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Universities in Imperial Austria 1848–1918: A Social History of a Multilingual Space

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A Social History of a Multilingual Space

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Cover image: Graduates of the Institute of Austrian History Research, course year 1891 and 1893 (© Vienna University Archive, sign. 106.I.3018; Photo: K. K. Hoffotografin Rosa Jenik, between 1891 and 1893)

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Note on Language Use, Terminology, and Geography

Geographic or personal names were markers of identity and belonging in the nineteenth century (and remain so to some extent today) and thus were contested as elements of nationalist discourse. In many cases, individuals, especially those indifferent to nationalism, changed their names based on the context; for scholars who published in both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, changing transcription and translation rules mean that the names under which these scholars are currently known differ from those used during their lifetimes. To avoid unwieldy formulations, this work uses the English names currently in use when appropriate. For the sake of precision, in the case of cities that belonged to different states at different times, the name is given in the language of the given state at that time. Alternative names for people and places in other languages are noted at the first appearance of the name. This also applies to designations that are mentioned in the text and is used consistently for all the languages involved. Cyrillic names occasionally appear in the main text, which seems justified because many of the persons, places, and organizations dealt with here are in fact hard to identify if only a Latin transcription is provided.

For the sake of historical accuracy, this text includes a few terms that might be new to scholars not familiar with the Habsburg Empire of the nineteenth century or with the scholarly system of the time. Special terms referring to Habsburg universities (*Privatdozenten*, *Utraquisierung*, etc.) have been explained in the text or notes at their first appearance and, if possible, are replaced with English terms in the main text. The local geographic terms are best explained by means of a short overview of nineteenth-century central Europe.

The Habsburg Empire consisted of two halves, Cisleithania (the northern and western part, also called *Austria*) and Transleithania (the Hungarian Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen). Cisleithania comprised fifteen provinces (crown lands); most important for this book are, from west to east, Tyrol, Styria (capital: Graz), Lower Austria (capital: Vienna, which was also the imperial capital), Bohemia (capital: Prague), Galicia (capital: L'viv), and Bukovina. In many of these provinces, more than one language was used: Tyrol included what is now South Tyrol, populated by German speakers and Italian speakers. In Styria German and Slovenian dominated, in Bohemia Czech and German, and in Galicia Polish and Ukrainian (nowadays western Galicia is part of Poland, and eastern Galicia is part of Ukraine). Finally Bukovina, now divided between Romania and Ukraine, was a multilingual province with German, Yiddish, Ukrainian, and Romanian as the most popular languages; it was home to Chernivtsi University.

One other differentiation deserves mention here—throughout the book I use the designation *Ruthenian* for the language that in the twentieth century became Ukrainian, and *Ruthenians* for the people who used it, for several reasons. First, it was the official designation for Ukrainian in the Habsburg Empire (Рутенський, Руський in Ruthenian, *Ruski* in Polish, and *Ruthenisch* in German). Second, Ruthenian identification differed from Ukrainian identification (which focused on unity with Ukrainians/Little Russians in the Russian Empire) and Russophile identification (which focused on unity with the Russian people and their religion, that is, Orthodox Christianity). Also, Polish speakers lived across all three central European empires: Habsburg, Prussian, and Russian. In the Russian Empire, they were the major population in the semi-autonomous Kingdom of Poland, which was formally stripped of its autonomy in 1867 and renamed Vistula Land. In Prussia most Polish speakers lived in the Province of Posen and in Prussian Silesia.

German, *Germany*, and *Austria* are very flexible terms and are used in the text in a few context-dependent meanings. *Austria* is the most widespread synonym for *Cisleithania*, although it sometimes also meant provinces with a German-speaking majority (i.e., the western part of Cisleithania); in Czech and Polish, *Austrians* were mostly Habsburg Germans. Especially in Bohemia and Galicia, German-speaking Habsburg subjects were also simply called *Germans* (sometimes with regional designations, like *Deutschböhmen* [Bohemian Germans]). These ethnonyms not only differed from language to language (and also depending on the speakers' political outlook) but also varied over time. To do justice to this complexity, but at the same time remain understandable, was one of the major obstacles this work had to face.

