ but pre-1848 medical faculties also included professors of chemistry and biological

¹³² See also d'Elvert, Christian, *Geschichte der Studien- Schul- und Erziehungs-Anstalten in Mähren und Österr. Schlesien insbesondere der olmützer Universität, in den neueren Zeiten*. Brünn, 1857, 381-391 and Pumpla, Vaclav, "Snahy o zřízení české university na Moravě v 19. století " *Historická Olomouc* 11 (1998): 145-152.

¹³³ Šišma, Pavel, *Matematika na německé technice v Brně*. Praha: Prometheus, 2002, 16-19.

¹³⁴ Mikoletzky, Juliane, "Vom Polytechnischen Institut zur Technischen Hochschule: Die Reform des technischen Studiums in Wien, 1850-1875." *Mitteilungen der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 15 (1995): 79-100, here 92. Chahrour, "'A civilizing mission'? Austrian medicine and the reform of medical structures in the Ottoman Empire, 1838-1850."

¹³⁵ Mühlberger, Kurt, "Das „Antlitz“ der Wiener Philosophischen Fakultät in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Struktur und personelle Erneuerung." In *Eduard Suess und die Entwicklung der Erdwissenschaften zwischen Biedermeier und Sezession*, edited by Johannes Seidl, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009, 67-104.

disciplines, and several scholars were moved from these to philosophical faculties with changed designation. Best-known among them were zoologist Camill Heller or chemist Franz Hruschauer in Graz.

That the natural sciences did not command great political interest in the post-1848 era does not mean that they stagnated. With certainty the innovation taking place in the humanities did not occur here, but guaranteeing the education in gymnasia, where natural sciences were to have a fixed place, also required the speedy filling of chairs. Thun made clear that gymnasia stood at the forefront in April 1851, when he asked teachers of the natural sciences to pay special attention to the education of candidates for teaching posts in the choice of topics covered in their lectures.¹³⁶ Moreover, several scholars appointed to Vienna published within several years specialized schoolbooks for gymnasia and *Realschulen*, thus showing where the center of scholarship in the Monarchy was to be.

In November 1849, the chairs of natural history in Vienna (Johann Friese until 1866) and Prague (Karel Bořivoj Presl, died 1852) were divided into positions for botany, mineralogy and zoology, respective new chairs for those disciplines were founded besides the more comprehensive ones; other universities followed only later. Without consultation with the faculties, Thun proposed for Vienna: Eduard Fenzl from the Natural History Court Collections (*Hof-Naturalienkabinett*) in Vienna for botany, Franz Unger from the Joanneum in Graz for plant physiology, Franz Zippe from the Bohemian Museum in Prague for mineralogy, and Rudolf Kner, professor for natural history and agriculture in L'viv, for the chair of zoology. For Prague Thun appointed at the time only the mineralogist August Reuss, a student of Zippe, while botanist and pharmakognosist Vincent Kosteletzky (Vincenc Kostelecky) moved from the Medical Faculty to the Philosophical Faculty as a professor of botany.¹³⁷ Zippe was an especially influential figure, actively helping to develop geosciences in Vienna, supporting in particular habilitations in this area. He gradually lost his influence however through his strict adherence to the conservative geognosy of Friedrich Mohs, a descriptive approach borrowed from zoology and biology, consisting of systemization on the basis of exterior characteristics.¹³⁸ Zippe's

¹³⁶ AUW, PF, Z. 605, 1850/51.

¹³⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 635, Fenzl, 7898/1172, 4.11.1849

¹³⁸ For Zippe see Seidl, Johannes, Franz Pertlik, and Matthias Svojtka, "Franz Xaver Maximilian Zippe (1791–1863). Ein böhmischer Erdwissenschaftler als Inhaber des ersten Lehrstuhls für Mineralogie

approach to mineralogy as a descriptive discipline and basis for geosciences – ignoring developments in other sciences like geology – was nonetheless codified though throughout the 1850s and 1860s in schoolbooks,¹³⁹ which was sharply criticized in the early 1860s by Zippe's younger colleagues Suess and Peters. As Zippe did for natural history at the *Realschulen*, Rudolf Kner prepared specialized schoolbooks for zoology and geology. The first centered on comparative analysis and systematics of the animal kingdom (excepting humans), and in the second Kner linked ichthyology and paleontology, in which he specialized, with natural history.¹⁴⁰

For the chair of biology, the decision was taken to appoint Fenzl as the director of the botanical garden after Stefan Endlicher's death, which lent itself to continuity, since Fenzl had cooperated with Endlicher since the 1830s.¹⁴¹ Similarly to the previously mentioned scholars, Fenzl was interested in systematic botany and preoccupied with the improvement of the botanical garden. With his colleague Unger – also a close friend of Endlicher – whose work concentrated on plant anatomy and physiology, Fenzl concentrated on plant systematics, being responsible for the continuation of the Austrian tradition of botany, followed later especially through the work of Julius Wiesner.

While the appointments for the biosciences in Vienna went swiftly, other universities proved to pose a bigger obstacle, showing several characteristics of the high mobility of scholars at smaller institutions mentioned before. In Graz, Ludwig Schmarada from the Joanneum was appointed in 1850 for the chair of natural history,¹⁴² but went by 1852 to Prague as successor to Ludwig Redtenbacher, who was appointed there in 1851 but left soon afterwards to become the first curator of the *Imperial Museum* in Vienna. The university had tried both times, however, to appoint Oskar Schmidt from Jena, who was rejected by the Ministry as a foreign scholar.¹⁴³

an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien." In Seidl, ed., *Eduard Suess*, 161-209.

¹³⁹ Zippe's textbooks were translated into Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak. See the list of schoolbooks, in Annex 3.

¹⁴⁰ Salvini-Plawen, Luitfried, and Matthias Svojtka, *Fische, Petrefakten und Gedichte: Rudolf Kner (1810-1869) - ein Streifzug durch sein Leben und Werk*. Linz: Biologiezentrum der Oberösterreichischer Landesmuseen 2008, 99-101.

¹⁴¹ Reichardt, H. W., "Galerie österreichischer Botaniker v. Eduard Fenzl." *Oesterreichische Botanische Zeitschrift* 12, no. 1 (1862): 1-11.

¹⁴² Schmarada was appointed from the second place, first in the *terna* was Engelbrecht Pranger from Admont Abbey, see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 644, PA Schmarada, Z. 7181/814, 14.9.1850.

¹⁴³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Schmarada.

Having prepared for a world tour,¹⁴⁴ Schmarda's chair in Prague was deputized by his *de jure* successor in Graz, Franz Nickerl,¹⁴⁵ until 1855, in which year Schmarda was dismissed because of his long-term absence and due to his political engagement. Nickerl, appointed in 1854 at the Technical Academy in Prague, was replaced by the son of evangelical priest Friedrich Schmidt from the Academy in Tharand. In Prague the chair of natural history was finally divided due to the death of the Presl brothers – Jan Svatopulk (his successors were Redtenbacher and Reuss) and Karl Bořiwog, whose duties Kosteletzky took over. In 1857, an assistant of Purkyně, Julius Sachs, who had moved with his teacher from Breslau/Wrocław, was habilitated in botany (plant physiology), but left in 1859 as assistant to Tharand. *Privatdozent* Antonín Frič, a specialist in paleontology and geology, also covered zoology in his lectures.

In Graz, the chair for zoology was filled in 1855 by Johann Czermak, who was moved the following year to Cracow for the chair of physiology to support the Polish lectures of Józef Majer,¹⁴⁶ and in 1857 Oskar Schmidt, who from 1855 had taught zoology in Cracow, was appointed to Styria.¹⁴⁷ Finally, Schmarda was appointed to Vienna in 1861. Czermak, Purkyně's pupil, for whom the chair in Graz was only a steppingstone on the way to a chair of physiology, which Thun is said to have promised him, left Cracow after one year due to conflict with Majer,¹⁴⁸ and after short stays as a professor of physiology in Pest and at private scholar in Prague he became chair holder in Jena. The other chairs in Graz were filled only in the 1860s, similar to Innsbruck – for the Tyrolean province, even in 1860, the appointment of Lutheran Julius Sachs was seen by Helfert as not appropriate due to the botanist's anti-clerical position.¹⁴⁹ The chair for natural history and agriculture in Innsbruck was filled by agriculturalist Johann Köhler from the School of Forestry in Mariabrunn (Forstakademie Mariabrunn), and in 1860 with Johann Kerner; in L'viv the

¹⁴⁴ Announced as he was teaching in Graz already as travel to Southern Asia (*Vorder-Indien*), thus probably known while he was appointed to Prague. See *Akademische Behörden und Personalstand an der k.k. Carl-Franzens-Universität zu Graz im Wintersemester 1852/53*, Graz: Leykam 1852, 8.

¹⁴⁵ Nickerl was professor of zoology. Natural history (from 1855 mineralogy) was lectured by Benedict Kopetzky from *Ober-Realschule* in Graz and from 1857 by Sigmund Aichhorn from Joanneum; Georg Bill from Joanneum read botany from 1855. Similarly, the chair of chemistry was most of this time left unoccupied with scholars from Joanneum reading the lectures.

¹⁴⁶ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 51u, PA Mayer, Z. 13995, 616, 9.3.1856.

¹⁴⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 901, PA Oskar Schmidt, Z. 8717, 17.7.1857.

¹⁴⁸ Kruta, Vladislav, "Ke sklonku Purkyňova působení na universitě, jednání z K. Rokitsanským a o pensionování a o možném nástupci." *AUC-HUCP* 11 (1970): 52-73, here 63.

¹⁴⁹ Oberkofler, Gerhard, and Peter Goller, *Materialien zur Geschichte der naturhistorischen Disziplinen in Österreich die Botanik an der Universität Innsbruck ; (1860 - 1945)*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1991, 12-13.

corresponding chair was filled after the appointment of Kner to Vienna with Hiacynt Łoborzewski, and divided in 1852 into botany/mineralogy and zoology; the latter was taught by Hermann Maximilian Schmidt-Göbel, who had been relocated from Olomouc after the dissolution of the Philosophical Faculty.

In Cracow, the chair of natural history was similarly divided into two in 1855. Directly after 1848, the chair (without botany) was in the hands of Ludwik Zejszner (also Ludwig Zeuschner), a follower of Alexander Humboldt and a foremost geologist, who left the university directly after natural history was divided into specialized disciplines.¹⁵⁰ The chair of botany and the direction of the botanical garden were since the 1840s in the hands of Ignacy Rafał Czerwiakowski, who had soon after 1848 appointed another disciple and friend of Humboldt, the traveler, translator and botanic Józef Warszewicz as head of the garden.¹⁵¹ The chair of zoology was filled for short periods of time with Schmidt (1855-57), Carl Bühl (1857-58) and Camill Heller (1858-61). In 1857, Victor Zepharovich was appointed for the chair of mineralogy; he had previously worked in the *Geological Survey* (Geologische Reichsanstalt) in Vienna with Wilhelm Heidinger, who also proposed the Viennese scholar for the position in Galicia.¹⁵²

The last in this round of appointments was geography, although it was not introduced at all universities. Only in Vienna and Cracow did Thun appoint Friedrich Simony for full professor and Wincenty Pol for associate professor respectively, both through personal contacts and without mediation through the university.¹⁵³ While Simony's appointment (on his own request) was the aftermath of the development of geosciences around the *Reichsanstalt*, the appointment of Pol is certainly surprising, as he was known as a poet and had been expected by Thun as a candidate for a professorship of Polish literature. The appointment was carried out by Thun himself, who seemed to believe that his prominent personality could help both to revive the

¹⁵⁰ Brzęk, Gabriel, *Historia zoologii w Polsce do drugiej wojny światowej*. Kraków: PAU, 2007, 166.

¹⁵¹ For Humboldt's contacts with Warszewicz and Zejszner see Zielnica, Krzysztof, *Polonica bei Alexander von Humboldt: ein Beitrag zu den deutsch-polnischen Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, *Beiträge zur Alexander-von-Humboldt-Forschung* 23. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004, 168-175, 180-188.

¹⁵² Exel, Reinhard, "Neues über Victor Leopold Ritter von Zepharovich (* 13. 4. 1830, † 24. 2. 1890) Leben und Werk des österreichischen Montanisten, Geologen und Mineralogen." *Jahrbuch der Geologischen Bundesanstalt* 146, no. 3-4 (2006): 173-194, here 182.

¹⁵³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 643, PA Simony, Z. 1544/110, 21.3.1851, more on Simony in: Lichtenberger, Elisabeth, "Geographie." In *Die Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften 2. Band: Lebensraum und Organismus des Menschen*, edited by Karl Acham, Wien: Passagen, 2001, 71-148.

university and promote conservative nationalism, to which Pol turned after the disappointment of patriotic engagements prior to 1848.¹⁵⁴ In Prague, a son of František Palacký, Jan, gained habilitation for geography in 1856, but achieved an associate professorship only after 1882, against strong opposition in the Faculty.¹⁵⁵

Like the *Reichsanstalt* for geography, and the directorship of the botanical gardens in biology, the academic representation of astronomy and meteorology was strictly linked with duties in the observatory and the Central Bureau for Meteorology and Terrestrial Magnetism (*Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie und Erdmagnetismus*), established in 1851. In Vienna, from 1842, the chair for astronomy was occupied by Karl Littrow, director of the *Sternwarte*; the director of the *Bureau* Karl Kreil, previously in Prague, was nominally professor of physics. A similar mix can be observed in Graz, where Carl Hummel was appointed from a Gymnasium in Ljubljana for a joint chair of physics and meteorology.¹⁵⁶ In Cracow, from 1825, Maximilian Weisse, previously assistant of the observatory in Vienna, assumed dual functions like Littrow. Only Prague had to deal with a new professor after 1848; Bohemian-born Joseph Böhm was appointed for the position in 1852 from Innsbruck, where he taught mathematics and presided over the agricultural society. With the appointment to Prague he returned to his roots, as he was assistant in observatories in Vienna and Prague prior to his appointment in Tyrol.

The case of the assistant of astronomy in Cracow indicates the very essence of Habsburg academic migration: a circulation of scholars within the monarchy. In 1855 Bohemian Adalbert Kunes/Kuneš was appointed adjunct in Cracow in order to help Weisse with the reorganization of the observatory. Franciszek Karliński, from 1851 an assistant at the observatory, was then moved to Prague as a provisory assistant (one of several at the time) through the mediation of the provincial government. After four years the Faculty in Cracow announced a new concurs, in which Moritz Allé, adjunct in Vienna, placed first, with Karliński one of the participants. Finally, after 1861 and Weisse's retirement, the Prague assistant was appointed full professor in Cracow –

¹⁵⁴ Barycz, Henryk, "Wincenty Pol jako profesor geografii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim." *Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Prace komisji historii medycyny i nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych* 3, no. 2 (1949): 43-128, especially 46-49.

¹⁵⁵ See ÖSTA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Palacký, Z. 612, 4.12.1884; the records hint also in direction of a political motivation of opposition.

¹⁵⁶ ÖSTA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 899, PA Hummel, Z. 7011/796, 1. 10.1850.

without actually holding a doctoral degree.¹⁵⁷

A similar element of continuity characterized physics. In Vienna, the teachers of experimental physics were Christian Doppler, appointed from the Mining and Forestry Academy in Banská Štiavnica and, after his death in 1853, Andreas Ettinghausen as his successor. Ettinghausen in fact taught physics and mathematics at Vienna University until 1847 and afterwards at the Vienna *Military Engineering Academy* (*Ingenieur-akademie*, later *Genie-Akademie*, and *k.k. Militärakademie*); after the Academy's relocation from Vienna to Loucký klášter (Kloster Louka, Klosterbruck near Znojmo/Znaim in Moravia),¹⁵⁸ he also taught briefly at the Technical Academy. After Ettinghausen's dislocation in 1847, his chair, linked previously with the physics institute, went to August Kunzek, appointed from L'viv as professor for mathematical physics. The direction of the institute was turned over, however, to Doppler and later once more to Ettinghausen. Between 1857 and 1859, Josef Grailich taught as the third professor for physics, being *Privatdozent* from 1855 and associate professor for higher physics (*höhere Physik*) from 1857. In Prague, Franz/František Adam Petřina taught from 1844 until 1855. The question of his successor was complicated due to the high financial demands of the proposed candidates – both for salary (e.g. the first proposal, professor at Vienna Technical Academy Ferdinand Heßler, who agreed to come to Prague for 3500 gulden, was rejected by the Emperor who demanded a candidate with a regular salary) as well as for the institute, which all candidates wanted to expand; finally in 1857 Victor Pierre from L'viv was appointed for the still combined chair of physics and mathematics.¹⁵⁹ Through Pierre's history, one can see the chaos in the natural sciences at the time. As he moved to L'viv University from the polytechnic in 1853, Pierre took over the chair of Alexander Zawadzki, a biologist teaching at the Philosophical Faculty in Przemyśl, who after 1848 was professor of physics and mathematics at the university. Zawadzki,

¹⁵⁷ Information on the rotations of assistants in Cracow are taken from AUJ, WF II 164, *Astronomia*; general information on Karliński in Mietelski, Jan, "Franciszek Jerzy Karliński (1830-1906)." In *Złota Księga Wydziału Chemii UJ*, vol. 1, edited by Ewa Szczepaniec-Cięciak, Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2000, 126-137.

¹⁵⁸ Ettinghausen rejected leaving Vienna and left the Academy, see Gatti, Friedrich, *Geschichte der k. und k. Technischen Militär-Akademie, Erster Theil: Geschichte der k.k. Ingenieur- und k.k. Genie-Akademie*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1901, 884.

¹⁵⁹ Höflechner, Walter, *Materialien zur Entwicklung der Physik und ihrer "Randfächer" Astronomie und Meteorologie an den österreichischen Universitäten 1752-1938*. Institut für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 2002, 383(391)-387(395) (accessible online: http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/wissg/gesch_der_physik, last access 20.12.2009).

who was moved from the university for unknown reasons¹⁶⁰ to the *Realschule* in Brno, where he acted as the vice-President of the *Naturalists Society in Brno* (Naturforschender Verein in Brünn),¹⁶¹ he actively supported Gregor Mendel.¹⁶² After Pierre moved to Prague, Wojciech Urbański, from 1850 a *Privatdozent* for mathematical physics, served as replacement lecturer, but two years later became the main librarian and ceased teaching. Finally, a recent graduate from Vienna, Alois Handl, took over his place and was appointed professor in the 1860.¹⁶³ The appointments for three other universities were much less spectacular. While Ludwik Stefan Kuczyński taught in Cracow from 1839, the professors appointed to Innsbruck (Karl Adalbert Waltenhofen) and Graz (Carl Hummel) had been professors at gymnasias, in Graz and Ljubljana respectively.

In mathematics as well, Vienna University experienced continuity in the persons of Josef Jenko and Josef Petzval. After Jenko's retirement in 1850, Robert Moth, professor at the *Lyzeum* in Salzburg, was appointed for a chair. In this case, prominent mathematician Jacob Jacobi, living at this time in Berlin, had been proposed and appointed notwithstanding a high salary requirement, but shortly after receiving the call decided to remain in Prussia.¹⁶⁴ In the same act, Wilhelm Matzka was appointed from the Technical Academy in Prague, where he came from a gymnasium in Tarnów, to replace 74-year old Josef Jandera in Prague. Jacob Kulik, who taught until his death in 1863, occupied the second chair in Prague from 1826. In Innsbruck, the chair of mathematics, previously held by the pupil of Karl Kreil and his later successor in Vienna, Karl Jelinek, who moved to the Technical Academy in Prague, was taken over by Anton Baumgarten, since 1840 professor of physics and applied mathematics. Other universities experienced similar continuity: Graz, where Josef Knar held the professorship from 1821 until 1862, L'viv, where Ignaz Lemoch,

¹⁶⁰ Waclaw Szybalski (most recently in "Professor Alexander Zawadzki of Lvov University - Gregor Mendel's mentor and inspirer." *Biopolymers and Cell* 26, no. 2 (2010): 83-86) mentions that Zawadzki's vivid participation in the 1848 Revolution caused his displacement; on the contrary Finkel (*Historia*, 322-323) mentions, that the displacement of Zawadzki was caused by the neglect of physics and mathematic in his lectures.

¹⁶¹ The society united scholars of Brno disregarding their cultural alignment. From 1904, *Natural Sciences Club in Brno* (Přírodovědecký klub v Brně) was established to unite Czech scholars.

¹⁶² Orel, Vítězslav, "Professor Alexander Zawadzki (1798–1868) – Mendel's superior at the Technical Modern School in Brno." *Folia Mendeliana Musei Moraviae* 7 (1972): 13-20.

¹⁶³ DALO, 26/7/Protokolle, R. 29, 24.4.1857; Finkel, *Historia*, 323-324; Dąbrowski, Mirosław, "Wojciech Urbański – polski badacz zjawisk elektrycznych." *Nauka*, no. 2 (2007): 151-160.

¹⁶⁴ ÖStA, AVA. MCU, fasc. 640, Z. 2758/347, 31.3.1850; see also Pieper, Herbert, "Alexander von Humboldt und die Berufung Jacob Jacobis an die Wiener Universität." *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 13, no. 3 (2005): 137-155.

appointed in 1840, taught at the university and at the Technical Academy, and finally Cracow with Jan Kanty Steczkowski, who taught from 1842 to 1863, when he retired due to dullness of hearing.

The appointments for the chairs of chemistry followed the genealogical line of the students of Joseph Jacquin, professor of chemistry and botany in Vienna between 1797-1838, although most of the newly appointed professors studied for a shorter or longer time in Gießen with Justus Liebig, adopting his new approach to chemistry as an experimental, labor-based science. For the chair of chemistry in Vienna in 1849 former assistant of Jacquin, Josef Redtenbacher from Prague, was appointed. His successor in Prague, and in 1870 also in Vienna, was Friedrich Rochleder, from 1845 professor at the Technical Academy in L'viv, and a close friend of Redtenbacher as well as a Vienna alumnus. Emilian Czyniański, Rochleder's assistant from L'viv and Prague, where he followed his teacher, was appointed in 1851 for the chair of chemistry in Cracow.¹⁶⁵ Close in approach to Redtenbacher and Rochleder was Heinrich Hlasiwetz, from 1849 *Privatdozent* in Prague and an assistant of Rochleder, appointed in 1851 as a professor in Innsbruck. Similarly, Franz Hruschauer went the way of Jacquin through Liebig, crowning his career as professor of chemistry in Graz in 1851.¹⁶⁶ Hruschauer's position after his death in 1858 was filled in 1861 by Theodor Wertheim, who taught chemistry in Pest from 1853 and had to leave Transleithania after Hungarian was adopted as the language of instruction in 1860. Wertheim also followed the tradition of Redtenbacher, having habilitated (without a doctorate) in Vienna in 1851; whether the lack of a formal degree, or, as recently claimed, his Jewish confession closed the doors to a position in Cisleithania in the 1850s remains an open and debated question.¹⁶⁷ Also in L'viv Redtenbacher's student

¹⁶⁵ Mierzecki, Roman, "Chemia na wyższych uczelniach polskich w latach 1783-1939." *Wiadomości Chemiczne* 61, no. 7-8 (2007): 605-623, here 615.

¹⁶⁶ Kernbauer, Alois, *Das Fach Chemie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Graz*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1985, 7-13

¹⁶⁷ Rosner, *Chemie*, 170-172, basing his information on an obituary written by Schrötter from 1865, in which Schrötter (Schrötter, Anton, "Theodor Wertheim." *Almanach der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 15-16 (1865): 232-245) states that Wertheim moved to Pest only thanks to the support of Exner and that his appointment was approved only after his conversion to Catholicism. Schrötter writes however also, that Wertheim "had in the ideal sense belonged to Christianity before;" it is also questionable whether Franz Exner could have had any influence on this appointment, as when the chair in Pest was vacated after Eduard Sangaletti in 1853, he was already deceased and, as Rosner and Schrötter state, Wertheim baptised 1854; The quotation (Rosner, *Chemie*, 170, Fn. 193) mentioning that emigration of Theodor's brother, Wilhelm, to France was necessary for his career, as he rejected baptism, should also be related to anti-Semitism at pre-1848 universities, as he lived from 1840 in Paris (see his short biography at the webpage of

Franz Pless was appointed in 1852 from the Joanneum in Graz, as mentioned above, due to his interest in both theoretical and practical questions. Due to a laboratory accident in 1854,¹⁶⁸ Gustav Wolf from the Technical Academy in L'viv acted for several years as auxiliary lecturer, until 1857. Leopold Pebal, *Privatdozent* in Graz and like Pless with strong links with the Joanneum, was then appointed to take over the chair.

While the personnel politics at the Philosophical Faculty demonstrated conflicted interests, the medical faculties – located only in Vienna, Prague and Cracow, as the other universities had only Medical-Surgical Studies – experienced more continuity than breaks with tradition. In particular the possibility of habilitation was taken more seriously than at the Philosophical Faculty. As the clinical and hospital facilities were concentrated in the capital and the number of students soared, Vienna University profited most from the possibility of young scholars' inclusion in teaching and research. Until 1852 more than 20 scholars attained the position of *Privatdozent* there with the same number of scholars habilitating until 1860, while Prague had less than the half of this number throughout this period. In 1860 in Prague only 8 scholars taught as *Privatdozenten*, while in Vienna there were already 21.¹⁶⁹ For unknown reasons, no physicians habilitated in Cracow (or none were confirmed by the Ministry) until 1862; similarly none were confirmed at the Philosophical Faculty, where political reasons hindered some scholars' careers.

Due to the lack of young academics due to the underdevelopment of assistantships prior to 1848, the first appointments for professors included mostly practitioners, eventually complemented by promoted *Privatdozenten*. As academic transfer with other Habsburg academic institutions was limited by their practical orientation, almost no scholars changed their affiliation during Thun's Ministry. Even those who did did not prove to be substantial and stable assets for their faculties in the long run. Pharmakologist Emanuel Seidl was appointed in 1852 to Innsbruck, three years later to Pest, and after 1860 to Prague. Karl Langer, *Privatdozent* for surgery in Vienna, went in 1851 to Pest as chair of zoology, but already in 1856 returned to

the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities: Wilhelm Wertheim, <http://www.bbaw.de/MitgliederderVorgaengerakademien/chronologisch.html?zeitraum=1850-1900>, last access 29.12.2009).

¹⁶⁸ Pless went blind after an explosion in his laboratory. DALO, 26/7/43, 22, 4.9.1854.

¹⁶⁹ Calculation made on basis of Prague and Vienna *Übersicht der Akademischen Behörden ... für das Studien-Jahr 1860/1861*.

Vienna's Josephinum (later Vienna University) as an anatomist. Similarly, Vienna *Privatdozent* for obstetrics Johann Chiari spent two years as a full professor in Prague before being appointed at the Josephinum in 1854.

Similarly to philosophical subjects and natural sciences, in medicine the Ministry was very cautious about foreign physicians; only one non-Habsburg scholar, Ernst Brücke, was appointed to Vienna, still under minister Stadion, although Bohemian-born Johann Oppolzer from Leipzig was also appointed to the capital city. Here, Prague enjoyed more freedom with respect to appointments, though only 'returning' scholars were appointed – physiologist Jan Evangelista Purkyně from Breslau/Wrocław, gynecologist Franz Kiwisch from Würzburg (both born and graduated in Bohemia) and Vienna-born anatomist Joseph Engel from Zürich. Especially in the first case it was once again Šafárik who mediated between the Ministry and the university and achieved one more appointment of a Czech patriot.¹⁷⁰ Medicine in Bohemia at this time remained close to the issue of nationalities, as the Prague faculty requested that the Ministry appoint only scholars with knowledge of both provincial languages, pleading also for the creation of parallel chairs in the practical disciplines.¹⁷¹

The Faculty that changed the most in the 1860s was in Cracow, where more than half of the professors teaching in 1860 were appointed within the previous ten years. Mainly practitioners were appointed here as well, such as Józef Dietl for internal medicine, Antoni Sławikowski for ophthalmology, Antoni Bryk for forensic medicine. All were born in Galicia (Bryk, very untypically, was officially until 1848 a serf, illegally obtaining education in Vienna and escaping serfdom as a military physician) and remained at the university after 1861 as well. In all cases the condition of Polish language knowledge was raised because of the practical duties of professors in the clinic,¹⁷² although at least Dietl and Bryk claimed German as their primary language while inaugurating the chairs. For this reason physiologist and anthropologist Józef Majer and anatomist Antoni Kozubowski were allowed to lecture in Polish after 1853, as they declared themselves unable to hold lectures in fluent

¹⁷⁰ Brázda, Otakar, "Příchod Jana Evangelisty Purkyně na pražskou univerzitu." *AUC-HUCP* 27, no. 1 (1987): 55-89; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1122, PA Purkyne, proposition of the Faculty N. 973, 27.9.1849, Ministry's proposal Z. 7164/970, 22.10.1849.

¹⁷¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1121, PA Engel, Z. 2935/383, 28.5.1849.

¹⁷² See for example the argumentation in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1103, PA Dietl, Z. 168, 10.2.1851, scholars not knowing Polish language were not taken into consideration, even if their scholarly achievements were valued higher.

German.¹⁷³ Both, however, had to teach their subjects extracurricularly, while German-speaking professors were appointed for regular lectures (Brody-born Christian August Voigt for anatomy and Johann Czermak for physiology).¹⁷⁴ As the Faculty did not find appropriate (and/or politically spotless)¹⁷⁵ candidates for the newly created chair of pathological anatomy, it received a non-Polish-speaking professor as well, a Bohemian student of anatomist Josef Hyrtl, Václav/Wenzel Treitz,¹⁷⁶ and after his transfer to Prague anatomist at the Medical-Surgical Study in Olomouc and former assistant of Rokitansky, Richard Heschl.¹⁷⁷

* * *

When the rumors spread that Thun was to resign from his position at the beginning of the 1860s, the atmosphere at the universities was uncertain: many considered him still the reformer of the university system, including Galician scholars who openly lamented the news in the pages of the Cracow daily *Czas*. Some, as for example August Schleicher, remembered Habsburg universities of Thun's time very critically, and wrote about the dense atmosphere causing him to leave Prague in 1856; during his years in Prague Schleicher was indeed closely monitored by the police as a foreigner and Protestant.¹⁷⁸ Thun's time as minister was concomitant with the neoabsolutist regime, so it is thus hard to say whether the critical voices and the feeling of an intellectual and political re-start one finds voiced at the time, were directed toward him or the political atmosphere in general. However, it was often claimed afterwards that Thun's plans were far from being realized, or – as, for

¹⁷³ For Kozubowski see AUJ, S II 808, 19.10.1854, Z, 25543; for Majer see AUJ, S II 815, 13.6.1856, Z. 11235; AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 51u, PA Mayer, Z. 13995, 616, 9.3.1856; appointed were Brody-born Christian Voigt (anatomy) and Johann Czermak (physiology).

¹⁷⁴ As Voigt was born in Galicia (he had also taught in L'viv before being appointed to Cracow), and Czermak in Prague, both probably spoke or understood Slavic languages. Both, however, left Cracow University in 1861 due to the "lack of knowledge of Polish language" (ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 883, PA Heschl, Z. 9938/337, 18.10.1861).

¹⁷⁵ In 1850 Nikodem Bętkowski, author of the first Polish textbook for pathological anatomy strived for the chair and was proposed by the Faculty, but without result; the same problem was encountered in history of medicine, as all candidates were rejected by the Ministry. See AUJ, S II 810, 20.3.1850; 22.10.1850 (on the pathological anatomy), AUJ, WL II 155 (history of medicine).

¹⁷⁶ At first as auxiliary professor, while Dietl held the lectures.

¹⁷⁷ AUJ, S II 810, Z. 19628, 31.12.1852; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Treitz, Z. 675/36, 23.2.1855 (appointment after Engel, also here the issue of knowledge of Czech language was raised, Prague Faculty proposed Heschl, Bohemian Vilém Dušan Lambl, and Brno-born assistant of Engel in Prague Arthur Willigk, Ministry decided though for Treitz as he was supposed to know the Faculty better. Treitz's position in Cracow was automatically awarded to Heschl, in turn Willigk was appointed to Moravia).

¹⁷⁸ See letters of August Schleicher to Pavel Jozef Šafárik, reprinted in Lemeškin, Zabarskaitė, eds., *Lituanistinis Augusto Schleicherio palikimas*, 670-740; records from the police are reprinted Ibid., 813-896.

example, Alphons Lhotsky claimed, that Thun deliberately strived to assert a conservative and Catholic university through conscious appointments.¹⁷⁹ Thun's admirers on the other hand, both at the time and later in the nineteenth century, claimed that his openness and liberal planning were hindered by neoabsolutism, his (factually Exner's) reforms are generally mentioned as a milestone in Habsburg (and succession states') academic policy.¹⁸⁰

Considering the university before and after Thun, one can certainly notice the difference, especially considering the financial aid the universities received from the state, which allowed considerable enhancement of facilities – libraries, institutes, observatories or clinics. Here professors coming from German universities in particular brought with them not only scientific knowledge, but also a practical orientation as to what the libraries should include and how seminars should be organized.

In the 1850s, though, universities did not change their function considerably, remaining teaching facilities and being only secondarily concerned with research. Special consideration for gymnasia, which Exner already signaled in his reform plans, was enforced through the appointment of scholars who in the first place were to assure adequate instruction for teachers and write schoolbooks for the restructured educational system. In fact, though the Philosophical Faculty was established 1848, the aim of its existence was not quite clear. With falling student enrollment, the number of appointments was quite excessive, especially if one considers the number of foreign scholars. Directly after the completion of the reform in 1853, the philosophical faculties in Cracow, Graz and Innsbruck had less than 20 students, L'viv 75, Vienna and Prague slightly less than 100. Medical and law faculties, on the other hand, witnessed growing demand.¹⁸¹ In 1855, the Vienna Philosophical Faculty

¹⁷⁹ Lhotsky, Adolf, "Das Ende des Josephinismus. Epilegomena zu Hans Lenzen's Werk über die Reformen des Ministers Grafen Thun." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 15 (1962): 526-549.

¹⁸⁰ For contrasting views see e.g. Dumreicher, Johann-Heinrich, *Über die Nothwendigkeit von Reformen des Unterrichtes an den medicinischen Facultäten Österreichs*. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1878 and Hartel, Wilhelm *Festrede zur Enthüllung des Thun-Exner-Bonitz Denkmals gehalten in der 1. Hauptsitzung der 42. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner am 24. Mai 1893*. Wien, 1893. A positive opinion on the reforms (not on the political atmosphere of the Neoabsolutism), is mentioned in most publications in Czech and Polish historiography of science and education and at least in some newer Hungarian publication, e.g. Farkas, Gábor, "A birodalmi felsőoktatás modernizációja. A kultuszminiszter oktatási tervvezete (1849–1854)." In *Österreichisch-ungarische Beziehungen*, 163-178.

¹⁸¹ Numbers taken from *Akademische Monatsschrift (Deutsche Universitäts-Zeitung)* 5 (1853), 348

had 24 professors and 275 students, while the Medical Faculty had 19 professors and 579 students; through most of the 1850s the Theological Faculty was more popular than the newly established philosophical one.¹⁸² In many cases the question was raised whether it made sense for students to matriculate at the Philosophical Faculty, if they could go directly to the law and medical faculties, that is, those which brought later economic benefits. From the perspective of the time, this issue points toward the advantage philosophical faculties brought for the state, which became highly intertwined with their propagandist function. The perception of a superior Prussia, which Thun held up to his adversaries was tempting, but the commitment to achieve it was limited both by finances and by support for local traditions of scholarship. Accepting the imagined rivalry and raising the ‘German’ model in many fields, the Ministry proposed, however, a Habsburg version, restrained by holding to Catholic values and local scholars. The positive figure of the Habsburg scholar who became ‘German’ (including Purkyně or Čelakovský)¹⁸³ was not only rhetorical, but also a proclaimed aim of ministerial policy in which ‘Germany’ served as an idealized paradise, especially for the humanities. Proclaiming – following Bonitz and Exner – Habsburg humanities to be virtually non-existent, Thun strived however to appoint Catholic-oriented scholars of his liking and as proposed to him by his experts, thus looking for models in Prussia but directly importing scholars from Bavaria.

To a certain extent, Thun’s strategy was facilitated by the fact that the majority of the scholars he appointed had either been dismissed for political reasons from non-Habsburg universities in the German Confederation or were non-academics. At the same time, it also became clear that smaller universities in the Monarchy – including Prague – were both financially and from a research facilities point of view not competitive enough with non-Habsburg germanophone academies. The possibility that the newly appointed foreign professors could receive a call from abroad was clearly perceived as threatening the universities, and was intensively discussed in the following decades.

The humanities were the disciplines in which the Ministry was most willing to invest; the sciences and medicine remained clearly secondary, with a number of rather

(Innsbruck, Graz, Vienna) and 609-611 (Cracow, L’viv, Prague).

¹⁸² *Geschichte der Wiener Universität von 1848-1898*, 402 (students number); number of instructors according to my own calculations.

¹⁸³ Purkyně was standing “in the first row of German physiologists” (ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1122, PA Purkyně Z. 7164/97022.10.1849, Z. 973, 27.9.1849).

accidental appointments without a conscious strategy as in humanities. This is something of a paradox, since those were the fields blooming in the following decades. Similarly ironic is that the conscious choice of lecturers often introduced developments contradictory to what was intended. Withdrawal from the abstract and a turn to the concrete – as Thun wrote in the appointment records of Eitelberger for professor of esthetics in Vienna¹⁸⁴ – led, as Johannes Feichtinger pointed out, to opening the door for all sorts of positivistic approaches in the humanities and philosophy.¹⁸⁵ However, the philosophical approach of Zimmermann, Schenach or Lott did not remain widely influential and led later to conflicts in the faculties. In historiography, the non-teleological auxiliary sciences of history grew strong, especially with the creation of the Institute of Austrian Historical Research in Vienna and the appointments of Sickel to Vienna and of Ficker to Innsbruck, who were both Protestants. The Slavic exponents of the appointments, Tomek and Walewski, were in the end not successful – the former was not able to enforce his idea of writing a ‘shared’ Slavic-German history, the latter was severely criticized for his glorification of the ‘Austrian’ and ‘Catholic’ elements in history. Curtius and Schleicher accepted calls from abroad, later achieving considerable influence at universities in the German Empire. Thus most of the scholars whom Thun saw as important – only a few examples are mentioned here – eventually left the monarchy.

At the same time, however, the idea of the university as a pronouncedly state-bound institution, with appointments limited to those favored by the monarchy, was ultimately renounced, as was the idea that academics should be ‘nation’ bound. Here, however, one can discern a different treatment of this question, depending on faculty and locality. Medical faculties remained Habsburg and more bound to the local language situation, both in Bohemia and Galicia, with only a few scholars in 1860 born outside the province, and likely speaking only German.¹⁸⁶ Apart from Malecki, however, Polish-speaking scholars from other parts of the partitioned Commonwealth or those who emigrated to France or Britain were not appointed, which left Galician academies in the hands of local forces. In Vienna, in 1860, all but one scholar at the Medical Faculty had been born in the Habsburg Empire. At the Philosophical Faculty

¹⁸⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 635, PA Eitelberger, Z. 10898/1376, 14.10.1852.

¹⁸⁵ Feichtinger, "Positivismus in der österreichischen Philosophie. Ein historischer Blick auf die frühe Positivismusrezeption."

¹⁸⁶ Two physicians in Cracow were not from Galicia, six (from 28) were born outside Bohemia/Moravia in Prague, although being born in Bohemia does not mean they were bilingual.

the numbers were higher: in Vienna, one-third of lecturers had been born outside the monarchy, in Cracow four lecturers (out of 15) did not speak Polish, in Prague almost half of the lecturers were born outside Bohemia/Moravia, and in L'viv 60% of lecturers during the winter semester came from outside Galicia (it is confirmed that 5 scholars out of 12 spoke Polish and one spoke Ruthenian). Three non-Habsburg born scholars (30%) taught in Graz, and one in Innsbruck, which remained the most local institution.¹⁸⁷

The situation of continuity varied as well. At the medical faculties around half of the scholars teaching in 1860 were also lecturing in 1848, with the exception of Cracow, where all but one scholar had been appointed after the revolution. Philosophical faculties, on the other hand, were thoroughly reformed, also because of the wholesale renovation of the faculty. At the same time, however, faculties were not uniform. Notwithstanding chairs for languages, which were understandably different across the monarchy, the chair of bibliography, linked with the directorship of the university library, was retained in Cracow.¹⁸⁸ Having the largest Philosophical Faculty and the most *Privatdozenten*, Vienna University also provided the most differentiated scope of subjects, being clearly privileged here compared to other universities, a situation which would be discernible later as well. That Vienna and Prague had slightly different roles in the nexus of the monarchy is also indicated by the position of readers of modern languages. While these two universities hosted representatives of most languages spoken in the Monarchy (including Hungarian, although not Ruthenian, Russian or Slovenian), with the aim of providing knowledge for future bureaucrats and officials (as noted above), smaller universities provided education only in local languages. For most of the period, Innsbruck and L'viv entirely lacked modern languages apart from German and respective local languages; in Cracow Russian/Ruthenian and French were taught, in Graz French, Italian and Slovenian. This division, certainly disadvantageous to students in Galicia, Styria and Tyrol, was influenced by infrastructural differences in the cities themselves, as teachers were mostly not fully paid by universities, but rather worked primarily in official posts (court, administration).

¹⁸⁷ Around half of scholars teaching at the Innsbruck University were born in Tyrol.

¹⁸⁸ Holder of the chair was full professor; the chair was held at first by Józef Muczkowski and after his death in 1858 Franciszek Stroński.

4.2 Habsburg Liberal. Ministry, University and Structure of Scientific Transfer

Dear friend and Ritter! We are searching for a minister of education. Do you want to hold this office, the position is not so evil; you can accomplish much good, great deeds of culture are to be pursued. It is curious, that so many people poke on trivia: one only wants everything liberal, primary schools, tolerance of all confessions, raising of spiritual development – only the Concordat has to be preserved. Universities are to be flirted with, sciences are to be boosted – only the Catholic character cannot be touched; the Archbishop has to remain chancellor as afore. All who bewail archaic laws of the faculties can easily abolish them, a lot of new things could be formed here – only the old doctor-council-guilds have to be conserved. How much is to be organized, not only in Vienna, to build a university, establish various scientific institutes, double the number of teachers, as the whole of Hungary and the Danube-principalities want to obtain their culture from us – only it should cost no money!

From letter of Theodor Billroth to Wilhelm Lübke, 30 January 1870¹⁸⁹

The initial ten years of the new disciplinary and institutional order within the monarchy, inextricably linked with Thun's science policy, ended together with the neoabsolutist regime at the beginning of 1860s. This change also meant the implementation of regulations proposed by Exner for academic autonomy, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, remained largely suspended in the 1850s. One of the main changes this new system of negotiation resulted in, was a concentration on linguistic and cultural affinities as the main mechanism of self-identification, creating thus – depending on the timing of the change of language at the university – systems in which scholars migrated, and which became with time increasingly autonomous, culturally homogenous and inner-differentiated. Science, envisioned earlier as a means of bringing various cultures of the monarchy together, acted thus more and more in the opposite direction. The practice of appointments aiming, at least in theory, at intercultural exchange in the 1850s, was bound to language communities. The process thus changed respectively toward Austrian-German, Czech and 'Polish' systems, which became oriented toward scholars of the respective languages rather than the empire. At the same time, an administrative, political and 'ideological' continuum was maintained, with conservatism and Catholicism as the prevalent ideological values within academia. This latter trend was partially supported by the Ministry; it presented however a continuity from the first appointments after 1848,

¹⁸⁹ Billroth, *Briefe*, 91.

envisioning precisely these characteristics and was advanced during the century through autonomous faculty choices.

With Thun's resignation from the position of minister of education and religion, universities were for a short time administered under Joseph Alexander Helfert, and from 1863 the institution of the *Unterrichtsrath*, established based on French models and composed of select members of the Habsburg academia, became the key body in university affairs, assigned with preparing an expert opinion on academic matters and decisive for the state minister who signed the papers.¹⁹⁰ The idea of professors overseeing the appointment procedures brought not only a short-term replacement of the Ministry of Education, but also resulted in a considerable symbolic enhancement of universities' position in the decision-making process in the long run. The *Unterrichtsrath* was not an authoritative institution, as Thun envisioned the Ministry to be, but rather a consultative body giving expertise on university proposals. Its composition exhibited a strong continuity with Thun's ideological ideals – the chair, Leopold Hasner, was appointed by Thun for the Law Faculty in Prague; Franc Miklošič, Franz Karl Lott, Karl Littrow were responsible for the Philosophical Faculty, Josef Hyrtl, Franz Pit'ha and Karl Schroff for issues related to medicine. All these nominees were considered from the conservative-Catholic end of the academic spectrum and were criticized for preferring even more conservative politics than Thun.¹⁹¹

During the four years of activity of the *Unterrichtsrath*, there were few appointments and habilitations, with the initial phase of faculty change having been completed under Thun, and no changes in the curriculum that would require additional personnel. The most vivid problem of the 1860s, a number of scholars who were to be relocated after the introduction of national languages in Cracow and Pest, was mostly solved before the *Unterrichtsrath* began to act. Here, although universities were asked for their needs and opinions on candidates who were to be relocated from Galicia, some appointments were conducted notwithstanding opposition by faculties,¹⁹² as permanent professors could hardly be released.¹⁹³ Although it was

¹⁹⁰ Wassilko, Theophila, "Der Unterrichtsrat. Ein vergessener Zwischenakt aus der Geschichte des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens." *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, no. 6 (1953): 312-326.

¹⁹¹ See Seebacher, 'Freiheit der Naturforschung,' 97; Letter of Emanuel Hofmann to Friedrich Haase, 10. May 1861, reprinted in Schneider, *Briefe*, 232-234.

¹⁹² See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 883, PA Heschl, Z. 9938/337, 18.10.1861: professor of pathological

active for only few years, some decisions of the *Unterrichtsrath* can be seen as controversial, for example, the rejection of the habilitation of the later professor at the Technical Academy in Vienna, Joseph Bayer, for history of literature, due to his use of a philosophical approach instead of “analytical and historical methods,”¹⁹⁴ or the appointment of Heinrich Zeissberg to L’viv.¹⁹⁵

Most importantly, even the few concrete decisions of the *Unterrichtsrath* brought a new quality to government-university relations, in which both were seen as complementary and not part of one-sided ‘politics’. This included also the general governance of universities with ministers asking for advice on legal changes, for example, Karl Stremayr requesting opinions on habilitation procedures or the admission of woman to universities in 1873;¹⁹⁶ the same consultations happened also a few decades later, with a similar request for the opinion of the faculties.¹⁹⁷

While (most) other ministers further pursued this liberalized, decentralized policy, universities themselves also tried to increase their influence, proposing not only improvements for single faculties, but also strengthening the symbolic capital of

anatomy Richard Heschl and descriptive anatomist Christian Voigt were dismissed from Cracow; Heschl, although rejected by the Faculty in Graz was appointed there, Voigt was appointed to Vienna as the Faculty stated that his discipline was not adequately covered in the lectures. Theodor Wertheim was relocated from Pest to Graz – due to (officially) financial issues he did not achieve a chair in Vienna for which he applied to the Ministry; it remains unclear whether the Faculty was asked on this issue, but shortly after relocation he was nominated dean and awarded the honorary doctoral degree. Other scholars relocated from Pest to Graz were philosopher Joseph Nahlowsky, historian Adam Wolf, geologist Karl Peters (with an intermediate station in Vienna); Karl Brühl went to Vienna, pharmacologist Joseph Seidl to Prague. See ÖStA, AVA, MVU, fasz. PA Wertheim Z. 4231/228, 31.5.1861; Wittmann, Helga, and Erich Ziegler, *Die Entwicklung chemischer Wissenschaften an der Universität Graz. Ein Leistungsbericht*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1985, 45-46; Surman, "Cisleithanisch und transleithanisch oder habsburgisch? Ungarn und das Universitätssystem der Doppelmonarchie," 244-245.

¹⁹³ See the abovementioned case of professors dismissed from Cracow in 1853. Also historian Adam Wolf, from 1852 associate professor in Pest, was appointed to Graz only after several years of pending and notwithstanding negative opinion of *Unterrichtsrath* (for opinion see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 900, PA Pebal, Z. 581, 14.11.1864, for appointment [Stremayr] Z. 7430, 20.12.1864.)

¹⁹⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1128, PA Bayer, Z. 153/863, 29.4.1865. Bayer’ application for habilitation was also rejected in 1870, he had also no doctoral degree. In the following year, though, he was appointed professor at the Technical Academy in Vienna.

¹⁹⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 117u, PA Zeissberg.

¹⁹⁶ See e.g. UAG, Z. 340, 4.3.1873, (on habilitation), Z. 5385 (copy), 6.5.1873.

¹⁹⁷ See for example the enquete on the same question carried through in 1897, e.g. in DALO, 26/7/387, Z. 2945, 15.2.1897. Another examples might be reforms of medical and juridical studies in the 1890s (see e.g. *Gutachten und Anträge zur Reform der medicinischen Studien- und Rigorosen-Ordnung*. Wien: k.k. Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Karl Gorischek 1894 and a detailed description of the course of the enquete in Cybulski, Napoleon, *W sprawie reformy studyów lekarskich (Odbitka z Przeglądu Lekarskiego 1896)*. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1896 and Idem *Uwagi nad ministeryalną reformą studyów i egzaminów lekarskich. (Odbitka z Przeglądu Lekarskiego 1899)*. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1900; on reform of juridical studies see Masaryk, Thomas Garrique, "O reformě právnických studií." *Athenaeum. Listy pro literaturu a kritiku vědeckou* 9, no. 4 (1892): 97-110)

academia as a whole through organizing and preparing joint expertise, for example in questions of salaries or new chairs. Between 1891 and 1896, the informal commission on the remuneration question, initiated by and based at the German University in Prague, developed a petition on their betterment, gathering, among other information, data on salaries and *Collegiengelder* of all faculties, and organizing meetings of university representatives.¹⁹⁸ In 1907, delegates of all universities, animated by the Philosophical Faculty of Cracow University, prepared and proposed a memorandum on the improvement of mathematical education at universities.¹⁹⁹ In the same manner *Privatdozenten*²⁰⁰ (but also assistants)²⁰¹ organized collective petitions to support their claims. Finally, the universities institutionalized the body of legislative support on the state level, as the Austrian Conference of Rectors (*Österreichische Rektorenkonferenz*) and, for the German Empire and germanophone Cisleithania, the Academic Conferences (*Hochschulkonferenzen*).²⁰² This dualism between state and culture characterizes the drifting apart of scholarly cultures and networks, which, although they maintained common interests and political structures, discussed the changes in regard to their perception of cultural needs, often exceeding Habsburg boundaries and thus coming into conflict as the broadly perceived interest of the monarchy was not always identical with the needs of a language community.²⁰³ Just as discussions were more frequently held within the organizations of higher education teachers, which included university instructors and were clearly determined by linguistic boundaries,²⁰⁴ so too did the provincial governments, especially in Galicia, become influential agents between universities and the Ministry.

¹⁹⁸ The correspondence rich in statistical materials and depicting networking of universities can be found in AUK, fond FF NU, Sign. K/a (Profesofí), Inv.č. 186-193, Kart. 9.

¹⁹⁹ See the writing to the faculties on the committee's activities and memorandum in UAG, PF, Z. 2302, 4.7.1907 (dated 3.7.1907) and invitation UAG, PF, Z. 2163, 13.6.1907 (dated 10.6.1907).

²⁰⁰ *Hohes Abgeordnetenhaus. Petition der Privatdozenten-Vertreter der österreichischen Hochschulen in Angelegenheit von Standesfragen*. Wien: Fischer, 1910.

²⁰¹ See the memorandum to the Ministry by *Assistenten und Konstrukteure der Hochschulen* (representatives of universities, technical academies and Academy for Agriculture in Vienna) in UAG, Z. 2324, 5.7.1907 (dated 10.7.1907).

²⁰² See Höflechner, Walter, *Die Österreichische Rektorenkonferenz 1911–1938, 1945–1969*. Wien: Verein zur Förderung der Rektorenkonferenz, 1993; Brocke, Bernhard vom, and Peter Krüger, *Hochschulpolitik im Föderalismus: die Protokolle der Hochschulkonferenzen der deutschen Bundesstaaten und Österreichs 1898 bis 1918*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994.

²⁰³ See for example Gürtler, *Deutsche Hochschulnot*.

²⁰⁴ Most important organisations of higher education teachers were: *Vereinigung deutscher Hochschullehrer*, *Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych* in Galicia, (*Český Ústřední spolek učitelů vysokoškolských* in Bohemia; matters of university education were primarily discussed in each journals, thus apart from germanophone ones in Galician *Muzeum...* (since 1885) and Czech *Věstník...* (from 1908).

Growing academic autonomy also included questions of habilitations, where the Ministry limited its involvement and mediated only in contentious issues between faculty and scholars striving for habilitation, or simply saw such questions as university matters. Similarly in questions of raises in rank, the Ministry delegated its responsibility to the respective faculties, retaining however the decisive voice. While in the 1850s several scholars applied directly to the Ministry (either to the minister directly or to the responsible *Sektionschef*) for appointment or raise in rank,²⁰⁵ later the Ministry sent such proposals back for consultation within the faculties, taking decisions on the recommendation of the university and not imposing its decisions. On a few occasions politicians intervened directly without consultations with the university; but universities protested (including in the press) against any limit on their independence guaranteed by law.²⁰⁶ Although the predominance of the Ministry is indubitable, the growing importance of civil society, the press and multiple political parties in parliament restrained active interventionism in the field of university policy.

The autonomy of universities also changed the appointment procedures, from being governed by the Ministry to being influenced and determined by it, but on the basis of documents from the faculties or additional expertise, although private contacts and audiences with the minister or *Sektionschef* were not unusual. With the exception of relocations from Cracow, L'viv and Pest after language changes, appointment of scholars not included in faculty proposals were a (mostly ideologically motivated) rarity; changes in the order of scholars in the *terna* were mostly linked with financial issues or appointments of scholars from abroad. With universities reclaiming their autonomy, the appointments in spite of the *terna* mostly led to conflicts and – as one of the ministers put it – to degradation of university prestige as well.²⁰⁷ Even in cases in which negotiations with all proposed scholars

²⁰⁵ Especially in the first years after 1848, but also e.g. Ludwik Gumplowicz addressed directly the Ministry on question of his promotion from associate to full professor in Graz.

²⁰⁶ See below on Ludwig Wahrmund, or the case of Carl Laker who accused the senate of Graz university of not promoting him despite long term affiliation as *Privatdozent*, leading to political discussion, which met with fierce answer from the university, reprinted also in the press (Der akademische Senat der k.k. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, "Erklärung des akademischen Senates der k.k. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz anlässlich der Interpellation des Reichsrathsabgeordneten Malik und Genossen, die Verzichtleistung des Dr. Laker auf die Dozentur betreffend." *Tagespost*, 11.4.1901, 2).

²⁰⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 65u, PA Creizenach, Z. 19335, 3.12.1882. Although the Ministry, basing on internal contacts with scholars, would prefer Jakob Minor from Graz for professor of German language and literature in Cracow, the Faculty proposed Frankfurt-born *Privatdozent* from Leipzig Wilhelm Creizenach. As shortly before Jan/Johann Mikulicz-Radecki was appointed to Cracow

failed, or proved unacceptable for some reason, the Ministry asked for a new *terna* rather than undertook the decision on its own.

Between 1861 and 1918, in 83% (418) of appointments at medical and philosophical faculties of German-language universities scholars proposed in the first *terna* were appointed,²⁰⁸ in 58% (295) of the cases those from the first place; in only 6% (29) of cases the minister appointed scholars included in a second proposal and in 11% (54) of cases, appointed scholars from outside the *terna* without the consultation with a faculty or deliberately against a faculty's recommendations. While the relation was high in the first years of the new Ministry – Karl Stremayr (17% appointments from outside the *terna*, 1870-1879) and his successor Paul Gautsch (14%, 1879-1893) – in the following years, the compliance of the Ministry with faculties' recommendations grew considerably, with the respective short-time minister in most cases in agreement with the university. This was followed by a low rate of *terna*-violation by Wilhelm von Hartel (7%, 1900-1905) and Max Hussarek (10%, 1911-1917). Clearly discernible here is also the different value ministers put on different subjects. While appointments in medicine, natural sciences and mathematics were made mostly in conformity with faculty proposals, the humanities display a continuance of the tradition of the political involvement that began with Thun. Most appointments from outside the *terna* were made in the subjects seen since 1848 as crucial in the process of controlling education: philosophy (55% of all decisions), history (20%) and classical philology (15%).

The new practice of ministry-university relations meant that the politics of appointments turned thus more toward participative politics, granting more influence to faculties and scholars. The realization of Exner's *Entwurf* went even further than initially proposed, as the highest officials in the Ministry – *Sektionschefs* – were appointed from the universities, with the best known being Johann Kelle or Karl Rokitsky. The Ministry was also successively supported by deputies from the Galician universities (Ludwik Ćwikliński or Edward Rittner, both later ministers) or Czech-speaking scholars (Josef and Hermenegild Jireček, Antonín Rezek). This institutionalized consultation agency in university matters, making them primarily

against the wishes of the Faculty, minister Eybesfeld decided to accept the proposal.

²⁰⁸ My own calculation on the basis of 501 known appointments for medical and philosophical faculties in Graz, Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague (without the Czech University), including archival materials on Chernivtsi University held by the State Archives in Vienna.

responsible for conducting the appointment procedures in the Ministry – although the division of labor and the influence of single persons on the final proposal are hard to determine. Both correspondence and private meetings could have been directed through or held by one of the *Sektionschefs* or the minister himself, speeding up the appointment procedures and clarifying the contents; but the records of such meetings were not preserved, unless put on paper in letters, articles or memoirs.

With the abandonment of the *Vormärz* practices of concurs, appointment procedures usually took several months, with several steps between the outline of the commission and Franz Joseph's signature. Still, for several years after 1848, faculties turned to concurs in order to prepare proposals, suggesting also that in this way lesser-known scholars would also have an opportunity, while relying on faculty information reduced their chances.²⁰⁹ In later years, however, this practice was completely abandoned, and finally in 1875 minister Gautsch explicitly forbade holding concurs for the chair of geography in L'viv, and requested that the regulations on faculty proposals be followed, emphasizing however faculty autonomy in the question of the way they chose scholars for the *terna*.²¹⁰

In the first place the faculty – in which the full professors were always to have an absolute majority and *Privatdozenten* were represented by two scholars – chose their representatives to form a commission, which was to prepare the proposal. A faculty commission included as a rule three full professors of the discipline in question and/or neighboring disciplines, thus from the beginning directing the process in a particular disciplinary direction. Although this method narrowed the choices, confining them to scholars known to the commission members, faculties strove to ensure the variety in the proposal, in the first place through the advertisement of new positions in the press and through its own personal networks. In many cases, as soon as a position was made public – or even as soon as information of the death of a chair holder was communicated – scholars directed letters to the faculty proposing themselves or their students for positions.²¹¹ Once the commission prepared a

²⁰⁹ See, for example, procedures of finding professor for midwifery 1852 in Prague (ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Kiwisch, Z. 6683/546, 28.7.1852), or surgery in 1859 in at the Medical-Surgical Study in Innsbruck (ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1001, PA Joseph Fischer, Z. 14179/519, 17.9.1859).

²¹⁰ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 120u, PA Rehmann, Z. 187, 15.9.1882. Documents referred to were, Z. 319, 18.3.1875 (proposal of the Faculty to hold a contest), and Z. 5048, 17.9.1875 (rejection by the Ministry).

²¹¹ See for example letters concerning surgery in Innsbruck in 1903, UAI, MF, 7.3.1903 (private letter of August Jaksch-Wartenhorst to (probably) Moritz Löwith, proposing Hermann Schloffer for the

proposal, the faculty voted on its contents, although not in legally regulated ways, enabling different final proposals. In crucial cases experts were asked for their opinion, which normally included professors from Vienna, or Habsburg scholars teaching in the German Empire. In particular, smaller universities resorted to these means, not only because they generally lacked specialists who could rightly judge the abilities of contestants, but also as symbolic support for their own candidates.²¹²

The final votes within the faculty were either on proposals as such, or – although only in few cases – on each of the proposed scholars, thus altering the shape of the proposal. A majority vote or possibly a minority vote (*Minoritätsvotum*) could include completely different scholars, or the same scholars in different order; in one case, a scholar proposed *primo loco* was even proposed by the minority to be the only scholar in the proposal (a so called *unico loco* proposal).²¹³ Every professor – from within or outside the commission – could also propose his own *votum separatum*, which was to be forwarded by the dean as well to the Ministry with his comments on the division of the votes in the faculty. Deans had also the freedom to include their own opinions, although rarely used, and if so then it was presented in the form of recommendation.²¹⁴ Before reaching the minister, the provincial government also weighed in on the proposal, in most cases simply by forwarding it with additional reports on the moral behavior of the candidates or – in the case of Galicia – providing decisive judgments. In some cases for the germanophone universities, especially if the chair was linked with a function in which the provincial government was included –

chair); 9.6.1903, ad 24130, med 856 1902/1903 (private letter of Anton Wölfler, similarly proposing Schloffer). In contrast to cases in which the Faculty directly asked for opinion on the scholars proposed for a given subject, Jaksch and Wölfler wrote without such request, but enclosed their suggestions as private letters directed to individual scholars, in the case of Jaksch not members of the commission (see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1003, PA Schloffer, Z. 32351, 7.10.1903; UAI, med 856 1903/1904); see also appointment procedures for botany in Innsbruck: UAI, PF, Z. 249 (letters of Julius Wiesner, Heinrich Moritz Wilkomm) and Z. 264, 29.3.1888/1889, in which Otto Stapf, at the time *Privatdozent* in Vienna, proposes himself as adequate candidate.

²¹² See for example AUI, Berufung Zoologie, 4/ Carl Heider 1893/94 (Z. Ph. 386, 16.4.1894, request was sent to full professors Carl Claus in Vienna, Berthold Hatschek in Prague, Ernst Ehlers in Göttingen, and Franz Eilhard Schulze in Berlin). This practice took also place in several other appointment procedures in Innsbruck.

²¹³ See the appointment of Franz Meyer, in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 601, PA Meyer, Z. 32921, 22.9.1904.

²¹⁴ See though PA Durig, where the dean provided his own, very unfavorable opinion on the *primo loco* proposed scholar; in Prague the dean recommended Max Grünert for the chair of Semitic languages (AUK, FF NU, Inv.č. 227, K/XIVb, Kart. 11, Obsazování mimoradných profesur: a) pro německou filologii (Jacob Minor, Hans Lambel, dr. Seuffert), b) pro ang. Filologii (Alois Brandl) – společný spis, 29.12.1885)

mostly in medicine, e.g. direction of the psychiatric hospital – the opinion of the governor on the proposed appointment was also included. The provincial government thus influenced such different appointments as that of Fritz Hartmann for professor of psychiatry in Graz²¹⁵ or the establishment of a chair for history and theory of music in Prague with a concomitant appointment of August Wilhelm Ambros for associate professor, arguing for the need for supervision of holdings of the Prague Conservatory.²¹⁶ Direct influence on appointments, however, was exerted fully only in the case of Galician universities. The double function of professors as academic and provincial officials could also be detrimental – Ludwig Kleinwächter's conflict with the provincial government, the consequence of a scandal – probably with clerical involvement – over the *Tyrol Provincial Birth and Foundlings Institute* (Tiroler Landes Gebär- und Findelanstalt) in Innsbruck, caused his dismissal from the university.²¹⁷ Disciplinary procedures resulted in Kleinwächter not being taken into consideration during future appointments at other universities.²¹⁸ The provincial government, however, acted not only through its role as assessor between university and Ministry, but directly by influencing the appointment procedures within the faculties. In Innsbruck, for example, the conservative-Catholic politicians strived to influence the faculty to promote scholars of their liking, achieving, among others, the appointments of historians Josef Hirn and Ludwig Pastor.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Privatdozent in Graz, who was proposed *secundo loco* and *ex aequo*. See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 883, PA Fritz Hartmann, Z. 35079, 4.9.1907.

²¹⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1128, PA Ambros, Z. 8252, 2.9.1869. Similar chair was established in 1861 in Vienna (chair holder Eduard Hanslick), the writing in favor of Ambros was accompanied with several letters of support from music scholars across Europe.

²¹⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Stark, 3.12.1880, Z. 4131, 19.11.1880, Z. 5739; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1001, PA Kleinwächter, Z. 14759, 13.9.1882. Church involvement, although without specification, was mentioned in most obituaries and subsequent encyclopedic articles. Kleinwächter was a pro-choice practitioner and a known theoretician of abortion, what could have resulted in a conflict with the Catholic authorities in Tyrol, although no records have been found in the press from this period. At the very same time the discussion over the shape and functions of the Innsbruck institute took place, involving questions of a new building and relations of the institute with similar, but juridically predominant, institute in Alle Laste near Trient/Trento – including also allocation of medical cases and cadavers, without binding agreements, that is with continuing subordination of the Innsbruck institute (see *Stenographische Berichte des Landtages für die gefürstete Grafschaft Tirol der V. Landtagsperiode*, Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, for the years 1880 and 1881). Similar conflict over the competence division was mentioned also by Otto Franqué as main reasons for his leaving Prague in 1907, NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 2, fasc. 95, Z. 30072, undated.

²¹⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1121, PA Bandl, Z. 16454, 1.10.1886, ern. 18.9.1886, ern. 22.9.1886.

²¹⁹ Schober, Richard, *Theodor Freiherr von Kathrein (1842-1916), Landeshauptmann von Tirol. Briefe und Dokumente zur katholisch-konservativen Politik um die Jahrhundertwende*. Innsbruck: Wagner 1992; on a similar influence of Vorarlberg governor Adolf Rhomberg see Niederstätter, Alois, "Feuerstein ist nach wie vor bei den Veilchenblauen. Die Briefe von Richard Wollek an den

Most proposals were prepared with knowledge of scholars' willingness to join the faculty and with brief clarification of the financial issues and facilities, accompanied in some cases by nominees' visits to the university in order to judge the condition of the institutes. These demands, including, for example, renovation plans and costs or proposed expenses for the necessary literature acquisition, were forwarded with the *terna*, and in the Ministry direct negotiations were conducted with the proposed scholars and also with the Ministry of Finance, requiring a careful financial balancing act. The inclusion of the Ministry of Finance into the decision-making process was not merely symbolic, however, but allowed its direct influence through the rejection of candidates. The list of foreign scholars not appointed for financial reasons is quite long and includes well qualified candidates, such as embryologist Édouard van Beneden, historian of the German language Matthias Lexer, astronomer Johannes Hartmann, ophthalmologist Otto Becker, physicist Czesław Białobrzewski or chemist Friedrich Kekulé, who was foreseen as a candidate for a full professorship in Vienna 1870.²²⁰ In these cases the Ministry preferred younger Habsburg scholars, even if the faculties opposed them as detrimental to the quality of the faculty. The Ministry of Finance could also influence whether a scholar would be granted an associate or full professorship. The complications on this issue are visible in the appointment of Rudolf Brotanek for associate professor of English philology at the German University in Prague. While the Faculty proposed Max Förster from Würzburg and Hans Weyhe from Bryn Mawr Woman's College (United States) as the top candidates, the Ministry decided for the third place Brotanek, because "the [...] foreigners would with high likelihood expect instant appointment for full professor; however as highlighted in the subservient submission respective [Alois] Pogatscher's appointment to Graz,²²¹ the refilling of the vacant chair for

Vorarlberger Landeshauptmann Adolf Rhomberg (1897/98)." *Alemannia Studens. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Vorarlberger Bildungs- und Studenten-Geschichte* 2 (Regensburg) (1992): 13-64.

²²⁰ On Beneden, proposed *primo et unico loco*, see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1129, PA Hatschek, Z. 10408, 27.6.1885; on other scholars (all were proposed *primo loco*), see: on Lexer: ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 897; PA Hentzel, Z. 5695, 9.7.1868; on Hartmann: ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 641, PA Oppenheim Z. 20193, 26.5.1911; on Becker: ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Sattler, Z. 1026, 26.2.1886; on Białobrzewski: AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 393u, Z. 55310, 29.11.1913, for the proposals of the Faculty see Z. 936, 10.7.1913; Z. 78, 10.11.1913; Z. 703, 28.3.1914; Z. 1242, 22.7.1914; the rejection of appointment by the Ministry of Finance Z. 25923, 6.4.1914; Z.42691/14, 4.6.1915; on Kekulé: ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 664, PA Franz Schneider, Z. 6978, 3.8.1870, Friedrich Rochleder from Prague, who was not named in the *terna*, was finally appointed for the position.

²²¹ Pogatscher was appointed full professor. PA Pogatscher, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 900, PA Pogatscher, Z. 39641, 28.9.1908.

English philology only an associate professor should be appointed, due to the necessary savings from the appointment of [Karl] Luick to Vienna,²²² on which the minister of finance made dependent at that time the second full professorship at the Vienna University.”²²³ Although direct exchange of information between the two ministries is hardly visible to historian’s eyes, most often hidden behind ominous formulations such as ‘mit Einvernehmen’ (in agreement) and ‘im kurzen Wege’ (meaning brief, internal communication), financial reasons were the most often cited cause for not following of the order of the faculty’s proposal.

The relationship between universities and the Ministry was for a time so unbalanced that the faculties slowly ceased proposing a *terna* in every case and began issuing so-called *unico loco* (i.e. single candidate) proposals, thus deciding for themselves who should be appointed. Indicative of power relations is the fact that between 1870 and 1909, out of 40 *unico loco* propositions,²²⁴ all but four led to appointment. Finally, in 1909, the overuse of this practice led to a conflict between the Medical Faculty of the German University in Prague and the Ministry. The Faculty proposed Ernst Gaupp from Freiburg for the vacant chair of anatomy, supporting the *unico loco* proposal by the fact that the Medical Faculty in Vienna could not find any adequate young anatomist in the Monarchy for the same chair in the previous year and included only Ferdinand Hochstetter from Innsbruck in the proposal. Thus it could not be expected that the Bohemian Faculty, of the same scholarly standing, would find someone else of the same quality in the monarchy.²²⁵ The Ministry answered swiftly, stating that this proposal would not be accepted, as the Viennese Faculty had decided to propose Hochstetter *unico loco* not because of the lack of other qualified candidates in the Monarchy, but because the Innsbruck anatomist was so important for them, that “they considered it unnecessary to propose other candidates.”²²⁶ The Faculty swiftly responded stating that “the German Medical Faculty in Prague considers the *unico loco* proposed Professor Dr. Ernst Gaupp “to be so competent to take over the vacant chair that the naming of other candidates is considered unnecessary,”²²⁷ and stated that the request to include Habsburg scholars

²²² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 639, PA Luick, Z. 86442, 14.4.1908.

²²³ NA, MVK/R, fasc. 112, PA Brotanek, Z. 1023, 11.1.1909.

²²⁴ In Innsbruck, Vienna, Graz and German University in Prague.

²²⁵ AUK, MF NU, Kart. 2, PA Grosser, Z.1038, 31.3.1909.

²²⁶ AUK, MF NU, Kart. 2, PA Glosser, Z. 21354, 31.5.1909.

²²⁷ AUK, MF NU, Kart. 2, PA Grosser, 8.6.1909.

into the proposal was binding only if they had the same qualifications, what was not the case here. The final decision, however, was taken in the Ministry, which appointed Otto Grosser, associate professor from Vienna, for the chair.²²⁸

In most cases though, in controversial situations the Ministry corresponded with the faculty and either asked for a new proposal – accompanied with comment on why the appointment of a scholar from within the previous *terna* could not be realized – or asked the faculty to vote on the inclusion of other scholars in the proposal.²²⁹

There were also a number of private persons, networks and institutions that might influence appointments in various ways. Chairs connected with other institutions were especially crucial. This was the case for meteorology in Vienna, since the chair was linked with the directorship of the *Central Bureau of Meteorology and Terrestrial Magnetism*, where the Viennese Academy of Sciences asserted its rights and, for example, recommended Wilhelm Trabert from Innsbruck (already *unico loco* in faculty proposal) for this position in 1909 and in 1916 supported as his successor Felix Exner from Innsbruck, ranked first in the faculty *terna*, proposing him *unico loco*.²³⁰

The final step in the appointment process remained the privilege of Emperor Franz Joseph, who took advantage of his legal right to refuse his signature in few cases only. In most such cases the Emperor asked for all the documents needed and granted his signature afterwards. Two cases of the Emperor not signing the minister's proposal took place in 1872, following the appointment of German-liberal minister Karl Stremayr. In 1872, the Emperor refused the appointment of historian Wilhelm Wattenbach, who was proposed for the chair of history in Vienna. Although only a short sentence "I do not grant a petition for the appointment of professor Wattenbach"²³¹ was written, one can speculate that this rejection could have something to do with Wattenbach having proved in 1856 that *Privilegium Maius*, the legal basis of the Austrian Archduchy from the 14th to the beginning of 19th century,

²²⁸ AUK, MF NU, Kart. 2, PA Grosser, Z. 34041, 13.8.1909 (date of appointment: 11.8.1909).

²²⁹ See for example ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 633, PA Arnim, Z. 35973, 11.12.1899; Z. 657, 17.1.1900. Franz Arnim was at the time full professor of Greek philology in Rostock, first *terna* of the Vienna Faculty, consisting of only Austrian scholars, was rejected due to personal reasons; Arnim, proposed by the Ministry, was included in the second *terna* with 31:4 votes.

²³⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 645, PA Trabert, Z. 39635, 18.11.1909; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 635, PA Felix Exner, Z. 37893, 26.11.1916.

²³¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 634, PA Büdinger, Z. 3698, 20.6.1872, Emperor's annotation from 9.8.1872.

was a fabrication. But Wattenbach's citizenship/nationality could also have been the problem. In the very same year Franz Joseph instructed the minister how to prepare proposals and which factors should be taken into account: "In the first place it is to be discussed in the proposition, whether for this chair no Austrians could be proposed, as the number of professors appointed from Prussia [in this case the Prussia-led German Empire, as the proposed scholars were from Rostock, Göttingen and Leipzig – J.S.] rises at a remarkable rate."²³²

In these changing relations between university and politics, the critical issue was actually not career advancement within academia, but rather the conditions of entry into it, regulated by the laws on habilitation. It is striking that the competition within the faculty was certainly fierce, but career advancement (including change of university) was rather a question of mediation, although certain factors like confession impeded it. In contrast, a rejection of habilitation was seen as a denial of a scholar's scientific competence and thus of any possibility for a university career. Thus, reactions to such denials were often very emotional. Physical chemist Rudolf Dittmar's rejected habilitation in 1913 led to fierce confrontation in the press, with several lawsuits regarding defamation (*Ehrenbeleidigung*) filed by the dean and several professors.²³³ Physicist Władysław Natanson seriously considered ending his professional career after rejection in Graz.²³⁴ In Prague, after the rejection of habilitation of Justin Prášek, his mentor Jan Kvičala published a brochure of 51 pages in defense of the young scholar.²³⁵ In problematic cases, rejection could be contested with appeals to the faculty or directly to the Ministry, or even by trying his luck at a different university, although this was rare. In the appeal procedures both sides often turned to expert assessment – in the case of Dittmar Carl Harries, Wolfgang Ostwald or Jean Billiter, among others, were asked for their opinion, either by the young scholar or the Faculty.²³⁶

As the Ministry regarded the habilitation procedure as increasingly an issue for the universities, and did not often react to appeals filed, habilitations remained

²³² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 901, PA Franz Schulze, Z. 6945, 22.?.1872, Emperor's annotation from 20.6.1872.

²³³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 896, PA Dittmar.

²³⁴ See letter of Natanson to Gumpłowicz from 16.2.1889, Collection of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow, sign. 9007 III, vol. 6, fol. 220-222.

²³⁵ The German version, entitled *Private und vertrauliche Denkschrift*, was sent to the Ministry; see NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 116, PA Prasek.

²³⁶ UAG, PF, Z. 1772 ex. 1912/13, 14.6.1913.

problematically linked to the support of full professors. A ‘strong tie’ in the student-teacher relationship was thus a prerequisite for habilitation, especially since the social capital within the faculty was mostly concentrated in few hands, as Pavel Kolář demonstrated in the case of the historical disciplines.²³⁷ Nonetheless, habilitation was a process involving all professors in the faculty – at first through the commission and then in the exam and public lecture. Thus, ‘weak ties’ to them or rather the absence of ‘negative ties’²³⁸ with other scholars, to retain the terminology of network theory, was substantial. The habilitation of Natanson was, for example, supported by Ludwig Boltzmann, and given Boltzmann’s uncertain health as well as his possible move to München, the young physicist corresponded with Ludwik Gumpłowicz to choose the best moment for filing the papers. Natanson (and Gumpłowicz) blamed Natanson’s failure on Heinrich Streintz and, given Natanson’s Polish-Jewish background, on ideological issues and competition. According to the records, however, the cause was Natanson’s failure to answer a question asked by Streintz on Kelvin’s theory of Vortex-motion (*Wirbelbewegung*), one of the topics covered by lectures Natanson proposed for the next semester.²³⁹

In this regard, professors, especially the chairs of seminars and clinics, who controlled the resources a *Privatdozent* would need in his teaching, were in a privileged position. Conflict with the head of institute for physiology Hermann Widerhofer in Vienna caused the *Privatdozentur* of Leopold Unger to be terminated for an article he authored on the misery of *Privatdozenten* in Vienna, which provoked a harsh reaction from Widerhofer who was criticized in the piece. Even though the majority of the Faculty stood behind the young scholar, Widerhofer achieved the dismissal of Unger. The young physiologist continued his career, however, habilitating once more as soon as Widerhofer retired in 1901.²⁴⁰ Heads of institutes were also legally allowed to refuse the *Privatdozent* the use of teaching aids, thus ending his career: a letter concerning such permission was to be enclosed in every

²³⁷ Kolář, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Zentraleuropa*; for examples of such practices see Teske, Armin, Marian Smoluchowski. *Leben und Werk*. Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAN, 1977 [1955], esp. 118 and Klebesberg, Rudolf, *Innsbrucker Erinnerungen 1902-1952*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1953, 14-19.

²³⁸ Granovetter, Mark "The Strength of Weak Ties; A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201-233; for an interesting use of negative ties, term which is rather seldom used in the network theory, see Bonacich, Phillip, and Paulette Lloyd, "Calculating status with negative relations." *Social Networks* 26, no. 4 (2004): 331-338.

²³⁹ See below; Protocol of the exam UAG, PF, Z. 205, ??1888.

²⁴⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 606, PA Leopold Unger.

habilitation procedure. Although there is no noted case of such a refusal, this certainly supported the trend of habilitation with one's own teacher, as other professors might oppose the younger competitors' access to materials, instruments and research aids they had gathered, especially if they had their own assistants striving for a career as well. In one case, the withdrawal of the right to use the institute's facilities led to the exclusion of a scholar from the university, as archeologist Arthur Mahler was forbidden to use the facilities in the institute of Wilhelm Klein in Prague. Those had, as the rector wrote,

to do neither with the person, nor with the scientific or teaching activity of the named person. Those are rather reasons, which are due to special²⁴¹ conditions of the Prague University, and which have been hard or impossible to eliminate. Mr. professor Klein saw it as his duty to take care, that potential dissents of students over the question whether a docent of a non-German nationality is acceptable or unacceptable at the German University in Prague, are not carried out in presence of his precious collections.²⁴²

Mahler, who appeared to strive afterwards for a habilitation in Chernivtsi, later ceased his academic career and moved into politics as a representative of the Jewish National Party (*Jüdische Nationale Partei*).

Most of the habilitation records are very short and formal, referring to legal paragraphs in cases of rejection – mostly due to the low level of scientific publications and the lack of the suitability of the proponent for teaching. Seldom are reasons more thoroughly explained, for example in the case of Tyrolean inventor Anton Nagy, whose paper on the therapeutic use of a combustion turbine and his wording in the documents (all kept very much in the style of a kind of applied *Kraftlehre*) moved the referents to conclude that the applicant was not a “mentally normal person.”²⁴³ In most cases though, a dry style prevails in documents sent to the Ministry; this points to another feature of the habilitations system, which was its gradual professionalization and (linked with this) personal connections. Proponents for habilitation were seldom unknown at the university, being in most cases already

²⁴¹ At first “general conditions”, general has been crossed out and replaced by special.

²⁴² AUK, FF NU, Inv.č. 249, fasz. 12, L/53 PA Mahler. Letter from the rector of German Prague University as answer to question for the University of Chernivtsi (Czernowitz 14.1.1908. Z.455) concerning possibility of transfer of Mahler's *venia*, Prag, 24.2.1908.

²⁴³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1002, PA Nagy, Z. 4094, 2.2.1916.

active within its walls as assistants or demonstrators.²⁴⁴ Quite common also were cases of students moving with their teachers, including also, although to a lesser extent, the *Privatdozenten*. To name only a few examples: Hermann Schloffer, whom Wölfler, professor at the German University in Prague, described in private writings to Innsbruck as his most apt student, moved with him from Graz to Prague as an assistant. Felix Sieglbauer moved with Karl Raab from Vienna to Prague; Carl Ipsen followed Julius Kratter from Innsbruck to Graz; Julius Sachs came with Jan Evangelista Purkyně from Breslau/Wrocław to Prague; Karel Maydl moved to Innsbruck and later to Vienna to serve as assistant to Eduard Albert. In the case of Galicia²⁴⁵ or Bohemia, the search for assistants was in many cases already a search for a successor, including support in gaining international and national scholarship and necessary contacts; the primary selection was made already while choosing and promoting graduate students.²⁴⁶ On the other hand, especially at the Medical Faculty, many *Privatdozenten* moved after graduation, predominantly from the capital city to smaller universities, often then entering assistant positions. Scholars, who were outsiders, clearly had less chance of entering academia; after the initial phase in the 1850s, transitions between positions in long-term non-university-bound professions (including gymnasia teachers) and the university are more than scarce, with scholarly ability evidenced in specialized publications gaining weight over teaching abilities.²⁴⁷

The professionalization of academia can be seen also in the fact that habilitation was acquired rather swiftly after graduation – after 5.8 years with an average age of 30 in the Philosophical Faculty and after 8.7 years with an average age of 33 in the Medical Faculty. However, scholars who habilitated up to the average age (inclusive), needed two and a half years less in both faculties to get promoted. Those over this age needed three years more, although after around the ages of 35 and 38

²⁴⁴ See in this regard unsorted material highlighting the positions of assistance of university scholars in Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School*.

²⁴⁵ For example the anthropologist Izidor Kopernicki promoted young physician Julian Talko-Hryncewicz for his successor, helping him to establish contacts and gain financing. See Ćwirko-Godycki, Michał, *Izidor Kopernicki, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Prace Komisji Lekarskiej. Tom VI. Zeszyt 2*. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1948, esp. 192-194. See also on social dimension of elites reproduction Buszko, *Společno-polityczne oblicze*.

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Suk, Jiří, "Studie o počátcích Gollový školy." *AUC - Philosophica et Historica* 3, no. 39 (1993): 147-169.

²⁴⁷ In 1884, for example, the commission proposing the appointment of Karl Glaser for chair of Sanskrit in L'viv, pointed out that since a few years the teachers who previously did not hold university positions cannot be directly appointed full professors, but only associated ones. DALO, 26/7/269, p. 18, 3.3.1884.

respectively, the time passed since habilitation was considerably higher, thus distorting the statistics. With around 10% of habilitations being concluded after the age of 40, when a long time had passed since graduation, a question arises as to the motivation of such steps. Although some older *Privatdozenten* succeeded in getting professorships, like urologist Leopold Dittel, classical philologist Richard Kukula (42), literature historian Józef Tretiak (46) or physicist Karl Exner (50), most remained in the function of *Privatdozent*; the belated career start can also be seen as rather improbable. However, being a *Privatdozent* (or carrying any title of *Dozent*) was, especially for physicians and jurists, financially profitable, and discussion of whether such titles were acquired (or just used without formal habilitation) for prestige purposes was carried out several times.²⁴⁸ A high percentage of exponents of practical disciplines (ophthalmology, surgery, balneology) remained in an academic career only as *Privatdozenten* of the medical faculties, together with high percentage of non-professionals in these disciplines, which suggests they probably had private practices.²⁴⁹ This points in the direction of the habilitation being not merely a scientific act, but also a tool for the betterment of one's social position through the symbolic validation of one's own qualities. However, because the title was rescinded if a given scholar was not active in teaching (though it was not necessary to teach every semester), most *Privatdozenten* remained in their position, especially in the capital, thus aggravating the image of an overcrowded first step on the career ladder.

The distinction between professional scholars and those who are not oriented toward the 'classic' academic career, and the division between scholars who swiftly climbed the career ladder and those who entered it later, relates to another question, which is the precarity during the time between graduation and habilitation.²⁵⁰ With the gradual change in the social profile of scholars from the aristocracy to middle-classes,²⁵¹ limits on assistant positions – a maximum of four years at the same

²⁴⁸ See e.g. *Hohes Abgeordnetenhaus. Petition der Privatdozenten-Vertreter*.

²⁴⁹ In Vienna in 1910 40% of *Privatdozenten* did not have professional occupation named in the lection catalogues (mostly in practical specialties), 20% were chiefs of clinics, 15% were assistants, and slightly less were chief physicians.

²⁵⁰ See a very interesting analysis of scholars (predominantly historians) in Galicia in Ciara, Stefan, "Finanzielle Probleme galizischer Wissenschaftler um die Wende des 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert." *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatarchivs* 53 (2009): 313-333.

²⁵¹ Although no throughout analysis has been carried out here, the mere fact of fewer and fewer scholars having the title of nobility while habilitating, with most scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century being sons of state officials of lower ranks, only in seldom cases countrymen, points in the direction.

position,²⁵² and, at least at some universities, a ban on assistants' marrying – and the number of scholarships constantly criticized to be insufficient, an interesting question would be the influence of financial resources on the timing of habilitation.²⁵³ In other words, the question is whether the transition from private scholar to *Privatdozent* is the situation of entry, or whether entrance into the system of assistantship and foreign scholarship should be seen as such,²⁵⁴ with habilitation being – with few exceptions – rather a certification, which the surprisingly low number of habilitations rejected once the process was started points to. With the exception of Franz Torggler in Innsbruck, rejected petitioners for habilitation were previously not appointed as assistants; Torggler, who was suspected of pursuing habilitation only to open private clinics, was habilitated in 1890, two years after the first rejection.²⁵⁵

Returning to the factors facilitating the academic careers of *Privatdozenten*, their function as a reservoir of scholars was reminiscent of the idea of 'Pflanzschule' prior to 1848. This was however not only seen as promoting scientific traditions, but also as vital to sustaining the function of this academic personal. For example, the Philosophical Faculty of L'viv university wrote considering proposed appointments for a chair of history after Ksawery Liske, that "[i]t is in the interest of the university to support and utilize young forces from its own body, as far as they distinguish themselves through talent and productivity."²⁵⁶ Similarly, during the appointment process for the chair of medical chemistry at the University of Graz, Karl Hofmann, *Privatdozent* in Vienna, was preferred by the Ministry to the more highly esteemed Ernst Salkowski, assistant of Virchow in Berlin, because the appointment of the young Austrian, Hofmann, would "have the most beneficial and animating impression for the *Privatdozenten* in Austria."²⁵⁷

²⁵² Studien-Hofcommissions-Decret vom 20. September 1811, Z. 1641, reprinted in Schweickhardt, Friedrich, *Sammlung der für die österreichischen Universitäten giltigen Gesetze und Verordnungen. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage*. Wien: k.k. Schulbuchverlag in Commission bei Manz'schen k.k. Hofverlags- und Universitäts- Buchhandlung, 1885, 162-164, here 163-164 (point no. 5 and Schweickhardt's commentary).

²⁵³ See especially Bourdieu, Pierre, *Homo academicus*. Translated by Bernd Schwibs. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988.

²⁵⁴ To my knowledge, the issue of pre-habilitation scholars has been not researched in detail, although the Czech and Polish bibliographical works on respective faculties as well as (most) disciplinary presentations of Graz and Innsbruck faculties, include information on assistants, considering them the first academic position.

²⁵⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1003, PA Torggler.

²⁵⁶ DALO, 26/7/327, B. 52, 24.7.1891.

²⁵⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1013, PA Karl Hofmann, Z. 10534, 16.8.1873.

The medical faculties were especially torn between support of local scholars and external candidates, as the Habsburg medical institutions both had strong local traditions and strived for the best possible scholars, and also had to convince the Ministry, for which tradition and finances were valued higher than innovation.²⁵⁸ At the Viennese Medical Faculty, for example, from around 90 full professors 1848-1918, one-third spent their academic careers exclusively in the Habsburg capital and one-third were educated in Vienna and appointed back from another university, with a high number of Viennese scholars at other germanophone universities as well. Holding to Habsburg tradition was not achieved without conflict, due to the dominance of a few disciplines which went hand in hand with a lack of specialization in others, although the Medical Faculty was, with few exceptions, among the German-language institutions with the most advanced specialization.²⁵⁹ One sees this most prominently in pediatric medicine, where, in the second half of the 1880s, chairs in Prague and Graz were filled with Habsburg internal physicians, instead of appointments of specialists whom the monarchy lacked at the time.²⁶⁰ Prominent pediatrician Hermann Widerhofer protested against this measure, mentioning that pediatrics was an established and specialized discipline, and appointments of inexperienced general physicians caused bafflement and “harms the scientific dignity” of specialized doctors.²⁶¹ Similarly, in Vienna in the question of the appointment for the first clinic of internal medicine in 1882, the *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* raised the alarm against rumored complications with the appointment of Jena internist Hermann Nothnagel, instead of whom a Habsburg scholar was to be appointed, asking rhetorically whether Austria was once more at war with Germany.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ See for example the explanations of Edmund Neusser for the appointment of Adolf Strümpell from Leipzig in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 606, PA Strümpell, Z. 3913, 19.2.1909. (e.g. “The circumstances, that as in the case of the reoccupation of Nothnagel’s chair when Noorden from Frankfurt was appointed, also here once more a foreigner is considered, cannot be held as an unfavorable sign for the development of the offspring of the Vienna Medical Faculty, because it is only an incidental moment, caused by various concomitant circumstances, than none of the internists coming from within the Faculty developed such outstanding importance and qualities, which would make them predestinated candidates for a clinical chair in Vienna.”)

²⁵⁹ Eulner, Hans-Heinz, *Die Entwicklung der medizinischen Spezialfächer an den Universitäten des deutschen Sprachgebietes*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1970.

²⁶⁰ Prior to 1880 there were nine habilitation for pediatric medicine. With exception of Johann Steiner (Prague, *Privatdozent* 1862, associate professor 1866), Leon Jakubowski (Cracow, *Privatdozent* 1864, associate professor 1873, full professor 1895) and Karl Anton Zini in Graz (*Privatdozent* 1876, associate professor 1880), those scholars made no further career at the universities. On the other hand most scholars habilitated in this subject after 1880 achieved professorial positions.

²⁶¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 607, PA Widerhofer, 25.4.1887.

²⁶² “Zur Besetzungsfrage der medizinischen Klinik.” *WMW* 26 (1882): 800-801, here 801.

One can only speculate to what extent the accentuation of locality and nationality influenced appointments – there is hardly an objective measurement for the quality of scholars under consideration – but there is a certain growth in the use of words like tradition, continuation and student. This allows one to speak, especially with respect to the Ministry, of a strategy that promotes local scholars or – with the same idea of local betterment – of scholars who could help to establish a new subject. It is also worth mentioning that in cases of rivalries – Germany-Austria, (Polish)Galicia-Austria, Czechs-‘Germans’ – universities and political institutions gradually rejected the importance of exchange and underscored the importance of support for young scholars who were socialized at universities of a respective state or nationality, thus making a kind of scientific autarchy a declared aim. The addition of legal issues of citizenship and national matters created a kind of hierarchy of foreignness. While for the Austrian universities this was, in descending order, ‘Austrian’-Cisleithanian-Habsburg-‘germanophone’-others, in Galicia the top positions were reserved for Polish-speaking Galicians and (Austrian-)Silesians, then polonophone scholars from Russia and Prussia, Slavs and as a final resort, germanophone Austrians. The continuation of this distinction was supported by the accentuation of nationality or mother tongue by scholars coming from multinational regions, especially Bohemia, Moravia, or Galicia, and more seldom Transylvania and Carniola, who often included it in their curriculum vitae, often adding information on confession as well.

Not only habilitation proposals included self-definitions of the petitioners, but in the appointment process the mother tongue (as an indication of nationality) was considered a more important criterion than citizenship. This was true not only in the cases of Galicia and Bohemia, but also at germanophone universities with regard to scholars from Transleithania, as the Hungarian part of the monarchy had separate citizenship from 1867. Although no formal rules for scholars born in ‘Greater Hungary’ were adopted, treatment of forensic doctor Karl Ipsen (an exception to the citizenship rules and promoted as a native Habsburg although not in the faculty proposal),²⁶³ astronomer Karl Weineck / Weinek László (promoted as an “Austrian

²⁶³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1013, PA Ipsen, Z.12865, 18.6.1894; fasc. 1001, PA Ipsen, Z. 10128, 13.5.1896.

citizen [...] even though of the other part of the Monarchy”)²⁶⁴ or physiologist Ferenc/Franz Tangl (proposed with a high salary as a Habsburg native),²⁶⁵ clearly denoted the difference between two levels of citizenship. Nevertheless, most scholars born in Greater Hungary and working at Cisleithanian universities in fact had Austrian citizenship; children of civil servants serving across the monarchy were accredited (*zuständig*) to their fathers’ municipality and thus held Austrian citizenship.²⁶⁶ While the support of national/state cohesion was strong, the question of support of regional scholars was much less pronounced; in a few cases linguistic capabilities were mentioned as a qualification for clinical subjects or knowledge of the local environment in the subjects related to the biosciences and geosciences. The main points of reference for collective identity in habilitations and appointments remained linguistic affiliation and/or state boundaries, with confession seldom named in the records.

While restricting itself to affirmation of habilitations and avoiding direct involvement in the procedures taking place in the faculties, the Ministry retained the right to decide in cases of contentious denotations of disciplines/areas in which habilitation was awarded. Especially from 1888 the rules were very imprecise, leaving the question of demarcation between a field and its part open. For example, Paul Gustav’s habilitation for “public medical service with inclusion of knowledge of inoculation” (*Öffentliches Sanitätswesen mit Einschluss der Impfkunde*) was rejected by the Faculty as too narrow specialty. While the Faculty proposed him for a position as reader, the Ministry decided that this disciplinary denomination was correct and would be accepted as habilitation specialty.²⁶⁷ In 1888, Aleksander Zalewski applied in Cracow for habilitation in morphology and biology of thallophytes, which was rejected by the Ministry on the basis of an expertise by Vienna biologist Anton Kerner as too narrow a subject. In the following year Zalewski was once more unsuccessful, this time with biology and morphology of cryptogams; finally in 1892 Kerner (and thus the Ministry) agreed to the general denomination of anatomy of

²⁶⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Weineck, Z. 12092, 10.7.1883.

²⁶⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1003, PA Tangl, Z. 32116, 21.9.1904.

²⁶⁶ Such cases were among others hygienist Alois Lode (born in Orăștie/Szászváros/Broos, accredited to Most/Brüx in Bohemia), internist Julius Mannaberg (Pest, Vienna) or pathologist Arthur Biedl (Comloșu Mic/Ostern (Kleinkomlosch)/Kiskomlos, Lower Austria). See the respective curricula in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1002, PA Lode; fasc. 601, PA Mannaberg; fasc. 596, PA Biedl.

²⁶⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 603, PA Gustav Paul, Z. 25592 (habilitation record), esp. Z. 27.175 (Ministry’s decision).

plants.²⁶⁸ In these cases, the Ministry limited itself only to questions of denomination of the discipline, not questioning the assessment of the quality of publications, even if the external expert disagreed with the opinion of the faculty.²⁶⁹ Such questions were solved through the addition of specialization to a more general area – be it disciplinary enlargement, for example “philosophy with special consideration to sociology” (Edvard Beneš), “balneology and hygiene of health resorts” (Karl Zörkendörfer), period denotations (especially in literature studies and historiography) or a specialization like “experimental psychology and methodology of natural sciences” (Władysław Heinrich). But more exotic denominations were also allowed, like “infinitesimal calculus and its use for geometry” (Franz Hočevar) or hydrobotany (Joseph Schiller).

This acceptance of partial specialization in law and practice was an outcome of the pervasive construction of the university as both a teaching and research institution. According to habilitation law, the *venia docendi* could be acquired only “for the whole discipline, or a larger area of it, which can be regarded as an integrative whole”²⁷⁰ and *Privatdozenten* were allowed to offer lectures/seminars only in the areas their habilitations covered, making the choice of the denomination of the discipline a choice led by teaching duties and possible income from *Collegiengelder*, rather than by scholarly interest. Smaller universities especially faced this problem, as it was considered a duty of young scholars to flank the lectures of full professors and the choice of narrow specialization meant fewer students and thus less money. At the same time, though, the widening of habilitation areas was also problematic, as it was linked with wider knowledge, which not only had to be taught, but proved in the process of habilitation through publications and exam.

Although the *Privatdozenten* themselves would be disadvantaged by a lack of students, the faculties remained in control of disciplinary classifications. Smaller universities in particular had certain disadvantages, as *Privatdozenten* stood in competition with professors for the students attending the lectures, leading to

²⁶⁸ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 122u, PA Zalewski.

²⁶⁹ See the habilitation of Władysław Kretkowski in mathematics (at first “with exclusion of infinitesimal calculus”) in AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 119u, PA Kretkowski, Z. 409, 10.7.1881, and letter of Emil Weyr from October 1881, in the same file; the issue of precise denomination of Kretkowski’s specialization was debated also in the Faculty.

²⁷⁰ Verordnung des Ministers für K. u. U. vom 11. Februar 1888, Z. 2390, betreffend die Habilitierung der Privatdozenten an Universitäten, § 2, reprinted in: Beck von Mannagetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 169-172, here 169.

questions about the division of lectures in order not to lower professorial earnings. At the smaller institutions this led to the informal regulation of awarding habilitations only for disciplines which were not covered in the regular lectures. The final obstacle to professionalization of the *Privatdozentur* was certainly financial. *Privatdozenten* were approved for teaching, but their remuneration remained limited to *Collegiengelder*, or, which were in rare cases improved by regular salaries if proposed by the faculties. This regulation limited young scholars *de facto* either to assistants at the institutes of the university, or those employed or paid externally. Philosophical Faculties especially encountered such problems, as *Privatdozenten* who were teachers should also work in the city in which they held a position.²⁷¹ While at the Medical Faculty doctors mostly had positions in hospitals, which were concentrated in the central cities, or turned to private practice, teachers – from whom philosophical faculties recruited – were much more scattered and unregulated positions. This issue, like many others, was handled differently by different universities and in different cases. For example, Johann Tollinger, director of the School of Agriculture in Rotholz (*Landwirtschaftsanstalt in Rotholz*), around 40 kilometers from Innsbruck, was granted a position – with an annotation that he can be at the university two or three days a week to teach.²⁷² In a similar situation Leopold Kann, teacher in Plzeň (100 kilometers from Prague) was rejected.²⁷³ Kyrilo Studyn'skyj was even allowed for habilitation in Cracow though he lived and worked as an auxiliary gymnasium teacher in L'viv (300 kilometers).²⁷⁴

The consequences of such a practice were not only several rejections of habilitations or terminations due to relocations, but also several changes between universities at the level of *Privatdozenten* for professional reasons. Eugen Herzog moved from Prague to Vienna because of his relocation to a *Realschule* in the capital city, later becoming a professor of romance studies in Chernivtsi. David Herzog's move from Vienna to Prague and later to Graz, where he taught as the first *Privatdozent* for Semitic languages, was caused by his changing appointments in the

²⁷¹ Ibid., § 14.

²⁷² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1018, PA Tollinger.

²⁷³ Both the faculty and the Ministry emphasized that Kann will not be able to teach both in Prague and Plzeň, see NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 114, PA Kann; see also similar case from 1918, similarly linked to Plzeň, NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 117, PA Sokol.

²⁷⁴ AUJ, WF II 121, PA Studzinski, Cyryl, Z. 503, 2.4.1897; Z. 8176, 8.4.1897.

Jewish community.²⁷⁵ For some scholars, professional changes even enabled careers. The most prominent case was cultural geographer, Erwin Hanslik, who could achieve habilitation only because he was relocated from a gymnasium in Bielsko to Vienna.²⁷⁶

There was great diversity among the occupations of scholars however, depending on the discipline linked with different institutions, like archives for historians, central bureaus, etc. In fact, for a number of *Privatdozenten* the university was not their primary place of work, but they linked their teaching with directorships or curatorships of various institutions, or teaching (or even professorships) at technical academies or semi-academic institutions (e.g. School of Commerce, School of Industry, School of Brewery for Vienna, Industrial School, Academy of Fine Arts, Agricultural Academy in Dubliany/Dublany in Galicia). Only around half of the *Privatdozenten* at philosophical faculties was listed without any additional occupation in the printed lecturers lists, although this source is not particularly reliable. The occupational structure of the universities displays an interesting differentiation, however. While in Vienna, Prague (especially at the Czech University) and Cracow (but surprisingly not in the provincial capital L'viv) the 'professionals' outnumbered teachers, at the smaller universities the ratio was reversed. In the *curriculum vitae* submitted with habilitation, one can see that a large number of scholars worked as teachers prior to their habilitation, and a gradual distinction between pedagogical and scientific specialization is discernible. With the stronger professionalization of teachers (academies for teachers of *Realschulen*, the distinction between doctorate and teacher's exams (*Lehramtsprüfung*)) and numerous scientific organizations granting scholarships with which scholars could live through the prescribed two-year break between graduation and habilitation, the distinction between these two areas grew stronger. Nevertheless, though there were regulations lessening the teaching load of scholars lecturing as *Privatdozenten*,²⁷⁷ their precarious situation was an issue

²⁷⁵ UAK, FF NU, PA Eugen Herzog, 16.7.1902, Z. 1186; 11/2.1902; Z. 830, 15/1.1909, Z. 764; when moving to Styria in 1902 Herzog asked the Prague Faculty for a leave of absence, in 1907 he became Rabbi of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola and permanently moved his habilitation from Prague.

²⁷⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 636, PA Erwin Hanslik, 30.6.1910 ad Z. 27757.

²⁷⁷ In Galicia, for example, *Privatdozenten* taught 8 hours less at gymnasia, retaining full salary. However, the administration of primary and secondary education was highly autonomous there. Starnawski, Jerzy, "Towarzystwa naukowe z zakresie humanistyki na terenie Galicji." In *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo. Tom. 3. Nauka i oświata*, edited by Andrzej Meissner and Jerzy Wyrozumski, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej 1995, 51-68, here 52.

of many debates.²⁷⁸ It is also striking that while after 1848 the division between a position as a professor at a school and at a university was permeable, in the later nineteenth century one can only sporadically find professional non-academic teachers in the appointment proposals. This is true as well for Galicia and the Czech University in Prague, although professional academic infrastructure was less extensive in these places.

The regulation of the habilitation process and professorship appointments also brought about strong unification in the structure of the faculty defined by the program (see charts 4a, 4b, 4c). Similarly, the habilitations retained disciplinary consistency between 1848-1918, with the humanities and sciences granting the most habilitations throughout the period. Since 1848, only between 1860 and 1869 did the exact sciences see more habilitations than the humanities, although from 1880 the number of habilitations in the humanities stagnated, while those in the sciences were still growing, outpacing them (if the biosciences are included) only from 1900. In Galicia and at both universities in Prague, however, the dominance of the humanities over sciences with respect to habilitations was greater than at other institutions. This had to do with a large number of habilitations in nationality-building areas (history, language, literature) and the peculiarities of their boundary-position between nationalities. Still, there were noticeable differences on the local level. Such local traditions included a preponderance of philology in Vienna, with 82 habilitations constituting 75% of all habilitations in this disciplinary field (and 21% of all habilitations in Vienna), while at the other faculties few scholars habilitated in this discipline. Also, the historical sciences were strong in Innsbruck, with 14 habilitations (16% of all habilitations in this discipline and 29% of all habilitations in Innsbruck).

The hierarchically oriented regulative system had, however, a serious consequence, which was the symbolic centralization of disciplinary boundaries, largely defined in relation to the central universities in Prague and Vienna. In 1904, as the Philosophical Faculty of the Czech University in Prague applied to appoint Jindřich Matiegka the chair of anthropology, the Ministry took into consideration that neither such a chair nor such an institute existed in Vienna, and opposed creating an official chair, but granted Matiegka the title of associate professor and in 1908;

²⁷⁸ See e.g. Eulenburg, Franz, *Der "Akademische Nachwuchs". Eine Untersuchung über die Lage und die Aufgaben der Extraordinarien und Privatdozenten*. Leipzig und Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1908; *Hohes Abgeordnetenhaus. Petition der Privatdozenten-Vertreter*.

shortly after Moritz Hoernes had gained an associate professorship in Vienna, Matiegka was granted a paid associate position.²⁷⁹ A similar case occurred in the case of hygiene, for which a chair was established first in Vienna (1875),²⁸⁰ then almost ten years later in Cracow, Graz and Prague.²⁸¹ Among the most important disciplines at the Medical Faculty, in only a few cases did the universities in Prague and Vienna not top the list of the three faculties in which new disciplines appeared and were sanctioned by professorships, with dermatology (together with syphilidology) and bacteriology the only ones where they were not the first (see also annex 1 and 2). The former, however, existed before as syphilidology and the latter was not used as denotation of habilitation disciplines anywhere apart from Slavic universities. A similar picture emerges if one considers fields which did not grow to become formally established disciplines, but advanced as areas of habilitation: radiology, electrotherapy, or orthopedics.

At the Philosophical Faculty the situation was more complicated due to much more flexible denominations, but on the aggregate level proves to be similar with respect to the central universities being disciplinary precursors. Only the historical sciences, with early specialization in Innsbruck, and Slavic historiographies and languages show slightly different picture. Here as well one can find exceptions like zoology (Bazyli Czerniański in L'viv, as zoology and mineralogy) or comparative anatomy (August Mojsisovics, Graz, as zoology and comparative anatomy). Czerniański and Mojsisovics are also good examples of the reality of specialization at the time; the former finished his university career early and the latter moved to a technical academy. Similar cases of academically unsuccessful pioneers can be found in experimental physics (Clemens Neumann, Prague 1871), mathematical physics (Wojciech Urbański, L'viv 1851), paleontology (Friedrich Zekeli, Vienna 1853²⁸²) or even geography (Vizenz Klun, Vienna 1862; also the first *Privatdozent* of geography

²⁷⁹ NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 32, fasc. 198, PA Matiegka, Z. 18570, 31.5.1904 (title and character of associate professor); Z. 33803, 28.6.1908 (associate professor; Moritz Hoernes' appointment of 1907 was explicitly mentioned in the appointment records).

²⁸⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 603, PA Josef Novak senior, Z. 6712, 11.5.1875; the chair was proposed by the Vienna University already in 1871 with reference to "sanitary construction of schools, hospitals, [...] prisons, further with facilities of colonies," see UAW, Med. S. 17, 19.1.1871, Z. 285 and Z. 345.

²⁸¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Soyka, Z. 6036, 28.3.1884.

²⁸² On the issue of his failed appointment for associate professor and influence of Reuss, see Grunert, Patrick, "Lukas Friedrich Zekeli (1823-1881) - ein Pionier des paläontologischen Unterrichts in Österreich." *Berichte der Geologischen Bundesanstalt* 65 (2005): 59-62.

Jan Palacký, habilitated 1856, was named professor only after 30 years), experimental pathology (Emil Stoffella, Vienna 1862), internal medicine (Josef Čejka, Prague 1848), scholars who habilitated early for child medicine, hygiene, medical chemistry or most balneologists and dentists. Even in 1886 the well-known dermatologist from Innsbruck, Eduard Lang, was denied a full professorship in Tyrol not due to a lack of qualification, but because his appointment “for full professor would probably immediately cause similar applications from associate professors for the named subjects [dermatology and syphilidology – J.S.] from the German University in Prague and from Cracow.”²⁸³ Only four years later, the 49 years old Lang moved to Vienna where he continued to work as *Privatdozent*.

Most other pioneers of academic disciplinary differentiation who attained academic careers enlarged or changed their designated specialization during their careers. The system of disciplines, which to a large extent defined the conditions of academic advancement, was prescribed in the curricula and viva voce (*Rigorosum*) rules, which were not particularly flexible; curricula were changed about every 20 years, apart from medicine, which was in force from 1833 until 1872. Although the universities were in themselves more or less flexible in the designation of lectures, higher up the ladder the situation became more complicated. While *Privatdozenten* could teach quite freely within their respective areas, designations of professorships were linked with the possibility of including the subject in the *Rigorosum*, i.e. completing the commission and making rules for the exam. Thus while *Privatdozenten* were limited more by the possibility of finding students willing to pay them, their road to a professorship was going through the Ministry, which had to accept the existence of a discipline that could then be applied for at other universities as well. Such enlargements were usually a long-term process stimulated by the appointments of scholars of high reputation and were accompanied by written opinions on the necessity of a new denomination or the division of a chair, which resulted from the ‘development of science’ and/or was established at foreign faculties.²⁸⁴ The most elaborate act of this kind was a collective petition of

²⁸³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1002, PA Lang, Z. 20752, 19.10.1886.

²⁸⁴ See e.g. the application of the Faculty of German University in Prague for division of chairs of chemistry into organic and inorganic in NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 116, PA Rothmund, Z.835, 4.3.1913.

philosophical faculties for a third systemized chair of mathematics in 1907,²⁸⁵ which referred not only to scientific progress, teaching load and the growing importance of mathematics as an auxiliary science, but also included comparison, statistics and a list of professors for mathematics in several European countries.²⁸⁶

Growing pressure from the universities to increase the number of professors and promote more and more specialized *Privatdozenten* made the Ministry look for ways to amend academic positions without considerable financial burdens. There were two principal modes of diversification: the introduction of titular professorships (mostly associate, but including several cases of *Privatdozenten* with titles of full professor), or granting the so called *ad personam* professorship. This meant that the scholar was acknowledged to be a celebrity in his specialty, but the Ministry was not willing to grant him a normal tenured official proposition, because this would either mean his position will be filled after him or that other universities, being on equal terms, would argue for such chair as well. Such were the cases, for example, with Enoch Kisch (balneology, Prague, title and character), Johann Lechner (medieval history, Vienna, *ad personam*), František Vejdovský (comparative anatomy and plant physiology, Czech Charles University in Prague, *ad personam*)²⁸⁷ or Lubor Niederle (anthropology, Czech Charles University in Prague, *ad personam*). While acknowledging the individual importance of these scholars, the Ministry opposed institutionalization of their disciplines, although in all cases they were represented by a number of habilitated scholars and professional organizations, both national and international. More ‘exotic’ or specialized disciplines, like entomology, organic chemistry, paleontology, petrography, plant physiology, neurology/neuropathology or urology – to name only those that were sanctioned and not infrequent areas of habilitation – were either changed in the appointment process to cover more general areas, or added to general disciplines – for example as ‘psychiatry and neurology’.

²⁸⁵ Proposed were following chairs: 1. number theory and higher algebra. 2. mathematical analysis. 3. geometry; see UAG, PF, Z. 2302, 4.7.1907 (dated 3.7.1907).

²⁸⁶ Ibid.; The list included universities from Habsburg Empire, German Empire, Russian Empire, France and Italy, to my knowledge it considered all universities in these empires/countries.

²⁸⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1122, PA Kisch, Z. 3447, 1.3.1884 – here also the majority of the Faculty pleaded for not promoting Kisch without analyzing also other scholars and having *terna*, minister Eybesfeld decided however, that he does not want balneology as separate discipline at all. ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 639, PA Lechner; NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 116, PA Vejdovsky, 17.12.1889, Z.217, 28.10.1892, Z.24049 – in this case the argumentation of the Faculty, that the need of science requires specialized chair, was accepted, but Ministry did not agree for including it at all universities.

Although there was obvious specialization among professors in the same ‘discipline’, which was also required during the appointment process and visible in the lectures taught, this system inhibited rather than allowed specific specialization, restricting not only career opportunities of scholars of non-official disciplines, but in a more general manner requiring much wider knowledge than was realizable. Especially Vienna University had more possibilities for specialization, due to the larger number of parallel chairs; on the informal level this continuity was taken into consideration in the appointment process, for example in surgery (“small” vs. “big” surgery that is the school of Dumreicher vs. Billroth).²⁸⁸ For smaller universities though, the possibility to specialization was limited through teaching loads, making the faculties seek pedagogues rather than researchers and applying for new chairs paradoxically not because of student overflow, but due to the impossibility to lecture at a suitable scientific level by one scholar. This resulted in the growth of personal and institutional infrastructure and expenses for the ‘provincial’ universities,²⁸⁹ which would not be justified if only the number of students was taken into consideration. For example, in Vienna in 1910, for every professor there were 26 students (both at the Medical and Philosophical Faculty), in Cracow 20 and 17 students in the Philosophical/Medical Faculty respectively, at Czech University in Prague 20/19, in Graz 7/13, and in Innsbruck 6/9. Although this statistic looks more even across universities if all instructors are taken into consideration, smaller universities were still in a much better situation with respect to teaching loads (see table 2).

Still, in 1910, the discrepancy in possibilities of specialization on the institutionalized level clearly favored Vienna. Here, for example geology was divided from paleontology, English philology from English language and literature, full professors established for mineralogy, musicology, pedagogy, history of the German language (in addition to German literature) or systematic botany divided from plant anatomy and physiology. In 1910, the Philosophical Faculty of Vienna University presented in its lecture catalogues full professors in 38 disciplines and associate in 22, 12 of which were not covered by full professors; Graz had only 24 (full professorships) or 11 (associate, from those 6 not in among full professors); Innsbruck

²⁸⁸ Explicitly called as such, see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 596, PA Albert, Z. 92, 25.1.1881.

²⁸⁹ Höflechner, Walter, "Zum Einfluss Des Deutschen Hochschulwesens auf Österreich in den Jahren 1875-1914," 166.

17 (10, 5), Cracow 26 (13, 7) – the last one inclusive of agricultural studies.²⁹⁰ While most of the disciplinary areas which were different at provincial universities than in Vienna were more general, only a few could be named specializations. For example, in Cracow there were associate professors for anthropology, economic history, history of natural sciences, or experimental psychology and theory of science; in Innsbruck for the history and culture of the Ancient Orient. The remaining differing disciplines resulted rather from local conditions – Italian language and literature in Innsbruck, Slovenian philology in Graz, Ruthenian language and literature in L’viv and Cracow, *böhmische/Česká* (as Czech and/or Bohemian) history, Czech language and literature in Prague. These examples are named here, though, to point to a structural differentiation among universities; comparison of ‘non-institutionalized’ academics Józef Majer or Izydor Kopernicki (anthropology) and Ernst Mach (theory of inductive sciences) to ‘institutionalized’ anthropologists Lubor Niederle and Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, or historian/theoreticians of science Ludwik Birkenmajer and Władysław Heinrich would be rather a problematic case. At the formal level it was rather impossible to get out from under the shadow of Vienna, and the fact that most institutional innovation apart from the central university took place at universities deregulated through language (and power), reform had an interesting theoretical implication. While the germanophone universities were tightly linked through networks of supervision and comparison, with Vienna University willing to sustain its superiority and centrality, and as it seems being successful at it, this power structure shows less coherence when looking at Galicia or Czech Prague, where diversification followed different paths. Since institutional/disciplinary innovation was supervised by the Ministry, in most cases originating in Vienna and later included at other universities according to their respective status (in most ministerial papers Vienna, followed by Cracow, Graz, and Prague, and finally Innsbruck, L’viv and Chernivtsi), ‘peripheral’ innovations rarely resulted in systemic changes. This was so for two reasons: in the first place, institutional innovation was inhibited at smaller germanophone universities, which were to follow the capital city; in the second place, however, as information flow between universities with different languages was weakened, the possibility of specialization and disciplinary innovation did not result in a financial burden because other universities did not require such concessions. To

²⁹⁰ Own calculations basing on printed *Personalverzeichnisse* for winter term 1910/1911.

put it more theoretically, while ‘Austrian’ universities conformed to the models of center-periphery relations of Foucault, Galician and Czech universities follow a model of Juri/Yuri Lotman.²⁹¹ Due to obvious of political reasons this differentiation was carried out after the central power deteriorated. While ‘foucaultian peripheries’ were deprived of influence – the University of Chernivtsi (as *Universitatea Regele Carol II din Cernăuți* in Romania) was subordinated to the University of Bucharest and the German University in Prague, after ‘defending’ its move to Liberec/Reichenberg, not only gradually lost importance but also switched its orientation from Vienna to Berlin. The ‘lotmanian peripheries’ were able to become central without undergoing serious internal changes. The Czech University in Prague was the only university the ‘Czechoslovak’ model could be based on and thus without competition. In the process of the creation of universities in Poland from several models for restructuring academic education (disciplines, academic grades, organization of universities and their relations with state), the Habsburg model was chosen, although not without serious opposition.²⁹²

²⁹¹ As Lotman remains rather peripheral figure in the current debates, there are almost no comparisons between these two theories, at least in their consequences for macro-level relationships. See though Buckler, Julie A., "Writing in a polluted semiosphere: everyday life in Lotman, Foucault, and De Certeau." In *Lotman and cultural studies: encounters and extensions*, edited by Andreas Schönle, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006, 320-344, and more related to ideas presented here Saart, Tõnis, "Construction of Peripheries: Foucault vs. Lotman and potential peripherization of new member states in the EU." In *III International Summer School on European Peripheries*, Pécs, 17-24 July 2007. Accessible online: <http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/isss/monnetcentre/peripheries3/SaartsFinal.pdf> (last access: 18.8.2010).

²⁹² Perkowska, Urszula, "La genèse et la caractéristique de la loi sur les écoles supérieures du 13 juillet 1920." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne. Zeszyt 79* (1985): 95-107; Havránek, Jan, "Univerzita Karlova, rozmach a perzekuce." In *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy IV (1918-1990)*, edited by Idem and Zdeněk Poustka, Praha: Karolinum, 1997, 19-59; Vietor, Martin "Die Gründung der Comenius-Universität in Bratislava (Pressburg) und die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze." In *Festschrift Hans Lentze. Zum 60. Geburtstage dargebracht von Fachgenossen und Freunden*, edited by Nikolaus Grass and Werner Ogris, Innsbruck, München: Wagner 1969, 587-597; Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania*, 219-231 (full educational legislation was however extended to both universities Romania acquired from Habsburg Monarchy after transitional period in 1925).

4.2.1. Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Chernivtsi. From ‘German’-Habsburg to Austrian?

Austria has just began to pay back the capital to the German universities, which it borrowed from them²⁹³

Johann Kelle, 1874

The previously detailed structure of Habsburg universities – centralization of germanophone Habsburg academia and a structural disentanglement of Slavic universities as a result of ministerial ordinance and academic practice – went hand in hand with processes of internal specialization, which in turn influenced academic spatial practice. Scholarly mobility within the monarchy – largely conditioned by internal specialization and linguistic affinities with neighboring regions, or, in the Czech case, by their absence – exemplified well the concurrence of these two processes. Three examples – germanophone, with several institutions and the possibility of exchange with the German Empire; Galicia, with large but not academically institutionalized Polish-speaking communities in Prussia and Russia; and Czech-language university backed by technical academies – provide interesting insights on how circulation among academic institutions was entangled with infrastructural/political/cultural factors. These were doubled factors, to be precise, as the ‘suprastructure’ of the monarchy and Ministry, noted in the previous section, still remained important, even if universities defined themselves and acted (as corporate actors) primarily in linguistically-defined networks.

A brief glance at the scientific personnel active at the Habsburg universities reveals a network dominated by the University of Vienna, which had the largest number of professors and *Privatdozenten*, totaling at times more than half of the scholars at Austrian universities in each academic category (see table 1). In contrast to Graz and Innsbruck, it had a pyramid structure²⁹⁴ of instructors, with a diminishing

²⁹³ Kelle, Johann, *Das Unterrichtswesen in Österreich 1848-1873. Rede zur Feier des fünfundzwanzigsten Jahrestages der Thronbesteigung sr. Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I. Gehalten in der Aula der Universität Prag*. Prag: J.G. Calvésche k.k. Hof- und Univers.-Buchhandlung, 1874, 29.

²⁹⁴ For ‘pyramidal’ vs. ‘tower’ models see Graversen, Ebbe K., "Human Capital Mobility - A Comparable Knowledge Indicator for the Nordic Countries." In *Science and Technology indicators for the Nordic countries 2000. A collection of articles*, edited by K. Wille Maus: TemaNord : Nordic Council of Ministers, 2001. (online: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/35/25/2100200.pdf>, last access 09.10.2010)

number of scholars the higher the academic hierarchy; i.e. most scholars were *Privatdozenten*, fewer associate professors and still fewer full professors (seen synchronically); Innsbruck and Graz for most of the time hosted fewer *Privatdozenten* than professors, which indicates the limits of their formational influence on scholars at the very beginning of their careers. Even if the number of older *Privatdozenten* in the capital city was substantial, the average age (measured every ten years) did not significantly vary across the universities, pointing once more to the influence of the financial professional entanglement of the *Privatdozentur*, linked often with other short and long term professional occupation.²⁹⁵ That is, not all *Privatdozenten* pursued (or could pursue) academic careers, though they remained in academia.

As the central university in the Habsburg Monarchy, the Vienna University had the highest percentage of its own graduates among habilitations (70% Philosophical Faculty, 80% Medical Faculty, see also table 10)²⁹⁶ and of its own *Privatdozenten* among instructors (76% Philosophical Faculty, 88% Medical Faculty, see table 13). Vienna University was also the biggest ‘exporter’ of academics, both of graduates and *Privatdozenten*, to other universities. A similar situation can be observed looking at the places of graduation of student habilitated at other universities: Viennese graduates made up considerable numbers among *Privatdozenten* at the German-speaking universities in the monarchy, for example counting up nearly 25% of habilitations in Graz, and more than half of habilitations in medicine in Innsbruck (see table 10). Looking at the places of birth of scholars, it is also clear that scholars did not frequently return to the province/city where they were born, and return was not a boost for their careers; mobility at this level had no significant influence on whether scholars achieved professorial positions in either a faculty or a university.²⁹⁷ Migration between graduation and *Privatdozentur* was a common occurrence in Galicia. This was linked with the academic positioning of scholars from outside the Habsburg Monarchy, but seems to have been more linked with extra-academic occupations when germanophone universities are concerned.

²⁹⁵ For 1870-1910, winter terms; the data varies considerably due to non-consideration of months but only full years, not showing significant differences between the universities though. There are also no significant differences between the faculties.

²⁹⁶ Only known cases included, that is without around 10% of scholars with unknown place of graduation.

²⁹⁷ Including positions after 1918 and title of professor as next step of career. Contingency tables point to no or even negative correlation (Medical Faculty in Graz) between acquiring *Privatdozentur* at a different university than graduating.

Career advancement seems to have been more tightly connected with finding support and networks inside one's own university, although career changes later in life included in many cases geographical change. The influence of requirements in the first years of a career (assistantship, foreign scholarships), point toward a decisive role of inter-university networks young scholars gained while studying. One often finds both promotions of one's own students within the faculty by the teachers employed there, but also outside of it during appointment process – including informal networks linking faculty members and the Ministry as well.

Apart from the role of informal networks in the graduate to *Privatdozent* transition, unsurprising, but mostly hard to pinpoint in the sources, mobility at the level of graduates presented a conundrum. On one side the *Privatdozenten* at smaller universities could acquire better chances of academic promotion, having less competition than in Vienna, where the number of academics competing for professorship was comparatively high. On the other hand, though, moving from the central university meant less money, both from lectures and – especially in the case of practical physicians – from non-academic and semi academic occupations. Moreover, again for physicians, a smaller university meant less practice and thus fewer possibilities for practical work, which were highly valued in future appointments, as chairs were linked with hospital duties. Already by 1851, Thun mentioned this situation in one of his appointments for medical study in Innsbruck.²⁹⁸ Michael/Michal Borysiekiewicz's (also Mykhailo Borysykevych / Михайло Борискевич²⁹⁹) appointment for the chair of ophthalmology in Tirol was also justified by both praxis and teaching, for which he had – according to the commission – better opportunities in Vienna than his most serious opponent Birnbacher, who was “in Graz and can therefore have comparatively less possibility to teach.”³⁰⁰ The subsequent Ministry regarded practical ability for the small Medical Faculty in Innsbruck as more important than scientific capability. In the appointment records of

²⁹⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1002, PA Mayrhofen, Z. 2408, 13.4.1851

²⁹⁹ Borysiekiewicz was born in Eastern Galicia, one can find contradictory information as for his ‘nationality’ in the literature (Polish, Ruthenian, or Polish of Ruthenian origin). He was considered as a possible professor in Cracow, and, not having any articles published in Ruthenian, was seen as Ruthenian in the *Shevchenko Society* around 1900. See Bałaban, Teodor, *Michał Borysiekiewicz, wspomnienie pośmiertne*. Kraków: nakł. aut., 1899; Томашевский, Ярема, "110 діяльності лікарської комісії НТШ." *Праці наукового товариства імені Шевченка – Том XXIV, Лікарський збірник, Медицина і біологія, Нова серія Том XVI* (2009): 9-12, here 10.

³⁰⁰ UAI, Med, Z. 309, 1886/87.

Karl Foltanek from Vienna, his experience as assistant for pediatrics in Vienna were valued more highly than those of Prague *Privatdozenten* Robert Raudnitz and Adalbert Czerny, although his scientific achievements were valued less.³⁰¹ Finally, when Gustav Preiswerk from Basel was considered for the chair of dentistry in Innsbruck, his candidacy was withdrawn as he possessed no approbation for medical practice and thus could not lead a clinic.³⁰² A combination of both practical and institutional arguments supporting the export of personnel from the Vienna medical school can be seen as well, as will be shown later, in academic exchange with foreign universities.

Still, the question of geographic mobility remained crucial for scholars within the Monarchy in regard to both their personal career and faculties' developmental policy. One can see from the beginning differences among the faculties: at philosophical faculties 45%, and at the medical slightly less than 30% of scholars changed university within their careers, numbers which are biased because of the high number of immobile Vienna medical *Privatdozenten*. In 1910, around 50% of Viennese full professors were products of the university who spent their whole career in Vienna, while Graz and the German University in Prague had at the time more than 80% of professors appointed from a different institution. The university with the most importance was undoubtedly Vienna, which was both the biggest exporting and importing university for medical and philosophical faculties (see tables 3 and 4). While the absolute number is high, however, 'imported' scholars comprised only around 10% of teaching scholars and around 50% of full professors between 1848 and 1918, although the latter were constituted to a large extent by returnees from other Austrian universities. With few exceptions, scholars who moved from Vienna and pursued careers at other universities were Viennese products, having studied, graduated and habilitated there. While the movement of scholars was determined through a variety of personal, cultural and scientific factors, the system remained largely centripetal, with Vienna as the university from whose offspring universities profited and which, in the case of appointments, could choose from the best scholars across the Monarchy.

³⁰¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1001, PA Foltanek, Z. 15901, 27.7.1892.

³⁰² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1002, PA Mayerhofer, Z. 269, 26.5.1905.

Transfers between Habsburg universities may be regarded in most cases as advancement appointments, as most professors were promoted with a change of university, or were moved to universities with higher salary (either according to laws or individually negotiated).

The difference in salaries can be made at least partially responsible for the centripetal nature of transfers throughout the nineteenth century; the Ministry opposed appointments from universities with higher legal salaries to those with lower ones for scholars in the same rank, as this would burden the budget.³⁰³ With the regulations of 1849 salaries were strongly centralized, and professors in Vienna not only earned more (see table 14) but were given additional money for housing. This discrepancy was lessened in 1870, and egalitarian salaries (with extra pay for Viennese professors explained by higher living costs) were introduced in 1898. The difference was supported, though, with *Collegiengelder*, as professors in Vienna could count on more students (see table 16). Only from 1898 professors were not allowed to charge for their lectures – an issue that was fiercely discussed from the moment of the enactment of the fees. Here, the faculties opposed any change, arguing not only that fees were a means of disciplining of students, but also that they enabled competition among the professors, who in the case of their annulment would lack motivation to prepare interesting lectures and turn back into state officials.³⁰⁴ The issue of *Collegiengelder* was also raised with regard to medical theoreticians, who could not earn money with their private practice – which especially for the medical faculties meant problems with scholars deciding for *Privatdozentur* in these fields. At the same time, the issue of salaries for associate professors remained unregulated – until 1918 they had no legal guaranteed salaries, which were only negotiated on a case by case basis between the university and the Ministry – although most appointed associate professors earned considerable sums. The group was then divided along usual lines, *Privatdozenten* with the title of associate and unpaid associate professors, who were named as such in the personnel records. While the *Privatdozenten* with the title of professor were not entitled to participate in the meeting of the faculty except as representatives of

³⁰³ See especially the appointment for the chair of applied medical chemistry in Innsbruck in 1878, as Richard Maly from Technical Academy in Graz, proposed *primo loco*, was from beginning on not taken into account by the Ministry as his appointment to Tyrol would be too expensive, although he was full professor already. ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1002, PA Loebisch, Z. 15440, 7.10.1878.

³⁰⁴ See e.g. Stein, Lorenz von, *Lehrfreiheit, Wissenschaft und Collegiengeld*. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1875; *Zur Frage der Collegiengelder. Denkschrift verfasst von Mitgliedern des Medizinischen Professoren-Collegiums der Wiener Universität*. Wien: Bergmann 1896.

Privatdozenten, the unpaid associate professors already had a professorial rank and were thus members of decision making committees.

Throughout the period analyzed here, scholars across the monarchy discussed the issue of comparatively low salaries, mostly with regard to the situation of competition within the monarchy.³⁰⁵ Already in the 1860s Karl Rokitansky addressed this issue in his brochure *On the conformity of the universities* (1863)³⁰⁶ in which he pleaded for reducing the monopoly of Vienna University in regard to the salaries of professors. He fiercely opposed the idea of a central university with satellites serving only as “nursery or transit school for other universities, or even [as] institutions for accommodation and provisioning of deficient talents and workforces.”³⁰⁷ While Rokitansky wrote as a Viennese professor and an official in the Ministry, most discutants took a more one-sided stance. While the professors at provincial universities strived to level salaries, Viennese professors opposed this stating that this would bring “severe damage for the larger universities,”³⁰⁸ as professors – especially those with larger families – would prefer remaining at smaller universities as the cost of living in the capital is higher than in the province. As the Faculty claimed, scholars were even not able to find apartments befitting their social standing, especially places near the facilities, which made it even more difficult to find and pay them. This issue was also included in the appointment papers; professors also often claimed the need for so called *Naturalwohnung* (university residence) in the institutes, in order to closely supervise research facilities and experiments.³⁰⁹ Thus, in Vienna, paid professors (both associate and full) were granted special allowance, at first directly called residence allowances, later only a special allowance of around 1/5 of their

³⁰⁵ Cf. Čornejová, Ivana, "Výběr a výkvět národa. Snahy o úpravu platů profesorů na pražské univerzitě na přelomu 19. a 20. století." In Svatoš, Velek, Velková (eds.), *Magister noster*, 175-182. Leeb, Hedda *Geschichte der Universität Innsbruck von 1898 bis 1908. 2. Vols. Unpublished doctoral dissertation*. Universität Innsbruck, 1967, Vol. 1., 386-396

³⁰⁶ Rokitansky, Carl, *Die Conformität der Universitäten mit Rücksicht auf gegenwärtige österreichische Zustände*. Wien: Sallmayer, 1863. For a well-founded critique of the brochure see Purkyně, Jan, "Kritika: Carl Rokitansky, Zeitfragen betreffend die Universität mit bes. Beziehung auf Medizin." *ČLČ* Jg. 2, no. 20 (1863): 256-258; Idem, "Kritika: Carl Rokitansky, Die Conformität der Universitäten mit Rücksicht auf gegenwärtige österreichische Zustände." *ČLČ* Jg. 3., no. 3 (1863): 22-24; Dumreicher, Johann-Heinrich, *Zeitfragen betreffend die Universität mit besonderer Beziehung auf Medicin, von Carl Rokitansky*. Wien: Carl Gerold, 1864; *Zur Reform der Universitäts-Studien in Oesterreich*. Graz: Leykam's Erben, s.a.

³⁰⁷ Rokitansky, *Die Conformität*, 10.

³⁰⁸ *Zur Frage der Collegiengelder*, 7.

³⁰⁹ While this issue is often included in the negotiations, the most thorough discussion on why professor and his assistants should have university residence can be found in AUK, MF NU, Kart. 2, PA Grosser, 30.9.1909.

salary. The problem in the Medical Faculty was more grave than in the philosophical, as the university function was also commonly linked with practice, for example as chief physicians, making the transfer to smaller universities unattractive even with a change of academic rank; the Ministry was reluctant in such cases to offer higher salaries, thus limiting the possibilities of appointments from Vienna.³¹⁰ For example, on the occasion of appointment of Alfred Kohn for professor of histology at the German University in Prague, the Faculty stated that financial conditions made it impossible to appoint scholars from other faculties – especially Vienna – for the position of associate professor, as they would earn less in Prague, and also lose their positions as assistants. Even in Prague, associate professor Kohn was remunerated (without regular salary) and had also his salary as an assistant; losing the latter as normal associate professor with a chair function would considerably reduce his earnings.³¹¹

Lamenting the financial situation of the universities was a kind of ritual throughout the Monarchy, and most of the proposed appointments were accompanied with deliberations of financial possibilities, making the Ministry of finance one of the most important agencies for controlling appointments. Professors who were proposed for a position at a foreign university could also better their financial status, as universities often strived to hold them by offering better financial conditions. For example mineralogist Friedrich Becke agreed to remain in Vienna in 1906 for 4000 gulden additional salary, and in the same year historian Adolf Bauer rejected a call from Graz to Halle, because the Ministry raised his salary to 14000 gulden (instead of around 11000 he earned at the time).³¹² Pharmacologist Hans Horst Meyer declined a call from Berlin only with the agreement that his institute be supported with an associate professorship with regular salary.³¹³ This worked both ways; German-Empire universities not only offered better salaries,³¹⁴ but German professors used the

³¹⁰ See e.g. failed appointment of associate professor Franz Chvostek from Vienna to Innsbruck, rejected due to the demand that his professorial salary should balance the pay cut he would meet due to the loss of chief physician position. ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 885, PA Lorenz, Z. 10751, 16.4.1903.

³¹¹ UAK, MF NU, PA Kohn, Z. 664, 17./12.1910, 5.12.1910.

³¹² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 896, PA Adolf Bauer, 30047, 28.8.1906; fasc. 633, PA Becke.

³¹³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 607, PA Wiechowski, Z. 8979, 2.4.1910.

³¹⁴ There was no normed salary for all universities, a professor in Prussia earned between 6000 mark (Berlin) and 4000 (Braunsberg), in Bayern 4200 mark etc. See Elster, Ludwig, *Die Gehälter der Universitäts-Professoren und die Vorlesungshonorare unter Berücksichtigung der in Aussicht genommenen Reformen in Preussen und Oesterreich*. Jena: Fischer, 1897. See also table 15.

appointment procedures to secure a better position in salary negotiations at their universities. Such a possibility of augmenting one's income was certainly important, as even full professors complained about their hard financial situation and pleaded often for extraordinary allowances to their regular salaries.³¹⁵

To a large extent the financial disparities were discussed, but not entirely influential; the introduction of equal earnings for professors at all universities did not considerably change the appointment pattern. Before and after 1898, appointments had a very similar structure, following the above described hierarchy, although one could suppose that a position in Innsbruck for example would be more valuable than the one in Prague – if living costs are taken into consideration. Still, smaller universities appointed *Privatdozenten* from Vienna, and also the intensity of exchange rather stagnated, though it then grew around 1900 (see chart 3). This pervasiveness of traditional hierarchies as a combination of appeals of financial and symbolic capital can at best be described with the ironic words of Theodor Mommsen, “sentenced to Chernivtsi, pardoned to Graz, promoted to Vienna.”³¹⁶ This symbolic hierarchy is also discernible in appointments from other institutions. From 1898 universities also offered the same salaries as Technical Academies and the Agricultural Academy in Vienna. This too did not change the appointment structure; universities still appointed scholars with promotion, without movement in the other direction – apart from few scholars teaching at two institutions.

The issue of finances was not merely restricted to salaries, however, but included also the organization of institutes according to professors' needs; some rearrangements were linked with considerable expense and mostly required by scholars during the appointment proceedings. For example, the appointment of Ludwig Boltzmann for the chair of experimental physics in Graz, though he was proposed in *terna* in the third place, proceeded due to the fact that the appointment of the other two candidates – Josef Stefan (Jožef Štefan) and Viktor Lang, both professors in Vienna – would require modification in the institute's infrastructure,

³¹⁵ See for example Emil Frida (Jaroslav Vrchlický), who asked for special allowance due to a “long illness”, NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 2, fasc. 112, PA Frida, Z. 1406, 13.1.1910.

³¹⁶ In original the quotation was “Man wird zu einigen Jahren Czernowitz verurteilt und dann zu Innsbruck begnadigt” (Franz, Karl Emil, “Erinnerungen an Mommsen.” *NFP*, 22. November 1903), in the secondary sources often quoted as “Sentenced to Czernowitz, pardoned to Graz, promoted to Vienna” (“Verurteilt zu Czernowitz, begnadigt zu Graz, befördert nach Wien”) e.g. in Havránek, “Nineteenth Century Universities in Central Europe: Their Dominant Position in the Science and Humanities,” 19.

something Boltzmann did not require.³¹⁷ Several scholars even rejected calls due either to a lack of infrastructure in the institute or a rejection of higher endowments. For example, physiologist Franz/Ferenc Tangl from the University of Pest rejected call to the University of Innsbruck notwithstanding acceptance of his salary requests, officially due to the fact that “the resources, which in his opinion would be necessary for the equipment of a physiological institute, were not available.”³¹⁸ In 1904, chemist Leon Marchlewski rejected call to L’viv, because he would have had to put his current work on hold due to “lack of an appropriate laboratory.”³¹⁹ A few years later, Cracow University had to bow out from competitions for the most prominent scholars in the same subject because all found the institute unsatisfactory.³²⁰

Such situations involved comparison with non-university institutions between losses and gains, which showed that achieving a professorship at a university was not every scholar’s ultimate goal and that state institutions were effectively competing for those scholars for whom this was an objective, especially as academic appointment as such included neither considerable monetary gain nor change of status. For example, professor of veterinary medicine (*Tierseuchenlehre*) Hugo Schindelka preferred the Military Veterinary Institute in Vienna (*Militär-Tierarzneiinstitut*) to a chair in Prague, as his institute had better quality and provided a higher number of animals for research.³²¹ Johann/Jan Hofmökler was more eager to accept a position as chief doctor at the General Hospital in Vienna than to accept a full professorship of surgery in Cracow, also because he envisaged poor conditions at the Cracow clinics.³²² Pathologist Alfred Biesiadecki even resigned from professorship due to poor conditions of university clinics in Cracow and became consultant for health issues in the provincial government.³²³ Heinrich Kretschmayr rejected call for full professor to Innsbruck in 1908 to remain a *Privatdozent* in Vienna and director of the archives of the Ministry of Interior.³²⁴ Julius Hermann, in 1915, preferred remaining in Vienna as

³¹⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 896, PA Boltzmann, Z. 11897, 11.8.1876.

³¹⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1003, PA Tangl, Z. 32116, 21.9.1904 (proposed appointment); Z. 36674, 10.11.1904 (final rejection by Tangl).

³¹⁹ DALO, 26/7/525, p. 3, 28.12.1904; p. 7, 8.1.1905.

³²⁰ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 66u, PA Dziewoński, Z. 448, 23.2.1911.

³²¹ UAK, FF NU, PA Drexler, 15./7.1894, Z. 1333.

³²² AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 52u, PA Rydygier, Z. 117, 2.4.1887.

³²³ Dańczura-Dynowska, Jolanta, "Alfred Biesiadecki, wybitny polski histopatolog i jego wkład do dermatologii." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 58, no. 4 (1995): 379-397, here 385.

³²⁴ See the appointment records of Heinrich Wopfner in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1018, PA Wopfner, Z. 36418, 10.12.1908.

Privatdozent and to retain his position in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, rather than accept a professorship in Prague.³²⁵ This was not only due to personal preference; the Ministry was also eager to keep the best scholars in the most internationally recognized institutes: to keep Rudolf Heberdey as head of Austrian Archeological Institute in Athens, the Ministry proposed the equation of his salary and rank with those of full professor, instead of agreeing to his appointment to Graz.³²⁶ In another case, though, the Ministry rejected the appointment of *Privatdozent* Karel Chytil for professor, as his position as director of Museum of Decorative Arts of Chamber of Trade and Commerce in Prague (Uměleckoprůmyslové museum založeno Pražskou obchodní a živnostenskou komorou / Kunstgewerbliches Museums der Prager Handels- und Gewerbekammer) was better paid than an associate professorship; only several years later Chytil was appointed for full professor.³²⁷

Smaller universities were not only handicapped by their financial situation, but also by the Ministry's concern for the stability of Vienna's role as the central university in the monarchy. The faculties of the university also saw themselves as central, and based on the "fixed convention" they were allowed/predestined to acquire for chairs "the best people at all."³²⁸ As the Philosophical Faculty of the University in Chernivtsi proposed Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, full professor of romance languages in Vienna, for the chair in Bukovina, the answer was the following: "it is not advisable to allow a professor of the University of Vienna to transfer to a smaller university, because this would create a precedent, which would imply critical consequences for the thriving of the Vienna University."³²⁹ Only on special occasions did the Ministry allow appointments notwithstanding the institutional hierarchy. While retiring from the directorship of the *Central Institute for Meteorology* in Vienna, an associate professor in Vienna, Julius Hann, guided by medical advice, asked for a transfer to a "smaller university, namely in Graz, optionally in Innsbruck" in order to concentrate on teaching; this petition, approved by consensus in Graz, was also accepted by the

³²⁵ See the appointment records of Alois Grünwald in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 645, PA Trabert, Z. 16585, 2.6.1915.

³²⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1017, PA Schrader, Z. 33622, 7.8.1905.

³²⁷ NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 113, PA Chytil, Z.1761, 16.1.1911.

³²⁸ From a proposal for new full professor of ophthalmology, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 597, PA Dimmel, Z. 508, 1.3.1909.

³²⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 896, PA Cornu, Z. 3365, 4.4.1901.

Ministry.³³⁰ After Hann had physically recovered, the second petition, this time with a plea for return to Vienna, was issued and accepted.³³¹

This hierarchical differentiation is clearly discernible in the character of appointments. While the Innsbruck Medical Faculty appointed mostly *Privatdozenten* (75%, promoted to full and associate professors in equal parts), Vienna almost exclusively directly appointed full professors (see tables 5 and 6). Graz, as the university ‘in between,’ appointed full professors from Innsbruck and (in approximately equal numbers) *Privatdozenten* and associate professors from Vienna. In contrast to Innsbruck, those in Vienna were (with three exceptions) promoted only with one academic rank advancement. While for most professors transferred to Vienna, this university was the last station in their career, only slightly less than half of ‘imported’ scholars stayed in Graz (20% being appointed to Vienna, 12% to the German University in Prague), and slightly over 30% remained in Innsbruck (10% appointed to Vienna, 25% to Graz, 10% to the German University in Prague). The number of professors with only a short stay at these universities reflects this difference; the Medical Faculty at Innsbruck was, for 31 scholars, the second station in their career (they left after an average 5 years). In Graz, the same was true for 16 scholars, while 10 scholars who were appointed both to the German Prague and Vienna Universities, pursued their careers later at other universities. At the Philosophical Faculty, however, Graz and German Prague were intermediary stations for 25 resp. 26 scholars, Innsbruck for 20 and Vienna for 12. Vienna, on the other hand was the leading university where scholars (who acquired at least habilitation there) returned, with 23 at the Medical and 29 in Philosophical Faculty, while other universities had only an insignificant number of such scholars (see table 11).

As noted before, only Vienna can be regarded as a formational university for medical sciences, as the other universities scarcely promoted their own products, which made only a small amount of the appointments to another universities. At the same time though, Vienna remained the university with the highest number of *Privatdozenten* who did not advance in their career. With slightly more than 50% of such cases it ranked higher than Graz (40%), Innsbruck (25%) and the German

³³⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 897, PA Hann, Z. 10080, 13.7.1897.

³³¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 636, PA Hann, Z. 34553, 5.1.1900.

University in Prague (14%³³²). At this point the link between science and practice becomes visible; the cases of scholars remaining only *Privatdozenten* includes mostly disciplines like ophthalmology, laryngology, dentistry or inner medicine, while scholars in disciplines like anatomy or pathology mostly achieved titles of professor or at least titular professor. This local and practical dimension surrounding *Privatdozenten* in Vienna can be viewed through the disciplinary nexus as well. For example, the fields of balneology, syphidology, history of medicine or dentistry were almost without transfers, or included only around 10% of doctors of internal medicine, while around 40% of anatomists and pathological anatomists changed university in the course of their careers.

In the period 1848-1918, the Vienna Medical Faculty ‘exported’ 102 scholars, 77% of whom had graduated in Vienna and 87% attained the position of *Privatdozent* there, while 6 such scholars (6%) had gained habilitation at German universities. At the same time, the Faculty appointed 80 instructors, from whom 33% were the Faculty’s own ‘returning’ offspring, and 22% came from the German Empire. Of these nearly half had graduated in Vienna and altogether 72% graduated in Austria; but only 4 (20%) had gained habilitation in Vienna; half were appointments for professors; 23% of scholars came from Bohemia, with a predominance of scholars from the German University.

The Graz Faculty appointed in the same period 47 scholars (32% of the overall number of instructors), 38% of whom were appointed from Innsbruck and 44% from Vienna. While scholars from Vienna were appointed with promotion, Innsbruck scholars were appointed mostly from full professorship with no change in professorial rank, although certainly a change in salary. 44% of the Graz Faculty members were appointed to another university – 9 to Vienna, 8 to Prague and 4 to Germany. At the same time in Graz, young scholars were appointed elsewhere only in 9 cases (four of them returned, one from Prague and three from Innsbruck) and 5 scholars transferred their *venia* from Graz (four of them to Vienna). This policy strongly influenced the variety at the top positions in Styria. Among fifty-six scholars who had the position of full professor in Graz, only 10% were graduates from this university, with high fluctuation among those positions as well.

³³² Undivided Prague University had 23% of ‘only’ *Privatdozenten*.

The German University in Prague remained similarly a university in between, especially suffering the prestige loss after the division of the university in 1882. It 'exported' 20 of its own scholars (from 1882 onwards, including scholars who graduated from the undivided university), which was half of all scholars who were appointed from this university. Half of them moved to Vienna (in equal parts by appointments and transfer of *venia*) and to the German Empire (6 persons, that is 30% of all Prague offspring appointed at other universities), and, with one exception, without being subsequently appointed back to Prague. During the same period the Faculty appointed 37 scholars, with the majority (23, 62%) remaining at the university. Most common were appointments from Vienna (33%), followed by Graz and the German Empire (each around 20%). The structure of appointments was not as consistent as in Vienna, however, as the Faculty appointed not only full professors from other universities (25%), but also associate professors (38%) and *Privatdozenten* (25%); the appointments with advancement were mostly from Vienna and German-Empire universities, but also, to a lesser extent, from other universities.

The smallest university in Innsbruck appointed for the Medical Faculty more than 50% of the total teaching faculty between 1869 and 1918. Most instructors came from Vienna (from those, *Privatdozenten* made up one third those appointed to full professorships and one third to associate professorships) but did not remain in Tyrol for a longer time. Two-thirds of scholars appointed from Vienna left the university (10 to Graz, 5 to Vienna) after an average of 6 years spent in Innsbruck (half in less than 4 years). While seven scholars were appointed from German universities, three of whom were Habsburg citizens, only two of them remained in Innsbruck – Anton Steyer from Murau (Styria) and Felix Sieglbauer (Vienna). Only four scholars who habilitated in Innsbruck moved to other universities, but only one was appointed, Transleithanian-born medical chemist Leó Liebermann who was appointed to Budapest in 1902. Three others moved their *venia docendi* to other Habsburg universities. Appointments from Vienna prevailed here, and later through Innsbruck to Graz (11 cases, i.e. 25% of all mobile scholars), while only three scholars per university returned from Innsbruck to Vienna, Graz and to the German University in Prague. Similarly, as in the other provincial universities, in Innsbruck its own scholars made up only a small percentage of full professors of the Medical Faculty – 3 scholars who graduated in Innsbruck (Karl Senhofer, Carl Ipsen, who habilitated in Graz, and Geog Juffinger, habilitated in Vienna) or 3 scholars who gained their *venia* in

Innsbruck (Senhofer, Ludwig Kerschner and Johann Loos, two latter having graduated in Graz). Prevalent also here were scholars with Viennese pasts.

The philosophical faculties show a slightly different picture. Similar to the case of the medical faculties is that the combination of finance and prestige structured academic mobility. The position of Innsbruck University as the lowest in the appointment chain was replaced by Chernivtsi and the Tyrolean university shows a pattern of appointments similar to universities in Styria and Bohemia. It had a much higher proportion of its own scholars among professors than in the medical sciences, with 46 of its own *Privatdozenten* (32% of all instructors); 17 were appointed at other universities (3 in Chernivtsi, 4 in Graz, 6 in Vienna), in most cases after having achieved professorships in Innsbruck. Slightly more than half of all full professors working at the Faculty habilitated in Tirol, with 20% gaining *Privatdozentur* in Vienna. The teaching body of the smallest and youngest Habsburg university, in Chernivtsi, consisted of 80% of scholars appointed from other universities in the monarchy; this university had almost no offspring of its own. This was also caused, similarly to the Medical Faculty in Innsbruck, by a later year of foundation (1875); the high rotation of professorships hindered school-building and the lack of professional activities made the unpaid *Privatdozentur* unattractive. Vienna remained the central faculty, promoting half of its professors from their own offspring,³³³ and a quarter of professors who were appointed in the capital from other Habsburg universities were also educated in Vienna.

With Graz and the German University in Prague having similar structures of appointments/promotions, a detailed presentation of the Styrian university perfectly illustrates the characteristics of the ‘in between’ position. Around 25% of full professors in Graz were offspring of its own faculty or acquired their first academic position in Graz; of the 89 habilitated scholars who were promoted to professors in Styria, 14 habilitated in Graz (7 of them had also graduated there), while 36 (40%) earned habilitation in Vienna, being promoted to Graz mostly from the position of *Privatdozent* – 14 cases to associate professors, 6 directly to full professors, with four scholars having moved their *venia*. Two scholars, mineralogist Karl Peters and

³³³ For the time 1848-1900, see Mühlberger, "Das „Antlitz“ der Wiener Philosophischen Fakultät in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Struktur und personelle Erneuerung," 85.

physicist Ludwig Boltzmann,³³⁴ moved as full professor to Graz, both however under atypical circumstances – Boltzmann changed his university quite frequently and Peters gained his professorship in Vienna through relocation from Pest.³³⁵ Eight Vienna *Privatdozenten* came to Styria through other universities. Nine of those scholars moved again – 5 to Vienna, 2 to Prague, one to Innsbruck and Berlin. In total, 98 scholars moved to Graz – 29 as associate professors and 47 as full professors. Slightly less than one-third of them (26) were subsequently appointed at another university – 11 in Vienna (for 8 of them it was a return nomination), 5 at German University in Prague (and 3 at the undivided university) and 10 at German universities.

Of all scholars appointed from Graz, 36 had their first position in Graz, from those 27 were graduates from the Faculty – 7 were appointed in Vienna, 5 in Chernivtsi, 2 in Germany, and 3 at the Technical Academy in Graz. Of the 32 scholars for whom Graz was only a station in their career, most scholars were appointed to a university with a higher standing (Vienna, German universities). In total, 5 scholars returned to Graz, 2 from Vienna, one each from Chernivtsi and the German University in Prague, and one through Freiburg from Innsbruck. Most appointed scholars (27) came from Graz, having been full professors there (to Germany, Prague and Vienna), to a lesser extent as associate professors (14, of which 4 went to Chernivtsi and 4 to Vienna) and as *Privatdozenten* – 7 moved their *venia* (3 to Vienna) and 11 were appointed as professors – especially in Prague, Chernivtsi and Innsbruck.

Through the dominance of Vienna and the (in)formal privilege of appointing the best scholars, the central institution had a considerably more stable faculty than the other universities. Having a number of scholars return, and low percentage of scholars for whom the university was only a transitional station (see table 11), it

³³⁴ Ludwig Boltzmann, who moved his professorship several times, was an example of an extremely mobile scholar who falls into several of the categories named here, his career path is however atypical for Habsburg scholars.

³³⁵ After the change of language of instruction in Pest, Peters, was assigned to Vienna as full professor of geognosy, probably as a support for the 70-year-old Zippe who had still full professorship for geology. After Zippe's death and Reuss' appointment to Vienna, in 1864, Peters rejected a call from Prague due to the distance to the object of his scientific interest, the Alps; after Victor Zepharovich from Graz was appointed to Prague, Peters took his position in Styria. See ÖStA, AVA, fasc. 1132, PA Zepharovich, Z. 12382, 19.2.1864 and Hubmann, Bernhard, "Carl Ferdinand Peters (1825-1881). Beitrag zu seiner Biographie." *Berichte der Geologischen Bundesanstalt* 53 (2001): 31-48, here 35.

differed from Graz and Innsbruck which were often the only rungs on a career ladder. Still, Vienna did not turn into a place for retiring scholars, as the Ministry feared and critics maintained about pre-1848 academia. Although it had the highest average age of full professors³³⁶ and associate professors,³³⁷ the number of new scholars in the faculty (every ten years, newly habilitated and promoted from other universities), around 50%, this was similar for all universities in the monarchy.³³⁸ In comparison to other universities, however, the rate of promotions within the Vienna faculties was lower by about half (if award of a title is not considered a promotion),³³⁹ even if the faculties in Cracow and L'viv are taken into consideration. Although no policy explicitly condemned local appointments, the picture of scholars educated in Vienna, pursuing a career at other universities and then being appointed back to the capital (or not) is dominant, especially at the Medical Faculty. Notwithstanding numbers biased by immobile *Privatdozenten*, the full professorship in particular was linked with mobility – including in Vienna, where mobility was to a large extent circular.

One of the most contentious issues in appointment policy in the nineteenth century remained, however, the relationship with the German Empire, influenced both by geopolitical changes and Habsburg political imagination. As noted earlier, German scholars were treated differently from 'Austrians,' with a lower rate of acceptance by the Ministry. Among professors also exchange between the two empires was not always welcomed, not only in the interest of young Habsburg scholars, but also as German scholars might provide unwanted ideas and methodologies – which, for example, state-patriotic Bohemians Eduard Albert and Anton Gindely opposed for medicine and historiography respectively.³⁴⁰ Especially immediately after 1870, the Ministry feared that German scholars could “possibly use their position in Austria for secondary aims, among the youth, which is already fevered by current events.”³⁴¹ A few years later, the same argument can be found in the appointment records for chairs of German language and literature in Prague, where the Ministry rejected the

³³⁶ In average 3 years more than other germanophone universities, between 46 (1880) to 52 (1900).

³³⁷ Here for some years Vienna had younger associate professors than other universities, the trend changed though after 1900.

³³⁸ With between 30%-40% of instructors (incl. *Privatdozenten*) retaining their positions and 15%-25% being appointed from other universities.

³³⁹ Between 5% (lowest rate for Vienna) to 25%.

³⁴⁰ Buklijas, *Dissection, discipline and urban transformation*, esp. 208-209; Krofta, Kamil, "Anton Gindely." *Zprávy zemského archivu Království českého* 3 (1910): 147-395, here 213.

³⁴¹ Words noted on the proposal of Philosophical Faculty in Vienna proposing only German scholars. ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 664, PA Schneider, Z. 6978, 3.8.1870.

proposed appointment of German professors who “gave no guarantees in political regard” and appointed only auxiliary professors.³⁴² Ironically, the 1870s were, however, one of the periods in which German scholars were most frequently appointed (apart from 1850s). Analogically to Thun’s time, this was due to the lack of qualified teachers to satisfy the demand of growing faculties (see also chart 3 and table 8). Nonetheless, only those whom the Ministry considered politically passive were successful.³⁴³

Although there is no constant pattern in the exchange between the two empires, in no period did the appointments from abroad exceeded those from within the Monarchy. The first peak of appointments falls for years 1849-1854, with around 20% of appointments at the Habsburg universities from non-Habsburg German institutions. However, a number of appointed scholars was rather exiled to the Habsburg Empire due to political and religious persecution and found sanctuary in the philosophical faculties of “the Catholic counterpart to Prussia.”³⁴⁴ The second peak, in the 1870s, was of another sort, including professors at the philosophical and medical faculties to the same extent and linked with a strong extension of university education and the better financial situation of the Empire. Still, the percentage of scholars appointed from abroad was clearly decreasing at germanophone universities, making the Habsburg universities more autarchic, but also more hermetic than in the first years after their reform.

The nominees from the German Empire, however, included up to 30% Habsburg returnees,³⁴⁵ 1/3 of whom were appointed back, and more than half of whom had gained doctoral degrees in the Monarchy. Out of 82 scholars born in the German Empire, 26 were appointed to the Medical Faculty (65% from 1880 onwards) and 56 to the Philosophical Faculty, with the overwhelming majority (90%) in the humanities. Although generally 35% of such professors left for the German Empire

³⁴² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1101, PA Kaluzniacki, Z. 12099, 3.8.1875.

³⁴³ See for example appointment of historian of art Alfred Woltmann, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1132, PA Woltmann, Z. 7471, 12.6.1873. Woltmann’s appointment was officially supported by Eitelberger.

³⁴⁴ A situation not encountered later, with an exception of professor of botany in Belgrade Lujo Adamović (also Лујо Адамовић), who moved to Vienna in 1906 due to problems he encountered in Serbia as a foreigner (born in Rovinj/Rovigno in Dalmatia, member of Zagreb-based Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts / *Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*) and Catholic. See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 633, PA Adamović.

³⁴⁵ 13 Bohemians (4 of whom were appointed back) and 26 Austrians (13 appointed back, 95% from 1880 onwards, half-half philosophers and physicians; from those 22 had graduated in Austria, 18 of them, 6 from Philosophical and 12 Medical faculty, in Vienna).

after several years, with the exception of those at Vienna, returns were much more frequent, and universities severely criticized this. While the appointments were almost exactly divided between three categories of advancement and appointments from the position of full professor, the status division remained quite clear: while Vienna University appointed mostly full professorships and associate professors to full professors, other universities promoted *Privatdozenten*, in 25% of cases directly to full professorships.

Appointment to the German Empire shared a similar configuration. From 109 scholars appointed to universities in the German Empire, approximately two-thirds were Austrians, almost evenly split between the faculties; however, while members of Medical Faculty were appointed with promotion – especially from Vienna – the majority of the appointed professors from the Philosophical Faculty were full professors, with smaller numbers appointed to full professorship as *Privatdozent* or associate professor.

In contrast to the strong entanglement with the universities of the German Empire, transfers to and from other countries were limited, due primarily to language problems. While 17 scholars were appointed from other countries (8 from Switzerland, 6 from Italy), they were mostly born in the Habsburg Empire and worked for a certain time abroad or had necessary skills, which was the case with professors of Italian and romance languages. Also here, personal connections and ‘tradition’ were very influential. For example, three Habsburg surgeons appointed to Utrecht – Friedrich Salzer, Anton Eiselberg and Albert Narath – achieved their positions through the connections of Viennese surgeon Billroth to Utrecht physiologist Theodor Wilhelm Engelmann.³⁴⁶

In 1914, Vienna University initiated an exchange program with United States, with philosopher and psychologist George Stewart Fullerton being the first visiting scholar in Vienna,³⁴⁷ but the program was not continued due to the outbreak of the war.

³⁴⁶ Salzer was appointed 1890, after his death in 1893 the chair was filled with Eiselberg and after his appointment to Königsberg Narath took the position. Eiselberg, Anton von, *Lebensweg eines Chirurgen. Eine Autobiographie aus der großen Zeit der Wiener Medizin 1860-1937*. Wien: Christian Brandstätter 1991, 89-97; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1003, PA Schloffer, Z. 32351, 7.10.1903 (on Narath).

³⁴⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 635, PA Fullerton.

The question whether or not to appoint Habsburg scholars back from foreign (German) universities was seen in the first place as a cultural regain and continuation of certain research traditions, though with time the practice was confronted with financial issues. Appointing Ernst Fuchs from Liège to Vienna in 1885 for the chair of ophthalmology, instead of Ludwig Mauthner, who had been proposed by the Faculty, minister Eybesfeld accentuated the continuation of tradition: “it is a duty of the administration of education, in consideration of the splendid tradition of [Friedrich – J.S.] Arlt’s school, which should find also in the future representation at the Vienna University.”³⁴⁸ Minister Hartel happily announced in 1905 that with the appointment of physiologist Franz Hofmann from Leipzig “an Austrian scholar be regained.”³⁴⁹ Stürgkh wrote in similar tones on pediatrician Clemens Pirquet in 1911, allowing an expensive appointment of a Breslau full professor to Vienna as successor of Pirquet’s earlier teacher, Theodor Escherich.³⁵⁰

Not all such appointments were successful. The most severe was the answer from the Ministry to a proposal of the Viennese Medical Faculty for the successor of Theodor Billroth. While Vincenz Czerny, Bohemia-born chair of surgery in Heidelberg, proposed in the first place, was regarded as too expensive, the second nominee, Mikulicz-Radecki, was rejected because he had moved to Königsberg “without urgent reasons” and should not be appointed back, as he had “left a teaching position at a university in inland, only because of momentary gain of advantage.”³⁵¹ This was written by minister Poray-Madeyski, who was Radecki’s colleague at the Jagiellonian University prior to his appointment to the government administration.

The preferences and pressure of the faculty determined in most cases who would be appointed and from where, although especially in the case of foreign scholars the Ministry influenced a lower number than if the universities had decided themselves. In general around 14% of nominees were from German-Empire universities and 80% from Habsburg ones, with the highest rates in humanistic disciplines.³⁵² There were considerable disparities however, in the percentage of

³⁴⁸ ÖStA, AVA, fasc. 599, PA Ernst Fuchs, Z. 23518/84, 16.7.1885. Ministry, supported with expertise from Arlt and Stellwag, mentioned that Fuchs is a specialist in pathological-anatomical studies in Arlt’s tradition, while Mauthner represents the “physical school”.

³⁴⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1001, PA Franz Hofmann, Z. 6400, 8.1.1905.

³⁵⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 603, PA Pirquet, Z. 28469, 8.6.1911.

³⁵¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 600, PA Gussenbauer, Z. 12711, 2.6.1894.

³⁵² 10% vs. 85% at the Medical Faculty, 11% vs. 86% in sciences, 21% vs. 69% in humanistic disciplines.

German-Empire scholars who were placed first in proposals at the universities, ranging from 33% at the German University in Prague (41% in the Philosophical Faculty) to 20% in Innsbruck, with the humanities having the most German nominees. In Prague, slightly more than the half of the proposals in the humanities ranked a scholar from the German Empire as first choice. There was however a significant difference in the handling of proposals depending on the place from which scholars were appointed. The ratio of appointments of the first choice scholar, if he was from a Habsburg university (56% of proposals), was considerably higher than if he was from a German one (27%), with 76% and 29% success rate respectively. If scholars based in the German Empire were proposed first in the *terna*, such proposals led 40% of the time to the appointment of the German scholar. If an Austrian was proposed *primo loco*, only in 4% of cases were scholars from outside of the Monarchy ultimately appointed for that position, with the humanities having the highest rate of successful appointments from the German Empire and medicine the lowest.³⁵³ Unsurprisingly it was Vienna University whose ‘foreign’ proposals were most successful, with appointments from the German Empire successful 70% of the time,³⁵⁴ while in Prague only 50% of such proposals met with positive response.

Looking at these discrepancies, one should also consider that the Ministry was also not willing to appoint scholars from abroad, because the probability of their appointment back to a university outside the Monarchy was considerably higher than with scholars from within the Monarchy. Both the universities and the Ministry considered whether the candidates for chairs would remain in the Monarchy/at the university, exploring whether the candidates would take the appointment seriously and were willing to remain. The Ministry also quite often referred to prospective open positions, mentioning that a given scholar should not be appointed because in the foreseeable future he might be proposed by another faculty – meaning usually that he would be promoted to Vienna and would thus not be a lasting gain for a given university.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Humanities 51%, sciences 41%, medical sciences 30%.

³⁵⁴ Percentage of scholars based at German universities appointed if included in the proposal, disregarding the place in *terna*.

³⁵⁵ See for example succession of Siegmund Mayer at chair of histology at German University in Prague, where Josef Schaffer, seen as the most apt scholar, is mentioned as foreseen to take position after Viktor Ebner in Vienna in a short time by both Ministry and the Faculty: NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 2, fasz. 97, PA Kohn, Z. 2888, 9.2.1911 (Ministry); 17.12.1910, ad Z. 2888

This was true also for appointments from other faculties at smaller universities. For example, pediatrician Joseph Langer was appointed to Prague because he agreed to remain at the university for a longer time, while his opponent Franz Hamburger did not;³⁵⁶ when he was appointed to Graz in 1890, Theodor Escherich even had to agree not to accept any calls for the next five years.³⁵⁷ This practice was, however, abused in order to appoint scholars with contacts within the Faculty. When the Philosophical Faculty in Innsbruck proposed Alois Cathrein for the chair of mineralogy and petrology, the commission stated two reasons for his *primo loco* position with disregard both to the custom of appointment of professors from other universities for a chair and his scholarly qualities – the first was his concentration on Tyrolean geology and the second the fact that he would not be eager to accept call from other university, what “*might* be the case with other candidates.”³⁵⁸ Although it was not the usual practice to make clear references to future calls, appointment deliberations evidently considered this fact, which strengthened the concentration on local scholars.

The situation of financial disparities between the Habsburg and German empires (see table 15) made it especially complicated for smaller universities to appoint foreign scholars. Half of the scholars appointed from the German Empire were in the position of *Privatdozent* (less often of associate professor), with prevalence of Prague and Vienna faculties on one side and the universities in Göttingen, Munich and Freiburg for the Philosophical Faculty and Heidelberg, Strasburg and Leipzig for Medical Faculty. Appointments of full professors from Germany comprised only around 30% of total transfers. At the Philosophical Faculty, such transfers were with few exceptions concentrated in Prague and Vienna, and up to one-third involved returning Monarchy-born scholars. At the Medical Faculty, as many as half of the appointed full professors were monarchy born, and all of these appointments were to Vienna and Prague. Appointments of full professors from outside the Monarchy were, however, both a financial burden and seen as an affront to local scholarship, and thus not very welcomed by the Ministry. Only the Vienna

(Faculty). In most cases however, such scholars were sorted out by the commissions in the first place, the debates included also considerations on possible vacancies in German Empire as well.

³⁵⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1122, PA Langer, Z. 28780, 24.9.1915.

³⁵⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 882, PA Escherich, (ad. Z. 4418), 12.2.1890.

³⁵⁸ *Votum Separatum* of Leopold Gegenbauer in UAI, Ph 476/1890; See also ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1014, PA Blaas, Z. 14771, 13.8.1890. Emphasis in original.

University had privileges as the central university in the monarchy, with Prague gradually but steadily losing its status, which the Faculty saw as an increasing depreciation of the previously central university, especially after 1882.³⁵⁹ The idea of the 'best possible scholars,' which one often finds in appointment proposals for Vienna University involved germanophone academics. This designation included the German Empire, but left Galician and Czech Prague scholars out of the discussions and unnoticed. Celebrities with confirmed knowledge of German and mostly Viennese educational background were exceptions. Vienna-born and educated physicist Marian Smoluchowski, Rokitansky's assistant pathologist, Alfred Biesiadecki, pupil of Vatroslav Jagić, linguist Aleksander Brückner, and historian and philologist, Konstantin Jireček, were among the few scholars who worked at Slavic universities but were considered (the last one appointed) for a position in Vienna.³⁶⁰

The liaison between the two neighboring empires which shared a language was not easy, however, not only due to obvious political complications, but also because the Habsburg Empire from the beginning understood science as a cultural component of competition with Prussia. Although on several occasions higher officials advocated the unity of both empires on the academic level, this idea of competition defined academic relations. Especially in the medical sciences the idea that the Vienna Medical School was appreciated at German Universities was accentuated both by scholars and the Ministry. The Ministry stressed this in appointment papers, for example, of surgeon Erwin Payr to Greifswald or forensic physician Max Richter to Munich; these mentioned not only the welcomed spread of Habsburg traditions, but also the fact that they would not gain a satisfactory position

³⁵⁹ See already Purkyně, "Kritika: Carl Rokitansky, Die Conformität der Universitäten mit Rücksicht auf gegenwärtige österreichische Zustände," written clearly from a position of Prague scholar opposing centrality. Especially after doubling of Charles University, one finds critique in the records that the Viennese faculties are privileged in the appointment policy, especially if appointments from abroad are concerned. See for example NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 9, fasc. 116, PA Pelikan, Z. 8604, 18.10.1898; Z. 855, 11.1.1899: In 1899 Ministry overlooked the proposal for chair of mineralogy where two German-Empire professors were proposed at the first places, appointing Anton Pelikan from Vienna, against whom the Faculty protested seeing it as vilification of status of the Bohemian academia.

³⁶⁰ Smoluchowski, proposed with a *votum separatum*, but seriously considered by the Ministry, died before the final decision of the Ministry; Brückner rejected moving from Berlin where he taught after being *Privatdozent* in L'viv; Biesiadecki, proposed *ex aequo* with two other scholars by Billroth for chair after Rokitansky, was seen as too important for Cracow; Jireček was appointed 1893 to Vienna.

in the Monarchy in the foreseeable future,³⁶¹ thus addressing thus financial issues with references to scientific transfer.

4.2.2. Cracow, L'viv and Prague. Language geographies

With the language change at the universities in Cracow, L'viv and later in Prague, the communication value of German for scientific transfer in the Habsburg context diminished, as scholars at Slavic universities were primarily to speak Polish or Czech fluently. However, German remained the language of Ministry-universities communication and, on a larger scale, also of scholarly communication. While at the Galician universities the possibility to appoint scholars without knowledge of Polish was retained – with the specification to learn the language within three years' time – such exceptions were not allowed at the Czech University in Prague. The 'doubling' of the university was linked with the complete separation of languages of instruction, leading to several shortcomings in the period directly after 1882.

As far as the appointments are concerned, these changes were connected with the critical germanophone assessment of promotion of national particularism over the universalism of the German language, which was regarded as causing more harm for scientific development than good. In an analysis of universities in the Monarchy in 1873, a high official in the Ministry, Armand Dumreicher, mentioned that since the language change, universities in Galicia escaped the oversight of the Habsburg government, which had no possibility to control the development of these institutions.³⁶² This was true only to a certain extent, not only because the language of correspondence remained German, but also because the Ministry always included functionaries for non-German universities or Slavic ministers. On the other hand, the provincial government largely took over the role the Ministry had played before as the regulatory and supervisory authority, serving as intermediary between Slavs and Vienna, with a growing (although differently handled) dominance. This change was, however, not juristically regulated, but a matter of practice and thus took different forms, ranging from an influence on the Ministry by reports attached to proposals,

³⁶¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 884, PA Payr, Z. 38748, 22.9.1907; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 604, PA Richter, Z. 43166, 7.11.1909.

³⁶² Dumreicher, Armand *Die Verwaltung der Universitäten seit dem letzten politischen Systemwechsel in Oesterreich*. Wien: Alfred Hölden, 1873.

through mediation in favor of candidates, even to organizing its own commissions and negotiating with the Ministry with disregard for university autonomy.

Yet, the linguistic boundary did not simply create barriers, but also opened distinct spaces, shifting the direction of appointments from ‘state’ to ‘cultural’ boundaries – boundaries, which had already been altered through appointments from the non-Habsburg German Confederation after 1848. This change influenced Galicia in particular. Prior to the language reforms, the possibility of appointing Polish- or Ruthenian/Ukrainian-speaking scholars from the German or Russian Empires existed, but it was far from being the first option. With the relaxation of appointment policy and the shift in competences, however, such appointments had more chance of success. Beginning with the 1860s, the Jagiellonian University was even advised to search for candidates abroad if the local capabilities were not sufficient; this was ‘advice’ which L’viv University also took seriously later on.³⁶³ Still, such appointments were often aimed (at least in the wording in the records) at strengthening local academic quality, and were only the last resort for the Ministry, which opted for Galician or Habsburg scholars in cases of dispute. For example, in 1882, during the appointment process for professor of physics in Cracow, minister Eybesfeld wrote that the appointment of Zygmunt Wróblewski, born in Grodno/Hrodna in the Russian Empire (Гродно, now Горадня/Гродна in Belarus), is advisable, as “he will succeed in educating offspring from the Polish students also for the discipline of physics, and thus help to avoid the appointments of Polish scholars from abroad, which under present circumstances are inevitable.”³⁶⁴ On the other hand, Slavic scholars who graduated and/or habilitated in germanophone Habsburg universities were appointed, even if they were not named in the Faculty proposal. This was the case, for example, for Vienna *Privatdozent* Johann Hofmokl, who was envisioned for a chair in Galicia, which hindered his appointment to Innsbruck in 1873; minister Stremayr mentioned that “as a born Pole [he] should be kept in view for the possible reoccupation of the surgical clinic at the University of Cracow.”³⁶⁵ In 1887, he declined accepting a call for a chair for surgery in Cracow in favor of a position as chief surgeon at the Vienna General Hospital, but in the course of

³⁶³ See the writing from the Ministry on rejection of appointment of mathematician Wojciech Urbański to Cracow (AUJ, WF II 163, Z. 8839, 30.11.1864), where the commission is asked not to restrain the search for adequate candidates to Galicia only.

³⁶⁴ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 70u, PA Wróblewski, Z. 3630, 18.4.1882.

³⁶⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1000, PA Albert, Z. 11848, 18.9.1873.

negotiations the Ministry explicitly asked him without consulting the Faculty.³⁶⁶ Similar was the case of ophthalmologist Michael/Michał Borysiekievicz, who was consulted for appointment in Cracow (which he rejected because of the position *ex aequo* with Bolesław Wicherkievicz) and later discussed by the Ministry for possible appointment in L'viv, although the Faculty did not name him in the proposal.³⁶⁷ Appointments of Vienna-educated Karel Pawlík and Eduard Albert's protégé, Karl/Karel Maydl, were similarly decreed from Vienna, the latter prepared by Albert for chair of surgery, which Albert for political reasons never got.³⁶⁸ Appointments of germanophone Habsburg scholars were also seen as more appropriate than scholars from abroad, although here the Ministry took the lack of specialists speaking Slavic languages into consideration as well. When Emil Weyr was proposed in the third place in the *terna* for the chair of mathematics at the Viennese Faculty (1875), the Ministry decided to promote him as a local scholar, because the other scholars were from the German Empire and thus too expensive.³⁶⁹ However, when his brother Eduard, associate professor at the Czech Technical Academy, was proposed *primo loco* three years later to Innsbruck, the minister wrote that "as Weyr is one of the few representatives of his discipline, who are completely fluent apart from German also in Czech, I think it would not be justified to deprive his place of current employment of his services."³⁷⁰ In 1893, the chair of mathematics in Vienna after Emil Weyr's death was filled with a scholar of Galician past, Franciszek/Franz Mertens, from 1865 professor in Cracow, and from 1884 professor at the Technical Academy in Graz, who had been proposed *primo loco*.³⁷¹

At the Charles University in Prague until the 1880s the line between language spheres was seemingly deliberately violated by the Ministry, which promoted scholars with Czech as a mother tongue, often opposing or even disregarding the Faculty. The

³⁶⁶ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 52u, PA Rydygier, Z. 117, 2.4.1887.

³⁶⁷ See AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 52u, PA Wicherkievicz, Z. 405, 10.6.1895 (Borysiekievicz's response to the Faculty proposal) and Z. 21580, 2.12.1895 (Ministry's commentary on the proposal); fasz. 403u, PA Machek, Z. 20817, 9.8.1898 (Ministry's writing on financial reasons hindering appointment of Borysiekievicz, than full professor in Graz, to Galicia. Borysiekievicz was however not considered in the Faculty proposal, Z. 640, 22.5.1898).

³⁶⁸ Vlček, Jaroslav, "K historii trvání I. české chirurgické kliniky." In *120 let I. české chirurgické kliniky I. lékařské fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*, Praha: Karolinum, 2002, 47-64, here 53-54.

³⁶⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 646, PA Weyr, Z. 6832, 17.9.1875.

³⁷⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1015, PA Gegenbauer, Z. 11647, 18.10.1878.

³⁷¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 640, PA Mertens, Z.5792, 26.6.1894; Mertens, who was proposed *unico loco* together with Otto Stolz from Innsbruck, was appointed due to his longer teaching experience. In 1882 Mertens, German-Empire born Protestant, was proposed as professor to Halle, but the university kept him through additional salary (AUJ, WF II 163, 11.1.1882).

clearest such situation took place in 1871, as minister Josef Jireček waived the right of the Faculty to assess the proposed appointment of three Czech scholars for professors of natural sciences whom he personally proposed for the chairs of zoology, botany and mineralogy, because the Prague professors in the subjects in question spoke only German: “I think to proceed without asking the Philosophical Faculty on this issue”³⁷² was his rationale, affirmed with Franz Joseph’s signature. But also on other occasions the Ministry acted in the interest of Czech-speaking students. For example, in 1881 Eybesfeld appointed Bohumil Eiselt for the first chair of internal medicine after August Jaksch-Wartenhorst, although he has not been considered at all in the faculty proposal.³⁷³ This appointment was especially meaningful as it decided in 1883 that the Czech University received the institute, because the rules of doubling stated that the institutes would go to or remain with³⁷⁴ those universities at which the chair of the institutes chose to teach. It was also not very surprising that the Faculty proposed three germanophone scholars on this occasion. The second professor who moved with his clinic to the Czech University was gynecologist Jan Streng, who was similarly promoted by the Ministry because of his ability to speak Czech, firstly at the chair of gynecology for midwives in 1852,³⁷⁵ and later during the transfer to the chair of the gynecology institute in 1870. Although the Faculty claimed in the latter case that the candidates proposed in the *terna* (Karl Helly from Graz, August Breisky from Bern, Johann Saxinger from Tübingen) “who all have gained their education at the Prague University, are completely fluent in the Czech language, and have been appointed at the named universities in their young years due only to their notable scientific achievements,”³⁷⁶ the Ministry decided for Streng, stating that his ability to speak Czech was decisive for this practice oriented discipline.

The appointment of the third director of the institute who continued his activity at the Czech University, surgeon Vilém/Wilhelm Weiss, shows, however, that

³⁷² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1129, PA Fric, Z. 768, 11.10.1871.

(„glaube ich von einer Einvernehmung des philosophischen Professoren-Kollegiums über die vorliegende Frage abgehen“)

³⁷³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1121, PA Eiselt, Z. 9990, 18.6.1881. Scholars proposed by the Faculty were Hermann Nothnagel from Jena, Alfred Pribram/Přibram and Otto Kahler from Prague, two latter went than to the German University; Eiselt was already associate professor in Prague.

³⁷⁴ As the Charles University was doubled, neither of the new institutions was new and both were a continuation of legal person of the undivided Charles University; thus, in all cases ‘remain’ would be here the logically correct formulation and is as such meant even if differently articulated.

³⁷⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1123, PA Stark, Z. 6683/546, 28.7.1852.

³⁷⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1123, PA Stark, Z. 7731, 30.8.1870.

language questions and nationalism were treated differently. Pronounced Czech patriotism was perhaps not an obstacle for obtaining a professorship at Habsburg universities, but certainly the frontline city of Prague had special consideration in this regard, and the Ministry balanced here between two opposing groups. Such was the case with Eduard Albert, a pronounced Czech patriot who was professor in Innsbruck and Vienna, who received the last chair as a kind of compensation for his unsuccessful attempt to get a position in Prague. In 1878, while teaching as a full professor in Innsbruck, Albert was proposed by the minority in Prague for the chair of surgery after Carl Heine. The Ministry, however, decided not to appoint him, because the “peaceful life of the Faculty” should not be troubled through the appointment of a scholar who “is not completely objective toward Czech national efforts.”³⁷⁷ In 1880, Albert tried once more to achieve a transfer to Prague on the occasion of the retirement of surgeon (and active Czech-language scholar) Josef Blažina. This time the Faculty decided with a 16 to 1 vote against including him in the proposal, proposing only German-speaking scholars for the position.³⁷⁸ After long deliberations, the Ministry decided to appoint a scholar from outside the *terna*, Weiss, who taught at the Czech University from 1883, had been previously active in Czech medical organizations and journals and had having the support of Czech publics and scholars as well.³⁷⁹

The question of how many Czech-speaking scholars worked at the Prague University at the moment of its doubling is not easy to answer. One can reason that for some of them the decision on which side to support was to be taken in 1882, given that there was no possibility of teaching at both universities, and the previous dominance of German language in publications. On this particular occasion, though, the Czech university, and its medical division in particular, was considerably less prepared; fears the Czech professors had voiced during the debates on the future of the university proved correct. For whatever reason the number of Czech assistants and *Privatdozenten* at the Medical Faculty was quite low at the point of Faculty division. From 1872, no Czech scholars gained habilitations and of 31 assistants at the Faculty,

³⁷⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1121, PA Gussenbauer, Z. 21118, 15.4.1878.

³⁷⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1123, PA Weiss, Z. 17116, 4.11.1881.

³⁷⁹ See Kokešová, Helena *Eduard Albert : příspěvek k životopisu a edice korespondence*. Praha: Scriptorium: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy : Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2004, 22-27; see also the critical assessment of Weiss in Šváb, Jan, "I. česká chirurgická klinika a její vliv na rozvoj chirurgie v Českých zemích." In *120 let I. české chirurgické kliniky I. lékařské fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*, Praha: Karolinum, 2002, 9-46, esp. 15-17.

only three were Czech.³⁸⁰ The situation, with only three professors choosing the Czech side at the Medical Faculty, resulted in the postponement of its foundation until 1883, and even then it was opened with only 16 instructors, while the German Faculty numbered 36 people at the time; this discrepancy did not last forever, however, and in 1910 both faculties were more or less even with about 60 instructors each, the Czech University having a few more professors than the German one (see table 1). The second issue aggravating the situation in Prague was the question of clinics, which the Czech Medical Faculty requested due to division regulations. The Faculty soon acquired a new building, which allowed the functioning of the clinic, but it had to be considerably expanded in the next decades.³⁸¹

The question of the inauguration of the Medical Faculty was addressed by the university in December 1882, and already in January the Ministry was given the green light for its creation: "I authorize you to begin the preparations to activate the Medical Faculty of the University with Bohemian language of instruction," wrote Franz Joseph on 7th January.³⁸² The commission established by the governor to make preparations, proposed not only candidates for professorships, but also additions to the number of assistants and institutes, which would help the Faculty to achieve the desired standards swiftly. Personnel proposals at the time included, apart from several Bohemian practitioners, also émigré scholars who were active in the Russian Empire: professor for anatomical pathology Vilém Dušan Lambl from Kharkiv and physiologist Vladimír Tomsa from Kiev, Ruthenian chemist Ivan Horbachevs'kyi (Іван Горбачевський, Jan Horbaczewski), professor at the Academy of Applied Arts (Akademie výtvarných umění / Akademie der Bildenden Künste) anatomist Václav Steffal or assistant at the Vienna University, pathologist Arnold Spina.³⁸³ In several cases proposed scholars were seen as not yet ready for professorships and auxiliary professors were appointed instead (e.g. Jaroslav Hlava for pathological anatomy),³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Budování klinických pracovišť české lékařské fakulty v době rozdělení pražské univerzity. II. Snahy o vybudování českých klinických pracovišť před rozdělením univerzity." *Sborník lékařský* 85, no. 4 (1983): 110-115.

³⁸¹ Hlaváčková, Ludmila, and Petr Svobodný, *Dějiny pražských lékařských fakult 1348-1990*. Praha: Karolinum, 1993, 80-83.

³⁸² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1123, PA Schöbl, Z. 21874, 29.12.1882 (ministerial records, minister Eybesfeld), 7.1.1883 (Emperor's notice with quotation).

³⁸³ See for all named apart from Hlava and Spina ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1121, PA Horbachevsky, Z. 13251, 15.8.1883; for Spina: NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 2, fasz. 102, PA Spina; for Hlava see next footnote.

³⁸⁴ See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1121, PA Steffal.

appointments did not succeed due to financial reasons (Lambl) or proposed scholars were seen as unqualified (pathologist Václav Bělohradský who later taught forensics at Law Faculty, expert opinions came from Joseph Maschka and Eduard Hofmann). Notwithstanding these troubles, the Faculty was inaugurated in 1883.

Appointments for the Philosophical Faculty proceeded with less conflict, though here commissions had to search for scholars at other institutions, appointing among others *Privatdozenten* from Vienna Jan Jarník for romance studies and Tomáš Masaryk for philosophy, *Privatdozent* from Würzburg Čeněk Strouhal for the chair of experimental physics, Herbart-influenced pedagogue, philosopher and psychologist August Lindner (director of Czech teachers-school in Kutná Hora/Kuttenberg), gymnasium teacher Alois Vaníček as professor of comparative literature and Sanskrit, or professor from the Technical Academy Vojtěch Šafařík for chemistry. The greatest open question remained astronomy, for which August Seydler, associate professor of physics, was proposed, but, as the Ministry initially rejected the creation of the observatory, this issue remained unresolved. In 1885, Seydler was appointed full professor of “theoretical astronomy and practical physics” – still without an observatory but with a separate institute. The question of an observatory was solved in the late 1880s, and that of academic specialization only in 1891; after Seydler’s death František Kolářek was appointed professor of theoretical physics and Gustav Gruss became the position of professor of astronomy.³⁸⁵

While looking at the careers of the professors who chose the Philosophical Faculty of the Czech University after 1882, only a few advanced along a normal route with faculty assistance. Václav Vladivoj Tomek, Martin Hattala and Johann/Jan Kvíčala were appointed by Thun, Ladislav Čelakovský, Antonín Frič, Emanuel Bořický and mathematician František Studnička by Josef Jireček. Jan Palacký had been *Privatdozent* since 1856, slavist Jan Gebauer was appointed titular professor in 1874, only after he was proposed for a professorship in Zagreb. Also philosopher Josef Durdík, *Privatdozent* since 1871, achieved an associate professorship in 1874 without the support of the faculty, which, however, considered only the German-

³⁸⁵ AUK, FF NU, 74, Inv.č. 640, PA Seydler Z. 299, 23.6.1885; Z. 23033, 18.12.1885; Inv.č. 701, PA Šafařík, Bericht der Commission, Prag, 4.11.1891; Bericht an das Ministerium, 16.11.1891; NA, MVK/R, inv.č. 9, Kart. 112, PA Gruss.

language publications of the predominantly Czech-publishing philosopher.³⁸⁶ The *Privatdozenten* who were transferred to the Czech university in 1882 received their habilitations mostly in the second half of the 1870s. The third part of “home” scholars, including historians Jaroslav Goll and Josef Emler, mineralogist Karel Vrba and geologist Jan Krejčí were appointed professors when the division was already decided and were by then teaching in Czech, Goll having been previously a professor at the Commercial Academy in Prague,³⁸⁷ Emler director of the Prague City Archive, Vrba professor in Chernivtsi, and Krejčí professor at Czech Technical Academy in Prague.³⁸⁸

While they were underrepresented at the university in Prague, Czech scholars were grouped at other scholarly institutions, most notably *Muzeum Království českého* (already called then known in Czech as *Národní muzeum*) or Prague archives, and especially at the Czech Technical Academy which appeared after the division of Prague Polytechnic in 1869, and thus preceding the disintegration of the university by more than ten years.³⁸⁹ Similarly, several Czech organizations were established with the pronounced aim of fostering the development of the sciences, most notably the *Union of Czech Mathematicians* (Jednota českých matematiků, est. 1862, from 1872 included physicists), the *Society of Czech Chemists* (Spolek chemiků českých, est. 1872) and the *Society of Czech Physicians* (Spolek lékařů českých); as nationalist institutions, these societies published Czech-language specialized journals, thus adding to existing germanophone revues. Among the first such endeavors of the Czech-speaking scholars were the *Journal of Czech Physicians* (Časopis lékařů českých, ČLČ), *Chemical Letters* (Listy chemické), or the *Journal for Fostering*

³⁸⁶ ÖstA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1128, PA Josef Durdik, Z. 12398, Z. 9.9.1874: minister Stremayer greeted also, that “although he belongs to the Czech nation, he held his extensive activities free from the corruptive influence of lopsided national standpoint.”

³⁸⁷ As, like many things in Prague, there was a *Handelsakademie* and a distinct *Československá akademie obchodní* (est. 1872), Goll could have taught at any of them, as his biographies in Czech and German make reference to respective synonyms (*Handelsakademie* vs. *akademie obchodní*) without mentioning which of those two it was.

³⁸⁸ An interesting sociological analysis of the professorship around 1882 in Schmidt-Hartmann, Eva, “Die philosophische Fakultät der tschechischen Universität um 1882. Kontinuität und Wandel.” In *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern*, edited by Ferdinand Seibt, München: R. Oldenbourg, 1984, 95-110, especially 96-102.

³⁸⁹ Sekyrková, Milada, “Rozdělení polytechniky - precedens pro univerzitu?” In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek (eds.), *Místo národních jazyků*, 231-240. For a broader context of development of Czech-language scholarship in Bohemia see Janko, Jan, and Soňa Štrbáňová, *Věda Purkyňovy doby*. Praha: Academia, 1988.

Mathematics and Physics (Časopis pro pěstování matematiky a fyziky).³⁹⁰ These developments accentuated, or made visible the division between two linguistically codified scientific landscapes, and also added to the linguistic division through the conscious choice of the nationalization of their proceedings and publications. Bohumil Eiselt, for example, wrote only for ČLČ after its establishment, while he had eagerly published in German-language journals of the Prague Faculty before; he was also responsible for ‘making ČLČ Czech,’ as he translated the articles which were sent in great numbers in German to the journal.³⁹¹ Also in their membership the organizations swiftly underwent the process of nationalization. The *Society of Czech Physicians* included in the first years a broad range of Bohemian scholars, although its activities were conducted in Czech and the later development led toward cultural exclusivity. The *Union of Czech Mathematicians* developed from a multicultural to a linguistically monolithic organization. It was established in 1862 as the *Society for Lectures of Mathematics and Physics* (Spolek pro volné přednášky z matematiky a fyziky) with most of the lectures in German, but the number of Czech lectures gradually rose and within five years lectures were almost exclusively in Czech. Of the two creators of the *Spolek*, Gabriel Blažek habilitated in Vienna and taught then at Czech Technical Academy in Prague; Josef Finger also habilitated in Vienna and taught at the Technical Academy there. The latter published only in German, Blažek in both languages, both remained members of the *Union*.³⁹² The growing division of the scientific landscape was most evident in 1890, as the *Royal Bohemian Society of Learning* was virtually replaced³⁹³ by two parallel national institutions: the *Czech Academy of Science and the Arts* (1890, Česká akademie věd a umění císaře Františka Josefa I.) and the *Association for the Fostering of German Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia* (1891, Die Gesellschaft zur Förderung Deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen).³⁹⁴ Doubling, separating across cultural factors, or establishing respective Czech and German language

³⁹⁰ See Jindra, Jiří, "České vědecké společnosti exaktních věd v 19. století." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek (eds.), *Místo národních jazyků*, 401-420.

³⁹¹ Chodounský, Karel, "K padesátiletí 'Časopisu lékařův českých'" ČLČ 50, no. 53 (1911): 1602-1604; Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Čeština v medicíně a na pražské lékařské fakultě (1784-1918)." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek, *Místo národních jazyků*, 327-344.

³⁹² Bečvářová, Martina, *Z historie Jednoty (1862-1869)*. Praha: Prometheus, 1999.

³⁹³ With diminished influence the *Royal Society* existed until after the Second World War when it was restructured and merged together with the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts into the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. See Pokorná, "Královská česká společnost nauk."