Abbreviations

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

AT-OeStA/AVA Unterricht UM allg. Akten Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht und Kultus, Unterrichtsministerium, Allgemeine Reihe, Akten (Austrian State Archives, General Archive of Administration, collection Education and Religion, General Section, Acts)

AT-UAW Archiv der Universität Wien (Archive of the University of Vienna)

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

AUJ Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Archive of the Jagiellonian University)

CDIAL Central'nyj deržhavnyj istoryčnyj archiv Ukraïny, L'viv (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L'viv; Центральний державний історичний архів України, Львів)

DALO Deržavnyj arhiv L'vivśkoï oblasti (State Archive of L'viv Oblast; Державний архів Львівської області)

F. Fond (collection; фонд)

Fasc. Fascicle

FF NU Filozofická Fakulta Německé Univerzity v Praze (Collection of the Philosophical Faculty of the German University in Prague)

IAHR Institute of Austrian Historical Research (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung).

Inv.č. Inventární číslo (inventory number)

LF NU   Lekarská Fakulta Německé Univerzity v Praze (Collection of the Medical Faculty of the German University in Prague)

Kart.   Karton (box)

MED   Medizinische Fakultät (Medical Faculty)

MF   Medizinische Fakultät (Medical Faculty)

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

NA   Národní archiv (National Archives, Prague)

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

Op.   Opys (inventory; Опис)

PA   Personalakte, akt osobowy (personnel record)

PF   Philosophische Fakultät (Philosophical Faculty)

PH   Philosophische Fakultät (Philosophical Faculty)

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

Spr.   Sprava (file; справа)

Sign.   Signatura (signature)

Sygn.   Sygnatura (signature)

UAG   Universitätsarchiv Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (Archive of the University Graz)

UAI   Universitätsarchiv Innsbruck (Archive of the University of Innsbruck)

ÚDAUK   Ústav dějin Univerzity Karlovy a archiv Univerzity Karlovy (Institute of the History of Charles University and Archive of Charles University)

WF   Wydział filozoficzny (Philosophical Faculty)

WL   Wydział lekarski (Medical Faculty)

Z.   Zahl (number of the file, in archival materials)

A Biography of the Academic Space

Shortly before World War I, the professor of Romance languages at Innsbruck, Theodor Gartner, was completing a collection of Ladin folk songs, the outcome of an eight-year project intended to show that Ladinians are distinct from Italians.[1] During his career Gartner had studied in Vienna, then worked as a professor in Chernivtsi (Bukovina) and later in Innsbruck (Tyrol), a route well trodden by Cisleithanian academics. Always interested in Ladinian, he, after arriving in Bukovina, developed an interest in both the languages spoken there, Romanian and Ruthenian, subsequently publishing works on their vocabulary and grammar. Through his efforts, Gartner, a German Austrian with pan-German nationalist tendencies in his later years, thus influenced three national projects.[2] For Ruthenian in particular, Gartner's cooperation with Stepan Smal'-Stoc'kyj, a fellow Vienna graduate working as a professor of Ruthenian language and literature in Chernivtsi, was of utmost importance, marking a symbolic defeat of pro-Russian language reformists.[3] The ideas that they used to underscore the distinctiveness of Ruthenian from Russian were also applied to highlight the uniqueness of Ladinian: the official language was distinguished from any "contaminated dialects," an approach that closely followed the nationalist image of what the perfect language should be.[4]

Gartner's career, which led him from Vienna to Bukovina and Tyrol, was typical for the period analyzed in this book: imperial careering[5] was common among Cisleithanian academics of the time. But there were also other patterns: there were hundreds of unsalaried university lecturers (*Privatdozenten*) who worked at only one university, and a number of early

twentieth-century scholars who migrated from Kiev or Warsaw to L'viv. This book tries to make sense of these patterns and proposes a concise view of the discourses and practices that shaped the Habsburg Empire, in particular its Austrian half, between 1848 and 1918. An analysis of imperial geography, in the modern sense of the social production of space, facilitates combining the centrifugal and centripetal moments that defined the empire: they become complementary rather than contrary processes.