³⁹⁴ See Mišková, Neumüller, *Společnost pro podporu*.

institutions created a largely dual public sphere, which influenced scholarly contacts, and even patient-doctor relations,³⁹⁵ and led to humorous stories that the only possibility for Prague scholars of opposing cultures to meet at the time, was during conferences abroad, or, a more macabre version claiming that the only such possibility was at the deathbed of prominent noblemen.³⁹⁶

While in Prague the division of scholarly institutions was aggravating the linguistic divisions, a number of Czech speaking academic-level scholars moved from Bohemia to other universities; physiologist Vladimír Tomsa taught in Kiev, physicist Vincenz/Čeněk Dvořák in Zagreb, anatomist Vilém Dušan Lambl in Kharkiv, and pathologist Bohumil Eiselt received a call for a chair in Kharkiv, but remained in Prague due to a petition by Czech students.³⁹⁷ At the universities in the Monarchy a part of the professorate knew and published in Czech, but for some reason ceased to do so. For example, forensic physician in Prague Josef Maschka, and later at the German University, published in his early years in Czech and from 1865 only in German. While the choice of language and medium of publication was a conscious decision to reject direct participation in the Czech-national project in Prague, outside Bohemia such choices were not obvious. For example forensic pathologist Eduard Hofmann, who published prior to his nomination from Prague to Innsbruck a series of articles in *ČLČ*, and was later its subscriber for several years, took part in several Czech-speaking projects, and influenced the appointment of his close friend Eduard Albert to Vienna.³⁹⁸ *Privatdozent* in Vienna Josef Vacláv Drozda translated lectures of Josef Skoda/Škoda into Czech and was appointed in 1919 as a professor in Prague;

³⁹⁵ Some clinics, also the university ones at the beginning of 1880s, had regulations, that on odd days the German and even-numbered Czech scholars (or opposite) took visits, resulting in similar division across patients who, probably also due to communication issues, waited for 'their' physicians. Similarly, distribution of cases and even corpses followed this linguistic division, leading to bizarre, and also often perilous situations. I am indebted to Ludmila Hlaváčková for this information. For sure, the aula of the *Carolinum* was used this way; see Lemberg, Hans, "Universität oder Universitäten in Prag – und der Wandel der Lehrsprache." In Idem (ed.) *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz*, 19-32, here 29.

³⁹⁶ I thank Luboš Velek, Prague, for telling me the story. Both this and the hospital narrative are probably slightly exaggerated to support the importance of nationality at the time and could be answered with counterexamples. As one finds a number of hardly understandable claims, for example for building of new institutes only German workers and craftsmen should be employed (rector August Sauer writing on necessary developments of the university in 1908, NA, MKV/R, fasc. 136), the stories might contain a kernel of truth.

³⁹⁷ See *ČLČ* 4, no. 1 (1865): 7; *ČLČ* 4, no. 4 (1865): 30-31.

³⁹⁸ For the appointment see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 596, PA Albert, Z. 92, 25.1.1881; on probable influence of Josef Skoda/Škoda see Jirásek, Arnold, *Eduard Albert: Pokus o kroniku a rozbor života, práce i významu E. Alberta, učiněný ke stému výročí jeho narození (20. ledna 1941)*. Prag: Československá chirurgická společnost, 1946, 82-84.

Vienna teaching mathematicians Finger and Emil Weyr actively supported the *Union of Czech Mathematicians*. With a larger unknown number of Bohemian scholars who were bilingual, one can suppose that the ‘either-or’ dilemma, which struck the scholars in Prague directly in the 1880s, was most intense in Bohemia and allowed different solutions elsewhere. In Prague this choice had to be made, as Anton Gindely painfully experienced. Because he signed the petition of Czech professors for an increase of Czech chairs in 1880, he was marked as a Czech nationalist, and when decided in 1882 to move to the German University, the professors (with exception of Julius Jung), published a memorandum opposing his transfer to the German Faculty. Gindely, who from 1870 was politically active, unsuccessfully tried to establish an cross-national conservative party. He was, however, supported by the Eybesfeld Ministry, and retained (officially) his position at the university and as the director of the Bohemian Archives; later in his life he was also a member of the Czech Academy of Science and the Arts.³⁹⁹ Apart from comparative linguist Alfred Ludwig (1902), he was the only active member of the German University in Prague elected to its membership.⁴⁰⁰

It must be said, however, that the division of the faculties was not complete, and in several cases the linguistic division was either questioned or deliberately violated. Jaroslav Goll criticized the policy of one university one language, pinpointing its dysfunctionality in disciplines that would need German lectures, for example Austrian history, German literature or law.⁴⁰¹ Chairs for languages proved to be problematic. The German University in particular strived for the enhancement of Slavic philology, which from 1882 was covered only by the comparativist specialist for Sanskrit, Alfred Ludwig, though he was later joined by comparative philologists Erich Berneker, Paul Diels – both accepting call from Germany after one year in

³⁹⁹ Krofta, Kamil, "Anton Gindely," Hamann, Brigitte, "Anton Gindely – ein altösterreichisches Schicksal." In *Nationale Vielfalt und gemeinsames Erbe in Mitteleuropa. Vorträge anlässlich der Verleihung des Anton-Gindely-Preises für Geschichte der Donaumonarchie*, edited by Erhard Busek and Gerald Stourzh, Wien, München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/Oldenbourg, 1990, 27-37. Havránek, Jan, "Anton Gindely, ein Historiker, der zwischen zwei Nationen stand." *AUC - Philosophica et Historica* 3 (1993): 101-109; Polišenský, Josef, "Anton Gindely und die böhmische Geschichtswissenschaft." *AUC - Philosophica et Historica* 3 (1993): 13-21.

⁴⁰⁰ The number of appointments from Austria remained also much lower than for example from Galicia, exceptions being e.g. Eduard Suess and Robert Zimmermann. Šlechtová, Alena, and Josef Levora, *Členové České akademie věd a umění 1890-1952*. Praha: Academia, 2004.

⁴⁰¹ Goll, Jaroslav, *Der Hass der Völker und die österreichischen Universitäten*. Prag: Bursík & Kohout, 1902, 17.

Prague – and finally in 1911 by Reinhold Trautmann.⁴⁰² Only in 1909 Franz Spina habilitated for Czech language and literature, achieving an associate professorship in 1917. Conversely, the Czech University lacked for several years a full professor and an institute for German language, achieving it though in 1894 with appointment of Václav Mourek.⁴⁰³ German language and literature were, however, also taught by *Privatdozenten* Arnošt Vilém Kraus (from 1887) and later Otakar Fischer.⁴⁰⁴ At both institutions scholars from the opposite university were not considered, but also, due to ‘specific circumstances’ in Prague, cultural transgressions were also not feasible, leaving a very limited number of scholars who could be appointed. In several cases though, younger scholars cooperated with each other, for example in German literature studies around August Sauer.⁴⁰⁵ The same scholar though, openly pleaded for a “recapture” of Prague by German students.⁴⁰⁶

The local circumstances of the Czech University in Prague, having scarce possibility of academic exchange, were not only a commonly implied argument for the creation of a second university, but also influenced appointment procedures. Five years after the doubling of Charles University, during discussion of the appointment for the chair of gynecology, the Czech Faculty stated that, given the fact that Czech scholars have no possibility of being promoted to other universities, the only way to ensure the number and quality of habilitations was to limit appointments of scholars from outside the university. This argument was used in an answer to criticism of not taking into account renowned gynecologists Adalbert Výšín (Olomouc) and Karel Pawlík (Vienna) into the proposed *terna* in 1887. Since capable scholars are on place

⁴⁰² See AUK, FF NU, Inv.č. 532, K. 52, K/XVIII, PA Trautmann; see also Zeil, Wilhelm, *Slawistik an der deutschen Universität in Prag (1882-1945)*. München: Otto Sagner, 1995.

⁴⁰³ Pokorná, Lenka "Die Anfänge der tschechischen Germanistik und ihre ersten Repräsentanten an der Prager Universität." In *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Vorträge zweier Tagungen der Kommission für die böhmischen Länder (vormals: der Sudetenländer) 1996 und 1997*, edited by Hans Lemberg, München: Oldenbourg, 2003, 115-134.

⁴⁰⁴ On German studies in general see Vodrážková-Pokorná, Lenka, *Die Prager Germanistik nach 1882 Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lebenswerkes der bis 1900 an die Universität berufenen Persönlichkeiten*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006.

⁴⁰⁵ Tvrdík, Milan, "August Sauer und die Prager tschechische Germanistik." In *August Sauer (1855-1926). Ein Intellektueller in Prag im Spannungsfeld von Kultur- und Wissenschaftspolitik*, edited by Steffen Höhne, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2008, 133-146; Vodrážková-Pokorná, *Die Prager Germanistik*, 256-268.

⁴⁰⁶ See in general Höhne (ed.), *August Sauer – ein Intellektueller in Prag*.

this Faculty stands in a special position due to sadly still existing animosity and its members have under these conditions scarce expectation to find employment at other, especially German universities, a circumstance, which discouraged some scholars from obtaining *Privatdozentur* at this university. So the Faculty has decided [added: with all votes against professor Hlava – J.S.] to take only own forces into consideration.⁴⁰⁷

Two scholars mentioned in the *terna* – Karel Schwing and Václav Rubeška – were, although specialized gynecologists, seen by the Ministry (Gautsch) as being proposed only for this reason and not for their scientific qualifications; this resulted in Pawlík's appointment, directly as full professor.⁴⁰⁸

While the issue of its “own forces” can be seen as leading the process, the Czech university did not hesitate to appoint Vienna-educated scholars as well, which were mostly linked with the person of Eduard Albert, supposed to be the leading force in promotion in the Ministry of his student Pawlík.⁴⁰⁹ Although Albert did not achieve a position in Bohemia, he remained influential both in public and in the appointment procedures, promoting Pawlík and later Karel/Karl Maydl who was appointed in 1891 as a successor for Weiss. Maydl was Albert's student and followed his mentor as assistant to Innsbruck and later to Vienna, where he achieved an associate professorship at the request of Albert and Billroth.⁴¹⁰ However, they were not the only acquisitions from non-Czech institutes; the Medical Faculty also appointed Prague-born Bohuslav Jiruš from Zagreb for the chair of pharmacology and pharmacognosy in 1886, for which Horbachevsky had been an auxiliary professor until then,⁴¹¹ and tried to appoint L'viv star surgeon Ludwik Rydygier in 1903.⁴¹² Only Galicia-born anatomist Andrzej (also in Czech: Ondřej) Obrzut was appointed to another Medical Faculty, moving to L'viv in 1896. The Philosophical Faculty remained limited also in exchanges with other universities in the Monarchy, Bohumil Kučera (Zürich, mathematical physics) and Václav Dobruský (Sofia, archeology) moved their *Privatdozentur* to Prague, František Pastrnek from Vienna was appointed associate

⁴⁰⁷ From the proposal of the Faculty, ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1122, PA Pawlik, Z. 9411, 19.4.1887 (included in the ministerial proposal from 17.5.1887); the last sentence is here slightly changed (in original: “Hat das Professorencollegium beschlossen [...] bei den eigenen Kräften allein zu verbleiben”)

⁴⁰⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1122, PA Pawlik, Z. 9411, 17.5.1887.

⁴⁰⁹ Kotasék, Alfréd, *Karel Pawlík (1849-1914), Osobnost a dílo*. Praga: Univerzita Karlova, 1994.

⁴¹⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 601, PA Maydl, Z. 25423, 19.12.1889.

⁴¹¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1122, PA Jirus, Z. 13860, 22.6.1886

⁴¹² NA, MKV/R, inv.č. 2, fasc. 97, PA Kukula.

professor for Slavic philology in 1895, Wenzel/Václav Láška, professor at the Technical Academy in L'viv and *Privatdozent* at the university, was appointed professor of mathematics in Prague in 1911.

Similarly, few appointments were made from the Czech University to other institutions, with Konstantin Jireček to Vienna University in 1894, later becoming the founder of the Institute for East European History in 1907. On the other hand, exchange with technical academies was significant, with 12 scholars coming from the Czech Technical Academy in Prague and Technical Academy (from 1899 Universities) in Brno, and 9 being appointed to these institutions (see table 7).⁴¹³

As the analysis of place of graduation also demonstrates, the local Prague environment predominated, with only few graduations outside of Prague university,⁴¹⁴ and a higher number of scholars who studied at other faculties – 15% at the Medical Faculty and 35% at the Philosophical Faculty (with 9 scholars, i.e. 6%, studying only outside Bohemia). This lack of opportunity for appointments outside of Prague and limited exchange with other institutes was both criticized and fought against. From the 1890s Czech scholars pleaded for establishment of a second university – in Brno or Olomouc – which, it was hoped, would also improve scientific quality through possibilities of exchange and competition among scholars. Masaryk wrote on this occasion that

a second university, giving more freedom for the students and also for some professors, would speed up and strengthen scientific development. This moment can be named with a word: scientific competition – students would have broader choice of teachers, would be less dependent on individual professors and scientific currents and directions of one university would have unmeasured influence on the other university. After all, there is no doubt, that if there is no competition, haughtiness and the Chinese spirit appear.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Similarly in the case of the Czech University in Prague, Czech Technical Academy in Brno encountered problems finding apt scholars for the chairs, Prague University was thus one of the sources for scholars, with several scholars appointed to Moravia and, with exception of mathematician Karel Petr, no movement in the other direction. See also Pernes, Jiří, *Kapitoly z dějin Vysokého učení technického v Brně (cesta moravské techniky 20. stoletím)*. Brno: Vysoké Učení Technické, Nakl. VUTUM, 2009.

⁴¹⁴ 7.5% at the Philosophical Faculty and 4.5% at the Medical.

⁴¹⁵ Mandlerová, Jana, "K boji za zřízení 2. české university w Brně 1882-1918 (Příspěvek o impulzech a struktuře české vědecké politiky na sklonku Rakousko-uherské monarchie)." *AUC-HUCP* 10 (1969): 95-116, here 97. Idiom *the Chinese spirit* (in Masaryk's Czech original dative: *čínanství*) comes from Nietzsche's *Antichrist* (in the German original: *Chinesenthum*, in English translates to either *the Chinese spirit* or *the Chinaism*, in Czech *čínanstvo* [according to translation of Rastislav Škoda from 2003, it was unfortunately impossible to check the first translation by Leopold Pudlač

Similarly Jaroslav Goll saw exchange as augmenting scholarly quality, and criticized the sacrifice of Czech scientific needs and thus of the needs of the Habsburg Monarchy for political reasons, rebuffing here the claims of German nationalists in Moravia who opposed the creation of a Czech-language academy there.⁴¹⁶

While the issue of the second Czech university was seen as vital for Czech culture, some scholars have seen exchange with German culture and the German universities in particular as integral to maintaining the quality of Czech scholarship in particular and intellectual life in general. Here once more Masaryk and Goll took leading roles, questioning the absolute value of Czech culture (as claimed by the older generation) and warning that cultural isolation would negatively influence scientific productivity. The dependence on or close interdependence with German culture was publicly criticized in the conflict over the anonymous publication of Hubert Gordon Schauer, *Our two questions* (Naše dvě otázky, 1886). In this article the author's provocative thesis, foreseeing a crisis of Czech culture if it enclosed itself in a linguistic ghetto, was vividly opposed, but on an emotional level without an analytical discussion.⁴¹⁷ It is clear from the debate surrounding this work, that the issue of cultural exchange vs. one-sided dependence was obviously pressing scholars. Masaryk cautioned against not reading world literature and in the 1880s envisioned an internationalization of academic institutions, which would help achieve this aim; he was however severely criticized as a follower of German (i.e. foreign and not native) philosophy by fellow Prague philosopher Josef Durdík.⁴¹⁸ Goll wrote more directly that Czech scholars have a strong tradition of exchange with 'German' universities, which should not be abandoned due to political tensions. This concerned especially historians, who spent time at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research: "as we were to prepare for academic careers, our old teachers advised us to visit a German university abroad. [...] At our Faculty this tradition is still alive."⁴¹⁹ While this

(pseudonym of Arnošt Procházka) from 1905]) and is used as such neither in English nor Czech.

⁴¹⁶ Goll, *Der Hass der Völker*, esp. 21-23.

⁴¹⁷ See e.g. Havelka, Miloš, "A Hundred Years of the „Czech Question“ and The Czech Question a Hundred Years On." *Czech Sociological Review* 3 (1995): 7-19; Szporluk, Roman, *The political Thought of Thomas G. Masaryk*. Boulder, New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

⁴¹⁸ Polák, Stanislav, *T.G. Masaryk : za ideálem a pravdou (1882-1893)*. 5 vols. Vol. 2. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2001, 37.

⁴¹⁹ Goll, *Der Hass der Völker*, 13.

interdependence was seen as clearly positive,⁴²⁰ some German articles made another use of it, claiming that it was exactly the dependency of Czechs on Germans that was responsible for Czech culture existing and prospering. Ferdinand Hueppe, professor of hygiene at the German university in Prague, claimed in a polarizing article printed in the prestigious *Hochschulnachrichten* that

divided into two universities, this coexistence and thus always visualized competition with German science secures the Czechs from sliding down from the current level, and the Czech science and art have the possibility to be seen internationally only through German intermediation.⁴²¹

The fierce debate on the mutual interdependence between the two cultures was however almost exclusively fought from the standpoint of asserting cultural hegemony, questioning why Czech scholars were dependent on German science and what were the possibilities to break this dependence. If the issue of transfers in the other direction was raised, it was only by the Czechs, who questioned the necessity of bilingualism being applied in only one direction. Thus a hegemonic claim emerges, while its content itself would require germanophone scholars also to learn Slavic languages; an analogous critique was also voiced around the issue of nationalization of the universities in Galicia. On the other hand, the other channels of transfer were seen as inappropriate to stand alone. The result was skepticism about 'Slavic reciprocity' by, for example, Purkyně and Goll, who saw inter-Slavic communication only as complementary to maintaining and intensifying exchange with ephemeral 'western science.'⁴²² Practical endeavors strengthening cooperation were also only partially successful; for example, meetings of Polish and Czech physicians did not go beyond planning and courteous visits.⁴²³ Similarly, the creation of the St. Petersburg-

⁴²⁰ See however reactions to Matija/Matthias Murko's *German influence on the beginnings of Romanticism among the Slavs* (Deutsche Einflüsse auf die Anfänge der Slavischen Romantik, vol. 1 on Bohemia 1897); Tureček, Dalibor, "Murkovy 'Deutsche Einflüsse' a jejich české přijetí." In *Matija Murko v myšlenkovém kontextu evropské slavistiky. Sborník studií*, edited by Ivo Pospíšil and Miloš Zelenka, Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2005, 87-99.

⁴²¹ Hueppe, Ferdinand *Kulturbedürfnisse und Universitäten in Oesterreich [Sonderdruck aus Heft 221/21 der "Hochschul-Nachrichten"]*. München: Akademischer Verlag, 1909.

⁴²² Kratochvíl, Milan, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně a jeho snahy o reformu české školy*. Praha: SBN, 1987, 110; Goll, *Der Hass der Völker*.

⁴²³ Martinczak, Franciszek, "Geneza zjazdów Związku Lekarzy Słowiańskich." *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* XLIII, no. 1 (1980): 37-43; Štrbáňová, Soňa, "Congresses of the Czech Naturalists and Physicians in the Years 1880-1914 and the Czech-Polish Scientific Collaboration." In *Acta historiae rerum naturalium necnon technicarum. Special Issue 21. Studies of Czechoslovak Historians for the 18th International Congress of the History of Science*, edited by Jan Janko,

led Pan-Slavic Academy of Sciences, supported in Prague, was blocked for political reasons by Polish elites.⁴²⁴ The cooperation was more intense between the academies of sciences, with numerous nominations for members (e.g. 15 Czech members in the Cracow Academy and 16 vice versa),⁴²⁵ or jointly planned archeological expeditions.⁴²⁶

Contacts with France, although prolific for political reasons, never led to an intensification of student exchanges or long-term scholarships.⁴²⁷ Still, if only scholarships are concerned, France was more popular for Czechs than germanophone Habsburg Universities. But German Empire topped the list, which indicates a gradual change of state dependency toward the liberal movement transgressing imperial boundaries in the late nineteenth century.⁴²⁸ The same statistics show, that the Czech university outnumbered the German university in the number of scholarships; thus the issue of internationality was not a mere rhetorical strategy, but led to search for practical solutions as well.

The appointments of solely younger scholars proved however to be not unproblematic for the faculty itself, because they aggravated the internal political conflicts within academia. Several older Czech scholars were strong supporters of the Old-Czech Party (*Staročeši, Národní strana*), while the Young-Czech Party (*Mladočeši, Národní strana svobodomyšlná*) gained political influence in the Taaffe era and could put through their choices of candidates shortly before the university

Prague: Institute for Czechoslovak and General History CSAS, 1989, 79-122. For 1898 congress of Polish physicians with a strong engagement of Czech scholars, planned to take place in Poznań, but forbidden by the Prussian authorities, see Obermajer, Jarosław, "Zabroniony Zjazd Lekarzy i Przyrodników Polskich w roku 1898." *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* 28, no. 1/2 (1965): 119-123.

⁴²⁴ Rederowa, Danuta, "Formy współpracy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności z zagranicą." *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej, Seria A* 10 (1966): 77-136, here 79-80.

⁴²⁵ Statistics from Durčanský, Marek, "Członkostwo zagraniczne polskich i czeskich uczonych w akademiach narodowych: PAU i ČAVU." *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU* 6 (2004): 177-211; see also Dybiec, Julian, "Związki Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie z nauką czeską i słowacką w latach 1873-1918." In *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*, edited by Irena Jasiukowa-Stasiewicz and Jan Janko, Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1990, 34-61; Těšínská, Emilie "K česko-polským vědeckým stykům v oblasti matematicko-fyzikálních věd." In *Semináře a studie Výzkumného Centra pro Dějiny Vědy z Let 2002-2003*, edited by Antonín Kostlán, Praha: Výzkumné Centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2003, 341-376.

⁴²⁶ Hulewicz, Jan, *Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie 1873-1918. Zarys Dziejów*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1958, 117. The expedition was in the end organized by the Viennese Academy, as the *spiritus movens* of Polish-Czech cooperation in Egypt, Tadeusz Smoleński, died before the negotiations over the expeditions had been finalized.

⁴²⁷ Hnilica, Jiří, "Kulturní a intelektuální výměna mezi Čechami a Francií 1870-1925." *AUC-HUCP* 45, no. 1-2 (2005): 95-126, here 110-116. See also Dejmek, Jindřich, "Učňovská a vandrovní léta Edvarda Beneše (1904-1913)." *Moderní Dějiny* 11 (2003): 5-64, esp. 8-28.

⁴²⁸ Mandlerová, Jana, "K zahraničním cestám učitelů vysokých škol v českých zemích (1888-1918)." *DVT* 4 (1969): 232-246.

duplication of 1882. One of the most contentious professors was slavacist Jan Gebauer, who studied in Vienna, Kharkiv, Warsaw, and at the German universities and later – with problems due to his political engagement – became a teacher in Prague. Already by the time of his habilitation, Gebauer crossed swords with Martin Hattala, who was a member of his habilitation commission and opposed the young scholars; due to the positive opinion of Franc Miklošič the two other members of the commission, historian Tomek and classical philologist Jan Kvíčala, decided positively in favor of Gebauer. The next year Gebauer was proposed a chair in Zagreb. However, he declined the call as the Ministry (once more influenced by Miklošič) offered him the title of associate professor for Slavic languages as a continuation of Vocel's chair, which had been vacant for three decades.⁴²⁹ In this situation, the Czech professors backed Gebauer, proposing him, however, for a chair of Czech language and literature, and not as a direct competitor for Hattala.⁴³⁰ In 1879, Gebauer was finally appointed associate professor of Slavic philology and was given permission to establish a seminar, for which, as the Ministry disclosed, professor Hattala did not possess the "necessary qualities."⁴³¹ In the background, the Czech national party pressured the Ministry with the appointment and the establishment of the seminar, by threatening the withdrawal of their deputies from parliament, which would bring down the government.⁴³²

While the issue of German-Czech conflict was most influential until 1882, the creation of linguistically exclusive universities brought about problems within the Czech faculties.⁴³³ The outbreak on the discussions on the position of Czech culture and shape of the "national idea"⁴³⁴ in particular brought forward divisions also at the university. The break in Czech unity came with a series of publications doubting the authenticity of the Manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and of Zelená Hora (*Rukopis*

⁴²⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1129, PA Gebauer, Z. 13182, 21.9.1874.

⁴³⁰ UAK, Fond Filozofská Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy 1882-1970, PA Gebauer, Z. 549, 15.7.1874 (= *Separatvotum* of Hattala, Tomek, Kvíčala) from 11.7.1874, see also other materials in this file on discussions inside the Faculty.

⁴³¹ UAK, Fond Filozofská Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy 1882-1970, PA Gebauer, Z. 19876 (fragments from ministerial enactment), without datum (1879).

⁴³² Syllaba, Theodor, "První český vědecký seminář na pražské univerzitě (Gebauerův slovanský seminář)." *AUC-HUCP* 22, no. 1 (1982): 95-112.

⁴³³ See, for the tensions between the Old-Czech Party and the Young-Czech Party in 1882, Čelakovský, Jaromír, *Moje zápisky, 1871-1914*. K vydání připravili Luboš Velek a Alice Velková. Praha: Archiv hlavního města Prahy; Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy : Scriptorium, 2004, 41-42.

⁴³⁴ See Havelka, "A Hundred Years of the 'Czech Question' and The Czech Question a Hundred Years On."

královédvorský and *Rukopis zelenohorský*) in the middle of the 1880s. In several articles a new generation of scholars – especially professors Masaryk, Gebauer, Goll, Antonín Bělohoubek or Vojtěch Šafařík, the latter two providing a chemical examination of the manuscripts – analyzed the manuscripts from many sides in a series of articles in the Masaryk-led journal *Athenaeum*, arguing that they were forgeries made by Václav Hanka. The conflict played out several times from the very moment Hanka discovered/forged them in 1817, with several scholars, for example Josef Dobrovský and Max Büdinger, already writing on their falsification, while others, like František Palacký and Pavel Jozef Šafárik, considered them authentic. However, the conflict escalated as the older generation of Prague professors – most importantly Václav Vladivoj Tomek, Josef Kalousek and Martin Hattala – criticized the younger scholars for their doubts on the basis of their national identity, proposing their own analysis as well.⁴³⁵ Although the political conflict decreased around the turn of the century, the position of Masaryk and his colleagues as outsiders at the Faculty was obvious; this was made known to a wider public in publications in the *Athenaeum*, and caused several times serious conflicts during habilitations and professorial appointments. This led also to attempts to remove Masaryk from the university allegedly initiated by Kvíčala and Josef Durdík.⁴³⁶ At this time Masaryk also opposed appointments of conservative scholars, for example of Jan Palacký (son of František Palacký) who was a political ally of Tomek and whom Masaryk regarded as totally unqualified to hold the first Czech chair of geography.⁴³⁷ In the next year, similar controversies arose over the habilitation of philosopher Petr Durdík, brother of professor of philosophy Josef. Here as well the commission of conservatives – František Josef Studnička, Kvíčala and Lindner, the last being ill and not present during the process – entered positive opinions, while Masaryk fiercely criticized it, stating that a mathematician and a philologist are not specialists for the discipline in question and thus the commission's verdict cannot objectively assess Durdík's qualities, which he himself considered mediocre.⁴³⁸ While in this case the older

⁴³⁵ A large collection of original articles and history of the conflict can be found online on the website of *Czech Manuscript Society / Česká společnost rukopisná* (<http://kix.fsv.cvut.cz/rkz/csr/>).

⁴³⁶ So meant at least Jaroslav Goll in his letters to Eduard Albert, 7.11.1890, 7.11.1890, 13.11.1890, reprinted in Jedlička, Jaroslav, "Eduard Albert - Jaroslav Goll - 50 listů korespondence." *AUC-HUCP* 13, no. 1-2 (1973): 215-267, here 229-232.

⁴³⁷ AUK, Fond Filozofská Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy 1882-1970, Inv.č. 554, PA Jan Palacký, Masaryk's *votum separatum* from 8.1.1885.

⁴³⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1128, Peter Durdík, Z. 12750, 14.6.1887/24.6.1887, Z. 19335, 19.9.1887.

generation of scholars succeeded with both appointments, both the composition of the Faculty and influence in the Ministry changed with time; although Masaryk, the most polarizing figure, achieved the appointment for full professor only in 1896, the younger scholars achieved several gains, supported in Vienna by Eduard Albert and most importantly by Antonín Rezek, who from 1896 had a consultant position in the Ministry of Education. Josef Král's recommendation for professor, for example, proposed by Goll and Gebauer in 1890, was opposed in the Faculty by Kvíčala and Hattala, and succeeded only in 1893 with support of Rezek.⁴³⁹ Král claimed also that Kvíčala was making every habilitation into a political issue, and in all commissions for habilitations in classical philology the two scholars were always on opposite sides.⁴⁴⁰

Another conflict arose around historical methodology, with Jaroslav Goll, a proponent of the German positivist school of Georg Weitz, opposing the philosophical historical creations of Tomek and later of Masaryk. The conflict began to influence the Faculty by 1889, when Antonín Rezek was appointed successor of Tomek, being accused at the same time of anti-national propaganda due to his critique of the creation of the Czech Academy of Science and the Arts. Reflecting on this issue, Rezek noted sarcastically that while he was accused of a lack of patriotism in Prague, in Vienna the Ministry saw him as a nationalistic radical.⁴⁴¹ Rezek was Tomek's student, but turned to Goll afterwards, and was influential in the academic support of Goll's students in Vienna, who faced constant opposition from conservatives in Prague. Such was the case during the appointment process for Rezek's replacement; the closest student of Goll, Josef Pekař, was supported by Goll and Rezek, while Tomek and Antonín Randa, professor at the Law Faculty, opposed the appointment and tried to secure the position for Josef Pič.⁴⁴²

The division in the Faculty across lines of national identity also showed itself in the culturally prominent position of the professor of the history of music, where professor of esthetic Otakar Hostinský's student Zdeněk Nejedlý, one of the most

⁴³⁹ Svatoš, "Univerzitní působení filologa Josefa Krále," 78.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.; see also Syllaba, Theodor, *Jan Gebauer na pražské Univerzitě*. Praha: Karlova Univerzita, 1983, 60-76.

⁴⁴¹ Jiroušek, Bohumil, "Jazyky v životě a díle Antonína Rezka." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek (eds.) *Místo národních jazyku ve výuce*, 531-535, here 534.

⁴⁴² Jiroušek, Bohumil, "Mimořádná profesura Josefa Pekaře (ve světle vztahů Antonína Rezka a Jaroslava Golla)." In *Proměny elit v moderní době*, edited by Milena Lenderová, Zdeněk Bezcený and Jiří Kubeš. České Budějovice: Historický ústav Jihočeské univerzity, 2003, 167-178.

polarizing figures in the field of music in Prague at the turn of the century, met with problems due to his pronounced passion for 'modern' music. Nejedlý habilitated in 1906, but during the proceedings, his appointment for professor of musicology – initiated to counterbalance the German university, where Heinrich Rietsch (Löwy) had such a professorship – was opposed in the Faculty by mathematician František Koláček, who attacked Nejedlý for his low standards and his shameless behavior after the death of Karel Knittel, director of the Prague conservatory. The young esthetician was a proponent of the new modern music in Prague, and from this standpoint entered into several conflicts with musicians and theoreticians who continued traditionalist compositions, among others with Knittel, whom he described not very elegantly after his passing away in 1903. While the appointment of Nejedlý was accepted in the Faculty by a 22-to-7 vote (backed by his teachers Hostinský and Goll), the Ministry decided only for the title of professor. Five years later Nejedlý was proposed for the chair to succeed Hostinský. This time the lines of division ran not through the Faculty, which unanimously accepted the candidate, but in the public press, as he criticized openly the folklorism of popular composers Antonín Dvořák and Leoš Janáček. Not only journalists were divided, but his appointment, proposed 1913, was opposed by the referent for the arts in the provincial government, Rudolf Proházka, who in his memorandum went so far to propose his removal from the university due his nationalism, dilettantism and numerous conflicts with professors, especially with Rietsch, who was a close friend of Proházka. In the next year, after the outbreak of World War I, Nejedlý was openly denounced for his pro-Russian musical taste and disparaging statements on the value of Austrian composers. The Ministry remained stoic and decided in neither direction.⁴⁴³

At the Medical Faculty, younger and older scholars were divided on the uncritical promotion of young Prague offspring; in several cases younger physicians, especially those not educated in Prague, opposed appointments for professors of already habilitated scholars if they thought their qualifications or scientific achievements were not adequate for the proposed position. Such was the case of Josef Viktor Rohon's appointment for the chair of embryology and histology in 1895; as the majority of the Faculty favored František Mareš and Andrzej Obrzut, the first being

⁴⁴³ Čornej, Petr, "K učitelské činnosti Zdeňka Nejedlého na Pražské Univerzitě." *AUC-HUCP* 20, no. 2 (1980): 7-34; NA, MKV/R, inv.č 9, fasc. 116, PA Nejedhly.

an active conservative politician. Maydl and Spina proposed Josef Rohon (born in Tranleithania of a Slovak Protestant family), however, at the time a private scholar in St. Petersburg (Санкт-Петербург), claiming that Albert supported this appointment, and stating in the first place that Rohon would be the only specialized candidate: while the proposed duo wrote mostly on pathology and in this concern only touched upon histology, Rohon as a specialized embryologist wrote several longer articles covering humans and animals. In a longer document, the Faculty criticized this *votum separatum*, defending the qualities of the candidates and voicing concerns about Rohon's capabilities because, in the first place, he had not achieved a Habsburg doctoral degree although he wrote his dissertation in Vienna. Moreover, there were serious concerns about his ability to speak Czech, which was attested only by Albert and not confirmed by publications. The Faculty questioned the authority of the Viennese scholar in this case, as well, stating that his opinions were not binding in Prague as he was a member of a "foreign Faculty" (fremder Fakultät) and furthermore because he was a surgeon and not a specialized histologist.⁴⁴⁴ While Mareš was appointed for the chair of physiology between the Faculty proposal and the Ministry's response about the embryology chair, only Rohon was taken into account; the documents of appointment recalled the arguments of Maydl and Spina, describing him as the only Czech speaking specialist capable of reviving this discipline in Prague and moreover also as a less expensive choice, as he agreed to the nominal salary. Without a doubt, Eduard Albert had some influence here, being for several years the financial sponsor of Rohon, who asked him directly for support in getting a position "in his homeland."⁴⁴⁵

Such divisions did not run only between old and young political professors, but from the middle of the 1890s also across these boundaries in a fierce conflict between "Masaryk's sect and Goll's school"⁴⁴⁶ as Jan Herben ironically called them. The trigger for the discussion were publications by Masaryk, in which he described

⁴⁴⁴ NA, MKV/R, inv.č 2, fasc. 100, attachment no. 3 to Z. 12714, 24.7.1895 from 6.12.1894 (*Minoritätsvotum* of Tomsa, Hlava and Janosik).

⁴⁴⁵ Rohon to Albert, St. Petersburg, 12.12.1892, reprinted in Svojtka, Matthias, Johannes Seidl, and Barbara Steininger, "Von Neuroanatomie, Paläontologie und slawischem Patriotismus: Leben und Werk des Josef Victor Rohon (1845-1923)." *Mensch - Wissenschaft - Magie (Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte)* 26 (2009): 123-159, here 149-152.

⁴⁴⁶ Herben, Jan, *Masarykova sekta a Gollova škola*. Praha: Pokrok, 1912 [first published as articles in journal "Čas"]. See also Hermann, Tomáš, *Emanuel Rád a české dějepisectví. Kritika českého dějepisectví ve sporu o smysl českých dějin*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 2002.

the meaning of Czech history and thus Czech nationality as a direct outcome of the Husites and thus equated Czech nationhood with Protestantism. This socio-philosophical idea met with strong critique from Goll's students, who accused Masaryk of methodical inconsequence and presentism in which he promoted a political program under the guise of historiosophy. These constant conflicts led Rezek to voice his clear critique in a letter to Gebauer in 1899: "what overcomes me, is the fight against intrigues from Bohemia/Czech and of Czechs against Czechs."⁴⁴⁷

* * *

In comparison to Prague, the influence of language reform on the universities in Galicia was more gradual, and in the case of Cracow did not require substantial changes in the composition of the faculties; this allowed, at least in theory, transitional periods of bilingualism at both universities. At the Jagiellonian University professors capable of teaching Polish and/or were active in the Polish national movement had a stable majority throughout the neoabsolutist period. From 1871, *de jure* utraquist L'viv turned to Polish scholars as well, notwithstanding opposition from inside the faculty and with more or less an open refusal of Ruthenian scholars.

In Cracow the wave of dislocations following the language reform in 1861 targeted three professors of the Medical Faculty; four professors were removed from the Philosophical Faculty – two classical philologists, Bernhard Jülg and Gustav Linker, mineralogist Victor Zepharovich and zoologist Camill Heller.⁴⁴⁸ Their positions were filled by two philologists from the German Empire, Alfred Brandowski and Jan Wrobel/Wróbel, mineralogist Alojzy Alth and zoologist Maksymilian Nowicki (Siła-Nowicki); none had been active as university instructors before this time. While the university was bilingual in the 1860s, the year 1869 brought complete polonization, forcing Wrobel to be moved to L'viv and later to Chernivtsi. The question of two other germanophone professors of the Philosophical Faculty was solved calmly; historian Antoni Wacholz began lecturing in Polish and Bratranek remained, not only because his discipline was the only one with prescribed German lectures (probably on petition of the university itself),⁴⁴⁹ but also due to his

⁴⁴⁷ From Rezek's letter to Jan Gebauer, 25.12.1899, quoted in Svatoš, "Univerzitní působení filologa Josefa Krále," 75.

⁴⁴⁸ AUJ, WF II 2, Z. 25, 23.10.1861/2.

⁴⁴⁹ In October 1869 the Faculty agreed to a proposition of Brandowski to divide the chair of German literature into two, with lectures in both languages (AUJ, WF II 157, 14.10.1869), the document

popularity in Galicia, as he published widely on Polish-German relations and counted, so wrote the newspaper *Polish Daily* (*Dziennik Polski*) in 1869, as “polonized.”⁴⁵⁰

The language issue led to conflicts, however, before the administrative changes, with German-speaking professors blocking the appointments of scholars who were not fluent in German language and Polish professors proposing Polish-speaking scholars irrespective of their knowledge of German. The trend here was opposition to the appointments of respective candidates, with one side claiming the low scientific qualities of ‘Polish’ scholars, and the other arguing not only in favor of scholarliness, which was always seen to be at least equal to germanophone candidates, but stressing also the importance of language for practical reasons. In the Thun era, such conflicts were not frequent, as faculties were divided into ‘Polish’ Cracow and ‘German’ L’viv, with relations among the full professors preventing tensions. Conflict became more intense shortly before the change of language at each university. In Cracow, controversy arose around the chair of forensic medicine to succeed Antoni Bryk, who was appointed for the chair of surgery. As the majority of the Faculty proposed Ferdynand Kopczyński, a germanophone exponent of the same discipline, Richard Heschl, fiercely opposed the choice, questioning not only the candidate himself, but also the process through which he was chosen. By promoting only scholars who speak Polish, Heschl claimed, the university narrowed the choice of candidates and in this peculiar situation two candidates who were most academically qualified were not considered for linguistic reasons.⁴⁵¹ Bryk, as the Faculty expert for the appointment, supported the candidate, stating that Heschl’s opinion was based on his previous conflicts with Kopczyński when the latter was director of St. Lazar Hospital in Cracow (*Szpital Generalny Św. Łazarza*); Heschl’s opposition went so far that he even intervened personally with the minister, accusing the Faculty of nationalism.⁴⁵²

establishing Polish as the (almost) exclusive language of instruction was issued several months later on the occasion of relocation of Wrobel (AUJ, WF II 151, Z. 4043, 14.5.1870).

⁴⁵⁰ *Dziennik Polski* 1869, 15. October 1869. The exact quotation is: “brought here to germanize us, he became polonized himself, and he knows Polish language almost perfectly, although he is not capable of lecturing in it. He has acquired a high reputation among German aestheticians and if it were not for the principles, it would be a pity to sacrifice him.”

⁴⁵¹ See ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1103, PA Kopczynski, Z. 14960, 13.10.1860 and AUJ, S I 819, *Medycyna sądowa*, Z. 665, 26.9.1860, 21.9.1860 and other documents in this fascicle.

⁴⁵² See the note from the Ministry sent to the deanery in AUJ, WL II 152, 26.10.1860.

In L'viv, two conflicts over language were broadly discussed during the time of the German-language university. Already in 1868, the Ministry made the exceptional decision to allow parallel lectures in philosophy and economy (Law Faculty). In July 1869, Ksawery Liske also asked the Philosophical Faculty to allow a Polish lecture in history. The Faculty was divided about this question, with Małecki, Lipiński and (Vorarlberg-born) Alois Handl opting to accept this proposition, and the majority of the Faculty against it. Zeissberg, who was referent on the issue, mentioned legal issues, but also criticized the gradual polonization of both universities in Galicia, which would cause the eastern part of the Monarchy to have Polish lectures only, thus abandoning a large number of students who did know the language. Secondly, the germanophone historian also mentioned the issue of competition, as Polish national youth would choose Liske's lecture if they had the opportunity, leaving the professor teaching in German (at that moment – Zeissberg himself) staring at empty chairs.⁴⁵³

A similar division came into view in 1871 when Wincenty Zakrzewski's habilitation for history was rejected. He claimed that his knowledge of German was insufficient and asked the Faculty to allow the procedure to take place in Polish; the referent – once more Zeissberg – opposed it, not only because of the language issue, but also because he saw the habilitation proceedings senseless as a majority of professors did not speak Polish, and he considered Zakrzewski's publications insufficient.⁴⁵⁴ While the Ministry allowed the lectures of Liske, it accepted the Faculty's opinion on Zakrzewski,⁴⁵⁵ who, however, habilitated directly after the language equalization and was appointed as associate professor to Cracow the year after.

Following the open letter of Józef Dietl from 1861, in which the newly chosen rector invited Polish scholars to habilitate in Cracow,⁴⁵⁶ the university faced a large number of petitions for habilitations and chairs, which were negatively viewed by the Faculty, which several times voiced the idea that only disciplines that were not covered by the professors should be left free for *Privatdozenten*, thus limiting the number of possibilities. On the other hand, the Ministry rejected, or more precisely

⁴⁵³ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 117u, PA Liske, Z. 460, 24.6.1869.

⁴⁵⁴ DALO, 26/7/148, Z. 50, 20.1.1871; 11.2.1871; On the scholarly level of Zakrzewski's work DALO, 26/7/142, N. 245, 19.1.1871.

⁴⁵⁵ DALO, 26/7/148, Z. 1544, 17.3.1871.

⁴⁵⁶ Dietl, Józef, "O instytucji docentów w ogóle, a szczególnie na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim." *Czas*, no. 251, 31 October 1861: 1-2.

did not reply to the documents it received about several habilitations accepted by the university from the 1850s on.⁴⁵⁷ This affected scholars from non-Habsburg lands of the German Confederation most of all, who were dismissed due to lack of acknowledgment of their foreign diplomas, but also for political reasons. In 1862, Józef Oettinger, an active Jewish progressive politician, was proposed for *Privatdozent* of history of medicine, but was rejected by the Ministry, which accused him of being a “fanatical Pole,” who organized nationalist celebrations as a leading member of the Cracow Reform Synagogue.⁴⁵⁸ This was, however, one of very few habilitations which met with problems at the time. In 1869 the provincial government had no objections against him, and following this advice, the Ministry agreed to the habilitation.

The L’viv University was also subject to language reform in the 1870s, though only at the Philosophical Faculty, as the Medical Surgical Study was closed due to the reorganization of physicians’ education. This time the changes were more abrupt, not only because all but four scholars active in 1870 left the university, but also because the Faculty encountered problems as to who should propose their successors. The option of scholars continuing their activity until their replacement was regarded as unrealistic, because the Ministry reported that the press and students campaigned against them, which hindered their work at the university.⁴⁵⁹ Only in three cases did the Ministry and the university agree on an exception to the condition of learning Polish within three years and lecturing in this language. From those exceptions, Jan Wrobel moved to Chernivtsi in 1876, zoologist Hermann Schmidt-Gödel retired the same year and historian of German law, Eduard Buhl (Law Faculty), remained at the university until his death in 1883, knowing Polish but lecturing in German.⁴⁶⁰ In 1877, the university fiercely refused to make Buhl’s situation a basis for a legal exception, which would allow instructors to teach this discipline in German.⁴⁶¹ The

⁴⁵⁷ Michalewska, Krzysztofa, "Habilitacje w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1848-1918." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne. Zeszyt 12* vol. LXXI (1963): 79-133, here 82-84.

⁴⁵⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1103, PA Öttinger, Z. 724, 23.12.1868. Also the Faculty was unanimous about Oettinger’s habilitation, officially because of his age (Z. 9909, 3.9.1862).

⁴⁵⁹ See for example the note on not specified assaults on Karl Barach-Rappaport mentioned in the appointment records of Euzebiusz Czerkowski, AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Czerkowski, Z. 8147, 19.6.1871.

⁴⁶⁰ For correspondence between Ministry and Faculty on issue of all three professors see AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Schmidt, Z. 8999, 12.10.1875; DALO 26/7/184, Z. 16609, 20.10.1875.

⁴⁶¹ Finkel, *Historia*, 44-47.

only such chair remained that of German language and literature, to which bilingual Catholic priest, Eugeniusz Janota, was appointed in 1871. After his death and a short period when August Sauer taught as auxiliary professor, Richard Werner from Graz took over the chair in 1883.

The issue of language was pivotal in L'viv in the following decades. In particular, as the administrative language was Polish from 1879, the obligation for instructors to know this language was seen as an issue of practice, leading later to worsening status and academic possibilities for Ruthenian and germanophone Jewish scholars; both languages were languages of instruction in some gymnasia, notwithstanding growing pressure for assimilation.⁴⁶² "Inadequate knowledge of the Polish language" was, for example, the reason for rejecting the habilitation of Volodymyr Myl'kovych (Володимир Милькович, also Wladimir Milkowicz) for Austrian history in 1890, as the university was bilingual.⁴⁶³ Furthermore, earlier habilitations of professors with Ruthenian lecture topics or publications were not entirely welcomed. This was true even of scholars who later made considerable careers, like Klymentij/Klym Hankevych (Климентій/Клим Ганкевич, better known as Klemens/Clemens Hankiewicz). Interestingly, both Hankevych and Myl'kovych later acquired full professorships in Chernivtsi.⁴⁶⁴ For well-known Jewish neurologist Gustaw Bikeles, who spoke broken Polish (his low level of competency probably caused both by his hearing impairment and using German as his first tongue), language was a vital issue. After five years of being *Privatdozent* he was proposed in 1906 for associate professor; the Faculty, supported by the strong expertise of pathologist Jan Prus, agreed only to award him the title and character of associate

⁴⁶² According to the highly unreliable Habsburg official statistics, majority of Jews in Galicia spoke Polish as their common speech. See, Haas, Theodor, "Die sprachlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in Österreich." *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* 11, no. 1 (1915): 1-12, tables on page 3.

⁴⁶³ DALO, 26/7/321, Z. 262, 4.12.1890.

⁴⁶⁴ Hankevych, now rather forgotten, to habilitate several times in L'viv and Cracow, for Slavic philosophy and Ruthenian language, and was rejected with different argumentation, mostly because his main works were not published prior to the habilitation, or, as Józef Kremer stated, were plagiarisms. See DALO 26/7/146; DALO 26/7/132, 12.2.1869, and Z. 419, 15.6.1869; AUJ, WF II 121, PA Hankiewicz. More on Hankevych in Vjachaslaw Shal'kjevich's (Вячаслаў Шалькевіч, Władysław Szalkiewicz), introduction to the Polish translation of *Grundzüge der Slavischen Philosophie* (1869), Hankiewicz, Klemens, *Zarys filozofii słowiańskiej*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2011.

professor, claiming that Bikeles would never gain a full professorship due to his deafness, and should thus not be fully supported.⁴⁶⁵

As in L'viv, Cracow University viewed the fostering of national intelligentsia as more important than sustaining the lectures. For example, when the lectures in geography were to be activated in 1875, both universities acknowledged a substantial lack of scholars capable of teaching this discipline in Polish, but both decided to offer scholarships for promising young scholars (in L'viv Karol Benoni, in Cracow Franciszek Czerny-Schwarzenberg) and have extra lectures delivered by other professors.⁴⁶⁶ Among scholars considered in L'viv was gymnasium teacher Anatol' Vakhnianyn (Анатоль Вахнянин), already at that time a prominent Ruthenian politician, who however failed to gain a majority in the Faculty.⁴⁶⁷ After Benoni's failed habilitation in 1878, L'viv University gained a chair of geography only in 1882, appointing Antoni Rehman (also Anton Rehmann), a *Privatdozent* for biogeography from Cracow.⁴⁶⁸ As the lectures of the chair of German language and literature were to remain in German, professors who were proposed for the chair were more valued for knowing at least one Slavic language and thus having better chances of learning Polish, which also limited potential of appointments.

Candidates' knowledge of Polish was carefully analyzed and discussed during appointment procedures. In the cases of non-Galician scholars who published in German, the Faculty was often unsure if the nominees' fluency was sufficient for lecturing; with two exceptions, Czech-speaking scholars from Bohemia were not taken into consideration as possible appointments.⁴⁶⁹ The problem of a lack of qualified scholars arose in Cracow in the 1860s. As the professor of classical philology in German language was to be appointed, the Faculty asked its former member Bernhard Jülg, then already professor in Innsbruck, if he would agree to

⁴⁶⁵ AGAD; MWiO, fasz. 403u, PA Kościński: final decision of the Faculty Z. 35837, 15.12.1906, Jan Prus writing Z. 43794, 17.1.1906 Z. 43794, 11.9.1906 (provincial government, supporting the claim that Bikeles is not fluent in Polish language). See also Herman, Eufemiusz Józef, *Historia neurologii polskiej*. Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAN, 1975, 152.

⁴⁶⁶ See for Benoni: DALO, 26/7/178, records covering 1874-1878; for Czerny-Schwarzenberg: AUJ, WF II 180 Geografia, 28.6.1874.

⁴⁶⁷ DALO, 26/7/175, p. 24-25, 10.12.1874, p. 32, 14.12.1874. Vakhnianyn pleaded for scholarship at first (rejected by all but Sharanevych), was then rejected by all but five members of the Faculty; other scholars (gymnasial teachers from Habsburg and German Empire, mostly however writing historical publications) considered for this chair, declined or were seen as not qualified.

⁴⁶⁸ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 120u, PA Rehmann.

⁴⁶⁹ See e.g. Oldřich Kramář's application for chair of philosophy in Cracow, rejected from the beginning on due to linguistic insufficiency, AUJ, W II 128, 26.1.1877.

return to the Faculty. The request was motivated by the fact that he had learned Polish in his years in Cracow.⁴⁷⁰ In two cases, however, the university decided to propose a scholar who was not entirely fluent in Polish. In 1873, Berlin pharmacologist Zygmunt Radziejewski (who according to his own words, spoke basic Polish),⁴⁷¹ was to be proposed for the chair of internal medicine, but committed suicide. The Faculty came to an agreement on Wilhelm Zülzer from Berlin, who spoke basic Polish enabling communication with patients; however, Zülzer wanted to lecture for the first three years in German. He finally, surprisingly, declined the call, which required the Faculty to swiftly, but due to lack of experience abroad, unwillingly, appoint Edward (Sas-) Korczyński from St. Lazar hospital in Cracow – who had to agree to spend some time with foreign scholarships before starting to lecture.⁴⁷² The second case, similar to the first and caused by a lack of specialists fluent in Polish, took place in 1891, when the chair of animal husbandry was created at Jagiellonian University. The Faculty proposed Leopold Adametz from the Agricultural Academy (*Hochschule for Bodenkultur*) in Vienna; he was required, however, to learn Polish within two years time.⁴⁷³ Such appointments remained exceptions though, and faculties were very cautious about language issues, in uncertain cases asking scholars directly whether they were fluent in Polish and sometimes receiving surprising positive answers, like from chemist Julius Braun from Breslau/Wrocław or dermatologist Ernst Finger from Vienna.⁴⁷⁴ When the chair for surgery in Cracow in 1882 was to be filled, the Faculty opposed Johann/Jan Mikulicz-Radecki, who was favored by the Ministry, precisely due to doubts about his language skills; although the commission acknowledged his practical and scientific abilities, he was not included in the *terna* because of this issue.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ AUJ, WF II 151, 3.3.1865, the inquiry was caused by lack of adequate scholars lecturing in Polish, Jülg however asked also earlier if the chair was filled, see WF II 2, Z. 179, 17.1.1865 (Jülg's letter), Z. 190, 28.1.1865 (Faculty's answer).

⁴⁷¹ AUJ, WL II 164, 13.4.1873 and 7.7.1873.

⁴⁷² AUJ, WL II 164, 4.6.1874, 29.6.1874 (on Zülzer); 12.7.1874 (on Korczyński). See also Wachholz, Leon, "Trzej interniści krakowscy u schyłku XIX wieku." *Polska Gazeta Lekarska* 10, no. 43 (1931): 1-11.

⁴⁷³ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 65u, PA Adametz, Z. 591, 27.5.1891.

⁴⁷⁴ For Braun AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 66u, PA Dziewoński, Z.448, 23.2.1911, for Finger AUJ, WL II 174, 11.1.1897; both scholars finally declined, Braun due to problems with chemical laboratory, Finger as he wrote (in Polish) that his language skills are not sufficient for teaching.

⁴⁷⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 51u, PA Mikulicz, Z. 13062. 20.1882. Eybesfeld mentioned in his memorandum, that Mikulicz-Radecki was certainly capable of speaking Polish and regarded this language as his mother tongue, Radecki himself addressed this issue in his opening speech in Cracow. See also Wachholz, Leon, "Dwie obsady katedr lekarskich w Uniwersytecie

Transfers between Galicia and germanophone Habsburg universities, however, were more common than in the Czech case. As far as the transfers from Austrian to Galician academies are concerned (25), only a small percentage of scholars transferred in this direction, with peaks between 1849 and 1864 (7), and 1890-1900 (8). Most of the mobile instructors were members of the Philosophical Faculty, gained habilitation in Vienna, and were appointed from the position of *Privatdozent*. After the language reform those transfers were in absolute numbers higher than before. Their character changed however from scholars born in Austria and Bohemia, to the German Empire and Galician-born scholars, or Austrian-born Polish speakers like Kazimierz Twardowski and Marian Smoluchowski. Also only a few scholars were appointed from the Russian (10) and German (11) empires, the largest number from Warsaw, but including also scholars who taught at the other universities like Kazan (Казань) or St. Petersburg. The number of proposed scholars from abroad was not considerably higher, with financial issues being the biggest problem in the negotiations, e.g. with botanists Eduard/Edward Strasburger and Władysław Rother, chemist Marceł Nencki or mathematician Jan Ptaszycki. In several cases the Faculty had to withdraw proposals, as the candidates could not agree with the facilities. For example in the preparation for *terna* in chemistry in Cracow in 1911, all candidates refused the calls because of the lack of adequate laboratory equipment – in this case candidates were from Cracow (medical chemist Leon Marchlewski), the Technical Academy in L'viv (Stefan Niementowski) and Breslau/Wrocław (Julius Braun). The Faculty decided then to propose *primo et unico loco* Karol Dziewoński, instructor from school of chemistry in Mulhouse/Mülhausen⁴⁷⁶ in Alsace who was working as a director of the chemical department of the famous Kuvayev's textile manufacture in Ivanovo-Voznesensk (Иваново-Вознесенск, now Иваново).⁴⁷⁷

As the nominal payment compared to other empires was low in the Habsburg Monarchy, the appointments from both neighboring empires were limited to *Privatdozenten*, with few exceptions – like mathematician Jan Śleszyński who habilitated at Cracow University after his retirement in Odessa,⁴⁷⁸ or linguist Jan

Jagiellonskim w wieku XIX." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 10 (1930): 226-233.

⁴⁷⁶ *École municipale de chimie*, from 1871 and access of the city to Prussia *Städtisch höhere Chemie-Schule in Mülhausen*, *École municipale de chimie industrielle* or *École de Chimie de Mulhouse*, now *École nationale supérieure de chimie de Mulhouse*.

⁴⁷⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 66u, PA Dziewoński, Z.448, 23.2.1911.

⁴⁷⁸ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 64u, Mathematik, Z. 7398, 14.2.1911; AUJ, WF II 163, 12.10.1911; shortly

Baudouin de Courtenay (also known as Иван Бодуэн де Куртене), who moved from Dorpat/Tartu to Cracow as a contract professor in 1893.⁴⁷⁹

Similarly, if the appointments from Galicia to the germanophone universities in the Monarchy are considered, these transfers occurred in larger numbers only in 1860-1864 (7) and 1870-1874 (9), which was linked with language reform and dislocations (literally *Versetzung*) of German-speaking scholars. From the scholars leaving Galicia after the 1870s, almost the half were people appointed from chairs with German as the language of instruction, with a negligible number of transfers including scholars teaching regularly in Polish, for example, the earlier mentioned Franz/Franciszek Mertens. Polish-speaking scholars teaching in Galicia were also, with four exceptions, not taken into consideration for chairs – Alfred Biesiadecki (for the chair in Vienna after Rokitansky) was not appointed as he was considered “indispensible” in Cracow;⁴⁸⁰ Antoni Bryk who won the concurs in Innsbruck in 1859 was opposed by the Faculty;⁴⁸¹ Jan Zawidzki, proposed *unico loco* for chemistry in Innsbruck 1907 declined the call;⁴⁸² Marian Smoluchowski, proposed for chair of physics in Vienna after Friedrich Hasenörl, died between the final decision and prospective appointment, which nevertheless was threatened due to developments of World War I.⁴⁸³

Similarly, only few Galician scholars were appointed to the universities in the German and Russian empires, like slavist Aleksander Brückner who moved to Berlin (*Privatdozent* 1882, professor 1892), or historian of Polish literature, Józef Kallenbach, and classical philologist Adam Miodoński who both went to Frybourg (Swiss). The only exchanges between Czech and Galician universities before 1918 were Wenzel Láška (professor for mathematics at the Technical Academy in Prague, later in L’viv and teaching at the university as well, appointed in 1911 to the Czech university in Prague), and Andrzej Obrzut. Two scholars from Galicia were appointed

afterwards Śleszyński was appointed titular full professor (Z. 49059, 17.11.1911).

⁴⁷⁹ AUJ, S II 861, Z. 863, 6.7.1894.

⁴⁸⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 600, PA Heschl, Z. 232, 13.5.1875. The proposal, coming according to the Ministry from Billroth, included Biesiadecki, Edmund Klebs from Prague (both described as “indispensable” for the respective universities and thus not taken into account) and Heschl, who was than appointed.

⁴⁸¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1001, PA Joseph Fischer, Z. 14179/519, 17.9.1859.

⁴⁸² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 635, PA Felix Exner, Z. 37893, 26.11.1916. Zawidzki was at the time professor at the Agricultural Academy in Dublany.

⁴⁸³ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 637, PA Gustav Jäger, Z. 22103, 15.6.1918; see also Teske, *Marian Smoluchowski*, 251-252.

professors in Czechoslovakia – the assistant of Obrzut, Pavel Ludwik Kučera, *Privatdozent* in L’viv who moved to Brno in 1919 and Vítězslav Chlumský, who, recommended by Mikulicz-Radecki, habilitated in Cracow, and left the university under unclear circumstances in 1917 and was then professor in Bratislava from 1919.⁴⁸⁴

A slightly different and more colorful picture of educational diversity can be obtained however looking at the places of graduation, as the number of scholars who had not graduated in Galicia was considerably high and shows the variety of educational backgrounds which Galician scholars had. As both L’viv and Cracow universities were the only ones with Polish lectures – with a short exception of the Main School (*Szkoła Główna*) in Warsaw 1857-1863 – they attracted Polish-speaking scholars from abroad for habilitation. On the other hand, both universities and authorities supported young scholars with foreign scholarships, which were directed rather towards the German Empire than Habsburg universities.⁴⁸⁵ Some grants included formal requirement of habilitation within a certain time and also limited to provincial universities. The teacher-student relations facilitated such a direction, on one hand with scholars proposing their students habilitation in Galicia (Brückner, Mikulicz-Radecki) or young scholars being sent to German-language universities following the path of scholars who studied there before. Here one can also see that the orientation of regions scholarship were awarded for was centered around germanophone countries, with England and France becoming more popular in the late nineteenth century, ‘German’ education being highly valued in all disciplines and mentioned positively in most decisions.

While at both medical faculties the number of non-Galician graduates was around 25%, at the philosophical faculties this number holds around 50%; in both cases the German Empire universities were dominant. In the case of Cracow the graduates from germanophone Habsburg universities came even third beyond those from the Russian Empire (see table 10).⁴⁸⁶ Scholars who graduated in those both

⁴⁸⁴ See AUJ, S II 619, PA Chlumsky. Chlumský was wounded during the World War I and asked the Faculty for leave of absence until the end of the war, stating though, that if the Faculty wants to “dispose him,” he is ready to leave the university. The Faculty decided to “accept his demand” and relieved him from his functions.

⁴⁸⁵ See e.g. Nedza, *Polityka stypendialna Akademii Umiejętności*.

⁴⁸⁶ If candidate of science [кандидат наук] or magister [магистр] are counted as a first grade; in more than half of these cases the candidates earned also later a PhD, mostly at universities in the German Empire.

empires were not limited to ones born there, but a high number of scholars from the Russian Empire and Galicia had graduated in the German Empire. On the other hand, students born in the neighboring empires are scarcely found among Galicia-graduated instructors. Looking, however, at individual universities, most non-local graduates earned their PhD in Vienna – with the exception of L’viv Medical Faculty, with Cracow providing most young physicians there. In the German Empire no school came near this number, with Leipzig being the most popular for both medical and philosophical faculties.

With respect to the governance of Galician universities, the provincial government was the final institutional voice, as its opinions were in most cases binding for the Ministry, which mostly included them into the wording of proposition for the Kaiser. While this practice was widespread in Cracow from the moment of the introduction of the Polish language, the position of the provincial government as an arbitrary body of professorial appointments was affirmed in 1871 during the reconstruction of the faculties at the L’viv University: “as the deanery asserted the impossibility of convening the professors college [the provincial governor] saw itself occasioned for the preparation of this appointment proposals after obtaining advise of experts.”⁴⁸⁷ The commission included Cracow: scholars physiologist and anthropologist Józef Majer, philosopher and esthetician Józef Kremer, professor (probably Grzegorz) Piotrowski, rector of L’viv University, pedagogue and Greek-Catholic theologian Franciszek/Franz Kostek⁴⁸⁸ (Франц Костек), L’viv philosopher and pedagogue Euzebiusz Czerkawski and historian Józef Szujski. This commission, consisting thus of humanists and, with exception of Kostek, engaged Polish nationalists, decided the appointments based on Faculty proposal.⁴⁸⁹ The exception was botany, where Eduard/Edward Strasburger, professor in Jena, was proposed instead of *Privatdozent* Antoni Rehmann from Cracow, but rejected afterwards the call.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ From the writing of the provincial government on the situation in Lviv in AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 112u, PA Żmurko, Z. 6292, 21.9.1871;

⁴⁸⁸ Kostek taught pedagogy at the Philosophical Faculty and pastoral theology in Ruthenian language at the Theological Faculty, see Каровець, Макарій, *Українці Ректори Львівського Університету (Ukraini Rectores Universitatis Leopoliensis)*. Жовква, 1936, 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Appointed were: Ksawery Liske (*Privatdozent* in L’viv) for chair of history, Wawrzyniec Żmurko (professor at Technical Academy in L’viv) for mathematics, Eugeniusz Janota for chair of German language and literature, Isydor Sharanevych / Isidor Szaraniewicz for Austrian History (at first as auxiliary professor, from 1873 full professor).

⁴⁹⁰ All documents in AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 112u PA Żmurko, Z. 11229, 29.9.1871.

From this time on, the correspondence on the appointments went through the provincial government, which also intervened in cases of candidates who were politically problematic, being the first point of control before the Ministry and corresponding with the university on these issues. In some cases, it even organized external commissions if the university was unable to find a specialist.⁴⁹¹ The provincial government was directly influential in several cases, mostly linked with controversial issues. So, for example, the governor decided on the appointment for the chair of Polish history for the successor of Tadeusz Wojciechowski, where the Faculty was divided between Stanisław Zakrzewski and Szymon Askenazy. While the majority, consisting of nine professors, among them four historians, pleaded for Askenazy for the chair, the minority, led by Bronisław Dembiński, severely criticized the historian, who was writing – according to the votum – heroic, individualized historiography, “which virtually provoked professional historians to critique and polemics.”⁴⁹² The governor echoed here the opinion of the minority, mentioning that it included all professors of humanities (apart from the four historians) and that he asked “other historians” on their opinion, deciding to appoint Zakrzewski as associate professor of Polish history, and Askenazy as full professor of “newer world-history, with special consideration of Polish history.” Certainly in this case (and several others after the World War I) the Jewish denomination of Askenazy was an obstacle, but so were his political and historic ideas, which rejected pessimism of the Cracow school (in L’viv represented precisely by Dembiński) and argued for an active struggle for independence as opposed to political mainline of loyalty.⁴⁹³

The question, with which both Ministry and provincial government mostly confronted the university, remained the number of Ruthenian chairs. Here, the argument from the majority of scholars at the university (and, if such cases were discussed in parliament, of Polish nationalists as well) was that Ruthenian scholars had the possibility of habilitation, and if they conformed with the requirements of

⁴⁹¹ For example for the chair of histology in Lviv in 1896, commission consisted of one member of provincial government, deputy of the Galician Education Authority (*Rada Szkolna Krajowa*), provincial referent for health issues and two deputies of the L’viv University. AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 405u, Z. 467, 16.1.1896.

⁴⁹² AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Askenazy, Z. 1838, 27.6.1906.

⁴⁹³ On Askenazy’s worldview see Wróbel, Piotr, “Szymon Askenazy.” In *Nation and History: Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, edited by Peter Brock, Piotr Wróbel and John Stanley, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, 221-245.

scholarliness, their advance in the academic life will not be obstructed.⁴⁹⁴ This idea remained rather limited to rhetoric, however, and the practical situation at the university showed how ‘conservative’ the decision-making was. In the face of a Polish majority at the university, Ruthenian professors could not build but a minority, or – as in the case of the university pleading for Polish language as the administrative language of the university – only Omelyan Ohonovs’ky could oppose the majority.⁴⁹⁵ In the case of L’viv University as a self-pronounced Polish stronghold after 1867, which intensified after the 1890s, only political solutions led to the assurance of a Ruthenian presence at the university.

There were several cases in which Ruthenian scholars held a united front against the Polish majority, for example, in the question of the habilitation in general history of Ludwik Finkel in 1884, which was controversial in the Faculty, but accepted with all but three votes (Sharanevych, Ohonovs’ky and physicist Oskar Fabian, the latter was however not Ruthenian).⁴⁹⁶ The conflict between Finkel and Ruthenian professor for Austrian history, Sharanevych, over the division of lectures escalated several times thereafter, as Sharanevych complained that the Polish professor reads on Austrian history and only adds an annotation “on the background of general history” (“na tle dziejów powszechnych”).⁴⁹⁷ This conflict was ‘elegantly’ solved by the autonomous decision of the provincial government during the subsequent appointment procedures for the chair of universal history after Ksawery Liske, which led to countless conflicts in the Faculty. After the Faculty proposed the first *terna* of local scholars – with Finkel, who was *secundo loco* and working only on Polish history – governor Bobrzyński mentioned Bronisław Dembiński from Cracow as a possible candidate and asked the Faculty to propose a new *terna* taking him into consideration. When the Faculty rejected and insisted on their candidate, the governor wrote his own proposal, deciding to appoint Dembiński as associate professor.⁴⁹⁸ Finkel, still working only on Polish history, was appointed associate professor for Austrian history the same year.

⁴⁹⁴ Michalewska, Krzysztofa, *Próby utworzenia uniwersytetu ukraińskiego w Polsce 1919-26*: Unpublished Dissertation at the Jagiellonian University, Archive of the Jagiellonian University, signature Dokt. 120/74, 1974, e.g. 14-15 (on the situation 1867-1868); Twardowski, *Die Universität Lemberg*, etc.

⁴⁹⁵ Michalewska, *Próby utworzenia uniwersytetu ukraińskiego*, 22.

⁴⁹⁶ DAŁO, 26/7/269, p. 86, 27.6.1884; p. 96, 12.7.1884

⁴⁹⁷ DAŁO, 26/7/321, Z. 304, 23.1.1891.

⁴⁹⁸ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Dembiński, Z. 2942, 2.3.1892; Z. 847, 7.2.1892.

Most conflicts however included habilitations of Ruthenian scholars. In 1874, as Anatol' Vakhnianyn (Анатоль Вахнянин) strived for a position in general geography, which was not granted, with Sharanevych and Ohonovs'ky clearly favoring the scholar but not gaining a majority support.⁴⁹⁹ Similar was the case of habilitation of Myl'kovych in 1890, which was rejected by all but two Ruthenian members of the Faculty, due to a "noticeable lack of knowledge of the Polish language."⁵⁰⁰

In the question of professor of German language and literature in 1882, Ohonovs'ky was the only professor who supported August Sauer, who had been auxiliary professor from 1879. While Ohonovs'ky stressed Sauer's qualifications, the rest of the Faculty criticized that Sauer did not learn Polish language in the proscribed period of three years; that he has only contacts with German-speaking families in L'viv; and that he insulted the Polish people in Galicia by criticizing the lack of civilization in the province in a series of articles printed in L'viv German-language newspapers.⁵⁰¹

Such cases should not, however, give the impression of persistent and aggressive Polish-Ruthenian conflict at the Faculty, which, at least until the 1890s was not the case; most decisions were made with consensus, for example, the appointment for the chair of Polish language and literature, where Ohonovs'ky as the referent of the commission proposed Roman Pilat.⁵⁰² One can find statements in the literature that this was caused by a careful choice of non-nationalist Ruthenian scholars, which was certainly true to an extent, but the prevalence of conservative cultural Greek-Catholic non-confrontational nationalism in Galicia at the time should also be taken into consideration.

One of the signs of inner-faculty support, although still at the time of German-language university, is the case of Yakiv Holovats'ky, who from the middle of the 1850s had political problems due to his Russophile tendencies but was elected dean one year after his conflict with the provincial government and police.⁵⁰³ The final removal of Holovats'ky from the position was the consequence of the intrigues of the

⁴⁹⁹ DALO, 26/7/175, p. 24-25, 10.12.1874; p. 32, 14.12.1874.

⁵⁰⁰ DALO, 26/7/321, Z. 262, 4.12.1890.

⁵⁰¹ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 122u, PA Werner, Z. 458, 26.6.1882; Z. 18879, 3.6.1882; Z. 2591, 13.4.1883.

⁵⁰² DALO, 26/7/175, p. 104, 15.6.1875.

⁵⁰³ DALO, 26/5/473, PA Glowacki, N. 291, 22.2.1856. See also from recent publications on this widely research topic: Osadczy, Włodzimierz, *Święta Ruś. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2007, 142-154.

provincial government, which from the beginning of 1867 claimed his contacts within the Russian Empire, and cooperation with the politically suspect journal, *Voice* (*Голос*). During the search of his house, police found letters allegedly confirming his disloyalty. Holovats'ky was suspended, and finally released from the university, as – according to the provincial government – he was appointed for an administrative function in the Russian Empire.⁵⁰⁴ In this situation the Faculty claimed the innocence of Holovats'ky, this time though without success.⁵⁰⁵ Finally, Holovats'ky was even summoned by the provincial government to pay a back a large amount of the salary he received in 1866, as it was suspected he already received a salary from Kiev while teaching at the university.⁵⁰⁶

The most important changes in the cultural division of the L'viv faculty took place between 1890 and 1899. It is interesting to have a look at this period, which can demonstrate the mechanisms of political divisions in L'viv, both between Poles and Ruthenians and within the Ruthenian culture.⁵⁰⁷

During the political rapprochement of the 1890s, the so called “New Era” (*Nowa Era*, *Нова ера*), the Polish-dominated provincial government allowed several concessions for the Ruthenian language, most important being allowance of use of Ruthenian as administrative language, phonological codification of language, support for educational organizations and creation of two chair's at the university – one for Ruthenian history and a second one for Ruthenian language and literature.⁵⁰⁸

While the question of the latter chair was postponed, the first one was more or less swiftly resolved. In its designation, the provincial government mentioned not only the scholarly qualifications of the new historian, but also his function as a broker between western and eastern cultures: “The professor of the newly created chair should make the university youth acquainted with historic-literary production of the East, but on the other hand process and use those in the spirit of the West.”⁵⁰⁹ As a

⁵⁰⁴ DALO, 26/5/473, p. 42-50, 18.3.1867; Z.554, 29.1.1867; N. 139, 16.4.1868.

⁵⁰⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 117u, PA Głowacki, Z. 4473, 1.6.1868.

⁵⁰⁶ DALO, 26/5/473, p. 55, 6.8.1869.

⁵⁰⁷ See on this issue Hrytsak, "Ruslan, Bohdan and Myron: Three Constructed Identities among Galician Ruthenians/Ukrainians, 1830-1914" and Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions."

⁵⁰⁸ In general on New Era and its resolutions: Maciak, Dariusz, *Próba porozumienia polsko-ukraińskiego w Galicji w latach 1888-1895*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2006 and Чорновол, Ігор, *Польсько-українська угода 1890-1894 рр.* Львів: Львівська Академія Мистецтв, 2000.

⁵⁰⁹ Quoted after Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*, 179.

teacher and educator, the new professor had a pronounced political function, and so were the proposals, which did not take Galician scholars into consideration. Although internally Polish scholars were also taken into consideration, Ruthenian professors fiercely rejected such proposals.⁵¹⁰ The final composed *terna* included well-known Kiev historian Volodymyr Antonovych (Володимир Антонович, also Włodzimierz Antonowicz), his 27-year-old, yet to graduate, student Mykhailo Hrushevs'ky, and scholar from the Institute for Austrian Historical Research Myl'kovych. While the majority, along with Sharanevych (Myl'kovych's father-in-law), pleaded for Myl'kovych, Ohonovs'ky and minority granted Hrushevs'ky the second place. Conflicts also arose as Hrushevs'ky was not a Greek-Catholic like most Ruthenians in Galicia, but Orthodox.⁵¹¹ While Antonovych rejected the call based on his advanced age, he fiercely supported Hrushevs'ky, in his eyes the most skilled of the young historians. This proposition met with the approval of the provincial government, which especially stressed that the young scholar "[belongs] to young-Ruthenian t.i. Ukrainian party and is adherent neither of pan-Slavic tendencies nor of an unjustified national chauvinism."⁵¹²

Hrushevs'ky, or Gruszevski as he was called in the official documents of the university, proved to be a great deal of trouble for the university, however, consequently refusing to use the Polish language and becoming in the following years a leader of nationalists in L'viv. By 1896 'Gruszevski' asked for the change of his name to 'Hruszevski' as this in his eyes this was the official transliteration of his surname from Cyrillic – the provincial government granted it only after serious deliberations and expert opinion.⁵¹³ His conflicts in the Faculty were legendary, as he constantly refused to speak Polish, the Polish professors at first asking other professors to translate, than disciplining Hrushevs'ky.⁵¹⁴ Finally the dean Kazimierz Twardowski refused to acknowledge the statements of Hrushevs'ky made in the

⁵¹⁰ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Gruszevski (Hruszevski), Z. 5265, 27.3.1894.

⁵¹¹ DALO 26/7/346, Z. 6898, 9.4.1892; Z. 141, 20.10.1892; distribution of votes in Z. 641, 7.6.1893 and 26/7/510, p. 20-35, 7.6.1893. For religious issue see Барвінський, Александр "Засноване катедри історії України в Львівському університеті." *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. Праці Філологічної секції CXLI-CXLIII* (1925): 1-18; on Myl'kovych: Тельвак, Віталій, "Михайло Грушевський contra Володимир Мількович (до проблеми формування дискусійного поля української історіографії початку XX століття)." *Архівознавство. Археографія. Джерелознавство* 9 (2008): 255–269, here 259.

⁵¹² AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Gruszevski (Hruszevski), Z. 5265, 27.3.1894; Z 9018, 14.1.1894.

⁵¹³ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 119u, PA Hruszevski (Gruszevski), Z. 7332, 20.8.1896.

⁵¹⁴ DALO 26/7/410, p. 29, 16.7.1901 and 26/7/508, p. 12, 26.7.474; Z. 555, 29.11.1907.

Ruthenian language.⁵¹⁵ With these conflicts and his activities in the *Shevchenko Society*, Hrushevs'ky became a spokesman of Ruthenian demands at the university, considerably adding through his conflicts in the Faculty, which were publicly discussed and perceived as evidence of Polish oppression, to growing polarization between national groups in Galicia. His popularity finally led to being chosen the first head of *Tsentralna Rada* (Центральна Рада), the parliament of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918.

The second representative chair was that of Ruthenian Language and Literature, which, after Yakiv Holovats'ky's dismissal for russophilism, was occupied by Omelyan Ohonovs'ky, who was appointed in 1865 auxiliary professor (by the Faculty without prior approval by the Ministry),⁵¹⁶ and in 1871 for full professor. After Ohonovsk'y's death in 1894, the question of his successor was raised, but came not only in the middle of Polish-Ruthenian problems, but, as the chair was vital for the propagation of Ruthenian language, conceptions of which differed among political groups, in the middle of the conflict on the cultural orientation of Ruthenians. In the early 1890s, the decision on the introduction of phonetic orthography for Ruthenian schools was made, clarifying legally the issues addressed in the second chapter above, namely, the issue of written Ruthenian language.⁵¹⁷ With the introduction of a phonetic alphabet a step was made to demarcate 'true' Ruthenians from those "who want to bedight Ruthenian with Church Slavonic and Russian ornament"⁵¹⁸ (that is the Russophiles) – as claimed one of the most influential petitions, whose aim was to cleanse Ruthenian orthography from foreign or historical accretions in order to establish a purely folk-speech-based codification. Just as before 1848, this issue was highly controversial, leading to opposition of both Church authorities and the Russophile movement; both argued that it presented a break of historical-religious tradition of *Rus'* and a step towards assimilation with Polish culture. On the other hand, this decision strengthened the nationalists (*narodovtsy*), who not only initiated this reform, but also rigidly followed it in later publications.

⁵¹⁵ DALO 26/5/510, PA Hruszewski, p. 72, 11.3.1905.

⁵¹⁶ DALO, 26/7/101, Z. 433, 5.6.1867.

⁵¹⁷ For the most clear and up-to-date dealing with this issue see Zayarnyuk, Andriy, "Mapping Identities: The Popular Base of Galician Russophilism in the 1890s." *AHY* 41, no. 1: 117-142, especially 121-126.

⁵¹⁸ Gartner, Theodor, and Stephan Smal-Stocki, *Minoritätsvotum in der vom k.k. Bukowiner Landesschulrathe behufs Regelung der ruthenischen Schulorthographie eingesetzten Commission abgegeben im November 1887*. Czernowitz: Selbstverlag, 1888, 23.

The question of the successor of Ohonovs'ky was thus not only a mere academic question, but also one of influence on the students by differing approaches to Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationalism, because Stepan Smal'-Stots'ky, professor of philology in Chernivtsi, was a declared proponent of phonetical orthography and publisher of the first school book with its outline (1893). The direction the new professor in L'viv would take was so a vital interest for both Ruthenian political parties and the Church.

Directly after Ohonovs'ky's death, only one person was considered: Oleksandr Kolessa, who habilitated in 1894 with Smal'-Stots'ky in Chernivtsi and moved his *venia* to L'viv the next year.⁵¹⁹ For a long time the Faculty did not make any decision as to the appointments of future professors, leaving Kolessa as auxiliary professor of the chair. At this time a second candidate cleared the process of habilitation: known writer and poet Ivan Franko (Іван Франко), supported from within the university, but rejected by the Ministry both due to the influence of the provincial government and Ukrainian *narodovtsy*, for whom Franko was unacceptable due to his political radicalism and his socialist past which was rejected in the Habsburg lands.⁵²⁰ In his letters, Franko addressed the issue of vacating chair, stating that the university would not appoint any of the possible candidates and promote him afterwards, and after the negative decision of the Ministry, openly criticized the politicians of the New Era for promoting Kyrylo Studyns'ky.⁵²¹

Studyns'ky was a kind of antithesis of Kolessa. While the latter was *narodovets*, the former was a Christian Socialist and spent his studies in L'viv and Vienna, where he – like Kolessa – graduated in 1894 with Vatroslav Jagić, and then moved to Berlin to work with Aleksander Brückner, preparing his habilitation. A few months after Ohonovs'ky's death, the young scholar applied for a position of *Privatdozent*, which was denied him due to low scholarly qualifications, based on the

⁵¹⁹ DALO, 26/5/899, PA Kolessa, 12.5.1895.

⁵²⁰ Still most thorough analysis in Возняк, М[ихайло], "Недопущення Івана Франка до доцентури у Львівському університеті." *Іван Франко: Статті і матеріали* 1 (1948): 43-63; See also Качмар, Володимир Михайлович, "Справа українського університету на тлі польсько-українських суперечностей у Галичині 1901–1908 рр." *Проблеми слов'янознавства* / 42 (2002): 47-58. In 1907 Franko strived once more for the chair, this time his application was relied by the dean to ominous Commission of Chairs for Humanistic Disciplines (Komisja dla katedr humanistycznych), and apparently not followed afterwards, see DALO, 26/7/554, p. 38, Z. 1732, 15.7.1907.

⁵²¹ Вакарчук, Іван, Ісаєвич, Ярослав et. al, eds. *Листування Івана Франка та Михайла Драгоманова*. Львів: Видавничий центр ЛНУ ім. Івана Франка, 2006, 523-524, 535; Возняк, "Недопущення Івана Франка до доцентури у Львівському університеті."

opinion of Antoni Kalina.⁵²² With pronounced support of the provincial government, Studyns'ky was then granted a position at a gymnasium, and shortly afterwards a scholarship and pursued his career in Cracow, where he earned habilitation in the following year, publishing at this time also several articles in Polish.⁵²³ Studyns'ky resided in L'viv, however, and was granted the possibility of travelling once a week to Cracow, clearly against the habilitation laws, which required *Privatdozenten* to live in vicinity of the city they taught in.⁵²⁴

After several commissions could not find any appropriate candidate for the chair in question,⁵²⁵ Kolessa was finally proposed for associate professor,⁵²⁶ this was countered, however, by the governor, who in his opinion to the proposed appointment mentioned "another apt scholar," Cracow *Privatdozent* Studyns'ky, based on credentials supplied by Cracow historian of literature Tretiak.⁵²⁷ Minister Latour, who shortly before replaced Gautsch, thus asked the Faculty for a new proposition which would take both scholars into account, and asked for letters of opinion from Aleksander Brückner and Vatroslav Jagić.⁵²⁸ Notwithstanding this intervention, the Faculty proposed Kolessa once more, based on opinions of both specialists who saw him as a more talented and independent thinker, and this time succeeded in achieving his appointment.⁵²⁹ The conflict over the chair did not end here, however. A few months later the Faculty was once more confronted with this issue, as the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan-Ordinariate (!) requested a chair for Old Church Slavonic language at the Philosophical Faculty, what was fiercely supported by the provincial government and minister of education Hartel. The minister proposed to create "a second chair of classical philology, alternatively for Ruthenian language and literature with special consideration of Church Slavonic history and literature."⁵³⁰ The

⁵²² AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Studziński, Z. 97675, 30.12.1895; DALO 26/7/381, Z. 249, 22.11.1895.

⁵²³ Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*, 176; details on his Cracow scientific career in AUJ, WF II 121, PA Studzinski, Cyril (especially 10.7.1896 (expertise of Tretiak), 23.1.1897 (confirmation of the Ministry)).

⁵²⁴ Ibid., Z. 503, 2.4.1897 (petition), Z. 8176, 8.4.1897 (acceptance).

⁵²⁵ DALO, 26/5/899, PA Kolessa, p. 12, 31.3.1896.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 22-24, 15.7.1897; DALO, 26/7/387, Z. 498, 19.6.1897.

⁵²⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 119u, PA Kolessa, Z. 11599, 24.10.1897.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., PA Kolessa, Z. 1545, 18.1.1898.

⁵²⁹ DALO, 26/5/899, PA Kolessa, Z. 2731, 9.2.1898; letter of recommendation of Brückner, in which he also means that Franko would be the most apt candidate, in AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 403u, Z. 1545, 9.1.1898.

⁵³⁰ Quoted in correspondence of provincial government, AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Studziński, Z. 103567, 25.11.1898; see also Z. 18236, 4.10.1899.

installation of the new chair was opposed in the Faculty with various arguments, first that such a chair would be under Church supervision and should be erected at the Theological Faculty, secondly that such a second chair for Ruthenian language was not necessary, so the Ministry should rather create chairs which “relate to the existent needs of the Faculty and arise from real scientific needs.”⁵³¹ Another argument was that, since there were no candidates with scientific qualifications, such a chair should rather be a readership (lector) for which either Studyns’ky or the gymnasium teacher in L’viv, Volodymyr Kocovs’kyi (Володимир Коцовський), should be appointed. This was the official position of the majority of the Faculty, including Kolessa, who only wanted to augment the proposal with a sentence that the existing chair already covered the matters of the chair in question. The (Polish) minority – Kazimierz Twardowski, Rudolf Zuber and Alexander Skórski – opposed any changes, especially as the university lacked in their eyes a sufficient number of Polish lecturers for other disciplines and a second chair for Ruthenian philology was regarded as unnecessary.⁵³² The rest of the Ruthenian professors were not unanimous. Hrushevs’ky argued that the university should rather address a petition for the creation of other chairs that would answer the needs of Ruthenian gymnasia, like classical philology; if a second philological chair should be created, he proposed a candidate from the Russian Empire, Radchenko.⁵³³ Only Sharanevych, pronounced Russophile and house historian of the Stauropegion Institute, warmly greeted the new chair, proposing Studyns’ky as the best candidate.⁵³⁴ Despite an obvious lack of support within the Faculty, the Ministry appointed Studyns’ky for associate professor.⁵³⁵ A few months later, the Faculty successfully proposed Kolessa for full professor; Studyns’ky achieved this only in 1908, with the addition *ad personam* (accepted unanimously in the Faculty), that is, with his retirement or premature death, Church Slavonic would be abandoned at the Philosophical Faculty.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ DALO, 26/7/421, p. 19, 22.10.1898.

⁵³² AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Studziński, *votum separatum* dated 6.6.1899.

⁵³³ Probably Konstantin/Kostyantyn Radchenko (Константин/Костянтин Радченко), who earned the teaching permission in Kiev the year before, but published several articles on Old-Slavic languages in Russian and German starting from 1897.

⁵³⁴ See the Faculty discussions and presentation of all positions in DALO, 26/7/420, Z. 423, 13.3.1899 and 26/7/421, Z. 640, 3.6.1899, as well as AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Studziński.

⁵³⁵ DALO, 26/7/423, Z. 326, 27.11.1899.

⁵³⁶ DALO, 26/7/554, Z. 1732, 5.7.1907.

Studyns'ky certainly remained an interesting figure, his first major publication after the appointment was an edition of letters of Holovats'ky and he was intensively engaged in Ruthenian Christian Social Party, editing later its journal *Ruslan* (Руслан).⁵³⁷ Still, this politicized appointment(s) should not obscure the fact, that the division within Ruthenian part of the Faculty was only secondary to the issue of nationality, and in the following years this conflict overshadowed the internal divisions, especially as most Ruthenian scholars (including Franko) were united in the *Shevchenko Society*.

Such unification notwithstanding, internal divisions took hold in 1907, as the Ministry deliberated the creation of five additional Ruthenian chairs, including chemistry (Horbachevsky) and history of literature (Franko). The experts from the university commission with its referent Zakrzewski criticized it, stating financial reasons and the violation of university autonomy as crucial in this regard. Unsurprisingly the *votum separatum*, penned by Hrushevs'ky, Kolessa and Studyns'ky, claimed both the need of such chairs for the students and their importance in the creation of a Ruthenian university.⁵³⁸ Here the provincial governor, Andrzej Potocki, took the pro-Polish position, opposing this decision as creation of a "university of auxiliary professors,"⁵³⁹ once more reminiscent of the possibility of habilitation for Ruthenian scholars. The issue dropped off the agenda, partially due to the intensification of national conflict, which led to the assassination of Potocki in April 1908.

With the volatile issue of Ruthenian scholars in eastern Galicia, both universities stood in the middle of other political conflicts, which influenced appointments and habilitations. With a number of Catholic-conservative scholars appointed in the 1850s, Cracow University stood for many years in defense of these values, opening – as historian Józef Buszko claimed – only in the 1890s for liberal and socialist movements.⁵⁴⁰ With the appointments of one of the most prominent conservative politicians – Józef Szujski for the chair of Polish history in 1869 and

⁵³⁷ Binder, Harald, "Das Ruthenische Pressewesen." In *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band VIII: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft, 2. Teilband Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisierung*, edited by Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, 2091-2116, here 2121-2123.

⁵³⁸ Michalewska, *Próby utworzenia*, 44-54.

⁵³⁹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁴⁰ Buszko, Józef, *Spoleczno-polityczne oblicze*; Idem., "L'université Jagellon de Cracovie (1869-1914)." *Études danubiennes* 4, no. 1 (1988): 21-28.

Stanisław Tarnowski for the chair of Polish literature in 1871⁵⁴¹ – the university's link with politics was obvious, and was as such fiercely attacked by the liberal journals. The Cracow daily *Country* (*Kraj*), addressed, for example, a series of articles attacking the appointment policy of the university, stating that second-hand scholars from Galicia were appointed instead of high-class instructors from abroad, or even claimed that some German-speaking scholars should be left at the university as they had proven their scientific quality. Similarly, the *Academy of Sciences and Arts* was criticized for becoming a private entrepreneurship of Cracow conservatives. Ludwik Gumpłowicz, head editor of *Kraj* at the time and later professor in Graz, maintained his negative opinion of the Cracow scientific environment throughout his life; he constantly rejected any cooperation and publication possibilities there, and sent his son to L'viv to study history. Certainly personal experiences influenced this negative approach – as Gumpłowicz's habilitation for the history of law was rejected in 1869 due to its anti-Catholic orientation, although the referents acknowledged his qualities.⁵⁴² Similar to *Kraj*, the left-liberal journal *Critics* (*Krytyka*) continuously attacked the university for valuing family bonds over scientific merit, and saw a conservative clique consisting of the majority of professors blocking appointments for celebrated scholars like geographer Wacław Nałkowski or ethnographer and sociologist Ludwik Krzywicki. This was particularly evident on the occasion of the creation of the chair of social sciences at the Theological Faculty in 1910; as the liberal and socialist press claimed, the number of more qualified scholars could be employed for this subject at the Philosophical Faculty.⁵⁴³ Certainly in the public sphere the university acted as conservative outpost, with strong ties to the conservative journal *Time* (*Czas*), prominence in state festivities and festive funerals, which were at the time important patriotic manifestations, vital for the formation of collective memory.⁵⁴⁴ This was in part due to the general atmosphere in the city,

⁵⁴¹ The Faculty stressed in the proposal rather the fact that Twardowski was of a noble family, which for more than hundred years worked on the field of "motherland" literature (AUJ, WF II 153, 21.2.1871), than his scientific achievements. For Tarnowski's ideology and scientific ideas see Wyka, Maria, "Stanisław Tarnowski jako historyk literatury polskiej." In *Stanisław Tarnowski (1837-1917). Materiały z Posiedzenia Naukowego PAU w dniu 14.XI.1997 r.*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1999, 9-16, and other articles of this volume.

⁵⁴² See Surman, Mozetič (eds.) *Dwa życia Ludwika Gumpłowicza*, 30-33.

⁵⁴³ Buszko, *Spoleczno-polityczne oblicze*.

⁵⁴⁴ Wolff, Larry, "Dynastic Conservatism and Poetic Violence in Fin-de-Siècle Cracow: The Habsburg Matrix of Polish Modernism." *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 735-764; Dabrowski, Patrice M., *Commemorations and the shaping of modern Poland*. Bloomington:

visible for example in 1871, when Karol Gilewski, dean of the Medical Faculty in Cracow, caused great disturbance with his writing supporting Ignaz Döllinger's critique of the conservative direction the Catholic Church took in 1871.⁵⁴⁵

In L'viv on the other hand, some appointments – especially of Darwinian zoologist Dybowski – brought the university into conflict with Catholic clergy. Around the end of the nineteenth century several pronouncedly nationalist scholars occupied influential positions – to name only political leaders of the National Democracy, Stanisław Głabiński and Stanisław Grabski, or scholars with pronounced anti-Ruthenian opinions like Twardowski, Emil Habdank Dunikowski or Jan Rozwadowski. The political direction of both universities is at best discernible though their differing approach to Ruthenians. While in L'viv the polarization was dominant from the 1890s, Cracow was more harmonious, allowing pro-Ruthenian demonstrations or accepting, in 1901, Ruthenian students who left L'viv University in protest against Polish dominance – the University of Chernivtsi, created with an argument of helping Ruthenian culture, closed its doors for those students fearing the disturbances.⁵⁴⁶ In 1893 the Jagiellonian University even proposed creation of a chair of Ruthenian (*ruski*) Literature, accentuating the reciprocity of both nations and the importance of the knowledge of the Ruthenian language for Poles.⁵⁴⁷ Although in practice this chair was confined to Polish topics – Józef Tretiak, who was appointed in 1893, conducted his research predominantly on Mickiewicz and the influence he gained in Russia, and wanted to be transferred to the chair of Polish literature – the symbolic role of his position and function was appreciated as constituting his role as a broker dealing with national tensions.

The conservative dominance in Cracow did not considerably change until 1900; Tarnowski was the head of the *Academy* and the popular conservative professor, Stanisław Smolka, supported by the Faculty from the moment of

Indiana University Press, 2004.

⁵⁴⁵ Lechicki, Czesław, *Krakowski "Kraj" (1869-1874)*. Wrocław et al.: Ossolineum, 1975, 125-128.

⁵⁴⁶ Качмар, Володимир, "Суспільно-політичне відлуння сецесії українських студентів з Львівського університету в грудні 1901 року." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 34 (1999): 289-299; Surman, "Du « barbarisme » et « civilisation ». Le conflit entre les étudiants polonais et ruthènes en 1907 et sa construction journalistique."

⁵⁴⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 70u, PA Tretiak, Z. 836, 5.6.1893. Also the provincial government supported the claim (Z. 7800, 11.9.1893), and minister Stanisław Poray-Madeyski meant, that "in the course of centuries also Ruthenian influences on the literature, life and customs of Polish population made themselves felt unmistakably, therefore from a didactic point of view it poses a necessity, that at the Jagiellonian University students of Polish nationality should have the opportunity to learn Ruthenian language and become acquainted with their literature."

habilitation, was appointed professor of Polish history. His case illustrates very well the mechanisms of support inside the Faculty. When in 1871 he and Czerny-Schwarzenberg wanted to habilitate for Polish history, the habilitation for Czerny was delayed, with the official statement claiming that he had to prepare a detailed program of lectures.⁵⁴⁸ As Smolka received habilitation, Czerny was proposed for chair of geography and – without taking any other candidates into consideration, which met with little disagreement in the Faculty – granted a two-year scholarship. After the death of Antoni Wachholz in 1875 and after Wojciech Kętrzyński was rejected for political reasons, Smolka was proposed for the chair of Austrian history. Although the Ministry was not willing to grant him the chair because his work dealt with Polish and not Austrian/Habsburg history, the university insisted and finally achieved his appointment.⁵⁴⁹ In 1883 he was transferred to the chair of Polish history – here also only scholars of pronouncedly conservative direction were proposed, Walerian Kalinka, Michał Bobrzyński and Smolka – the chair and expert of the commission being Tarnowski.⁵⁵⁰

The difference in the ideological approach of ‘progressive’ L’viv and ‘clerical-conservative’ Cracow is visible in several subjects like history or (due to highly politicized Darwinism) biological disciplines. In the historiography, two distinct schools emerged, differing both in methodological and political position, which led to serious conflict at the *Second Meeting of Polish Historians* (II Zjazd Historyków Polskich) in L’viv. Cracow historians – according to their L’viv and Warsaw counterparts – concentrated on descriptive political history and criticized of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for its instability, conflicts, moral decay and general underdevelopment. L’viv historians – especially the most influential Liske – propagated a nation-centered historiography, accentuated positive internal developments of the Commonwealth, saw the impact of imperial/dynastic geopolitics responsible for the partitions and, more strongly than scholars from Cracow, claimed the need for Polish independence.⁵⁵¹ Although mediating positions were possible until

⁵⁴⁸ Krawczyk, Adam, "Franciszek Czerny-Schwarzenberg." In *Wybitni geografowie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, edited by Bronisław Kortus, Antoni Jackowski and Kazimierz Krzemień, Kraków: Instytut Geografii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999, 21-35, here 21.

⁵⁴⁹ AUJ, WF II 136 Katedra historii Austrii, 31.6.1875, Z. 11757; 17.11.1876, Z. 18458.

⁵⁵⁰ AUJ, WF II 137 Historia Polski, 17.3.1883, Z. 4478, 6.5.1883.

⁵⁵¹ Maternicki, Jerzy, "Polskie szkoły historyczne we Lwowie w XIX w." In *Wielokulturowe środowisko historyczne Lwowa w XIX i XX w., t. 3*, edited by Jerzy Maternicki and Leonid Zaszkilniak, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2005, 23-45.

World War I (e.g. Oswald Balzer)⁵⁵², there were actually almost no transfers in historiographical disciplines between L'viv and Cracow, and scholars from another university respectively were not considered in the appointments.

The ideological division between Galician universities should be approached cautiously – Cracow philologist Kazimierz Nitsch, a self-described socialist and anticlerical “philoruthenian,” claimed in retrospect in 1959 that his appointment to L'viv in 1908 failed precisely due to these three attributes. However, this did not hinder his appointment for associate professor at the Jagiellonian University in 1910, or his appointment for full professor in L'viv in 1914.⁵⁵³

Given the above described divisions and concentration either on younger scholars, a university's own faculty, or scholars from abroad invited for a chair or habilitated, the low number of transfers at the philosophical faculties between the two universities at the time of autonomy is unsurprising – 19 scholars moved from Cracow to L'viv and 8 in the opposite direction. These migrations were generally limited to *Privatdozenten* appointed as professors (8 and 4 respectively) or changing their affiliation (5 and 2), with similarly few transfers with other institutions. One cannot speak of returning scholars, as mobile teachers either graduated at the university of habilitation, or at German-language universities. Transfers remained similarly limited at the Medical Faculty, especially as L'viv acquired one only late in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁴ Also, only a few scholars exchanged with other academic institutions within Galicia (Technical and Arts Academies and Agricultural Academy in Dublany; see table 7) – although here a larger number of scholars worked in addition to their university positions in museums, archives or libraries, for example the *Ossolineum*, which actively accommodated and supported humanists in L'viv.

In comparison to the germanophone universities, where exchange at higher positions was common, Galician universities intensively promoted their own scientific offspring, with around 75% of scholars remaining their entire career at the university where they gained habilitation. So, for example, out of the 116 scholars habilitated at the Philosophical Faculty in Cracow, around half acquired associate

⁵⁵² Krzoska, Markus, "Ein Wissenschaftler zwischen Elfenbeinturm und Öffentlichkeit. Der Lemberger Rechtshistoriker Oswald Balzer (1859-1933)." In *Beruf und Berufung. Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, edited by Idem and Hans-Christian Maner, Münster: LIT, 2005, 217-238.

⁵⁵³ Nitsch, K[azimierz], "Moje wspomnienia językowe." *Język Polski*, no. 5 (1959): 355-361.

⁵⁵⁴ For details on the Faculty see Wojtkiewicz-Rok, Wanda, *Dzieje Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego w latach 1894-1918*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1992.

professorship there, and slightly less than 40% full professorship; 35% remained *Privatdozenten* and 20% were appointed during their careers to other universities. In L'viv almost half of scholars habilitated there remained *Privatdozenten*, 40% were appointed associate professors, 25% full professors and 14% were appointed to other universities. Apart from the low number of scholars not advancing above *Privatdozenten* (a situation similar to Graz, for example, though at the Styrian university a larger number of scholars gained the title of associate professor), the medical faculties demonstrate a similar distribution. With the exception of period as Galician academies were German-language institutions, the non-academic scholars were also seldom appointed for chairs; prior to the universities' respective language reforms, such scholars (including litterateurs and especially gymnasia teachers) were often directly appointed as professors, making around 20% of all professors at the time.

With the changes in orientation, Galician universities remained bound to the requirements of the Habsburg legal system, which regulated; although with local differences – the number and designations of chairs, remuneration and habilitation procedures. In all these issues, Habsburg universities organized collective efforts, uniting scholars from all institutions across the Monarchy. The denotations of disciplines were also relatively binding, and the structure of the faculties considering the relations between disciplines was rather similar – apart from existence of national historiographies and languages/literatures, and the inclusion of agricultural studies as part of the Philosophical Faculty of Jagiellonian University. Though some exceptions can be found. For example, while there was no official chair for anthropology at germanophone Habsburg universities, from 1905 such chair was created in Prague (Lubor Niederle), and backed in 1909 with Jindřich Matiegka as associate professor; in 1913 Galician universities acquired a similar chair, as Julian Talko-Hryniewicz acquired full professorship in Cracow, and Jan Czakanowski in L'viv. On the other hand, both Galician universities lacked their own scholars in German language and literature, as well as – surprisingly, if cultural statistics are taken into consideration – Hebrew and Jewish history, which were taught at other universities in the Monarchy.

Prominent in the issue of imperial-space remained the matter of external experts for habilitations and appointments. They were asked not only to assert the qualifications of the candidates, but also to help the faculties make a decision if they did not have qualified specialists. This was the case in 1872 as the L'viv Faculty

asked Friedrich Rochleder, professor at the Technical Academy in L'viv from 1845 to 1849, for his opinion on Polish chemists. Rochleder knew only German publications of the scholars he had been asked to assess, and considered himself thus not fully qualified.⁵⁵⁵ Six years later, paternalistic comments in one of the expertises led to a clash between L'viv and Vienna faculties. As geographer Karol Benoni strived for habilitation, the Faculty asked for an expert opinion from Vienna, where Benoni had also previously applied. The opinion – of Julius Hann, Eduard Suess and Friedrich Simony – was rather negative, describing applicant's publication as “canny compilations” which were based on outdated theories, stating though that this would be adequate for a habilitation in L'viv, but – so the implicit conclusion – not in Vienna.⁵⁵⁶ The Galician Faculty took this suggestion though as disparaging the standing of the university, accusing Viennese scholars of proposing double standards for the scientific quality in the Monarchy, which L'viv scholars of course did not want to accept.⁵⁵⁷ Not only Viennese scholars were considered as experts; for the creation of a chair of comparative anatomy (or rather anthropology, as this term would better suit the description of the proposal) in L'viv, Lubor Niederle from Prague was asked; this resulted in a longer correspondence on what anthropology was and whether or not to divide it across methodical or chronological boundaries.⁵⁵⁸ The same university also invited guest consultants for the habilitation procedures when needed. As both Galician universities lacked specialists in Jewish history and Hebrew, the habilitation of Moses/Mojżesz Schorr for “Semitic language and the history of old Semitic language” required the expertise and assistance of both a historian and a linguist – historian David Heinrich Müller from Vienna, orientalist Rudolf Dvořák from the Czech University in Prague and philologist Freidrich Delitsch from Berlin – the latter two represented only through written opinion on the applicant.⁵⁵⁹ In the ongoing nineteenth century the experts' opinions were becoming scarce, especially because the scholars applied with publications in their native language. This limited the pool of experts familiar with their works or able to read the professorial dissertations, but enabled local scholars to gain influence. While until the 1880s the Ministry asked

⁵⁵⁵ DALO, 26/7/146, p. 141, Z.303, 12.2.1872.

⁵⁵⁶ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Benoni, Z. 383, 6.4.1878.

⁵⁵⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Benoni, Z. 234, 17.5.1878.

⁵⁵⁸ DALO, 26/7/435, p. 23, 11.8.1902, p. 26, 2.10.1902.

⁵⁵⁹ Dvořák was invited to Lviv for the habilitation procedures; he was though hindered on participation due to scholarly seasons. DALO, 26/5/2143, PA Schorr, Z. 492, 9.12.1909; AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u, PA Schorr, Z. 653, 22.1.1910.

Viennese instructors for their opinions on scholars from Bohemia and Galicia,⁵⁶⁰ later this possibility was reduced to the few knowing the language – Rezek, Albert, Jagić, Heinrich Zeissberg and the respective officials in the Ministry – who in this way gained political influence on the appointment procedures. Only in formal cases, like the determination of a habilitation's scope, could the Ministry still ask for the participation of specialised scholars, leaving thus more room in the process for universities, which could consult specialists of their liking.

* * *

The local dimension of appointments in Galicia and at the Czech University in Prague, however, was not only influenced by universities' offspring policy, a low number of linguistically affiliated institutions, and financial issues. In the ongoing nineteenth century, the political control over universities moved toward the provincial government. The issue of controversial scholars remained the point of contention, in which the Ministry had the last word, but the provincial government could manipulate it through clever argumentation.

As in the nineteenth century, allegiance to the Polish independence movement, socialism and Russophilism were more developed abroad than in the Monarchy; the provincial government meant to limit the possibility of their import to Galicia. At the same time though, the threatening spirit of nationalism as such diminished in the eyes of political elites in the 1860s and was not seen as category that excluded candidates from teaching position – so long as it was not linked with independence movements or political radicalism. This is clearly discernible in both applications at the universities and correspondence with the Ministry, where more and more the well-being of the Polish nation within (and later also outside) the Habsburg conglomerate is accentuated. Already in 1870, as the Cracow Philosophical Faculty applied for the restitution of Wincenty Pol at the university, Pol wrote that the political conditions that led to his release “have changed constitutionally in the question of national development and education; this could qualify the decision to regain my previous position at the Cracow University.”⁵⁶¹ The Faculty greeted this proposal and the provincial government accentuated that Pol belongs to “the most acclaimed men of

⁵⁶⁰ Eitelberger, for example, was consulted on proposed appointment of historian of art Marian Sokołowski AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 69u, PA Sokołowski, Z. 13411 ex 1881, 29.1.1882.

⁵⁶¹ Letter of Wincenty Pol to the Philosophical Faculty of Jagiellonian University, AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 393u, Próba restytuowania W. Pola na katedrę geografii, 18.12.1869.

his nation, his restitution would find the approbation and most appreciative gratefulness in the whole country,”⁵⁶² referring clearly to the Polish nation and not to Galicia. The next year Henryk Niewęłowski applied for habilitation in L’viv, referring to his glorious nationalist past and participation in the revolution of 1830.⁵⁶³ With the institutionalization of lectures on Polish history, law etc., the definitions of scientific patriotism and nationalism became blurred, allowing a renegotiation of the distinction between that which was allowed and that which was prohibited. While in the 1850s and partially the 1860s ‘nationalism’ was rejected in favor of state-patriotism, from the moment of Galician ‘autonomy’⁵⁶⁴ Polish nationalism (in its cultural-patriotic not chauvinistic or openly anti-Habsburg version) was viewed positively and it is thus not surprising that ‘Poland,’ as a historical and cultural construct, became clearly referred to both by academics and the Ministry.

While for example in the 1850s the interdependence between Slavic and Germanic people was dominant, the universities in the liberal era were allowed to appoint for the chairs of Austrian history scholars who were not specialized in this area – Ludwik Finkel in L’viv, Smolka, Anatol Lewicki and August Sokołowski in Cracow concentrated in their research on history of the Commonwealth and Polish history from the Middle Ages, which led to conflicts with scholars of the ‘older generation’ (Walewski, Wachholz) and germanophone historians (Zeissberg).⁵⁶⁵ There were also only three habilitations in the Austrian history as opposed to 12 in Polish history – of Sokołowski in 1876, Stepan Tomashivsky (Степан Томашівський) in 1912) and Teofil Modelski (for Austrian and general medieval history, 1913). Similarly, German was defined as a ‘foreign’ language and thus the interest in it was seen as only practical – as Naphtali Sobel applied for habilitation for Old German literature, the Faculty wrote that this was too narrow and as German was a ‘foreign’ language, it was of no interest to the university to accommodate

⁵⁶² From the opinion the provincial governor on the question, AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 393u, Z. 1058, 7.5.1870.

⁵⁶³ See the letter of Niewęłowski in DALO, 26/7/146, p. 108, 20. 8. 1871

⁵⁶⁴ Binder, Harald, "Galizische Autonomie". Ein streitbarer Begriff und seine Karriere." In *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905: možnosti a limity národnostního smíru ve střední Evropě / Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für einen nationalen Ausgleich in Mitteleuropa* edited by Lukáš Fasora. Brno: Matice Moravská pro Výzkumné Středisko pro Dějiny Střední Evropy: Prameny, Země, Kultura 2006, 239-266.

⁵⁶⁵ See for example Barycz, Henryk, "Docenckie kłopoty Józefa Szujskiego." In *Wśród gawędziarzy, pamiętnikarzy i uczonych galicyjskich: Studia i sylwety z Życia umysłowego Galicji XIX w.*, edited by Idem., Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1963, 91-111; denotation „old generation” – used by Barycz with pejorative connotation, means etatist and loyal.

specialized scholars for this subject.⁵⁶⁶ The same year though Maksymilian Kawczyński was habilitated for German philology; he was, although only for a short time, the sole Polish *Privatdozent* in this discipline – from 1887 his interest turned towards romance philology in which he earned habilitation and then professorship.⁵⁶⁷ He was, apart from Eugeniusz Janota, the only Galicia-born scholar acknowledged for teaching German language and literature at the academic level,⁵⁶⁸ despite that since 1888 there were ministerial scholarships for Galician scholars willing to pursue this discipline.⁵⁶⁹ When in 1913 the Jagiellonian University proposed the creation of a chair of German language and literature in the Polish language, the Faculty was unable to propose any candidates.⁵⁷⁰ In comparison, five scholars habilitated for both German and Czech literature at the Czech University in Prague and also five for Austrian history – with only three for Czech history. This indicates how Galicia topically detached itself from the Habsburg universities, gradually moving towards the creation and analysis of Polish collective imagination and history, which were banned or steered in pro-Habsburg direction in the first years after the 1848 revolution.

Interestingly, Vienna was presented as the place in which Polish or Czech agitation was indulged. When Eduard Albert was denied a position in Prague and ‘promoted’ to Vienna, the Ministry gave a signal, which did not remain unseen by the German nationalists. In 1882, during the appointment process for pathology, the *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* accused him of promoting underqualified

⁵⁶⁶ “With one word, mister Nathali [sic!] Sobel wants to habilitate only for the so called older literature. Such detail-habilitation is though of no interest for the discipline or our university, at which German language is taught as a foreign one, [so] the main emphasis should be laid on handling the newer German literature and the olden periods should only help to explain the development [of German language]. A *Privatdozent* for older literature would have thus less outlook for adequate activity and this issue has to be considered for the habilitation.” (AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 121u PA Sobel, Z. 192, 26.1.1884.)

⁵⁶⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 119u, PA Kawczyński, Z. 222. 26.1.1884.

⁵⁶⁸ There were also only few candidates who wanted to achieve habilitation in this subject (Albert Zipper 1881, Napthali Sobel in 1884, both in L’viv), but were rejected. Zipper was translator and later author of Polish-German dictionaries (among others *Langenscheidt*), for his unsuccessful habilitation see AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 122u, PA Zipper, Z. 146, 26.11.1881; DALO, 26/7/226; see also Bieńkowski, Wiesław, "Konstant von Wurzbach und Albert Zipper. Aus der Geschichte der österreichischpolnischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert." In *Österreich - Polen: 1000 Jahre Beziehungen*, edited by Józef Buszko, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1996, 481–507.

⁵⁶⁹ DALO, 26/7/293, 4.8.1888, Z. 9599; the scholarship was however aimed primarily at education of gymnasium teachers.

⁵⁷⁰ AUJ, WF II 157, 18.3.1913.

“national” (Slavic) scholars.⁵⁷¹ That Albert, who was known as a national agitator, was promoted to Vienna was not the only case. Jan Leciejewski, who habilitated in 1884 for Slavic philology, was presented in the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a well-known and influential Polish nationalist. Minister Eybesfeld confirmed this in his decision, stating however that this “does not present an adequate foundation to disqualify Leciejewski from a teaching post, especially as Vienna was not an expedient place for national Polish agitation, and it did not seem clear how Leciejewski could foment national discord as *Privatdozent* for Slavic philology at the Vienna University.”⁵⁷² Although the situation was aggravated at the turn of the century, Vienna University remained the most open university for scholars of other nationalities, especially due to tradition of Slavic philology and a number of national students organizations which were approved.⁵⁷³ Vienna was also positively connoted in the Slavic parts of the Monarchy, compared to Graz or Innsbruck, especially as the number of Polish and Czech scholars habilitated there was considerably higher – being depicted as a safe harbor in nationally volatile times, an image which remained powerful after 1918 as well.⁵⁷⁴

4.2.3. “Invisible ghetto wall.”⁵⁷⁵ Politics, religion and university.

And here I stand, with all my lore
Poor fool, no wiser than before

(In original Goethe, *Faust*;
here – deputy Rudolf Horský summarizing
the debate on equal confessional rights at the universities in 1907)

⁵⁷¹ "Zur Besetzungsfrage der medizinischen Klinik." *WMW* 26 (1882): 800-801; also "Zur Besetzung der Lehrkanzel für Chirurgie in Krakau." *WMW* 29 (1882): 900.

⁵⁷² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1020, Z. 1730, 29.5.1885.

⁵⁷³ See e.g. Nowak, *Polska młodzież w Austrii w XIX i XX wieku*; Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*; Petritsch, Wolfgang, *Die slovenischen Studenten an der Universität Wien (1848-1890)*. Unpublished dissertation at the Philosophical Faculty, Vienna University, Vienna, 1972; Melik, Vasilij, and Peter Vodopivec, "Die slowenische Intelligenz und die österreichischen Hochschulen 1848-1918." In *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes II. Universitäten und Studenten. Die Bedeutung studentischer Migration in Mittel und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Richard Georg Plaschka and Karlheinz Mack, Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1987, 134-154.

⁵⁷⁴ Barycz, Henryk, "Die Rolle der Wiener Universität im geistigen Leben Polens." *Österreichische Osthefte* 7, no. 3 (1965): 176-194; Perkowska, Urszula, "Etudes scientifiques des universitaires de Cracowie à Vienne dans les années 1800-1918." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*. Zeszyt 88 (1989): 305-312

⁵⁷⁵ Mahler, Arthur, *Rede gehalten in der Universitäts-Debatte zum Dringlichkeitsantrag Prof. Masaryk's im oesterreichischen Abgeordnetenhaus, am 3. Dezember 1907*. Unitas: Wien, 1908.

With the advancement of professionalization and professional closure of academia from non-academic scholarship, confessional deliberations did not cease playing a role in the question of appointments and habilitations. One cannot though say that universities were exclusively Christian and after the Thun period, where the Catholic ideal of university was virtually prescribed, the number of non-Catholics was rising. One can say though that Jewish, and to the same extent atheist scholars, were hindered in advancement of their careers – in the first place by professors themselves, whose majority since Thun was, as mentioned, devoted Catholics, but also by students, whose radical groups at most universities in the Monarchy were increasingly, also violently, opposed to the appointments of especially Jewish scholars, creating thus hardly resolvable question for the faculties of sense of appointment of such scholars if this could cause serious disturbances.

After the liquidation of the Ministry of Education and Religion, the *Unterrichtsrath* largely continued the confessional policies of Leo Thun, and the voices for abandoning the confessional prescriptions did not automatically grew stronger. In the 1860s the controversy over the confessional character of universities, including the question of inclusion of the Protestant Faculty in Vienna into the university,⁵⁷⁶ was fought once more, including participation of church officials. The clash led to the intensification of divergences, both within the university and in the public sphere, which did not cease till the end of the century. In January 1861 the self-declared ‘majority of scholars,’ behind which the guiding figure of Josef Hyrtl was supposed, proposed a declaration of Vienna University as exclusively Catholic, which found support in the *Unterrichtsrath* and Catholic public sphere. This step was severely criticized in the scientific press, which wanted a declaration of a clear-cut division between scientific and religious issues.⁵⁷⁷ Some scholars, like the notorious

⁵⁷⁶ See *Der katholische Charakter der Wiener Universität: Eine Denkschrift der theologischen Facultät*. Wien: Verlag der Mechitharisten-Congregations-Buchhandlung, 1863; including also the statement of chancellor of the university, auxiliary bishop of archdiocese in Vienna Johann Kutschker (“Erklärung des Kanzlers der k.k. Universität zu Wien über die Bitte der Protestantisch-Theologischen Fakultät um Einverleibung in die genannte Hochschule, abgegeben in der Sitzung Venerabilis Consistorii am 12. Mai 1863“, *Ibid.*, 153-163).

⁵⁷⁷ Seebacher, “*Freiheit der Naturforschung!*”, 97; Mell, Wolfgang-Rüdiger, “Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Selbstbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung der österreichischen Universitäten” In *Selbstbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung der österreichischen Universitäten: ein Beitrag zur Soziologie der Universität* edited by Marina Fischer and Hermann Strasser, Wien: Abteilung Soziologie des Instituts für Höhere Studien und Wissenschaftliche Forschung 1973, 1-78, here 5.

outsider Joseph Unger, saw it as a matter of course, that “not only Catholics, but also Protestants and Jews, should be appointed not only for professorships, which cannot be challenged from any side, but also for the offices of dean and rector,”⁵⁷⁸ relating thus once more to the case of the unsuccessful nomination of Hermann Bonitz for office in Vienna and Friedrich Stein’s in Prague in 1863.⁵⁷⁹ While the conflict was solved by ignoring the demands of the ‘majority,’ the situation from the second half of the 1860s shed light on the continuity and pervasiveness of Thun’s personal policy of the 1850s and on the problematic relation between the university (as an assembly of scholars) and the *Zeitgeist* as presented through public opinion.

While the public opinion of the 1860s could have been considered for a time more liberal than the ‘majority of scholars,’ one should not forget that the Catholicization of the universities after 1848 was a long-lasting project, and scholars appointed at this time dominated university life as full professors for several decades. One could actually claim that while the universities gradually opened to liberalism towards the end of the century, when scholars from the liberal period began to achieve full professorships, the majority of public opinion voiced already different tones, turning towards racial/cultural-nationalism and anti-Semitism. Benedykt Dybowski’s inauguration lecture in L’viv in 1885, in which he openly proclaimed Darwinism the new model of thinking, met with strong critical reactions of high clergy and conservatives. However, this could not in any way influence the university whose personnel was recruited mostly in the 1870s.⁵⁸⁰ Similarly, in Innsbruck jurist Ludwig Wahrmund in 1908 harshly accused the Catholic Church of mingling with the academy and violating the division between religion and science. While most scholars (apart from the theological faculties and the Cracow University⁵⁸¹) stood behind him, the pressure of public opinion, accusing the scholar not only of a betrayal of religion but claiming his Jewishness, led finally to Wahrmund’s transfer from Innsbruck to

⁵⁷⁸ Unger, Joseph, *Zur Reform der Wiener Universität. Ein Votum erstattet in der Sitzung des Unterrichtsrathes am 29. Dezember 1865*. Wien: Manz 1869.

⁵⁷⁹ Due to protests from the Theological Faculty, the Ministry denied Stein confirmation as a dean of the Philosophical Faculty. The election was however neither renounced nor repeated and Stein served for a year without confirmation. See *Die deutsche Karl-Ferdinands-Universität (Carl-Ferdinands-Universität) in Prag unter der Regierung Sr. Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I* Prag: J. G. Calve, 1899, 18.

⁵⁸⁰ Brzęk, Gabriel, "Recepcja darwinizmu w Polsce." In *Recepcja w Polsce nowych kierunków i teorii naukowych*, edited by Adam Strzałkowski, Kraków: PAU, 2001, 273-291.

⁵⁸¹ See Konarski, Stanisław, "'Zimmermanniada' w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim (1910-1911)." In *Postępowe tradycje młodzieży akademickiej w Krakowie*, edited by Henryk Dobrowolski, Mirosław Franćić and Stanisław Konarski, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1962, 135-204.

Prague.⁵⁸² Also in the contrary situation, when a Catholic sociologist Kazimierz Zimmermann was appointed, this set off protests among socialist and liberal circles, the disparities between academics and public were visible. In 1910 the Jagiellonian University closed due to student protests triggered by the appointment of Zimmermann for professor of Christian social sciences at the Theological Faculty and the declaration of his lectures as obligatory for all students. Notwithstanding the protests, conservative scholars establishing the tone at the university severely criticized the students, whom they considered merely a radical minority.⁵⁸³

Through its constitution and the dominance of full professors, Habsburg universities (that is the assembly of scholars) could hardly be 'progressive' and the strengthening of liberal thinking around 1900 was rather a belated version of the liberalism of the 1870s than a reaction to contemporary developments, which were at the time socialism and German-nationalism and not very welcomed at the academia. This liberalism should not be understood in absolute categories, but rather as an acceptance of already established social phenomena, which were rejected before. This was thus not liberalism in the modern sense but as an antithesis to the academic atmosphere following the initial reforms of 1848, which in its turn, at least for the first years, was constituted as opposing restrictions of the *Vormärz*. Similarly, as demands for the 'national' universities emerged as an internal issue at the academy – belatedly in comparison to the press – the question of religion was more an external issue than an internally perceived problem of the universities. With students in both cases assuming the role of outriders, professors were confronted more and more with clashes of political positions within academic walls, with end of the century bringing a variety of socially and politically well-represented extreme positions which

⁵⁸² Kuprian, Hermann, "'Machen Sie diesem Skandal ein Ende. Ihre Rektoren sind eine nette Gesellschaft.'" Modernismuskussion, Kulturkampf und Freiheit der Wissenschaft: Die Wahrmond-Affäre." In *Politische Affären und Skandale in Österreich. Von Mayerling bis Waldheim*, 2. Aufl., edited by Michael Gehler and Hubert Sickinger, Wien, München: Thaur, 1996, 99–127.

⁵⁸³ The 'Affaire Zimmermann' was widely discussed in the Habsburg press between November 1910 and February 1911, with manifold examples of critique from inside the Cracow Faculty, mentioning not only radicalism, but also that through addressing minister and other student organizations across the Monarchy, Cracow students are presenting a very negative picture of Polish academia. This is highly reminiscent of the position of Galician conservatives presented (and satirized) by Gabriela Zapolska in 1906 with famous statement that one should "wash his dirty linen in private and no one need know a thing about it." (from the play *Moralność pani Dulskiej*, published in Polish 1906, English version: Zapolska, Gabriela, *The Morality of Mrs. Dulski*. Translated & introduced by Teresa Murjas. Bristol / Chicago, IL: Intellect Books / Chicago University Press, 2007, 23, here slightly appropriated). See especially *Czas*, 13.2.1911, 1.

contested the academia. In comparison to the question of female students and academic teachers, which were debated in the academic senate, the declarations over ideological issues were not officially issued, and even if they were in isolated cases, the universities declared neutrality. Apart from the World War I, during which the political role of scholars has altered, university scholars were far from filling the pioneering role some of them assumed in 1848, with the exception of a minority of engaged scholars acting as public intellectuals (and thus marginalized in the academia), the university was turning into an intellectual ivory tower. Looking at the names appearing among the creators and most prominent lecturers in the *Volksbildung* – beginning with Ludo Moritz Hartmann – one can see that popularity in science popularization went hand in hand with the lack of academic capital such scholars had within the universities.⁵⁸⁴

The unwillingness of professors to accommodate controversy within the university walls was visible, for example, through the rejection of modern art, not only in the famous conflict on the *Fakultätsbilder* of Gustav Klimt,⁵⁸⁵ but also in appointments of rather antimodernist historians of art/literature. The universities's resistance to controversy was also demonstrated through the belated entrance of historical disciplines related to direct past, or most directly through removal of scholars around whom a public controversy was arising. For example, highly political activities of Wincenty Lutosławski led to his dismissal from Cracow University, where he was *Privatdozent* for several years, and several years later closed to him the door in L'viv, where he was trying to regain habilitation. Similarly, physiologist Theodor Beer, accused of sexual relations with children, was removed in 1905 from the Vienna University even before the process started, although both the character of the accusations and evidence was rather problematic.⁵⁸⁶ As different as these two examples are, they illustrate that the majority of scholars was trying at any cost to

⁵⁸⁴ Taschwer, Klaus, *Wissenschaft für viele. Zur Wissensvermittlung in der Wiener Volksbildungsbewegung rund um 1900*. Wien: Czernin Verlag, forthcoming (based on dissertation with the same title submitted at the Vienna University in 2002).

⁵⁸⁵ Kojan, Stephan, ed. *Gustav Klimt. Der Beethoven-Fries und die Kontroverse um die Freiheit der Kunst*. München: Prestel, 2006.

⁵⁸⁶ Mildemberger, Florian, "„... als Conträrsexual und als Päderast verleumdet ..." - Der Prozess um den Naturforscher Theodor Beer (1866-1919) im Jahre 1905." *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 18, no. 4 (2005): 332-351; for the wider sociopolitical context of the affair and reactions see Spector, Scott, "Where Personal Fate Turns to Public Affair: Homosexual Scandal and Social Order in Vienna, 1900-1910." *AHY* 38 (2007): 15-24, and other articles in the *AHY* 2007 section "Writing the History of Sexuality in Fin-de-Siècle Cisleithania."

lessen the controversy surrounding the university, what in many cases meant precisely withdrawing support for those who had no influential political and public representation, which included, for example, the Italian minority in Tyrol, Ruthenians in Galicia, or Jewish scholars across the Monarchy. Undoubtedly the various forms of nationalism played a substantial role there, and a number of scholars publicly expressed such opinions without being seriously threatened in the academic community. The involvement of scholars in German or Polish nationalist movements remained largely unsanctioned, while when Ruthenian or Czech scholars were politically active this resulted in conflicts. The difference between the official and marginalized discourses can be seen not only in the press coverage of conflicts, but also in the general opinion on the universities, which differed significantly. One can see it, for example, comparing the picture of the university as portrayed in the leading media of the time (apart from *Neue Freie Presse*) with articles in Karl Kraus' journal *The Torch* (Die Fackel) or Arthur Schnitzler's drama *Professor Bernhardi* (1912), or looking at Cracow's leading journal *Time* (Czas, 1848-1939) and academia critical *Country* (Kraj, 1869-1874), *Truth* (Prawda, 1881-1915) or *Critics* (Krytyka, 1899-1914). For the Czech press, one sees the same distinction comparing the conservative *People's Papers* (Národní Listy, 1861-1941) to liberal *Athenaeum* (1883-1893) and *Our Time* (Naše doba, 1889-1949). The accounts of the university being an antimodernist, conservative and Church-controlled institution, with politicians and professorial cliques prohibiting all innovation, was countered with a critique of universities being a cradle of liberal, socialist and Jewish scholars propagating their ideas among students who were predominantly Catholic, with Ministry downsizing the universities. Similarly, there was no common ground with respect to the national issue, and the university was criticized from nationalists/loyalists of all sorts. Here, however, the Ministry, facing an outbreak of violence in Innsbruck and later in L'viv, took measures to prevent future escalations.

While the national issue at universities is often analyzed, their confessionalization remains rather an open question, being looked at mostly on a hardly generalizable case-by-case basis.⁵⁸⁷ This is caused not only because the confessional relations at the universities are hard to determine, but rather because

⁵⁸⁷ Exceptions are Buszko, *Spoleczno-polityczne oblicze*, and Seebacher, Felicitas, *Das Fremde im 'deutschen' Tempel der Wissenschaften*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011. The latter title appeared as the manuscript for this work was completed.

confession remains an extremely fluid category, which requires a flexible methodical approach. Taking Jews as an example, they remained officially not acknowledged as a national group, but remained an accepted religious community – with similar differences in the self-definition between Orthodoxy, Reform Judaism and Zionism.⁵⁸⁸ With a growing number of conversions, this categorization loses some of its explanatory power however. For example, Gumpłowicz, Wertheim or Natanson were referred to as Jews (and saw themselves as such also in the letters between them), although in fact all converted. Debating on the number of Jewish scholars at universities in 1907, the liberal politician and professor at the Vienna Law Faculty Joseph Redlich mentioned that the Innsbruck University counted two Jews – his conservative opponents persisted that he necessarily should add also two *Judenstämmlinge*;⁵⁸⁹ similar controversies arose in the same debate over the number of Jewish scholars teaching at other universities. In his curriculum vitae in Vienna in 1913, Harry Torczyner (Naftali Herz Tur-Sinai, סיני-טור הרץ נפתלי) described himself as “German of Jewish nationality and Mosaic confession,”⁵⁹⁰ but this combination of termini makes sense only if German is not considered a national category – or in other words it can hardly be used with Czech, Polish or Ruthenian/Ukrainian, instead of German. The designation of Polish-Jew or Czech-Jew would thus mean something different than German-Jew, especially as the former are then linked with the ominous term of assimilation/acculturation, incorporating cultural/national transformation,⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ See e.g. Lappin, Eleonore, "Die Czernowitzer Sprachkonferenz (1908) und der Streit um die jüdische Nationalsprache." In *Minikosmos Bukowina – Kulturleistungen eines Landstriches. Beiträge der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz anlässlich des 130. Jahrestages der Czernowitzer Universität am 3.-4.10.2005 / Міні-космос Буковини: Матеріал Міжнародної наукової конференції, присвяченої 130-річчю Чернівецького ун-ту (3-4 жовтня 2005 р.)*, edited by Österreich Kooperation / Науково-дослідний Центр Буковинознавства при Bukowina Zentrum an der Nationalen Jurij-Fedkowitsch Universität Czernowitz and Австрійська кооперація Чернівецькому національному університеті ім. Юрія Федьковича, Czernowitz / Чернівці: Selena Bukowina / Зелена Буковина, 2006, 260-270; Rozenblit, Marsha L., "The Assertion of Identity: Jewish Student Nationalism at the University of Vienna before the First World War." *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 27, no. 1 (1982): 171-186. See also Immeles, Henryk, *Antysemitizm w Austrii*. Lwów: "Jedność", 1910 and Feichtinger, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 391-507 (on Sigmund Freud's book *Moses and Monotheism* in context of identity questions, viable also up to 1918).

⁵⁸⁹ From the speech of Redlich in Habsburg House of Deputies, 4.12.1907, reprinted in *Stenographische Protokolle des Abgeordnetenhauses im Jahre 1907. XVIII. Session. IV Band, 21. bis 41. Sitzung (S. 1851 bis 3054.)*. Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1908, 2941 [further – *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*]

⁵⁹⁰ See his *Curriculum vitae* in ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 645, PA Harry Torczyner.

⁵⁹¹ For the analysis of the consequences of adopting assimilationist perspective see Jagodzińska, Agnieszka, "Asymilacja, czyli bezradność historyka. O krytyce terminu i pojęcia." In *Wokół akulturacji i asymilacji Żydów na ziemiach polskich*, edited by Konrad Zieliński, Lublin: UMCS,

especially rejection of German-culture-affiliated Haskala – which in the germanophone academic culture was mostly not the case. Furthermore, the use of the ethnic term ‘Jewish’ accepts an ascription that does not take cultural identity into account, leading in this case to less useful results, which would be rather similar to the categorization of confessions along the lines drawn by anti-Semitic intellectuals who spoke in 1907 of Austrian Universities being overcrowded with (ethnic) Jews. While anti-Semites spoke of Jews, irrespective of conversions or baptisms, others distinguished between “Jews” and “people of Jewish origin.”⁵⁹² The actors’ perspectives with respect to their own identities remains mostly hidden in the official documents, and could be established only for some scholars, bringing confusing results rather than mirroring the university situation, for example, like the case of Wertheim described above. Even a detailed monograph on Protestant teachers at the Vienna University by Grete Mecenseffy was limited only to professors, having faced problems with archival sources.⁵⁹³ The recently published detailed monograph on Jewish professors at Prussian universities was made possible not through officially accessible statistics, but the fortunate uncovering of inner-ministerial queries, which hint at similar problems of the privacy of confession in the German Empire.⁵⁹⁴

Religion remained throughout the time one of the leading issues in the controversies over universities, the public taking evidently more interest in it than scholars themselves. The accusation of universities as liberal, socialist, Jewish and filled with ‘register Christians’ (*Matrikelchristen*) caused at the turn of the century probably the most serious crisis apart from the national conflict and remaining tightly intertwined with it. The more or less successful recalibration of national self-identification and of accompanying cultural rivalries ran across ethno-religious boundaries – Roman Catholic Poles vs. Greek-Catholic Ruthenians / Orthodox Russians / Protestant Germans, Roman Catholic Austrians vs. Protestant Prussians, Protestant Czechs vs. Catholic ‘(Bohemian) Germans.’⁵⁹⁵ The religio-nationalities as

2010, 15-31.

⁵⁹² See below and Ehrlich, Eugen, "Der Antisemitismus im Professorenkollegium der österreichischen Universität." *Dr. Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift*, 6.12.1907, 811-812.

⁵⁹³ Mecenseffy, Grete, *Evangelische Lehrer an der Universität Wien*. Graz, Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 1967.

⁵⁹⁴ Ebert, Andreas D., *Jüdische Hochschullehrer an preußischen Universitäten (1870-1924). Eine quantitative Untersuchung mit biografischen Skizzen*. Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse-Verlag, 2008, on the issue of sources see 11-19.

⁵⁹⁵ For religion as demarcation phenomenon in Eastern/Central Europe see Delsol, Chantal, Michel Maslowski, and Joanna Nowicki, eds. *Mythes et symboles politiques en Europe Centrale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002; Judson, Pieter M., and Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Constructing*

stereotypes and autostereotypes, were present since the 1880s in the question of appointments and the general character of universities, both in the public and behind the scenes. Could, for example, a full professor of history be Jewish, and how would this relate to the project of Habsburg being a ‘Catholic antithesis’ to Prussia, demarcation from Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf*, or Polish self-identification as *Antemurale Christianitatis*? How could universities ensure the ‘Catholic’ majority in the population an accordant education? To what extent would isolation within the boundaries of Catholic philosophy hinder the possibility of cultural recognition? To what extent was the university a stage for exhibits of religious-national orientation (colors, rites of graduations, texts of professorial/student’s plight, participation of chaplains in university administration etc.), including the question of Theological Faculty as a part of university.

Several of these questions were solved with the emancipation of 1867, denouncement of the concordat in 1870, and the reforms of universities three years later. The previously privileged role of Catholicism was officially changed with the Constitution of 1867 into an acknowledged religious community. Although officially the Church’s influence on the universities was not legally codified – apart from the Theological Faculty – small changes indicated the altering relationship between the two power centers. In 1868 the professorial oath was slightly modified concerning religion. While the oath text from 1850 included that professors would avoid everything that was threatening “the state, religion and morality”⁵⁹⁶ the oath from 1868 onwards included only passages on law-obedience (*Gesetzestreue*).⁵⁹⁷ The oath retained until 1918, however, a vow to “God the Almighty” and ended with “so help me God”, without legal clarification on practice in cases of atheists. Secondly, after 1873, the symbolic role of university chancellor (*Universitätskanzler*) was dissolved. From 1848 onwards this position was occupied in Vienna by the auxiliary bishop and the general vicar of Vienna archbishopric (named in the lecture catalogue directly

nationalities in East Central Europe. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005; Weeks, Theodore R., "Assimilation, Nationalism, Modernization, Antisemitism: Notes on Polish-Jewish Relations, 1855–1905 " In *Antisemitism and its opponents in modern Poland* edited by Robert Blobaum, Ithaca London: Cornell University Press 2005, 20-38.

⁵⁹⁶ *Verordnung des Ministers des Cultus und Unterrichts vom 24. Mai 1850*, RGBL., LXVIII, 11.6.1850, Z. 219, reprinted in Schweickhardt, Friedrich, *Sammlung der für die österreichischen Universitäten giltigen Gesetze und Verordnungen. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage*. Wien: k.k. Schulbuchverlag in Commission bei Manz'schen k.k. Hofverlags- und Universitäts- Buchhandlung, 1885, 133-134.

⁵⁹⁷ Ministerialerlass from 24.1.1868, Z. 34, reprinted in *Ibid.*, 134.

after rector and pro-rector). In Prague the lecture catalogue was opened from 1848, with the presentation of Prince-Bishop Friedrich Schwarzenberg – as *Kanzler der Universität und Protector Studiorum* – but his influence on the university remained stable after 1873 as well. Most importantly the Theological Faculty of the Prague University remained undivided until 1891 due to his influence and after his death in 1885 with an appeal to his legacy.⁵⁹⁸

While the practical influence of the Church on the ‘secular’ faculties of the university was limited, the clarification of the power relations between state and bishops at the theological faculties remained in suspension. Quite literally, as in 1874, the preparations for a new policy were announced, but were never really implemented, leaving the rules from 1850 generally unchanged.⁵⁹⁹ Although it was discussed and criticized, especially by the Social Democrats, who proposed in 1907 the dissociation of theological faculties from universities and their reestablishment as private teaching institutes,⁶⁰⁰ the universities were thus governed in four-year terms by a professor of theology, who was legally responsible to both the pope (represented through the bishop of the respective diocese) and the state, both having influence on the appointments and the right to suspend the “unworthy” (*unwürdige*) professors at the theological faculties.⁶⁰¹ While religious scholars of all confessions were responsible to their church authorities, and subjugated to own festivities/days of rest (which, by the way, is reported to have been taken into account at some universities) only in the case of Catholics was this inscribed into the academic legislation and had influence on the whole personnel.

The issue of confession was not solved, however, with the dissolution of the concordat and the beginning of the liberal era, as the generation change within the universities was not an instantaneous process. The gradual retirement of Thun’s

⁵⁹⁸ Huber, Kurt A., "Die Prager theologischen Fakultäten von 1883/1891 bis 1945." In *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern: Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiessee vom 26. Bis 28. November 1882*, edited by Collegium Carolinum, München: Oldenbourg, 1984, 37-54. See also anonymously published brochure of auxiliary bishop Wenzel Frind, *Eine eventuelle Theilung (Verdoppelung) der Prager theologischen Fakultät, ist mit dem Prinzip und der Aufgabe der Kirche vereinbar. Zugleich als Studie über das Verhältnis der Kirche zur Nationalität* Prag: Ambr. Opitz in Warnsdorf 1884.

⁵⁹⁹ See Beck von Mannangetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 720-721, Fn. 1, 2, 3.

⁶⁰⁰ *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 4.12.1907, 2958-2959.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, *Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 29. März 1858*, Z. 264/ C.U.M. *die Durchführung der Artikel VI und XVII des Concordates bezüglich der theologischen Studien betreffend*, RGBL. 1858, XIV, Z.50. Basis for this ordinance were articles VI and XVII of the concordat, quoted in Schweickhardt, *Sammlung*, 272-273.

favorites, however, combined with a growth in the number of appointments in the 1870s enabled the gradual liberalization of the professorship, although without substantial ideological changes in the most politically viable disciplines like philosophy or history (see below). The university was far from being the precursor of social changes, although looking selectively among the professorship one can get the impression of progressiveness. The mostly blurred idea of the university being a pioneer of modernity comes more from conflicts fought around it than within. In most cases, modernity, with its positive and negative outcomes, was – looking at the academic hierarchies – a movement from below, rather unwelcomed by the “mandarins.”⁶⁰² The inscription in the tradition of public intellectuals was also not very welcomed within the walls of the university, although even they were faced with a number of so called “political professors.”⁶⁰³ Participation of university officials in the regional political structures was similarly institutionalized in the late second half of nineteenth century, although not without the opposition from within the faculties, some of which shunned political participation of its members.⁶⁰⁴ A number of scholars were also active in political parties and served as representatives in the *Reichsrat/Landtag*; the Galicians and Bohemians in particular had a close link with political representation, the scholars of these universities often being politically active intellectuals.

At the same time, students and public opinion were radicalizing on both the left and right – a development that involved university instructors some decades later. The main idea looming behind the ministerial policy remained to keep the university at best apolitical in the sense of it being unrelated to current issues – a policy which was in itself indeed very political, and resulted in excluding scholars especially of Jewish origin, socialists and to a certain extent Czech, German, Polish, and Ruthenian nationalists. With political and religious issues occupying a prominent place in the ministerial analysis presented in the records, scholars voiced concerns over the politicization of the university. Keeping the status quo meant that the ideological traditions of German liberalism and Catholicism at the germanophone universities,

⁶⁰² For the term see Ringer, *The decline of the German mandarins*.

⁶⁰³ Luft, Robert, “Politische Professoren” in Böhmen 1861-1914.” In Lemberg, Litsch, Plaschka, Ránki (eds.), *Bildungsgeschichte, Bevölkerungsgeschichte, Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 286-306; Slapnicka, Helmut, “Die juristischen Fakultäten der Prager Universitäten 1900-1939.” In Lemberg (ed.), *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz*, 63-84, here 79-80.

⁶⁰⁴ In 1865 the academic senate of Innsbruck University consulted all faculties in the Monarchy on this issue; see for example the controversies in L’viv, DALO, 26/7/101, Z. 154 9.11.1865.

and conservative but national Catholicism in Galicia, defined the way careers was decided. The number of 'belated' appointments directly after World War I illustrated the potential of the groups previously concentrated at the level of *Privatdozenten* and associate professors. Still, the division in public discourse was very strong and at the turn of the century radical political groups attacked both each other and also the Ministry, claiming that respective proponents were disqualified or promoted for their political or religious opinions. The greatest clashes over the idea and function of the university were thus fought over whether universities were political beings and if so, of which political orientation – which was exemplified on the national issues and religion, with the most important public clashes in 1908 and 1910.

Notwithstanding the presentation of the universities and their inscription into ever more differentiated public spheres, highly active in Slavic regions and more passive in the German-speaking ones (although with exception of the boundary region of Prague) – the religious question remained a contact area.⁶⁰⁵ Not only within the Monarchy itself, but also more broadly in the context of the German *Kulturkampf*, denominational clashes on papal infallibility and further papal actions against modernism. The 'metaconflict' on the European level fought between papal and state power over the principal delimitations between secular and religious sphere, reached Habsburg universities after the turn of the century. On the local level, university policy was more (co)determined by students – both as active actors and more or less silent subjects of political agendas. In both cases the Ministry, as the ultimate regulative agency, reacted with similar passiveness and temporizing, and the maintenance of status quo was favorable for the Catholic church. Nevertheless, the Catholic parties grew more and more discontented with academia, following (in a localized way) the guidance from the Holy Church, which in the nineteenth century entered the academia through centralized philosophically-led offensive against rationalism, secularism, socialism, communism etc. – mostly seen as both causes and outcomes of 'modernism' as an all-embracing anti-Catholic trend. Scholars from within the monarchy were not in the first line of modernists or antimodernists (as seen from the perspective of Vatican) – although especially rebellious theologian Anton

⁶⁰⁵ There are no studies of religious entanglement in the monarchy, and the question of interrelations between nationalisms-religion-Habsburg Monarchy has only recently received more attention. For a similar critique and proposal of how to join the perspectives see Kunštát, Miroslav, "Katolicismus mezi univerzalizmem, partikularismem a autonomií - příspěvek k typologii středoevropské náboženské kultury." *AUC - Studia territorialia* 13 (2008): 249-282.

Günther and Innsbruck-educated conservative Vatican historian Ludwig Pastor were mentioned on several occasions. The political situation of the Monarchy created a different environment for this particular theological discussion. The nineteenth century also introduced here a shift of rhetoric on academia and finally resulted in conflicts strangely reminiscent of national clashes.

The encroachment of the Catholic Church on science and scholarship was clearly intensified during the nineteenth century. With *Syllabus Errorum* (1864), Pope Pius IX defined social, political and philosophical errors, condemning among others the superiority of human reason over faith and outdatedness of scholastic philosophy. But the idea that the Church could not be reconciled with science was mentioned as an error as well.⁶⁰⁶ Pope Leo XIII intensified the ambitions of Catholic education – e.g. subduing education system (including universities) in Columbia with the concordat of 1887, creating the first Catholic university in the United States (1897, The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C.). He also enforced Thomism as the official Catholic philosophy (encyclical *Aeterni Patris*),⁶⁰⁷ pleaded for intensification of religiously based science in “Germany, Austria and Switzerland” (encyclical *Militantis ecclesiae*),⁶⁰⁸ invested in scientific infrastructure in the Vatican and financed numerous historical works.⁶⁰⁹ His writings on the endangerment of the Church – among them encyclical *Quae ad nos* (1902)⁶¹⁰ directed at the bishops of Bohemia and Moravia – and especially the direct “call for action” against discrimination against Catholicism from 1898 resulted in intensification of institutionalization of Catholic science. In the Habsburg Monarchy, this was most visible through creation of the *Leo-Society, Association for Advancement of Science and Art on Christian Basis* (Leo-Gesellschaft. Verein zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kunst auf christlicher Grundlage, est. 1892). Leo XIII also

⁶⁰⁶ *The Syllabus of Errors condemned by Pius IX*, 8 December 1864 (online: <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9syll.htm>; last access 10.7.2010). See section 2, “Moderate rationalism”, esp. §12.

⁶⁰⁷ *Aeterni Patris. Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy*, 4 August 1879 (online: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris_en.html; last access 10.7.2010)

⁶⁰⁸ *Militantis ecclesiae. Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on St. Peter Canisius*, 1 August 1897 (online: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_01081897_militantis-ecclesiae_en.html; last access 10.7.2010)

⁶⁰⁹ Beghini, U., “Leo XIII.” In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, NY: Robert Appleton Company, 1910, 169-171.

⁶¹⁰ *Quae ad nos, Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, 22 November 1902, (online: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_22111902_quae-ad-nos_en.html; last access 10.7.2010)

sanctioned the long-discussed creation of a Catholic university in Austria on the petition of a conference of bishops from 1902, which, as will be shown later, caused several disturbances in the public.⁶¹¹ The mediation between the Church and ‘modernism’ was followed under the conservative Pius X, who was elected under the massive influence of the veto (*Jus Exclusivæ*) of Franz Joseph against the liberal Mariano Rampolla.⁶¹² One of the most important tasks Pius X proposed was an active fight against ‘modernism,’ which in contrast to Leo XIII was conceived of more broadly and its critique based strictly on papal infallibility and the primacy of Catholic dogma over science – inclusive historical-critical methods of Bible interpretation.⁶¹³ The core of one of the condemnations of ‘modernism,’ issued 1907 – *Lamentabili Sane* – was that “Modern Catholicism can be reconciled with true science only if it is transformed into a non-dogmatic Christianity; that is to say, into a broad and liberal Protestantism,”⁶¹⁴ which also constituted the central issue in the later *Oath against Modernism* (Sacrorum Antistitum, 1910).

Although religion and science had always had a difficult and complicated relationship, the end of the nineteenth century renewed and intensified the direct patronage of religious authorities over the production of knowledge under dogmatically regulated circumstances. Symbolic refutation of evolutionism, rationalism, materialism, naturalism and Kantianism in all occurrences, and simultaneous accentuation of Thomism-based Neo-Scholasticism as the only right philosophical approach, was the openly proclaimed doctrine of the Church. Scholars who were considered modernists inside of the Catholic Church – most importantly George Tyrrell, Alfred Loisy or Herman Schell, who proposed the historicization of the Bible and reforms within the Church – met with excommunication (Loisy) or the

⁶¹¹ *Quod Votis*. Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the proposed Catholic University, 30 April 1902, (online: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_30041902_quod-votis_en.html; last access 10.7.2010)

⁶¹² The act itself was conducted through Cracow cardinal Jan Puzyna; on probable political motives see esp. Trincia, Luciano, "The Central Government of the Church in the System of European Powers." In *The papacy and the new world order: Vatican diplomacy, catholic opinion and international politics at the time of Leo XIII*, edited by Vincent Viaene, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005, 115-136.

⁶¹³ *Pascendi dominici gregis*. Encyclical of Pope Pius X on the Doctrines of the Modernists, 8 September 1907 (online: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html; last access 10.7.2010).

⁶¹⁴ *Lamentabili Sane*. Syllabus Condemning the Errors of the Modernists, 3 July 1907. (online: <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10lamen.htm>; last access 10.7.2010), 65.

placement of their main publications on the Index.⁶¹⁵ Without mentioning the outcomes in detail, taking the two most well-known Habsburg theological periodicals *Journal for Catholic Theology* (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*) and *Universal Review* (*Przegląd Powszechny*)⁶¹⁶ as examples, one can see that the importance of scientific topics was continuously growing, including both articles and reviews of scientific literature. The preposition 'Catholic' gained an importance which was previously reserved to national denominations (Czech, German, Polish etc.) and was becoming a denotation of the reliability of authors and thus of the content of certain works. In the rhetoric of the texts, the neutrality of scholarship was diminishing, and mentioning the confession of respective authors was a symbolic textual 'truth-spot'.⁶¹⁷ This should not be overestimated, however, as the importance of logical argumentation – if it conformed to Catholic norms – was still valued.⁶¹⁸ Still, the relationship between religion and science was to be hegemonic, with dogmas' primacy over scientific reasoning – or the reverse, as the 'modernists' saw it.⁶¹⁹ Papal writings were quite open to differing interpretations and the prevalent opinion of both Catholic scholars and clergy held that both Leo XIII and Pius X intended to reify the scholarship and reinstate the balance of religion and science.⁶²⁰ However, some officials saw it as a condemnation of 'modern' science in general,⁶²¹ and that was also the common view on this issue from the critics of the papal antimodernist tendencies. Importantly, the 'antiscientific' tendencies and intensification of 'scientific' approaches were not exclusive categories, but rather an outcome of a process of

⁶¹⁵ Arnold, Claus, *Kleine Geschichte des Modernismus*. Freiburg, Br., Basel, Wien: Herder, 2007.

⁶¹⁶ *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* was published by Theological Faculty in Innsbruck; *Przegląd Powszechny* was a scholarly journal concerned with religious issues, issued in Cracow by the Jesuits.

⁶¹⁷ On the concept of 'truth-spot' see Gieryn, "Three truth-spots."

⁶¹⁸ But still augmented with religious designation e.g. by saying these or those scholars were important although they were protestant or not religious. At least in the Habsburg journals of the time preposition Jewish was not used in the sense referred here.

⁶¹⁹ See e.g. Arnold, *Kleine Geschichte des Modernismus*.

⁶²⁰ See e.g. Wilmann, Otto, "Die religiöse Grundlage der Wissenschaft." *Jahrbuch der Leo-Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1899* (1899): 22-31; Donat, Joseph, *The freedom of science*. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1914; Idem., "Naturwissenschaft und Religion." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 31 (1907): 566-570; Müller, Joseph, "Die Verurteilung des Modernismus durch Pius X." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 32 (1908): 100-114; Hofmann, Michael, "Leo XIII und die Wissenschaft." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 27 (1903): 605-620; Grum-Grimaylo, Sergius, "Die philosophischen Voraussetzungen des Modernismus." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 33 (1909): 439-470; and the series of articles on modernism in *Przegląd Powszechny* 1907-1909.

⁶²¹ See here the commentary of *Lamentabili Sane* of Cracow episcopacy in *Notificationes e Curia Principis Episcopi Cracoviensis*, no. XI, XII (1907): 117-122.

mediation between faith and science, in which the “parole religieuse” duplicated linguistically scientific and political speech in order to make things comprehensible to the public and not to fade into abstractions.⁶²²

The main axis of the conflict in the Habsburg Monarchy – the question of presuppositions and freedom of science – represented vulgarly this fading duality, while on several occasions the boundary was transgressed in more obvious ways. In 1901, the episcopacy proposed the establishment at the theological faculties of a chair for Christian social science (*Christliche Gesellschaftslehre*), church history of art or Christian archeology.⁶²³ Neither the division between religious subject and method was clear in this case, nor relation to existing chairs in the secular faculties. As the Philosophical Faculty had neither a settled curriculum nor any direct obligation for students wanting to graduate there to spend the time of their studies at the Philosophical Faculty,⁶²⁴ there existed the possibility of acquiring the grade of doctor of philosophy having studied at any another faculty (although with exams at the philosophical faculty). The question of mutual crediting of lectures was not resolved either. Although the propositions of the episcopacy were not introduced, several disciplines began crossing the (both then and now fluid) boundary between theology and science, like Christian philosophy, ‘Christian Sociology’⁶²⁵ (as an obligatory subject at the Czech Theological Faculty in Prague from 1897) or Church Law. The latter was divided, however, in the 1850s between the law and theological faculties (with separate professorships and without reciprocity), and in Chernivtsi it was backed with Greek-Roman Law (Roman law in its features and its Byzantine development),⁶²⁶ taught at the Law Faculty. Although the boundary was personally transgressed on several occasions, especially in philosophy (see below on philosophers Müllner and Pawlicki), on one occasion its violation resulted in a rather

⁶²² Latour, Bruno, *Jubiler ou les tourments de la parole religieuse*. Paris: Les empêcheurs de penser en rond / Le Seuil, 2002.

⁶²³ See Beck von Mannangetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 746-748, here point I.2.

⁶²⁴ With reference to the absolute freedom of learning (in comparison to medical and juridical studies where through the curriculum this freedom was limited (*beschränkt*) the students of the Philosophical Faculty had no obligation of studying at the Philosophical Faculty during their triennium (*Ministerial-Erlass vom 24. November 1867*, Z. 9595, reprinted in Thaa, *Sammlung*, 573-574), although this was backed 1899 with new rules of matriculation, and applied only to candidates to doctor of philosophy not teacher candidates (*Lehramt*) – the passing of *rigorosa* at the Philosophical Faculty was obligatory.

⁶²⁵ *Erlass des Ministers für K. u. U vom 31. Mai 1897*, Z. 631, reprinted in Beck von Mannangetta, Kelle, *Die österreichischen Universitätsgesetze*, 752-753.

⁶²⁶ *Erlass des Ministers für K. u. U vom 30. Juli 1899*, Z. 20.986, reprinted *Ibid.*, 780.

a powerful outbreak. As Kazimierz Zimmermann was named in 1910 as professor of Christian social sciences at the Theological Faculty in Cracow, and offered introduction into social sciences as a free lecture for students of all faculties (Collegium Publicum), students rioted, causing a closure of the university and an intervention from the Ministry.

At the turn of the century, publications of members of the Theological Faculty entered the discussion of the progress of science, arguing for the advancement of science on a logical and empirical basis and its reconciliation with religion. Leopold Fonck's *Scientific Working* (Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten, 1908), Josef Donat's *The Freedom of Science* (Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft, 1910), Franciszek Gabryl's *General Logic* (Logika Ogólna, 1899) or *Philosophy of Nature* (Filozofia Przyrody, 1910) and the wide range of articles and reviews these scholars were covering, dealing predominantly with historiography (Fonck), biology (Donat) and physical sciences (Gabryl), were much more writings on the reconciliation of 'modern' science and faith than one-sided theological critiques. Still, there was a significant difference between science practiced by Catholics and a Catholic science; while the first was autonomous, the second was to be made with the direct guidance of the church's rules and dogmas – at first from a neo-scholastic philosophy and moral standpoint (e.g. pastoral medicine), and then with explicit exclusion of non-dogmatic approaches of 'modernism.' The conflict that broke out at the beginning of the twentieth century was precisely over the change of boundaries between these two differing approaches. As Pius X linked them through his decrees in 1907, in the monarchy a wave of publications which were to defend Christian science as a free or presuppositionless science followed. There was a differing line of argumentation here, describing the rejection of God's existence as a dogma of putatively 'dogma free science,' making Catholic dogmas more flexible or describing scientific processes as a mere induction with which 'faith' does not collide. Science, as the main reference of these deliberations was clearly gaining importance over theology. In contrast to the early second half of the nineteenth century, where scholars were to conform to Catholicism, theologians of the early twentieth century were striving to show that Catholicism was neither refuted by nor in conflict with 'modern' science.

With this change as a philosophical determinant, the social representation of the conflict also changed. Although the influence of the Church remained a matter of conflict, the sense of coexistence of secular and Catholic scholars at a single

university was brought into question by both sides. Transcending the issues of morality and influence on the students, the question of the incompatibility of both ‘sciences’ grew stronger. While at the beginning of the twentieth century a proposal for the establishment of a Catholic university was made, it resembled (and directly referred to) a German Empire model in which a state institution could choose the denomination of the scholars being appointed there. However, already then, Joseph Pernter, among others, mentioned that Habsburg lacked Catholic scholars.⁶²⁷ Less than a decade later, the conflict arose once more, but already on the viability of ‘Catholic science’ as an entity – although translated into the social conflict by politicians.

The first wave of public discussion in 1902 was the Habsburg answer to the German Empire “Fall Spahn,” fought over the appointment of Catholic historian Martin Spahn to (Protestant) Strasburg University. In response to the proposed appointment, Theodor Mommsen and Lujo Brentano started a fierce campaign accusing Catholics of representing “science with presuppositions”, differing from (liberal-Protestant) presuppositionless science (*voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft*). Although this term was previously used (e.g. by Nietzsche or Troeltsch) Mommsen stabilized it, marking the German-language discussion on relation between religion and objectivity, though its philosophical substance – *Voraussetzungslosigkeit* – was already abandoned in the philosophy. With the quest to discredit Spahn, his opponents argued more against the Church itself and the Papal influence on the matters researched and taught at the universities.⁶²⁸ The point of departure was a critique of ultramontanum – the orientation of Catholicism in which pope and curiae were the highest authorities, in opposition to the liberal and state-led orientations, which were popular in Germany and Habsburg Empire under various representations, from *Altkatholiken* through *Los-von-Rom* movement.

In contrast to the German Empire, where cultural-Protestantism and the *Los-von-Rom* movement grew strong,⁶²⁹ in the Habsburg Empire Catholicism remained influential. It was not only the basis of the dynasty, but with creation of the right-wing

⁶²⁷ Pernter, Joseph Maria, *Voraussetzungslose Forschung, freie Wissenschaft und Katholizismus*. Wien, Leipzig: Braumüller, 1902.

⁶²⁸ Rebenich, Stefan, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack : Wissenschaft und Politik im Berlin des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997, 414-485.

⁶²⁹ Walser Smith, Helmut, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, esp. 206-231.

Christian Social Party under direction of Karl Lueger political Catholicism was provided additional political representation. This was strengthened through anti-Semitic rhetoric, both of Lueger and in the more radical form of Georg Schönerer and German nationals.⁶³⁰ Lueger in particular proposed on several occasions a strategy of recatholicisation of universities, criticizing the Jewish and socialist presence, and the discrimination of Catholic and German-National students and scholars. In this regard, proposals for the establishment of a Catholic university in Salzburg were also made, which was to counterbalance the ‘secular’ academies. Yet the proposals were backed especially with claims directed towards Vienna University’s maintaining its Catholic character as written in the foundation charter. A “Free Catholic university in Austria” – as proposed by episcopacy in 1901, and fought for in organized form since 1884⁶³¹ – was though to have a slightly different angle than state universities; it ought to be independent from the state, financed through private donors (namely Habsburg Catholics), and rather a training ground for new Catholic cadres than a scientific institution per se. It aimed – quite openly – to enable gradual reform of state in Catholic faith.⁶³² Although the idea was supported by bishops of all provinces and proposed a multicultural and multilingual school, it resonated almost exclusively in the German-speaking parts of the monarchy.⁶³³ Especially critics of clericalism voiced their concerns (e.g. Carl Toldt)⁶³⁴ and the *Neue Freie Presse* devoted a long editorial to the impracticability and legal problems such university would have.⁶³⁵ Although the conference of bishops gained support from Leo XIII, the idea was not without conflict within the church itself. At virtually the same time, professor of Church

⁶³⁰ See Weiß, Otto, *Der Modernismus in Deutschland. Ein Beitrag zur Theologiegeschichte* Regensburg: Pustet, 1995, esp. 116-118; Weinzierl, Erika, ed. *Der Modernismus. Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*. Graz, Wien: Styria, 1974.

⁶³¹ *Der katholische Universitäts-Verein zu Salzburg. Dem hochwürdigsten Episkopate und den Katholiken Österreichs zum 25-jähr. Vereins-Jubiläum 1884 bis 1909 gewidmet vom Zentral-Ausschuß* Salzburg: Verlag der katholischen Universitäts-Verein, 1909.

⁶³² "Hirtenschreiben, betreffend Errichtung einer katholischen Universität in Österreich." reprinted in *Das Vaterland*, 19.12.1901, 1-2; for the function of the university in Catholic movement see especially points 1 and 3; the university, as defined in the pastoral letter was “a high school, which most youth, who finished gymnasia, have to attend if they want to be professors, doctors, advocates or civil servants.”

⁶³³ See the lists of financial contributors published in *Universitätsblatt. Zeitschrift des Vereines zur Gründung und Erhaltung einer freien katholischen Universität in Salzburg* (published from 1903); on various occasions, publishers criticized Slavs for being concentrated only on their own issues and not helping to establish an over-regional academia.

⁶³⁴ See the proceedings of *Political Association for Enlightenment* (Politisches Aukklärungsverein), in *NFP*, 19.12.1901, 8.

⁶³⁵ *NFP*, 20.12.1901, 1-2.

history in Vienna, Albert Ehrhard, in his widely commented on book on the Catholicism of the twentieth century, saw the danger that the foundation of university in Salzburg could be “a retract from the vast see of cultural life to an idyllic island, on which coast the surging waves of the see will not break.” He saw the mission of the Church in the “involvement of the church in all intellectual places of education and culture.”⁶³⁶ The declaration of the episcopacy, however, had a long-term scholarly aftermath, which was centered on the independence of the university from Church authorities, recollecting Mommsen’s arguments on this point. Rather surprisingly, two well-known opponents – Josef Pernter and Ludwig Wahrmund—came from similar backgrounds, both being members of the *Leo Society* and their arguments (respectively pro and contra Catholic university) were not entirely at odds.

When Josef Pernter wrote his widely discussed essay *Presuppositionless Research, Free Science and Catholicism* (*Voraussetzungslose Forschung, freie Wissenschaft und Katholizismus*, 1902),⁶³⁷ it was precisely his idea to bring the strains of discussion sparked by Mommsen and episcopacy away from political conflict into an objective (philosophical) discussion of the consequences of the creation of a Catholic university, which “from purely scientific standpoint [...] would be completely of the same value as a Protestant and any other university, as far as it fulfills the necessary external conditions.”⁶³⁸ Pernter, which was ignored in subsequent debates, assumed objective and purely inductive science, externalized religion as a value of conscience not related to the process of scientific production (seen only in creation of hypothesis which would than be validated in the research process) and spoke only of “Catholic researchers in science”⁶³⁹ (*katholische Forscher in der Wissenschaft*) – both in natural sciences and the humanities (not mentioning philosophy however). The ‘external’ conditions under which a Catholic university would be a scientific institution would be in the first place independence from any particular “school of theologians,” although with compliance to the *depositum fidei* that was Catholic conventions. Secondly, scholars teaching at the university should be active researchers, and in the third place the university should be well equipped with

⁶³⁶ Ehrhard, Albert, *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit*. Stuttgart, Wien: Jos. Roth'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902 [1901], 371 (emphasis omitted); see esp. pp. 361-382.

⁶³⁷ Pernter, *Voraussetzungslose Forschung*.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, e.g. 28.

research facilities. Pernter remained skeptic, however, about the creation of such university –due to, among other reasons, churchly dogmatism and the ambitions of bishops without having studied to determine the structure of a university and the project threatening to be a “disgrace in front of the whole word.”⁶⁴⁰ In fact, Pernter pleaded not for the reformation of science to Catholic needs, but rather argued for the predominance of objective science over dogmas, which were to be put into concordance with new developments.

Similarly, as Pernter’s critique of the influence of the Church on science was Ludwig Wahrmund’s writing in the brochure, *Religion and Clericalism* (Religion und Klerikalismus, 1902).⁶⁴¹ Drawing a history of Catholicism as a struggle between state and Church, Wahrmund went even further, criticizing clerics for abandoning the true idea of religion as a matter of faith and trying to create a state in state. University education was, according to Wahrmund’s secular-religious division (after “Render unto Caesar ...”), of worldly interest and of the Empire in particular, as the established division between state and Church was clear in this regard. For liberal Catholicism, which Innsbruck scholars represented, the university was a state matter, and the science practiced by Catholics had the rights to be represented within its walls – but not the ‘Catholic science’ which was produced under the auspices of rigid church rules limiting its freedom. Wahrmund’s speech (and later brochure) resulted in a wave of critique from the conservative side, especially in Tirol, where his words were seen as a direct assault on the church, subsequently reaching parliament. Several conservative deputies brought about a petition that accused Wahrmund of political propaganda, which was forbidden for university scholars, and occasionally Wahrmund’s name was raised in the debate over universities in following years. Both liberal *German Volkspartei* and minister of education Wilhelm Hartel defended the Innsbruck scholar, however, arguing that he was not attacking the religion but some of its exponents, his speech was not political (enough) and that he should be secured by the *Lernfreiheit*.⁶⁴² Saved from any serious consequences, Wahrmund answered

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁴¹ Wahrmund, Ludwig, *Religion und Klerikalismus. Rede, gehalten bei der Gründung der Ortsgruppe Innsbruck des Vereines "Freie Schule"*. Innsbruck: A. Edlinger / Verlag der Ortsgruppe Innsbruck des Vereines "Freie Schule", [1902].

⁶⁴² See *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten im Jahre 1902. XVII. Session. XII Band, 106. bis 115. Sitzung. (S. 10039 bis 10958.)*. Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902, 109. Sitzung am 13. März 1902, 110. Sitzung am 14. März 1902, esp. 10408-10409.

once more with a brochure, again defending – using his words – “religious, idealistic, progress-friendly Catholicism” against “political, domination-addicted, reactionary clericalism.”⁶⁴³

Pernter – who remained in collective memory as an ideal of a Catholic scholar and Wahrmund – who is seen as his antipode – were much closer to each other than normally considered. Holding the ideal of ‘truth’ (in science and education) against ‘dogma’ and supporting liberal approach of Church to science.⁶⁴⁴ And although Wahrmund’s brochure was very emotional, rhetorically harsh and anticlerical, its philosophical basis – liberal Catholicism – was echoed on the pages of *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, although he was then criticized for the form and left the *Leo Society* in conflict. Still, his writings – for example a long treatise on the acceptance of woman at the universities (1901)⁶⁴⁵ and reform of marriage law – were not critical of religion, but of clericalism, which he defined as the influence of the Church on secular matters, and met with rejection among most influential parties. The choice of topics though shows his vivid interest in public debates – all matters to which he turned were consciously chosen political provocations bringing liberal-Catholic ideology to the outmost prominent position.

This first conflict over Catholic science had little influence, and resulted in a public debate in Innsbruck and one interpellation in the Viennese parliament, introduced by Theodor Kathrein, later provincial governor of Tirol. Although it was close to, or even a rip-off, of the German discussion, the journals in the non-germanophone parts of the monarchy paid more interest to Spahn than to Wahrmund and discussed Mommsen’s ideas and concepts rather than reacting to inner-Habsburg discussion.

The discussion on Catholicism and universities, stagnated and remained unsolved; both the changes inside the Catholic approach to science and the tension between liberal and conservative parties grew stronger in parliament, arguing over

⁶⁴³ Wahrmund, Ludwig, *Universität und Kirche. Akten zum Fall Wahrmund*. Frankfurt an der Main: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 1902, 24.

⁶⁴⁴ For another similar (although philosophically refined) argumentation on the same issue from the Catholic standpoint see Josef Donat’s *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft - Ein Gang durch das moderne Geistesleben* (Innsbruck 1910); Absridged English translation: Donat, *The freedom of science*.

⁶⁴⁵ Wahrmund, Ludwig, *Akademische Plaudereien zur Frauenfrage. Vier rechts- und culturgeschichtliche Vorträge in populärer Form*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901.

their ideological positioning. At the same time, ideological issues entered academic life through students' organizations, which clashed over religion as they previously had over issues of nationality. One can however discern the differentiation on this axis between German-Catholic-anti-Semitic and socialist-liberal-internationalist (anticlerical) approaches. One of the outcomes from a student conflict – over allowing colors for student festivities – was the campaign of Karl Lueger for a “Catholic reconquest of the universities” from 1907, directed both against socialists and Jewish scholars. At the end of 1907, the speech of Lueger on the Sixth Catholic Rally (6. Allgemeiner Katholikentag) and the resolutions adopted there at the end of November were matters of discussion in the parliament. Simultaneously Tomáš Masaryk ignited a fierce debate with an application of urgency to defend universities from intended political takeover by the Christian Social Party.⁶⁴⁶ Masaryk, who throughout 1907 presented on several occasions on state-religion and religion-science questions,⁶⁴⁷ intended in this case to ignite a debate on cultural policy, rather than remain only in the question of education. But the three-day long debate embraced almost all the divisions of cultural, religious, scientific and nationality matters before being closed – with around 20 speakers still willing to talk in plenum. The agreement to convoke the Ministry to acknowledge independence of universities (freedom of science!) against all political influence (not as in Masaryk's version against Christian Socials) as proposed by deputy Johann Drexel was accepted unanimously. Still, as the common agreement was to protect the universities, the parties largely differed regarding from what the academia has to be defended.

The larger objective of Masaryk ('and companions' (*and Genossen*) in the parlance of the day – among them Josef Redlich, Arthur Mahler, Adolf Bachmann) — was, in the first place, to distinguish between religion and clericalism, much in mode of the liberal Catholics. They argued in several cases that while religious Catholics could be valuable researchers, in the moment when they are clerical, their scientific autonomy vanished and they present “no critic, but confidence and reliance in

⁶⁴⁶ *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 35. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 22. November 1907, 2689-2690. The application was signed by 25 deputies.

⁶⁴⁷ See especially his speech in *Intelligence a náboženství. Náboženská diskuse v Královéhradeckém Albertinu*, 23. října 1906, edited by Theodor Bartošek, Praha: Čas, 1907, 61-151, and discussion with Catholic bishop and sociologist František Reyl and professor for theology in Hradec Králové/Königgrätz František Šulc. More on Masaryk's discussion of religious issues in Polák, Stanislav, *T.G. Masaryk : za ideálem a pravdou (1900–1914)*. 5 vols. Vol. 4. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2001, 70-253.

authority, arrogance till fanatics, censorship, bondage, intolerance, oppression – syllabus and index!”⁶⁴⁸ Drawing on the history of the Middle Ages onwards, Masaryk (and also several other speakers) presented a picture of religious authorities ever more conflicted with science, restraining its autonomy through repression symbolized by index and syllabus. The inferiority of Catholic science and the opposition of the Catholic Church to civilization and progress – as Masaryk called them – made Catholic science *contradictio in adjecto*. In science the quality is decisive and when the clerical parties speak of political conquest, they acknowledge at the same time, that a peaceful success of Catholic science is not possible. Masaryk, who in his own words was not remotely an atheist, did not intend though to attack religion, but pleaded for *Entkirchlichung der Religion*, rejection of authoritarian religiosity, the division of Church and State – which he supported with the writings of theologians Albert Ehrhard and Josef Scheicher, one of founders of Christian Social Party. While Masaryk sought for a compromise between religion and university, others – especially Social Democrats (Engelbert Pernerstorfer) – intended to carve off the theological faculties from the universities and reestablish them as private schools without the right to award doctoral degrees.

While the Bohemian deputy concentrated on more philosophical questions, other speakers who pleaded pro, argued that there was no possibility of conquest of the universities, as they were already Catholic. While it was true that among *Privatdozenten* in Vienna and Prague the number of non-Catholics was growing, full professors were mostly Catholic, and universities in Graz and Innsbruck were almost entirely Catholic. Jewish scholars were notoriously ignored during appointment procedures (Ludo Moritz Hartmann) while Catholic scholars were unfairly promoted (historian Josef Hirn and canonist Max Layer).

But the conservatives (Adalbert Wenzel / Vojtěch Václav Sternberg, Michael Mayr, Karl Lueger) readily accepted the idea of autonomy of universities – refuting however the theist and social ideas of Masaryk, and mostly inelegantly accusing him of atheism, betrayal of motherland, incompetence and immorality. In this case, universities should be defended against “international mob of capital” (Sternberg), “Jewry and Jewish spirit,” professors who teach “revolution and lack of motherland” (Mayr), “materialistic world view” (Karl Drexel) and the dictate of “Jewish-liberals

⁶⁴⁸ *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 39. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 3. Dezember 1907, 2877.

from *Neue Freie Presse*.⁶⁴⁹ Especially the influence of Jewish and liberal (*freiheitliche*) cliques of professors and students, which Christian Socials held responsible for the revolution of 1848, should be restricted at the universities. Here Mayr and Lueger, as the most prominent speakers of the clerical party, indicated the discrepancy between confessional division in the monarchy and at the universities, which was to be corrected:

we also wish equal rights. But if we [Catholics] would have equal rights, than around 80% of Jews, which frequent nowadays the university, would have to leave it. [...] Are those equal rights, when just in the recent past from the eight appointed professors we find seven Jews? [...] We want equal rights, we want, that the university, which once belonged to German Christian people, belongs again to German Christian people.⁶⁵⁰

Several speakers referenced student protests against Catholic scholars (Hyrtil and Hirn in Vienna, Haffner in Innsbruck) as well and the limitation of Catholic fraternities as arguments for the oppression of Catholics and the promotion of anti-Catholic teachers – namely Wahrmond. The question of Catholic science on the other hand was addressed only occasionally – especially the idea of authoritarian dogmatism was described as an exaggeration, as index and syllabus were rather to guide than to forbid, but examples of prominent Catholic scientists were also brought to attention. The most important difference between the pro and contra position (taking all the disparities into consideration) was the differing perception of the role of science, changing from a conveyor of enlightenment and civilization to an instance of morality and moral education. In the example of craniotomy⁶⁵¹ the primacy of science over morality was touched. From the point of view of ‘liberals,’ such operations helped both science and the mother, while Catholics (for whom craniotomy was strictly forbidden) would try to save the child and refrain from killing, even in the case the mother would die. Although this example (brought up by Masaryk) was rather problematic because of the existence of the cesarean section and of persistent moral issues, it demonstrated quite well the differences in worldviews of the time, with

⁶⁴⁹ *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 39. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 3. Dezember 1907, 2883; 40. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 4. Dezember 1907, 2916, 2911; 41. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 5. Dezember 1907, 3023; *Neue Freie Presse*, also as “Judoliberaler Presse,” was named by all the speakers *contra*.

⁶⁵⁰ From the talk of Karl Lueger, *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 41. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 5. Dezember 1907, 2997.

⁶⁵¹ Fragmentation of head of an unborn child in the case of impossible natural birth.

liberals fiercely convinced of the perfection of science, and Catholics of their belief in morality. While for liberals it was science that had to decide not only what was true or false, but also right or wrong, conservative Catholics saw science as subordinate to Catholic morality – also in both categories. This introduced the second issue, which was how the universities related to science (and morality) – with analogue answers depending on who saw primacy where. While natural sciences were almost completely excluded from the debate – with the exception of the determinism question in physics – the relation of ‘soft sciences’ to education stood on the front lines. As with the example of craniotomy, the difference was immense and rather incommensurable, not least of all because the main accusations – of domination of materialism vs. dogmatism – were easily refuted as rhetorical hyperboles. But more importantly, the main proponents spoke the same language in discussing different things, and at the same time proposed opposite projects of state and nation.

The importance of state and nation in the discussion of science, morality and religious policy might be surprising, but those two ideas entered the discussion not only from the beginning on but also in several differing contexts. Most important was the impact of Catholicism for the national self-identification of proponents. Masaryk mentioned that criticism and reasoning were the main points in Czech self-awareness, coming from Hussitism and thus the strengthening of Catholicism would be at the same time an ideological disintegration of Bohemia. Lueger and Mayr presented at the same time an ideal of an (ethnic) German Catholic nation – but spoke of the *Vaterland*, a term which was reserved previously for the monarchy. Although this issue had not been discussed further in the debate, this difference in the imagination of Habsburg vs. (German-) Austrian was quite obvious. Speakers of the Christian Social Party, arguing that the petition supported by “liberal (*freisinnig*) circle of Jewish radicalism and radical Slavdom,”⁶⁵² represented only the interest of Catholic Germans, and criticized Slavs and Jews as hindering the national revival of German nation in Austria. While socialists were, from this standpoint, Jewish-liberals, the German Progressive Party (*Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*), whose members, surprisingly for the Christian Social Party, also directly supported Masaryk, were described as antinational radicals, wanting to unite with Prussia. The speakers for German liberals and socialists concentrated more on the actual university situation

⁶⁵² *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 40. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 4. Dezember 1907, 2911.

and a critique of the equation of the German nation with Catholicism and clericalism, but defended also an ideal of multi-confessional Habsburg Germans, without preponderance of Church hierarchies. Although their coalition with Slavs was surprising, it came into being as they pleaded for autonomy of nation-building institutions in order to induce social change, while the Christian Socials argued for universities being the representation of the 'nation,' which according to their data was to 80% Catholic. The differing approaches to the role of the university and assessment of academic policy in this regard can be seen in the examples brought into discussion for both the pro and contra parties. Catholic historian Joseph Hirn was boycotted and protested by the students (contra), while being unlawfully promoted by the Ministry and appointed against the *terna* (pro). Anticlerical Wahrmund was retained at the university even if his critique of the Catholic religion was political and severely controversial (contra) but his public involvement caused his omission in appointments for better universities (pro). Jew and socialist leader Hartmann was overlooked for several years in appointments for professorship (pro) but at the same granted salary of an associate professor for his research (contra).

This idea of equal rights as individual *versus* collective resource induced by liberal law as opposed to juridical orders (although the direct appeal for *numerus clausus* was not raised) came to the fore once more in the case of Poles against Ruthenians. While Polish deputies eagerly adopted the idea of strengthening the autonomy of universities, Ruthenians Iulian Romanchuk (Юліан Романчук) and Stanislav Dnistrrians'ky (Станіслав Дністрянський), who signed the petition of Masaryk in the first place, saw the petition with mixed feelings. While supporting the basis of Masaryk's ideas, they protested against the Polish declaration, as this would in their eyes strengthen the Polish hegemony in Galicia if neither a Ruthenian university would be erected nor Ruthenian scholars appointed against the Polish majority in L'viv.⁶⁵³

The petition of Catholics to erect a Catholic university in Salzburg, which was one of the igniting points in the debate, was at this point transcribed into the national claim of Catholic Germans – although the original petition of 1901 was signed by bishops of all nationalities. Lueger's advance was thus fatal for the chances of its

⁶⁵³ See the talk of Dnistrrians'ky, in *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 41. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 5. Dezember 1907, 2989.

completion as he limited the original Catholics to German Catholics, losing the probable support of Slavic parties. Yet, the signal of a (German) Catholic University resulted in discussions taking the form of national deputies voicing their demands as well against hegemonic nations, that is, Germans and Poles. Otokar Rybář spoke in the debate on right of Slovenes to have their university in Ljubljana, Romanchuk on a Ruthenian university, František Drtina mentioned a second Czech university. In the final statement of the fraction *contra* Masaryk's application, the Catholic-national,⁶⁵⁴ Czech nationalist priest Rudolf Horský, invoking statements of Masaryk and Lueger, mentioned in the same breath the rights of Slovenes, Italians, Croats, Czechs, Ruthenians and Catholics to be treated fairly at the universities.

The final wording of the unanimously adopted application was both a sign of the powerlessness of parliament and of the conundrum of termini, leaving all (and none) postulations fulfilled:

The k.k. government is to be requested, to give the parliament the assurance, that, as guaranteed by the constitution, the freedom of teaching and learning, the freedom of science, freedom of belief and conscience, will be defended against all party political assaults.⁶⁵⁵

With all the superficiality which the assertion of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom brought for the government and minister Marchet, who affirmed it on the very first day of the debate,⁶⁵⁶ it directly reassured the autonomy of universities from politics. Nonetheless it left the door open for differing interpretations on "party political assaults" (*parteipolitische Angriffe*), especially as a number of professors was politically active in parliament. Among others, the most important speakers from the December debate, Masaryk, Redlich, Bachmann and Mayr led their parties, which in all cases met with negative reactions at the universities. Mayr, for example, one of the main speakers on the *Katholikentag* and in the debate in December, was rebutted by rector of Innsbruck University Rudolf Scala.⁶⁵⁷ Notwithstanding the involvement of Slavic scholars – although from the Polish and Ruthenian sides only short statements emerged – the proceedings caused

⁶⁵⁴ "Katholischnational" (member of Bohemian Catholic-National Club = *Böhmischer katholisch-nationaler Klub* / *Katolickonárodní strana*) as distinguished from Christian Social; *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 41. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 5. Dezember 1907, 3043.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 3052.

⁶⁵⁶ *Stenographische Protokolle 1907*, 39. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 3. Dezember 1907, 2881-2883.

⁶⁵⁷ See "Ein Brief des Innsbrucker Rektors an Professor Mayr" in *Prager Tagblatt*, 5.12.1907, p. 3-4.

no reverberations, as in 1902, apart from those in the politically involved germanophone journals. It took slightly more than one month before the debate arose anew.

“Kulturkampf,” as some characterized the following conflict, broke out the same year as a result of Catholic interventions in the case of Ludwig Wahrmund, who was accused of anticlericalism on a basis of his lecture held in Innsbruck, and later published as a brochure *Catholic World-View and Free Science* (Katholische Weltanschauung und freie Wissenschaft). While at the beginning only a local Innsbruck conflict, the Wahrmund case grew important as it included all political forces in the monarchy – Christian Socials pleading for his removal from the university and other parties requesting he stays. The action of nuncio Gennaro Granito Pignatelli di Belmonte proved to be disastrous, when in March 1907 he mentioned in an interview with the conservative daily *Das Vaterland* that he intervened in the government for the release of Wahrmund.⁶⁵⁸ The public debate that began at this point strayed far from Wahrmund to the question of whether a professor from an autonomous university could be removed through political influence. The precedents of August Rohling (prematurely pensioned because of anti-Semitic publications in Prague 1899)⁶⁵⁹ or Johannes Frischauf (prematurely pensioned because of conflict with German-national Eduard Richter in Graz 1906)⁶⁶⁰ were also used. The case of Rohling was especially substantial here, as his aggressive anti-Semitism was compared to the anti-Catholicism of Wahrmund, who in his lecture laughed at what he regarded as ‘unscientific’ and thus the unrealistic basis of Christian faith, such as the immaculate conception, and compared Catholicism with fetishism and paganism.⁶⁶¹ While prime minister Max Wladimir Beck distanced himself from Wahrmund and criticized his publication, only directly after the nuncio’s intervention did the Ministry decide to grant him a two-month leave (on his own demand) and

⁶⁵⁸ Rinnerthaler, Alfred, "Der Fall Wahrmund. Politische, rechtliche und diplomatische Turbulenzen im Umfeld von Modernismus und Antimodernismus in Österreich." In *Österreich und der Heilige Stuhl im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Paarhammer and Alfred Rinnerthaler, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2001, 187-246, here 206.

⁶⁵⁹ "Warum wurde der Professor für hebräische Altertümer an der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Prag, Kanonikus Dr. August Rohling, von der österreichischen Unterrichtsverwaltung seines Postens enthoben?" *Dr. Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift*, 3.7.1908, 480-483.

⁶⁶⁰ Tichy, Robert, and Johannes Wallner, "Johannes Frischauf – eine schillernde Persönlichkeit in Mathematik und Alpinismus." *Internationale Mathematische Nachrichten* 210 (2009): 21-32.

⁶⁶¹ Wahrmund, Ludwig, *Katholische Weltanschauung und freie Wissenschaft: ein populärwissenschaftlicher Vortrag unter Berücksichtigung des Syllabus Pius X und der Enzyklika "Pascendi Dominici gregis"*. München: J.F. Lehmann, 1908, e.g. 5, 19.

indecisively oscillated between leaving him in Innsbruck and granting him a longer leave, or changing his appointment from Church law to a more secular discipline. The conflict began, however, to spill across the monarchy. While Catholic students protested against Wahrmund, demonstrations in favor of the scholar were held throughout the monarchy – including Galicia, Moravia and Bohemia, where after fifty years after the last collective Czech-German student meeting in Prague, Wahrmund proved to be as important as Schiller in 1859.⁶⁶² Still, Czech, Polish and Jewish journals saw the conflict as more an inner German affair than a substantial crisis of scholarship. *Czas* for example wrote on the German conflict, which was impossible in Galicia⁶⁶³ and *Bloch's Wochenschrift* alluded to the struggle as “German *Volkstheater* in Austria.”⁶⁶⁴ The final solution – relocation, or rather promotion of Wahrmund to Prague with an outlook for a position in Vienna – calmed the situation, but once more not to the real satisfaction of all parties.

Notwithstanding the students' excesses, the Wahrmund Affair had both philosophical and political impacts. Although the contents of his brochure were seen rather as errant criticism, it brought once more the question of Clericalism to the agenda – philosopher Friedrich Jodl spoke here of the “beginning of struggle, which Austrian universities will have to fight for their intellectual freedom, its autonomy and so to speak sovereign power (*Hoheitsrechte*) against an adversary, who is irritated by defeats in lands of western culture, and who is confident of victory through it wins in German Empire.”⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, Masaryk entered the discussion once more in parliament and in an anticlerical brochure.⁶⁶⁶ Critique of Wahrmund's writings by his adversaries, however, remained concentrated on the form of his writing, not only in press, but also among scholars. Professor of exegesis in Innsbruck, Leopold Fonck, for example, criticized only Wahrmund's alleged sources, which the Innsbruck jurist

⁶⁶² Hoffmann, Roland, *T.G. Masaryk und die tschechische Frage: Nationale Ideologie und politische Tätigkeit bis zum Scheitern des Deutsch-Tschechischen Ausgleichsversuchs vom Februar 1909*. München: Oldenburg 1988, 381-382;

⁶⁶³ See *Czas* on different occasions between April and June 1908.

⁶⁶⁴ "Wahrmund. Ein Lustspiel." *Dr. Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift*, 20.3. 1908, 214-216, here 214: “German *Volkstheater* in Austria. For the first, but not for the last time ‘Professor Wahrmund’, a cultural historical comedy of Geßmann and associates with prelude by Dr Karl Lueger. Dances of some ministers according to music of Roman motives”

⁶⁶⁵ Jodl, Friedrich, "Der Klerikalismus und die Universitäten." In *Der österreichische Hochschulkampf im Sommer 1908*, edited by Vertrauensmännerkomitee der freiheitlichen Studentenschaft Wien, Innsbruck: A. Edlinger's Verlag, 1908, 5-20, here 6.

⁶⁶⁶ Masaryk, Thomas Garrique, *Freie wissenschaftliche und kirchlich gebundene Weltanschauung und Lebensauffassung*. Wien: Carl Konegen (Erst Stülpnagel), 1908.

did not quote but evidently used – Ernst Haeckel and Paul Hoensbroech, already stigmatized as active anti-Catholics.⁶⁶⁷ Similarly Viktor Naumann concentrated on the accuracy of quotations.⁶⁶⁸ The absence of factual discussion regarding the contents was caused not only by the disparities mentioned in the 1907 discussion, but also as Wahrmund related to the most recent writings of Pius X (reprinting translations of recent syllabi as well), which – if one looks on the pages of Catholic journals – still needed binding commentaries by the highest authorities.⁶⁶⁹ Secondly, what caused more of a conundrum, Wahrmund (as Masaryk before) spoke from the position of an involved Catholic against ultramontanism and clericalism, distinguishing as in 1902 between faith, religion and church. In this regard, the most serious critique on Wahrmund was precisely what he himself addressed in his writing – that he violated the knowledge hierarchy and primacy of the Pope, especially in his charge as a professor of canon law (though at the Law Faculty).⁶⁷⁰

The picture of Catholic science that came out of the affair fit exactly with the idea, which was rejected in the Ministry as well, of the division between clerical and secular, leading to a parallelization of knowledge on religious grounds. Liberal minister Gustav Marchet from the *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*, was confronted with the scenario of parallelization having socialists as ideological allies, but a coalition partner *Christlichsoziale Partei* working against him, which led finally to his dismissal. The final compromise, the transfer of Wahrmund to Prague, was not, however, only an assertion of the independence of universities from Christian Socialist politicians who pleaded for Wahrmund's removal from his teaching position. It also demonstrated that through a coalition of German-liberal and socialists, the idea of Catholic science was far from being realizable at the university level, as the controversy boiled down to an acknowledgment of hierarchical difference. This moved the conflict away from the university, as the majority of scholars (also Catholic) supported Wahrmund's right for independence. With a second affair having struck the academia almost simultaneously, the removal of Siegmund Feilbogen from the *Academy of Commerce* (Exportakademie) in Vienna due to the intervention of the

⁶⁶⁷ Fonck, Leopold, *Katholische Weltanschauung und seine Wissenschaft. Das wissenschaftliche Arbeiten Professor Wahrmonds kritisch beleuchtet*. Innsbruck: Felizian Rauch (Karl Pustet), 1908.

⁶⁶⁸ Naumann, Viktor, *Die zweite Wahrmundbroschüre*. Wien, Graz: Styria, 1908.

⁶⁶⁹ See e.g. Müller, Joseph, "Die Verurteilung des Modernismus durch Pius X." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 32 (1908): 100-114.

⁶⁷⁰ Smolka, Stanisław, "Z powodu broszury profesora Wahrmonda." *Przegląd Powszechny* 98, no. 6 (1908): 1*-15*.

Vatican nuncio,⁶⁷¹ the realization of a Catholic university was to be confronted with the question of its independence from clergy, causing problems for the Catholic liberals. Any interference with religious issues at the universities would lead to severe protests of professors and students, for which the affair was significant evidence. Wahrmund, who evidently exposed himself to the affair to achieve intensification of political discourse, did not back down during its unfolding and became a symbolic martyr for the freedom of science, successfully permeating the national boundaries in the Monarchy. He very successfully ‘warned’ Catholic scientists of the consequences of their support for a clerically led recatholization of the universities would have. This invalidated Karl Lueger’s claim from 1907, that his advance was not meant to attack the independence of scholars. In 1908, the alliance of the German National and Christian Social parties broke up precisely through the failure of Lueger to join together Alpine Catholics (represented in the debate of 1907 by professor of modern history in Innsbruck, Michael Mayr, and schoolteacher, Karl Drexel) and German nationals,⁶⁷² or to bridge a divide between epistemic approaches to Catholic science and impact the social hierarchization that Pius X’s Catholic Church would have in the Catholic university.

Although Minister Marchet violated academic freedom, at first suspending Wahrmund and then relocating him, university autonomy was strengthened as the violent attacks on Wahrmund from various sides proved politics to be hardly a useful mediator. With the symbolic strengthening of freedom of academic science in 1907 and elegant – compared to the violence of the public debate – solution, the status quo of the autonomous university system was retained. Next ministers of education, Kanera and Stürgkh, distanced themselves from the idea of political influence on universities and from the projects of a Catholic university. Long-time Christian Social minister, Max Hussarek (1911-1917), also rejected the idea of a “Kampfuniversität“

⁶⁷¹ See Beier, Nikolaj, »Vor allem bin ich ich ...« *Judentum, Akkulturation und Antisemitismus in Arthur Schnitzlers Leben und Werk*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2008, 312-314. Feilbogen’s sister-in-law, with whom he visited the Sistine Chapel during a Holy Mess on Easter Sunday, took the consecrated wafer (according to some, given by the Pope himself) from her mouth. The affair was probably exaggerated due to previous tensions, and apart from the end in Feilbogen’s career, almost resulted in the erection of a new church in Vienna. Feilbogen was of Jewish confession, which according to some commentaries (Karl Kraus, Gotthard Deutsch), resulted in his dismissal, while Wahrmund, near to German National Party, was not released.

⁶⁷² Boyer, John W., *Culture and political crisis in Vienna: Christian socialism in power, 1897-1918*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 190-191.

in Salzburg, not willing to aggravate the confessional ruptures.⁶⁷³ At the same time, he acknowledged the academic status of the Evangelic Faculty, granting its teachers titles of university professors. The not uncommon preference for Catholic scholars before 1907 was not exhibited under these three ministers (at least at medical and philosophical faculties).

Interesting in the context of the role of Catholicism was that of national differentiation. In 1907 Galician politicians were almost absent from the debate, while Masaryk, Drtina, Rybář and Horský rendered the debate more Habsburg than Austrian. Similarly, protests against Wahrmond caused serious disturbances at all universities – although from the Polish side (apart from socialists), the participation of students in this protest was seen as unnecessary as it did not directly influence Galicia. This situation was shattered at the moment of the outbreaks of national conflict after Myroslav Sichyns'ky (Мирослав Січинський) murdered provincial governor Andrzej Potocki. The brief association of liberal students throughout the monarchy against the Church, however, was the last demonstration of this kind in the Austro-Hungarian period.

In 1910/1911, similar protests were caused by the appointment of conservative priest Kazimierz Zimmermann for the chair of Catholic sociology (at the Theological Faculty of Cracow University) with proposal of free lectures for students of all faculties. This met with fierce opposition from socialist groups, finally causing the shutdown of the university. Here as well, the parliament was confronted with the issue, causing fierce protests from Polish conservative professors at the university, who saw this as a breach of both national unity and academic autonomy.⁶⁷⁴ The Ministry asked the university to rule on their own, as it was not required to act instantly to calm the monarchy-wide protest as in the case of Wahrmond, as the protest (although discussed in most germanophone journals) was not as influential outside of Galicia – although it was strongly reminiscent of the Wahrmond controversy, and socialist students planned and animated demonstrations at other universities.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷³ Rinnerthaler, Alfred, "Von der Benediktiner- zur Staatsuniversität. Vom werden der Salzburger 'Alma Mater'" In *Bürgerliche Freiheit und christliche Verantwortung: Festschrift für Christoph Link zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by Heinrich De Wall and Michael Germann, Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 2003, 787-826, here 805.

⁶⁷⁴ See *Czas* on various occasions between November and late February 1910.

⁶⁷⁵ *Czas*, 11.2.1911; *NFP*, 11.2.1911; Konarski, Stanisław, "'Zimmermanniada' w Uniwersytecie

The trio of the Wahrmund, Feilbogen, and Zimmermann affairs indicated as well the importance of the public sphere in university policy. Although on various occasions public opinion (equally student protests and press coverage) influenced appointments and promotions at the level of faculty. At the turn of the century the parallelization of public spheres and the aggressive involvement of students and political parties forced university policy to walk a thin line between religion, the nation, and political alignment. The university became an ideological battlefield, as it was a theater of national conflict previously. The outbreaks of 1907-1910 were only the heyday of processes of street democratization, caused by the disappointment (and belated emergence) in representative democracy by groups perceiving their marginal influence on politics. The Ministry addressed all cases the most secure way – as the protests threatened stability (Italian university, Wahrmund, Ruthenian university), the Ministry took actions which would mitigate the unstable atmosphere. In cases of local influence (Feilbogen, Zimmermann, early conflict on Ruthenian university), however, responsibility was given to universities or local administration.

The symbolic strengthening of university autonomy in 1908 led to the conservation of already existing structures and the acceptance of *de facto* existing confessional differentiation. The Ministry was left no sanctioned possibility of influence in academic policy which could not be contested as breaking the promises the minister made at the behest of the parliament.

* * *

The issue of the promotion of Catholicism remained prominent in the questions of appointments throughout the liberal period of Monarchy. Catholic confession was often mentioned in the curriculums for habilitation, and especially in Bohemia frequently included the designation “of German origin” at the German University in Prague. On several occasions the Ministry and faculties addressed directly or indirectly the issue of confession, which attests to the fact that the questions were asked from the Catholic standpoint. The description of Franz/Ferenz Tangl in the act of his (unsuccessful) appointment proposal for the chair of physiology in Innsbruck demonstrated this situation clearly: Tangl was described in the first point as the

Jagiellońskim (1910-1911)," here 183. See also minister Stürgkh's commentary in *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrathes im Jahre 1911. XX. Session. V Band, 82. bis 91. Sitzung (S. 4771 bis 5675.)*. Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1911 – XX Session, 91. Sitzung, Freitag am 10. Februar 1911, 5235-5321, here 5240-5243.

“offspring of a German Catholic family, which came in the eighteenth century from Thuringia to Moravia and from there to Hungary.”⁶⁷⁶ It was then mentioned that German was his mother tongue, and only in the fourth place, after presenting his scientific career, his idea of science was shortly presented: “physiology of the modern direction, which address the subject with means of chemical method.”⁶⁷⁷

Especially the chairs of history and philosophy as constituencies of broadly understood moral and national education remained seminal in the eyes of the Ministry, which did not shrink from appointments against the will of the faculty. In Vienna around the turn of the century the Ministry particularly confronted the faculty on several occasions. In 1899, Innsbruck *Privatdozent* Joseph Hirn was appointed for the important chair of Austrian history, although the Faculty did not consider him adequate for the chair and rejected including him in the proposal. The Ministry (Arthur Bylandt-Rheydt) considered this omission a result of Hirn being considered an exponent of “conservative and Catholic historiography”⁶⁷⁸ and notwithstanding this proposed his appointment. Hirn was certainly not the first declared Catholic historian to have a chair in Vienna; his predecessor, Alfons Huber, was a similarly engaged Catholic appointed from Innsbruck. Appointing Hirn, however, the Ministry strengthened the position of ultramontanism in Vienna, as opposed to liberal Catholicism. Similarly, August Fournier was promoted twice against the will of the Faculty, at first in Prague in 1883 and then in Vienna in 1903, where he gained the chair of general history and was appointed director of the historical seminar. In the latter appointment, the Ministry clearly defined who could be professor of history. After the *primo loco* nominee Paul Scheffer-Boichorst died suddenly in 1902, the second proposal of the university met with complete rejection: *primo loco* proposed Felix Rachfahl was from the German Empire and not considered. *Secundo loco*, Johann Loserth, rejected the call, *ex aequo* Otto Zwiedineck-Südenhorst’s political engagement was “not always completely correct,” and finally the *tertio loco* Alfred Přibram “seems [...] due to his [Jewish – J.S.] descent less adequate for the chair.”⁶⁷⁹ Fournier, whose inclusion in the proposal was requested by the Ministry for the second proposal, was seen in the Faculty not only as a more active politician (at first for

⁶⁷⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1003, PA Tangl, Z. 32116, 21.9.1904.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 637, PA Hirn, Z. 20935, 5.8.1899.

⁶⁷⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 635, PA Fournier, Z. 8811, 6.8.1903.

Vereinigte deutsche Linke and then one of its splinter party) but also as a specialist for political history and thus not appropriate candidate for the chair with a specialization on Middle Ages. The Ministry decided, however, for the Prague scholar, following the tradition of Vienna-Prague contacts and probably also supporting Fournier who from the time of his appointment in 1883 expressed his unhappiness about his position in Bohemia.⁶⁸⁰

With these appointments, the Ministry followed the line of appointing Catholic scholars for the chair of history in Vienna, and the Innsbruck school of Julius Ficker was probably as important as the Institute for Austrian Historical Research. Apart from Hirn four other students of Julius Ficker gained full professorships in Vienna – Engelbert Mühlbacher, Emil Ottenthal, Oswald Redlich and Hans Voltolini (the last at the Law Faculty), and for the chair of history in Graz Arnold Busson. (After his death Mühlbacher was proposed *primo loco*, Ministry decided though for Catholic historian of Protestantism Johann Loserth from Chernivtsi). Only Prague developed an independent school of historiography, dominated by local historians – Mathias Pangerl, Josef Emler or the Viennese scholars Fournier and his successor Samuel Steinherz. This was certainly influenced by a concentration on the development of the auxiliary sciences of history, which was most successful among Ficker's students and was desired for clearly political reasons since Helfert.⁶⁸¹ But the overall demonstration of Catholicism in this matter influenced the general development of historiography at the universities, in which Innsbruck scholars had the saying.

The second center of Catholic interest remained philosophy. Its situation was to a large extent an outcome of the teaching of Franz Brentano, appointed in 1873, and recommended by Hermann Lotze and Franz Karl Lott, among others, due to his 'professional' philosophical approach. Whilst a Catholic priest and strongly working on liberal-Catholic philosophy,⁶⁸² Brentano opposed ultramontanism and then the

⁶⁸⁰ Kolář, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Zentraleuropa*, 156.

⁶⁸¹ During the appointment process of Josef Emler for the chair of auxiliary history in Prague in 1879 minister Stremayr defined the function of the chair: it should concentrate at history of the Monarchy but "the representatives of this discipline at the provincial universities should at the same time, and in the first place, turn their attention to the sources of their province and prepare the material for the treatment of special history of respective provinces." (ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1128, PA Emler, Z. 9709, 13.7.1879).

⁶⁸² See for example Schaefer, Richard, "Infallibility and Intentionality: Franz Brentano's Diagnosis of German Catholicism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, no. 3 (2007): 477-499; cf. also Schmied-Kowarzik, Wolfdietrich, "Vergessene Impulse der Wiener Philosophie um die Jahrhundertwende.

newly prescribed papal infallibility. In accordance with these convictions Brentano withdrew from the priesthood and his position as professor in Würzburg. Opposition to all-encompassing Papal authority, however, was exactly what Lott (who seemed to have communicated with the Ministry) and Stremayer, a proponent of reducing Catholic influence on the state, clearly approved of, precisely at the moment loosening the Concordat of 1855.⁶⁸³ In 1880, to enable him to marry Ida Lieben, which was not legally possible for ordained priests in the Monarchy, Brentano moved for a short time to Sachsen. As the move was linked with a change of citizenship, it automatically cancelled his professorship, which was neither returned to him, nor subsequently filled. A proponent of modern philosophy, based on natural sciences and psychology, Brentano remained at the university as a *Privatdozent* (unanimously accepted by the Faculty without habilitation procedures),⁶⁸⁴ hoping for future appointment. In the following years the ministers denied such a chance though, which led finally to Brentano resigning from his position in 1895.⁶⁸⁵ In his time as full professor, however, Brentano was able to influence Stremayer to appoint two of his student for professors – Anton Marty in Chernivtsi in 1875 and Carl Stumpf for the chair in Prague – who both wrote their dissertations under supervision of Lotze. Marty was also a priest, but left the priesthood shortly after Brentano; Stumpf attended the ecclesiastical seminary, leaving it in 1870.⁶⁸⁶ Both were something of a rarity in the Monarchy: Marty, whom Brentano proposed also for Prague, was Swiss, not habilitated and graduated only shortly before the appointment, which, as the Chernivtsi University was opened the same year, took place (probably) without a

Eine philosophische Skizze wider den main stream verdrängenden Erinnerns." In *Die Wiener Jahrhundertwende. Einflüsse - Umwelt - Wirkungen*, edited by Jürgen Nautz and Richard Vahrenkamp, Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1993, 181-201

⁶⁸³ See the letter of Franz Lott to Hermann Lotze from 22.08.1872, reprinted in Lotze, Hermann, *Briefe und Dokumente, zusammengestellt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Reinhardt Pester, mit einem Vorwort herausgegeben von Ernst Wolfgang Orth*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003, 572-573; ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 634, PA Brenano, Z. 9206, 30.12.1873.

⁶⁸⁴ UAW, Phil 230 Franz Brentano, Z. 662, 20.6.1880.

⁶⁸⁵ See Brentano, Franz Clemens, *Meine letzten Wünsche für Oesterreich*. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1895. (published at first in *NFP*, 2./5./8.12.1894)

⁶⁸⁶ Stumpf, Karl, "Erinnerungen an Franz Brentano." In *Franz Brentano : zur Kenntnis seines Lebens und seiner Lehre*, edited by Oskar Kraus, München: Beck, 1919, 87-149, especially 116-118; Rollinger, Robin, "Anton Marty." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2008 Edition)*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2008 (online: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2008/entries/marty/>, last access 13.07.2011); Fisette, Denis, "Carl Stumpf." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2009 Edition)*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2009 (online: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/stumpf/>, last access 13.07.2011).

terna proposal. Stumpf was not included in Prague's *terna*, on which the minister consulted with Brentano and decided against the Faculty, who explicitly wanted a historian of philosophy;⁶⁸⁷ moreover, Stumpf was to be appointed from Würzburg. Notwithstanding Brentano's problems with the church and administration, his students achieved high positions, including several full professorships: for example Franz Hillebrand (1896 Innsbruck, *primo loco*),⁶⁸⁸ Anton Marty (1879 full professor in Chernivtsi, 1880 appointed to Prague, *primo loco*),⁶⁸⁹ Alexius Meinong (Graz 1882, not in *terna*),⁶⁹⁰ Kazimierz Twardowski (1895 L'viv, *unico loco*),⁶⁹¹ Christian Ehrenfels (1896 at German University in Prague, not in *terna*)⁶⁹² and Thomas Masaryk (1882 at the Czech University in Prague).⁶⁹³ This influence was not seen as entirely positive, and Brentano had opponents in Vienna: Ernst Mach commented on the occasion of choosing a candidate for his chair sarcastically: "This school leaves marks on everybody, now, they will be striped off earlier by the most outstanding [scholars]." ⁶⁹⁴ Mach though at the same time acknowledged Brentano's students – Hillebrand, Husserl, Meinong – assessing them as independent scholars but overtly influenced by the Viennese philosopher. Among the skeptics of Brentano was also Friedrich Jodl, whose appointments show scientific and administrative maneuvering between religion and philosophy.

When, in 1885, the chair of philosophy at the German University in Prague after Stumpf vacated, the Faculty proposed three German scholars for succession: Richard Avenarius from Zürich, Jodl from Munich and Theodor Lipps from Bonn. Minister Eybesfeld decided for Jodl, the justification of his decision demonstrating that in the twenty years since Thun, the Ministry still sought the approval of the church for philosophical matters:

⁶⁸⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Stumpf, Z. 5599, 15.4.1879. The *terna*, explicitly stating that the Faculty desired a historian of philosophy included Rudolf Eucken (Jena), Julius Walter (Königsberg), Julius Hirzel (Leipzig) and Kohn (Halle), was rejected, stating, that most important are "achievements at the proper field of philosophy."

⁶⁸⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1015, PA Hillebrand, Z. 15333, 22.7.1896.

⁶⁸⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 1130, PA Marty, Z. 1539, 20.3.1880.

⁶⁹⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasc. 899, PA Meinong, Z. 16982, 11.10.1882.

⁶⁹¹ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 121u, PA Twardowski, Z. 686, 16.6.1895.

⁶⁹² NA, MKV/R, inv.č 9, fasz. 112, PA Ehrenfels, Z. 15334, 22.6.1896.

⁶⁹³ In general see Smith, Barry, *Austrian Philosophy. The Legacy of Franz Brentano*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1994.

⁶⁹⁴ UAW, Ph S 34.15, Ernst Mach, 1.7.1901.

In this concern it was welcomed by me, that the late archbishop of Prague Cardinal Schwarzenberg took short time before his passing off, the occasion to discuss with me the question of the appointment for the intended chair, for which he was lively interested, and in this connection indicated the appointment of dr. Jodl as particularly recommendable.⁶⁹⁵

Taking religion into account had not considerably changed ten years later, as the appointment for the chair after Robert Zimmermann was to be decided. From the *ex aequo* proposed scholars Benno Erdmann was German and Protestant, Alois Riehl was decidedly rejected concerning the Catholic authorities, “which Riehl seemed to brusquely oppose in Freiburg and which he hurt through his conversion to Protestantism.”⁶⁹⁶ The third proposed scholar was the liberal-Catholic Friedrich Jodl, already known for his opposition to Ultramontanism and participation in anticlerical organizations. While Gautsch criticized Riehl for conflicts with religious authorities, he did not use the same argument in respect to Jodl – probably also because Ernst Mach lobbied for the appointment of the Prague scholar in the Ministry.⁶⁹⁷

The swift appointment for the vacating chair after Brentano, which was conducted shortly thereafter, indicates to what extent the Ministry was acting in mediation with the church at the time. Earlier proposals for this chair – in 1894 (Anton Marty, Friedrich Jodl, Wilhelm Windelband)⁶⁹⁸ and in 1895 (Erdmann and Eucken) – were unsuccessful and rejected by the Ministry, which had appointed Brentano’s student Franz Hillebrand as associate professor and seen it as replacement of the scholar.⁶⁹⁹ In 1896, the situation changed swiftly, especially as Hillebrand was appointed professor to Innsbruck as successor of Wildauer, precisely at the same time as Jodl came to Vienna. The committee, with Ernst Mach as chair, decided that to balance Jodl a historian of philosophy should be appointed – proposing *primo loco* the idealistic historian and Lotze’s student Richard Falckenberg and *secundo loco* historian and philosopher of Religion Hermann Siebeck, both full professors, the first in Erlangen, the latter in Giessen. This vote, accepted with an overwhelming majority (41:2) was opposed by Zimmermann, who in his turn proposed priest and professor of

⁶⁹⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1129, PA Jodl, Z. 5681, 9.4.1885.

⁶⁹⁶ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 637, PA Jodl, Z. 7305, 8.4.1896.

⁶⁹⁷ Lanser, Edith, "Friedrich Jodl: Von Feuerbach zur Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur." *newsletter Moderne. Zeitschrift des Spezialforschungsbereichs Moderne - Wien und Zentraleuropa um 1900* 6, no. 2 (2003): 16-20.

⁶⁹⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 637, PA Hillebrand, Z. 12225, 13.6.1894.

⁶⁹⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 640, PA Mach, Z. 7895, 15.4.1895.

Christian philosophy at the Theological Faculty in Vienna, Laurenz Müllner. On 18th May, forty days after Jodl's appointment, Müllner was appointed at the Philosophical Faculty, with the pronounced mission to teach Catholic philosophy.⁷⁰⁰

With this decision, within two years two priests had been transferred from theological faculties to teach philosophy, the first being Stefan Pawlicki in Cracow. In this case, though, it was the Faculty that proposed this transfer, although it was opposed by the only philosopher in Cracow, Maurycy Straszewski, who proposed Wincenty Lutosławski, a young scholar from Kazan. Pawlicki, whose early ideas linked Catholicism and positivism, in later years successfully defended the university from the unwelcomed trends in philosophy, for example, antagonizing Lutosławski while he was teaching in Cracow or – criticizing ‘materialism’ – opposing the creation of the institute of experimental psychology.⁷⁰¹

The appointments of Jodl, Müllner and Pawlicki illustrate the general trend of Habsburg philosophy, which at the university constantly mediated with religion, or was even in conflict with it. As an academic discipline philosophy was linked with pedagogy, and they had been separated only in the last decades of the century, bringing academic philosophy into a dilemma on how to cope with such belated change. With two chairs initially, philosophy was divided into one professorship devoted to natural sciences and the second focusing on historical aspects, devoted to “social and moral pedagogy.”⁷⁰²

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Catholic scholars (and Wahrmond) were not the only people whose mobility was influenced by confessional issues. One of the most pressing questions, discussed in aforementioned debates, was that of Jewish scholars. Still, while the controversies over appointments of Jewish scholars were broadly discussed, this issue remained almost completely absent from the official records of the university and Ministry, making precise statements on the confession of professors and *Privatdozenten*

⁷⁰⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 640, PA Müllner, Z. 11935, 18.5.1896.

⁷⁰¹ Bobrowska-Nowak, Wanda, *Początki polskiej psychologii*. Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich/PAN, 1973. A large number of manuscripts of Pawlicki's unpublished lectures, giving a good insight in his philosophical ideology, can be found in the holdings of Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. See also the rather uncritical biography Mylik, Mirosław, *Stefan Pawlicki jeden z prekursorów nauki polskiej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2005

⁷⁰² Quotation from the documents on successor of Müllner, ÖStA, AVA, fasc. 638, PA Kraus, Z. 5651, 7.2.1913.

impossible. This is especially important as in several cases Jewish scholars converted to Protestantism or Catholicism, in order to facilitate their careers at universities - for example, jurist and sociologist Ludwik Gumpłowicz or historian Max Büdinger.⁷⁰³ Conversions, clearly not only for career reasons but also for marriage or ideological conviction, remained frequent at least until 1918.⁷⁰⁴ Although the religious declaration was not requested in documents on habilitation, annotation on Mosaic confession or (more seldom) Jewish origin can be found only in several papers, as different as of Berthold Hatschek in 1879 and of Harry Torczyner (Naftali Herz Tur-Sinai) in 1913.⁷⁰⁵ Still, as noted before, one would have to consider different definitions of Jewishness for conclusions of its influence on appointment policy, for which one would also have to consider the political alignment of the faculty and the Ministry. In most cases it remains impossible to read from the official records whether or not scholars were rejected because of their Jewish confession/origin. Cracow historian Urszula Perkowska noted in her analysis of habilitations in Cracow, that in many cases she could hardly understand the reasons for declining habilitations and suspected conservative-Catholic clique of the university.⁷⁰⁶ Similarly, one can find rejections of habilitations without any given reasons, for example, Ludwig Hofbauer's habilitation in Vienna was rejected in 1906 and 1913 due to "his personality."⁷⁰⁷ Only in seldom cases one can find direct statements, for example that of Ludwik Gumpłowicz, whose anticlericalism was the main reason named for the rejection of his habilitation thesis.⁷⁰⁸ At the same time, the discursive construction of a Jewish scholar undergoes strong change. In the Vormärz and the 1850s it was confession which counted; converted scholars like philosophers Johann Heinrich Löwe in Vienna, Karl Barach-Rappaport in L'viv (later Innsbruck), or civil jurist Joseph Unger in Vienna⁷⁰⁹ were seen as Catholics. Later in the nineteenth century,

⁷⁰³ Liebeschütz, Hans, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber*. Vol. 17, *Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1967, 70.

⁷⁰⁴ See Staudacher, Anna L., '*... meldet den Austritt aus dem mosaischen Glauben' 18000 Austritte aus dem Judentum in Wien, 1868-1914: Namen - Quellen - Daten*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009, with frequent names of scholars (marked as such, although not thoroughly, in the footnotes).

⁷⁰⁵ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 636, PA Hatschek; fasz. 645, PA Harry Torczyner.

⁷⁰⁶ Perkowska, *Kształtowanie się zespołu naukowego*.

⁷⁰⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 600, PA Ludwig Hofbauer.

⁷⁰⁸ See e.g. Surman, Mozetič (eds.), *Dwa życia Ludwika Gumpłowicza*, 28-33.

⁷⁰⁹ Staudacher, Anna L., *Jüdische Konvertiten in Wien 1782-1868. Teil I*. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2002, 230-231.

differently defined and ascribed cultural/ethnic affiliation replaced confession as marker of Jewishness, especially in the public and political eye.

In the 1850s and 1860s, scholars of Jewish confession had almost no possibility to teach at the university, although a number of *Privatdozenten* for Hebrew and rabbinic language were allowed from 1848 in Vienna, Prague and L'viv.⁷¹⁰ More complicated was the issue of other subjects, and professorship in general. Here the university was subordinated to more external legal factors, like the position of professors as state officials or the issue of deanery/rectorate – the latter being problematic already in cases of Protestants. This also included schools in general which were to remain Catholic. This was assured in the Concordat, from which, however, the universities were left out.⁷¹¹ Until 1867/1868 additional political discrimination remained in effect, including locations, property, taxation etc. Shortly after their confirmation in 1853 they resulted in almost instant strong protests, but were accompanied also by a falling number of Jewish students at the universities, as given these obstacles, studying constituted less viable a vehicle for social mobility.⁷¹² The atmosphere of confessional discrimination, especially after the concordat, was such that – using Theodor Gomperz's words – the “path for professor has been closed for the Jews,”⁷¹³ thus discouraging Jews from applying for the position of *Privatdozent* – including medical studies, where only in 1861 the first scholar of the Jewish confession was appointed associate professor (Hermann Zeissl in Vienna, *Privatdozent* for “primary and consecutive syphilis”). Characteristic here is the case of Hermann Rosenberg in L'viv. While the Ministry initially stated that confession cannot be decisive in the habilitation procedures, his petition was ultimately rejected, with the justification that while for most disciplines a Jewish *Privatdozent* would be

⁷¹⁰ Vienna: Jakob Goldenthal (*Privatdozent* 1848, associate professor 1849), Prague: Wolfgang Wessely (teacher from 1846, *Privatdozent* 1848, associate professor 1849 – at the Law Faculty, joined with Austrian penal law) and Saul Isaak Kaempf (*Privatdozent* 1850, associate professor 1860), L'viv: Lazar Elias Igel (*Privatdozent* 1850) and Ephraim Blücher (teacher). See Wilke, Carsten, “*Den Talmud und den Kant*”. *Rabbinerausbildung an der Schwelle zur Moderne*. Hildesheim: Olms, 2003, 595; Baron, Salo W., “The Revolution of 1848 and Jewish Scholarship: Part II: Austria.” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 20 (1951): 1-100.

⁷¹¹ The concordat was however problematic for the *Privatdozenten*, who were often also teachers. See (on the Protestant chemist Vojtěch Šafařík) Niklíček, Ladislav, Irena Manová, and Bohumil Hájek, “Profesor Vojtěch Šafařík a počátky výuky chemie na české univerzitě v Praze.” *AUC-HUCP* 22, no. 1 (1982): 71-93, here 74-75.

⁷¹² Friedmann, Filip, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848-1868)*. Frankfurt am Main / Łódź: J. Kaufmann / F. Friedmann, 1929, 34-39, 79-84, 134-141

⁷¹³ From Theodor Gomperz, *Essays und Erinnerungen*, 24, quoted after Feichtinger, *Wissenschaft als Reflexives Projekt*, 164.

acceptable, teaching philosophy (and in this case philosophy of law) was reserved for Catholics only.⁷¹⁴ Anti-Semitic ideas were present in media as well, for example, in Sebastian Brunner's *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, or the writings of Galician conservative ideologists (intensified around 1860s as a reaction to rumors on legal emancipation), ideologically influential in academia/university/Ministry circles.⁷¹⁵

Most careers of scholars of Jewish confession therefore foundered on the first steps of academic career – Lazar Elias Igel remained *Privatdozent*, Jacob Goldenthal was associate professor, but his appointment for full professorship (propoeed by the Faculty in 1860 and in 1868) were rejected, officially due to low numbers of students and thus of low importance for university.⁷¹⁶ In Prague Isaak Kaempff received an associate professorship only in 1860. Wolfgang Wessely was appointed associate professor in 1849 and was in 1851 moved to an associate chair of criminal law, with additional lectures on Hebrew language and literature for philosophers – and gained full professorship only in 1861.⁷¹⁷ With the independence of rabbinical education⁷¹⁸ from universities, Hebrew language and philology as a discipline entered the universities only around 1900, being separated from the overarching field of Indo-Germanic oriental languages even after Sanskrit, having also fewer habilitations than other philological subjects. The coming of the new discipline (although in some cases it included Arabic languages) was typical for the monarchy – with the first full professorship in Vienna (1885), then in Prague (1892), and later at other faculties, including L'viv.⁷¹⁹ The professionalization of Semitic philology, which was taught as

⁷¹⁴ See the annotation of a (probably set ad hoc) Vienna Commission (Thun, Joseph Mozart, Feil) on non-importance of petitioner's confession in AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 117u, PA Rosenberg, Z. 9458, 4.12.1854 (concerning earlier applications); rejection of Rosenberg for teaching philosophy: DALO 26/7/43, Z. 427, 19.9.1854.

⁷¹⁵ See for example Helvig, Jean-Michel, *Antijudaïsme ou antisémitisme le procès Sebastian Brunner - Ignaz Kuranda (10 mai 1860) ; mémoire de DEA, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne*. Paris, 1996; Eisenbach, Arthur, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785-1870 na tle europejskim*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1988, 436-443.

⁷¹⁶ ÖStA, AVA, fasz. 636, PA Goldental, Z. 6398/209, 8.5.1860; Z. 11026, 16.12.1868.

⁷¹⁷ Kisch, Guido, *Die Prager Universität und die Juden, 1348-1848. Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Medizinstudiums*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1969, 63-67

⁷¹⁸ Including academic *Landesrabbinerschule* in Budapest (1877) and *Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt* in Vienna (1893)

⁷¹⁹ David Heinrich Müller (full professor in Vienna 1885), Gustav Bickell (converted, appointed 1892 to Vienna from Theological Faculty in Innsbruck, where was professor of Christian archeology and Semitic languages), Max Grünert (Prague 1892), August Haffner (associate professor Innsbruck 1906), Nikolaus Rhodokanakis (associate professor in Graz 1907, full professor 1917), Moses Schorr (associate professor in L'viv 1910) and Rudolf Růžička (*Privatdozent* at the Czech University in Prague 1909). Haffner and Rhodokanakis habilitated in Vienna, Schorr studied in Vienna before moving to L'viv.

Hebrew language at the Theological Faculty as well, meant that it was not exclusive in respect to the confession of scholars, with Gustav Bickell, converted Jew and politically involved Catholic holding the chair of Semitic languages in Vienna from 1892.⁷²⁰ Similarly limited was the activity of the readers – while all universities included readers of French, Italian and English, most often Czech, Russian or/and Ruthenian, Yiddish or Hebrew were not taught regularly at universities. Even more rare languages were instructed on a regular basis, for example Armenian in L'viv, Lithuanian in Cracow, Spanish, Modern Greek and Hungarian in Vienna.

Jewish scholars met with diverse obstacles on their way to acceptance as scholars with equal rights with other confessions. Although officially habilitations did not take confession into account, and in 1867 Jewish emancipation was proclaimed, the general atmosphere of polite hostility in society and the university certainly inhibited them from entering the academia. This included both Jews migrating from the east to the capital, being seen as 'others' and victims of a clear *othering*, as well as in Galicia or Bohemia, where they were trapped between assimilation and *othering*.⁷²¹ To mention statistics as a point of reference in the Habsburg discourse, around 1890 Jewish inhabitants constituted around 9% of Vienna's population (with rapid growth from 2% in 1857), 9% in Prague, and around 30% in Cracow, L'viv and Chernivtsi – with smaller numbers but a growth tendency, especially after 1900, in Graz and Innsbruck.⁷²² At the university in Vienna, youth of the Jewish confession made up

⁷²⁰ Bautz, Friedrich Wilhelm, "Bickell, Gustav, Orientalist." In *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, edited by Idem. Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 1990, 579-580. See also Bihl, Wolfdieter, *Orientalistik an der Universität Wien: Forschungen zwischen Maghreb und Ost- und Südasiens: die Professoren und Dozenten*. Wien: Böhlau, 2009, 60 and short biographies of Müller (42-46), Torczyner (99) and Rhodokanakis (73-74).

⁷²¹ Buchen, Tim, *Antisemitismus in Galizien. Agitation, Gewalt und Politik gegen Juden in der Habsburger Monarchie um 1900*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Technische Universität Berlin, 2011; Soboń, Marcin, *Polacy wobec Żydów w Galicji doby autonomicznej w latach 1868-1914*. Kraków: Verso, 2011; Roszbacher, Karlheinz, *Literatur und Bürgertum. Fünf Wiener jüdische Familien von der liberalen Ära zum Fin de Siècle*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2003, esp. 226-321. See also an interesting view from the postcolonial perspective in John, Michael and Albert Lichtblau, "Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz. Two divergent examples of Jewish communities in the far east of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." In *Jewries at the frontier: accommodation, identity, conflict* edited by Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 29-66.

⁷²² See esp. Rabinbach, Anton G., "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880." *AHY* 11 (1975): 43-54; Rozenblit, Marsha L., "A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna." *AHY* 19, no. 01 (1983): 143-152; Wróbel, Piotr, "The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918." *AHY* 25 (1994): 97-138; Broszat, Martin, "Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe: Die nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert." *Historische Zeitschrift* 200, no. 3 (1965): 572-605; Plattner, Irmgard, "La città di Innsbruck alla svolta del secolo." In *Università e nazionalismi: Innsbruck 1904 e l'assalto alla Facoltà di giurisprudenza italiana*,

around 1/3 of all students, the trend falling after its peak in 1885, with a prevalence in medical and law studies; at universities in Prague (later German University), Cracow and L'viv between 20% and 30%, in Chernivtsi in some semesters more than 50% at the Law Faculty, with similar disciplinary division.⁷²³ In the Viennese and Prague cases, Jewish students were thus over represented as to overall population, in Galicia and Bukovina the proportions were representative of the general population. In Graz and Innsbruck, numbers were low, including no students of Jewish confession in Tyrol in some semesters.

At the same time, estimates for Vienna indicate that around 10% of professorial appointments were Jews, but the number of Jewish *Privatdozenten* was much higher.⁷²⁴ Though the exact number for Prague is unknown, in 1907 it was considered disproportionally high, although with similar a hierarchical tendency as in Vienna of less Jewish scholars the higher the academic hierarchy; statistics for Chernivtsi indicate similarly 10% of Jewish professors in Chernivtsi, and the number was statistically negligible at other universities.⁷²⁵ This perceived disparity was often discussed in public and merged with traditional Catholic anti-Semitism, nourishing the 'popular' image of *Verjudung* of scientific institutions. One must add, however, that it was precisely Catholic-based anti-Semitism – already of racial variety – which

edited by Günther Pallaver and Michael Gehler, Trento: Fondazione Museo storico del Trentino, 2010, 47-80; Haas, "Die sprachlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in Österreich," see also the critique of Habsburg statsics, e.g. Ibid; Kilcher, Andreas B., "Sprachdiskurse im jüdischen Prag um 1900." In *Franz Kafka im Sprachnationalen Kontext seiner Zeit. Sprache und nationale Identität in öffentlichen Institutionen der böhmischen Länder*, edited by Marek Nekula, Ingrid Fleischmann and Abrecht Greule, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007, 61-86, here 61-62;

⁷²³ Wistrich, Robert S., *Die Juden Wiens im Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs*. Wien: Böhlau, 1999, 55-56; Pešek, Jiří, "Jüdische Studenten an den Prager Universitäten 1882-1939." In Nekula, Fleischmann, Greule (eds.), *Franz Kafka im sprachnationalen Kontext seiner Zeit*, 213-227; Kulczykowski, Mariusz, *Żydzi - studenci Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie autonomicznej Galicji : (1867-1918)*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 1995; Thon, Jakob, "Anteil der Juden am Hochschulstudium in Oesterreich seit dem Jahre 1851." *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, no. 3 (1907): 33-38, and further issues with statistics for following years.

⁷²⁴ Cohen, Gary B., *Education and Middle-class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918*. West Lafayette/Indiana: Purdue University Press 1996, 232-233; Steven Beller (*Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: a cultural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991, 36) estimates the proportion of Jewish scholars in Vienna 1910 with around 40% (between 50-60% of the Medical Faculty, 21% of the Philosophical Faculty) uses though names as markers of confession not taking conversions into account.

⁷²⁵ For example two in Innsbruck in 1907 and none in Graz the same year. Due to conversion, name change issue (e.g. Leon Halban [Blumenstock]) and usual lack of any notice on confession in biographical works, numbers for Galicia are hard to elaborate on. A statement which can be sporadically found in the literature, that there were no Jewish scholars at the Polish-language universities is however certainly false. For Chernivtsi see Prokopowitsch, Erich, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josefs-Universität in Czernowitz*. Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Pieper, 1955, 38, number for juridical and philosophical faculties.

has to be considered here as a public cultural *othering*, affecting, especially in Vienna, assimilated Jews who saw themselves members of ‘German’ bourgeoisie. This was a situation similar to Poles of the Mosaic confession – including those clearly nationally aligned like Gumpłowicz, Natanson, or Askenazy. The issue of assimilation was perceived differently by the actors – ranging from a sign of ‘civilization’ and ‘progress’ (*Haskalah* and Reform Judaism, liberal and socialist press) to images of racial and cultural decadence (Christian-Social parties, radical nationalists) – with nationalist imaginary dominating in the course of the century.

A discussion led in the Polish-language journal *Krytyka* in 1914 illustrates this problem. In a reaction to a letter to the editor describing several cases of Jewish assistants at the Medical Faculty of the Cracow University, who were declined the possibility of habilitation and emigrated, anonymous “doctor K.L.” – from the tone of the article neither Jewish himself nor really a philo-Semite – claimed it a loss for Polish science: while the Faculty was now closed for Jewish scholars, Józef Oettinger, Antoni Rosner and Leon Blumenstock were previously a considerable enrichment to Polish scholarship.⁷²⁶ Reactions to this article were of one sort: writers of letters argued that there were countless examples of Poles who could not get university positions and thus one should not criticize that Jews are not promoted, but rather, for the sake of Polish scholarship, promote Poles, that is – not mentioned, but clearly implicated – Catholics.⁷²⁷ One can note, that there were several Jewish professors in Galicia, like Natanson (converted), classical philologist Leon Sternbach or Józef Rosenblat (Law Faculty) in Cracow, comparative linguist Gustav Gerson Blatt, zoologist Nusbaum-Hilarowicz (converted the year after professorial appointment), Moses/Mojżesz Schorr or Ludwik Ehrlich (Law Faculty) in L’viv, with similarly several *Privatdozenten*, predominantly in L’viv – with numbers rising only after 1918.⁷²⁸ One finds also a preponderance of Jewish scholars among Galicia-born, germanophone-university habilitated scholars,⁷²⁹ part of whom also began their

⁷²⁶ Dr. K.L., “Żydzi na uniwersytecie.” *Krytyka* 16, no. 41 (1914): 389-391.

⁷²⁷ See *Krytyka*, no. 41 (1914): 116-119, 179-181, 239-242.

⁷²⁸ In the first years after 1918, than, due to growing anti-Semitism and discussions on *numerus clausus* rule, setting back. See, most importantly, Kulczykowski, Mariusz, *Żydzi – studenci*, 329-334. From the named only Moses Schorr can be assured not to be converted.

⁷²⁹ Most known Friedrich Pineles, Sigmund Fraenkel, Jacob Erdheim, Josef Herzig, Max Margules, Leon Kellner, Sigmund Herzberg-Fränkell, Cäsar Pomeranz, three latter were later also professors in Chernvtsi – overall number of Galicia-born scholars at the germanophone universities was however small.

studies in Cracow or L'viv. This fact points to the trend K.L. mentioned – although as there is insufficient data on the situation leading to the migration and number of conversions, this statement should be taken with caution.

The most prominent issue one should consider here was the latent and manifest anti-Semitism among scholars and students.⁷³⁰ The most well-known act of anti-Semitism, Theodor Billroth's book *The medical sciences in the German universities: A study in the history of civilization* (*Über das Lehren und Lernen der medizinischen Wissenschaften an den Universitäten der deutschen Nation*), in which the author used a stereotype of low-income Jewish student from Galicia to claim the downgrade of Vienna University, was withdrawn.⁷³¹ But Billroth's argument remained influential and was used, for example, in speeches of 1907. Adolf Wahrmund (professor at *Kunstakademie*) or August Rohling (professor of theology in Prague) published widely read and translated pamphlets with anti-Semitic contents, supported by their academic authority. After the rise of right-wing parties, not infrequently with reference to Catholicism (Christian Socials in Austria, an independent Czech Christian Social party from 1894, and National Democracy in Galicia), and through the consolidation of opposing fronts due to political affairs (Tiszaeszlár-, Dreyfus-, Hilsner-Affair), anti-Semitism in its modern racial version gained a firm place in the political landscape of the Monarchy.⁷³² Harsh commentaries which appeared in press claiming the Jewishness of Wahrmund,⁷³³ Masaryk and in 1910 on students protesting against Zimmermann⁷³⁴ in cases where they only opposed

⁷³⁰ See for example on latent antisemitism at the academia Scheichl, Sigurd Paul, "The Context and Nuances of Anti-Jewish Language: Were all the 'Antisemites' Antisemites?" In *Jews, Antisemitism, and culture in Vienna*, edited by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak and Gerhard Both, London, New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987, 89-110.

⁷³¹ Billroth, Theodor, *The medical sciences in the German Universities: a study in the history of civilization*. Translated from the German. With an introduction by William H. Welch. New York: MacMillan, 1924, e.g. 106-107. More on this issue in Seebacher, Felicitas, "'Der operierte Chirurg'. Theodor Billroths Deutschnationalismus und akademischer Antisemitismus." *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 56 (2006): 317-338 and Buklijas, Tatjana, "Surgery and national identity in late nineteenth-century Vienna." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007): 756-774.

⁷³² See for example Porter, *When nationalism began to hate*; Frankl, Michal, "*Emancipace od židů*" *Český antisemitismus na konci 19. Století*. Praha, Litomyšl: Paseka, 2007; Boyer, John W., *Culture and political crisis in Vienna: Christian socialism in power, 1897-1918*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; Idem., *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

⁷³³ Rinnerthaler, "Der Fall Wahrmund. Politische, rechtliche und diplomatische Turbulenzen im Umfeld von Modernismus und Antimodernismus in Österreich," 199.

⁷³⁴ See, from Catholic side: Pawelski, Jan, "Po anarchii uniwersyteckiej." *Przegląd Powszechny* 54, no. 2 (1911): 1-16, esp. 13-15.

Clerical influence, illustrate how radical parties forged a link between Catholicism and anti-Semitism. Indeed, anti-Semitism was prevalent in the mass media and the public, but was not the only, or even most popular, ideology. For example in 1891 in Vienna *The Association for Defense Against Antisemitism* (Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus) was established, one of the founding fathers was professor Hermann Nothnagel; Eduard Suess or Richard Krafft-Ebbing were among its notable members. One can also assume, that for a large number of scholars, confessional differences played no role in the academic process, although after the 1890s radicalizing tendencies of some scholars are visible.

The atmosphere surrounding the appointments of Jewish professors remained oppressive throughout this period. Negative media coverage of the appointments of Emil Zuckerkandl and Julius Tandler⁷³⁵ illustrate the pressure Jewish professors faced. Similarly in Prague, in the 1880s mathematician Seligman Kantor was the victim of street assaults, leading the Faculty to consider him as an inappropriate candidate for the professorship.⁷³⁶ Shortly afterwards, Kantor left the country and moved to Italy. Appointments of Jewish scholars for professorships led to student protests as well – as the case of Mahler in Prague, or the fierce protests of radical right-wing student organizations in Innsbruck 1900 when ophthalmologist Stephan Bernheimer was appointed and the Faculty was confronted with a petition on “purification of the Innsbruck University from Jewish influence.”⁷³⁷ The same university witnessed protests in response to August Haffner’s appointment as professor of Semitic languages being transferred from Theological to Philosophical Faculty.⁷³⁸ This tendency was strengthened by the gradually advancing division of student life across religious and national boundaries, resulting in the creation of parallel publics.⁷³⁹ The ascriptions of confession-based divisions – Greek-Catholic

⁷³⁵ Sablik, Karl, *Julius Tandler, Mediziner und Sozialreformer: eine Biographie*. Wien: A. Schendl, 1983, 31–32.

⁷³⁶ NA, MKV/R, inv.č 9, fasz. 114, PA Kantor.

⁷³⁷ Gehler, Michael, "Studentischer Antisemitismus an der Universität Innsbruck." In *Die Geschichte der Juden in Tirol von den Anfängen bis in die neueste Zeit (Sturzflüge, Nr. 15/16, Mai-August*, edited by Günther Pallaver, Bozen, 1986, 73-87, here 75.

⁷³⁸ Bösch, *Zwischen Franz Joseph I. und Schönerer*, 205-206.

⁷³⁹ See e.g. Čermák, Josef, "Das Kulturleben der Prager deutschen Studenten seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Lese- und Redehalle der deutschen Studenten in Prag " In *Juden zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen. Sprachliche und kulturelle Identitäten in Böhmen 1800-1945*, edited by Marek Nekula and Walter Koschmal, München: Oldenbourg, 2006, 33-64; John, Michael, and Albert Lichtblau, "Mythos 'deutsche Kultur'. Jüdische Gemeinden in Galizien und der Bukowina. Zur unterschiedlichen Ausformung kulturellen Identität." In *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in*

Ruthenians vs. Roman-Catholic Poles or Protestant Hussite Czechs vs. Roman-Catholic Germans – left no obvious influence on appointments and habilitations. It did however aggravate the situation of the ‘others,’ whose nationality was to be defined through confession, which certainly resulted in the exclusion of the religious others – Jews – from the national group. For example, Alfred Přibram’s appointment for full professor of history was blocked several times – in Vienna in 1899, where he was evidently omitted due to his confession,⁷⁴⁰ in Prague in 1900, when he was proposed *primo loco* and gained only a titular professorship,⁷⁴¹ and he finally achieved appointment *ad personam* in Vienna in 1913. Samuel Steinherz, a Jewish historian working extensively in Rome, acquired a full professorship in Prague due to direct support of the influential August Sauer and Theodor Sickel, but the Ministry rejected his proposed appointment to Vienna in 1908.⁷⁴² When Szymon Askenazy was proposed for the professorship of Polish history in L’viv, the combination of his confession and prominent chair of Polish history was too critical for nationalists; this despite Askenazy’s writing on the need for Jewish assimilation and his politically engaged assessment of modern history centuries put the modern Polish nation at the fore more strenuously than did the other historians.⁷⁴³ On the other hand, for example in the 1870s, several scholars of Jewish confession had been appointed by the Ministry notwithstanding the obstacles. For example Adolf Lieben was promoted twice with *terna* violation. In 1871, he was promoted from Turin to Prague while Eduard Linnemann, proposed *primo loco*, came to the Technical Academy in Prague; in 1875 as Lieben was appointed to Vienna from the third place (two other scholars

Österreich, edited by Martina Keil and Eleonore Lappin, Bodenheim: Philo, 1997, 81-121.

⁷⁴⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 635, PA Fournier, Z. 8811, 6.8.1903, from the appointment records for the chair after Max Büdinger: That Přibram, “seems ... due to his [Jewish – J.S.] descent less adequate for the chair,” was noted in the appointment records.

⁷⁴¹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1132, PA Weber, Z. 12466, 26.6.1900.

⁷⁴² Steinherz was proposed *primo loco*. ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1018, PA Wopfner, Z. 36418, 10.12.1908. See also Oberkofler, Gerhard, *Samuel Steinherz (1857-1942). Biographische Skizze über einen altösterreichischen Juden in Prag*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2008.

⁷⁴³ Wróbel, Piotr, “Szymon Askenazy.” In *Nation and History: Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, edited by Peter Brock, Piotr Wróbel and John Stanley, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, 221-245; Askenazy met with anti-Semitism also at the Academy of Sciences and Arts. After he was announced a winner of prestigious Probus Barczewski Prize, the commission had to change its verdict, as according to the statute the prize was reserved for Catholics only, see Nurowski, Marcin, *Szymon Askenazy. Wielki Polak wyznania mojżeszowego*. Warszawa: Marcin Nurowski, 2005, 40.

were from the German Empire).⁷⁴⁴ Similarly, Theodor Gomperz acquired habilitation in 1867 without achieving a doctoral degree.

As the habilitations became ever more dependent on teacher-student relations, this personal connection became the first barrier which scholars had to confront in order to enter academia. Looking at rejected habilitations, the divisions within the faculties become more apparent, although it was leading professors who were mostly responsible for asserting their student's qualities. So, for example, Tadeusz Korzon inquiring to the possibility of habilitating his student Askenazy in Cracow was answered that the university has already two Jewish professors and thus his chances of achieving a position were small.⁷⁴⁵ As physicist Władysław Natanson strived for habilitation in Graz, Ludwik Gumpłowicz saw the only chance for the young scholar in the support of Boltzmann, whom the physicist knew personally. Gumpłowicz furnished the young scholar with strategic information as to Boltzmann's health in order to ensure that Boltzmann would be leading the commission.⁷⁴⁶ In retrospect, the sociologist blamed anti-Semitism and concurrence of the failure: "1st all German (and maybe also Galician) professors make a sign of cross if they see a candidate for a *Privatdozent*; 2nd in the last years prevails here an epidemic fear of Jews; 3rd they regard it here for a patriotic duty, not to let any non-German, and especially any Pole, for any function."⁷⁴⁷

The increasingly defensive tactics of the Ministry and faculties in trying not to ignite conflicts on appointments of Jewish scholars was certainly dubious, creating not a 'glass ceiling' for their appointments, but rather a 'invisible ghetto wall,' leaving only a few spaces in which they could be promoted. During the proceedings of the appointment for the chair of chemistry in Innsbruck in 1902, Josef Herzig proposed *primo loco (ex aequo)* for associate professor in Vienna, was not taken into account as "detrimental events could arrive, like they did shortly before [as Bernheimer was appointed – J.S.] at the Medical Faculty."⁷⁴⁸ Similarly in Graz in the following year,

⁷⁴⁴ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1130, PA Lieben, Z. 12642, 14.10.1871; fasz. 639, PA Lieben, Z. 1251, 6.2.1875.

⁷⁴⁵ Barycz, Henryk, "Szymon Askenazy. Wśród przeciwnieństw i niepowodzeń życiowych i naukowych." In *Na przełomie dwóch stuleci. Z dziejów polskiej humanistyki w dobie Młodej Polski*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977, 238-308.

⁷⁴⁶ See letters of Gumpłowicz to Natanson from 11.6.1888, 25.6.1888 and 9.12.1888, Collection of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow, sign. 9007 III, vol. 6, fol. 208-213

⁷⁴⁷ See letter of Gumpłowicz to Natanson from 20.2.1889, Collection of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow, sign. 9007 III, vol. 6, fol. 215

⁷⁴⁸ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1014, PA Brunner, Z. 28381, 12.9.1902.

Josef Jadasson, associate professor for dermatology at the Bern University, was rejected with the justification that “the person of Jadasson, in consideration of his descent, could lead under present condition to insalubrities at the university.”⁷⁴⁹ Six years later, in 1909, as Otto Löwi was proposed for the chair of pharmacology, the Ministry voiced the same concerns, stating that his “belonging to the Jewish confession, distinguishable already through the name” could “impede his activity at the Graz University and at the most could lead to insularities.”⁷⁵⁰ In this case though, the Ministry, having consulted the provincial government, decided to appoint Löwi, who taught in Graz until 1938, winning the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1936. Only one place remained unproblematic for Jewish nominees, Vienna, the university with most *Privatdozenten* and thus fewer chances for appointment in general. Thus one can see that while in Vienna an estimated 10% of professorial appointments were Jews, the number of Jewish *Privatdozenten* was much higher. This was not the case at other universities, with Graz 1907 having no Jewish instructor and Innsbruck in the same year two.⁷⁵¹

Analyzing the situation of Jewish scholars at the university, scholars often mentioned that they had to wait longer for professorships because Catholic faculties were promoting Catholics, baiting Jewish *Privatdozenten* with titles and remunerations but restraining their entrance into the faculty positions which were bestowed with the right to vote on important academic matters. This was also meant by Redlich in his speech from 1907 and resounded in liberal press as well.⁷⁵² The statistics cited by Lueger in 1907, that from eight professorial appointments seven were Jewish, concerned paid and unpaid associate professors,⁷⁵³ which Lueger did not mention. This glass ceiling was most significant precisely in Vienna and Prague – universities that hesitated in internal appointments and in the search for the best available scholars tended to look outside their own walls. At the same time, Jewish scholars were generally unwelcomed at other universities, which made their

⁷⁴⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 884, PA Kreiblich, Z. 1518, 13.2.1903.

⁷⁵⁰ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 885, PA Löwi, Z. 4944, 16.10.1909.

⁷⁵¹ After data of Redlich, in *Stenographische Protokolle des Abgeordnetenhauses*, 40. Sitzung der XVII. Session am 4. Dezember 1907, p. 2938-2948. This number did not include onverted scholars.

⁷⁵² Ibid.; At the Vienna Medical Faculty, for example, since the 1880s more than 80 scholars were titular associate professors – 30 of them got promoted to associate professors, but only 6 were full professors (up to 1918); in Prague, most titular associate professors got promoted; in Graz seven out of 23 – in Galicia and at Czech Prague University most scholars having the title, were later appointed professors. Confessional disparities are however not known.

⁷⁵³ Ehrlich, *Der Antisemitismus*.

appointments limited to universities with a larger number of competitors and without real chances of proving themselves as professors elsewhere – that is, of having no double burden of work outside university for financial stability and thus more possibility for research and publications. Precisely through this conjunction of a vertical ‘glass ceiling’ and horizontal ‘invisible ghetto wall’ a large number of Viennese Jewish *Privatdozenten* were left adrift and concentrated on another activities, for example *Volkskurse*, largely contributing to paradigmatic Vienna 1900.⁷⁵⁴

4.3 Nationalism, variety and paradox of Central European Geography: Résumé

The paradox of Central Europe, with the demarcation between centers and peripheries and which in their turn created their own differentiations and hierarchies inscribed in, but different from the overall Habsburg-ones, led to very mixed results. Through legal regulations Bohemia disintegrated into Czech and German; Galicia turned to fostering Polish science; from 1900 Austria grew ever more ‘German,’ though increasingly distinguishing itself from the German Empire. The preponderance of the (ethnic or linguistic) nation over the state resulted in paranoid geographical construction, where the center was gradually becoming confined to state boundaries, while the periphery grew influential by transgressing them.

While from the beginning of the 1870s Galician universities were advised to search for candidates abroad as well, ‘Austrian’ universities increasingly appointed local scholars. In 1910 a quarter of instructors at universities in Galicia had been appointed from Russian and German empires. While the number of ‘foreign’ scholars in L’viv and Cracow was constantly growing, the universities in Vienna, Graz and Innsbruck faced an inversed trend, falling from around 20% of foreign teachers in the 1870s to below 10% in 1910 (this number including also habilitations in the German Empire). With the increase in the number of habilitations, the ‘Austrian’ universities faced a number of qualified scholars who strived for positions, making the exchange with German universities comparatively less frequent and less popular than in the

⁷⁵⁴ See Volkov, Shulamit, "Soziale Ursachen des Erfolgs in der Wissenschaft - Juden im Kaiserreich." *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987): 315-342. For the process in Vienna see Schorske, Karl, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: politics and culture*. New York: Knopf, 1980.

1860s (see table 8). On the other hand, the fact that Cracow and L'viv were the only universities with Polish as the language of instruction, moved a number of graduates, especially from the German Empire universities to habilitate in Galicia – the number of instructors who acquired their doctoral degree at 'foreign', mostly German, institutions hovered around 45% in 1910, while at the germanophone universities in the Monarchy it dropped toward 10% in the same year. This trend of a 'mixture' of different styles of research was also augmented by the fact, that a number of Galician scholars completed their habilitation process at Universities in Graz/Vienna/Innsbruck/Chernivtsi. So, for example, the Warsaw-L'viv school of analytical philosophy originated through Kazimierz Twardowski (habilitated in Vienna), Waław Sierpiński (graduated in Warsaw) and Zygmunt Janiszewski (degree from Paris); the most acclaimed achievement of chemistry in Galicia, the liquefaction of oxygen, was completed in Cracow through a modification of a cryogenic apparatus of Louis Cailletet, which professor of physics in Cracow Zygmunt Wróblewski bought in France, where he studied and acquired his doctoral degree, and the pump of Viennese scholar Johann Natterer, which was used by chemist Karol Olszewski, a graduate from Heidelberg.⁷⁵⁵ This is of course not a quality characteristic – germanophone Habsburg universities were most successful and influential exactly in disciplines characterized by continuity and school-building, like medical sciences, biology (Wiesner-school), art history (Eitelberger-school), Slavic philology (Miklošič and Jagić) or philosophy (Mach). Conditions for innovation were however different depending on the linguistic/political community and networks linked with it.

Although the Czech University in Prague remained geographically bound to Bohemia in its appointments, the strengthened scholarship-system facilitated circulation of students and scholars. Similar to Galicia, the first years of the national university brought a variety of scholars, who linked scientific traditions of empires together – most prominent scholars at the beginning twentieth century, Jaroslav Goll and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, represented two different traditions acquired while studying, the first of Georg Waitz (Göttingen) and the latter of Franz Brentano (Vienna). The explosive mixture of 'Old-Czech' and 'Young-Czech' scholars, a

⁷⁵⁵ See Woleński, Jan, *Filozoficzna szkoła lwowsko-warszawska*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1995; Wojtaszek, Zdzisław et al., *Karol Olszewski*. Warszawa, Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990.

number of whom was educated beyond Bohemia, proved not only revolutionary in the academia, but also led to the revision of the idea of the Czech nation.

Traditional bounds and channels of exchange in the nineteenth century, thwarted through centripetal character of Habsburg academic system and the importance of local tradition-building projects, remained viable throughout the period. “German science” – meaning both germanophone science and universities in the German Empire, remained a magnet for students and scholars, frequently referred to as the representation of perfection and the desired shape of scholarship. Ironically, in the search for improvement by distinct groups, the direction from which it came was not only always “the other” centre, but also a centre which was regarded with skepticism – equally for Thun, who feared liberalism and for Galician faculties, anxious about German nationalism and socialism.

At the same time, the turn towards culture included confessional issues, refining nations with a religious component and at the same time *othering* other confessions, most importantly Jews. Anti-Semitism, which can be seen as an extremely influential ideology through the mass politics and visibility of radical movements, reduced the popularity of the university for those labeled as Jewish (Jewish students numbers falling throughout the monarchy from 1885) and the possibility of appointments, as street and aula assaults threatened the paradigmatic “peaceful life of the faculties.” After the 1850s and the legal boundaries for non-Catholics at the university, in the 1860s/1870s, Jewish scholars entered Habsburg academia not infrequently with aid of the Ministry. From the 1880s, however, it was the Ministry which promoted Catholics, also with reference to the possible turmoil resulting from appointments of Jewish scholars – this time conversion from Judaism was not sufficient to avoid being labeled as Jewish. While the number of habilitated scholars in Vienna and Prague rose, most of them did not enter the career track, as the possibility of appointment to another universities was limited – and precisely the faculties in Vienna and Prague were reluctant to promote local nominees. Thus here as well, spatial issues played an important role in career development.

5. Entanglements. Essays on Cultural Transgressions

The world is filled with details that provide the beginnings of histories

Andrzej Stasiuk¹

With several hundred Habsburg scholars changing their workplaces within their careers inside and outside of the Monarchy one might look to the outcome such (almost mass) movement had on both particular institutions and on individuals. While the consequences of the exchange of personnel had on the institutional level were sketched in previous chapters, this chapter turns to a special kind of migration movement: intercultural transfer.

When the German-speaking scholars appointed by Leo Thun Hohenstein moved to Galicia in the 1850s, their opinion on the region's situation were far from optimistic – uncivilized, far from 'culture,' technologically underdeveloped L'viv seemed a city where a civilizing mission could and should take place.² Classic philologist Wilhelm Kergel, who wrote *in extensio* on his cultural approach to the eastern provinces to his teacher Friedrich Haase, remained at the university until 1871 and married a woman with conspicuously un-German name, Anna Stankowska.³ Shortly thereafter another scholar, August Sauer, had to leave the same university due to his conflict with the university. Following articles in which he wrote on cultural defects and the lack of development in Galicia, he was accused of anti-Polish resentments and a lack of cultural adaptation.⁴

Ironically, Sauer is an example of a scholar for whom the intercultural encounter had a large influence on his future career; in Prague, where he was finally appointed, he was considered a cultural broker and aloof or even conciliatory when facing cultural conflicts.

Changing place with concomitant change of cultural surrounding belongs to common occurrences in academic biographies in the Monarchy. Moreover, all

¹ Stasiuk, Andrzej, *Dukla*. Translated by Bill Johnston. Champaign, Ill.: Dalkey Archive Press, 2011, 95. (originally published in Polish in 1997); in Johnston's translation, Polish term "historie" (analogous in meaning to *Geschichten*) is translated as "stories", here changed to underscore the ambiguity of the Polish term.

² Schneider, Alfred, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrter aus den Jahren 1849-1862. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform."

³ Born, however, Pohlmann in Berlin. Karajan, "Wilhelm Kergel," 74.

⁴ AGAD, MWiO, fasc. 122u, PA Werner, Z. 2591, 13.4.1883.

universities faced cultural conflict and clashes, not only between nationalisms, but also between ideological or religious movements which were not much different in intensity than nationalist conflicts. The solidification of the ideological position of Ludwig Wahrmund's anti-clerical argumentation can be seen, for example, as a strategy for accentuating and maintaining his position when facing exacerbating cultural conflict. Such changes included a wide range of behavior patterns from indifference to politicization. Scholars were not immune to reactions while encountering or crossing cultural territories. To an extent, such frontier phenomena⁵ apply also for scholars working interdisciplinary, and travelling across disciplinary "scientific cultures."⁶ In the following, I will concentrate however on how cultural change was perceived in the multinational academic environment of Habsburg Central Europe and how the influence of such (wanted or unwanted) migrations could be visualized on individual, institutional and finally cultural level, if we wish to avoid already established categories and insights. Universities here are privileged contact areas where spatial proximity hindered (at least to a certain extent) refusal of contact – which includes both interpersonal contact as well as interaction with urban intellectual infrastructure ("the social fabric").⁷ Be they voluntary or not, appointments of scholars provide an excellent example of both individual and institutional transformations – where the two interrelate but without identical vector and direction.

In the following I will sketch, on basis of several biographical portraits, the effects which mobility had on scientific transformation on various levels, but also how the mobile scholars were perceived at the time and afterwards. The examples used will represent here the transformatory possibilities and opportunities that the migration conundrum had on academia in the Habsburg Empire.

⁵ On the peculiarity of frontiers as compared to borderlands see Haefeli, Evan, "A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (1999): 1222-1225.

⁶ Dörries, Matthias, "Easy transit: Crossing boundaries between physics and chemistry in mid-nineteenth-century France." In *Making space for science. Territorial themes in the shaping of knowledge*, edited by Crosbie Smith and John Agar, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998, 246-262.

⁷ For the concept of contact areas see Newerkla, Stefan Michael, "Kontaktareale in Mitteleuropa." In *Słowiańsko-niesłowiańskie kontakty językowe w perspektywie dia- i synchronicznej / Slawisch-nichtslawische Sprachkontakte in dia- und synchronischer Sicht*, edited by Andrzej Kątny, Olecko: Wszetnica Mazurska, 2007, 29-49; for the idea of the social fabric see Sörlin, Sverker, "Cultivating the Places of Knowledge." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 21, no. 4-5 (2002): 377-388.

5.1. Visualizing Networks

Networks of scholars extended far beyond local universities and local networks. A glance at the *Festschriften* published for Habsburg scholars reveals several types of networks. In the first place, students who organized such publications and contributed articles, illustrated the bond of community and respect for the teacher. Yet, *Festschriften* included often not only formal students, but also ‘admirers’ (often referred to as such, or alternatively as ‘followers’), whose participation in commemorative volumes did not necessarily result from personal involvement with jubilees. To a certain extent, such volumes do not represent either the scholar himself or his personal contacts and influences, but the student community, which was responsible for preparing the volume giving the stage to the scholars and networks they wanted to highlight.

Nevertheless, such volumes underscore certain characteristics of scholarly communities, for example through languages in which they are written. Volumes published in Galicia, and Czech volumes from Bohemia, represented the local importance of scholars and density of local networks in comparison to more extensive networks of germanophone scholars. With few exceptions, contributing authors were constrained by the language of publication, which was Polish or Czech respectively, excluding not only germanophone scholars, but also in the case of Galicia, Ruthenians – even in cases of cooperation at the same university. National antagonism in Bohemia – but also official prohibition of attending both universities, which caused a drifting apart of both scholarly communities – was visible in the published volumes. For example, post 1918 *Festschriften* for Prague scholars of German language and literature, Josef Janko and August Sauer, represented only their own language communities, although contacts of these two scholars ran across linguistic boundary, including teacher-student relationships.⁸ A few decades earlier, in the same discipline,

⁸ Krolop, Kurt, "August Sauer und Josef Nadler. Zur tschechischen Rezeption ihrer literarhistorischen Konzeption in der Zwischenkriegszeit." In Höhne ed., *August Sauer*, 309-317, here 310-311. Articles in the volume for Janko were though printed in several languages, among others in German, French, Russian and English; see Mathesius, Vilém, Bohumil Trnka, Ladislav Heger, and Vojtěch Jirátk, eds. *Sborník věnovaný Josefu Jankovi, profesoru Karlovy university k sedmdesátým narozeninám*. V Praze: Klub moderních filologů, 1939.

a *Festschrift* for Johann Kelle gathered scholars from both universities, including among others Josef Janko and Václav Emanuel Mourek.⁹

Volumes for Czech scholars, presented mostly local environments and local scholars only (like the ones for Jaroslav Goll and Václav Vladivoj Tomek). But here as well one can find exceptions – the volume for František Pastřnek, published in 1923, also included scholars from Austria and Russia; the *Festschrift* for Jaroslav Bidlo (1928) gathered scholars from several countries including Ukrainian émigrés and Polish historians. On the other hand, editors of the *Festschrift* for Cracow biologist Józef Nusbaum-Hilarowicz (1911) asked scholars to sign a congratulation letter (reprinted in the volume in Latin) gaining thus a highly international representation. However, only Polish-speaking scholars contributed articles to the volume. L'viv historian of law Oswald Balzer's volume (1925) included several non-Slavic scholars, but surprisingly the volume for Kazimierz Twardowski (1920), who had close ties to Vienna and Leipzig and whose students represented the international version of Polish-language analytic philosophy, included only Polish scholars. Similarly the volume for Józef Tretiak (1913), historian of Russian and Ruthenian literature in Cracow, included only contributions from Polish scholars, even if he had contacts with Ruthenian scholars like Studyns'ky. Yet, in volumes for Tretiak or pathologist Edward Sas-Korczyński (1900), one finds Polish-speaking scholars from universities beyond Galicia, like assistants from German or Austrian universities or, as the most interesting case, historian of the Orient Jan Grzegorzewski who worked in Sofia in the 'Polish Scientific Station in East "Hyacynteum"'.¹⁰

On the other hand, volumes published for germanophone scholars were often international – in some cases including only the German and Habsburg empires – but in most cases ranging outside of them. Volumes for Ludwig Boltzmann, Vatroslav Jagić, Julius Wiesner or Hans Chiari presented the readers with a broad range of scholars working in different places, not only in the region but also the United States or even India. The international dimension of these volumes was not universal though – volumes for philosophers Wilhelm Jerusalem or Alois Riehl were similarly limited by linguistic boundaries (and in the case of Jerusalem contributors were limited to Lower-Austria based scholars). Although, in the case of Jerusalem, the fact that his

⁹ For the *Festschriften* see Annex 4.

¹⁰ *Pamiętkowa księga ku uczczeniu 45-letniej pracy literackiej prof. Józefa Tretiaka*. Kraków: Anczyc, 1913.

Einleitung in die Philosophie was translated into (at least) Swedish, Croatian, Russian and Polish (the latter having three editions, the last of which (1926) based on new German version),¹¹ illustrated that the community of scholars knowing and openly appreciating Jerusalem was not so small after all.

There were also differences as to what and who contributed and what was his relation to the scholar himself. As Theodor Billroth was honored on the occasion of his fiftieth semester in Vienna, the volume published consisted only of German speaking scholars, teaching mostly in Vienna but including also his students employed in Utrecht, Zürich or Mikulicz-Radecki from Breslau/Wrocław. Yet one year later a photographic album of European surgeons was published, similarly devoted to the Vienna surgeon, and consisted of a broad range of scholars from several countries, presenting multinational surgical community of the time. However, the relationship of most scholars to Billroth remains unknown, as is the fact whether the choice to contribute with a photographic album was a symbolic or practical one.¹²

Mapping the networks presented in the commemorative volumes shows the process of nationalization and internationalization of scholarly networks. Having on one side strong local representation, they also included a foreign component, be it American scholars for Boltzmann or Serbian for Balzer. Peeking in on the places scholars visited during their careers (with regard to the number of scholars at the institutions), like Vienna and St. Petersburg for Jagić or Vienna, München and Graz for Boltzmann, the link between travel and both personal associations and appreciation becomes obvious, although recognition of achievements clearly ranges beyond direct personal relations. On the other hand a density of ‘students and admirers’ goes beyond the university and draws heavily on practitioners or non-academic scholars, especially in the Czech and Polish case, but also for germanophone scholars. The Festschrift for Hans Chiari (pathologist at the German University in Prague) included several case studies of medical practitioners from hospitals across Bohemia; in

¹¹ Jerusalem, Wilhelm, *Wstęp do filozofii. Z 9 i 10 wydania oryginału niemieckiego przełożyła z upoważnienia autora Julia Dicksteinówna*. Lwów: B. Polonicki, 1926; first edition, with foreword of Adam Mahrburg was published 1907; Swedish translation was published 1899, Russian, which is undated, probably also around this time.

¹² *Beiträge zur Chirurgie : Festschrift gewidmet Theodor Billroth von seinen dankbaren Schülern zur Feier des 50. Semesters seines akademischen Wirkens in Wien*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1892; Rieger, Heinrich, ed. *Professoren der Chirurgie unserer Zeit an den Universitäten von Oesterreich-Ungarn, Deutschland, Schweiz, Belgien, Holland, Dänemark. Für das 25-jährige Professoren-Jubiläum des Herrn Hofrath Dr. Theodor Billroth gesammelt und herausgegeben*. Wien: Jaffe, 1893.

volumes for historian Jaroslav Goll or literature historian Jaroslav Vlček archivists or writers wrote their contributions. The privileged position of professor at the university, joining the function of educator or researcher, made networks of influence broader than in cases of non-academics and the number of scholars wanting to be symbolically associated with a particular person is considerable. The linkages of student-teacher-admirer were prominent also during times of crisis – the middle in the First World War for example, Czech scholars of the Orient, Bedřich Hrozný and Rudolf Růžička, contributed to the volume for 70th birthday of historian of Orient Joseph Karabacek in 1916.

An interesting difference though is the direction in which the internationality is presented. Volumes for scholars at germanophone universities often included contributions from Slavic scholars, while volumes for those in Galicia and Czech Prague were concentrated either on local environment or other Slavic scholars, thus rather representing a kind of Slavic brotherhood than teacher-student relations. For example the volume for 60th birthday of Masaryk – that is before his career as professional politician – included, apart from a dedication letter of French historian of Czech nation Ernest Denis, contributions of mostly Czech(oslovak) authors, but with several contributions from other regions of the Monarchy and without Polish and German-speaking scholars.¹³ Volumes for Jaroslav Goll, internist Josef Thomayer, or anthropologist Jindřich Matiegka included only contributions of Bohemian/Moravian Czech-speaking scholars, although all of them had far-ranging contact networks within the monarchy. Politics of national representation intersects here with scientific internationality, with scholarly links only one of the variables. *Festschriften* were an obvious possibility to structure the picture of personal relations, school structure or influence and interdependence, but also to self-position. On the other hand, the volume for historian Jaroslav Bidlo (working among others on Russia or the Unity of the Brethren in the Kingdom of Jagiellons) and slavacist František Pastřnek included non-Czech scholars – both were internationally active and published in different languages.

An excellent example of inscription into tradition is the volume published by Waclaw Lipiński (В'ячеслав / Вацлав Липинський, Vatslav later Vyacheslav

¹³ Beneš, Edvard, František Drtina, František Krejčí, and Jan Herben, eds. *T.G. Masarykovi k šedesátým narozeninám*. 2 ed, *Masarykův sborník ; Sv. 4*. Praha: Čin, 1930 [1910].

Lypyns'ky) in 1909 in Polish for Volodymyr Antonovych, Tadej Ryl's'ky (Тадей Рильський, Tadeusz Ryłski) and Pavlyn Svyentsits'ky (Павлин Свенціцький, Paulin Świącicki). The volume – edited by Lipiński/Lypyns'ky, bilingual Ukrainian nationalist, who later also changed his name into something more Ukrainian-sounding is dedicated thus to three scholars representing Polish-Ukrainian connections: Antonovych and Ryl's'ky were born into (supposedly Polish) gentry families, then becoming Ukrainian historians and Svyentsits'ky edited the Polish-Ukrainian journal *Village* (*Siolo*, bilingual, with Ukrainian texts in Latin alphabet) and worked on Ukrainian language in Galicia. Although co-edited, it consisted of a large study of Lypyns'ky, an article of L'viv historian Karol Szajnocha (reprinted, as Szajnocha died 1868) and two articles of Antonovych's pupil Hrushevs'ky. While the first was a translation of parts of *History of Ukraine-Rus'* on Ukrainian gentry in the 16th and 17th centuries, the second one is his article from *Zapysky NTSh* from 1909 on the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance of 1708. Interestingly, this article is transcribed in Latin script according (as the editors state) to Svyentsits'ky's transcription rules and with authorization of Hrushevs'ky.¹⁴ The reason for this rather unusual step – so the editors claim – was the usefulness of the Latin alphabet in enabling communication between Slavs and spreading knowledge of Ukrainian history and historiography.¹⁵ In this regard, one can see the political ideas of Lypyns'ky – as a historian of Ukraine (publishing in Polish and Ukrainian) and a 'model nationalist',¹⁶ he imagined multicultural 'Ukrainness' based on (historical) territory but not on the exclusivity of language, thus being Polish-speaking Ukrainian was not a contradiction.¹⁷ Reminding one of the early Polish 'civic nationalism,' this conservative ideology – probably

¹⁴ Hruszewski, Michał, "Sojusz Szwedzko-Ukraiński w r. 1708." In *Z dziejów Ukrainy : księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Świącickiego i Tadeusza Ryłskiego. Wydana staraniem Józefa Jurkiewicza, Franciszki Wolskiej, Ludwika Siedleckiego i Wacława Lipińskiego*, edited by Wacław Lipiński, Kijów (Druk w Krakowie, Friedlein), 1912, 639-651. Editor's note page 639.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Lypyns'ky's name is still mentioned in schools as an example of a "Pole who became Ukrainian," especially due to his name change. I thank Iaroslava Kravchenko for this information. One can find also formulation like "Kant of the Ukrainian Political Idea" (Дмитрів, Іван, "В'ячеслав Казимирович Липинський – «Кант української політичної думки»." *Демократична Україна*, 03.08. 2006 [online: <http://www.dua.com.ua/2006/140/arch/7.shtml>, last access 1.2.11] – this formulation was coined by writer and poet Yevhen/Evgenij Malanyuk [Євген/Евгений Маланюк]).

¹⁷ For his ideology see Gancarz, Bogdan, *My szlachta ukraińska... Zarys życia i działalności Wacława Lipińskiego 1882-1914*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2006, and Bilas, Lew R., "The Intellectual Development of V. Lypyns'kyj: His World View and Political Activity before World War I." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* IX, no. 3/4 (1987): 264-269.

influenced by the environment of Cracow – is represented here by people to whom the book is dedicated, authors of the articles and finally by the languages/alphabets they are writing it, especially in the idea of Latin writ, coming once more as a vehicle of national understanding between two nationalities.

Lypyns'ky's volume might be an extreme case, but it shows the limits of a description of scientific transfers on basis of *Festschriften*. Although the geographies they produce are impressive, they are more a recognition of patterns than representations of knowledge transfer. Lypyns'ky's education – in Kiev, later in Cracow, after the First World War shortly ambassador of Ukraine in Vienna, then historian at the *Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin* (Український науковий інститут у Берліні) – and identity questions, that is, his travel and mediation between nationalities and political conceptions of nationality, show the paradoxes of Central European intellectuals. His historical conception – merging territorialism and multilingualism – bears the influence of Polish territorial nationalism, Cracow conservative historiography and Hrushevs'ky's traditions of geographical determination of Ukraine, representing thus the transitions and displacements of his career.

5.2. Science and Education – schoolbooks as multicultural transmitters?

One of the focal point of post-1848 academia was the organic idea of continuity of education between schools and universities, asserting – not in the theory, but certainly in practice – the possibility of ideological uniformity. Universities were not only to be a continuation and extension of primary education, with one of their primary purposes being education of teachers for schools (*Lehramt*). Throughout the century, their role underwent gradual changes, with one of the main function remaining to provide schoolbooks for the growing network of educational institutions in different languages, including the decentralization of the supervision of authorities allowing them more flexibility. With the strengthening role of individual national languages in the education, this assignment grew stronger, especially due to failing personal capacities outside the universities, although in the late nineteenth century educational books were increasingly published by teachers themselves. This trend followed the disintegration of teachers' and scholars' professions, marked for

example by distinct societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, although later high-school teacher organizations, including university and gymnasia instructors, were formed. But this cultural diversification as well, run not exclusively along commonly assumed national lines, but also for example between Bohemia and Moravia and different Ruthenian cultural projects. Also, the textbooks were published in different publishing houses across the monarchy, while in the 1850s their printing and production was strongly centralized, with large number books published in various languages in Vienna. Later published books were also not commissioned by the Ministry, but either by respective provincial school boards, or published independently with school boards granting (or not) their use at schools.

A large number of critical reviews by university instructors, however, hints at the problems this division brought. The most often pointed out failures such authors were accused of were the outdated theories they followed in their publications or an inadequate linguistic level, often mentioned with respect to Czech or Polish. Thus, the appointment policy at universities – from which quite a number of scholars composing such books came – was not only important for ‘science’ but for the whole ‘organism’ of educational matters as foreseen and proposed by Exner.

While the lists of books used in individual gymnasia varied more and more, being increasingly pluralistic both within the monarchy and within linguistic communities,¹⁸ some features interestingly depict the cultural entanglement of science, education and culture in the Monarchy. With probably several hundred schoolbooks being issued between 1848 and 1918 in several languages, a number of them garnered a considerable number of translations, bearing witness to multicultural everyday life of the Empire. Although one should take into consideration that up to the 1860s higher education was a domain of the German language, already at this time manifold textbooks were translated. The brisk language change in the late 1860s caused problems once more; as not always original textbooks were at hand, one often resorted to translations or textbooks written ‘on the basis of’ which can be considered rather free translations than original works.¹⁹

¹⁸ For the lists of books used in individual elementary school, secondary schools, gymnasia etc. see printed reports of respective gymnasia; although not all of them include such lists, most are listing books used by individual teachers or for particular subjects, inclusive textbooks and literary editions used for language lessons.

¹⁹ So was for example the *Empirical Psychology* of Robert Zimmermann “rewritten” by Józef Zagórzański in 1869 (*Psychologia empiryczna dla wyższych gimnazjów*. Podług Roberta

The idea of uniformity of school education from the 1850s was as influential as its experiences. Not only had several books of individual ‘foreign scholars’ been reissued already at the time regional school boards had the saying, but also after World War I; schoolbooks on natural history by Vienna gymnasium teacher Alois Pokorný, for example, have been translated into Czech for Czech-language schools in the 1870 by Ladislav Čelakovský, Emanuel Bořický, Vincenc Kotal, Pavel Jehlička (later augmented by Josef Rosický), and were reissued several times as late as the 1920’s.²⁰ A Ruthenian grammar, published 1893 by Stepan Smal’-Stots’ky and Theodor Gartner was also republished in 1907, 1922 and 1928. Gustav Adolf Lindner’s books for pedagogic, empirical psychology and logic have been reissued several times, also after his death, with the last edition in German in 1922, printed in Vienna and Znojmo, now in two different states.²¹ Alois Höfler’s *Fundamental Principles of Psychology* (*Grundlehren der Psychologie. Lehrtext und Übungen für den Unterricht an Gymnasien*, 1898) was translated into Polish in 1922, and his *Propaedeutic Logic for Secondary Schools* (in Polish as *Logika propedeutyczna dla szkół średnich*) appeared in 1927, both in translations of Zygmunt Zawirski, scholar from the L’viv branch of L’viv-Warsaw school of philosophy (from 1928 in Poznań).²²

One can mention several schoolbooks which achieved a considerable number of translations, most importantly a Greek grammar by Georg Curtius (Vienna), a general history by Antonín/Anton Gindely, and philosophical/logical textbooks of

Zimmermana napisał Józef Zagórzański. Rzeszów: J. A. Pelar, 1869), who also issued four years later a textbook on formal logic (Zagórzański, Józef, *Logika formalna dla wyższych gimnazjów*. Rzeszów: J. A. Pelar, 1873), according to Karol Estreicher (Estreicher, Karol, *Bibliografia polska XIX. stolecia. T. 5, W-Z*. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, Komisja Bibliograficzna, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1880, 226) it was based similarly on Zimmermann (probably on the second part of his philosophical propaedeutic, concerned with logic).

²⁰ For example 4th edition: Rosický, Josef, *Přírodopis pro školy měšťanské : Na základě přírodopisu dra Al. Pokorného. I, Přírodniny všech tří říší ve 12 obr. s dod. o pěstování květin v domácnosti*. Praha: Unie, 1925.

²¹ Lindner, Gustav Adolph, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Logik : Für höhere Bildungsanstalten. Mit Benützung der 7. Auflage des Lehrbuches der formalen Logik von Dr. G.A. Lindner verfasst von Gustav Adolf Lindner und Dr. Anton Leclair*. Znaim: Rudolf Loos, 1922. Parallel edition was published in Vienna by Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky publishing house; first edition was published in Graz in 1861.

²² I could not find out which book exactly served as basis for the second mentioned title, which was published after Höfler’s death. Höfler, Alois, *Zasady psychologii / z upoważnienia aut. przeł. i spisem najważniejszych doświadczeń szkolnych zaopatrzył Zygmunt Zawirski*. Translated by Zygmunt Zawirski. Lwów: Księg. Naukowa, 1922; Idem, *Logika propedeutyczna dla szkół średnich / z niem. wyd. skróconego przeł. na podstawie upoważnienia rodziny ś.p. autora Zygmunt Zawirski*. Translated by Zygmunt Zawirski. Lwów: Księg. Naukowa, 1927.

Robert Zimmermann; this also included books authored by those not university professors, like the creator of atlases Blasius Kozenn (Blaž Kocen, Blažej Kozenn), mathematician Franz Močnik (who was, however, for two years professor in Olomouc),²³ or biologist Alois Pokorný (for examples of such translations see Annex 3). Even editions could have been translated – like Anton Zingerle's *Ab urbe conditia*, issued in Czech and Polish versions, or Johann Hauler's exercise books for Latin, issued in Czech (in 1889) and Romanian (1912).²⁴ Interesting in this regard is that most translations were issued by the same publishing houses, with only few printed in the respective provinces – most notably Kozenn's atlas and his books on geography, which were (the atlas still is) printed since the late 1850s in Vienna at Eduard Hölzel publishing house in different language version, including new editions and translations, for which scholars from across the Monarchy were commissioned.²⁵ But other publishing houses, like Pichler, Calve or Tempsky, also issued translated editions, apart from books in Cyrillic, which were mostly printed in Galicia.²⁶ This procedure was quite frequent until the 1880s, when its decline coincided with the rise of smaller publishing houses in the provinces issuing their own textbooks.

Interestingly, not only Habsburg-authored books were used and translated. At the beginning of the 1850s popular as well were schoolbooks for geography by Nassau teacher for geography Johann Bellinger, for philosophy of Baden-native

²³ Razpet, Marko, "Franc Hočevar and his scientific work." In *Mathematics in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Budapest on August 1, 2009 during the XXIII ICHST*, edited by Martina Bečvářová and Christa Binder, Praha: Matfyzpress, 2010, 149-160, on Močnik p. 149-152.

²⁴ Zingerle, Anton, and Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita libre I. II. XXI. XXII. : adiunctae sunt partes selectae ex libris III. IV. VI. / Titus Livius Patavinus ; za potřebou školskou vydal Antonín Zingerle ; Podle 3. opr. vyd. pro české školy upravil Edvard Štolovský. V Praze: F. Tempsky, 1892; Idem, *Ab urbe condita libri I, II, XXI, XXII : Adiunctae sunt partes selectae ex libris 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 26, 29 / 4 wyd. A. Zingerle'go do użytku polskich gimnazyów zastosował Franciszek Majchrowicz. Wiedeń: F. Tempski, 1901; Hrubý, Timothej, *Úkoly k překladům z jazyka českého na jazyk latinský. Ze cvičebnice J. Haulera pro pátou a šestou třídu gymnasií přeložil a upravil Timothej Hrubý. Praha, Mladá Boleslav: Karel Vačlena, 1889; Hauler, Johann, *Exerciti latine pentru classa I. a scoalelor secundare. Traducere decpa editiunea XX. Suceava: Soc. Scoala Romana, 1912.****

²⁵ While the atlas was published in most languages used in the monarchy (with exception of Ruthenian, for which I found no translation), introduction to geography was not. One version of atlas was published in Polish in Warsaw (but with Eugeniusz Janota from L'viv University as one of translators), probably due to problems with use of Habsburg books in Russian Empire, as there was often an official ban on book import, commonly outwitted by books being then republished. For overview of translations and new editions see Bratec Mrvar, Rožle, "Življenje in delo Blaža Kocena." In *Blaž Kocen (1821-1871): življenje in delo očeta Kocenovih atlasov*, edited by Jurij Kunaver, Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 2009, 21-39, esp. 30, 34.

²⁶ Although the Viennese publishing houses *Schulbucherverlag*, *Mechitarists congregation* (Mechitharisten) and *Karl Gorischek* issued several schoolbooks and catechisms in Cyrillic – mainly in the 1850s for the primary schools, most gymnasia books were published in Galicia.

Joseph Beck, as well as textbooks for history and geography by gymnasium teacher (Catholic gymnasium in Cologne) Wilhelm Pütz, a worldwide bestselling author, translated into English (a British and a 'corrected' American edition), Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish (in three empires²⁷), Ruthenian and Croatian, with editions in the Russian Empire as well. There were no new editions of these books in the Habsburg Empire, however, after around 1880; Beck and Pütz were probably at the beginning very popular and later discharged due to an openly Catholic (according to some even ultramontane) attitude.²⁸

With regard to scientific transfer, there are several important points. In the first place, already most authors of the abovementioned translated publications are 'imperial products' – while their books are published in German and only several of them publish in other languages as well, most are intercultural travelers without clearly perceivable cultural inclinations, like Gindely, Pokorný, Močnik and Kozenn. Even if this intercultural background could explain why they were widely translated, it is not necessarily representative of authors of other schoolbooks, pointing towards 'multi' characteristic of imperial scholarship. A second point of importance is the language from which books were translated or on editions in which language schoolbooks were based: in most cases from German into other languages, including books issued in non-Habsburg parts of German Confederation. The same hierarchical distinction can be observed later in the century in translations from Polish into Ruthenian,²⁹ with exception of geography, which was taught mostly according to (bilingual) Isydor Sharanevych's Polish language textbook based on Bellinger³⁰ and

²⁷ Prior to the L'viv edition from 1870s, Pütz's translation from Ostrów/Gniezno (Ostrovo/Gnessen; Province of Posen) was also used in Galicia.

²⁸ Binder, "Pütz, Wilhelm." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1888, 780-782; Brechenmacher, Karl, *Joseph Beck (1803 - 1883). Ein badischer Spätaufklärer*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1984. At this time the Ministry began to supervise the use of books more thoroughly, see Monyk, Elisabeth, *Zwischen Barbarenklischee und Germanenmythos eine Analyse österreichischer Geschichtslehrbücher zwischen 1891 und 1945*. Wien: Lit-Verlag, 2006, 102-104.

²⁹ Hofeneder, Philipp, *Galizisch-ruthenische Schulbücher in der Zeit von 1848 bis 1918. Sprachliche Konzeption und thematische Ausrichtung*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Vienna University 2009, e.g. 142, 213, 246. See also Саф'янюк, Зоряна Георгіївна, "Специфіка підручників і навчальних посібників для реальних шкіл та реальних гімназій на західноукраїнських землях (XIX– поч. XX ст.)" *Педагогічний альманах* 9 (2011): 262-267, with examples of such schoolbooks. On discursive background see Janowski, Maciej, "Polnische Sprache, österreichischer Geist? Der Streit um nationale Erziehung in Galizien (1891-1941)." In Binder, Křivohlavá, Velek, eds., *Místo národních jazyků*, 103-117.

³⁰ So the Ruthenian title, the Polish one bears no affiliation. Шараневичь, Исидоръ, *І. Беллинґера короткій начеркъ географіи въ двохъ курсахъ для ужитку учениковъ въ ц. к. австрійськихъ низшихъ гимназіяхъ и низшихъ реальныхъ школахъ*. Коломыя: Черенками Михаила Бѣлоуса

Ruthenian language/grammar. Later in the century one finds however an upturn in books translated from respective languages into German – for example Antonín Skočdopole's Catholic catechism (from Czech into German)³¹ or an arithmetic by Placyd Dziwiński (Polish into German).³² It is however hard to tell whether such books were used throughout the Monarchy, and it is more probable that it was an outcome of interest of provincial governments in the homogeneity of school education, or the popularity of their authors in the regional setting. Such translations remained a rarity, be it for practical or political reasons, but in practice it meant that Czech-speaking students in Bohemia were, for example, learning the history of the monarchy from the popular book by František Sobek,³³ while their colleagues from German-speaking gymnasia would not know this book at all. This was similar in Galicia (with three languages involved) and other regions with mixed education as well. In Galicia, for example, the history of Poland (!) inclusive the so called 'Ruthenian lands' (kraje ruskie)³⁴ was taught according to Anatol Lewicki's Polish-language textbook, which was not translated into other languages; in Polish language gymnasia, even in heavily multilingual areas, Ruthenian history was taught only from this single book, while Greek-Catholic catechesis and Ruthenian language were taught from Ruthenian editions. While the textbooks were supervised and checked as for ideological content, they marked the switch from pan-monarchic education to a distinct culturally led, although certainly not anti-monarchic, education. To a certain extent one can also speak here of a transmission of not only scholarly ideas, but also a worldview in the case of books for philosophy or history or – concerning the question of Ultramontanism – of religious texts like those written by Innocenc Frenzl or Anton Wappler. Here, however, the influence of instances of book accreditation (especially in the 1850s several textbooks with clear ideological agenda were written/translated)

и спѣлки, 1865.

³¹ Skočdopole, Antonín, *Biblische Katechesen. Ein Handbuch für den Religionsunterricht auf der Unterstufe der Volksschule. Aus dem bohm. übers. von Ignaz Al. Matous.* Budweis: Wolf, 1888; first version in Czech was published 1878 in Prague.

³² Dziwiński, Placyd, *Lehrbuch der Arithmetik und Algebra für die mittlere und höhere Unterrichtsstufe auf Gymnasien und Realschulen.* Lemberg, 1910; first edition in Polish 1891.

³³ Sobek, František, *Děje císařství Rakousko-Uherského : pro střední školy.* Praha: I.L. Kober, 1883; 4th and last edition was issued 1914, Sobek published also on geography (11th edition in 1911) and general history.

³⁴ Subject taught was 'history and geography,' there were however extracurricular lessons in respective histories (called regional or mother-land-history – *Vaterlandskunde, vlastivěda* (used mostly in Moravia)/*dějepis Čech, historia ojczysta, piśna icmopія* etc.). Lewicki's books was the most popular schoolbook, second most popular was authored by L'viv gymnasium teacher Karol Rawer, similarly including 'Ruthenian lands.'

probably played at least as important a role as personal alignment. In this way, for example, Herbartianism entered pedagogical thought in Galicia, contrasting Polish-language pedagogy of the Russian Empire;³⁵ at the German language schools (and teachers' schools) it was similarly influential due to Lindner and Zimmermann's publications and at Czech language schools it was popularized by books of Lindner and similarly herbartian Josef and Petr Durdík and František Xaver Procházka.³⁶ The textbook for philosophy by Robert Zimmermann, written on minister's call as the young scholar was teaching in Olomouc (in 1851), included for example a longer part on ethics. Similarly Joseph Beck's propaedeutic was clearly directed against materialistic/positivistic philosophy.³⁷ Franz Xaver Zippe's books on natural history were strongly criticized for being outdated from the beginning,³⁸ while Gindely's world history was written in a positivistic-cum-objectivizing manner, lacking patriotic, nationalistic or religious inclinations, and being published in countless editions and language in the late nineteenth century, was a clear counterbalance to new trend of nationalization of education and inscriptions of national-regional histories into world history.³⁹

Schoolbooks were seldom direct cooperation between authors or author-translator, yet the appropriation of books for scholarly use was certainly important for both content, and even more for issues of terminology. Some German books were also augmented by national terminologies, like schoolbooks for physics by Franz (František) Pisko, published in 1865 with Polish and Czech terminology added.

³⁵ Stepkowski, Dariusz, "Herbart i jego myśl w Polsce. Dzieje recepcji i oddziaływania." *Artes liberales. Zeszyty naukowe Akademii Humanistycznej im. A. Gieysztora* 2, no. 1 (2007): 87-111.

³⁶ Adam, Erik, and Gerald Grimm, eds. *Die Pädagogik des Herbartianismus in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*. Wien a.o.: Lit-Verlag, 2009; Cach, Josef, *Gustav Adolf Lindner : Život a dílo zakladatele pedagogiky na filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1990 (esp. 115-120); Meissner, Andrzej, "Wkład Galicji w rozwój nauk pedagogicznych." In *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo. Tom. 3. Nauka i oświata*, edited by Idem. and Jerzy Wyrozumski, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1995, 79-98; Tretera, Ivo, *J.F. Herbart a jeho stoupenci na pražské univerzitě*. Praha: Mezinárodní organizace novinářů, 1989.

³⁷ See Beck, Joseph, *Philosophische Propädeutik. I, Empirische Psychologie und Logik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1846 and Zimmermann, Robert, *Philosophische Propädeutik*. 2 vols. Wien: Braumüller, 1853 – information on Ministry asking for writing can be found in introduction to second edition (1860).

³⁸ Seidl, Pertlik, Svojtka, "Franz Xaver Maximilian Zippe (1791–1863). Ein böhmischer Erdwissenschaftler als Inhaber des ersten Lehrstuhls für Mineralogie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien," 180.

³⁹ Bruckmüller, Ernst, "Patriotic and National Myths. National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria." In *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, edited by Lawrence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007, 11-35.

Occasionally cooperation indicate the influence of mobility, like Karl Petelenz's and Richard Maria Werner's *German Textbook for the Galician Secondary Schools* (*Deutsches Lesebuch für die galizischen Mittelschulen*, L'viv 1892) or Stepan Smal'-Stots'ky's and Theodor Gartner's *Grammar of Ruthenian Language* (*Граматика руської мови*, 1893).⁴⁰ The influence of scholars appointed to the universities in the east of the Monarchy was crucial especially in stabilizing the grammar and language. Thus the co-authorship of Gartner, which will be looked at more closely later, is far from incidental.

It must be said, however, that in the ongoing 19th century, production of local schoolbooks clearly prevailed over translations, with numbers of schoolbooks in Czech/Polish/Ruthenian etc., growing exponentially after the 1880s, as the Ministry intensified financial support of provincial boards for textbook preparation, as well as local pedagogic organizations financing several new editions.⁴¹ For example, Gindely's general history was replaced by the ones authored by František Kameníček, Aleksander Semkowicz (Polish and Ruthenian versions respectively) and later by Wincenty Zakrzewski (two first volumes also translated into Ruthenian, a Polish version reissued several times after 1918). Similarly the history of the Monarchy was taught in Czech according to books by Kameníček and Rudolf Dvořák; in Polish at first from a translation of Emanuel Hannak, then Ludwik Finkel's Polish-written textbook. Textbooks for other disciplines as well were produced, drawing on scholars from universities (including technical). For example, the abovementioned scholars were from the Czech Technical Academy (Kameníček), Jagiellonian University (Zakrzewski), L'viv University (Semkowicz, Finkel), with Dvořák being teacher in Brno and later in Zábřeh/Hohenstadt, and Hannak in various schools in Vienna. In Galicia, botany in gymnasia was taught according to Józef Rostafiński's (Cracow) manual and zoology according to Józef Nusbaum's (L'viv) books.⁴² In Bohemia, natural science textbooks were authored by teachers, while language books (including edition of classic texts) were authored instead by academic instructors, while in Galicia most such books were written by gymnasium teachers. The main books for

⁴⁰ Another such example is Ernst Mach's and Johann (Jan) Odrštil's *Grundriss der Naturlehre für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Prague, 1886).

⁴¹ See Bobrzyński, Michał, *W sprawie naszych gimnazyów*. Kraków: Wydanie redakcyi "Przeglądu Polskiego" w drukarni "Czasu", 1883.

⁴² In 1893 Nusbaum translated Johann Boas' textbook on zoology (published in Warsaw) and authored also a row of different textbooks for natural sciences, including Darwinian theories.

grammar were authored however by university professors – in Bohemia by Jan Gebauer, in Galicia by Antoni Małecki and by Kotsovs'ky/Ohonovs'ky (later Gartner, Smal'-Stots'ky). This differentiation is also influenced by the question of vocabulary, which was not entirely solidified and needed closer supervision in order not to break into chaos. Here, academic education as well as professional organizations and in some cases provincial governments (especially in Galicia) cooperated in terminological stabilization. Thus in the 1860s/1870s, as Czech language terminology was being clarified, academics served as authors and translators, or supervised the terminological correctness;⁴³ in Galicia, organizations around the Provincial School Board that were assigned with schoolbook production, included scholars of university and Shevchenko Society, with university instructors claiming their superiority and thus wanting more influence.⁴⁴ While the main decisions on terminological specificities of languages were taken at the universities, it was schoolbooks assuring their stabilization; the same pattern is discernible as well in the questions of grammar schoolbooks (Małecki, Smal'-Stots'ky/Gartner etc.).

5.3. Transfer and nation: between rejection to inclusion

Contacts between scholars, like the examples mentioned above, are characteristic for empires, which facilitate and intensify intercultural mobility altering the possibility of knowledge production. Mobility within one linguistically defined culture differs here considerably as it is not linked with abrupt cultural adjustments, although one can legitimately ask whether the academic culture of Protestant Prussia differed from Viennese Catholicism more than at the Jagiellonian University. Although they did not share the same language in the late nineteenth century, they had a similar Catholic-conservative approach to science, also due to the political administration. Alois Riehl's rejection for a chair in Vienna due to his anticatholicism, a fierce rejection of 'positivist' philosophy by Ehrenfels in Prague in

⁴³ See an interesting recollection in Studnička, "O rozvoji naší literatury fysikální za posledních padesáte let," esp. 42-46; Janko, Štrbáňová, "Uplatnění nového českého přírodovědného názvosloví na českých vysokých školách v průběhu 19. Století."

⁴⁴ Саф'янюк, "Специфіка підручників і навчальних посібників для реальних шкіл та реальних гімназій на західноукраїнських землях (XIX– поч. XX ст.);" Bobrzyński, *W sprawie*.

1913,⁴⁵ or Askenazy's problems in Cracow and L'viv caused by his confession, show here how closely a (religious) worldview influenced university policy throughout the monarchy. Yet, a look at the cultural / linguistic travel and imperial academia shows that possibilities opened through both shared political space and its incompatibility with language spaces.

An interesting issue here is the influence of particular scholars on the formation and solidification of national identity. Universities were by no means the only institutions that played a role in this regard, and even on the contrary, some scholars important for the formation of identities were not accepted or acceptable as university professors, like František Palacký, Mihály Horváth or Joachim Lelewel. Historiography and language studies were practiced in learned academies, not infrequently in archives or archive-based institutions, museum or church institutions. Yet, examining national ideologist in the nineteenth century, one very often encounters university professors, not always of ideology-producing disciplines. One could mention here a number of ministers, leaders of political parties, deputies etc. A number of these scholars came from the region or were educated at these universities (for example in L'viv Stanisław Głąbiński, Julian Dunajewski, Michał Bobrzyński, Leon Biliński; Stanisław Tarnowski, Józef Majer in Cracow; Jan Evangelista Purkyně or Eduard Grégr⁴⁶ in Prague etc.). However, three scholars pivotal for the development of national ideologies – Józef Dietl in Cracow, Mykhailo Hrushevs'ky in L'viv and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk in Prague – came to these universities due to political deliberations and not without obstacles.

Hrushevs'ky and Masaryk are undoubtedly the most important public intellectuals respectively of the Ukrainian and Czech(oslovak) national movements of the early twentieth century. Their arrivals to L'viv and Prague respectively, and taking the lead in cultural and political independence discussions have several things in common. In the first place, both were viewed and criticized as 'others' – Hrushevs'ky as an orthodox from Kiev, Masaryk as a Viennese-educated Moravian.

⁴⁵ "To appoint a positivist like [Josef] Petzold or [Hans] Kleinpeter a professor of philosophy at a state university, that would be a similar mistake and similar anomaly as appointing a count Tolstoy like-minded person for the professor of penal law." See AUK, FF NU, Inv.č. 798, R/XIV, K. 64, Filozofie – stolice (Lehrkanzel für Philosophie) 1913-1913 obsazování stolice po odchodu prof. Martyho, "Begründung der von Professor v. Ehrenfels bezüglich des Vorschlages zur Wiederbesetzung der vakanten philosophischen Professur an der k.k. deutschen Universität in Prag am 6. Juli 1914 eingereichten Ministerialeingabe," here page 31.

⁴⁶ Although Grégr was born in Graz, his family lived from the 1830s in Bohemia.

Masaryk was accused of his pro-German attitude; Hrushevs'ky's All-Ukrainian ideology was also attacked in Galicia. Both brought as well new standards of social, political and historical thinking, heavily influenced by West-European ideologies. Masaryk proposed new 'realistic' description of the Czech past, deprived of all mythology but strengthening the vision of cultural particularity and religious Hussitism. Hrushevs'ky, following folk-based narratives of Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Drahomanov (Михайло Драгоманов) and others, published the first concise 'Ukrainian' history, strengthening the continuity from Kievan Rus' Cossacks to Ukraine, which included also Galician Ruthenians.⁴⁷ Both proposed not only new national meta-narratives, but also argued for them through stressing universal qualities of humanism, 'truth', objective reading of sources and finally claiming the European universality of their approaches as opposed to previous particularism. This included, for example, stressing the democratic values of the times on which they centred their national histories.⁴⁸ Both stood finally in the first row in the creation of political parties – Masaryk with *Czech Realist Party / Czech People's Party* (Realistická strana / Česká strana lidová, 1889), Hrushevs'ky with *Ukrainian National-Democratic Party* (Українська Національно-Демократична Партія, 1899) – and were finally crowned with the most important political positions in the process of acquiring independent states: Masaryk as president of Czechoslovakia (from 1918 to 1935) and Hrushevs'ky as head of revolutionary parliament Central Rada (Центральна Рада, 1917-1918).

While neither stood as the single representative of political options, their pronounced politicization and turn from academics to intellectuals in politics and their professional work, sheds light on the change of the political structures they encountered as well as their own transformations. Not much is known about political

⁴⁷ As Plokhy mentions, the narratives on Ukrainian history in 19th century and early 20th century were published in Galicia, but written by scholars from the Russian Empire, like Drohomanov or Oleksandra/Aleksandra Yefymenko (Олександра/Александра Єфименко); Plokhy, Serhii, *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the writing of Ukrainian history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005, 156-160.

⁴⁸ An interesting comparison of both historiosophic approaches with accentuation on similarities (especially on nation as a historical constant) was written by Leonid Zashkilniak: Зашкільняк, Леонід, "Історична спадщина М. Грушевського в контексті східноєвропейської історіографії початку XX ст." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 32 (1997): 110-118. More recently L'viv historian Marian Mud'ryi has shown also how the Ukrainian national movement (including Hrushevsky) was drawing examples on Czech one (Мудрий, Мар'ян, "Формування новочасної національно-політичної культури українського суспільства Галичини (проблема зовнішніх моделей)." *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 38 (2003): 115-147.)

activity of Masaryk in Vienna and Hrushevs'ky in Kiev, although they both participated in national student organizations prior to acquiring professorial posts. Within a few years of each coming to their respective 'national Piedmonts,' they acted more intensively as politicians. High esteem from students and the young nationalist generation, allowed them not only political careers, but also symbolic influence the university youth, though neither Masaryk nor Hrushevs'ky could influence the appointment policy of the faculties, hindered as they were by older the generation of professors and in the case of the Ruthenian historian, also by the Polish majority.

Coming to Prague in 1882 Masaryk, born in Moravia in a multicultural family, he spent thirteen years in Vienna and Leipzig, where he was a student of Brentano and Wilhelm Wundt. He did not speak fluent or correct Czech (due to his heavy Moravian accent – or so at least the Czech legends held) and he was married to an American Unitarian student in Leipzig, Charlotte Garrique.⁴⁹ In the manifold conflicts in which he was involved in the late nineteenth century, implementing his philosophical ideas of truth to history (conflict over the manuscripts) or the Jewish-question (the Hilsner Affair), his non-(Bohemian)Czechness was an recurring issue.

The involvement of Masaryk in the political processes of Bohemia was undoubtedly linked with his philosophical and sociological positivistic (although not Comtean) conviction of an ethical basis of nationalism grounded in individual rights. Here, in comparison to Old-Czech patriotism, in which the individual was subordinated to nation, liberal individuals constituted a national entity which was thus a community of conscious choice and not of ethnic, historical, geographical etc. belonging.⁵⁰ Masaryk – especially in his early political writings – stripped the 'Czech Question' from its metaphysical substance: in the first place he rejected construction of a Czech national narrative on *Manuscripts* of doubtful origin, claiming demythologization and dehistorization of the past. He also opposed building an epitomized cultural/ethnic distinction between Czechs, Germans and Jews in Bohemia as their coexistence in one state (which he saw as not identical with the nation) not only involved communication, but this communication was a means of humanistic

⁴⁹ For the most up to date biography of Masaryk see Polák, Stanislav, *T.G. Masaryk : za ideálem a pravdou* 5 vols. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2000-2009.

⁵⁰ Suda, Zdeněk, "The Curious Side of Modern Czech Nationalism." *Czech Sociological Review* 9, no. 2 (2001): 225-234.

development. This issue brings to mind Bolzano's previously quoted ideas of a national coexistence of Czechs and Germans in Bohemia as subordinated to ethical (Catholic) principles, and indeed the Catholic (although Masaryk converted to Protestantism before coming to Prague) foundation of his worldview is undoubted.⁵¹

Problems with Masaryk's adaptation in Prague's political and philosophical landscape were manifold. Already a few years after coming to Bohemia, the Moravian philosopher was accused of authoring anonymously published article criticizing the overstating of Czech cultural autarchy and claimed that interdependence and mutual respect between cultures are warrantors of cultural development. Although published by Hubert Schauer – in the first issue of journal *Time* (Čas) – it was similar to ideas of Masaryk, who distanced himself from it, however, as too radical.⁵² At the same time, Masaryk was involved in conflict over the Manuscripts and after claiming their falsification. Masaryk, as well as Jan Gebauer, were accused by most influential daily in Bohemia *Národní listy* as being “foreigners” who did not care on the scholarly tradition, criticized celebrated scholars, implemented imagined methodology, undermined Czech cultural work by “speaking our language, but with sentiments and mentality both unfriendly and foreign (*cizí*) as any of our long-standing national enemies.”⁵³ Similarly Masaryk's involvement in the defense of Leopold Hilsner, accused of the ritual blood murder of Anežka Hružová in 1899, brought another outrage from nationalists.⁵⁴ At the same time however Masaryk was gathering scholars of the young generation, for example, around the journal *Athenaeum* which he (co-)edited, but more and more in the political arena of the Young Czech Movement, and later own party.

In comparison to Masaryk, Hrushevs'ky was at the beginning not welcomed by all in L'viv due to his confession, as the Galician Ruthenians stressed national

⁵¹ For similarity in Bolzano's and Masaryk ethnic foundations of philosophy see Daněk, Jaromir, "Toward Masaryk's Philosophical Humanism." In *On Masaryk: texts in English and German*, edited by Josef Novák, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988, 189-200; religious foundations of Masaryk's ideology has been discussed in Szporluk, *The political Thought*.

⁵² Havelka, Miloš, "A Hundred Years of the „Czech Question“ and The Czech Question a Hundred Years On," 12.

⁵³ Grégr, Julius, *Na obranu Rukopisů královédvorského a zelenohorského*. 2 ed. Praha: J. Otto, 1886, 74. For more background see Opat, Jaroslav, *Filozof a politik T. G. Masaryk 1882-1893. Příspěvek k životopisu*. Praha: Melantrich, 1990, chapter „V boji o Rukopisy“ (online in the e-library of Česká společnost rukopisná: <http://kix.fsv.cvut.cz/rkz/csr/>, last access 2.2.2011).

⁵⁴ Frankl, "Emancipace od židů," 281-303.

ideology based on Greek-Catholicism.⁵⁵ Moreover, coming from the ukrainophile circles in Kiev, he imported political ideology which was different than the one presented by conservative political elites in Galicia.⁵⁶ The presentation of history as a struggle of folk-masses against the foreign Polish and Russian rulers, opposition to Christian Socialist Ideology and finally a rejection of New Era Polish-Ruthenian reconciliation brought a crisis between him and the most influential Galician nationalist of the time, Anatol' Vakhnianyn and Oleksandr Barvinsky (Олександр Барвінський). Hrushevs'ky was far from being universally accepted as a Ruthenian/Ukrainian leader – although having the support of the main ukrainophile media, his 'Ukrainians'⁵⁷ were rejected by several organizations as opposed to Russophile tendencies, but also to Ruthenian-Galician Habsburg loyalty.

One can see how powerful the conflict potential between Hrushevs'ky – oriented towards Kiev – and Galician politicians and intellectuals was in the example of the 1913 elections for the head of *Shevchenko Society*. Hrushevs'ky's concentration on the Russian Empire after 1907, as he established (and directed) a carbon-copy branch of the society in Kiev, transferred the *Literary-Scientific Herald* there and tried to acquire a chair at the Kiev University, was strengthened then by heavy controversies on his critique on Galician conservatism in 1911 published 120-pages political brochure *Our Politics* (Наша політика), what led to his break with the Society due to influence of conservative intellectuals – Volodymyr Shukhevych (Володимир Шухевич), Kost' Levyts'ky (Кость Левицький), Stepan Rudnyts'ky (Степан Рудницький) and Ivan Trush (Іван Труш).⁵⁸ Following the break of "Galician particularism with Hrushevs'ky's all-Ukrainian politics,"⁵⁹ Hrushevs'ky's political approaches and his activities as a head of the society were heavily attacked just prior to the elections of president of the Shevchenko Society in 1913, during

⁵⁵ See Барвінський, "Засноване катедри історії України в Львівському університеті."

⁵⁶ Plokhy, *Unmaking Imperial Russia*, 23-61.

⁵⁷ Denomination 'Ukrainian' was used in a derogatory manner for example in Russophile press, see for example the journal *Halychanyn* (Галичанин) in January 1907, as Ruthenian students who attacked the building of the university, at first criticized by Russophile press due to use of violence, were called 'Hrushevsky's Ukrainians.'

⁵⁸ On the conflict see Винар, Любомир, and Євген Пшеничний, eds. *Наша політика: матеріали до історії конфлікту в НТШ 1913 р., Нью-Йорк, Дрогобич*. Нью-Йорк, Дрогобич: Коло, 2003; Idem, *Михайло Грушевський і Наукове товариство ім. Шевченка, 1892-1934*. Нью-Йорк, Львів, Дрогобич: Укр. істор. товариство, 2006, 92-110.

⁵⁹ Дашкевич, Ярослав, "Хто такий Михайло Грушевський? Розмова з Ярославом Дашкевичем." In *Постаті Нариси про діячів історії, політики, культури*. 2. ed., edited by Idem., Львів: Львівське відділення ІУАД ім. М. С. Грушевського / НАНУ Літературна агенція 'Піраміда', 2007 [1989], 374-382, here 375

which Hrushevs'ky resigned and was replaced by his former student Stepan Tomashivs'ky, who was (anonymously) the author of several brochures attacking Hrushevs'ky.

Yet, Hrushevs'ky's importance in the narrative is his influence on the conditions of multiculturalism in L'viv. Here, he indeed transferred his political ideology not only into social politics as a leader and more and more a spokesman of nationalist organizations, but also in his historiography. Declaring from the beginning the professorship of history as a national conduit for Ukrainian interests,⁶⁰ changing the Polish transcription of his name from 'Gruszewski' to 'Hruszewski'⁶¹ and finally in refusing to communicate during the faculty meetings in any language other than Ukrainian,⁶² follows the trajectory of an ever more antagonized L'viv environment in which the historian was one of the leading figures in rewriting the power relations in the public sphere. The *New Era* of 1890, one of whose results was the appointment of the young historian, was – from the side of Ruthenian policy – to gradually improve relations, without shrinking the growing gap between two nationalities in Galicia and – from the side of Polish policy – to allow only small concessions with promises for more cultural equality in future; both sides thus saw it as an appeasement policy, which should result in cultural coexistence within Galician borders. Hrushevs'ky so to say broke the tradition of reconciliation arguing that Ruthenians have same constitutional rights and should be thus respectfully treated as equals and not as subalterns. As an intellectual and social leader of students, he was also the first politically active Ruthenian professor within the walls of L'viv University, which was certainly a generation issue, but at the same time an imported policy of opposing the Galician trend, which finally caused rupture with traditional political leadership. In contrast to most scholars Hrushevs'ky was not affiliated with the Russophile *Stauropegian Institute*, relations with which seemed to facilitate university careers, and whose scholars rather skeptically looked on the politic-ethnic conflict in Galicia (if one looks at the biographies of Ilarion Svyentsits'ky (Іларіон Свенціцький, *Privatdozent* for classical philology), Isydor Sharanevych (professor for history), Stepan Rudnyts'ky (*Privatdozent* for geography) or professor for private law at Law

⁶⁰ Plokhy, *Unmaking Imperial Russia*, 40-41.

⁶¹ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 119u, PA Hruszewski (Gruszewski), Z. 7332, 20.8.1896.

⁶² DALO, 26/5/510, PA Hrushevskij; the best known and described conflict took place in 1902.

Faculty Oleksandr Ohonovs'ky.⁶³ He kept a similar distance from the second powerful group – conservative social (Greek-)Catholic – which was represented at the university by Omeljan Ohonovs'ky or earlier by Yakiv Holovats'ky. The exception to scholars active in those two political groups was Kolessa, who was similarly opposed in the Faculty. This of course is not to say that the abovementioned organizations or scholars were not nationalist, most of them were social activists and fruitful scholars codifying Ruthenian culture, yet it was a moderate version of loyal (both state – and province) cultural (Russophile) nationalism.⁶⁴

Nonetheless, the political activism of Hrushevs'ky was not only different, but included also a new version of history, which was a history of long-time division with an accentuation of Ukrainian ethnic continuity. Ukrainians – in Russophile journals called also 'Hrushevs'ky's Ukrainians' – were thus with his help to replace predominant Ruthenians, but also through continuation of history from Scythia, Kievan-Rus', Cossacks, Haidamaks, Khmelnytsky Uprising etc., which were to be interpreted in ethnic terms as opposing Poles. And ethnic terms meant also that it was not the elites who sustained the culture, but the common people who guaranteed the continuity of Ukrainians. This was certainly not a new narrative, but in Hrushevs'ky's case it was in the first place official – at the time Ukrainian cultural separatism was restricted in the Russian Empire – and in the second place was at the right spot at the right time, uniting manifold scholars in the *Shevchenko Society*. The 'new' narrative opposed, for example, Polish ideology of territorial nationalism, influenced decisions on alphabet – that is whether Church-script was a guaranty of culture or not – etc.; it was certainly by far not uncritically accepted, but finally politically effective. Hrushevs'ky's arrival to L'viv also marks a time when there were no common historiography projects between Poles and Ruthenians and the scholarly communities limited their contact, notwithstanding a few Ukrainian scholars who published in Polish media (e.g. Ivan Franko, Oleksandr Barvinsky) or vice versa; contacts were generally parts or methods of confrontation.⁶⁵ Although linking these processes

⁶³ See e.g. Орлевич, Ірина Василівна, "Боротьба між українофілами та русофілами за 'Народний дім' у Львові." In *Львів: місто - суспільство - культура: Збірник наукових праць*, Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2007, 339-358.

⁶⁴ See Hrytsak, "Ruslan, Bohdan and Myron: Three Constructed Identities among Galician Ruthenians/Ukrainians, 1830-1914."

⁶⁵ Зашкільняк, Леонід, "Стосунки між українськими і польськими істориками на зламі XIX і XX століть." In *Wielokulturowe środowisko historyczne Lwowa w XIX i XX*, edited by Jerzy Maternicki and Leonid Zaskilniak, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2004,

straightforwardly with Hrushevs'ky would be a rather easy solution, he did both catalyze and bundled them, largely contributing to the final success of a particular Ukrainian historical, but also territorial and cultural identity.

In comparison to Hrushevs'ky and Masaryk, Dietl is a political scholar of local importance who did not formulate a long-lasting national ideology. Yet his position as Cracow's first elected president in the times of federalist monarchy and an important public figure in the late 1860s show the traces both of the transition he made as a scholar and his influence on political landscape. Born in Eastern Galicia Dietl studied in L'viv (preparatory philosophical studies) and Vienna (medicine), where he worked in Wiedner Hospital. From this time originate the pioneering works of Dietl on "therapeutic nihilism"⁶⁶ and also the high esteem he had in Vienna, as he was sent on a 'fact-finding mission' throughout and beyond the continent to various hospitals to provide insights for the erection of a new institution in Vienna.⁶⁷ Being appointed 1851⁶⁸ to the Jagiellonian University Dietl returned to Galicia after eighteen years in the capital, transferring not only his medical knowledge, but also practical experience. Already during his inauguration lecture, he asked for forgiveness due to his uneasiness with the Polish language and stated: "I will teach you medicine, and you teach me the Polish language."⁶⁹

While in the 1850s Dietl concentrated on his clinic, this time marks his political turn towards questions of public and political brisance. In the first place he turned to balneology, publishing after extensive travels in and outside Galicia several German and Polish language writings on assets of therapeutic baths for personal hygiene. Moreover, Dietl was pivotal in campaigning against the Polish plait (lat. *Plica polonica*), which was particularly common in Galicia and an issue of debate of Polish tradition vs. modern hygiene. Both issues were pursued by him not only from a

272-294.

⁶⁶ See Lesky, Erna, "Von den Ursprüngen des therapeutischen Nihilismus." *Südhofts Archiv*, no. 44 (1960): 1-20; Wiesemann, Claudia, *Josef Dietl und der therapeutische Nihilismus. Zum historischen und politischen Hintergrund einer medizinischen These*. Frankfurt/M., Bern et.al.: Lang, 1991.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Chahrour, "'A civilizing mission'? Austrian medicine and the reform of medical structures in the Ottoman Empire, 1838-1850," 700.

⁶⁸ The fact that Dietl spoke Polish was one of the reasons he was appointed see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1103, PA Dietl, Z. 168, 10.2.1851.

⁶⁹ The inauguration lecture was reprinted in Cracow daily *Czas*, although I could not find any information in which language it was actually presented. In the literature on Dietl one can find also information that he did not speak Polish before coming to Cracow. Here quoted after Skotnicki, Aleksander B., "Lekarz, profesor, prezydent. W dwusetną rocznicę urodzin Józefa Dietla." *Alma Mater*, no. 59 (2004): 30-32, here 30-31.

theoretical standpoint, but also a practical one, as one of the founders of *Commission of Balneology* (Komisja Balneologiczna) in the Cracow Scientific Society in 1858. At the same time, Dietl's writings gained a patriotic manner. In a book on spas he speaks for example that it is the "voice of providence," which urges Poles not to travel to foreign countries but help the country to develop economically, professing thus local culturally defined hygiene provisions as contrasted to foreign, albeit situated within the same political unity, *Bäder*.⁷⁰ To a certain extent the emphasis on Polish-connoted natural particularities of the province as defined by Dietl returns in 'rediscovery' (and nationalization) of the Tatra Mountains as a therapeutic oasis in this province, which began around the time of federalization and in which Dietl, as a honorary member of Tatra Society (elected 1874 in the first round), participated from the beginning.

Although the turn of Dietl from scholar to public intellectual can be dated before his becoming the first rector of the university (as dean of Medical Faculty he already mediated for example on issue of reintroduction of Polish language in 1859-1860), he intensified his political engagement after becoming prominent in the academic hierarchies. From 1861, Dietl spoke and published on manifold political issues. He raised his voice inviting Polish-speaking scholars of all parts of partitioned Commonwealth to apply for *Privatdozentur* in Galicia, as a "citizen from near Tuchów" (obywatel spod Tuchowa) and Michał Wiarosław published on unity between all social strata in Galicia for political case of autonomy, he hold parliament speeches in favor of federalism and Galician autonomy, published on educational issues in Galicia. Finally, after being prematurely pensioned from the professorship in 1865, he was elected president of Cracow and one of the spokesman of Galician conservatives.⁷¹ Unsurprisingly, most of Dietl's efforts as an active politician were directed towards adapting Cracow to modern standards of urban hygiene. For example, in his program as mayor published in 1871, priority was given to canalization, pavements and streets ("due to cleanness, health and convenient communication"⁷²), waterworks, public slaughterhouse, schools (as fifth point of the

⁷⁰ Dietl, Józef, *Uwagi nad zdrojowiskami krajowemi ze względu na ich skuteczność, zastosowanie i urządzenie*. Cz. 1. Kraków: W drukarni C.K. Uniwersytetu, 1858, 32.

⁷¹ See Szumowski, Władysław, ed. *Józef Dietl pierwszy prezydent miasta Krakowa, znakomity lekarz, profesor i rektor Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, patriota polski. W 50-tą rocznicę śmierci*. Kraków: Nakł. Gminy M. Krakowa, 1928. See also *Czas*, 16. December 1866, no. 286.

⁷² Dietl, Józef, *Projekt uporządkowania miasta Krakowa w ogólnych zarysach skreślony przez Prezydenta Miasta, odczytany na posiedzeniu Rady Miejskiej w dniu 5 stycznia 1871 r. odbytém*. Kraków, 1871, 6.

program), lazaretto for incurable patients, and finally restoration and amendment of city hall and the Cloth Hall (Sukiennice) – with expenses for school renovation and betterment clearly less than for hygienic amendments.⁷³

Similarly, as both precedent scholars, Dietl's transition went not without problems. Although accepted in the political milieu, and acknowledged as reformer wanting to turn Cracow from a provincial into modern city, in his later years he was often accused of corruption, the waste of city funds, unnecessary taxes etc., which finally led to his resignation from mayor in 1874, not without an atmosphere of scandal.⁷⁴ The leading issue was the question of additional taxes which Dietl wanted to spend on the modernization of the city, which were then rejected by the powerful merchants' guild. Another point of contention could have been the conflict of the conservative Dietl with the democratic party, which was visible during the very turbulent election of his successor.

Dietl's change from internist to politician, preoccupied with cultural well being and cultural education, but also with hygiene, health and the esthetical values of Cracow presents an example of disciplinary transition between the scientific and public spheres in a very similar manner, as with Hrushevs'ky and Masaryk. Three named scholars turned out to be extremely influential thinkers and actionists, turning to politics several years after their appointments for professors. While Masaryk and Hrushevs'ky met with both inner and external opposition coming to Prague and L'viv, Dietl, arrived to Cracow in a similar situation of national tensions losing his academic position per the Emperor's decree.⁷⁵ All three had immense influence on the clarification of national programs, rewarded with the official positions they assumed.

Given their positions, especially Masaryk and Hrushevs'ky did not assimilate to the traditions of nationalism they encountered, but actively transformed them according to their own moral, philosophical and historical conceptions. Here, the

⁷³ From the proposed budget of 1.2 million gulden, only 60.000 was foreseen for betterment of the school system, Ibid., 14.

⁷⁴ On Dietl's career as Cracow mayor and controversies he was involved in, see Homola-Skapska, Irena, *Józef Dietl i jego Kraków*. Kraków: Wydawnicwo Literackie, 1993.

⁷⁵ Dietl was pensioned in 1865, being only 61 years-old, according to most secondary sources due to political issues. The exact reasons remain, however, a matter of speculation as Dietl's election for president, held a year later, were not challenged from Vienna. Dietl seemed to have quickly recovered from the Emperor's distrust: he was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit with Crown (*Goldenes Verdienstkreuz mit Krone*) three weeks after being confirmed mayor of Cracow; two years later he was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown, Third Class (*Orden der Eisernen Krone, Ritter der III. Klasse*); in 1871 Franz Joseph called Dietl to be a lifelong member of Cisleithanian Herrenhaus (House of Lords).

boundary between being scholars and politicians is not a contradiction, but follows the same principles and axioms both in their theoretical work and in practical and symbolical politics. Masaryk merged ethic based epistemology and ethical (humanistic) nationalism in his activity as journalist and deputy; Hrushevs'ky rejected interdependence of nations in his historiography and at the same times rejected speaking Polish at L'viv University and actively opposed Russophilism; Dietl not only brought modern hygienic practices to Cracow, but on several occasions claimed organic (in the medical sense not in the sociological) conception of state and its coexistence with nationalities as its autonomous parts.⁷⁶

All three approaches resulted in serious conflicts – Masaryk and Hrushevs'ky contested ideologies of local politics, Dietl lost his position at the university and then as mayor, coming at first in conflict with Habsburg authorities, then with Cracow deputies. This is partly because their transition from one culture to another and then engaging in political life was linked with the inclusion of another worldview and stance than the local ones, although Dietl quite seamlessly assimilated into west Galician conservatism. On many occasions Masaryk and Dietl professed European (i.e., Western) standards they wanted to apply for their activities – those were both in rhetoric and practice in tension with tradition based nationalist concepts leading political imagination in Bohemia and Galicia. Hrushevs'ky's 'Ukrainians' were accepted as a political denomination only at the beginning of the twentieth century due to growing antagonism demanding clear-cut identities.⁷⁷

5.4. Importing the nation?

Nationality change – adoption or inscription in other cultural narratives in the course of family generations, or even one's life – was evidently quite a common occurrence among imperial intellectuals. Moravian painter Dominik Österreicher was the founder of Estreicher family, to which several professor of Jagiellonian University

⁷⁶ See for example speech of Dietl in Galician Diet 1861, where he introduces his conception of state as organism, stating that he is using this metaphor as physician. *Sprawozdania Stenograficzne z Posiedzeń Sejmu Krajowego Galicyjskiego we Lwowie, odbytych o dnia 15. do 26. kwietnia 1861 r.* Lwów: W drukarni E. Winiarza, 1861, 499.

⁷⁷ To my knowledge the first moment in which all journals in Galicia used the word Ukrainian as self-definition was 1907 following the hunger strike of students at L'viv University and (first) agreement of Ruthenian parties to unite for the parliamentary election. See Surman, "Du « barbarisme » et « civilisation ». Le conflit entre les étudiantes polonaises et ruthènes en 1907 et sa construction journalistique."

belonged; father of historian Karol Szajnocha was similarly Moravian Scheinoh-Vtelenský; Joachim Lelewel descended from the Lölhöfffel von Löwensprung family; law historian and politician Antoni Helcel was the son of Anton Hölzel; geographer and writer Wincenty Pol's father, Franz Pohl, came from Ermland; Ukrainian historians Volodymyr Antonovych and Vatslav Lypyns'ky were sons of (Polish) noblemen; Ivan Franko wrote on the German roots of his family; Ol'ha Kobylians'ka's (Ольга Кобилянська) grandfather on his mother's side was German romantic poet Zacharias Werner; Polish playwright Aleksander Fredro was grandfather (similarly from mother's side) of the pivotal political figure of twentieth century Ukrainian movement, Archbishop Andrey Sheptyts'ky (Андрей Шептицький). In a slightly different way than the imperial centers, 'provinces' took part in both the mobility conundrum of empires and the closeness and mixtures of languages and cultures. The Habsburg policy of migrating German-speaking civil servants to Galicia before 1867 as well as the short period of colonization with German-speaking settlers⁷⁸ resulted not only in conflicts, but developed a very productive edge as well because many settlers remained in the province and were active in its cultural and economical betterment. Similarly, the shared space between Ruthenians and Poles resulted not only in a final eruption, but the permeable (or rather fluid) boundary allowed transcultural engagements and influences. To the individuals discussed above one could add a number of Jewish scholars like Askenazy, probably the historian with the most pronounced Polish national ideology at the beginning of the twentieth century. National movements largely profited from these contacts and cultural/national travesties.

Yet, as several examples demonstrate, engaging with nationalism is not linked necessarily with belonging to a particular nation, but rather one can find several effects of synergy in which scholars became involved in the solidification of national programs through professional interests and the academic work carried out in a particular place. Creating national narrative – if its intellectual level is considered – was largely an issue of language, history and territory, secondarily of disciplines close to *anthropos*, which similarly developed more intensively away from the imperial centre. While to a large extent these issues were locally produced, mediated and

⁷⁸ See Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. München: IKGS-Verl, 2007, especially 49-53.

translated respectively (both linguistically and conceptually)⁷⁹ – between German-Slavic but also among Slavic cultures themselves (Czech nationalism for Ukrainian national movement, Polish patriotic evasions as myth-building in Bulgaria)⁸⁰ – the particularities of an empire played a role as well, as a few impressions on the history of Slavic and Romance studies should show.

In particular the strong concentration on languages in Vienna or Graz brought about a series of research directly linked with national development, but also indirectly influencing the projects through theories and providing data. The potential which chairs of languages, literatures and history bore, was visible for lecturers, governmental organizations or even students.⁸¹ The organization of such chair was thus – as presented above during Thun's time or at L'viv University – of special interest. Obviously the idea of withholding nationalism from universities failed not only in the cases of Slavic universities, but elsewhere as well, which the conflict over Italian lectures in Innsbruck illustrates. Moreover, Vienna University served as a strong magnet for nationalist student organizations from the late 1860s, with German, Polish, Czech or Slovenian groups.

A point of interest was here not only political, but in many cases personal, as Vienna hosted several scholars whose research offered vital contributions for nationalist movements. One of the most prominent was philologist Franc Miklošič, whose broad research on languages and dialect affected various national research programs. His most prominent students were, among others, Aleksander Brückner, Karl (Karol) Krek, Václav Vondrák, Karl Štrekelj, Matija Murko, Omelyan Kaluzhnyac'kyj (Омелян Калужняцький) and Vatroslav Jagić, who played a prominent part in the nation-building processes from the late nineteenth century through manifold language research. Miklošič's epistolary work, published in several volumes, covered correspondence with several hundred people, exchanging

⁷⁹ On commented translations of Herder nation theory see Macura, Vladimír, "Problems and Paradoxes of National Revival." In *Bohemia in history*, edited by Mikuláš Teich, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 182-196.

⁸⁰ For Ukrainian-Czech see the previous chapter. For Bulgaria I allude to Antoni Piotrowski's paintings of Bulgarian Independence War, which were heavily influenced by history painting of Piotrowski's Cracow teacher Jan Matejko and contributed through (controversial) images to the solidification of memory of these fights; see Baleva, Martina, and Ulf Brunnbauer, eds. *Batak als bulgarischer Erinnerungsort / Батак като място на паметта*. Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2007.

⁸¹ For example chair for Slavic languages (with special consideration to Slovenian) in Graz was established as a result of student's petition, supported by the provincial parliament; see ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 899, PA Krek, Z. 21999, 16.3.1870.

information, but also clarifying and transferring his particular view on the Slavic past throughout the monarchy.⁸² The accentuation of linguistic reciprocities, including also Balkan languages like Romanian, which linked genetic linguistic with areal linguistic, was in fact twofold: at the same time it deconstructed the national chauvinistic ideologies of linguistic originality and included a confirmation of the legality of Slavic languages without state structures.⁸³ In the 1850s, Miklošič took part in the *Vienna Literary Agreement* (Bečki književni dogovor) of South Slavic scholars to determine a unitary literary language in a form similar to *Hochdeutsch* and Italian, that is, overarching the (“god-given”) national dialects.⁸⁴ Although there were rather no attempts to have such language for other Slavs (apart from Czech and Slovak), the double structure of dialect and (non-existing supra-) language is visible also in Kollár’s reciprocity and it certainly suited the political propaganda and Habsburg nationalism policy. Miklošič was very probably the moving force behind the *Agreement*⁸⁵ and in its first point, the distinction between nationality and language became blurred – literary languages did not compete with national tongues (versions of German and Italian different than literary language were called national, accentuating that the act was not anti-national). In the second place, the closeness to Old Slavonic was seen as pivotal for the choice of dialect to be elevated⁸⁶ - reminiscent of the main points of the Vienna linguist. In the late 1850s Miklošič together with Šafárik also played an important role during the negotiations over the Ukrainian alphabet, criticizing political approaches to Latinize it as failing to grasp the richness of speech and thus scientifically not wise.⁸⁷ Miklošič’s formal approach to languages was the basis for the 1860s grammars of Polish by Antoni Małecki (whom Miklošič, as noted before, urged to learn the Old Slavonic language thus

⁸² Sturm-Schnabl, Katja, "Franz Miklosich als Wegbegleiter bei der Entstehung der ukrainischen Schriftsprache." In *Sprache und Literatur der Ukraine zwischen Ost und West – Mova ma literatura Ukraïni між сходом і заходом*, edited by Juliane Besters-Dilger, Michael Moser and Stefan Simonek, Frankfurt am Main, Wien etc. : Lang, 2000, 195 – 209.

⁸³ Sturm-Schnabl, Katja "Slowenistik an der Universität Wien als europäischer Beitrag." *Trans. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 3 (1998).

⁸⁴ Greenberg, Robert D., *Language and Identity in the Balkans. Serbo-Croatian and its Disintegration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 24-29.

⁸⁵ Grčević, Mario, "Jernej Kopitar kao strateg Karadžićeve književnojezične reforme." *Filologija* 53 (2009): 1-53, on Miklošič in context of the agreement 39-42.

⁸⁶ See the translation and original text in Greenberg, *Language and Identity in the Balkans*, 168-171; the English translation is however misleading as *narod* is translated to underscore the *folk* meaning of the word and thus not covering its historical ambiguity; the points of particular interest are 1c and 2b.

⁸⁷ Франко, Іван, ed. *Азбучна війна в Галичині, 1859 р.: Нові матеріали*, Українсько-руський архів Vol. 8. Львів: Накладом Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка, 1912, XIV-XX.

opening the possibility of historicization of language) or Ruthenian by Mykhailo Osadtsa (Михайло Осадца), influencing similarly philological approaches to Czech and Slovak languages in Bohemia as well.⁸⁸

Miklošič's student (and from 1886 his successor), Vatroslav Jagić, commonly regarded as father of modern Slav philology, intensified the efforts of the internationalization of his teacher's work through a wide range of comparative studies, personal contacts and editorial work as the founder of *Archive for Slavic Philology* (*Archiv für Slavische Philologie*). Similarly impressive is the number of his students (and followers – see above on his *Festschrift*) and membership in scholarly societies.

What is particularly interesting in Miklošič's and Jagić's biographies is that working at the Viennese University, far from the regional centers of the respective national movements – the first being of Slovenian, the second of Croatian origin – they held back from their national inclinations working on comparative linguistics and not on single philologies as their counterparts from provincial academies.⁸⁹ Jagić, writing on Miklošič, characterized these peculiar working conditions:

He [Miklošič] was free to traverse its whole territory unhampered by considerations of this and that provincial language or its special claims – which was by no means the case among Russian Slavists, or, indeed, at the other universities of Austria, where Slavonic Chairs came to be gradually erected. In Vienna there could only be Slavists of equal rank; 'Bohemists' or 'Polonists' there could not be.⁹⁰

Even if their work (in both cases especially their early research) was dominated by investigation on/in their mother tongues, they both published on a

⁸⁸ Šťastný, Vladislav, "Slavistika v české historiografii na přelomu 19. a 20. století." In *Slawistyka polska na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, edited by Mieczysław Basaj and Stanisław Urbańczyk, Wrocław et.al.: Ossolineum; PAN, 1990, 73-83; Мацюк, Галина, "Українське мовознавство XIX ст. крізь призму наукових шкіл" *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія філологічна* 34, no. 2 (2004): 3-11.

⁸⁹ See for example critics on local inclination of Polish Slavic philology in Rybicka-Nowacka, Halina, "Dziewiętnastowieczni pionierzy językoznawstwa polskiego;" and Rusek, Jerzy, "Slawistyka na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim na przełomie XIX i XX w." In Basaj, Urbańczyk, eds, *Slawistyka polska*, 19-33 and 117-126. Slavic philologists at other universities at this time (Antoni Kalina and Omelian Ohonovs'kyj in L'viv, Martin Hattala and Jan Gebauer in Prague) published predominantly on/in their mother tongues, although Kalina published also a monograph on Romani language in Slovakia (in French) and on Bulgarian language (in Polish). A number of *Privatdozenten* for comparative philology habilitated only around 1900, with exceptions of Aleksander Brückner (who habilitated in L'viv but taught than in Berlin) and Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (who taught in Cracow only for short time).

⁹⁰ Jagić, Vatroslav, "A Survey of Slavistic Studies." *The Slavonic Review* 1, no. 1 (1922): 40-58, here 49.

variety of topics in predominantly German (both published in Latin as well as Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian respectively); Jagić also published in Russian as he spent some of his career in St. Petersburg. Both the comparative approach and the accessibility of the languages of publications certainly influenced reception, which was nationally limited through the language issue and/or topical focus, if other Habsburg Slavic studies scholars are concerned. Both were also active Pan-Slavists, which provides an interesting parallel between their scholar and political activities.

The issue of Pan-Slavism helps to clarify the political inclination of the (allegedly 'a-national') comparative and at the same time Church-Slav based philology. The origins of the interest in Old Church Slavonic lie closely in connection with particular ideologies – the Habsburg pioneers of its research, Josef Dobrovský, Jernej Kopitar, Pavel Jozef Šafárik and Miklošič⁹¹ were propagators of Pan-Slavic and Austro-Slavic movements; Slovenes Kopitar and Miklošič traced the geographical origin of the language to the center of Habsburg Empire Pannonia,⁹² Miklošič calling it also Old-Slovenian, while other scholars located it in areas of modern Bulgaria and Macedonia (calling it also Old Bulgarian). In the context of the Russian Empire, the popularity of Old-Church-Slavonic was also linked with idea of the continuity of historical development and primacy of Russian language,⁹³ which was challenged on linguistic-historical basis by, among others, 'Ukrainian' scholars claiming linguistic and cultural exceptionality of Kievan Rus' Cossacks (first Mykhaylo Maksymovych [Михайло Максимович] in 1839).⁹⁴ But also in other contexts, the tension between the Old Church Slavonic language (which in addition had Catholic codification through Saints Cyril and Methodius) and vernaculars was pivotal for the solidification

⁹¹ Moritsch, Andreas, "Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas." In *Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas*, edited by Idem., Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1996, 11-23, here 13.

⁹² Wladimir Fischer, for example, mentions the crucial but understudied role of Habsburg-lenience of Pannonian theory: Fischer, Wladimir, "review of: Merchiers, Ingrid, Cultural Nationalism in the South Slav Habsburg Lands in the Early Nineteenth Century. The Scholarly Network of Jernej Kopitar (1780 - 1844), München: Sagner, 2007." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 58 (2010): 611-612, here 612.

⁹³ See for example prominent Russian Pan-Slavist Pogodin, co-translator of Dobrovský's *Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris*, (although he was also proponent of Norman-theory); see Zlatar, Zdenko, "For the Sake of Slavdom' II. M. P. Pogodin and the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee: A Collective Portrait of 1870 " *East European Quarterly* XL, no. 3 (2006): 255-291.

⁹⁴ Maksymovych, linguist, historian and folklorist with wide contacts in Galicia, published 1839 *History of Old Russian Literature* (История древней русской словесности) which presented the thesis of exceptionality of Cossack literature and its difference from Russian language and literature.

of national ideologies, for example in Ruthenian/Ukrainian case or Slovakian, languages where political tendencies mingled with scholarly interests.

In the language research we can thus easily talk about politically driven epistemology, in which the definition of subject follows the loyalty-identity inclination of particular scholars. Accentuation of national particularity or interdependence between languages follows here the national versus imperial projects; thus the inclination of pro-Habsburg scholars like Šafárik or Miklošič towards finding current or historical similarities between the languages – which they then passed on through appointments of scholars working on comparative linguistics, confronted the research in the historical depth of cultural entities which supported the nationalization projects. Jan Baudouin de Courtnay, as a latecomer star among comparative linguist around 1900, shows well the entanglement of political and theoretical. Working on comparative phonology, dialectology, and an early version of what would later be called structuralist linguistic theory, he pleaded for an acknowledgment of the importance of cultural minorities as opposed to imperialist/nationalist states and highlighted the role of Esperanto as the primary language for intercultural communication because of its communicative value without the symbolical drawback of other languages. As a transnational and transimperial scholar himself – working in Kazan, Dorpat, St. Petersburg, Cracow, Warsaw, and studying in Berlin, Leipzig and elsewhere – he proposed thus both linguistic and political systems in which particularity and communicational functionality would be sustained.⁹⁵

The renunciation of purely nation-bound research is visible though among other philologists of the time – for example, the Romance language philologist in Graz Hugo Schuchard worked on Creole and Basque languages or Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke in Vienna who was in turn influential for Romanian. This development was certainly co-influenced by the fact that the division of philological chairs in one chair concerned with philology and one with language came belatedly at the provincial universities in the monarchy. This did not only concern respective national language research, which flourished after 1867, but more importantly in other languages, including German as mentioned before, which lacked the interest and the need for

⁹⁵ On his biography see for example Adamska-Sałaciak, Arleta, "Jan Baudouin de Courtenay's contribution to linguistic theory." *Historiographia Linguistica* 25, no. 1/2 (1998): 25-60.

academic representation of German philology/literature which was always visibly behind the disciplines concerned with respective 'national' issues. So too, for example, were lecturers for foreign languages in Galicia – Edward Porębowicz (Romance philology, L'viv), Roman Dyboski (English philology, Cracow) and Józef Tretyak (Ruthenian, Cracow) – preoccupied with literature, with a strong inclination towards translations and influence research. Notably, Vienna-educated Jan Jarník, at the Czech University in Prague from 1882, was widely publishing on Albanian and Romanian languages. This nationalization of philology could not be driven endlessly – at the turn of the century habilitations and chairs in Sanskrit or Arabic language were established in Prague and Galicia as well, breaking the local inclination of linguistic research.

Apart from this policy of language research, one can find an interesting strain of influence from Vienna through Chernivtsi, closely linked with issues of scholar migration. Established at the time of the intensification of Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist movements, the provincial university hosted a number of scholars preoccupied with both languages. The scholars appointed for the chairs in the first round were poet and folklorist Ion/Johann Sbiera and historian Alexander Budinszky (both for Romanian) and comparative Slavic philologist Kaluzhnyac'kyj. While Sbiera and Kaluzhnyac'kyj remained in Chernivtsi, Budiszky was pensioned in 1884, just having turned 40, probably due to his conflicts at the university caused by his attempts to convince the government to move the university to Brno.⁹⁶ As his congratulation notice to Johann Loserth on occasion of his appointment from Chernivtsi to Vienna stated "Alexander Budinszky congratulates to final salvation,"⁹⁷ the retirement – later leading to high administrative positions – might have been his idea as well.

Sbiera and Kaluzhnyac'kyj have been certainly important in the creation of the respective national organizations in Bukovina, the first being the founding member of the Romanian Literary Society (*Societatea Literară Română*, later its name was changed to the Romanian Academy – *Academia Română*), the second president of

⁹⁶ Nastasă, Lucian, *Itinerarii spre lumea savanta. Tineri din spatiul romanesc la studii in strainatate. 1864-1944*. Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2006 (here after unpaginated online version accessible at <http://www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/cercet/Nastasa/ItinerariiLumeaSavanta.pdf>, PDF-page 21)

⁹⁷ Quoted after Soukup, Pavel, "Johann Loserth (1846-1936). 'Ein Gelehrter von Weltruf' in Czernowitz." In *Österreichische Historiker 1900-1945: Lebensläufe und Karrieren in Österreich, Deutschland und der Tschechoslowakei in wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Porträts*, edited by Karel Hruza, Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2008, 39-71, here 59.

Russophile-Ruthenian *Rus'ka Besida* (Руська Бесіда) and member of academies in Bucharest and St. Petersburg.⁹⁸ Moreover, their numerous publications – Sbiera's on Romanian, Kaluzhnyac'kyj's on variety of Slavistic topics, inclusive the history of the Ruthenian language in Bukovina – inscribed into the quest of securing the place of respective nationalities on the cultural geography of the province. The heyday of Chernivtsi's importance for both national narratives came however with the 'second generation' of scholars – Stepan Smal'-Stots'ky (Ruthenian), Sextil Pușcariu (Romanian) and Romance languages scholars Theodor Gartner, Matthias Friedwagner and Eugen Herzog.⁹⁹ All of them had studied at least for some time in Vienna, turning then to research on national languages on a comparative and historical basis (Smal'-Stots'ky, Pușcariu) or to comparative studies (Gartner, Friedwagner, Herzog).¹⁰⁰

While the careers of Smal'-Stots'ky and Pușcariu and their influence on their language's standardization is well known and has been widely researched, it is interesting to have a closer look at the careers of three Romance philologists. All three were born in western parts of the Monarchy, studied comparative philology and held chairs in Chernivtsi for around a decade before being appointed to Innsbruck (Gartner) and Frankfurt am Main (Friedwagner). Herzog remained in Romania after 1918 until his death in 1926. Yet, the names of all three are often mentioned when looking at the tradition of Romanian (Friedwagner, Herzog) and Ukrainian (Gartner) philology.

The influence of Habsburg scholars on the Romanian national discourse has a long history, including not only philologists, but also historians. Late in the 18th century amateur historians Franz Sulzer and Johann Christian Engel published on what would be later called 'immigrationist' theory, a thesis of a non-Roman origin of Romanians and positing a lack of direct historical continuity between the Roman population and people of later proto-Romanian provinces. This thesis stood in open

⁹⁸ Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*, 205-206.

⁹⁹ For general biographical overview see Kramer, Johannes, "Die Romanisten an der Franz-Josephs-Universität Czernowitz." In *Gelebte Multikulturalität. Czernowitz und die Bukowina*, edited by Victoria Popovici, Wolfgang Dahmen and Johannes Kramer, Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang, 2010, 87-106; Даниленко, Віктор Михайлович, and Олександр Володимирович Добржанський, *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький. Життя і діяльність*. Київ– Чернівці: Нап, 1996.

¹⁰⁰ Also prominent historian and influential Romanian politician Ion Nistor had Viennese education. For other the examples of scholars with 'Austrian' education see Nastasă, Lucian, *Suveranii universitatilor romanesti. Mecanisme de selecție și promovare a elitei intelectuale. Profesorii Facultăților de Filosofie și Litere (1864-1948)*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura LIMES, 2007, 218-220.

conflict with the ideas of the so called Transylvanian School (*Școala Ardeleană*), which claimed since end of the eighteenth century a direct link between the Romans and Romanians, accentuating the integration and merging of the Dacians and Romans of the province. Scholars of the Transylvanian School also proposed a new phonetic alphabet for Romanian, in contrast to the historical Cyrillic alphabet based on the Latin script, yet with an accentuation of original phonetics which was not covered by the Hungarian-based alphabet used at the same time. This linguistic purism was based precisely on historical roots of Latin, consequently removing words of Slavic and Magyar origin and accentuating Latin, French and Italian¹⁰¹ – linguistic and historical projects were thus closely interwoven.

The ‘immigrationist’ thesis was revived in 1871 by Graz historian Eduard Rössler, who in his book *Romanian Studies* (*Rumänische Studien*) claimed that Romanians descended from southern Dacia in Middle Ages replacing Roman population which left the country with the withdrawal of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century.¹⁰² With both historical and linguistic examples, Rössler opposed the continuity theory of (Latin) Roman descent on which the Romanian nationalists grounded not only the national project, but also historic rights to regions like Transylvania.¹⁰³ Although the main ideas of this theory had been expressed before, Rössler’s publication gave, according to his contemporary Romanian scholar Alexandru Xenopol, “a new impulse to research on the origin of Romanians,”¹⁰⁴ resulting in a series of polemical writings from Romania (e.g. Dimitre Onciul, Xenopol), finding a strong positive resonance in Hungarian historiography (most notably Pál Hunfalvy/Paul Hunsdorfer).¹⁰⁵ At the Habsburg universities the

¹⁰¹ Niculescu, Alexandru, "Histoire de la réflexion sur les langues romaines: le roumain." In *Romanische Sprachgeschichte: Histoire linguistique de La Romani*, edited by Ernst Gerhard, Martin-Dietrich Glebgen, Christian Schmitt and Wolfgang Schweickard, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003, 184-196, here 190-192.

¹⁰² Rössler probably did not know of work of Sulzer and Engel, so at least Julius Jung, quoted in Xenopol, Alexandru D., *Teoria lui Rösler - Studii asupra stăruinței românilor în Dacia Traiană*. Iași: Tipogr. Națională, 1884, 14.

¹⁰³ Puttkamer, Joahim von, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn: Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914*. München: Oldenbourg, 2003, 349-363. On the question of Romanian identity in historical development and conflicts surrounding it see Boia, Lucian, *Romania : borderland of Europe*. Translated by James Christian Brown. London: Reaktion Books, 2001, about Rössler and ‘immigrationist’ theory especially pp. 45-52

¹⁰⁴ Xenopol, Alexandru D., *Une énigme historique les Roumains au moyen-âge* Paris: E. Leroux, 1885, 9. Although Xenopol was active mostly in Bucharest and Paris, both his French and Romanian writings on this topic refer almost exclusively to literature from the Habsburg Monarchy.

¹⁰⁵ On reactions in Hungary, especially on rapid inclusion of Rössler’s theory in schoolbooks see

‘immigrationist’ theory as put forward by Rössler found both positive rapprochement (Hermann Ignaz Biedermann, Wilhelm Tomaschek) but also rejection by Julius Jung (Innsbruck, than Prague) and Josef Ladislav Pič (Czech University in Prague), as Xenopol mentioned, elements supporting the theory could be found in works of Kopitar, Miklošič and Šafárik.¹⁰⁶

A pivotal figure in the argument of Romanian continuity was Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, who in his *Grammar of Romance Languages (Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, 4 vols., 1890-1902) included seemingly as the first (‘western’) scholar Romanian into the Romance language family, firmly stating also the centrality towards its dialects Macedonian and Istrian and asserting the continuity of past and present spoken language.¹⁰⁷ In Vienna, Meyer-Lübke not only raised the interest in Romanian philology, but also educated a number of scholars, most notably Dumitru Caracostea and the influential philologist Sextil Pușcariu. Pușcariu, both an intellectually and politically active scholar, worked intensively in the tradition of the continuity thesis, publishing among other important studies on reconstruction of Romanian etymology, the first *On Reconstruction of Ancient-Romanian (Zur Rekonstruktion des Urrumänischen*, 1910) or presenting the thesis of descent of the Istro-Romanian language from Romanian. In his writings he depicted a strongly politicized yet popular idea of Romanian national geography including Transylvania, based on Meyer-Lübke’s idea of Romanian as a regionally central language and having a Latin core of Romanian with foreign (and not assimilated) elements of neighboring languages as voiced by *Școala Ardeleană*.¹⁰⁸ Pușcariu could not only popularize his thesis through publication, but more importantly he was in charge of publishing the official Romanian dictionary of *Academia Română*. The continuity of Meyer-Lübke’s thoughts was underscored by the Cluj scholar on manifold occasions, for example through dedications or participation in his *Festschrift* (1921). In the linguistic journal under meaningful title *Dacoromania*, published in Cluj under direction of Pușcariu from 1920, Meyer-Lübke, and also his pupil Leo Spitzer, were

Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration*, esp. 355-363.

¹⁰⁶ Xenopol, *Une énigme historique*, 8-13.

¹⁰⁷ See Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1890, 11. Information on Meyer-Lübke as the first scholar to define the broad Romance language family is taken from Elwert, Theodor, "Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1994, 303-304.

¹⁰⁸ Niculescu, "Histoire de la réflexion sur les langues romaines: le roumain," here 191-194.

among a few germanophone scholars invited for contributions.¹⁰⁹ In the *Festschrift* for Pușcariu's 50th birthday, Meyer-Lübke, Spitzer, Friedwagner and Herzog were the only participating germanophone scholars visualizing thus both school belonging and locality of Pușcariu's philology.¹¹⁰

The importance of continuity theory for Pușcariu went hand in hand with the local Bukovinian interest of accentuating the Romanian claim to the province in contrast to Ruthenian claims. The questions at stake were not only the population demographics, but also the history of Bukovina, that is, who came first, and who immigrated when, arguing historicity against the growing importance of Slavic and Germanic populations. Pușcariu, together with his friend and fellow Vienna *Privatdozent* Ion Nistor, took pivotal roles, not only organizing Romanian organizations, but also widely publishing on the Romanian past and present of the province. With Nistor's appointment in 1912 as associate professor of history of South-Eastern Europe (with special consideration of Romanian history), the nominally neutral chair was turned into a rostrum, from which "The Historical Importance of the Romanians" – as the first words of Nistor's inauguration lecture title stated – was to be certified.¹¹¹ The chair counterbalanced also "Eastern-European" history, represented by conservative Russophile Ruthenian Volodymyr Myl'kovych, who was similarly educated in Vienna and was teaching from 1895 in Chernivtsi after his habilitation was rejected in L'viv.

Yet, the influence of Chernivtsi was not limited to Romanian scholars, as the post in Bukovina meant for scholars working on Romance languages also changed their professional orientation towards research of Romani dialects spoken in the region. In this regard all three philologist mentioned above made a turn towards local circumstances, contributing thus to a stabilization of national influence in the region. Even without taking openly political stance, Gartner, Friedwagner and Herzog's professional occupation inscribed their work into politicized conflict, though with differing results.

¹⁰⁹ Meyer-Lübke wrote for example the opening article for the second volume.

¹¹⁰ *Revista Filologică*, 1927, no. 1-2, here after description in Iordan, Iorgu, "Besprechungen und Anzeigen. V. Rumänisch." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 54, no. 2 (1934): 363-379, here 366-369.

¹¹¹ See Michelson, Paul E., "Ion I. Nistor and the Development of Romanian Historiography in Bucovina to the Union of 1918." *Codrul Cosminului* 16, no. 1 (2010): 59-83, on the inauguration lecture p. 70.

Leaving the university after a 10-years professorship in 1910, Matthias Friedwagner quite openly reflected on the multicultural environment in which he worked, evoking the stabilization provided through German culture.¹¹² His dominating preoccupation was Old French and especially Raoul de Houdenc, yet in Chernivtsi he turned also to collecting Romanian folk songs from Bukovina. This etymologically important collection, originating from governmental projects, was finally published beginning in the 1940's as Friedwagner was already in Frankfurt. Yet, his interest in Romanian was visible in numerous reviews about philology of/in the Romanian language (beginning also with his episode in Bukovina) or in a later article supporting the continuity theory which, although accepted in Romania was contested elsewhere.¹¹³ From the Romanian side, Friedwagner became after his appointment to Frankfurt an apostle of the Romanian cause in Germany – which is emphasized in several obituaries.¹¹⁴

While Friedwagner left the university in 1911, his successor Eugen Herzog remained in Czernivtsi even after incorporation of Bukovina into Romania. Similarly as in his predecessor, migration moved his interest from Old French into the Romanian language, yet with much more longevity than Friedwagner. His most important work in Romanian philology was an extensive early Romanian grammar, published in 1919 with Sextil Pușcariu in German. During his work in Czernivtsi, Herzog also published in *Dacoromania* and the journals *Codrul Cosminului* and *Revista Filologică* in Chernivtsi, also serving as an editorial member of the first journal. Not exclusively devoted to Romanian and publishing on Old French as well, his contributions in Chernivtsi were highly valued, as obituaries of Pușcariu and Pușcariu's and Herzog's student Alexe Procopovici, similarly an acknowledged

¹¹² Friedwagner, Matthias, *Über die Volksdichtung der Bukowiner Rumänen. Inaugurationsrede gehalten am 2. Dezember 1910*. Czernowitz: H. Pardini, 1911, esp. 5-7.

¹¹³ For a short biography and bibliography of Friedwagner see Lommatzsch, Erhard, "Zur Erinnerung an Matthias Friedwagner." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 61 (1941): 45-62; Romanian appraisal of his philological activities can be found in Pușcariu, Sextil, "Matthias Friedwagner." *Dacoromania. Buletinul Muzeului Limbii Române* 10 (1941): 225-227; the idea of acceptance of continuity theory in Romania and skepticism elsewhere is taken directly from Friedwagner's article, Friedwagner, Matthias, "Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumänen in ihrer Frühzeit." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 54, no. 4 (1934): 641-715, p. 715.

¹¹⁴ For an overview see Pascaniuc, Elena, "Matthias Friedwagner (1861-1940), Förderer der rumänischen Kultur in Deutschland." In *Gelebte Multikulturalität. Czernowitz und die Bukowina*, edited by Victoria Popovici, Wolfgang Dahmen and Johannes Kramer, Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang, 2010, 107-120.

Romanian linguist, prove.¹¹⁵ Apart from the grammar, his cooperation with philosopher Vasile Gherasim on glossary of folk-speech of Marginea village (currently in Suceava county, Romania) was also highly valued.¹¹⁶

On this philological list, Theodor Gartner stands for both possible national options in Bukovina – his name was featured on the cover of a Ruthenian (co-authored with Smal'-Stots'ky in 1893) and a Romanian (single author, 1904) grammar – and in between as a proponent of Rhaeto-Romance unity. Gartner was in fact trained as a scientist (physics and mathematics) and became interested in Romance philology only in his 30s after meeting prominent Romanist Eduard Böhmer. After studying in Vienna under the supervision of Dalmatian-Italian comparative linguist Adolf/Adolfo Mussafia, working predominantly on Romance Ranguage, Gartner published work on the Rhaeto-Romance dialect of Gröden (now Val Gardena, Italy) in Tirol and a few years later a Rhaeto-Romance grammar, working and publishing scarcely on questions of Romanian language. In 1885 he was appointed to Chernivtsi as a replacement for Alexander Budinszky and from this time his interest in both languages of the province took a more active turn.

One of the first publications of Gartner after his arrival to Czernivtsi is a 'minority voice' on the question of the Ruthenian alphabet, composed together with Smal'-Stots'ky.¹¹⁷ The piece was concerned with the question of the Ruthenian alphabet for school education in Bukovina, yet it only shortly preceded the next 'war on alphabet' in Galicia, giving it the utmost importance.

In a short version, the conflict was similar to prior to 1848 turning around the alphabet questions, yet now with the exclusion of Latinization, which was dropped after 1861. Now, the choice lay between differing Cyrillic orthographies, the 'historic' (or etymological) one and the 'phonetic' one (later *fonetyka*).¹¹⁸ 'Historic' orthography was based on Old Church Slavonic, and in the eyes of its proponents showed the continuity of Ruthenian culture. *Fonetyka* on the other hand was to modernize the language, making peculiarities of spoken idiom visible in writing, yet

¹¹⁵ Obituary written by Pușcariu was published in *Dacoromania*, Procopovici's extensive one, including also Herzog's bibliography, in *Revista Filologică*.

¹¹⁶ Iordan, "Besprechungen und Anzeigen. V. Rumänisch."

¹¹⁷ Gartner, Theodor, and Stephan Smal-Stocki, *Minoritätstvetum in der vom k.k. Bukowiner Landesschulrathe behufs Regelung der ruthenischen Schulortographie eingesetzten Commission abgegeben im November 1887*. Czernowitz: Selbstverlag, 1888.

¹¹⁸ For description of this conflict see Zayarnyuk, "Mapping Identities: The Popular Base of Galician Russophilism in the 1890s," 117-142.

making the historical continuity less visible, for example, through the removal of several Old Church Slavonic letters (ѣ, ѣ, ѣ) and the addition of new ones (like і).¹¹⁹ Yet, the practice of language use was mixed different versions of alphabets, and there were several differing and unstable versions of a ‘correct’ language – both between provinces and between empires.¹²⁰ At the political level though, the conflict ran between Russophile and Ukrainophile groups, that is, between supporters of historical continuity with Church Slavonic and connections to Russia vs. cultural autonomists. Due to Ukrainophile influence in the New Era and after a bitter ideological campaign, *fonetyka* was accepted as the alphabet for school instruction in Galicia, and although not universally applied, served as alphabet of the literary and scientific publications of *Prosvita* and the *Shevchenko Society*. Having a number of Galician particularities and due to restrictions towards Ukrainian in the Russian Empire, it remained a Habsburg phenomenon, being strongly contested from 1907 by the Kiev-published *hrinchenkivka* (грінченківка).

In their publication, Stots’ky and Gartner forcefully committed to *fonetyka*, mentioning literary, philological, didactic reasons as well as the interest of the Church – and titled the main parts after these reasons.¹²¹ Argumentation was also from the beginning polemic and mingled scientific arguments with political. Central “non-scientific” points were the alienation of the “historical” alphabet from the spoken idiom and thus from the people (authors called it “an idea of few philologists”)¹²² and the etymological alphabet as an attempt to impose Russian (with visual elements of Church Slavonic).¹²³ Stots’ky and Gartner emphasized the practicality of phonetic alphabets for school education and for religious issues, rejecting though the “materialist” alphabet of Drohomanov towards version of Yevhen Zhelekhivsky (*zhelekhivka*).

¹¹⁹ These particular examples are taken from Ruthenian-German dictionary of Yevhen Zhelekhivsky (Євген Желехівський) published posthumously in L’viv in 1886.

¹²⁰ For example though *kulishivka* (кулішівка), *drohomanivka* (драгоманівка), *zhelekhivka* (желехівка), later also *hrinchenkivka* (грінченківка, 1907). Names of different versions of alphabets are derivate from names of scholars, here respectively: Panteleimon Kulish (Пантелеймон Куліш), Mykhailo Drahomanov, Zhelekhivsky and Borys Hrinchenko (Борис Грінченко). See Огієнко, Іван, *Історія української літературної мови*. Київ: Наша культура і наука, 2001 [1949].

¹²¹ Gartner, Smal-Stocki, *Minoritätstutium*, 8.

¹²² See e.g. *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

With the support of ‘narodovtsy,’ this idea of adopting *zhelekhivka* for educational purposes was accepted in Galicia, and later in Bukovina, notwithstanding the assaults from various sides claiming it as a step towards polonization, westernization and loss of cultural identity. The necessary schoolbook was provided once more by Stots’ky and Gartner (1893) and was reissued until the 1920s, and later in the German language as well. The linguistic basis of the book was also accepted by the *Shevchenko Society*, and partially introduced by Hrushevs’ky into Russian Ukraine after 1907, although without greater success as it was replaced by *hrinchenkivka*, and later, in 1928, by *Kharkivsky/skrypnykivsky pravopis* (харківський/скрипниківський правопис), which was first universally adopted All-Ukrainian orthography.¹²⁴

Yet tracing the story of Stots’ky’s and Gartner’s orthography, one finds interesting information in Stots’ky’s obituary of Gartner. While it would seem plausible that Stots’ky’s was the moving force behind the adoption of *fonetyka*, he himself speaks of Gartner being the *primum movens* behind this particular conception of a uniform folklike grammar. After his coming to Chernivtsi, and trying to learn Ukrainian, Gartner encountered manifold versions of grammar. He therefore proposed to Stots’ky, who tutored him, to prepare a standard grammar, which would facilitate learning not only for him but more importantly in schools.¹²⁵ The proposition was forwarded in 1886 to the Ministry of Education, but found no general acceptance, being rebuked by among others Jagić. Yet through the persistence of Gartner, who served as a mediator with the Ministry, a survey among scholars in Galicia and Bukovina was ordered, which turned out negatively in both cases, resulting in a campaign against *fonetyka* and its proponents.

Notwithstanding the rejection, both scholars prepared the grammar (which took them five years) gaining one positive reaction and even a trial implementation in schools in Serit (Серит) County. Finally, the project interested minister Gautsch who once more took it into consideration. In Galicia, where the Provincial School Board (Rada Szkolna Krajowa) controlled the primary education, its vice-president¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Developed by All-Ukrainian Orthographic Conference (Всеукраїнська правописна конференція), hold in 1927 in Kharkiv under the lead of Mykola Skrypnyk (Микола Скрипник) with participation of scholars from Ukrainian SSR and L’viv *Shevchenko Society*.

¹²⁵ Смаль-Стоцький, Степан, "Федір Гартнер." *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. Праці Філологічної секції* 86-87 (1925): 239-248.

¹²⁶ Officially the governor presided over the Board, but the vice-president deputized him.

Michał Bobrzyński, after a meeting with Stots'ky, accepted the premises of *fonetyka*, and forwarded the positive results of the survey to the Ministry. With the acceptance of *fonetyka* in Galicia, the Ministry ordered Bukovina to adopt the schoolbook.

Notwithstanding the move of Gartner to Innsbruck, both scholars prepared together the revised versions of the grammar and finally in 1911 started to work on its codification in German. Not being accepted for print in the authoritative series of August Leskien and Erich Berneker, *Collection of Slavic Textbooks and Handbooks* (*Sammlung slavischer Lehr- und Handbücher*), which was publishing at the time the 'standard' codification works, it was finally published 1913 with the support of the Habsburg Ministry in Vienna.

Although Stots'ky evidently described Gartner in a positive manner only when highlighting his one particular field of interest, the romance philologist's role in the development of this politically influential version of Ruthenian¹²⁷ shows a particular paradox of mobility and scholarly interest. In certainty, even if the proposal came from Gartner, the traces of Stots'ky's political ideology are unmistakable, especially if one considers his later political role. Notwithstanding the question why he learned Ruthenian, most important seems his support for a phonetic alphabet, which as one could argue was not based on political ideology but on a scientific agenda, which Gartner followed throughout his career. To see this, one has to follow his career further to Innsbruck, where he returned to his previous field of interest and research, ironically not less political as the one in Bukovina.

Moving to Innsbruck in 1899, Gartner neared the regions where the Rhaeto-Roman language in which he was specialized was spoken, enabling him to continue the work begun a few decades earlier. Yet, his first publications were devoted to the Romanian language – interestingly because he did not publish much in this area in Bukovina. As he mentioned in one of his articles, from the beginning of his appointment in Bukovina he was occupied with collections of folk songs¹²⁸ which resulted then in the publication on five Romanian dialects in Bukovina (1902). In 1904, Gartner published a Romanian grammar (with text samples) in which he took a stance on the historicity of Romanian. He stated that the Romance genesis is

¹²⁷ As Philipp Hofeneder notes, Gartner and Stots'ky use the expression 'Ukrainian language' instead of earlier used 'Ruthenian' only from the 1914 edition, Hofeneder, *Galizisch-ruthenische Schulbücher*, 254.

¹²⁸ Gartner, Theodor, "Fünf rumänische Mundarten der Bukowina." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 26, no. 2 (1902): 230-242, here 230.

undoubted, while it could be hard to prove because of the political oppression the Roman(ian) population experienced since antiquity. He supported however the ‘immigrationist’ theory stating that it is supported by his findings on the position of Romanian in geographical and historical contexts.¹²⁹

His compendium of Rhaeto-Romance language and literature, published six years later, presented different dialects in comparison to a ‘standard’ language presented in both grammars Gartner worked on before. While not being an acknowledged ‘national’ language, the Rhaeto-Romance language was however far from being an apolitical issue.

Spoken in three regions between the Habsburg Monarchy and Italy, the autonomy of the Rhaeto-Romance language was contested throughout the nineteenth century. From the Italian side it was claimed that Ladinian was a corrupted version of Italian – although this version began to be influential especially in the interwar period. Other scholars – most notably Graziado Ascoli (who gave the language/dialects the general name Ladinian) and Gartner claimed an Old-Romance derivation, asserting though a strong Italian influence due to proximity. Moreover, they claimed a unity between regionally detached areas in which the language(s)/dialects was (were) spoken (called now *unità ladina*).¹³⁰ While Ascoli choose Ladinian, as it was the most common denomination used by the speakers themselves, Gartner – in his grammar from 1883 – opted for historicizing the language – asserting variety of dialects in the region and the artificiality of this construct: the commonality was symbolized by the name of Roman province Rhaetia.¹³¹

The political context was certainly known to Gartner from the beginning – in his review of Johann Alton’s *The Ladin Dialects in Ladinia* (Die Ladeinischen Idiome in Ladinien, 1880), he criticized the author of deformations in favor of an imagined Ladin entity and his uncritical approach to oral sources, as it “is not easy to prevent that the people, especially the adults, will attend one with distorted Italian instead of

¹²⁹ Gartner, Theodor, *Darstellung der rumänischen Sprache*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1904, 77-82; see also Coseriu, Eugene, "Theodor Gartners Werk im Bereich der Rumänistik." In *Akten der Theodor Gartner-Tagung (Rätoromanisch und Rumänisch in Vill/Innsbruck 1985)*, edited by Guntram A. Plangg and Maria Iliescu, Innsbruck: Institut Für Romanistik, 1987, 277-289.

¹³⁰ On the conflicts see the first chapter of Liver, Ricarda, *Rätoromanisch: eine Einführung in das Bündnerromanische*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1999, on Gartner esp. p. 15-16. Affinities between those idioms do not necessary mean historical unity.

¹³¹ Gartner, Theodor, *Rätoromanische Grammatik*. Heibronn: Henninger, 1883, pp. XIX-XXI.

their dialect.”¹³² In the grammar itself, Italian influences were listed together with Germanic and Slavic as foreign, and the symbolic Rhaeto-Romance unity was materialized in a similar way as the ‘Ladin Entity’ he criticized in Alton. Yet, between 1883 and 1899 Gartner’s position towards Rhaeto-Romance evolved from detached intellectuality asserting abstraction of his superscription, towards a real historical and etymological unity of political importance, reflecting the changes in the Ladin questions, but also his own preoccupation with nationality and language questions in Bukovina.

After his appointment to Tyrol, Gartner was confronted with the growing nationality conflict, in which *unità ladinia* was supported by the Pan-German nationalists in order to contest Italian irredentism, which included Ladinians as Italians. In this respect, his language program proved not only to be politically applicable, but he entered the conflict actively. The grammatical texts in the *Handbook of Rhaeto-Romance* are “more or less characteristic language occurrences, characteristic for the position of Rhaeto-Romance dialects among each others and with neighboring Italian.”¹³³ In the very next sentence of the introduction, Gartner asserts that while through spatial proximity the border between dialects is not firm but rather a smooth transition, one can find manifold characteristics which constitute “borderlines and border zones”¹³⁴ (*Grenzlinien und Grenzzonen*) between Italian and Rhaeto-Romance. This is, as Gartner states, surprising, as the Rhaeto-Romance region is an entity, which is enclosed neither geographically nor historically. At the same time, a few pages later, he stated that through the problem of linguistic transition, a conscious choice of examples “which have less Lombardian or Venetian [influences]”¹³⁵ was taken. Gartner, taking a scientific position, deliberately codified in his book texts which underscore the distinction between Ladinian and Italian and thus the de facto strengthen the picture of commonalities between the dialects and lessen similarities to Italian. He from the beginning considered Italian as foreign occurrence (like in his review of Alton), proceeding with a pre-formed idea of the ideal dialect he was searching for. It is not hard to see here the similarity of this

¹³² Gartner, Theodor, "[Review of:] Die Ladinischen Idiome in Ladinien. Gröden, Fassa, Buchenstein, Ampezzo, von Dr. Johann Alton (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1879; 375 Seiten 8.)." *Romanische Studien* 4, no. 16 (1880): 638-648, here 648.

¹³³ Gartner, Theodor, *Handbuch der rätoromanischen Sprache und Literatur*. Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1910, VII.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

argumentation with his Chernivtsi experience, where the division of languages based on spoken idioms was at stake, especially if one compares it with new and quite popular terms of creole languages, used for example by Hugo Schuchard whom Gartner on several occasions highlighted.

Gartner's own idea led though not towards creole languages, but from the acceptance of their existence towards a search and codification of each proto-language and finding them in individual folk languages disrobed from the influences considered 'foreign.' In 1913, as he edited and published the first translation of New Testament into Rhaeto-Romance by Jahiam Bifrun (orig. 1560), he spoke already quite clearly of Rhaeto-Romance being a language with history, commenting also on the foreign Italian elements in the ancient text.¹³⁶ Etymological consistency – which throughout the nineteenth century was linked with the hunt for historical documents (frequently called *monumenta*) – was thus once more visualized. Another (until 2008 unpublished) project from this time was collection of Ladin folk-songs, started under Gartner's supervision in 1906, which included also areas of Friuli, which were partially in Italy and were also contested by the committee for Italian songs led by Antonio Ive. Promotional leaflets distributed at the beginning of the survey stated that this would be the first occasion on which "Ladin people of Austria will present themselves as a group" and denounced the participation in the project as "a truly patriotic action."¹³⁷

Gartner's grammatical endeavors show both the position of linguistic research, confined in this case to its local object of spoken idiom, and the politicization of this approach. The combination of etymological and historical argumentation as well as firm typological embeddings of his research – differing for example from the creolism theory dialectology of Schuchard – repeated in cases of the Rhaeto-Romance and Ruthenian languages for example through the strong divisions of Ruthenian from Russian and Rhaeto-Romance from Italian.¹³⁸ This made his research a welcomed

¹³⁶ Bifrun, Jakob, *Das Neue Testament : erste rätoromanische Übersetzung. Neudruck mit einem Vorwort, einer Formenlehre und einem Wörterverzeichnis versehen*. Dresden: Gesellschaft für die Romanische Literatur, Max Niemeyer, 1913.

¹³⁷ Chiocchetti, Fabio, and Roberto Starec, "In search of the "ladin song": the project *Das Volkslied* in Österreich in the ladin areas of Tyrol and East Friuli (1904–1914)." *Traditiones* 34, no. 1 (2005): 61–77, quotation p. 66. The presentation of Gartner's involvement in the project follows Barbara Kostner's account ("La raccolta Gartner: musiche e canti popolari dalle valli ladine (1904–1914). Documenti da Livinallongo." *Mondo Ladino* 25 (2001): 75–127).

¹³⁸ Goebel, Hans, "Theodor Gartner und das typologische Denken seiner Zeit." In Plangg, Iliescu (eds.), *Akten der Theodor Gartner-Tagung*, 13–23.

argument for nationalists and cultural separatists, although he did not necessarily take part in the political debates as an active speaker, confining himself to research. Similarly, as in Friedwagner's or Herzog's case, we can speak here about the inscription of philological research in the national project caused through mobility. Very probably none of the scholars mentioned here would turn to Romanian (or Ukrainian), and certainly not in the extent they did if these were not the languages surrounding them.

5.5. Migration and Adaptation

The abovementioned adaptations to the adjacent cultural environment were exceptional through their influence on the respective nationality projects. Yet they were not untypical as personal reactions to changing surroundings. As mentioned before, there was a number of scholars moving between universities with different languages of instruction and located in cities with different vernaculars spoken, especially Galicia. This cultural migration cannot be uncritically extended to Prague, however, due to its bilingual inhabitants and parallelization of the public and urban structure, which will be dealt with separately.

One of the most widely discussed examples of such transfers is Moravia born zoologist Leopold Adametz who was appointment from the Agricultural Academy in Vienna to Cracow as professor of domestic animal husbandry and dairy science (Katedra Hodowli Zwierząt Domowych i Mleczarstwa) in 1891. During his time in Cracow he not only worked as the first university professor in this subject, but also actively participated among others in the Academy of Sciences and Arts, being a member and presenting his findings for the local audience there. His work on local breeds of cattle was also influential, and he worked not only theoretically but initiated an association of breeders and actively participated in betterment of the breeds.¹³⁹ Although he was appointed professor in Vienna in 1898, he did not cease his contacts with Jagiellonian University and Galicia – for example providing the first description of Polish Red cattle in 1901. These contacts were continued after World War I as well; Adametz lectured in Cracow between 1921-1928, and was thereafter often

¹³⁹ Adametz, Leopold, "Nowy gatunek dyluwialny rogatego bydła: Bos (brycheros) europaeus." *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* III, no. 3 (1898): 16-17.

invited for lectures in Poland. His works were also translated into Polish – influential *Textbook of General Animal Husbandry* (Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Tierzucht, 1926) was in fact published in Polish before the German-language version appeared, translated directly from the German manuscript.¹⁴⁰ For his 70th birthday, Adametz was commemorated with an honorary degree from Jagiellonian University and a special issue of journal *Yearbooks for Agricultural and Forest Sciences* (Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych i Leśnych).¹⁴¹

The importance Adametz is given in the accounts of animal husbandry developments is primarily because of his knowledge of the Polish language (he published in it by 1893), which enabled him to participate in Cracow scholarly life for more than forty years. It reflects also the image of a partially assimilated scholar, as counterpart to pre-autonomy German-speaking instructors who apparently (or allegedly), for the most part, did not learn Polish. Adametz also developed strong laboratory work, which he conducted with Walerian Klecki or Tadeusz Chrząszcz, among others, who were later seen (or regarded themselves) as his pupils and also coauthored publications with him.

Yet, the reasons Habsburg instructors learned Polish are manifold. Adametz arrived to Cracow at the time when the Polish language was growing in importance as a sign of nationality and special consideration was given to ensure homogeneity within the walls of Galician universities. Without learning the language he would not have been able to communicate with the university administration, as the official language was Polish, not to mention having functions on the professorial boards of which he was a member as full professor. He was also obliged to lecture in Polish due to contract regulation that all non-Poles should learn fluent Polish within three years time – this regulation was obligatory for German language historians as well, who constituted apart from the husbandry specialist the second group of cultural migrants. Finally, in order to carry out his field work Adametz had to communicate with local breeders whose level of German knowledge was probably low and through communication with whom he earned not only high esteem but also laboratory materials.

¹⁴⁰ Adametz, Leopold, *Hodowla ogólna zwierząt domowych ; z niem. rpsu przeł. Zdzisław Zabielski*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1925.

¹⁴¹ Biographical data after Staliński, Zbigniew, "Leopold Adametz (1861-1941)." In *Złota Księga Akademii Rolniczej*, edited by Idem., Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Rolniczej, 2000, 62-67.

The practical reasons for scholars learning Polish in Galicia are, however, less evident in the case of instructors of German language and literature, lectures of which were held in German. From scholars who taught German language and literature in Galicia, only Eugeniusz Janota was Galician. For several reasons, German studies did not gain popularity in Galicia and until World War I this chairs were occupied with scholars from other Habsburg provinces. It is also significant that scholars appointed shortly before the war – Viktor Dollmayr (L'viv) and Spiridion Wukadinović (also Wukadinovič; Cracow) – remained at their universities in the Polish state, the later translating for example several works of Polish renaissance poet Jan Kochanowski into German in this time. Given the nationalization movement after 1918, this calls into question the extent the constriction of university contracts played a role. The fact that they were accepted as scholars notwithstanding their nationality and the lack of German language-scholars in Galicia whose research was on a high academic level, rather disqualifies the view that scholars appointed for the chair had by legal regulations to be appointed from outside Galicia. As the predecessors of Dollmayr and Wukadinović – whose activity goes beyond the time period analyzed here – were the only scholars who were clearly defined as foreigners after 'polonization', a look at their strategies and influences shows an interesting picture of mediation between cultures.

Apart from Joseph Schatz (L'viv 1905-1912, later Innsbruck) and auxiliary professors (e.g. August Sauer, Eugen Herzog), scholars appointed for this chair, remained in their positions until retirement. Richard Maria Werner taught in L'viv from 1883 to 1905 and Wilhelm Creizenach in Cracow from 1882; František Tomáš Bratranek, appointed during the Thun period, remained as well at the Jagiellonian University after the language change.

Creizenach and Werner – both of them spoke no Polish before coming to Galicia – fulfilled the criterion of the university and were successful mediators between two cultures. Although both wrote their most important publications in German, they actively participated and published in Polish as well. Creizenach was for example as the drama reviewer in the Cracow daily *Czas* and contributed articles to various Galician periodicals, Werner published in Polish in periodicals of literary society in L'viv etc. While Creizenach worked mostly on drama, writing a 5-volume history of this genre, Werner as a historian of literature with romantic inclinations influenced the reception of Friedrich Hebbel or Heinrich Kleist. In fact, apart from

Dollmayr and Wukadinović, most chairs for German studies after 1918 in Poland were occupied with students of either Werner or Creizenach, their influence reaching literary critics Karol Irzykowski (student of Werner) or Józef Flach (student of Creizenach).¹⁴²

One of the reasons for both scholars' scientific and personal success is their active participation in the social life in their respective cities. Following the changes in bureaucracy and nationalization of urban centers cultural life was increasingly monolingual – one of the reasons August Sauer was rejected as a suitable candidate for the chair in L'viv, notwithstanding his three years at the university as auxiliary professor, was precisely the fact that he was accused of avoiding social contact with Poles – whether or not he spoke Polish at all, was an issue of dissent in which Polish professors argued against the Ruthenian Ohonovs'ky in the Faculty debate.¹⁴³ Galician cultural autonomy and the change of language of administration caused a reduction of the primarily German-speaking populace, above all in the major cities. The multilinguistic environment there was previously supported by civil servants, frequently appointed from outside the province, and growing pressure emerged towards acculturation of previously frequently germanophone Jews.¹⁴⁴ The choice of a German-speaking social group was rather impossible, and not learning Polish (or in L'viv also/or Ruthenian) would practically mean social and – what for scholars occupied with literature and theater was probably of importance as well – cultural isolation.

At the same time we can see that over the years the idea of German-speakers as academic teacher grew unpopular – apart from the chair for language and literature. Adametz was appointed only after long deliberations and the lack of Polish(speaking)

¹⁴² See Lipiński, Krzysztof, "Wilhelm Creizenach (1851-1919)." In *Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Złota Księga Wydziału Filologicznego*, edited by Jan Michalik and Waław Walecki, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000, 107-115; Starnawski, Jerzy, "Sylwetki lwowskich historyków literatury. Richard Maria Werner (14 VIII 1854 - 13 I 1913)." *Przegląd Wschodni* 2, no. 2 (1993): 485-490; on Hebbel reception in Poland, with biography and description of role of Werner in L'viv: Sadkowska, Katarzyna, *Irzykowski i inni : twórczość Fryderyka Hebbela w Polsce 1890-1939*. Kraków: Universitas 2007; on Kleist: Meyer-Fraatz, Andrea, *Die slavische Moderne und Heinrich von Kleist: zur zeitbedingten Rezeption eines Unzeitgemässen in Russland, Polen und Kroatien*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag 2002, 157-158.

¹⁴³ Ohonovs'kyi filed a *Separatovotum* stating that Sauer did speak Polish and he should remain at the university. See AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 122u, PA Werner, Z. 458, 26.6.1882.

¹⁴⁴ Especially as Haskala movements was quite strong in Galicia. From the in the meanwhile large literature see Wróbel, "The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918;" Kuzmany, Böries, *Brody - Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert*. Wien, Köln: Böhlau, forthcoming.

experts in this area – although as mentioned earlier, in the 1870s, the lack of scholars was compensated for with a combination of temporary auxiliary professors and scholarships.¹⁴⁵ There were still several scholars who are said not to have spoken ‘proper’ Polish, but the appointments were linked with faculty proposal that certified the proper belonging; a particular case shows that a clear-cut individual boundary was illusory and that holding theoretically antagonistic identities was possible, even if the inscriptions in a respective cultural environment were seen as necessary.

The particular example of cross-cultural identity and similarly locality-bound and not culture-bound influences is the case of surgeon Johann/Jan Mikulicz-Radecki, who was professor for surgery in Cracow between 1882 and 1887.¹⁴⁶ His appointment – on his own proposition and supported by Billroth – was forwarded by the Ministry notwithstanding the opposition of the Faculty which claimed that the Chernivtsi born and educated in Vienna, was incapable of speaking Polish and thus declined including or even considering him in the proposal.¹⁴⁷ Mikulicz-Radecki began preparing for the appointment already in Vienna – refreshing his Polish, which he learned as child and from 1881 sending articles to Galician journals. As mentioned before, the chances for a medical professorship in Vienna/Graz/Innsbruck were limited by the abundance of *Privatdozenten*. The growing pressure meant emigration for several scholars, even if planned as temporary. The opening of the position in Cracow – Antoni Bryk died in July 1881 – was therefore for Mikulicz-Radecki from the beginning a chance for regular earnings which would enable him to continue his scientific work. Whether it was foreseen to be a temporal position, on the road to a position at germanophone university and then – a claim often found in the literature – back to Vienna, remains unclear.

Like Dietl thirty years earlier, the young scholar mentioned it in his introductory lecture his willingness to perfection Polish, and called Polish his mother

¹⁴⁵ See on Schwarzenberg and Benoni above.

¹⁴⁶ On Mikulicz-Radecki's biography see Kozuschek, *Jan Mikulicz-Radecki*; Mikulicz-Radecki, Henriette von *Erinnerungen an Wien, Krakau, Königsberg und Breslau. Bearbeitet und mit einer Nachwort versehen von Emanuel Turczynski*. Dortmund Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa 1988; Neugebauer, Julius, *Weltruhm deutscher Chirurgie. Johann von Mikulicz*. Ulm: Haug 1965; on the appointment: Wachholz, "Dwie obsady katedr lekarskich w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w wieku XIX."

¹⁴⁷ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 51u, PA Mikulicz, Z. 13062. 20.?.1882. Billroth however, referred in his letters to Mikulicz-Radecki as born Pole, see Sabat, Bronisław, "Listy Teodora Billrotha do Jana Mikulicza." *Polski Tygodnik Lekarski* 6, no. 11, 12 (1951): 380-382, 433-437, esp. 433, 437.

tongue, which won him much sympathy in Cracow.¹⁴⁸ In Galicia he was not only an active surgeon, but also participated in the activities of medical societies (serving as the president of Cracow Medical Society) and as a private physician and *Armenarzt* provided medical services to the poor. Following his decision to leave Cracow for Königsberg he was asked by the students (some claim a gathering of as many as 600-700!), a deputation of Jewish citizens and of professors from the Jagiellonian University to remain in Cracow, which shows the popularity he gained within his short appointment at the university.¹⁴⁹ Similarly one can find notices of the Ministry offering him adjustments, or even the certainty to be Billroth's successor if he did not move from the Monarchy. True or not, Mikulicz-Radecki was probably at the height of his popularity both in his local environment as well as in the scholarly community, especially as he enjoyed the reputation of being Billroth's pet.

During his stay in Cracow, Mikulicz-Radecki published in both Polish and German (often double publications), with 30 articles in Polish within five years' time, including published lectures and presentations. After 1887 and his move to Königsberg, he ceased sending articles to be published in Polish language, which is often mentioned in the debates on his nationality.¹⁵⁰ He also very positively reviewed his previous competitor for the Cracow chair, Ludwik Rydygier's *Introduction to Surgery* (*Podręcznik chirurgii szczegółowej*, vol. 1, 1886) and later recommended (together with Billroth) Rydygier for his successor on the chair. Rydygier, although he was the only not-Galician and only *primo loco ex aequo* in the Faculty proposal, was appointed even despite the negative opinion from the provincial government which voiced concerns about his political behavior.¹⁵¹

Although the activity of Rydygier overshadowed Mikulicz-Radecki's influences in Cracow, he left a large legacy at the institute. He modernized the clinic – for example at his demand a bacteriological laboratory was opened (based on Berlin's

¹⁴⁸ Mikulicz, Jan, "O wpływie chirurgii nowoczesnej na kształcenie uczniów w klinice chirurgicznej, Wykład wstępny prof. Mikulicza." *Przegląd Lekarski* 21, no. 43 (1882): 569-572; Mikulicz speaks here that Polish is his mother tongue, using expression "mowa ojczysta", *ojczyzna* being patriotic expression of motherland.

¹⁴⁹ See Bona, Władysława, "Zasługi Jana Mikulicza dla rozwoju chirurgii w Polsce." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 13, no. 1-2 (1933): 20-100.

¹⁵⁰ For a critique on Mikulicz as opportunist using his knowledge of languages to foster his career see Skrobacz, Andrzej, "Jan Mikulicz w świetle korespondencji Friedricha Althoffa, przyczynek do osobowości wielkiego chirurga." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 59, no. 4 (1996): 405-415.

¹⁵¹ See AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 52u, PA Rydygier, Z. 5723, 13.6.1887 (note of the provincial governor mentioning Billroth's and Mikulicz's support).

laboratories);¹⁵² he consequently first used modern antiseptics in Cracow, introduced (and also developed) various surgical instruments etc. Since his arrival to Cracow he also actively strived to achieve a new surgical clinic in place of the existing one with 20 beds. This proposal was declined for budgetary reasons by the Ministry, however, and was one of the reasons he decided to leave Cracow for a better-equipped institution. His students and assistants in Cracow, Hilary Schramm, Rudolf Trzebicki, Aleksander Bossowski, achieved academic positions. But also after leaving the chair he was consulted on appointments in surgery, proposing, for example, his Breslau/Wrocław assistant Bronisław Kader for professor of surgery in 1897. Two other assistants of Radecki were appointed later as assistants by Kader and achieved positions of *Privatdozenten* – Vítězslav Chlumský in 1901 (from 1918 a full professor in Bratislava) and Zygmunt Radliński in 1911.¹⁵³

Notwithstanding the nationality-question, the change of publication patterns was very characteristic of the nineteenth century. As a professor in Cracow Mikulicz-Radecki was socially obliged to publish in local journals in the Polish language, as soon as this pressure passed, he published in German, which was the medical *lingua franca* also for Polish medics.¹⁵⁴

Cultural adjustment (but not assimilation) of the scholars mentioned above is a particular characteristic of the cultural and scholarly environment of the nineteenth century, in which adaptation to the normative constraints (here adoption of language and social interaction) decided to a large extent the personal success and thus – at least partially – the influence of respective scholars. Adametz, Creizenach, Herzog, Mikulicz-Radecki and Werner acted as successful and commemorated brokers as they accepted the locally hegemonic culture and thus found social acceptance. However, as will be shown later, with respect to influence one should not be blinded by this particular characteristic of sociality.

The issue of hegemonic culture is important especially as L'viv is concerned. Werner and later Dollmayr inscribed into Polish scientific and cultural life, that is, the dominant culture, and did not engage the national conflict in eastern Galicia. Coming

¹⁵² On the clinic see the notices of his assistant Bossowski AGAD, fasz. 50u PA, Bossowski, Z. 18118, 21.7.1889.

¹⁵³ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 51u, PA Kader; fasz. 50u, PA Chlumsky (on influence of Kader on habilitation esp. Z.144, 1.6.1901,); AUJ, WL II 168, 27.1.1899.

¹⁵⁴ Ostrowska, Teresa, *Polskie czasopiśmiennictwo lekarskie w XIX wieku (1800-1900). Zarys historyczno-bibliograficzny*. Wrocław etc.: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAN, 1973, 20-22.

to Cracow to achieve habilitation, Ruthenian historian of language Kyrylo Studyns'ky similarly published more intensively in Polish. These occurrences follow the general trend of Polish hegemony at both universities in Galicia, but are also a characteristic discernible in scholars moving to the Czech University in Prague or from Slavic universities to German-speaking ones – with exception of Chernivtsi which through its particular linguistic status and similarly pluricultural surroundings was hardly a homogenizing one.

5.6. *Slavic Space?*

Looking at non-Czech scholars active at the Czech University in Prague, one must speak of a local or institutional cultural domination that did not encompass the whole city, which was divided and linguistically and culturally parallelized, or even conflicted. Through the inclusion of the paragraph on exclusive languages (which Czech-speaking scholars opposed), the cultural assimilation was codified more strongly than in Galicia, where lectures on German language and literature were delivered in German. There were also no formal contacts and transfers between the parallel institutions, although the delimitation in contacts between scholars could not have been complete (see below). In this case, the appointments from and to other institutions played a crucial role, although even earlier Czech scholars often frequented universities in the Russian Empire, Bulgaria and the (Habsburg/Transleithanian) Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. Beside the scholars working in the Russian Empire mentioned earlier, the list of transgressions could be expanded further. Apart from the most well-known, Konstantin Jireček, later a professor in Vienna, several other Czech scholars worked in Bulgaria – for example archeologists Václav Dobrusky and the brothers Karel and Hermann Škorpil, or mathematician Antonín Václav Šourek.¹⁵⁵ Ernst Mach's student Čeněk Dvořák, linguist Leopold Geitler, jurist Jan Jaromír Hanel, pharmacologist Bohuslav Jiruš, physical chemist Gustav Janeček, mathematician Karel (Dragutin) Zahradník, physiologist František Smetánka and bacteriologist Emil Prášek taught in Zagreb.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Bečvářová, Martina, "Czech Mathematicians and Their Role in the Development of National Mathematics in the Balkans." In *Mathematics in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Budapest on August 1, 2009 during the XXIII ICHST*, edited by Idem. and Christa Binder, Praha: Matfyzpress, 2010, 9-31.

¹⁵⁶ On the Czech contacts with Croatia see Frajdl, Jiří, *Zápas s germanizací v období austroslavismu ve*

Although some of them moved to Prague later, most remained in Southern Europe, being mediators between languages and cultures. Similar mediation can be seen in Galicia, especially due to a large emigration and transfers of Polish-speaking scholars with other institutions from outside the Monarchy, which had their own peculiar cultural environment.

Although the number of non-Czech scholars appointed to the Czech University in Prague was small, one can mention chemist Ivan/Jan Horbachevsky (Іван Горбачевський) and histologist Josef Rohon (also Rohonyi, other names used as well) whose careers should exemplify the mediations of nationalism and scholarly careers.

Son of a Greek Catholic priest, Horbachevsky, was born in Eastern Galicia and moved to study medicine in Vienna in 1872, where he was also active in Ruthenian student organisations. In 1883 he was appointed professor of medical chemistry to the newly opened Medical Faculty at the Czech Charles University, remaining in Bohemia for most of his career, moving in 1918 to the Free Ukrainian University in Prague. His professional career as a nationally conscious Ruthenian/Ukrainian is a story of a threefold mediation among the cultures he became a part of as a scholar and the culture of his birth. This was visible already in his publications, as Horbachevsky published in German, Czech and Ukrainian – both his experimental findings and popular-scientific articles.¹⁵⁷ As member of the *Shevchenko Society* he contributed, for example, to debates on Ukrainian terminology¹⁵⁸ but published specialized articles in the Ruthenian-language journal *Medical Collections* (Лікарський збірник) as well.

Horbachevsky, not having the opportunity to teach at a university with Ruthenian as the language of instruction, maintained close contacts with Bohemian scholars already in Vienna. His appointment to Prague was mediated by Eduard Albert and Arnold Spina, who was at the time an assistant in Vienna. The young chemist, who notwithstanding the assurance of Spina, hardly spoke Czech before moving to Bohemia. He could already lecture in his first semester, and with time he

Slovinsku a Chorvatsku : studijní texty. Praha: Křesťanskosociální hnutí ve spolupráci s OR KČP, 2005.

¹⁵⁷ For brief biography and bibliographies of/about Horbachevsky see Головацький, Іван, *Іван Горбачевський : 1854 - 1942: Життєписно-бібліографічний нарис*. Львів: НТШ, 1995.

¹⁵⁸ Höfinghoff, Marina, "Entwicklung der chemischen Terminologie in Galizien (Mitte des XIX. - Anfang des XX. Jh.)." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 53, no. 4 (2008): 403-437.

actively participated in Czech academic organisations.¹⁵⁹ He is regarded (together with professor for agricultural chemistry at Czech Technical Academy, Julius Stoklasa) as the founder of Czech medical chemistry. This was not only due to his contributions to the institute and the publication of a three volume introduction to chemistry in Czech (1904-1907), but also as three student who habilitated under his guidance – Emanuel Formánek, Antonín Hamsík and Karel Černý – achieved professorial positions after 1918 following his method of research.¹⁶⁰

At the same time, Horbachevsky remained active in Ruthenian organisations, being one of the advocates for the creation of a Ruthenian university in L'viv over which he negotiated with the Ministry as well.¹⁶¹ After 1918 he negotiated with Masaryk, whom he knew from the Czech University in Prague, on Czechoslovak support for the Ukrainian question, and was later one of the founding fathers and rector of the Free Ukrainian University (rejecting proposition of moving to Soviet Ukraine's capital Kharkiv in 1924).¹⁶² The Free Ukrainian University perceived its mission as supporting the Ukrainian national movement, culture, and science outside of the communist-ruled Soviet Ukraine and Polish Galicia (by then Little Poland – Małopolska) which hindered Ukrainian cultural separatism.

For an active nationalist, Horbachevsky expressed a very conciliatory and internationalizing version of national ideology, criticizing the local/ideological self-limitations. It is particularly visible in his chemical terminology, proposed in 1904 and codified in 1924 in a volume on organic chemistry within Soviet Ukraine, in which he drew on international – mostly German and Czech terminology – opposing the uncritical replacement of international terms with a nationalized vernacular, which was the leading proposition both in 1900s and 1920s.¹⁶³ At the same time, he was also a leading figure not only at the Free University in Prague, but also organised an All-Ukrainian conference in Prague with the inclusion of Czech scholars as speakers and in the deciding boards.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Kraml, Jiří, and Jiří Duchoň, "110 let české lékařské chemie." In *110 let české lékařské chemie a biochemie*, edited by Marie Balíková et al., Praha: Galén, 1994, 7-16, here 12-14.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Michalewska, *Próby utworzenia*, 43-45.

¹⁶² Головацький, Іван Горбачевський, 6; Štípek, Stanislav, *Jan Horbaczewski : (15.5.1854-24.5.1942) : sborník přednášek na semináři ke 150. výročí narození zakladatele české lékařské chemie*. Praha: Galén, 2005, esp. chapters of Bohdan Zylinskyj (pp. 35-45) and Ivan Holovacký (pp. 57-62).

¹⁶³ Höfinghoff, "Entwicklung der chemischen Terminologie in Galizien (Mitte des XIX. - Anfang des XX. Jh.)."

¹⁶⁴ Голдак, Татьяна, "Иван Горбачевский у світовій науці." *Україна-Європа-Світ* 1 (2008): 101-

Horbachevsky was not the only nationally conscious Ruthenian scholar working in Bohemia. Physicist Ivan Puliuy (Іван Пулюй) had a similar career, active at first as a *Privatdozent* at the Vienna University and later as a professor at the German Technical Academy in Prague. Notwithstanding the animosity between Czech and German academia Puliuy – known as a pioneer of X-ray technology and a translator of the Gospel into Ukrainian – intensively cooperated with his fellow Ruthenian Horbachevsky, who was since his student years his close friend, especially in supporting Ruthenian student organisations.¹⁶⁵ Given the student animosities, this might have been the only organisations including students from both Czech and German institutions at the end of nineteenth century.

While Puliuy and Horbachevsky were quite easily nationally inscribable, the career of another scholar who taught at Czech University in Prague – histologist Josef Rohon – shows an interesting inter-imperial mediation processes influenced by migration yet within a national(ist) framework, which worked both productively and destructively.

Rohon, born in Tranleithania of a Slovak Protestant family, attained the chair of histology in Prague at a relatively advanced age (50) and being in fact rejected by the commission, which proposed local scholars and criticized Rohon and his mentor Eduard Albert.¹⁶⁶ Before settling in Bohemia he unsuccessfully tried to achieve tenured positions in Vienna, Munich and St. Petersburg – he himself credited his lack of success to the ‘negative networks’ he had in Vienna, haunting him through his life. His frequent changes of workplace were caused primarily by failures in securing a position with longer prospects – in the places he stayed his main occupations were either temporarily renewed assistant positions or similarly uncertain scholarships/travel allowances. He also earned additional money as a contract supplier of microscopic preparations.

107; Idem., "Иван Горбачевский и его роль в организации и проведении украинских научных съездов у Празі." *Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, Серія: Історія* 1 (2010): 62-67.

¹⁶⁵ Оленич, Лариса Богданівна, and Галина Ярославівна Онисько, *Іван Пулюй: життя в ім'я науки та України: бібліографічний покажчик*. Тернопіль: Видавництво ТНТУ імені Івана Пулюя, 2010.

¹⁶⁶ If not noted otherwise the information is taken from Svojtka, Seidl, Steininger, "Von Neuroanatomie, Paläontologie und slawischem Patriotismus: Leben und Werk des Josef Victor Rohon (1845-1923)."

Rohon's main scientific specialty was ichthyology and here in particular research on the nervous system, which he began in Vienna, with, among others, Theodor Meynert and Carl Claus, later turning to paleoichthyology in Munich working with Karl Alfred Zittel. In this research branch he remained active in St. Petersburg, receiving as a private scholar support from biologist and paleontologist Friedrich Karl Schmidt (Russian: Фёдор Богданович Шмидт) and the *Imperial St. Petersburg Mineralogical Society* (Императорское С.-Петербургское минералогическое общество) which supported him with travel grants. Collections from his travel across imperial Russia were sold, among other places, to Vienna, supporting his crippled financial situation. Works from this period – published with one exception in German in journals in the Russian Empire – were also based on the materials gathered during his travels across the Empire, providing most of his written legacy.

The mediation of Rohon between imperial Russia and the Habsburg Empire – his collection and later publications in Prague – trace his changing scholarly interests based on change of place and financial situation. In Vienna he published on the nervous system, from Munich on paleontology, and his activities as a collector and traveler in St. Petersburg are reflected in his scientific work. His later publications in Prague were either based on these materials or used material acquired through contacts he established during his stay in the Russian capital city.¹⁶⁷

In Prague, Rohon, apart from teaching, wrote articles in Czech for *Otto's Encyclopedia* (Ottův slovník naučný) and participated in Bohemian organizations, but published his further specialist articles only in German, in the proceedings of Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, rejecting thus the Prague conventions. He educated at least two prominent scholars: Otakar Srdínko was his successor from 1915 and the author of the first Czech textbook on histology; Josef Florian Babór held a similar chair in Bratislava after 1918, working on mollusks.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ For example his publication from 1898 was based on new material acquired from Alexander Simonson from Baltic isle Ösel/Эзель (now Saaremaa in Estonia); other specialist publications (five which he published after moving to Prague) referred to older materials collected in Russia. Rohon, Josef Victor, "Bau der obersilurischen Dipnoer-Zähne." *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, math.-naturwiss. Classe / Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk. Třída mathematicko-přírodovědecká*, no. 11 (1898).

¹⁶⁸ On Babór see Kadlec, Oskár, ed. *Encyklopédia medicíny*. Vol. III. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Asklepios, 1993-2004 (accessible online: <http://www.vydavatelstvoasklepios.sk/>)

The contacts between Slavic physicians, leading also to creations of the All-Slav Medical Society and mutual visits for conferences, were intensive and it is not surprising that three exchanges between Galician and Czech universities occurred precisely among physicians: Andrzej Obrzut, a graduate from Cracow, habilitated in Prague, and moved then to L'viv in 1896, appointing as his assistant Pavel Kučera – who from 1918 taught in Brno; Vítězslav Chlumský, from 1918 professor in Bratislava, habilitated in Cracow after being assistant in Breslau/Wrocław.

Obrzut, who habilitated in Prague and was later an associate professor for histopathology, was at this time continuously supported through grants from Cracow – for example, in 1889/1890 a grant from the Cracow Academy of Sciences and Arts allowed him to spend a year in Strasbourg and Paris,¹⁶⁹ which hints towards a possible preparation for a professorship in Galicia. Shortly after he was appointed to L'viv in 1896, Obrzut published his opus magnum – a two volumes Czech-language introduction to pathological anatomy and bacteriology, coauthored with Josef Hlava, which later reached several editions;¹⁷⁰ its Polish translation, which Obrzut prepared, was never published, however, due to his early death.¹⁷¹ To the newly opened institute in L'viv, Obrzut appointed in 1897 Kučera (on Hlava's recommendation), who in a short time habilitated and was in 1906 appointed as professor of hygiene. In their activities, Obrzut and Kučera actively took part in both universities' organizations and scientific life – Obrzut published in Polish and Czech in Prague; Kučera, in his function as professor of hygiene in L'viv, was active in fighting against infectious diseases in Galicia (rabies, typhoid fever) or in securing bacteriologic control over municipal water system in L'viv – his publications include also Czech and Polish articles.¹⁷²

The last in the line of Bohemian-Galician transitions, Chlumský, was appointed by Bronisław Kader in 1900 as a first assistant at the clinics for surgery; a year earlier Kader was appointed professor of surgery and had previously been assistant in Breslau/Wrocław where he also cooperated (and co-presented papers)

¹⁶⁹ Albert, Zygmunt, "Prof. Dr. Andrzej Obrzut." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 55, no. 1 (1992): 55-71, here 56.

¹⁷⁰ Hlava, Jaroslav, and Ondřej Obrzut, *Pathologická anatomie a bakteriologie*. Praha: Bursík & Kohout, 1897; first volume appeared in 1894, second edition in 1900-1901, revised by Hlava.

¹⁷¹ Zygmunt, "Prof. Dr. Andrzej Obrzut," mentions that the manuscript was completed but not published due to Obrzut's premature death.

¹⁷² Albert, Zygmunt, "Prof. Dr. Paweł Ludwik Kučera (1872-1928), kierownik zakładu higieny UJK we Lwowie." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 55, no. 1 (1992): 62-70.

with the Bohemian scholar.¹⁷³ In the next years Chlumský gained habilitation with Kader's support and later a professorship, being financially stable throughout the time having an assistant's salary. During this time he widely published on surgery and orthopedics in Czech, German and Polish, in several cases in more than one language – both case study articles and books for a broader public, like the pioneering introduction to therapeutic massage, were published in Czech and Polish. He also established an institute for orthopedics in Cracow, based on the institute of Albert Hoffa, which he visited in Wurzburg during his appointment as assistant of Mikulicz-Radecki.¹⁷⁴

After 1918 Chlumský moved to Bratislava where he participated centrally in the opening of the Medical Faculty and establishing a university clinic of orthopedics and cofounding a Czechoslovak orthopedic community through specialized society and journal. His research on orthopedics was finalized 1922 with a textbook which established his reputation as one of pioneers in this area and was for long time the only textbook in this discipline in Czechoslovakia.¹⁷⁵

* * *

An interesting case in looking at the Slavic territories is the exchange between Galicia and the Russian Empire, including the Russian areas of the former Commonwealth, which were characterized by manifold political, ideological and scientific tensions on many levels. Although this inter-university exchange remained comparatively small, it considerably extended the scope of the topical and theoretical spectrum, predominantly in Galicia. Numerically the number of scholars who taught at both at Russian imperial universities and Habsburg universities is considerably small: in Cracow at the Philosophical Faculty there were 6 scholars with Russian-Empire teaching experience (one at the Medical Faculty), in L'viv one each in the Medical and Philosophical faculties, in Prague two (in the Medical Faculty), in Vienna two at the Philosophical and one at the Medical Faculty, and in Graz one. Two of them – mathematician Cezary Russjan (Цезарь Руссян, Cracow) and microbiologist Franciszek Kamiński (Франц Каменський, L'viv) – moved to

¹⁷³ Martinczak, Franciszek, "Profesor ortopedii Vitezslav Chlumsky (karta z działalności we Wrocławiu i Krakowie)." *Archiwum Historii Medycyny* 37, no. 1 (1974): 93-101.

¹⁷⁴ Červeňanský, J., and J. Koudelka, "Prof. Dr. V. Chlumský, zakladatel' prvej ortopedickej kliniky v Československu († 1.11.1943)." *Bratislavské lekárske listy* XLIII, no. 2 (1962): 65-68.

¹⁷⁵ Čech, Oldřich, *Historie československé, české a slovenské ortopedie*. Praha: Galén, 2009, 27-28 and 37-63.

imperial universities. The first was born and studied in the Empire (gymnasium in than Russian Empire Chişinău/Kishinyov [Кишинёв], universities in Kiev and Odessa), remained also after World War I in the Soviet Russia.¹⁷⁶ Lublin-born and Warsaw-educated Kamieński moved to St. Petersburg shortly after graduating and habilitating in L'viv, teaching later at the Imperial University in Odessa. Three scholars from the list teaching at the German-speaking universities – Riga-born Leopold Schroeder, East-Prussian Hans Horst Meyer (teaching both in Dorpat/Tartu) and Prussia-born August Toepler (the Polytechnic in Riga) – occupied their positions as the institutions they taught at had German language of instruction; in Schroeder's case the change of language at the University of Dorpat/Tartu caused his transfer to Innsbruck.¹⁷⁷

The exchange with the Russian Empire was particularly vital for the Galician universities. Scholars educated in Kiev, Moscow or Warsaw brought – as exemplified above in Hrushevs'ky – knowledge and practices that surpassed locality of Galicia. This included also ideological questions, making some transfers problematic, even if scholars had the same cultural/national background as in the Polish case.

The influence of scholars coming from the Russian Empire – here to be illustrated only briefly – was crucial in several disciplines, although overshadowed by the exchange with universities to the west. In biology, for instance, Darwinism was transferred with Benedykt Dybowski and Józef Nusbaum-Hilarowicz (see below). Similarly mathematical logic, which although normally seen through the prism of L'viv-Warsaw School of Logic of the interwar period, had its pioneer in Jan Śleszyński (also known as Ivan Sleshinskii / Иван Слешинский) who was born in Kiev-region, educated in Odessa and Berlin and moved in 1911 to Cracow.¹⁷⁸ Similarly known linguist, and equally interesting and controversial public intellectual, Jan Baudouin de Courtnay, taught in Cracow between 1893-1900 as a contract professor without tenured position. Prior to his stay in Galicia he taught in Kazan and Dorpat. His contract was not renewed mainly for political reasons, the slavacist moved then to St. Petersburg and in 1918 to Warsaw. Although their influence was lower

¹⁷⁶ Kijas, Artur, *Polacy na Uniwersytecie Charkowskim 1805-1917*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2008, 190-191.

¹⁷⁷ See Schroeder, Leopold von, *Lebenserinnerungen von Leopold v. Schroeder. Herausgegeben von Felix v. Schroeder*. Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1921, 139-148; Schoeder mentioned he spoke no (fluent?) Russian, but had Russian friends.

¹⁷⁸ Jadacki, Jacek Juliusz, "Jan Śleszyński jako logik." *Wiadomości Matematyczne* 34 (1998): 83-97.

compared to other empires,¹⁷⁹ scholars from the Russian Empire present very good case studies for cultural migration as the development of scholarship in the Russian Empire took a slightly different turn than in Galicia, with political positions more clearly dominating the scientific field.

Already in the case of Ukrainian nationalism, the definition of nation and the means to achieve it that Hrushevs'ky brought to Galicia and which he gave legitimacy through his position(s) stood in contrast with conciliatory Ruthenian parties of his time. Similar influences can be traced if Polish scholars are concerned. Notwithstanding the pivotal role of Galicia, Warsaw or Posen/Poznań were at least as important scholarly centers at Cracow or L'viv, although without longstanding national universities. Two far reaching scientific ideologies for example – Darwinism and positivism – had their heyday and turning point in Warsaw during the short existence of the Polish-language institutions, the *Medical-Surgical Academy* (Akademia Medyko-Chirurgiczna, Медицинская и хирургическая академия) and the *Main school* (Szkoła Główna Warszawska, Варшавская главная школа), both only slowly gaining a place at the academies in Galicia, but continuing at the Warsaw Imperial University (Cesarski Uniwersytet Warszawski. Императорский Варшавский Университет) with Russian as the language of instruction or in Polish-language scientific societies in the Prussian provinces.¹⁸⁰ Similarly the main nationalistic and socialist currents developed further and more intensively outside Galicia – which explains the close surveillance of transimperial scholars during the appointment process. Transfers of scholars from the Russian Empire were thus far from frictionless not only from the side of the Ministry, but also universities themselves. Inclusion of new trends met here often with rejection for ideological or scientific reasons, leading in several cases to the exclusion of scholars from careers.

Such was the case with two philosophers striving for careers in Galicia – Julian Ochorowicz and Wincenty Lutosławski. Both scholars' activities led to conflicts and finally they both left universities in an atmosphere of scandal, showing cultural and scientific incompatibility between the empires.

¹⁷⁹ See for example on medicine: Konopka, Stanisław, "Krakowska i warszawska szkoła lekarska." *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 27, no. 4 (1964): 363-372.

¹⁸⁰ For genealogical overviews see Kępa, Zbigniew, "Recepcja darwinizmu na ziemiach polskich w latach od 1859 do 1884." *Zagadnienia Filozoficzne w Nauce* 8 (1995): 29-51; Skarga, Barbara, *Narodziny pozytywizmu polskiego 1831 - 1864*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964.

Julian Ochorowicz – psychologist, philosopher and popular writer – studied in Warsaw at the Main School, graduating from the Warsaw Imperial University in 1871. During his studies he came under the influence of Henryk Struve (also Генрих Струве¹⁸¹), logician and esthetician who was the teacher of a number of Polish-language positivistic philosophers – without being in fact a positivist himself, but instructing and publishing on positivist related topics. In 1874, with a dissertation on consciousness, he graduated from Leipzig, returning to Warsaw to cofound the Polish-language scientific journal *The Realm (Niwa)* to which he contributed articles on philosophy and psychology. Aiming at achieving a university chair he habilitated in L'viv in 1876 for psychology and the philosophy of nature.

Regarded at this time as a leading young Polish philosopher, Ochorowicz encountered severe obstacles in Galicia. As actively anticlerical and Darwinist his ideas gained popularity among students, yet not entirely among his fellow scholars. Euzebiusz Czerkowski, pedagogue and chair of philosophy at the time, supported the young scholar from the beginning with applications for remuneration – according to Ochorowicz, Czerkowski proposed the young scholar in 1876 as his successor and, holding the well-paid position of school inspector and political functions in conservative parties, was offered premature retirement from his academic post.¹⁸² Yet in 1881 the situation changed abruptly and after a long delay, Czerkowski refused his support and delegated the further decisions on the extension of young scholars' benefits to Cracow. In the early 1880 Ochorowicz was denounced by the conservative press as a socialist, which opened the discussion on his acceptability as a scholar in L'viv.¹⁸³ The conflict between 'progressive' Ochorowicz and conservative Czerkowski was fuelled by the L'viv press, which intensively commented on the ideological clash within academic walls. Ochorowicz was apparently not entirely accepted in Galicia – especially for conservatives his anticlerical opinions and positivist philosophy were not acceptable. His mechanical and naturalist psychology – criticized by leading Polish-speaking philosophers Struve and Kremer – was similarly

¹⁸¹ Struve's ancestors were diplomats and scholars, at first in the duty of the Saxonia/Holy Roman Empire, then in the Russian Empire's services, with the family living in both Empires. Henryk graduated from Jena, and published primarily in Polish with several works in Russian; see Trzcińska-Schneider, Irena, *Logika Henryka Struvego : u progu nowego paradygmatu*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2010, 8-23.

¹⁸² From the letter of Ochorowicz from 31.12.1884, in AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 120u, PA Ochorowicz.

¹⁸³ Wantuła, Jan, "Dr. Ochorowicz." *Myśl Niepodległa* 56 (1908): 358-362.

disapproved of in L'viv;¹⁸⁴ the chair of philosophy at a Habsburg university – only in Vienna was it divided into two specializations – encompassed moral philosophy and pedagogic, the choice of instructor was thus not only a focus of the university, but also of church and local authorities.

Ochorowicz's hopes for academic positions in Galicia thus diminished drastically – with Czerkowski denying his support and remaining a professor, the next years as an unpaid *Privatdozent* seemed unattractive. In 1882 his attempt to gain a professorship at L'viv University failed – in L'viv Czerkowski rejected leading the commission, in Cracow Straszewski, when asked for his opinion, proposed only the renewal of his remuneration without change of academic status. Ochorowicz, who moved at the time to Paris, did not return to L'viv, but extended his leave – apparently coming more and more in conflict with the Faculty, which then terminated his habilitation. While moving back to L'viv in 1884 his attempts to resume his previous position were rejected by the Faculty – the dean of the Philosophical Faculty, Ludwik Ćwikliński, claimed that the appointment of Ochorowicz would damage the esteem of the Faculty in the public. Rector Edward Rittner supported this decision recalling the not entirely positive opinion of Straszewski and the medial conflict between supporters of Ochorowicz and Czerkowski. These arguments were repeated in the opinion of the provincial government, which terminated the career of Ochorowicz in Galicia.¹⁸⁵

The situation of Ochorowicz was not exceptional, but it was the first that animated the public sphere and divided it across ideological lines, referring to the otherness of his scientific approach. By next year these divisions were visible once more, as Benedykt Dybowski was appointed professor of zoology.

Dybowski, born in 1833 near Minsk (Менск/Мінск) into the Nałęcz, Polish noble family, studied in Dorpat, Breslau/Wrocław and Berlin, and in 1862 began lecturing zoology in Warsaw as one of earliest scholars of Darwinism in the Polish language.¹⁸⁶ His straightforward career suffered a serious setback in 1864; for participation in the January Uprising he was sentenced for death, reduced subsequently to 12 years in Siberia (for *katorga*, i.e. hard labor, in 1866 reduced to settlement and interdiction to leave Siberia). There – with partial support of imperial

¹⁸⁴ Bobrowska-Nowak, *Początki polskiej psychologii*, 115-124.

¹⁸⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 120u, PA Ochorowicz, L. 3, 22.6.1884; Z. 47457, 19.10.1885.

¹⁸⁶ Kępa, "Recepcja darwinizmu na ziemiach polskich w latach od 1859 do 1884."

and local scholarly organization — he was able to continue his work, having however also to serve as a physician for most of the time.¹⁸⁷ His extensive travels – together with political and vocational dislocations – included Chita, Kamchatka, outer Manchuria, Primorsky Krai, leading him also to the Baikal, Khanka and Khövsgöl Nuur Lakes (the last one in the Qing Dynasty governed border region Tannu Uriankhai, that is *de jure* outside Siberia), locations where he worked in an especially descriptive manner collecting new species.

Dybowski's reputation as a zoologist was very well established helping him to achieve assistance and a relaxation of sentence, and finally its termination. In 1878 he was awarded the gold medal of the Imperial Geographical Society (Императорское Русское географическое общество), being elected as a member. At the same time universities in Galicia were proposing him for a professorship, which was at first impossible for political reasons; nevertheless he was in 1884 appointed to the chair of zoology at the L'viv University, where he followed Szymon Syrski – whose imperial biography led to L'viv from Trieste where he had headed the Museum of Natural History (Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Trieste) and the Adriatic Society of Natural Sciences (Società Adriatica di Scienze naturali di Trieste) between 1866-1875.¹⁸⁸

Yet, directly after his move to L'viv, Dybowski ignited a severe controversy. In the inauguration lecture of the academic year, on the current development of zoology, he stressed the importance of Darwin and Haeckel as the developers of path-breaking theory. The lecture, which gathered numerous students and members of the L'viv elite ended with scandal – as at one moment of glorification of evolutionism Dybowski emphasized that modern science had to “get rid of teleology,” most of the

¹⁸⁷ There is a number of Dybowski's biographies describing this period; an interesting version can be found in autobiographical sketch published in 1901 for the 50th anniversary of establishing the East Siberian branch of Imperial Geographical Society, Дыбовский, Бенедикт, "Автобиография." In *Пятидесятилетие Восточно-Сибирского отдела Императорского Русского Географического общества : юбилейный сборник. Вып. 1: Фауна Байкала (Результаты зоологической экспедиции 1900 – 1901 год.*, edited by А. (Алексей Алексеевич) Коротнев, Киев: Тип. С. В. Кульженко, 1901, 1-12; a capacious list of publications from this time as well as description of first years in Siberia: Dybowski, Benedykt, *Pamiętnik Benedykta Dybowskiego od roku 1862 zacząwszy do roku 1878*. Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1930.

¹⁸⁸ On the chair see Brzęk, Gabriel, *Historia zoologii w Polsce do drugiej wojny światowej*. Kraków: PAU, 2007, 233-243. In the Italian literature, Galicia-born Syrski is often referred to as Simeone Adamo de Syrski, for his biography for the time in Trieste see Pilleri, Georg, *Simeone Adamo de Syrski (1829-1882): Il Museo Civico di storia naturale Ferdinando Massimiliano, la Società adriatica di scienze naturali, la Stazione zoologica di Trieste*. Waldau-Bern: Verlag des Hirnanatomischen Instituts, 1980.

audience, including by provincial governor, professors of Theological Faculty and the clergy with three archbishops at the front, understood it as assault on theology and left the building.¹⁸⁹

Dybowski was certainly not the only Darwinist in Galicia – zoologist Maksymilian Siła-Nowicki (in Cracow from 1863) tended to Darwin's selection theory. More importantly botanist Józef Rostafiński (since 1876 in Cracow, from 1878 professor; educated in Warsaw, Jena, Halle and Strasbourg) taught and published on evolutionism.¹⁹⁰ Darwinism encountered severe problems at the university though – these scholars did not openly lectured on Darwin until the beginning of twentieth century, and Tadeusz Garbowski who in 1899 moved his *venia* from Vienna to Cracow was according to Gabriel Brzęk forbidden to lecture on evolution by the rector Stanisław Tarnowski.¹⁹¹ In L'viv Darwin's theory similarly did not enter the university, although it was discussed in the city and in various societies – with negative and positive assessments. In the popular discussions though evolutionism, and Darwin as its representative, expanded from biological theory into social ideology, mingled strongly with socialism and materialism by both its critics and proponents, antagonizing groups across ideological and political boundaries; thus the demonstrative pullout during Dybowski's lecture ignited fierce polemics across the province.

Following the *faux pas* during the opening lecture, Dybowski continued teaching evolutionary zoology during the year, antagonizing more and more the public and being rebuked by the rector whom the minister Gautsch advised to forbid the lectures. Backed by his authority and career, Dybowski responded that he would still teach biology according to this theory and if the Ministry or rector pressured him and intertwine with the contents of his lectures, he was ready to resign and pursue his career elsewhere. Notwithstanding continuous struggles in the next years, Dybowski used his position to propagate Darwinism in Haeckel's version to which he

¹⁸⁹ Brzęk, Gabriel, "Recepcja darwinizmu w Polsce." In *Recepcja w Polsce nowych kierunków i teorii naukowych*, edited by Adam Strzałkowski, Kraków: PAU, 2001, 273-291, here 280.

¹⁹⁰ Kuźnicki, Leszek, "Percepcja darwinizmu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1860-1881." *Kosmos: czasopismo Polskiego Towarzystwa Przyrodników imienia Kopernika* 58, no. 3-4 (2009): 279-285, here 281.

¹⁹¹ Rector, similarly as the Ministry, had the right to cancel lectures he considered inappropriate; Brzęk mentions here that Catholic-conservative Tarnowski was influenced to make this step by Cracow bishop cardinal Jan Puzyna, who during his office played an active role in public and academic life of the city. Brzęk, "Recepcja darwinizmu w Polsce," 276.

adhered.¹⁹² Deliberate exposure for disagreement and non-conformism was probably one of Dybowski's main character traits, what not only his autobiographies and often consciously controversial public shows, but also, especially in the later years a rather unusual choice of names for species he catalogued, like several names for Baikal amphipoda including the longest ever proposed for a species in his 1926 publication.¹⁹³

In L'viv Dybowski's pro-Darwinian crusade was supported from 1889 by Józef Nusbaum (later converted and baptized as Nusbaum-Hilarowicz), a graduate from Warsaw University and student of Darwinian zoologist August Wrześniowski and embryologist/comparative anatomist Mitrofan Stiepanovich Ganin (Митрофан Степанович Ганин) who supported the young biologist on many occasions. This patronage included political protection of the patriotically engaged young scholar. According to Nusbaum, Ganin finally resigned from the university as the academic senate rejected Nusbaum's scholarship due to the young scholar's nationality.¹⁹⁴ Nusbaum left the university, received (imperial) magister grade in Odessa where he befriended Aleksandr Onufrievich Kovalevsky (Александр Онуфриевич Ковалевский), and returned to Warsaw. Rejecting Kovalevsky's proposition to take over the directorship of Sevastopol Biologic Station (Севастопольская биологическая станция / Севастопольська біологічна станція, now Інститут біології південних морів ім. О. О. Ковалевського) and conflicted with imperial scholars in Warsaw, Nusbaum, received a travel scholarship funded by the Mianowski Fund and spent time in Paris and the Biological Station in Roscoff (Station biologique de Roscoff) and spent a few years as a private scholar in Warsaw during which time he achieved also the (imperial) doctoral grade.

Nusbaum was known not only as biologist, but also as one of most active propagators of Darwinism, translating *On The Origin of Species* (with Szymon Dickstein) in 1884, *Journal of Researches* in 1887, *The variation of animals and*

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Dybowski, Benedykt, "Synoptisches Verzeichnis mit kurzer Besprechung der Gattungen und Arten dieser Abteilung der Baikalflohkrebe." *Bulletin international de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres. Classe des sciences mathématiques et naturelles. Série B: Sciences naturelles* (1926): 1–77; the longest proposed name of several, all being in fact detailed and compressed description was *Gammaracanthuskytodermogammarus loricatobaicalensis*, others like the still in use name *Siemienkiewiczichinogammarus siemienkiewitschii* were commemorations.

¹⁹⁴ Nusbaum-Hilarowicz, Józef, *Pamiętniki przyrodnika. Autobiografia*. Lwów: H. Altenberg, 1916, 40–44.

plants under domestication in 1888 and *The life and letters of Charles Darwin, including an autobiographical chapter* in 1890. Probably the combination of research achievements with the strong evolutionary ideological activities moved Dybowski to propose inviting Nusbaum to habilitate in L'viv for comparative anatomy and anatomy – a new discipline in the Habsburg academic curriculum and thus with prospects for a swift professorship in Galicia. In 1890 the Warsaw scholar accepted the invitation (issued by Dybowski yet with secured support of chemist Bronisław Radziszewski and “some other” scholars from the Faculty) and habilitated in L'viv, becoming also teacher at the Veterinary Academy in L'viv and in 1906 successor of Dybowski at the chair of zoology.¹⁹⁵

The duo of imperial scholars created in the following years the most active center for propagation of evolutionary biology in Polish language, publishing both scientific articles, textbooks and translations, and actively giving popular scientific lectures.¹⁹⁶ Clearly not without obstacles – fighting not only the moral rejection of evolutionism but also the mutation theory of Hugo de Vries particularly popular among scholars in the Agricultural Academy in Dublany – paved a way to a more general adoption of evolution among Polish scholars and in society in general.¹⁹⁷ Through their activities as social enlighteners and polemicists rather than conciliatory writers, they contributed at the same time to the narrowing of the general perception of evolutionary thought in Polish society before World War I as a socialist and anticlerical ideology rather than solely a biological thesis.

The dominance of the conservative approach to science and scholarship and tendencies to exclude anti-Catholic and anticlerical scholars from teaching positions is visible also in the case of Russian Empire educated scholar, philosopher Wincenty Lutosławski. After studies in Dorpat and travels to England and Spain, where he espoused writer Sofia Perez Casanova who moved with him to Galicia learned Polish and was active as translator, Lutosławski joined the Philosophical Faculty of Kazan University (1890-1893) and after period of travel joined Jagiellonian University as *Privatdozent* in 1898. His work in Cracow however lasted only two years' time after which his habilitation was suspended and the later claims for renewals univocally rejected – in Cracow and in L'viv, where he strived for habilitation as well. Achieving

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁹⁶ Brzęk, Gabriel, "Recepcja darwinizmu w Polsce."

¹⁹⁷ Kuźnicki, Leszek, "Percepcja darwinizmu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1860-1881," 285.

afterwards an esteemed career, Lutosławski taught in London, Geneva, Paris and after 1919 in Vilnius and after World War II for two years in Cracow.¹⁹⁸

Lutosławski's first attempts to teach at the Jagiellonian University marked the clash – he was proposed in 1891 by philosopher Maurycy Straszewski to occupy the second chair of philosophy, yet the Faculty opposed this proposition and appointed priest Stefan Pawlicki who was transferred from the Theological Faculty. In 1898 however his habilitation was accepted, based on not an all too positive opinion of Pawlicki.¹⁹⁹ In December 1900, however, Lutosławski was suspended due to a “mental illness,”²⁰⁰ as diagnosed by the experts from the Medical Faculty. The philosopher was certainly behaving in a suspicious and eccentric way, breaking many of the customs of the university.²⁰¹ Yet, it was his wishes and attempts to teach political philosophy which were not welcomed at all – in the late 1890's Lutosławski turned from research on Plato, with which he received scholarly attention, towards the development of patriotic messianic actionist philosophy, which he preached rather than taught to crowds of students and the open public.²⁰² The swift and abrasive reaction of the Faculty moved him to emigrate to Lausanne, but he later returned to Galicia establishing the sect-like moral organization *Eleusis*, aimed at the renewal of the Polish nation through preparation of national elite, preaching self-discipline, abstinence, Catholicism etc., with Lutosławski as guru.

Conflict between the philosopher and the Faculty – with the participation of students among whom he was certainly very popular – was in Lutosławski's opinion not only an attack on the freedom of learning, but also politically organized action aimed against his “love to nation,” encompassing not only the university but also provincial government and police.²⁰³ While this might seem exaggerated, the skepticism of the Faculty towards the politicization of university, which remained throughout nineteenth century rather a conservative stronghold, is quite evident, especially as there was no real discussion as to whether Lutosławski could return to

¹⁹⁸ For detailed biography see Mróz, Tomasz, *Wincenty Lutosławski (1863-1954): "Jestem Obywatelem Utopii"*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2008.

¹⁹⁹ AUJ, W II 128, 8.7.1898.

²⁰⁰ AUJ, W II 128, 3.12.1900 – the exact formulation of his illness and behavior remained in the expertise of the Faculty rather blurry though; see also description of his behavior by Cracow Philosophical Faculty in DALO, 26/7/547, L. 1412, 8.8.1911.

²⁰¹ Mróz, *Wincenty Lutosławski*, 112-132.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Answer of Lutosławski to Faculty's critique, AUJ, W II 128, 2.2.1901.

the university. In 1903 his application for the renewal of his habilitation was turned down with the rationale that his convalescence care should take a few more years and that he should avoid stress, that is to say, remain in peaceful and calm Geneva and Lausanne. In his letters, however, Lutosławski described his return to health and resumption of lectures in Switzerland.²⁰⁴ Two years later the same situation repeated in L'viv, and once more in 1911 – here the Faculty of Jagiellonian University at the demand of L'viv Faculty described the situation from 1900 and referred to his unconfirmed return to psychic stability. The focus of the writing however was an unwelcomed turn of Lutosławski in 1900 from a serious scholar towards “preacher and social reformer” who taught matters not linked with his *venia* and tried to “establish a school of some undefined ethical and social tendency.”²⁰⁵ Although the writing confirmed the popularity of the scholar among students, its tone allowed the L'viv Faculty to reject Lutosławski's application, who taught until 1919 in various institutions in Europe and in the US.

There is no doubt that Lutosławski exceeded his scholarly boundaries – yet he was not the only one at the time. Scholars were often leading figures of political parties or movements, be they conservative, socialist or chauvinist, and not rebuked or criticized in the Faculty. Lutosławski failed in the first place in establishing contacts at the universities that would support him in the case of doubts. But as a political activist, who openly spoke of political activism, active nationalism and social betterment – even if in 1911 neither his plan of proposed lectures nor proposed opening lecture bore evidence of this inclination – was unacceptable for universities which claimed being apolitical.

Not falling into the mythology of conservative Galicia, these three examples of scholars transmitting ideas that could be called ‘modern’ to the Habsburg Monarchy show the distrust, conflict and rejection, which accompanied scholarly ideological otherness. Not only in Galicia, the rejection of materialism or positivism, which were allowed more freedom at German universities than in the Habsburg Empire, reduced the range of possibilities, opening however places for other careers and developments.

²⁰⁴ AUJ, W II 128, 27.2.1902; Z.111, 15.3.1902.

²⁰⁵ DALO, 26/7/547, L. 1412, 8.8.1911.

5.7. *East meets West? The Imperial Side of Imperial Universities*

Mechanisms of cultural adoption included not only scholars moving to universities with Czech or Polish language of instruction, but also scholars who moved the other direction, towards universities in Vienna or Graz. The cultural exchange was facilitated by the fact that German was the language taught at schools and was the language of the scientific community, yet the growing pressure between nationalities and negative attitudes towards leaving the national strongholds made the transition slightly more complicated. One can mention that the growing cultural tensions were often made responsible for failed or not entirely successful careers – for example in the cases of Rohon who ‘failed’ in Vienna, Mikulicz-Radecki who supposedly did not receive calls from Halle or Berlin due to his national uncertainty, or more broadly in the cases of Michael Borysiekiewicz, Abraham Eitelberg und Włodzimierz Łukasiewicz who moved from Vienna due to low opportunities for positions.²⁰⁶ In most of these cases one can see a different trend as well – Rohon was appointed in Prague without nostrification of his doctoral grade from Germany and against the majority at the Faculty. Borysiekiewicz was habilitated although he lacked publications and received a full professorship in Innsbruck; Łukasiewicz was appointed to Innsbruck not only being proposed *tertio loco*, but also without even having a doctoral degree; Eitelberger was denied habilitation, in which the commission (including Eduard Albert) mentioned his problems with German – yet apart from his cultural (and confessional) background he was also unknown at the Faculty and worked in the General Hospital as a practitioner, not having a strongly supportive mentor visible in the habilitation papers.²⁰⁷ As Władysław Natanson failed his habilitation exam in Graz, the widely communicated version was the hate of German professors against the Polish Jew. In Natanson’s letters to Ludwig Gumplowicz one can read though that the older scholar should not speak of what happened as it was not only painful, but also awkward; the exam protocol showed that Natanson failed answering the question on theoretical physics, on a topic he included

²⁰⁶ Svojtko, Seidl, Steininger, "Von Neuroanatomie, Paläontologie und slawischem Patriotismus: Leben und Werk des Josef Victor Rohon (1845-1923)."; Bona, "Zasługi Jana Mikulicza dla rozwoju chirurgii w Polsce;" Wakounig, Maria, "Wissenschaft und Karriere? Polnische Mediziner an der Wiener Uni zwischen 1870 und 1914." In *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slaventums und Osteuropas Bd. 16. Polen im alten Österreich. Kultur und Politik*, edited by Walter Leitsch and Stanisław Trawkowski, Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1993, 107-115.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

in his lecture catalogue – which is however strange, as he was a theoretical physicist.²⁰⁸ While the rejection by Graz scholars might be true as well, scapegoating them seems rather to be hiding personal embarrassment.

This is not to say that there were no boundaries or obstacles for Jewish and Slavic scholars at germanophone universities, yet the shaping of national biographies seems to be partially blurring the picture of a large number of Slavic scholars who were educated and/or habilitated, especially in imperial Vienna. In this regard, the capital university was certainly more accepting of cultural and national diversity than other institutions in the monarchy, which was influenced also by inclusion of Slavic full professors in the Viennese faculty, like Miklošič, Jagić, Albert, Jireček or Slav lenient Bohemian scholars from the Medical Faculty (eg. Rokitansky, Skoda/Škoda), while other universities were increasingly monocultural. With differing images and changing between 1848 and 1918, Vienna University can be regarded as the imperial institution in which the variety of Habsburg cultures were to be presented and taught. The hidden side of Thun's appointments, which included several non-German scholars, was afterwards not repeated, not only for political reasons but also because the university was understandably in a (at least officially) primarily German-speaking city, and thus the student economy required proper topics. Unsurprisingly, this university was nevertheless the first to which students would peregrinate – the Institute for Austrian Historical Research, Medical Faculty or Slavic studies remained pivotal for 'provincial' young scholars even during the growing importance of national institutions.²⁰⁹ However apart from the appointments from directly after 1848, only a few Polish or Czech scholars were granted positions in Vienna, Graz or Innsbruck – notwithstanding the returnees relocated due to language change – yet their biographies show how the mediation of cultural incentives was played out during the change to German-language institutions.

One of the earliest cases of cultural migration was mathematician Franz/Franciszek Mertens, born in Prussia, studied in Berlin and from 1865 taught in

²⁰⁸ See the letter of Natanson to Gumpłowicz from 16.2.1889, Collection of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow, sign. 9007 III, vol. 6; UAG, PF, Z. 205, ???.1888

²⁰⁹ See for example the work of Michał Hanecki, „Lekarze Polscy Wychowankowie Uniwersytetu Wiedeńskiego”, published in *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* in six parts between 1985 and 1987; Mandlerová, Jana, "K zahraničním cestám učitelů vysokých škol v českých zemích (1888-1918)." *DTV* 4 (1969): 232-246; Brzeziński, Tadeusz, *Polskie Peregrynacje po dyplomy lekarskie (od Średniowiecza po odzyskanie niepodległości w 1918 r.)*. Warszawa Retro-Art, 1999, 55-119.

Cracow. In 1884 he was appointed to the Technical Academy in Graz and in 1894 to Vienna University, achieving the honor of teaching in the capital. Still, Mertens published in German (already while teaching in Cracow) and Polish as a member of the Cracow Academy (until his death). Although some of his publications are carved for one language (like polemical writing with Polish mathematicians), his ongoing participation in two language discourse had more symbolic than communicational value. In Graz, Gumpłowicz regarded him as a fellow Pole, and being bilingual Mertens probably disregarded exclusive national designations.²¹⁰

Appointed to Vienna in 1894 Mertens followed Emil Weyr, who himself was appointed to the university from the Czech Technical Academy in Prague in 1875. Weyr was similarly publishing in two languages, and also a translator into Czech (he translated Italian writings of Luigi Cremona) and an active participant in Czech scientific organizations (Czech Academy of Science and the Arts in which he was from the opening full member, Union of Mathematicians and Physicists). Similar to Mertens, Weyr did not cease to participate in national endeavors after his move to the capital – several of his Czech articles as well as the third volume of an introduction to geometry in Czech (*Základové vyšší geometrie*, 1871/1878), which he coauthored with his (similarly intercultural) brother Eduard,²¹¹ appeared during his appointment in Vienna. At the same time apart from publishing in German he also founded, with Gustav Escherich, *Mathematical and Physical Monthly* (*Monatshefte für Mathematik und Physik*, est. 1890).²¹² Weyr's career is marked by his international contacts – Cremona and other scholars he met during scholarships in Italy, Germany and France, the supporter of his habilitation in Prague, Ernst Mach, and Eduard Albert with whom the mathematician had close contacts in Vienna are only few examples of his environment.

The careers of Weyr and Mertens, leading towards the Vienna University, seemed to proceed without serious obstacles or national problems. One might find

²¹⁰ Ciesielski, Krzysztof, Andrzej Pelczar, and Zdzisław Pagoda, "Franciszek Mertens (1840–1927)." In *Złota Księga Wydziału Matematyki i Fizyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, edited by Bolesław Szafirski, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000, 301–312.

²¹¹ Eduard Weyr taught at Czech Technical Academy and rejected calls from Zagreb, Innsbruck, Vienna and Chernivtsi; at the very beginning of his career he was *Privatdozent* at Czech and assistant at the German Technical Academy; for his detailed biography see Bečvář, Jindřich, "Eduard Weyr." In *Eduard Weyr (1852-1903)*, edited by Idem., Praha: Prometheus, 1995, 35–66.

²¹² Pánek, Augustin, "O životě a působení Dr. Emila Weyra." *Časopis pro pěstování matematiky a fyziky* 24, no. 3 (1895): 163–224; Bečvář, Jindřich, "Rodina Weyrů." In Idem (ed.), *Eduard Weyr*, 7–34, here 13–20

other examples as well, not only among habilitations (for example Smoluchowski, Masaryk) but also among higher ranks. Sociologist and jurist Ludwik Gumpłowicz, although often complaining about German nationalism (and anti-Semitism) in Graz, achieved a full professorship although his works were not always considered acceptable and were criticized from various sides. Through personal friendships and support, especially from Gustav Demelius who previously taught at the Jagiellonian University, Gumpłowicz's career, after the serious blow of the rejection of habilitation in his hometown, Cracow, was made possible in Graz.²¹³

Personal relations also had a decisive influence in the case of Konstantin Jireček, the only professor appointed from the Czech Charles University in Prague to Vienna.²¹⁴ Jireček studied in Prague and after a brief period in Sofia as scholar but also as minister of education, taught from 1884 in Prague as professor of general history (with special consideration of history of Slavs and the Balkan peninsula). In 1893 Vatroslav Jagić, who was at the time striving to achieve the foundation of a chair in Slavic history in Vienna, corresponded with him on moving to the capital. Although Czech, Jireček was a politically perfect candidate as he was working on Southern Slavs (Bulgaria, Serbia), topics not directly included in the nationality conflict. The proposal had however more political connotations. In the first place it came in a moment when the issue of the increase in positions in 'Slavic' subjects (for example history of law, history, languages) at universities and especially at the capital university was fiercely debated. Secondly, within the Faculty, historians who apparently wished no additional competition rejected the creation of an additional professorship of history. Especially the first issue was discussed in public and evoked contrary feelings, being actively opposed by German nationalists. This consideration was shared, for example, by philologists Wilhelm Hartel and Richard Heinzel, who

²¹³ See Weiler, Bernd, "Die akademische Karriere von Ludwig Gumpłowicz in Graz. Materialien zur Habilitation und Ernennung zum Extraordinarius (1876–1882)." *Newsletter des Archivs für die Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich* 21 (2001): 3-19; Idem, "Die akademische Karriere von Ludwig Gumpłowicz in Graz. Analysen und Materialien aus der Zeit von der Ernennung zum Extraordinarius bis zur Emeritierung (1883–1908). Teil 1." *Newsletter des Archivs für die Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich* 24 (2003): 21-42; Idem, "Die akademische Karriere von Ludwig Gumpłowicz in Graz: Analysen und Materialien aus der Zeit von der Ernennung zum Extraordinarius bis zur Emeritierung (1883–1908). Teil 2." *Newsletter des Archivs für die Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich* 25 (2004): 3-54.

²¹⁴ For an up to date biography see Ivanišević, Alojz, and Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Konstantin Josef Jireček (1854-1918)." In *Osteuropäische Geschichte in Wien. 100 Jahre Forschung und Lehre an der Universität* edited by Arnold Suppan, Maria Wakounig and Georg Kastner, Innsbruck, Wien et al.: StudienVerlag, 2007, 41-89.

offered to request the chair themselves so as not to create an impression of a ‘rope team’ between Jagić and Jireček. The appointment – proposed finally by Jagić – was accepted by the Faculty with 24 in favor and 4 against – the designation was however not history as proposed at the beginning, but Slavic philology and archaeology (*Alttertumskunde*).²¹⁵

Jireček himself later disrupted the idea of a Slavic ‘rope team’ in Slavic subjects, as he was influential in the habilitation of Klagenfurt born Hans Uebersberger for East-European history and later in founding the institute, with the same designation which Uebersberger proposed and later led.²¹⁶ Although during his career as a university lecturer, scholars whom Jireček taught and who later gained professorships were mostly Slavic, it had much to do with the focus on Slavic history. The number of participants in his seminars and lectures, as well as doctoral students coming from germanophone provinces and the German Empire was observably low.²¹⁷ The publications of Jireček remained multilingual notwithstanding his move – although his major publications appeared before his Vienna appointment in German, he wrote also in Czech (also after 1893), Serbo-Croatian (mainly articles, books appeared in translations), and Bulgarian, his main works being translated into Hungarian, Russian and French, among others. Like many other Viennese scholars, he was also influential in the Romanian question – the Jireček-line (1911), dividing the ancient Balkans into spheres of Latin and Greek influence, is still used as an argument in the debates over the origin of Romanians.

Scholars moving from the east to the west of the Monarchy, although scarce, were thus by no means defined either as Slavs or as scholars at German-speaking universities – just the contrary, most of them played both games very well, actively participating in German-speaking as well as their national communities. One can provide other examples that an either-or affiliation was not at stake here – Eduard Albert, popular if sometimes opposed for his cultural background (both as Czech-declared Bohemian and scholar with a ‘German’ education and career) was both an

²¹⁵ Leitsch, Walter, and Manfred Stoy, *Das Seminar für osteuropäische Geschichte der Universität Wien 1907 - 1948*, Wien et. al: Böhlau, 1983, 15-20.

²¹⁶ Suppan, Arnold, and Maria Wakounig, "Hans Uebersberger (1877- 1962)." In Suppan, Wakounig, Kastner (eds.), *Osteuropäische Geschichte in Wien*, 91–165.

²¹⁷ Leitsch, Stoy, *Das Seminar*, 38-55; among 301 participants in the seminar only 12 were from Austrian Lands, while 77 were from Galicia and 51 from Bohemia; Jireček’s doctoral students were predominantly of Serbo-Croatian mother tongue (26 from 42), see *Ibid.*, 54-55.

influential surgeon and a cherished patron of Czech scholarship;²¹⁸ Gumpłowicz was likewise opposed, mostly in reviews and publications – but equally in both communities (although due to his Jewish descent), epistolary contempt for Graz could be matched only by his comments on Cracow – traces of his influence can be found however across Habsburg sociology.²¹⁹ In no way, though, was this similar to anti-Semitic and/or Tyrolean anti-Italian tirades, which erected a harder boundary for scholars to transgress and should rather be read as processes of consolidation of institutional identity, similar to those in Galicia or Bohemia. Adoption of two-language strategy to be part of a given – for the lack of better terms – community of belonging and community of career, is one of the central characteristics of transculturally mobile imperial scholars from Albert to Werner described above.

5.8. Transfers Between Rejection, Acceptance and Influence – “Foreign” Scholars at Germanophone Galician Universities

The above described transfers concentrated mostly on the situation of scholars who were proposed by the faculty and, if the position was accepted and the Ministry complied, the desired or presupposed impact was to be implemented in the faculty life – students education, development of institutes or seminars, or more broadly local (and national) scientific infrastructure. Yet, the processes and specificity of academic and scholarly life did not comply with what was desired and scholars’ careers were rather facilitated by political, religious and national alliances than by scientific value as indicated in faculty proposals. There is no doubt though that at no time were scholars appointed through political pressure ignorant; there were certainly specialists – teachers or professional instructors – even if for whatever reason universities had not considered them as prospective members of their faculties and they were not included into the faculties’ proposals. This ranges from national ideology, especially in Cracow and L’viv, to ideological issues like religion (Müllner, Pawlicki). One such example was mentioned above – Mikulicz-Radecki’s enactment as the chair of surgery in Cracow was protested and rejected by the Faculty, but the opinion on his activities changed in a very short time, turning from rejection to appreciation, his

²¹⁸ Kokešová, *Eduard Albert*.

²¹⁹ The (positive and negative) influence is traced in Surman, Jan, *Zwischen Sozialismus und Gesellschaftslehre die "Disziplinierung" der Soziologie in Österreich vor 1918*; unpublished Master Thesis, Institute for Sociology, Vienna University, 2006.

wide activities positively regarded by fellow scholars, students and finally by historiography. Another category here are scholars in Chernivtsi who entered a university positioned between various cultural, ethnic and national relations – yet germanophone and *per definitionem* a-(supra/anti)national. This was similar to the situation in Prague, where until 1882 the faculty represented the growing interests of one of the groups. Prague does however not present an exact example of the processes to be presented here, because the conflict lines, as blurred as they seem to be at a closer look, run in Bohemia more outside than inside the faculty.

Most cases of politically promoted scholars can be found in the period directly following the post-1848 reform movements and the firm hand of the minister Thun-Hohenstein, who mediated between his ideas of scholarliness, national development and the needs and interests of the faculties, with decisions which were often not readily accepted and especially in the case of Bohemia and Galicia stigmatized as anti-national. Several germanophone scholars appointed to Galicia left at the very moment Polish language was introduced as the only language of instruction, while some of them remained adopting to language requirements. The replacement with local scholars was not always uncritically greeted as a new step towards betterment. While the claims of students being better taught in their native language and national science having better possibilities to develop were augmented, the exclusion of an important part of the faculty in Cracow and L'viv was seen as a possible detriment to the scientific value of the institutes if no adequately knowledgeable instructors were appointed.²²⁰

Thun's newly introduced non-Polish-speaking professors were mostly young and very active; most of them strove for better positions at other universities and regarded Galicia as only an intermediary station in their career. Their recollections from Galicia are also not very favourable, mentioning libraries depleted of new publications, but also comments on the social and cultural life of the, in their eyes, provincial province.²²¹ In the critique of some universities, local scholars mentioned also the relative lack of foreign publication, which were not available due to

²²⁰ One can find a range of negative opinions on not always fortunate replacements in Cracow daily *Kraj*, which is regarded as progressive and modern journal. Through the person of Gumplowicz, who led the redaction for most of the time and had been rejected habilitation, this conflicts had also personal connection though.

²²¹ See for example Schneider, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrter aus den Jahren 1849-1862. Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Unterrichtsreform."

censorship, or simply because of the lack of Philosophical Faculty pre-1848, and thus the lack of scholarly literature covering the newly introduced subjects. This problem in fact confronted all universities in the Monarchy: the development of a library system was thus considered a priority and the 1848-1860s period mark a milestone in this regard.

Scholars appointed to Galicia did not receive the call by mistake and Thun paid careful attention to their qualities – both moral and scholarly. One can see this following the next career stations of scholars after leaving Galician universities. Zoologist Karl Bernhard Brühl, after being one year in Cracow went through Pest as an full professor to Vienna, mineralogist Viktor Zepharovich was appointed after Cracow to Graz and later to Prague, zoologist Oskar Schmidt, later one of the first Darwinians, who came in 1855 to the Jagiellonian University from Jena, went to Graz two years later and became finally a biological star in Strasbourg; zoologist Camill Heller and professor for classical philology Bernhard Jülg went to Innsbruck, Gustav Linker came to Prague, etc. A very similar situation can be observed at the Medical Faculty. Christian Voigt was appointed full professor for anatomy in Vienna. The other anatomist, Rokitsky's pupil Richard Heschl went to Graz after the language change and then in 1875 to Vienna. Václav Treitz was appointed to Prague in 1855 after three years spent in Cracow, similarly physiologists Johann Czermak and his successor Giuseppe Albini, who each worked two years in Cracow, and made considerable careers in Germany and Italy respectively.

This movement was influenced also by the fact that after the confirmation (*Bestätigung*) as university professors, scholars could not easily be discharged, yet, most of them had remarkable careers within and outside the monarchy, which indicates their approval in the community. The opposition which their appointments encountered within the faculties and public was mostly (but not always) caused by their lack of knowledge of the local language or they were seen as 'foreign' scholars oppressing local knowledge, which in the ever more nationalizing environment played a crucial role in the processes of acceptance.

Appointments to the university in Cracow were seen especially emotionally. In the first place, the tradition of the 'Polish' historical academy was rewritten according to perception of language, while Latin was seen as a neutral language and thus appropriate for scholars, which German after 1848 was not any longer, and internationalisation through German scholars was seen as a political act of oppression

towards Polish cultural development.²²² A redefinition of language was also reified during the short period after 1848 as national languages were languages of instruction. Liberal hopes to appoint national celebrities, which for political reasons proved impossible. The expulsion of four scholars in 1853, the introduction of German language of instruction and appointments of non-polonophone scholars were thus easily combinable in the narrative of cultural germanisation, which grew in popularity especially after 1860. Similar national narratives were crafted for L'viv University, although without the evident continuity of Polish or Ruthenian scholarship and with the consequent inclusion in the Habsburg network of scholarly migration; the period before establishing national hegemony were regarded as a kind of unproductive dark ages.²²³

In these narratives, 'German' (or 'Germanised') scholars were *others* whose influence was minimal or none. Yet a look at the changes which took place in those years and a closer analyse of individual biographies show that at the "patriotic alignment" which such scholars allegedly had, did not hinder them to mark their stamp in Galicia and in some cases influenced their biographies as well.

Appointments which were not welcomed at the universities, or on which they were not consulted, included Polish-speaking scholars as well – if only they were politically spotless according to Thun. For example, Antoni Małecki was appointed against the will of the Faculty, being then for a short time one of the most appreciated teachers at the Faculty of the Jagiellonian University. Similarly Wincenty Pol, whom Thun proposed for either Polish literature or geography, grew to be very popular among students, proposing a range of improvements based on Prussian universities and cultural life.²²⁴ Notwithstanding the protests from the university both were released in 1853, but the short period at the university established both their popularity and also influenced their careers. Pol, previously known more as writer, although interested also in geography and working on a "Geography of Poland" whose manuscript was destroyed in 1846, began lecturing and writing on it on a 'scientific' basis (Alexander von Humboldt, Carl Ritter were named in his opening

²²² Surman, "Symbolizm, komunikacja i hierarchia kultur: Galicyjski dyskurs hegemonii językowej początku drugiej połowy XIX wieku."

²²³ Finkel, Starzyński, *Historya Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*; Baczkowska, Wanda, "Germanisierung der Krakauer Universität im 19. Jahrhundert im Vergleich zu den anderen Hochschulen in der Donaumonarchie." *Historická Olomouc* 11 (1998): 161-173; Stopka, Banach, Dybiec, *The History of the Jagiellonian University*;

²²⁴ Barycz, "Wincenty Pol jako profesor geografii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim."

lecture), including also strongly applied geography. Although he reduced his interest in geographical questions after 1853, the creation of chair of geography for him symbolically opened (and is seen as) the beginning of modern geographical research in the Polish language. In 1860s, as Pol was proposing his return to university (or the Faculty proposed it to him), it was clearly seen as a matter of prestige and widely supported in the Faculty and in public.²²⁵ Małecki never achieved the status of a celebrity, yet his career would probably have never taken off if not for Thun's support – at first in his appointment to Cracow, then, notwithstanding political brisance and accusations, to Innsbruck, and then to L'viv in 1856.²²⁶ At his last station, Małecki, who surely lacked both sources and students during his two year appointment in Innsbruck, developed very diversified activity including Polish grammar, literature and history making his chair pivotal for the later processes of securing Polish as the language of instruction.²²⁷

While the importance of 'Polish' professors during the nineteenth century nationalization processes is very often referred to in the historiography, the interesting case is relative silence or general negative approach to the issue of germanophone scholars – joined with the presupposition that their activities were from the beginning aimed at the germanisation of Galicia. The lack of influence of German-teaching professors at the university and their disinterestedness in Polish culture, is not confirmed in the sources or in the publications written directly after their relocations. Most of the lasting impact pertains to infrastructure, but not exclusively. The 1850s were a time of institutional reorganisation of the universities in which Galician academies – despite not all claims being fulfilled – profited.²²⁸ The most notable innovation was the introduction of seminars, where students were introduced to scientific work and at the same time paid a small sum (60 florin) for their research. So were seminars for classic literature and history also established in L'viv and Cracow, taking Viennese seminars as model. A proposed seminar for Slavic language fell victim to political pressures. Similarly, the natural sciences were reorganised in

²²⁵ AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 393u, Próba restytuowania W. Pola na katedrę geografii.

²²⁶ DALO, 26/7/56, p. 10, 30.9.1856.

²²⁷ For the appreciation of Małecki in L'viv see Starnawski, Jerzy, *Sylwetki lwowskich historyków literatury*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1997.

²²⁸ If not noted otherwise the next pages are based on *Zakłady uniwersyteckie w Krakowie. Przyczynek do dziejów oświaty krajowej podany w pamięci pięćset-letniego istnienia Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*. Kraków, 1864; *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej*, Kraków: Academia Medica Cracoviensis, 1964, and Finkel, Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*.

comparable ways to other provincial universities. In the Habsburg academic geography, contrary to Polish demands, Galician universities were not to be at the level of Vienna nor Prague, although the financial contributions per student were at a high level.²²⁹

As far as the L'viv University was concerned, the most important innovations were the establishment of a botanical garden by Hiacynt Łobarzewski in 1852, for which Karl Bauer²³⁰ from Vienna was hired as a gardener. The institutes for chemistry of Gustav Wolf and physics of Victor Pierre were installed as well, receiving considerable endowments over the next years. Also the cabinet of mineralogy was strongly developed, for which zoologist Hermann Schmidt-Gödel, and after 1863 mineralogist Albert Weiss, were able to obtain 2500 florin for 2800 new minerals. The main improvement for the Jagiellonian University was the astronomical observatory, which was reorganised by Maxymilian Weisse in 1858/1859 for 25.000 florin, creating, according to Franciszek Karliński, the most modern observatory in middle Europe.²³¹ The assistants of the observatory, Galicians Karliński, Ignacy Gralewski, Jan Świerczewski and Ignacy Daczyński, Bohemians Vojtěch (Adalbert) Kuneš and Moritz Allé and Moravian Karl Hornstein are mentioned as very productive at the time, establishing astronomical and also mathematic research in Cracow.²³² All four were afterwards professors: Karliński in Cracow, Kuneš in Trieste, Allé at Technical Academy in Graz, then at the German Technical Academy in Prague and finally in Vienna; Hornstein at the Charles University in Prague. Gralewski taught at exclusive gymnasium of St. Anna in Cracow. The first assistant of Weisse, Jan Kanty Steczkowski, was from 1842 a professor of mathematics at Jagiellonian University.²³³ Thus of the known assistants

²²⁹ Financial data can be found in Lemayer, Karl, *Die Verwaltung der Österreichischen Hochschulen von 1868-1877: Im Auftrage Des K.k. Ministers Für Cultus Und Unterricht*. Wien, 1878, 366-367.

²³⁰ In the late 19th century Karl Bauer worked as garden-inspector at the Chernivtsi University, I could though not secure that it was the same person.

²³¹ Karliński, Franciszek, "Obserwatorium astronomiczne." In *Zakłady uniwersyteckie*, 70-143.

²³² Rybka, Eugeniusz, and Przemysław Rybka, *Historia astronomii w Polsce. T. 2*. Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii Nauki, Oświaty i Techniki. Zakład Historii Nauk Ścisłych i Techniki, 1983, 141-152.

²³³ On Kuneš see Böhm, Conrad, "L'Osservatorio Astronomico di Trieste nel XIX secolo." *Memorie della Società Astronomia Italiana* 66 (1995): 777-783, here 780; on Allé see Bečvářová, Martina, *Česká matematická komunita v letech 1848 až 1918*. Praha: MATFYZPRESS, 2008, 34-45.

of Weisse at this time, only Świerczewski did not pursue scientific career and Duczyński died in the Kraków Uprising in 1846.²³⁴

The inventory of plants in the Cracow Botanic Garden – from 1853 directed by Vilna-educated Józef Warszewicz, oversees traveller and internationally linked orchid collector²³⁵ – doubled between 1848-1861, and important investments like a fern greenhouse, pond for water plants etc., were made. Due to exchange with other botanical gardens, 38,000 seed packets were sent and 14,000 were received from 40 gardens around the globe. Some changes occurred at the zoological institute as well: Ludwik Zejszner/Zeuschner had collected out of the items which the institute had a double, exchanging them for a mammoth's head. Oskar Schmidt, professor of zoology, acquired 1000 florin for travel to the Mediterranean Sea in order to collect rare fish and invertebrates, adding 269 items to the inventory. His successor Brühl obtained a collection of molluscs from Istria collector Padre Pius (Pio) Titius Vendel. Camillo Heller obtained an insect collection from Vienna. Similar developments occurred also at the chairs for physics and chemistry, which were led by Polish-speaking scholars.

Similar developments can be observed at the Medical Faculty. Pathologist Voigt had left the University a number of human preparations, especially of the nervous system, which were valued for their exactness by his successors. Together with professor of comparative anatomy Kozubowski, they modernized the institute through buying more than 240 preparations and two microscopes. The newly established institute for pathology was led by Václav Treitz, who Dietl proposed, and then by Richard Heschl. Although located until the 1860s in a provisory building, rich subventions by the Ministry enabled completing the equipment and provided the needed literature. Similar was the case of the institute for physiology, where Czermak brought the newest standards of physiology modernising and enlarging the small laboratory established 1850 by Józef Majer into an independent institute for experimental physiology.²³⁶ After Czermak, the short-term appointee Giuseppe

²³⁴ List of assistants according to Karliński, "Obserwatorium astronomiczne".

²³⁵ Zielnica, Krzysztof, *Polonica bei Alexander von Humboldt: ein Beitrag zu den deutsch-polnischen Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004, 180-188; Szafer, Władysław, *Zarys historii botaniki w Krakowie na tle sześciu wieków Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*. Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964, 52-64.

²³⁶ Kaulbersz, Jerzy, and Ryszard Bliski, "Historia Katedry Fizjologii Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Akademii Medycznej." In *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej. T.II, Historia katedr*, Kraków: Academia Medica Cracoviensis, 1964, 391-416, here 401.

Albini, later professor in Parma and Naples, modernized the institute receiving from the Ministry 600-florin endowment, for which Czermak applied.

Development of the Jagiellonian University at this time is marked also by a strong division between patriotic professors and those who supported the German language of instruction – apart from the germanophone professors (who were though very few) especially forensic medic Antoni Bryk and historian Antoni Walewski. Both entered the historiography as mediocre and conservative scholars who were only interested in keeping their privileged position.

Yet both scholars marked unmistakably the disciplines they taught. Galician Bryk – appointed on basis of proposal of Józef Skobel – taught forensic medicine until 1860 and after 1860 surgery. Especially in the period after 1860 he left his mark in Galicia. In 1860, in a conflict over the appointment of his successor in forensic medicine he opposed Richard Heschl who claimed weakness of Ferdynand Kopczyński, Galician candidate of the Faculty – an affair that was solved through the Ministry with Kopczyński's appointment.²³⁷ In the next year Bryk founded (with Józef Dietl and Józef Majer leading editor 1862-1864) the Polish-language journal Medical Review (*Przegląd Medyczny*), to which he also contributed, with articles originating in his clinic. His contributions to surgery were considered innovative for his time. Most of all he introduced Lister's antiseptic in his clinic, significantly lowering mortality.²³⁸

Antoni Walewski, in contrast, was a historian, against whose appointment the Faculty vociferously protested from the beginning – not only envisaging a celebrity in a nationally vital chair, but also as Walewski was neither a known historian, nor occupied with general history. Moreover, already in 1848 his writings were read as antinational and antirevolutionary, arguing for monarchical Europe. Opposition against him in the Faculty rose with the accusation regarding his participation in the events from 1853, as the professors who were released had been most strenuously opposing his appointment – although he, for example, had been friends with Wincenty Pol.²³⁹ He (with Antoni Wachholz) is noted in the historiography for the

²³⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1103, PA Kopczyński, Z. 14960, 13.10.1860.

²³⁸ Bogusz, Józef, "Dzieje krakowskiej chirurgii (Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Akademii Medycznej)." In *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej. T.II, Historia katedr*, Kraków: Academia Medica Cracoviensis, 1964, 243-286 here 251-252, on forensic medicine Kusiak, Marian, "Dzieje katedry medycyny sądowej." In *Ibid.*, 315-339, here 320-321.

²³⁹ Barycz, Henryk, "Wincenty Pol jako profesor geografii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim," 70; for a

rejected dissertation of Tadeusz Wojciechowski, a later well-known historian; yet, it is hard to say whether it was caused by Wojciechowski's political opinions. The work in question dealt with Maximilian II, that is the 16th century. It may have been simply because this work – as recently claimed – “deserved the biting criticism [...] it was badly organised and based on inadequate source materials.”²⁴⁰

One can be certain that Walewski's historiosophy was crucial in how he was and is perceived: he saw the fate of culture in the hands of monarchs, especially Franz Joseph and Alexander II, in feudalism and in the elimination of everything he considered republican or materialist. After the publication of his last book in 1875, an utterly conservative-statist programme of the renewal of Poland's loyalty toward partitioners, he was attacked from all sides, resigned from leading the commission for history of the Polish Academy of Sciences, which he held from 1871 and died shortly thereafter.

Speaking at his grave – more from duty than of sympathy – Józef Szujski mentioned though, that Walewski's political thought (which he clearly deeply despised) should not hinder remembering his historical works. Concerned mostly with the early modern period and Polish history, Walewski collected a wide range of sources from archives in Vienna, Berlin or Paris and his works on Jan Casimir and the period after death of Jan III Sobieski were seen as valuable enough to earn him the appointment to the university and the position of chair of the historic section. Although his political doctrine intertwined with historical fact – according to Szujski – “it harmed only the popularity of the author, but not the science.”²⁴¹

It is hard to speak of the ‘influence’ of Walewski's historiographic position – a loyalist to all partitioners was growingly unpopular in Galicia. The time of his appointment was precisely that in which the national(istic) historiographical positions were desired or gained publicity, which is also why his proposal met with such negative coverage. Without a doubt, the loyalist programme²⁴² he proposed was

recent biography, although not to be read without cautiousness see Baczkowski, Krzysztof, "W służbie dworu Habsburskiego. Antoni Walewski (1805-1876)." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 132 (2005): 99-108.

²⁴⁰ Bator, Iwona, "Tadeusz Wojciechowski (1838-1919) " In *Nation and History: Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, edited by Peter Brock, John Stanley and Piotr Wróbel, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2006, 113-122, here 114.

²⁴¹ Szujski, Józef, "Mowa na pogrzebie Antoniego Walewskiego prof. Uniw. Jagiell., Członka Akademii." *Rocznik Zarządu Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* (1877): 137-142; quotation p. 139.

²⁴² In its early version, published in Walewski, Antoni, *Pogląd na sprawę Polski ze stanowiska*

popular among Cracow historians, although in a slightly (or largely) different manifestation. The so called Cracow Historical School growingly criticised Walewski, although he had a significant role in the School's development as well: his membership in the Cracow Academy and heading one of the commissions quite clearly demonstrates his importance, as the Academy was politically largely an independent body. In nineteenth century accounts on historiography, Walewski was also associated with the Cracow School as the precursor of loyalist principia; his ideas were linked for example with Szujski.²⁴³ This is not to say that this relationship was true or not – the perception of a clear link between (the politically disqualified) Walewski and the Cracow Historical School was one of the arguments in a conflict between Cracow and Warsaw views on the Polish past, clearly brought up by Warsaw historians in order to criticize the genesis of the conservative historiography.²⁴⁴ And in the Cracow School (and ideologically and personally closely associated with it political group of *Stańczycy*) can be characterised by elements of narrative which were prominent in Walewski's presentations – the positive role of Catholicism, a critique of 'anarchic' / 'republican-revolutionary' doctrines in the Commonwealth before partitions, the positive role of monarchic loyalty (although, in comparison to Walewski not to all three partitioners) and monarchic traditions; although these relations cannot be overestimated as his own influence, similarity between Walewski's version of an ideal way to retain Polish nationhood and the ones advocated by Cracow historians of the 'next' generation are improbably only a coincidence – especially as some of them studied while Walewski was teaching. And – to return to the words of Szujski quoted above – like Walewski, the Cracow School was attacked for being anti-Polish and together with the *Stańczycy* endured in the nineteenth century, the very same critique from the liberal side, which may have harmed their popularity at the time, but not their role in the present memory.²⁴⁵

monarchii i historii. 2 vols. Lwów: A. Winarz, 1849, although also this book met with manifold critique for its loyalist position.

²⁴³ Chmielowski, Piotr, *Zarys literatury polskiej z ostatnich lat dwudziestu*. 2 ed. Warszawa: A. W. Gruszecki, 1886, 289.

²⁴⁴ Smoleński, Władysław, *Szkoły historyczne w Polsce; główne kierunki poglądów na przyszłość. Z przedmową Aleksandra Rembowskiego*. Warszawa: Saturnin Sikorski, 1898, 129; on the context see Grabski, Andrzej Feliks, *Orientacje polskiej myśli historycznej : studia i rozważania*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972, esp. 18-20.

²⁴⁵ See for general introduction to this question Janowski, Maciej, *Polish liberal thought before 1918*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004; Król, Maciej, ed., *Stańczycy: antologia myśli społecznej i politycznej konserwatystów krakowskich*. Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1985.

‘Outsiders’ Bryk and Walewski join the ranks of professors from the early second half of the nineteenth century. Their biographies cannot be found in the contemporary *Golden Books* and are seldom or not mentioned in cursory presentations representing the historical memory. Wachholz or Wrobel share the same fate, like most of German-speaking professors, with few exceptions – Joseph Mauss, famous for his popularity among students and inciting them to join the November Uprising,²⁴⁶ František Tomáš Bratranek und Heinrich Zeissberg. Yet, the special nationally pressurised conditions in Galicia show both the tensions and the values of multicultural institutions.

The feeling of being in the same boat between the professors of different cultural/regional background was in some cases very strong. Bratranek heavily pleaded for reinstallation of Wincenty Pol for the chair of geography in the 1860s, and if not, wanted the Faculty to address the government to raise his pension. Bratranek was also proposed to be a dean of the Faculty of philosophy during the period of Polish-language at the university, irrespective of the fact that he was one of the driving forces behind the petition to introduce German as a language of instruction at the University. The same situation unfolded around Piotr Bartynowski, who was politically installed as rector of the University, and was proposed for the same charge by Józef Dietl as the autonomy of the University was reinstalled. Serious conflicts occurred as well, like the previously mentioned conflict between the Medical Faculty and Richard Heschl, or more importantly during the discussions on the introduction of the Polish language at the L’viv University.²⁴⁷ Similarly conflicted were the questions considering the linguistic accuracy of academic procedures. Historian Wincenty Zakrzewski, who was trying to gain habilitation several months before the utraquisation of L’viv University – on the basis of Polish-language publication and for lectures in Polish language – was rejected, based on the opinion from the Ministry. When he was urged to prepare a German language publication for the procedure, he

²⁴⁶ To my knowledge “celebration” does not really mean that anything more is known about Mauss apart of this one occurrence, the only biography in Polish language is still “Józef Mauss (sylwetka uniwersytecka).” *Dziennik Polski* 24.3.1895, Nr. 83 (1895): 1-2, with some recent publications in Ukrainian (see, most recently Кріль, Михайло, “Педагогічна і наукова діяльність Йозефа Маусса.” In *Багатокультурне історичне середовище Львова в XIX і XX століттях: наукове издание. Т. 4 / Wielokulturowe środowisko historyczne Lwowa w XIX i XX t. 4*, edited by Леонід Зашкільняк and Єжи Матерніцкі, Львів, Жешув: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, Жешувський університет 2006, 93-106)

²⁴⁷ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1103, PA Korczynski, Z. 14960, 13.10.1860.

rejected the offer as he believed that the quality should be measured irrespective of language and his German was not fluent.²⁴⁸ To be fair, the pressure of the Polish-nationalist movement on the ‘German’ professors must have made their work hardly bearable – philosopher Karl Barach-Rappaport was (according to the act about his successor) assaulted and offended on the streets, which rushed his relocation from L’viv in 1871.²⁴⁹

But being in the same boat did not mean only personal support, but also adaptations. As mentioned before, in the later nineteenth century, those were normal occurrence, and one of the reasons was certainly the changing social structure of the city and social sphere, that is, the dominance of Polish and Ruthenian, with German (and Jewish) being ghettoised and marginalised. Yet, also in the period after the 1850s one can find similar examples as well – not limited to German-Polish/Ruthenian relations, but also Polish-Ruthenian. One can mention here Vahylevych (see above), but also Euzebiusz Czerkowski, professor for philosophy and pedagogy, and “Ukrainian-born school inspector [...] who was instrumental in polonizing the educational system in the 1850s and 1860s.”²⁵⁰ L’viv, later Cracow historian Antoni Wachholz’s personal identity was also the cause of disturbances. In the early twentieth century, several decades after his passing, the question whether he was Polish or not was a matter of quite emotional discussion; the question whether the late Chernivtsi-born scholar spoke Polish as his mother tongue or not occupied members of his family – not really leading to definite conclusions.²⁵¹

The political situation with changing power hierarchies, religious inscriptions and ethnic/national self-understanding allows one to suspect more such cases in individual biographies, both inside and outside of the main nationalist groups.²⁵² With certainty, most adaptations were not so paradigmatic as in the case of national self-perception or the acceptance of national narrative. Two cases – of Bratranek and

²⁴⁸ DALO, 26/7/148, p. 15, Z. 1544, 17.3.1871 *et priora*; Zakrzewski, born in Prussian part of the partitioned Commonwealth, studied in Berlin and Heidelberg, graduated in Leipzig.

²⁴⁹ See the appointment records of Euzebiusz Czerkowski, AGAD, MWiO, fasz. 118u, PA Czerkowski, Z. 8147, 19.6.1871.

²⁵⁰ Magocsi, Paul R., *Galicia: a historical survey and bibliographic guide*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, 148-149.

²⁵¹ Letter of Leon Wachholz to Maria Łaskawska, Cracow 24. 6 1935 (copy of Karol Lewicki from 26. June 1935), DALO, 26/5/213.

²⁵² For the argument: King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*.

Zeissberg – point in the same direction as the hitherto described late nineteenth century cultural adjustments.

Heinrich Zeissberg, alumnus of Aschbach, Sickel and Jäger at the Vienna University and Institute for Austrian Historical Research, arrived in L'viv in 1861 as a considerably young scholar at age of 31. Concentrating on the Middle Ages, several years after arriving to Cracow he included questions of Polish history in his scope of interest, writing critically acclaimed works concerning Mieszko II, Wincenty Kadłubek and his chronicles, or the Congress of Gniezno (AD 1000) and question of crowning (or not) of Bolesław (I) Chrobry. He was critically acclaimed for two reasons – in the first place Zeissberg was one of the first historians who dealt with these questions and gave them pivotal importance for Polish history; at the same time he remain devoted to positivistic critical source analysis not always leading him to welcomed narratives, especially as the metalevel of his ideas was the positive role of (German-led) Christianity as the only instance of civilization, which was becoming more contested in the later 19th century. Without surprise though, Zeissberg learned Polish, although seemingly not enough to teach in Polish after 1871. The situation in L'viv, however, was not such as to let a non-Polish historian instruct history. And even skeptical historians trace his influence in his students, Anatol Lewicki and Aleksander Semkowicz, later professors in Cracow and L'viv respectively.²⁵³ That Lewicki was Zeissberg's student was known, and it was mentioned as crucial by Cracow Faculty at the moment of his appointment. Although, as was mentioned as well, after graduating he worked as gymnasium professor and neither published nor researched intensively.²⁵⁴

What is more, Zeissberg's opus magnum on Polish Historiography from the Middle Ages (1872) was quite rapidly translated into Polish (1877), and he was nominated as member of Cracow Academy in 1874,²⁵⁵ shortly after which he was appointed to Innsbruck. Without a doubt, this historiography was very well received –

²⁵³ Finkel, Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu*, 331. See also Franić, "Österreichisch-Polnische Begegnungen der Historiker," 520-525.

²⁵⁴ AUJ, WF II 136, Katedra historii Austrii, 26.6.1883.

²⁵⁵ Nieciowa, Helena, *Członkowie Akademii Umiejętności oraz Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 1872-1952* Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973.

it was the first synthetic presentation of this issue²⁵⁶ arriving just before the boom on Middle Ages started.

While Zeissberg left L'viv university in 1871, one scholar who did not speak Polish remained at the Cracow University – professor of German literature František Tomáš Bratranek; Bratranek, whose pivotal role in the ‘germanisation’ of the Cracow university was mentioned before, and it seems to have grown enormous in popularity in Galicia. As the change of language was sealed, the fact that Bratranek be removed from the chair was not widely accepted. On 14 October 1869, professor of classical philology Alfred Brandowski proposed to the Faculty that Bratranek should be left with lectures in German apart from a (to be appointed) professor with Polish as the language of instruction.²⁵⁷ On the next day, similar claim was raised in L'viv in *Polish Daily (Dziennik Polski)*.²⁵⁸ Bratranek was in fact not unknown in L'viv – in the 1840s he was assistant of Ignác Jan Hanuš at chair of philosophy, from which time he was acquainted with several Polish scholars.²⁵⁹ These claims, either supported or induced by the petition of Cracow students, were successful. The scholar remained in Cracow lecturing in German and beginning thus the tradition of German-speaking scholars at the ‘Polish’ University.

There are manifold reasons why Bratranek – notwithstanding his role in 1853 – remains a ‘positive’ historical hero. In the first place his career does not reflect the typical ‘Habsburg’ scholar of directly after 1848. Already before the revolution he was seated in the young-Hegelian centre in the St. Thomas Abbey of Augustin friars in Staré Brno/Alt-Brünn, which was called a pre-march “sit of enlightenment,”²⁶⁰ working on philosophy and aesthetics (inclusive aesthetics of nature) and secondarily on literature. There, also as a teacher at the philosophical preparatory study, he was acquainted with Rudolf Eitelberger, but also with members of so called *Czech-Moravian Brotherhood* (Českomoravské bratrstvo) Hanuš, Helcelet, František Klácel or Božena Němcová, hinting at new modes of politicization, but also political

²⁵⁶ Pawiński, Adolf, "Wstęp do przekładu." In Heinrich Zeissberg, *Dziejopisarstwo polskie wieków średnich*, Warszawa: skł. gł. Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1877, IX-XIII, here X; Pawiński mentions also a positive review of Smolka from 1873.

²⁵⁷ WF II 157, 14.10.1869

²⁵⁸ *Dziennik Polski* 1869, 15. October 1869, Friday.

²⁵⁹ Dobija-Witczak, Olga, "František Tomáš Bratranek (1815-1884)." In *Złota księga Wydziału Filologicznego*, edited by Jan Michalik and Waclaw Walecki, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000, 50-58.

²⁶⁰ Theodor Gomperz, quoted in Weinberg, Adelaide, *Theodor Gomperz and John Stuart Mill*. Genève: Librairie Droz., 1963, 10.

activism for whom other members of the brotherhood (or rather reading circle) were known – Hanuš and Klácel were condemned for hegelianism. In Brno, Bratranek taught, among others, Theodor Gomperz – who favorably spoke of the influence of the scholar on his philosophical career, and Gregor Mendel, who also profited from working (and befriending) the amateur botanic.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, an open Hegelian past and friendship with scholars who for various reasons grew unpopular in the Ministry (apart of Eitelberger) did not speak of his suitability for the professorship.

Yet there were factors facilitating his career apart from scholarly achievements – he was a Catholic friar and presented a rather local Moravian identity than a distinct cultural ‘Czech’ or ‘German’.²⁶² or rather, in concepts of enlightenment, he remained sceptical of possibility of ‘nations’ as the leading concepts of self/collective-identification.²⁶³

What explains the fact, that he was not only popular, but also popular enough to be dean (1865) and rector (1866/7)? His political ideology was precisely what nationalists in Cracow would oppose and he was branded as a non-Pole and (which must have been known in the Faculty, but less in to the public) was that he was the one who proposed the “Germanisation” so hated in retrospect – probably one of the least favorable sets of characteristics for a time of cultural nationalizations one can imagine. With certainty Bratranek was popular – not only among students, but his publications, concerned with German literary history were widely read and commented on. Scholarly prominence in German language studies was not really to be expected from other scholars in Galicia at the time. To which extent his philosophical and political opinion was known remains also rather unclear, as since 1848 he was publishing neither on philosophy nor politics, his lectures in Cracow were also rather for political reasons apolitical and many of his writing remained unpublished. In letters he showed himself cautious of political brisance of his philosophical and political ideology. He also had very good relations with colleagues

²⁶¹ Ibid.; Olby, R. C., "The Mendel Centenary." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 2, no. 4 (1965): 343-349.

²⁶² Interestingly represented in the lexicon of German studies scholars: „mother tongue: up to the age of 9 Czech, than German“: Palej, Agnieszka, "Bratranek, Franz Thomas." In *Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800-1950. Band 1: A-G*, edited by Birgit Wägenbauer, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003, 259-260. See also Loužil, *Ignác Jan Hanuš*, 17.

²⁶³ Loužil, Jaromír, "Franz Thomas Bratraneks Leben und Philosophie." *Bohemia* 13 (1972): 182-210.

at the university, caused by what can be named “polonophilia”, but also – to use the words of Bratranek himself, “futile attempts of mediation.”²⁶⁴

Known as a pioneer in Goethe research, Bratranek is known also as a very active translator of Polish literature into German.²⁶⁵ He translated (but did not always publish), for example, several works of Wincenty Pol, but also dramas of historian Józef Szujski. From 1851 (to take only published manuscripts into considerations) he also included Polish literature into his interest of German studies, beginning with a comparison of literature developments in both languages (written in 1851 and only partially published 1853) finishing with a translation and edition of romantic poetry letters of Antoni Edward Odyniec, who together with Adam Mickiewicz visited Goethe in 1829 (1870). The interest in Polish culture, particularly in Adam Mickiewicz, and its inclusion in ‘European literature’ was visible already in 1852 during (only partially successful)²⁶⁶ attempts to compare Polish and German literature for germanophone readers. Apart from a large number of students in his lecture – around 200, including both students and an interested public – he established no research tradition. Karol/Karl Petelenz, who can be seen as his student, taught as a professor in gymnasia and from 1882 as a *Privatdozent* in Cracow, but never achieved professorship, though being the author of gymnasia textbooks for German literature and grammar widely used in the late nineteenth century, as well as historical and literature-history works.

The cases of Zeissberg or Bratranek – both of whom did not publish in Polish nor lecture in this language, but were highly esteemed – suggest that the appraisal in general and the influence in particular does not comply fully with the national ethos. But the interest in national measures seems vital. The cases of natural scientists, who were actively involved in shaping the post-1848 Galician Universities – even if they have seen it rather as a temporary domicile – is exactly when influence, mainly material, is overlooked because it hard to inscribe it into national ethos. Their importance, however, in the scientific development of the universities was highly valued. They were – metaphorically and materially – overbuild by the next

²⁶⁴ Quoted in Dobija-Witczak, "František Tomáš Bratráněk (1815-1884)," 55.

²⁶⁵ On this issue see Klin, Eugeniusz, and Jaromir Loužil, eds. *František Tomáš Bratranek - ein polonophiler Mittler zwischen den Nationen*. Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1987.

²⁶⁶ The article appeared abridged, *Ibid.*, 19-23.

generations of scholars, whose merit apart from developing the universities further, was the national inscription as scholars and public intellectuals.

Failing to achieve clear inscription is crucial in Bryk's and Walewski's cases. While surgeons' negative social traits are mostly mentioned in short biographical notices (mostly in the first place German-tendencies, servility, imperial loyalty and misanthropy) scholarly achievements came in the second place, together with his rarely mentioned Polish publications and editorial activities. In Walewski's case we can observe not only intellectual affiliation with the concurrent trends in Cracow, the fact that he was stigmatised and singled out – very probably only around 1875 – is a political issue, which should not distract from the fact that as a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts he was seen as an influential and important scholar. That the Cracow School turned away so briskly from the man who had such institutionally high positions – for which he was elected, that means appreciated – does not indicate that he was marginalised, but just the opposite, that his entanglement into this milieu was rewritten as soon as his political position was seen as unacceptable.

5.9. “Czech”-“German” Reciprocity?

The situation of nationality tensions in Prague after 1848, notwithstanding the cultural the animosities, did not mean a complete division of the faculty into Czech and German sections that did not communicate or share ideas. Although the public was more and more conflicted, scholars cooperated, and due to the proximity, the interrelations between publicly alienating nationalisms remained intensive. Similarly, students, although having possibility to move freely between the universities (until 1882, when it was restricted and they could not be inscribed students at both Prague Universities) remained rather confined to locality. For monetary reasons, but also as there were no Czech lectures at other universities, the Prague university enjoyed from 1848 the esteem of being the second best in the Monarchy, even if not closely competing with Vienna for the palm.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Seebacher, Felicitas, "A 'National feeling' in science? Bohemian professors at the medical faculties of Vienna and Prague Universities mediators in national and international networking." *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 56, no. 156-57 (2006): 265-278, here 265-266.

I want here to pinpoint some points how the Prague local environment framed the unavoidability of contacts – both intercultural and intra-cultural within a Bohemian identity that was not ethnically exclusive. The topos of Bohemian ‘disintegration’ – a word not only often used to describe the situation after 1882 but also to build comparisons to ‘integrative’ institutions²⁶⁸ – is often used to describe and legitimize the history of the growing alienation and German supremacy, which although inviting and certainly not completely wrong, has been explored several times,²⁶⁹ but tends to obscure the underlying question. This would be not how the visible barriers between Czech and Germans in 1882 were erected, but how they were defined and transgressed. In short, what were the ambiguities of Bohemian scholarship between 1848 and 1882, and how do they relate to the common narrative of struggling cultures.

To begin with, one can state that the academic relations between Bohemians are from the beginning afflicted by the simple fact that Bohemian bilingualism was asymmetric – while the Czech Bohemians spoke and read German, the knowledge of Czech among germanophone students was less widespread and increasingly flagging through growing national animosity. The failure of the desired national amalgamation was most discernible in the Badeni Crisis of 1897. The regulation, stating that civil servants in Moravia and Bohemia should be bilingual, was fiercely protested among German population, who feared the inflow of bilingual Czechs, thus perfectly reflecting the asymmetry caused by a longstanding tradition of uneven language positioning. Yet, on the smaller scale of the university, lectures in Czech had from 1848 much fewer attendants than the German ones, hinting towards the academic persistence of this phenomenon.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ For example in Maurer, Trude, "National oder supranational? Prag und Czernowitz: zwei deutsche Universitäten in Ostmitteleuropa (1875/1882 - 1914)." *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 49 (2000): 341-382.

²⁶⁹ See for example Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Budování klinických pracovišť české lékařské fakulty v době rozdělení pražské univerzity. I. Jazyková otázka na lékařské fakultě před rozdělením university." *Sborník lékařský* 85, no. 2 (1983): 59-64.

²⁷⁰ See the general reflection on this topic in Newerkla, Stefan Michael, "The seamy side of the Habsburgs' liberal language policy: Intended and factual reality of language use in Plzeň's educational system." In *Diglossia and Power*, edited by Rosita Rindler Schjerve, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003, 167-198; Cohen, Gary B., *The politics of ethnic survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*. 2 ed. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2006; King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*; on the development of attendants of lectures in Czech and German at the University see Havránek, Jan, "Univerzita, její zřízení, správa a studentstvo." In *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy III, 1802-1918*, edited by Idem, Praha: Karolinum, 1997, 89-118, here 106.

There is moreover not much information as to which nation many Bohemian scholars subscribed. One could say that as academics are concerned, an identity as Bohemian prevailed over exclusive national loyalties, with some exceptions, up to the second half of nineteenth century and also taking into account that the semantics of the national denominators changed over the century. Gindely can be seen as a paradigmatic example of such identity; but another can be found in the late nineteenth century. Vienna born professor of Sanskrit language, Alfred Ludwig, known for his lenience towards Czech culture – he published in both German and Czech – was allegedly given the choice in 1882 of whether to join the Czech or German university, and joined the German one to give his student Josef Zubatý the opportunity to teach at the Czech institution.²⁷¹ Apparently the division of the university was not accepted by all scholars to mean a complete disintegration. Notwithstanding the national overarch, it is rather hard to imagine that from one day to another scholars stopped talking to each other, especially in cases of smaller specialized communities.

To what extent can one speak here of a decidedly *intercultural* influence, and how does one define its actors if we risk overwriting the identity complexity with dualisms of ‘nationality’ or ‘culture’? There are certainly several scholars who would fall into the (former) definitions of exclusive nationalities, most importantly influential historiographer Palacký, but also scholars teaching at the university: Václav Tomek, František Ladislav Čelakovský or Jan Evangelista Purkyně. Martin Hattala was a Slovak national activist, similar to Vienna scholars Pavel Jozef Šafárik, Ján Kollár who actively participated in the Slovak national movement.

One can find also discussions on the identity of other scholars, ending in many cases in platitudes, or more complex formulations close to the bilingual Bohemian. For example, descriptions of Franz/ František Pit'ha, born in village Rakom/Řakom in Bohemia or his student Josef Blažina correspond better with Bohemian than Czech or German – their students, Vilém Weiss or Filip Matějovský were, according to current definitions, Czech.²⁷² Around 1848 the Prague Medical Faculty was considered by

²⁷¹ According to the oral tradition codified in lexicon *Kdo byl kdo. Čeští a slovenští orientalisté, afrikanisté a iberoamerikanisté*. Praha: Libri, 1999; here after online version: <http://www.libri.cz/databaze/orient/main.php>, last access 1.2.2011.

²⁷² See for example interesting divagations on nationality of Prague surgeons Franz/ František Pit'ha and Josef Blažina in Kukula, Otakar, *Rozvoj chirurgie české v letech 1848-1898*. V Praze: Nákladem Spolku českých mediků, 1899, 5-9; in most of the scientific literature, especially on the early second half of the nineteenth century the criteria used to define nationality are none or blurred, disregarding the complexity of imperial and/or non-/pre-national identities and loyalties.

some at least *pari passu* if not more developed than the school in the capital. Among the scholarly fathers were, for example, pre-1848 gynecologist and professor of medicine at the university, Czech nationalist Antonín Jungmann: seven of his assistants achieved professorial chairs, with gynecologists Franz Kiwisch, Bernhard Seyfert and Jan Streng assuring the continuity of Jungmann's scientific program.²⁷³ One can also mention the Presl brothers who were active in the Czech revival movement with a number of scholars who were Bohemian, even if publishing in German.

Bohemian scholars were also well represented in the "Second" Vienna Medical School. They were in many cases bilingual, but published German; their national identity remains thus a popular question of interpretation. This continued later as well in Eduard Albert who taught surgery in Vienna. While his national allegiance is rather obvious due to his cultural activities, his colleague and similar Prague alumnus, Eduard Hofmann, is less so. But in the 1860s the young forensic physician was a member of Czech organizations, published and taught in both languages. So, for example, in a series edited by Bohumil Eiselt on special pathology and diagnostics (*Odborná pathologie a therapie*, 6 vols., 1879-1889) the editorial board included Albert and Hofmann, the latter also served as editor and contributed to one of the volumes.²⁷⁴ While no primarily German-speaking scholars took part in Eiselt's project, Arnaldo/Arnold Cantani from Naples participated on the editorial board and as author of part of the second volume. Cantani was born 1837 in Lipová/Hainspach in Bohemia, studied medicine in Prague and was from 1860 a professor in Pavia, then in Milan and Napoli.²⁷⁵ The conundrum of language fluency, identity and nationality is thus hard to grasp in this way. Certainly scholars coming from non-Habsburg parts of the German Confederation, later the German Empire, or from Austria proper (around 10% at the Medical Faculty and around one third at the philosophical from 1848-1883) spoke no Czech and were thus more prone to divisions. – Prominent Czech scholar and politician Eduard Grégr, however, was born

²⁷³ Kraus, Karel, *Tradice české gynekologie (200 let československého porodnictví)*. Praha: Státní zdravotnické nakladatelství, 1953, 46.

²⁷⁴ Hofman, Eduard, "Úvod do nauky o otravách." In *Odborná pathologie a therapie*, edited by Bohumil Eiselt, V Praze: Tiskem a nákladem knihtiskárny Františka Šimáčka, 1881, 133-168.

²⁷⁵ Catani's short biography can be found in Tabarrini, Marco, "Atti Parlamentari - Commemorazione." In *Senato del Regno, Atti parlamentari. Discussioni, 6 maggio 1893*, (accessible online <http://notes9.senato.it/Web/senregno.NSF/1574bd814f1ff77dc12571140059a42d/ffc5ac6dea0296444125646f0059a453?OpenDocument>, last access 11.11.2010)

in Graz and the above-mentioned Alfred Ludwig, Josef and Konstantin Jireček in Vienna. But the inclinations not only concerned the language of publication but also the community of belonging, which was similarly interwoven.

A wide range of Bohemian and Moravian scholars participated in the Association of Czech Physicians (*Spolek lékařů českých*), founded in 1862. Among participants one can find university professors whose ‘Czech’ allegiance was discernible neither from the language of lectures nor from publications, such as Josef Blažina, Bernhard Seyfert, Vincenc Bohdál, Josef Maschka or Joseph Hasner von Artha – the final two were members of German Medical Faculty from 1883, the others taught at the undivided university. Honorary members were, among others Bohemians Josef Löschner, Carl Rokitansky, Josef Skoda/Škoda, Franz Pit’ha, Adalbert (Vojtěch) Duchek, but also Eisenstadt/Kismarton-born Josef Hyrtl and Prussian pathologist Rudolf Virchow.²⁷⁶ Both membership in organizations and publications were indeed rather mixed among the language defined medical organizations – only from around the middle 1870s, national/cultural denominations were included into medical societies²⁷⁷ – reminding one thus of the situation of natural sciences which also gradually moved from bilingualism into more and more nationally coded monolinguals.²⁷⁸ Although the institutional identity was written into status – the Association was to foster Czech language scholarship – it followed the tradition of inclusivity of pre-1848 societies, instead of exclusivity, embracing *Český* as Bohemian and not as the ethnic denomination, Czech. This hints at the question, to which pattern did the scholars participating in it belong? Lack of publications does not mean a lack of knowledge of the language – until the 1860s there was a perceivable lack of a Czech scholarly public. Publications in Czech were concerned often with terminology, not to mention the lack of professional journals in which articles would be published as the existing ones were German-monolingual; publishing an article in German meant (both within Bohemia and internationally) a

²⁷⁶ Matoušek, Otakar, "Založení časopisů a spolku českých lékařů." *ČLČ* (1951): 1480-1494; according to a description from 1911, inclusion of "German" scholars was made only to make the society more international, Chodounský, Karel, "K padesátiletí "Časopisu lékařů českých" " *ČLČ* 50, no. 53 (1911): 1602-1604, here 1603.

²⁷⁷ Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Die Gründung von Vereinen und Zeitschriften der deutschen Ärzte in Böhmen in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts." In Svatoš, Velek, Velková, eds., *Magister noster*, 105-117.

²⁷⁸ See above on the *Jednota českých matematiků a fyziků*; see also Bečvářová, Martina, *Z historie Jednoty (1862-1869)*. Praha: Prometheus, 1999.

wider readership, including a Czech public, while Czech publications were exclusive. Thus while publishing in the latter language can be seen for a long time as mostly a patriotic deed, publishing in German was by no means a reason for exclusion.²⁷⁹ Yet, according to the program of the *ČLČ* published in 1862, among contributors who promised articles were Eduard Hofmann, Maschka, Hasner, Treitz, Czermak and Pit'ha.²⁸⁰ Hofmann, for example, contributed 13 articles between the 4th and 12th volume – this included his time in Innsbruck during which he sent nine articles and was listed as subscriber. So at least some of the scholars – including the ones later condemned as Germans (Pit'ha and Maschka²⁸¹) – subscribed to the non-exclusive identity at least symbolically.

While it is neither possible nor advisable to write too quickly on the intercultural transfers with unreflected cultural definitions, the interconnections of nationally engaged scholars entering the scene as members of one nationality illustrates that the interrelations of the university superseded the animosities and even if conflicts emerged they were not always across the predefined cultural lines.

How interwoven the boundaries were, is evident through the example of Bavarian-born historian Kontantin Höfler, who taught in Prague between 1851 and 1881. Accepting Thun's call,²⁸² Höfler entered a very risky position. As a German historian he was from the beginning seen as an antipode of Czech national historiography. As a politically active Catholic – he participated in the Lola Montez affaire after which he was released from Munich University – he encountered a national historiography in which, akin to Palacký, Protestantism, represented by Jan Hus, played a pivotal role in national demarcation.

Höfler, *Großdeutsch* ultramontane²⁸³ historian of Catholicism and Bavaria, entered the scene very prominently, publishing a broad range of studies on Bohemian

²⁷⁹ Hlaváčková, Ludmila, "Čeština v medicíně a na pražské lékařské fakultě (1784-1918)."

²⁸⁰ "Program." *ČLČ* 1, no. 1 (1862): 1-2; Whether Čermák – that is one of the Czech writing version of Czermak – is Johann Czermak could though not be validated.

²⁸¹ Chodounsky speaks even of their contempt for the Czech, Chodounský, Karel, "K padesátiletí "Časopisu lékařův českých""", 1603.

²⁸² ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 1128, PA Höfler, Z. 9331/884, 17.9.1851. The appointment was conducted without formal proposal from the university in order to have a German teaching professor as a counterpart for Tomek; on many occasions the fact that Tomek send Thun a favorable opinion on Höfler prior to his appointment (basing on Tomek's own account) is though mentioned, see Zilynská, Blanka, "Karl Adolf Constantin Ritter von Höfler jako univerzitní učitel." In *Německá medicína v českých zemích do roku 1945*, edited by Pavel Soukup and František Šmahel, Praha: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2004, 193-224, here 201-202.

²⁸³ Höfler is regarded as one of the leading writers of the first generation, see Brechenmacher, Thomas,

history from 1854. He cooperated at the time with Palacký, acquiring from him transcripts of materials, and in return, participated in an edition of his history of Bohemia.²⁸⁴ He also had good connections with Šafárik, with whom he exchanged (and co-edited) some historical documents.²⁸⁵ His main local focus was Hussitism, its structure and influence, which he posited as contrary to the Czech scholar, which led to their conflict. In his view, Hus' movement was a Czech revolution against Germans not the campaign of a church reformer; he thus saw Hus as more of a political intriguer than philosopher or theologian, whose turn to the East meant for Bohemia not only turning away from culture and civilization – symbolized by Germans and the Church – but also the long-lasting and wide ranging cultural downfall of the once glorious cities and institutions, like the Prague University, caused by expulsion of Germans from Prague.²⁸⁶ Höfler's work was of dual interest – in the first place it inscribed into the campaign against the Palacký-led glorification of Hus in which Joseph Alexander Helfert also participated. Hus was clearly unacceptable for Catholics as a presentation of a martyr; he was after all excommunicated and executed on a Papal order. Secondly Höfler tended to accentuate the positive role of Germans and German Empire – in the sense of an All-German historiography – for the development of Bohemia and its inhabitants, taking a clear position that was strongly opposed by the Czech national movement in 1848, that is, of Bohemia's adherence to German Confederation.²⁸⁷

Großdeutsche Geschichtsschreibung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert die erste Generation (1830 - 48). Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1996.

²⁸⁴ Zilynská, "Karl Adolf Constantin Ritter von Höfler jako univerzitní učitel," 202

²⁸⁵ Most famously Höfler, Karl Adolf Constantin, and Paul Joseph Šafárik, *Glagolitische Fragmente*. Prag: Druck der k.k.Hofbuchdruckerei von Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1857; the manuscripts described in the brochure were found by Höfler and commented by Šafárik, the volume itself appeared as a *Separatdruck* of Bohemian Society.

²⁸⁶ For self-assured political significance of his version of history see Höfler, Konstantin, *Magister Johannes Hus und der Abzug der deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag*. Prag: F. Tempsky, 1864, IX-X.

²⁸⁷ See the famous *Absagebrief* of Palacký to the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, Palacký, František, "Letter to Frankfurt, 11 April 1848." In *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770-1945. Texts and Commentaries, vol. II. National Romanticism – The Formation of National Movements*, edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2007, 320-329 (adapted and revised by Derek Paton and Michal Kopeček, commented by Michal Kopeček); more on this issue also in Moritsch, "Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas," and Morée, Peter, "Jan Hus as a Threat to the German Future in Central Europe: The Bohemian Reformer in the Controversy Between Constantin Höfler and František Palacký." In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Volume 4. Papers from the IV. International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice under the auspices of the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, held at Vila Lanna, Prague, 26-28 June 2000*, edited by Zdeněk V. David and

Höfler thus joined two loyalties – national and confessional – in opposing the Hus-based cultural separatism. He was however not the only one opposing this narrative: Vladivoj Tomek, the second historian at the university wrote a history of Bohemia's road to Catholicism in which Hussitism was portrayed as a negative development that was successfully, if violently, defeated and eliminated with though the adherence of Bohemia to the Habsburg House.²⁸⁸

Returning to Palacký, Höfler's view of Bohemia's distant past met with his sharp response. Apart from publishing continuously on Hus' importance, he decided to answer Höfler directly, publishing in 1868 a 170-page German-language volume of "corrections" of his ideas. Höfler was presented there not only as a political historian who wrote glorifying the German nation, but his works were described as full of errors, false interpretations and simple mistakes in transcription and translation.²⁸⁹ The "appraisal" (*Würdigung*) of his editorial activities and the "examination" (*Prüfung*) of his commentaries were thus, from the first page to the last, negative and crushing. After dealing with Höfler's historiography and historiosophy, Palacký confirmed once more the importance of Hussitism as a moment in which the Czech nation achieved its "world-historical role" (*Welthistorische Rolle*)²⁹⁰ and presented in short his version of Hussitism as primarily social, ethical and theological movement, in which the distinction between Czechs and Germans played only a secondary role. Yet at the same time, the Bohemian 'historian of the nation' put his historiosophy to work, clearly stating his moral ideology underlying historical process – that is, the Herder-based distinction between Slavic and Germanic people, the first being democratic and liberal, with laws coming from the hearts, the latter though a *Räubervolk* based law of the rights of the stronger (*Recht des stärkeren*). These words led then to a longer debate between students of both scholars and intensified the discussion as well as a disintegration of positions between two ever more polarized camps.²⁹¹

David R. Holeton, Prague: Main Library, 2002, 295-307.

²⁸⁸ For an overview see Kučera, "Historik a politika. V. V. Tomek a ministerstvo kultu a vyučování 1848 – 1863."

²⁸⁹ Palacký, Frantisek, *Die Geschichte des Hussitentums und Prof. Constantin Höfler; kritische Studien*. Prag: F. Tempsky, 1868.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

²⁹¹ For introduction to discussion of this topic see Mikušek, Eduard, "Palacký, Höfler und seine Schüler Schlesinger und Lippert." In *Die böhmischen Länder in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung seit dem Jahre 1848, Teil I.*, Ústí nad Labem, 1996, 127-134.

Conflict between Palacký and Höfler, although symptomatic for the second half of the nineteenth century ideological search, was received as a conflict of national historians in which the approach to the past was increasingly diverted along the political-religious-national axe; yet, this approach is clearly an over interpretation and restriction of discussion to two personalities which stood on opposite sides of the barricade, not alone and in a not exclusive company. At the same time, however, through political and emotional entanglement they were seen as extreme poles, between which more moderate students stood as mediating figures.

The further discussion on Czech history – later also as an internal Czech conflict – was clearly marked by Höfler's and Tomek's negative approach to the revival of Protestantism which was successfully transferred to their students. The most important Czech historian at the turn of the century, Jaroslav Goll, who opposed the Palacký's narrative – represented now by Masaryk – saw himself as follower of Höfler's scholarly tradition and can be seen, at least to a certain extent, as his ideological heir.²⁹² Josef Pekař, the main antagonist of Masaryk's school in the interwar period was in turn Goll's student.²⁹³ The positions, however, did not remained entirely fixed – Tomek opposed, for example, the career of Pekař who was supported by Goll.²⁹⁴ Masaryk criticized Palacký for his overt critique of German influence in Bohemia – this fuse of antagonism, which ignited with appointments of Tomek and Höfler against Palacký in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1848, was one of most important factors in debates on Czech national history. Ironically, it was Palacký's positive opinion on Höfler that allowed and supported his appointment,²⁹⁵ and Tomek was Palacký's student in the first place. The tensions ran not across national lines, however, but confessional, although the stigmatization of the German – later also active in German national organizations – Höfler and the simultaneous

²⁹² Kazbunda, Karel, *Stolice dějin na pražské universitě. Část 3, Stolice dějin na české universitě od zřízení university do konce rakousko-uherské monarchie (1882-1918)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1968, 158-159.

²⁹³ From the large number of publications of this topics see for example Kořalka, Jiří, "Die letzten Jahrzehnte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung 1918-1982." *Austriaca : cahiers universitaires d'information sur l'Autriche* 18, Les historiens des pays successeurs sur l'Autriche-Hongrie (1984): 81-102, who presents the political and ideological background of Masaryk-Pekař conflict 1918ff.

²⁹⁴ Jiroušek, Bohumil, "Mimořádná profesura Josefa Pekaře (ve světle vztahů Antonína Rezka a Jaroslava Golla)." In *Proměny elit v moderní době*, edited by Milena Lenderová, Zdeněk Bezecný and Jiří Kubeš, České Budějovice: Historický ústav Jihočeské univerzity, 2003, 167-178.

²⁹⁵ So at least Tomek, Václav Vladivoj, *Paměti z mého života. Díl I*. Praha František Řivnáč, 1905, 375.

“neglecting” of the Czech Tomek in the historiographic research, allowed these traces to be written over.

An antipode of Höfler was Ernst Mach, whose conciliatory positions towards autonomic Czech scholarship earned him popularity among Czech scholars and students, leading to his inclusion as a member of *Jednota*, while he was also member of the *Association for the Fostering of German Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia*,²⁹⁶ what sheds an interesting light on his understanding of the nationality conflict.

Mach’s influence can be traced among physicists at the Czech University through two of his students Vincenc (Čeněk) Strouhal and Čeněk Dvořák who established a branch of Machism to physics in the Czech language.²⁹⁷ Among Mach’s assistants in Prague one finds among others Dvořák (1871-1875) and Václav Rosický (1874-1878)²⁹⁸ – both graduated with Mach as first advisor. Dvořák submitted his habilitation in 1874 with Mach as principal advisor. Among Mach’s doctoral students was also František Koláček who taught from 1882 at the Brno Technical Academy, from 1891 at the Czech University (mathematic physics) and for a short time at the Czech Technical Academy in Brno. August Seydler, of whom Mach was promoter, scientific advisor and also personal friend,²⁹⁹ taught theoretical physics and astronomy, first at the undivided university than at the Czech university. Gustav Gruss led the astronomical observatory of the Prague Czech University from 1891. Rosický taught at gymnasia, Dvořák in Zagreb and then in Prague. Bohuslav Brauner (Mach was his second supervisor) taught analytical chemistry from 1883. Mach was also the first supervisor of the habilitation of Otakar Hostinský entitled “Theory of Musical Sounds as Foundations of a Theory of Aesthetic Harmony.” The choice of Mach as referent, notwithstanding physician’s interest in theory of sound, is very interesting, given the philosophical conception of aesthetics put forward by a Czech scholar who was rather known as historian of music and Herbartian aesthetician. In

²⁹⁶ Mišková, Neumüller, *Společnost pro podporu*.

²⁹⁷ See Úlehla, Ivan, "One Hundred and Fifty Years Since the Birth of Ernst Mach." In *Ernst Mach and the Development of Physics (Conference Papers)*, edited by Václav Prosser and Jaroslav Foltá, Prague: Universitas Carolina Pragensis, 1991, 25-65, here 54-59.

²⁹⁸ Hoffmann, Dieter, and Ivo Tretera, "Prague Data on Ernst Mach (1867-1895)." In *Ernst Mach - a Deeper Look. Documents and New Perspectives*, edited by John Blackmore, Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer, 1992, 47-57.

²⁹⁹ Tretera, Ivo, "Casus Štěpán Doubrava (K neznámým dopisům Ernsta Macha Augustu Seydlerovi) " *AUC-HUCP* 25, no. 1 (1985): 59-94.

several cases Mach not only appointed Czechs as assistants, but also helped them with gaining additional funds or travel scholarships.

Yet, Mach was not the only senior scholar who supported Czech scholars in Prague. Brauner's first advisor was Eduard Linnemann, and other dissertations were co advised by Mach with Ferdinand Lippich. Gustav Gruss was a longstanding assistant at the undivided astronomical observatory led by Karl Hornstein, as was August Seydler whom Hornstein supported until his death in 1882.³⁰⁰ A similar history of the Mach-Hornstein influence and of specialization in the German Empire – far from uncommon for the Prague scholars of any cultural inclination – can be seen through the example of experimental physicist Strouhal, who from 1882 led the physical studies at Prague Czech University and was the most prominent and versatile Czech physician of late nineteenth century.

Strouhal – born in Seč/Setsch on the Bohemian-Moravian boundary region – began his studies in Prague in 1869 aiming as a specialization in mathematical and physical sciences. He became an active member of Czech physical organizations, by 1870 giving lectures in *Jednota* and on the conference of Czech mathematicians and physicists in Prague.³⁰¹ In 1872 he entered an assistant position at the astronomic observatory led by Karl Hornstein which he held for three years, befriending the adjunct of the observatory, August Seydler. Interested in physics, he heard lectures of Mach, who proposed to him spending a year in Wurzburg at the laboratory of experimental physicist Friedrich Kohlrausch and then supported his (successful) application. After returning to Prague, Strouhal graduated with the work “On the curvatures a of straight helicoid” (*Ueber die Krümmungslinien der geraden Schraubenfläche*) and in the following year habilitated in Wurzburg with the work entitled “On a special type of sound excitation” (*Ueber eine besondere Art der Tonerregung*), thus returning to Mach's focal interest of the time and using rotary device designed by Mach to obtain his results.³⁰²

While Mach's influence on Strouhal and Dvořák seems to confirm the story of cultural dependence, but not interdependence, a counterexample can easily be drawn

³⁰⁰ Šolcová, Alena, and Martin Šolc, "Profesor August Seydler, astronom, fyzik a humanista." *Pokroky matematiky, fyziky a astronomie* 42, no. 4 (1997): 188-209.

³⁰¹ For his detailed biography see Novák, Vladimír, "Čeněk Strouhal." *Časopis pro pěstování matematiky a fyziky* 39, no. 4 (1910): 369-383.

³⁰² Jerie, Jan, "Ernst Mach's pupil Čeněk Strouhal and his research on singing wires." In *Ernst Mach and the development of physics (conference papers)*, Prag: Universitas Carolina Pragensis, 1988, 249–257, here 255.

on the basis of the biography of Jan Evangelista Purkyně, who was one of the leading figures of the so called “Czech National Revival.” Purkyně, born in 1787 in Libochovice/Libochowitz in Bohemia, studied medicine in Prague, especially anatomy, graduating in 1818 and working then as an assistant at the university. Despite his efforts to achieve a professorship in the Habsburg Monarchy, he failed in winning the contests in Prague, Pest and Graz in the following years. At the same time, though, with the support of Johann Nepomuk Rust – physician born in Moravian Silesia, professor in Cracow and chief surgeon in Vienna, and from 1815 a physician in the Prussian military and clinic director at the Charité in Berlin – Purkyně was appointed 1823 to Breslau/Wrocław as a professor of physiology and pathology.³⁰³

In the following decennia Purkyně grew to be one of the most important German(-based) physiologist and histologist, founder of the modern physiological institute, friend of Goethe and Oken, rendering him an internationally known scholarly celebrity, whose laboratory was a desired place for scholarship.³⁰⁴ At the same time, though, he actively participated in the Czech National Revival – for example editing the journal *Krok*, publishing in, apart from Latin and German, also Czech (and in some other Slavic languages as well), or translating ballads of Schiller and poems of Ernst Schulze into Czech.³⁰⁵ He also attempted to achieve an appointment in Prague; the chair of physiology was filled, however, in 1829 with Julius Krombholz and after his death, with Karl Patruban.

The period 1823-1850 marks the peak of his influence – his innovative experimental methodology, use of new instruments and techniques of observation together with a modern laboratory resulted in an inflow of students from Prussia like Gabriel Valentin, Samuel Moritz Pappenheim, Julius Sachs or from Prague like Johann Nepomuk Czermak. Experiments on perception or sense organs that Purkyně conducted at this time were read notwithstanding the language problem. In 1856, Ernst Brücke, professor of physiology in Vienna, wrote in the preface to his

³⁰³ Brázda, Otakar, "Příchod Jana Evangelisty Purkyně na pražskou univerzitu." *AUC-HUCP* 27, no. 1 (1987): 55-89.

³⁰⁴ On biography, teaching, and scientific work of Purkyně see the voluminous Purš, Jaroslav, ed. *Jan Evangelista Purkyně in science and culture : scientific conference Prague August 26, -30, 1987, Ústav čs. a světových dějin ČSAV* 2vols. Praha: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV, 1988.

³⁰⁵ Janko, Jan, "Die Geburt der tschechischen Naturwissenschaft: J. E. Purkinje und seine deutschen Kollegen." In *Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Osteuropa: Europa litterarum artiumque scientiam communicans*, edited by Aloys Hennig and Jutta Petersdorf, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998, 101-112.

Introduction to Physiology, that his work was influenced by *Research on physiology of human speech* (Badania w przedmiocie fizjologii mowy ludzkiej), an article which Purkyně published in Polish in 1836. Although Brücke did not learn Polish, the Bohemian scholar sent him “with usual friendliness” (mit gewohnter Freundlichkeit) the German manuscript of this article – both scholars corresponded with each other and met regularly in Vienna.³⁰⁶

Breslau/Wrocław born Sachs and Prague born Czermak³⁰⁷ are examples of very loyal students. Sachs followed Purkyně as his assistant, graduated and habilitated in Prague in the plant physiology and moved in 1859 to Tharand and finished his career after some intermediary stations in Würzburg as a celebrated scholar. His research reveals the influence of Purkyně, in both topical as well as theoretical insights in experimental physiology and cellular botany in which Sachs later specialized. More symbolic though, the first articles of Sachs were published in Czech, in translation by Ladislav Čelakovský in the journal *Živa*.³⁰⁸

Whether Czermak moved to Prague to work with Purkyně or because he was native to Bohemia is hard to say, yet his career moved swiftly after 1848. He returned to Prague around the same time as Purkyně, who was his teacher in Breslau/Wrocław where Czermak studied for some years and was appointed assistant at Purkyně’s institute. He was appointed, however, associate professor for zoology in Graz in 1854 on ministerial order, without consultation with the Faculty.³⁰⁹ In 1856, Czermak moved to Cracow as a full professor to teach physiology beside Józef Majer who taught in Polish, once more on proposal of Thun, who allegedly promised to appoint the Bohemian physiologist to a full professorship as soon as there was a position opening when he moved to Graz.³¹⁰ In 1858, however, after conflict in the Faculty he

³⁰⁶ Brücke, Ernst, *Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute für Linguisten und Taubstummenlehrer*. Wien: C. Gerold & Sohn, 1856, 2.

³⁰⁷ One can find his name spelled Čermak as well as a sign of his Bohemian identity. To my knowledge, however, he published only in German as Czermak; Johann’s brother Jaroslav Čermák (seldom Czermak) was a known painter, whose paintings visualize the Czech version of history of Bohemia and who was close to the Czech Revival movement; see Theinhardt, Markéta, "Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans." In *Le voyage dans les confins*, edited by Delphine Bechtel and Xavier Galmiche, Paris: CIRCE, 2003, 43-56.

³⁰⁸ Janko, "Die Geburt der tschechischen Naturwissenschaft: J. E. Purkinje und seine deutschen Kollegen," 111. Publications were signed Julius Sax, it was not annotated that they were translations; *Živa* however also published evident translations from Galician authors like Ludwik Zejszner/Zeuschner.

³⁰⁹ ÖStA, AVA, MCU, fasz. 896, PA Johann Czermak, Z. 20081/1469, 30.12.1854.

³¹⁰ Kruta, Vladislav, "Ke sklonku Purkyňova působení na universitě, jednání z K. Rokitsanským a o pensionování a o možném nástupci." *AUC-HUCP* 11 (1970): 52-73, here 63.

was appointed to Pest, which had to leave after three years due to language change, though he considered remaining and teaching with a translator or in Latin.³¹¹ Returning to Prague Czermak established a private neurophysiologic laboratory apparently in opposition to Purkyně's laboratory, with whom he was already in conflict.³¹² By 1865 he was appointed to Jena and then to Leipzig, where he established a considerable reputation as neurophysiologist, but also as developer of innovative instruments for visualizations, stressing, like Purkyně, the *Anschauung* as the core of physiology and physiology as central to *Bildung*.³¹³ Another similarity to Purkyně in Czermak's biography is the laboratory, which he in short time opened at almost every institution he taught, then publishing *Mittheilungen* of his experiments in a journal-like form.³¹⁴

With Purkyně's move to Prague, his scientific activities concentrated on his work on development of Czech scientific organizations, the establishment of the journal *Živa*, and active participation in the cultural 'revival' through publications on education, and the academic and intellectual development of Czech culture.³¹⁵ Although teaching at the university and reorganising the laboratory to meet his experimental needs, his educational activity seems to more oriented towards educating Czechs than physiologists: scholars he considered his pupils went – with exception of Vladimír Tomsa – different directions. For example, Bohumil Eiselt became a surgeon; Jan Krejčí, rather a follower than student, a geologist.³¹⁶ Thus the continuity of Purkyně's approach to physiology ended (though temporarily) with his death in 1869. By the time Maximilian Vintschgau held the second professorship – rather to assist the 80 year-old scholar and provide interim work for Vintschgau, who previously worked in Italian Padua, then to find a real replacement. With Purkyně's death, the question over his successor was swiftly solved – while Czermak rejected

³¹¹ Mészáros, "Maďarština na (buda)peštské univerzitě a v uherském školství v 19. Století," 153.

³¹² Kruta, "Ke sklonku Purkyňova působení na universitě, jednání z K. Rokitským a o pensionování a o možném nástupci."

³¹³ Schmidgen, Henning, "Pictures, Preparations, and Living Processes: The Production of Immediate Visual Perception (*Anschauung*) in Late-19th-Century Physiology." *Journal of the History of Biology* 37, no. 3 (2004): 477-513, esp. 480-482.

³¹⁴ According to the library catalogues, Czermak established a laboratory in Cracow, Pest, a private laboratory in Prague, and than his opus magnum laboratory in Leipzig.

³¹⁵ Through his contacts, Purkyně was also an advocate of Czech scholarship in international bodies, see Janko, Jan, *Vědy o životě v českých zemích 1750-1950*. Praha: Archiv Akademie věd České republiky, 1997, 133-138.

³¹⁶ Kruta, "Ke sklonku Purkyňova působení na universitě, jednání z K. Rokitským a o pensionování a o možném nástupci."

the position and Tomsa had accepted a professorship in Kiev, the foreseen closure of the *Josephinum* left Ewald Hering without a position and the Faculty saw him as acceptable candidate when more prestigious scholars– among them Hermann Helmholtz – declined.³¹⁷ In 1883, Tomsa filled the chair of physiology – now at the Czech part of the divided institution – so too was a symbolic return of physiology a’la Purkyně to Czech Prague achieved. Purkyně’s laboratory remained in the hands of Hering, who worked during his time in Prague predominantly on sensory physiology, the favored research direction of his predecessor and the one the laboratory was equipped for – pointing also here to the influence of the Bohemian scholar, although now a material one and not a personal one.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Janko, Jan, *Vznik experimentální biologie v Čechách (1882-1918)*. Praha: Academia, 1980, 62.

6. Academic Mobility and the Practice of Space: Concluding Thoughts

The nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire, politically united but culturally ever more divided, presents here a case study of academic geography as a function of context and practice – closely connected but not inextricably intertwined. An understanding of ‘national’ languages as the perfect modes of scientific production – originating in linguistic theory and connected with the devaluation of the communication space that Latin had occupied previously – was transcribed into the social-political movement of nationalism. The assurance of the German language’s importance for secondary and tertiary education – a position previously reserved in the Monarchy for Latin – was increasingly perceived as privileging one group, and thus devaluing the cultural importance of other languages; a similar situation later developed in Galicia with the Polish language. Through a combination of political and cultural claims, this led to education – and thus both science and universities – progressively becoming a monolingual, although knowledge of other languages was to be assured. This meant, however, the codification of a hierarchy of languages – with German as the supra-language, but culturally defined universities bound to their respective own tongues. And of course the opposite was true – Innsbruck, Graz, Vienna and German University in Prague were one-language universities, banning Italian from the Alma Mater Oenipontana being the final step in this effort. Institutions of higher education – codified as the most important factors in cultural and civilization development, and at the same time linked with representational function – became critical in nationalist propaganda that led to countless conflicts, including casualties, by the end of the nineteenth century.

Of equal, if not greater importance, was the language change that was linked with transgressions of state boundaries in appointments, creating cultural spaces of scholarship. Conversely to the pre-1848 situation, scholars from outside the Monarchy were allowed to be university instructors, both as professors (officially linked with citizenship change) and *Privatdozenten*. In practice, with the change of language policy, three subsystems of scholars’ recruitment emerged, closely bound with language knowledge and with little exchange among those subsystems. This production of space, made possible by political developments and reinforced by a

cultural policy of scholars prone to value linguistic affiliations more than political, but also a higher valuation of non-Habsburg scholarship. In the case of germanophone and Galician academies, which could turn to non-Habsburg reservoirs of scholars, this resulted in crossing Habsburg frontiers through appealing to two different nationally based ideologies, ‘Greater Germany’ and Polish nationalism, which pronouncedly transgressed Habsburg space.

One of the factors facilitating this development was the change in the proposal-development system, from the competitions before 1848 in which scholars from the monarchy took part, to *terna* proposals composed by the Faculty and (especially after 1867) were rarely violated by the minister who made the final proposition to (an almost always uncritically signing) Emperor. Thus, instead of basing proposals on a standardized questionnaire, a largely subjective procedure was adopted, limiting the scholars taken into consideration to those known by the Faculty members. This excluded from the beginning, for example, scholars not publishing in German-language media for the germanophone institutions. At the German-language Habsburg universities, appointments of scholars from the German Confederation, later the German Empire, clearly prevailed over appointments of scholars teaching at other academies from inside the monarchy – with seldom exception. This began earlier than the nationalist conflicts, suggesting that in most cases it was an issue of Slavic scholars being unknown to the faculties of German-language universities. These scholars were not considered in the proposition talks, nor did the Ministry explicitly request their consideration in the official proposal. Though in many cases respective ministers reminded the faculties that Habsburg scholars had priority and a proposal should discuss in the first place scholars from within the Monarchy, in reality this did not happen; although it was expected from nominees to know German, faculties preferred scholars from the German Empire over scholars from Czech or Galician universities. The situation at the three Slavic universities was not much different – scholars of authentic belonging to the community, i.e. through language competence, were preferred to scholars whose language knowledge was uncertain. This is, however, not to say that language competence meant ‘nationality’ in either the Bohemian or Galician cases. Here, academic culture intersected with the media through which scholarship was disseminated – most, (although not all) scholars appointed, presented their works in the respective languages of institutions they were to teach at, making themselves visible as possible candidates, though informal

networks of recommendation played an important role here as well. In most cases, 'visibility' was assured through habilitation, because the possibility of recruitment from other academic institution with the same language of instruction remained limited due to their low number.

The mobility of scholars, with which this work is primarily concerned, exemplifies the boundary changes of the academic community. The career path of a Habsburg scholar changed considerably and became defined by language. While in the 1850s the universities in Pest, Cracow and L'viv were part of the 'Habsburg' scholarly exchange system, with the advent of language changes at these institutions their part in exchanges diminished. For germanophone scholars, therefore, four universities (five with the establishment of Chernivtsi University in 1875) remained possible places of occupation and means of advancing their careers, with exchanges with technical academies not playing a considerable role. Here one can single out several primary types of mobility with an education in Vienna and appointment from *Privatdozent* to professorship to another Habsburg university was the most widespread. Appointments to the Vienna University on the other hand fell almost exclusively to full professors from other academies, including those in the German Empire. Smaller universities either appointed scholars from Vienna, or professors from smaller institutions – an appointment of full professor from Vienna was clearly not taken into consideration as a possible solution; only universities in the German Empire pursued this possibility. While it was not codified as such – and although financial differentiation was included into academic legislation – the hierarchy of universities emerged in practice, with Vienna clearly on top. Prague occupied the second position, but gradually lost importance later in the century, becoming on par with Graz. Innsbruck was certainly a less privileged university for medical sciences and Chernivtsi for philosophical studies.

This development was reinforced through changes in the recruitment system that occurred after 1848. Above all, habilitation served as the certification of scholarly abilities, a teaching permission linked with the possibility to collect the *Collegiengelder* paid by the students. In practice, *Privatdozenten* were recruited from either professionals working in a given city or paid assistants at the universities. Intended from the beginning to be a reservoir for future professors and auxiliary lecturers, they were de facto the first academic position a scholar would receive, but being mostly unpaid by the university, it privileged scholars in bigger cities. In the

Habsburg case, Vienna had most *Privatdozenten* while smaller universities many fewer – although Czech Prague and Galician universities educated a large number of scholars as well. Overproduction of *Privatdozenten* heavily influenced mobility, as germanophone universities largely recruited their professors from among Vienna *Privatdozenten*, at the same time ‘producing’ almost no offspring themselves, as beginning a career in Graz or Innsbruck was clearly a disadvantage – there was hesitation toward the appointments of home scholars (mitigated however often through a kind of institutional patriotism) and Viennese *Privatdozenten* had a clear advantage in appointments. Another factor here was instability at the level of full professors, who often transferred to bigger universities inhibiting the development of school or research traditions. For the position of full professors, less frequently associate professors, universities did not hesitate to promote non-Habsburg citizens if they had the requested language abilities, which in practice meant a high number of scholars from the German Empire in the proposals with lower rate of acceptance though, as the Ministry preferred Habsburg scholars. This was not only because it allowed them careers – there were substantially fewer appointments of Habsburg scholars to universities of the German Empire, with exception of Vienna’s medical school offspring – but also because of financial reasons.

University policy remained a political issue throughout the long nineteenth century, later falling victim to “studentocracy.”¹ The first appointments conducted by Franz Stadion included Slavic scholars promoted both to provincial universities but also to Vienna – clearly an outcome of the 1848 revolution and its demands of ‘national’ equality. Throughout the 1850s, however, and then under Minister Thun, a clear ideological direction was advocated. Conservative Catholic science, promoting conservative nationalism, clearly prevailed as well. This included several disciplines, which were to be Catholic only (like philosophy) but also academic authorities (dean, rector), similarly reserved for Catholics. While Protestant scholars were appointed, this largely resulted from a lack of Catholic scholars in several disciplines, but such appointments remained a rarity. Most scholars from the German Confederation/Empire who started to instruct at the Habsburg universities were Catholic, often had been in conflict in their respective environment because of

¹ Perricelli, Magda, “«O Trieste o nulla!»: i «fatti di Innsbruck» nella stampa quotidiana del Regno d'Italia.” In Pallaver, Gehler, eds., *Università e nazionalismi*, 161-193, here 179.

confessional issues. In the 1870s, confessional issues were moved to the background; one could even speak of slight skepticism over Catholic scholars due to an anti-ultramontane Ministry. In the same period, scholars of Jewish confession became more widely represented at the universities. Before 1868, they were clearly discriminated against by a combination of career discouragement and ministerial policy – converts, however, were regarded as Catholics. This situation changed after liberalization – a growing number of Jewish *Privatdozenten* and professors met with strong critique from the right-wing/Christian-Social side, combined with growing anti-Semitic propaganda, even leading to assaults on individual scholars. By the end of nineteenth century, the atmosphere in Graz and Innsbruck, that is cities with only few Jewish inhabitants, grew dense leading the Ministry to carefully consider appointments of Jewish scholars. At the universities in Vienna and Prague, this led to a growing number of *Privatdozenten* with scarce possibility of being appointed to other universities, and due to the career policy of those universities, similarly few possibilities of promotion within the universities. This meant that such scholars could either work at private institutions – a widespread practice among physicians, less so at the Philosophical Faculty – or extra-academic institutes (eg. Institute for Radium Research in Vienna, Vienna municipal institutions),² contributing to flourishing of extramural research. Anti-Semitism within the faculty, often indicated in the secondary literature, is hard to grasp from the primary sources used here, but seems to be of secondary influence for individual scholarly careers behind patterns of mobility. In the first place a number of Jewish *Privatdozenten* were habilitated, in the second place it was the Ministry, which at the end of the nineteenth century hesitated with the appointment of Jewish scholars when they were proposed by the faculties themselves. While at the universities with Polish/Ruthenian as the language of instruction, almost no Jews were professors. This had largely to do with their underrepresentation as *Privatdozenten* – a combination of the dominant socio-political ideology of Galician ‘Christian’ nations, and selection of non-Jewish scholars as assistants.

* * *

One also must consider that the Habsburg scientific space was neither held together by scientific media, nor by cooperation practices. Although since the 1860s

² See for example Rentetzi, Maria, *Trafficking Materials and Gendered Research Practices: Radium Research in Early 20th Century Vienna*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

there were still pan-Monarchic endeavors, these were rather big-science projects, i.e. expeditions (like the 1868-1871 expedition to Siam, China and Japan)³ or the archeological excavation in Nubia (El-Kubanieh) in 1909-1911, initiated in Cracow but later led by the Viennese Academy of Sciences with inclusion of Galician scholars.⁴ Scientific organizations, both academies of sciences and regional organizations, were increasingly monolingual, although the bilingual Bohemian Society of Sciences remained in existence and the Austrian Academy of Sciences was officially to unite Cisleithanian scholars. For example, the *Commission for Newer History of Austria* (Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs), initiated 1896, included several Bohemian and Moravian scholars, among them Czechs Antonín Rezek and Jaroslav Goll; although the government insisted on having a 'Polish' scholar as well, only in 1916 was Bronisław Dembiński, professor from L'viv, nominated.⁵ Cooperative organizations included the Marine Institute in Trieste and Historical Institute in Rome – with part of financing coming from the provincial governments.⁶ There were, for example, neither Habsburg conferences, nor journals which could claim to be pan-Monarchic – just as Pan-Slavic communicational space fell victim to the development of monolinguistic communities, so did the Habsburg. Even if German was still the lingua franca, Slavic scholars published either in foreign-language journals issued in respective provinces (from the 1890s) or in the German Empire, as did their germanophone counterparts. The visible shift of the communicational center from Vienna to Berlin was clearly perceivable at the level of scholarship, which was increasingly turning to Prussia.⁷

³ With participation of three nominees from Hungary, assigned with collecting specimen for Budapest Museums. See Scherzer, Karl, *Fachmännische Berichte über die österreichisch-ungarische Expedition nach Siam, China und Japan (1868-1871.) Im Auftrage des K. K. Handelsministeriums* Stuttgart: Maier, 1872, IV-V.

⁴ Hulewicz, *Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie*, 171; Śliwa, Joachim, "Piotr Bieńkowski (1865-1925). Badacz-nauczyciel akademicki - organizator nauki (Researcher - Academic Teacher - Organizer of learning)." In *Archeologia śródziemnomorska w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1897-1997. Materiały sympozjum naukowego, Kraków, 21-23 października 1997*, edited by Idem, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1998, 16-34.

⁵ Fellner, Fritz, "... ein wahrhaft patriotisches Werk" *Die Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 1897 - 2000*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2001, 45, 72, 84. After 1918 members of the commission who worked outside Austria's borders were excluded; Ibid., 252-254.

⁶ See, on the Historical Institute in Rome: Dengel, Philipp, *Das Österreichische Historische Institut in Rom 1901 - 1913. Festgabe für Ludwig von Pastor zum 60. Geburtstage am 31. Jänner 1914, dargebracht von Philipp Dengel*. Wien, Freiburg: Herder, 1914, 13, 15-16 (on scholars from Galicia and Bohemia) and Kramer, Hans, *Das Österreichische Historische Institut in Rom 1881 - 1931: Denkschrift zu seinem fünfzigjährigen Bestande*. Rom: Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, 1932, 20 (scholars from Hungary).

⁷ Nedza, *Polityka stypendialna*; Mandlerová, "K zahraničním cestám učitelů vysokých škol v českých

This shift included public perception, historical commemoration and collective memory as well. Recently, Johannes Feichtinger called the widespread position of German-speaking Habsburg and Austrian scholars “relatively autonomous,” proposing political changes without active political participation, but rather clothing them in scholarly tractates. This is in significant contrast with scholars working on provincial academies. In the case of Slavic scholar working in Galicia and Prague, most took a stance for the ‘national’ cause in manifold ways, beginning through signaling national belonging through activities in science/culture popularization. The staging of culture, its extent and productivity was already a political issue – although politicization had different manifestations and various intensities. In historical memory scholars who did not openly participate in political activities, however, are underrepresented. Figures that were canonized in the literature on the other hand had mostly scientific and political roles, which reinforced one another. The position of *Kathedersozialisten* or scholars in *Elfenbeinturm* were much less viable – although one finds numerous exception of both politically inactive Slavic scholars and politically active germanophone ones. It hints however at the persistence of the habitus difference among broadly conceived intellectuals/intelligentsia in the nation-building process taking place across the monarchy in contrast to imperialistic germanophone culture. The visibility and political activism of scholars in Prague, a cultural border-city, however, was markedly higher than at other universities.⁸

In comparison to the traditional literature, this work suggests a large number of contacts, which can be seen as characteristic of the Habsburg Monarchy: linguistically and culturally divided but still an entangled scientific space. The mere spatial compression, uniting scholars of what will later be seen as distinct cultures within the walls of one institution, shows that interdependence can be traced on both institutional and personal levels. Such traces – so far only looked upon from the position of each ‘national’ tradition – encompass manifold functions of the university, from textbook production and institutional improvements, to involvement in discussions helping to define ideological concepts, which would evolve differently under different conditions and are markedly influenced by reactions to the multicultural environment. This

zemích (1888-1918)."

⁸ Feichtinger, Johannes, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt. Von Bolzano über Freud zu Kelsen*; Sdvižkov, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz*; Luft, "'Politische Professoren" in Böhmen 1861-1914," Jedlicki, ed. *Dzieje inteligencji polskiej*.

productive edge of the multicultural state is disregarded when looking at it from a position of 'national science' in the twentieth century. The rejection of pluriculturalism and trends toward intellectual seclusion were, however, not really the most widespread positions within the monarchy – even in 1919 Emil Godlewski warned of establishing pure one-nationality institutions (here biological experimental stations) in Poland, hinting that scholars would profit more through the contacts they gain going abroad.⁹ In discussions on new institutional arrangements after 1918, this position was hardly an exception and both the ethos and contacts of the Habsburg community played a role in subsequent developments.

⁹ Godlewski, Emil "O potrzebach biologji i embrjologii." *Nauka Polska. Jej potrzeby, organizacja i rozwój* 1 (1918): 193-200.

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Chart 1. Development of the number of instructors of the philosophical faculties in the Monarchy 1850-1918.



Chart 2. Development of the number of instructors of the medical faculties in the Monarchy 1850-1918.

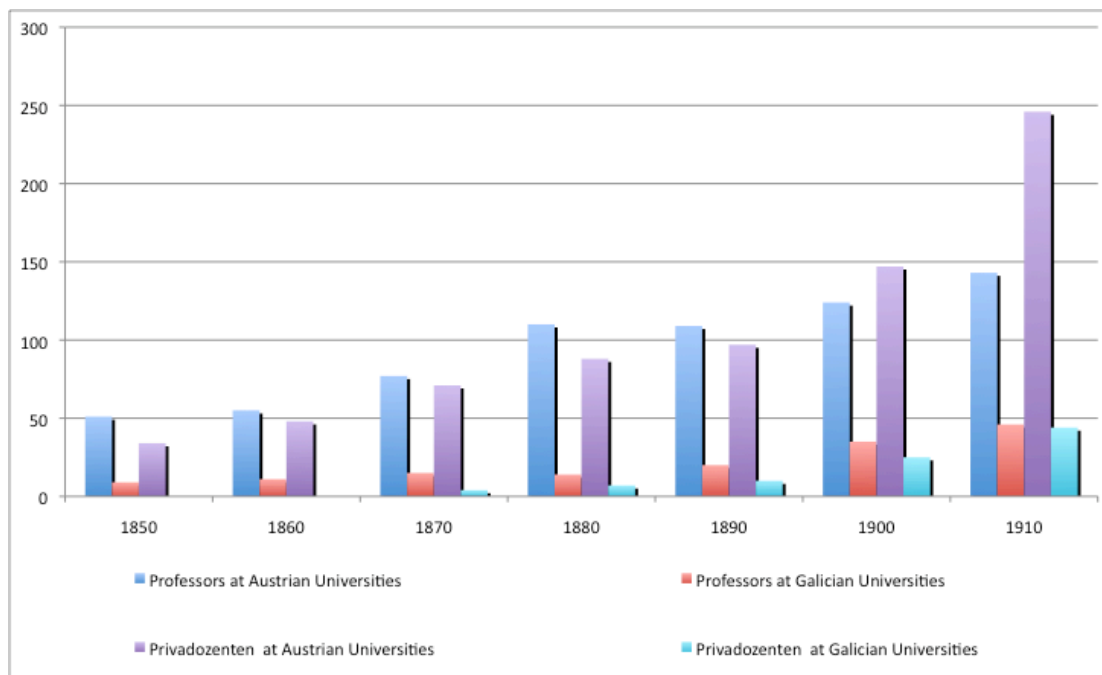


Chart 3. Transfers between the Germanophone Universities 1848-1918 (number in Y-axis are 5 years sums).

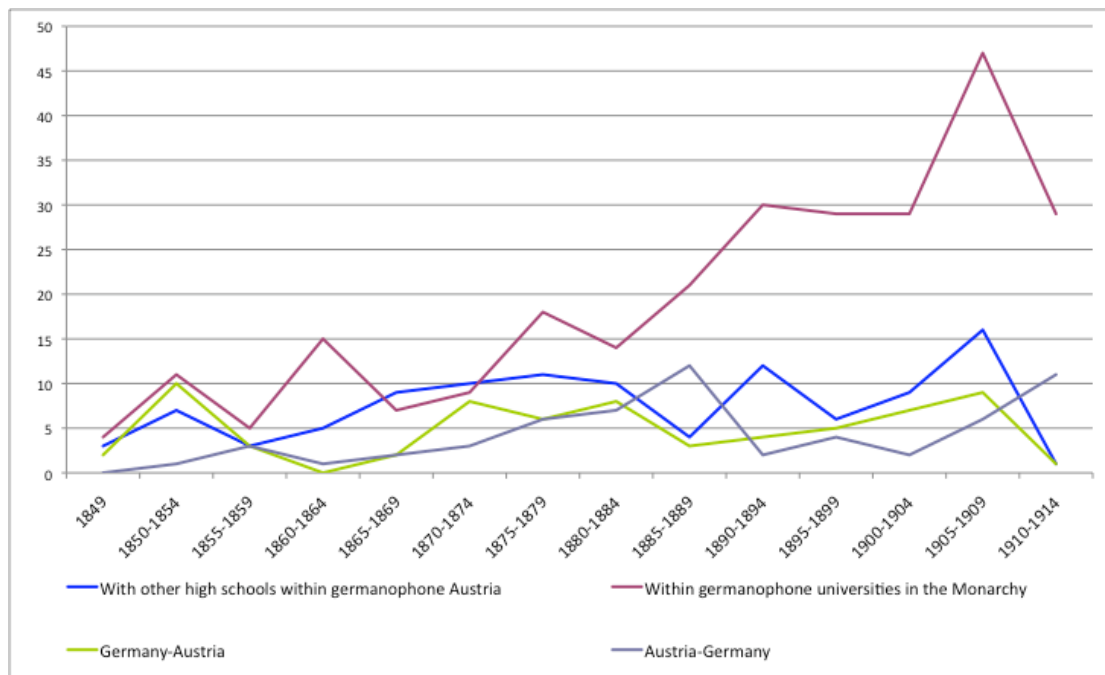


Chart 4a. Table DCE. Relation of habilitations in different areas at the philosophical faculties 1848-1918, in percent.

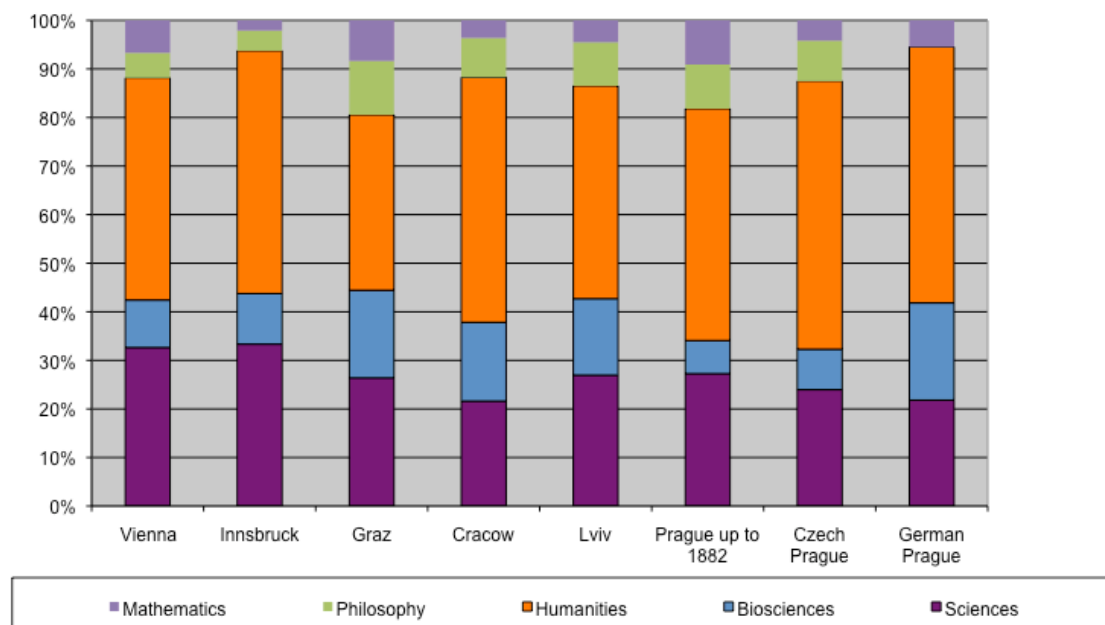


Chart 4b. Relation of habilitations in different areas at the philosophical faculties 1848-1918, absolute numbers.

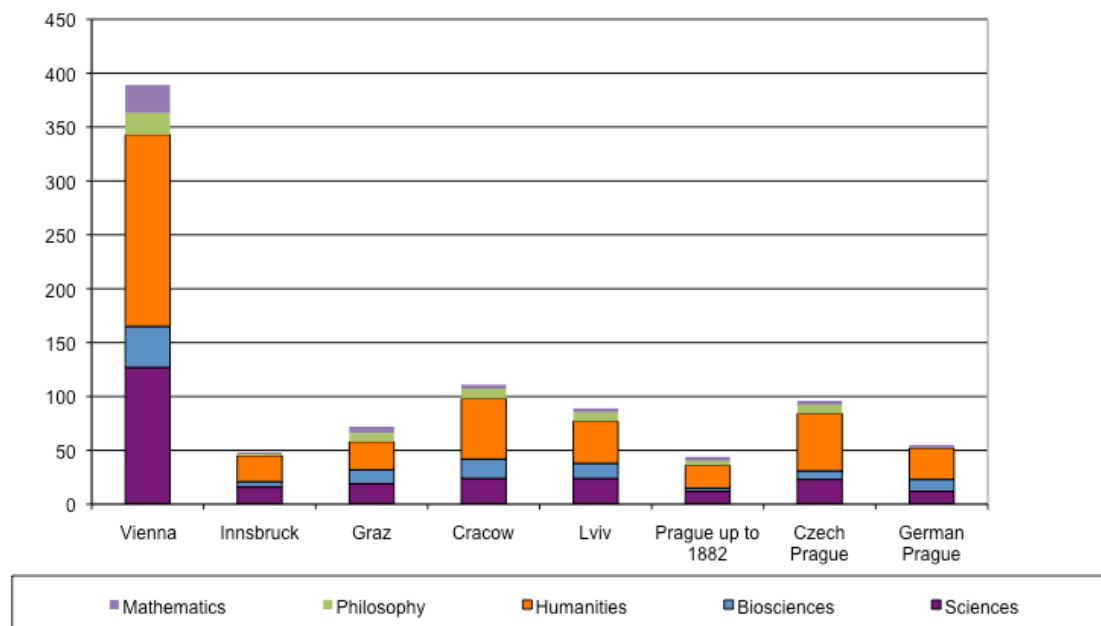


Chart 4c. Relation of new habilitations in different areas at philosophical faculties in Cisleithania 1848-1918, in percent.

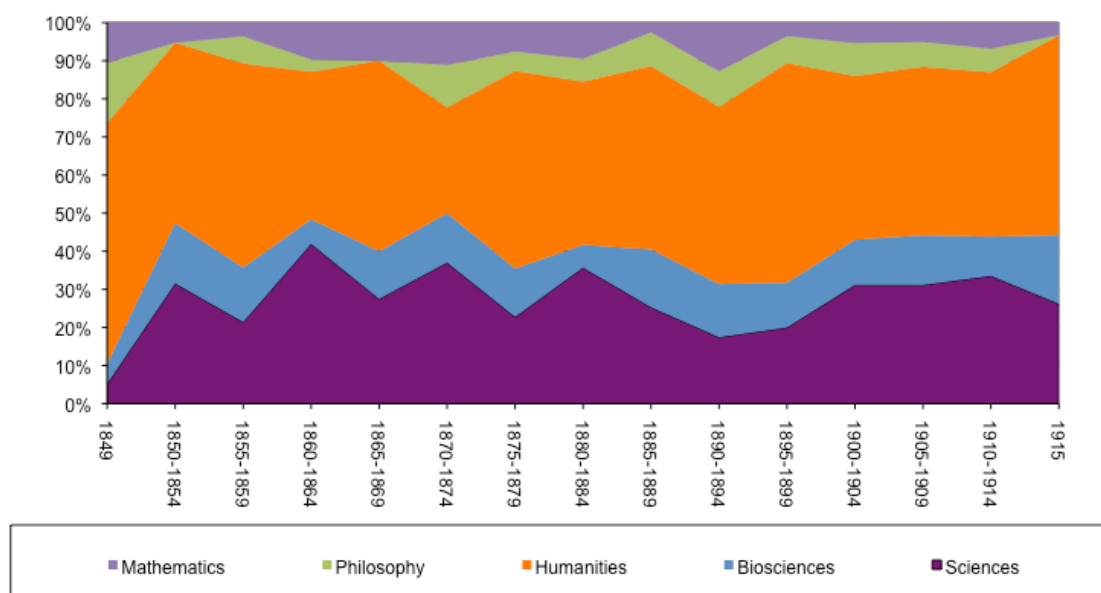


Table 1. Number of university instructors in Cisleithania 1850-1910.

Medical Faculty		1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Vienna	ass. professors	6	7	15	38	32	31	40
	full professors	15	15	18	17	20	24	22
	Privatdozenten	22	36	49	55	68	107	187
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>162</i>	<i>249</i>
Graz	ass. professors			3	8	9	10	14
	full professors			9	10	11	14	12
	Privatdozenten			3	8	11	18	22
	<i>Sum</i>			<i>15</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>48</i>
Innsbruck	ass. professors			2	5	4	7	8
	full professors			9	8	11	11	14
	Privatdozenten			2	4	3	3	4
	<i>Sum</i>			<i>13</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>26</i>
Prague up to 1882	ass. professors	12	8	8	11			
	full professors	10	12	13	13			
	Privatdozenten	12	9	17	21			
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>45</i>			
German Prague (from 1882)	a.o. professors				10	10	12	18
	full professors				11	12	15	15
	Privatdozenten				15	15	19	33
	<i>Sum</i>				<i>36</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>66</i>
Total	ass. professors	18	15	28	62	55	60	80
	full professors	25	27	49	48	54	64	63
	Privatdozenten	34	45	71	88	97	147	246
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>148</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>206</i>	<i>271</i>	<i>389</i>
Czech Prague	ass. professors				5	5	11	21
	full professors				6	11	14	15
	Privatdozenten				4	9	15	24
	<i>Sum</i>				<i>15</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>60</i>
Cracow	ass. professors	1	1	2	5	9	9	14
	full professors	8	10	13	9	11	12	14
	Privatdozenten			4	7	10	15	17
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>45</i>
L'viv	a.o. professors						3	4
	full professors						11	14
	Privatdozenten						10	27
	<i>Sum</i>						<i>24</i>	<i>45</i>
Total Galicia	ass. professors	1	1	2	5	9	12	18
	full professors	8	10	13	9	11	23	28
	Privatdozenten	0	0	4	7	10	25	44
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>90</i>
Total Cisleithania	ass. professors	19	16	30	82	69	83	119
	full professors	33	37	62	74	76	101	106
	Privatdozenten	34	45	75	114	116	187	314
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>167</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>261</i>	<i>371</i>	<i>539</i>

Philosophical Faculty								
		1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Vienna	ass. professors	4	4	9	11	11	15	18
	full professors	22	26	31	42	43	46	50
	Privatdozenten	15	15	18	32	60	73	99
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>167</i>
Graz	ass. professors	1	2	4	11	7	13	11
	full professors	7	6	14	17	19	24	27
	Privatdozenten	1	1	5	10	15	9	12
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>50</i>
Innsbruck	ass. professors	1		1	4	6	6	12
	full professors	7	10	13	17	19	25	23
	Privatdozenten		1	1	5	11	10	10
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>45</i>
Prague up to 1882	ass. professors	6	7	3	7			
	full professors	15	16	19	39			
	Privatdozenten	4	3	2	19			
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>65</i>			
German Prague	ass. professors				6	7	7	8
	full professors				20	25	29	30
	Privatdozenten				9	14	14	20
	<i>Sum</i>				<i>35</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>58</i>
Chernivtsi	ass. professors				6	2	1	4
	full professors				10	15	17	18
	Privatdozenten						2	5
	<i>Sum</i>				<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>27</i>
Total	ass. professors	12	13	17	45	33	42	53
	full professors	51	58	77	145	121	141	148
	Privatdozenten	20	20	26	75	100	108	146
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>265</i>	<i>254</i>	<i>291</i>	<i>347</i>
Czech Prague	ass. professors				6	8	8	16
	full professors				14	18	27	28
	Privatdozenten				11	13	23	36
	<i>Sum</i>				<i>31</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>80</i>
Cracow	ass. professors	4		3	7	2	10	15
	full professors	8	15	14	15	19	25	29
	Privatdozenten			4	8	6	11	20
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>64</i>
L'viv	ass. professors	3	3	2	1	4	8	7
	full professors	8	9	11	12	13	19	24
	Privatdozenten	2	1		6	15	18	21
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>52</i>
Total Galicia	ass. professors	7	3	5	8	6	18	22
	full professors	16	24	25	27	32	44	53
	Privatdozenten	2	1	4	14	21	29	41
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>116</i>
Total Cisleithania	ass. professors	19	16	22	59	47	68	91
	full professors	67	82	102	186	171	212	229
	Privatdozenten	22	21	30	100	134	160	223
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>345</i>	<i>352</i>	<i>440</i>	<i>543</i>

Table 2. Student-Professor (S/P) and Student-Instructor (S/I) ratio at Habsburg universities 1866-1910.

		1866	1880	1890	1900	1910
	Medical Faculty					
Vienna	S/P	28,6	18,0	32,0	18,8	26,4
	S/I	13,0	9,0	13,9	6,4	6,6
Graz	S/P	15,7	5,6	24,9	12,0	13,2
	S/I	13,3	3,8	16,1	6,8	7,1
Innsbruck	S/P	n/a	6,2	12,7	8,1	9,1
	S/I	n/a	4,7	10,6	6,9	7,7
Prague	S/P	14,3	11,8	n/a	n/a	n/a
	S/I	9,5	6,3	n/a	n/a	n/a
German Prague	S/P	n/a	n/a	29,8	10,8	11,1
	S/I	n/a	n/a	17,7	6,3	5,5
Czech Prague	S/P	n/a	n/a	NDA	17,6	18,8
	S/I	n/a	n/a	NDA	11,0	11,3
Cracow	S/P	9,7	12,4	20,8	5,0	17,3
	S/I	7,6	8,2	13,9	2,9	10,8
L'viv	S/P	n/a	n/a	n/a	7,7	15,1
	S/I	n/a	n/a	n/a	4,5	6,0
	Philosophical Faculty					
Vienna	S/P	16,2	10,2	6,7	13,1	26,8
	S/I	9,4	6,3	3,2	6,0	10,9
Graz	S/P	4,0	4,5	5,3	3,8	7,5
	S/I	3,3	3,3	3,4	3,0	5,7
Innsbruck	S/P	5,7	4,6	3,2	5,0	5,7
	S/P	4,5	3,7	2,3	3,8	4,4
Prague	S/I	13,1	7,7	n/a	n/a	n/a
	S/P	11,6	5,5	n/a	n/a	n/a
German Prague	S/I	n/a	n/a	3,2	4,5	10,9
	S/P	n/a	n/a	1,8	2,9	6,7
Czech Prague	S/I	n/a	9,8 (1882)	NDA	13,8	20,3
	S/P	n/a	6,3 (1882)	NDA	8,3	11,1
Cracow	S/I	2,1	3,4	4,7	7,3	19,7
	S/P	NDA	2,5	3,6	5,6	13,5
L'viv	S/I	10,6	NDA	8,6	7,2	23,4
	S/P	10,6	NDA	4,6	4,3	14,0
Chernivtsi	S/I	n/a	3,7	2,4	NDA	8,2
	S/P	n/a	3,7	2,4	NDA	6,7

Sources: Printed lecturers catalogues for individual Habsburg universities, including student statistics.

Table 3. Transfers between medical faculties 1848-1918.

To From	Vienna	Graz	German Prague (and Prague)	Innsbruck	Total
Vienna	n/a	22	19	31	72
Graz	15	n/a	8	7	32
German Prague (and Prague)	30	6	n/a	10	46
Innsbruck	10	18	7	n/a	35
Sum (% in the faculty)	55 (10%)	46 (31%)	34 (14%)	50 (50%)	185

Table 4. Transfers between philosophical faculties 1848-1918.

To From	Vienna	Graz	German Prague (and Prague)	Innsbruck	Chernivtsi	Total
Vienna	n/a	42	27	24	22	115
Graz	21	n/a	12	9	8	50
German Prague (and Prague)	29	5	n/a	8	6	48
Innsbruck	22	11	5	n/a	3	41
Chernivtsi	3	7	10	8	n/a	28
Sum (% in the faculty)	75 (13%)	87 (43%)	54 (21%)	49 (35%)	39 (50%)	282

Table 5. Appointments of full professors in the same rank, medical faculties 1848-1918.

To From	Vienna	Graz	German Prague	Prague	Innsbruck	German Universities	Total
Vienna	n/a			1		1	1
Graz	7	n/a	3		1	2	13
German Prague	6	1	n/a	n/a	1	8	16
Prague	2			n/a		1	3
Innsbruck	7	13	3	1	n/a	3	27
German Universities	9	1	1	3		n/a	14
Total	31	15	7	5	2	14	

Table 6. Appointments of full professors in the same rank, philosophical faculties 1848-1918.

To From	Vienna	Graz	German Prague	Prague	Innsbruck	Chernivtsi	German Universities	Total
Vienna	n/a	2			1		9	12
Graz	13	n/a		6			10	29
German Prague	10	2	n/a	n/a	2		7	21
Prague	9			n/a	n/a	n/a	6	15
Innsbruck	17	9	1	1			1	30
Chernivtsi		6	6	2	6	n/a	2	24
German Universities	10	4	3	2	1	1	n/a	21
Total	59	23	10	11	10	1	27	

Table 7. Exchange between universities (philosophical faculties), technical and agricultural academies in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918, excluding scholars teaching as *Privatdozenten* while having a professorship at other school.

To From	Technical Academies	Agricultural Academy in Vienna	Agricultural Academy in Dublany
Vienna	15	2	
Graz	3		
Innsbruck	4		
Prague	4	1	
German Prague	8	1	
Chernivtsi	1	1	
Czech Prague	11		
Cracow	3	1	4
L'viv	3		1

To From	Vienna	Graz	Innsbruck	Prague	German Prague	Chernivtsi	Czech Prague	Cracow	L'viv
Technical Academies	8	2	1	7	11	4	5	3	2
Agricultural Academy in Vienna		1			1			1	
Agricultural Academy in Dublany								3	1

Table 8. Distribution of transfers at the philosophical faculties 1848-1918. (Austria = Chernivtsi, Graz, Innsbruck, Prague up to 1882, German Prague, Vienna)

Period	Within germanophone universities in the Monarchy	With other germanophone tertiary institutions in the Monarchy	German Empire-'Austria'	Others to 'Austria'	'Austria'-'German Empire'	'Austria'-Galicia	'Galicia'-Austria	'Austria'-Czech Prague	Total
1849	36%	27%	18%	0%	0%	0%	18%	n/a	100% 11
1850-1854	35%	23%	32%	0%	3%	3%	3%	n/a	100% 31
1855-1859	28%	17%	17%	6%	17%	11%	6%	n/a	100% 18
1860-1864	54%	18%	0%	0%	4%	11%	14%	n/a	100% 28
1865-1869	28%	36%	8%	0%	8%	8%	12%	n/a	100% 25
1870-1874	22%	24%	20%	5%	7%	2%	20%	n/a	100% 41
1875-1879	41%	25%	14%	0%	14%	2%	5%	n/a	100% 44
1880-1884	31%	22%	18%	2%	16%	2%	4%	4%	100% 45
1885-1889	53%	10%	8%	0%	30%	0%	0%	0%	100% 40
1890-1894	60%	24%	8%	0%	4%	4%	0%	0%	100% 50
1895-1899	57%	12%	10%	0%	8%	8%	4%	2%	100% 51
1900-1904	58%	20%	14%	4%	4%	0%	0%	0%	100% 50
1905-1909	58%	20%	11%	1%	7%	2%	0%	0%	100% 81
1910-1914	64%	2%	2%	4%	24%	2%	0%	0%	100% 45
Sum	268	107	68	9	60	20	25	3	560

Table 9. Habilitations at the philosophical and medical faculties, 1848-1918.

	Philosophical Faculties	Medical faculties
Vienna	435	470
Graz	75	78
Innsbruck	46	26
Prague	46	74
German Prague	52	77
Chernivtsi	6	n/a
Czech Prague	98	80
Cracow	114	82
Lviv	88	37

Table 10. Places of graduation for scholars habilitating at different universities, (with exception of Chernivtsi, which was excluded due to low number of habilitations). [Only first habilitation considered. Percentage counted for all *Privatdozenten*, i.e. including those with unknown place of graduation or at other academies; percentage of missing cases = 100%-last column. Magister/Candidate are counted as first grades]

Graduation in Habilita- tion at	Vienna	Graz	Innsbruck	Prague	German Prague	German Empire	Russian Empire	Czech Prague	Cracow	L'viv	% in all PD
Philosophical Faculty											
Vienna	69%	4%	3%	1%	2%	12%	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%
Graz	24%	53%	3%	1%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	92%
Innsbruck	20%	9%	57%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%
Prague	7%	0%	0%	70%	n/a	9%	0%	n/a	0%	0%	85%
German Prague	23%	6%	0%	12%	40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	81%
Czech Prague	4%	0%	0%	8%	0%	1%	0%	79%	0%	0%	92%
Cracow	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	9%	0%	53%	7%	89%
L'viv	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	18%	3%	0%	7%	42%	78%
Medical Faculty											
Vienna	81%	4%	1%	3%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	93%
Graz	24%	49%	8%	0%	3%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%
Innsbruck	54%	8%	35%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Prague	8%	0%	0%	86%	n/a	3%	0%	n/a	0%	0%	97%
German Prague	10%	5%	0%	6%	77%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	99%
Czech Prague	1%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	76%	1%	0%	95%
Cracow	10%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	80%	1%	96%
L'viv	5%	0%	0%	3%	0%	3%	14%	0%	54%	16%	95%

Table 11. Age and transfer statistics.

	Age when appointed	Appointed ... years after PhD	Appointed from the university at average age	Number of professors going through ...	Average time between appointment to and from	Number of returning scholars	Average time between appointment from and return
Medical Faculty							
Vienna	44,7	14,6	36,5	10	5,1	23	8,6
German Prague	39,6	8,9	41,5	10	5,3	4	4,2
Graz	38,5	9,0	43,0	16	10,0	3	3,0
Innsbruck	36,9	6,1	40,7	31	5,2	0	n/a
Philosophical Faculty							
Vienna	43,1	14,8	37,0	12	11,0	29	11,6
German Prague	38,2	8,7	40,8	25	8,4	2	4,0
Graz	38,6	9,7	41,0	26	9,6	8	8,2
Innsbruck	38,5	8,8	42,2	20	8,5	3	10,0

Table 12. Percentage of foreign educated scholars among professors at different faculties in the Monarchy.

University	Grade of education achieved outside the Monarchy	Medical faculty		Philosophical Faculty	
		Associate professors	full professors	Associate professors	full professors
Vienna	PhD	2%	8%	17%	35%
	Habilitation	2%	9%	2%	14%
Graz	PhD	3%	7%	15%	23%
	Habilitation	3%	5%	4%	10%
Innsbruck	PhD	0%	7%	14%	16%
	Habilitation	0%	13%	7%	8%
German University in Prague	PhD	2%	15%	20%	35%
	Habilitation	4%	18%	7%	17%
Chernivtsi	PhD	n/a	n/a	22%	18%
	Habilitation	n/a	n/a	11%	4%
L'viv	PhD	21%	25%	23%	21%
	Habilitation		20%	0%	2%
Cracow	PhD	11%	17%	45%	45%
	Habilitation	2%	7%	9%	15%

Table 13. Percentage of own offspring among professorship (non-exclusive categories).

University	Position gained at the ... university	Medical faculty		Philosophical Faculty	
		Associate professor	Full professor	Associate professor	Full professor
Vienna	PhD	81%	71%	67%	45%
	Privatdozent	86%	65%	82%	46%
	without habilitation	7%	7%	7%	10%
Graz	PhD	26%	12%	21%	10%
	Privatdozent	50%	17%	29%	15%
	without habilitation	13%		11%	2%
Innsbruck	PhD	19%	6%	27%	21%
	Privatdozent	42%	33%	39%	23%
	without habilitation	6%	4%	5%	27%
German University in Prague	PhD	73%	35%	27%	9%
	Privatdozent	75%	30%	50%	17%
	without habilitation			0%	9%
Cracow	PhD	75%	45%	26%	31%
	Privatdozent	84%	47%	51%	31%
	without habilitation	13%	37%	23%	33%
L'viv	PhD	43%	10%	22%	15%
	Privatdozent	43%	10%	40%	21%
	without habilitation		15%	25%	45%

Table 14. Salaries of full professors at Cisleithanian universities.

	1849	1870	1898
Vienna	1600	2200	3200
Prague	1300	2000	3200
Cracow	1200	1800	3200
L'viv	1200	1800	3200
Graz	1000	1800	3200
Innsbruck	1000	1800	3200
Chernivtsi		1800 (1875)	3200

Sources: Erlass des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht von 28. Oktober 1849; Gesetz von 9. April 1870 betreffend die Gehalte der Professoren an den Weltlichen Fakultäten der Universitäten und das Quartiergeld der Facultäts-Professoren in Wien, Reichsgesetzblatt 12.4.1870, p. 75-76; Gesetz von 19. September 1898 betreffend die Regelung der Bezüge der Professoren an Universitäten und denselben gleichgehaltenen Hochschulen und Lehranstalten, Reichsgesetzblatt 20.9.1898, p. 295-296.

Table 15. Salaries of professors at universities in 1900 (in Mark with exchange rates: 1 Krone (2 Florint) – 0.85 Mark, 1 Ruble – 3.22 Mark).

		Full Professors			Associated professors
		Opening salaries (in Mark)	Official maximal salary	Wohnungsgeld	
Habsburg Monarchy	Vienna	5440	6800	340	3060
	Other universities	5440	6800		3060
Prussia	Berlin	4800-7200	9400	900	2400-4800
	Other Universities	4000-6000	7800	660-540	2000-4000
Bayern		4560		540	3180
Tübingen		4000	6000	300	2400-3900
Sachsen	Case-to-case	min. 3000	12000		Case-to-case
Baden		3000	10600		Case-to-case
Straßburg		5000			3600
Giessen		4500	6500		2500-4000
Jena		4000-6000	7800		2000-4000
Rostock		4200	6600		2400-3600
Russian Empire		9720			6480

Sources: (Habsburg Monarchy) Gesetz von 19. September 1898 betreffend die Regelung der Bezüge der Professoren an Universitäten und denselben gleichgehaltenen Hochschulen und Lehranstalten, Reichsgesetzblatt 20.9.1898, p. 295-296. (German States) Lexis, Wilhelm, *Das Unterrichtswesen im Deutschen Reich. Band 1. Die Universitäten*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904, 42-50; (Russian Empire) Schiller, Joanna, *Universitas rossica : koncepcja rosyjskiego uniwersytetu 1863-1917, Monografie z Dziejów Oświaty, t. 41*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii Nauki PAN, 2007, 254.

Table 16. Collegiengelder of professors at philosophical faculties of Cisleithanian universities, 1892/1893 (in Gulden).

	No. of professors	> 1000	1000-500	500-100	100-50	< 50
Vienna	56	16%	9%	30%	21%	23%
Graz	33	3%	18%	27%	15%	36%
Innsbruck	29	3%	7%	34%	14%	41%
Prague, German	31	3%	10%	29%	10%	48%
Chernivtsi	18	0%	6%	22%	28%	44%
Prague, Czech	30	23%	7%	20%	23%	27%
Cracow	27	7%	19%	37%	22%	15%
L'viv	19	11%	16%	53%	21%	0%

Source: *Petition der philosophischen Fakultäten an den k.k. Universitäten um Regelung der Bezüge Ihrer Professoren*, Februar 1894, p. 2, from AUK, FF NU, Sign. K/a (Profesori), Inv.č. 186-193, Kart. 9.

Annex 1. Main disciplines of habilitation (medical faculties, year of first habilitation in bracket)

Anatomy (habilitations in total: 29)

1. Vienna (year of habilitation: 1868)
2. Prague (1872)
3. Cracow (1878)

Bacteriology (5)

1. Cracow (1878)
2. L'viv, Prague/Czech (1902)

Balneology (16)

1. Vienna, Prague (1850)
2. Graz (1870)

Chemistry (29)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Cracow (1862)
3. Prague (1879)

Child Medicine (54)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Prague (1848)
3. Graz (1852)

Dentistry (30)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Graz (1857)
3. Cracow (1877)

Dermatology / Syphidology (49)

1. Cracow, Vienna (1862)
2. Prague (1868)

ETA (57)

1. Vienna (1861)
2. Prague (1868)
3. Graz (1872)

Forensics (19)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1858)
3. Cracow (1869)

Gynecology (100)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1849)
3. Cracow (1862)

Histology (together with Embryology) (17)

1. Vienna (1849)
2. Prague (1856)
3. Innsbruck (1870)

History of Medicine (11)

1. Prague, Vienna (1848)
2. Cracow (1869)

Hygiene (27)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1858)
3. Cracow (1874)

Internal Medicine (100)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1867)
3. Cracow (1881)

Ophthalmology (64)

1. Prague, Vienna (1849)
2. Graz (1881)

Pathological Anatomy (41)

1. Vienna (1850)
2. Prague (1872)
3. Cracow (1885)

Experimental Pathology (23)

1. Vienna (1862)
2. Graz (1876)
3. Prague (1882)

Pathology and Therapy of internal diseases (50)

1. Prague (1856)
2. Vienna (1858)
3. Innsbruck (1878)

Pharmacology (with Pharmacognosy) (25)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1849)
3. Cracow (1900)

Physiology (36)

1. Prague (1861)
2. Vienna (1869)
3. Cracow (1875)

Psychiatry (63)

1. Prague (1848)
2. [Graz 1855] Vienna (1857)
3. Cracow (1871)

Surgery (100)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Prague (1853)
3. Cracow (1866)

Syphidology (12)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1850)
3. Graz (1865)

Veterinary (8)

1. Vienna (1849)
2. Prague (1863)
3. Cracow (1868)

Annex 2. Main disciplines of habilitation (philosophical faculties, year of first habilitation in bracket)

Humanities (458)

Historical disciplines (136)

Austrian History (27)

1. Vienna (1850)
2. Graz (1856)
3. Prague (1875)

General History (22)

1. Vienna (1855)
2. L'viv (1872)
3. Graz (1875)

Old History (20)

1. Innsbruck, Vienna (1860)
2. Prague/German (1884)

Medieval History (17)

1. Innsbruck (1867)
2. Vienna (1868)
3. Cracow (1875)

Auxiliary sciences of history (14)

1. Vienna (1856)
2. Innsbruck (1878)
3. Cracow (1890)

National histories (12)

1. Prague (1871)ⁱ
2. L'viv (1871)ⁱⁱ
3. Cracow (1881)

History of Art incl. Music and Aesthetics (45)

1. Vienna (1851)
2. Cracow (1863)
3. Graz (1872)

Archeology (15)

1. Vienna (1875)
2. Cracow (1893)
3. Prague/German (1902)

Paleontology (17)

1. Vienna (1853)
2. Cracow (1882)
3. Prague/Czech (1883)

Anthropology/ Ethnology (9)

1. Vienna, Prague/Czech (1892)
2. L'viv (1911)

Philology (175) and Languages (75)

German Language and Literature incl. Philology (42)ⁱⁱⁱ

1. Vienna (1855)
2. Graz (1868)
3. Prague (1875)

Classical Philology (47)

1. Vienna (1851)
2. Graz (1857)
3. Prague (1859)

Oriental Philology (26)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Prague (1876)
3. Cracow (1893)

Romance language and philology (25)

1. Vienna (1871)
2. Prague (1874)
3. Graz (1896)

Slavic Philology (19)

1. Prague (1854)
2. Graz (1867)
3. L'viv, Vienna (1878)

Slavic Literature (17)

1. Cracow (1868)
2. L'viv (1871)
3. Prague/Czech (1899)

English Language and Literature (with philology) (13)

1. Prague (1881)
2. Vienna (1883)
3. Graz (1888)

Semitic philology (8)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Prague (1850)
3. L'viv (1851)

Sciences (330)

Physics (49)

1. Vienna (1855)
2. Prague (1872)
3. Graz (1875)

Experimental Physics (11)

1. Prague (1871)
2. Innsbruck (1879)
3. Graz (1889)

Mathematical Physics (8)

1. L'viv (1851)
2. Prague (1863)
3. Vienna (1867)

Chemistry (86)

1. Vienna (1848)
2. Graz (1855)

3. Prague (1861)

Life Sciences (123)

Botanic (51)

1. Prague, Vienna (1857)
2. Graz (1866)

Zoology (39)

1. L'viv (1851)
2. Prague (1852)
3. Graz (1872)

Comparative anatomy (17)

1. Graz (1876)
2. Vienna (1879)
3. Prague/German (1892)

Geosciences (99)

Geology (34)

1. Vienna (1854)
2. Prague (1874)
3. Graz (1880)

Geography (28)

1. Prague (1856)
2. Vienna (1862)
3. Cracow (1876)

Mineralogy (24)

1. Vienna (1861)
2. Prague (1868)
3. Cracow (1870)

Astronomy (20)

1. Vienna (1850)
2. Prague/Czech (1883)
3. Innsbruck (1888)

Meteorology/Cosmic Physics (10)

1. Vienna (1869)
2. Prague/Czech (1883)
3. Innsbruck (1909)

Mathematics (54)

1. Vienna (1849)
2. Cracow (1862)
3. Graz (1866)

Philosophy (60)

1. Prague (1848)
2. Vienna (1849)
3. Graz (1870)

ⁱ As “Bohemian history.”

ⁱⁱ As “history of territories of Halych and Vladimir”.

ⁱⁱⁱ The official formula was “German Language and Literature”, with relatively late distinction into philology and history of literature. At the time “national” languages were allowed this distinction was already made, with exception of first habilitation (Stanisław Tarnowski, Cracow 1868) who was though only historian of literature.

Annex 3. Main translations of textbooks.

[Legend: Alphabetical / date of publication order; source texts indicated bold; it was impossible to exactly quote the first editions, thus the date of publication of the here quoted source may be later than of translations; the date does not represent the first edition; some books may have other source text of the same author as the ones indicated; some of translations into Polish appeared outside the Habsburg Empire (Pütz, Schultz, Kozenn, Wappler), as books they based on were allowed and used in the Monarchy as well, it is here assumed that they were used in Galicia.

Sources: Library catalogues; for Ruthenian/Ukrainian, Hofeneder, *Galizisch ruthenische Schulbücher*, (source books were added by J.S.) and Саф'янюк, "Специфіка підручників і навчальних посібників для реальних шкіл та реальних гімназій на західноукраїнських землях (XIX–поч. XX ст.)."

Beck, Joseph, *Philosophische Propädeutik. I, Empirische Psychologie und Logik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1846.

———, *A tapasztalati lélektan és tiszta logika vázlatá*. Pest: Gustav Heckenast 1856.

———, *Bölcsészeti előtan azaz tapasztalati lelektan es gondolkodastan*. Pest: Gustav Heckenast, 1856.

———, *Elementi di logica*. Vienna: Rodolfo Lechner, 1857.

———, *Logika ... dla użytku szkół gimnazjalnych*. Translated by B. Inicki. Lwów, 1867.

Bellinger, Johann, *Leitfaden für den ersten Unterricht der Geographie. In 2 Kursenb. 2 ed.* Giessen: G. F. Heyer, 1844.

———, *Počátkové zeměpisu : pro první třídu nižšího gymnasia a nižší reální školy*. V Praze: J.G. Calve, 1853.

———, *Az általános földrajz alapvonalai a közéletanodai első osztály, valamint reáliskolák használatára : Bellinger J. nyomán írt iskolai cseh kézikönyv szerint / ford. Málik Vincze*. Bécsben: Mechitharisták Ny., 1854.

———, *Elementi di geografia : disposti in due corsi per gl' I.R. ginnasi e scuole reali inferiori*. Vienna: Dalla Tip. di Carlo Gerold Figlio, 1857.

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Annex 4. *Festschriften* for Habsburg scholars / those who taught at Habsburg Universities; I – articles by authors of the same country/'nationality'; II – authors from a different country/'nationality'.

<i>Festschrift</i> for:	Publ. in:	Year	I	II	Sum articles	Countries, regions, languages of participating authors
T. Billroth	AT ¹	1892		7	31	AT, DE, BE, CH, Silesia, Prague (German), NL
Idem. (Album)	AT	1893	22	64	86	AT, BE, 'CZ', DE, BL, HU, 'PL', CH,
T. Gomperz	AT	1902	20	32	52	AT, Bukovina, GB, FR, PL, DE, GR, IT, RU
L. Boltzmann	AT	1904	27	74	101	AU, AT, Bukovina, GB, PL, DE, IN, IT, JP, RU, SE, US
A. Lieben	AT	1906		>6	56	AT, FR, DE, IT
V. Jagić	AT	1908	54	24	78	AT, BG, 'HR', 'CZ', DK, FR, DE, IT, 'PL', RU, RS, SI, SE
J. Wiesner	AT	1908	31	9	40	AT, 'CZ', GB, DE, IT, NL, 'PL', CH, US
H. Chiari	AT	1908	25	11	36	AT, Bukovina, Bohemia/Moravia, FR, DE, NL, RU, CH, US
J. Kelle	AT	1908-9			35	AT, 'CZ', DE
R. Jaksch Wartenhorst	AT	1912		>3	19	AT, DE, IT, SE
W. Jerusalem	AT	1915	?	?	15	AT, DE
J. Karabacek	AT	1916	10	>4	17	AT, 'CZ', DE
F. Suess	AT	1937		>1	9	AT, GB
K. Weinhold	DE	1896	1	9	10	AT, Bukovina, DE
J. Vahlen	DE	1900		>5	35	AT, DE
O. Hirschfeld	DE	1903	46	10	56	AT, FR, BE, BA, DE, GR, IT, NL, RO, 'PL', RU, CH
A. Becker	DE	1922	5	8	13	AT, DE, HU
C. Stumpf	DE	1923			11	2 AT born; 1 RU born
W. Sas-Korczyński	PL	1900			34	Galicia, PL-speaking assistants at other universities
H. Nusbaum	PL	1911			17	PL, MC
J. Tretiak	PL	1913			11	Galicia, PL-speaking scholars from DE and Sofia
K. Twardowski	PL	1920			11	PL
O. Balzer	PL	1925	66	8	74	BE, BG, HR, CZ, GB, RS, PL
V.V. Tomek	CZ	1888			13	CZ
J. Thomayer	CZ	1901			18	CZ
J. Goll	CZ	1906			24	CZ
T. Garrigue Masaryk	CZ	1910		>8	41+18 ²	CZ, 'UA', RU, RS, HR, SI, FR
J. Vlček	CS	1920			22	CZ
J. Matiegka	CS	1922			8	CS
F. Pastrnek	CS	1923		>4	48	AT, CS, RU
J. Bidlo	CS	1928		>15	41	CZ, HR, PL, RO, SK, 'UA'

¹ Abbreviations are here interchangeable with language, region or country and are only to register trends, e.g. AT = Habsburg German, PL = scholars working predominantly in Polish language and/or in Poland after 1918, Bohemia – scholars from Bohemia of unknown primary language – as opposed to CZ which would be declared Czech; In most cases, it was possible only to find cities the given authors worked in, which have than been subsumed under regions.

² Short reminiscences.

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Archiv der Universität Wien [Archive of the Vienna University]
Archiv Univerzity Karlovy [Archive of Charles University]
Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych, C.K. Ministerstwo Wyznań i Oświaty/Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, fond Ministry of Religion and Education]
Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Archive of Jagiellonian University]
Universitätsarchiv Innsbruck [Archive of the University Innsbruck]
Universitätsarchiv Graz [Archive of the University Graz]
Moravský zemský archiv w Brně [Moravian Land Archive in Brno]
Národní archiv, Ministerstvo kultury a vyučování Vídeň 1882-1918(1923) = Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht [National Archives (Prague), fond Ministry of Religion and Education 1882-1918(1923)]
Oddział Rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej [Collection of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow]
Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht [Austrian State Archives, General Archive of Administration, fond Ministry of Religion and Education]
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Krytyka 1914
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Abstract – English

The thesis investigates the development and mobility patterns of scholars active at the universities in Habsburg Cisleithania during the period 1848-1918. Based on quantitative data, the work revolves around questions of educational and scientific policy at the time of growing nationalism in the monarchy, showing the interrelations between political and cultural developments, increasing academic autonomy, and intercultural entanglements. Applying the analytical tools of cultural geography, the thesis demonstrates how the production of academic space through academic mobility changed over time, establishing distinct language-defined academic systems with their own rules and hierarchies.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, scholarship at the tightly politically supervised universities faced the disintegration of its communicational paradigm. The decline of Latin's significance as the language of scientific production and education raised the status of German to a privileged medium of communication in the monarchy. The philosophical justification of this vernacularization, however, also involved the other languages spoken in the empire, resulting in tensions concerning the language of higher education by the middle of the century. Claims of the diversification and liberalization of language policy, articulated increasingly after 1848, brought the gradual introduction of Polish and Ruthenian in Galicia and Czech in Prague as main languages of instruction from the 1860s. As a result, the areas from which scholars were recruited changed from the monarchy to cultural-linguistic spaces, which in most cases transgressed imperial boundaries. In the case of germanophone universities, this involved the non-Habsburg German Confederation, later the German Empire, whose scholars had been appointed since 1848, primarily in humanistic disciplines. In Galicia, Polish-speaking scholars from the German and Russian empires were increasingly appointed, which found acceptance within the ministry. At the Czech Charles University in Prague (from 1882), lectures were to be taught exclusively in Czech, which limited recruitment beyond Czech-speaking regions. However, here as well, non-Bohemia educated and internationally active scholars were highly valued, in particular by the younger generation of scholars.

The restructuring of the appointment system was handled differently under different ministers. Violating academic autonomy, Leo Thun-Hohenstein appointed a number of scholars from outside the Monarchy, who favored Catholic-conservative candidates, and accepted scholars of different confessions only in a few cases.

Especially in the humanities this led to a structural reform, while the fields of natural sciences and medicine were limited to Habsburg scholars. After the political liberalization between 1861 and 1867, universities' appointments were conducted according to rules enacted in 1848, but not practiced hitherto. The faculties could provide a *terna*-proposal, from which a ministry could choose scholars to be appointed, which in most cases led to the appointment of the proposed scholars. The exception to this trend were history and philosophy, where the ministry often appointed scholars of its liking, as well as foreign scholars, who were in general expensive and thus often opposed in the financially struggling Monarchy. The confessional questions were also handled differently at different times. Until 1867, Catholics were clearly privileged. After the announcement of religious equality, the legal restraints were loosened, but the preference for Catholic scholars was perceivable throughout the century. A growing number of habilitated scholars of the Jewish confession, predominantly in Vienna and Prague, led to opposition from right-wing and anti-Semitic groups and requests for the recatholisation of academia and the establishment of a purely Catholic university in Salzburg (Karl Lueger). Facing physical violence against Jewish scholars, the ministry grew skeptical about hiring them at the provincial universities. This reduced these scholars' prospects for promotion, as the universities, especially in Vienna and Prague, were reluctant to appoint professors from within their own faculty.

Mobility in general, and intercultural mobility in particular, characterized the Habsburg universities throughout the period. Examples of particular scholars illustrate mechanisms of cultural adoption, imprinting both on singular careers as well as on institutions. Throughout the time under examination here, intercultural contact was enabled and intensified through imperial entanglements, transgressing political cleavages; these entanglements were both supported through the political pressure of unification (in the first period directly after 1848), and later regarded as a means to sustain or strengthen the academic productivity of individual universities.

Abstract – Deutsch

Die vorliegende Dissertation untersucht die Entwicklung und Wandlung der Mobilität der an den Universitäten in Cisleithanien zwischen 1848 und 1918 tätigen Gelehrten. Auf der Grundlage des quantitativen Datenmaterials nimmt die Arbeit die Fragen der Bildungs- und Universitätspolitik in der Zeit des wachsenden Nationalismus in den Blick und zeigt vielfältige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem politischen und kulturellen Gefüge in einer Zeit wachsender akademischer Autonomie, sowie die Rolle interkultureller Verschränkungen in der akademischen Sphäre. Mit dem Instrumentarium der Kulturgeographie wird die zeitliche Veränderung der Raumproduktion durch akademische Mobilität skizziert, die sprachdefinierte Kommunikationssysteme hervorbrachte, die sich durch eigene Hierarchien und Regeln auszeichnen.

Anfang des 19. Jahrhundert blickte die an den Universitäten verortete, politisch streng überwachte Wissenschaft der Desintegration des kommunikativen Paradigmas entgegen, der schwindenden Rolle von Lateins als Sprache der Bildung und wissenschaftlicher Produktion. Dieser Prozess brachte Deutsch die privilegierte Stellung als Kommunikationssprache in der Habsburger Monarchie. Die philosophische Begründung der Vernakularisierung beeinflusste auch das Verständnis anderer Sprachen des Imperiums, was schließlich um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts zu Spannungen über die Frage der Sprache bei der höheren Ausbildung führte. Die Forderungen nach Diversifizierung und Liberalisierung der Sprachpolitik nach 1848 bewirkten ab den 1860er Jahren eine schrittweise Einführung des Polnischen und Ruthenischen in Galizien sowie des Tschechischen in Prag als akademische Unterrichtssprachen.

Gleichzeitig änderten sich die Rekrutierungsareale der Wissenschaftler von der Monarchie zu kulturell-sprachlich definierten Arealen, die oft die imperialen Grenzen überschritten. Im Falle der deutschsprachigen Universitäten inkludierte dies die nicht-habsburgisch regierten Länder des Deutschen Bundes, später des Deutschen Reichs, aus welchen Wissenschaftler ab 1848 vor allem für die Geisteswissenschaften nominiert wurden. Polnischsprachige Gelehrte aus dem Deutschen und dem Russischen Reich fanden ebenfalls in zunehmender Zahl in Galizien eine Stelle, ohne Widerspruch des Ministeriums. An der Tschechischen Karls-Universität in Prag (ab 1882), durften die Vorlesungen nur auf tschechisch abgehalten werden, was die

prospektive Rekrutierung limitierte; auch hier waren aber außerhalb von Böhmen ausgebildete und international tätige Gelehrte hochgeschätzt, vor allem unter der jüngeren Generation der Akademiker.

Das 1848 reformierte Nominationsverfahren wurde allerdings unterschiedlich von Minister zu Minister gehandhabt. Im ersten Jahrzehnt nach der Revolution 1848 nominierte Leo Thun-Hohenstein, oft mit Verletzung der akademischen Autonomie, Wissenschaftler von außerhalb der Monarchie, die seinen katholisch-konservativen Wertvorstellungen entsprachen; nur in seltensten Fällen wurden Gelehrte anderer Konfessionen in Betracht gezogen. Vor allem in den Geisteswissenschaften leitete diese Praxis eine Strukturreform ein, in den Naturwissenschaften und in der Medizin wurde hingegen vor allem auf einheimische Kräfte zurückgegriffen. Nach der politischen Liberalisierung 1861/67 wurden die universitären Nominierungen gemäß den 1848 beschlossenen Gesetzen durchgeführt, die bis dato kaum praktiziert wurden. Fakultäten konnten ein Dreivorschlag erstatten, aus welchem das Ministerium den zu nominierenden Kandidaten auswählen konnte, was in den meisten Fällen auch geschah – mit Ausnahme von Geschichtswissenschaften und Philosophie, wo das Ministerium oft die Gelehrten seiner Wahl bestellte, sowie der aus dem Ausland zu berufenden Gelehrten, die meistens ein höheres Gehalt forderten, was in der finanziell geschwächten Monarchie auf Ablehnung stieß. Ebenso wandelte sich der Einfluss konfessioneller Fragen. Bis 1867 wurden die Katholiken deutlich privilegiert, nach der Erklärung der konfessionellen Gleichberechtigung wurden die juridischen Hürden fallengelassen, die Präferenz des Ministeriums für katholische Wissenschaftler war allerdings über das Jahrhundert hinweg deutlich. Die wachsende Zahl der Privatdozenten jüdischer Konfession, vor allem in Wien und Prag, führte zu Widerstand des Rechten Lagers und antisemitischer Gruppierungen bis hin zu Aufrufen nach einer Rekatholisierung der Akademie (Karl Lueger) und der Errichtung einer katholischen Universität in Salzburg. Angesichts physischer Gewalt gegen jüdische Gelehrte, zögerte das Ministerium, sie an die kleineren Universitäten zu berufen, was deren Aufstiegschancen verminderte, denn die Hausberufungen, vor allem in Wien und Prag, waren unwillkommen.

Die interkulturelle Mobilität blieb ein Charakteristikum der Habsburger Universitäten in der analysierten Periode. Ausgewählte Beispiele zeigen Mechanismen kultureller Anpassung, die sowohl Einzelkarrieren wie auch Institutionen prägten. Die Periode hindurch wurde der politische und kulturelle

Grenzen überschreitende Kontakt durch imperiale Verschränkungen ermöglicht und intensiviert. Er wurde sowohl durch politischen Druck zur Erreichung kultureller Einförmigkeit gestützt (v.a. nach 1848), und galt später als ein Mittel, die Leistungsfähigkeit der einzelnen Institutionen zu erhöhen.

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