Between 1848 and 1918, the universities of the Habsburg Empire underwent significant changes that corresponded closely with political and social developments in the state and its culture(s). Beginning with the 1848 revolution, a language-bound concept of identity gradually gained importance, slowly replacing loyalty to the state as the guiding political principle. These changes affected the Habsburg Empire (from 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) in many ways. The autonomy of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1867), the detachment of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia (1859/1866), the collapse of the German Confederation (1866), the growing self-governance of Galicia, and multiple nationalistic conflicts shaped the region, its history, and its historiography. At the same time, the Habsburg Empire stood at the intersection of cultural projects that extended beyond its boundaries, most importantly, but not exclusively, the pan-German, pan-Slavic, Polish, and Ukrainian projects. The state borders marking political territory thus crossed other communicative and ideological entities.

The idiosyncrasies of the empire, often adduced when talking about its memory, are analyzed here from a unique angle, that of the institutional academic culture, at universities in particular. As institutions of higher education and scholarship that were closely connected but, I claim, far from identical, universities played a special role in central Europe.[6] Whether universities should produce civil servants or should rather promote scholarship was a key tension in these institutions' identity, which was shaped by complex and often conflicting social and political rules and expectations.

In an increasingly decentralized empire, two needs emerged—the need to educate loyal citizens and the need to foster a cultural identity—and although these were not necessarily contradictory, they increasingly grew apart. This tension was most visible in Galicia, as both Poles and Ruthenians/Ukrainians gravitated toward cultural identities extending beyond the empire; the fostering of these identities would inevitably end in conflict with the Crown. In contrast, the Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian, and other projects

were geographically confined within the Habsburg borders and thus manifested themselves politically in different ways. Pan-German thinking, in versions up to 1918, also confronted the mainline policy of monarchic loyalty inscribed into the power relations of the monarchy, whose pluricultural[7] character contrasted with its politically induced monolingualism.

Shifting loyalties, malleable or multiple identities, nation building, tension, and conflict are the historical contexts on which this work is based. It is concerned, however, with a particular aspect of imperial reality, namely, academic institutions. More precisely, it follows the changes in the structure of academia in Cisleithania based on this region's imperial features. The original goal of this work was to analyze a network of university instructors over a period of sixty years (1848–1918); during this time, nationalists confronted empires, altering the imperial cultural pattern. But while political developments forged division, scholarly developments promoted contact and communication, moving toward internationality. However, to highlight the embedded nature of these processes and their long-lasting effects, I frame them with the dawn and afterlife of what I call here the *imperial academic space*; thus, the narrative of this book spans from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century to the 1930s.

The focus here is thus the schizophrenic tension between supposedly supranational science and national scholarship.[8] This tension, one can argue, is the product of the inscription of science and scholarship into the cultural project of the nation. To a large extent, the present historiography follows the patterns developed during this time when the empire in its geographic totality was gradually becoming divided across linguistic, cultural, and historical entities, each following its own scientific exemplars. Viewed from the perspective of the now-dominant national historiographies, the empire became disentangled, which created loosely adhesive scientific narratives, with the prominent exception of analytic philosophy, whose analysis underscores its multinational existence.[9] At the same time, the "special conditions" characterizing the Habsburg multicultural space have gained more and more scholarly attention in recent decades, with academics tracing the patterns of the influx of cultural conflict.[10] The special conditions of these conflicts, paradigmatic of the Habsburg Empire, can be found across the globe at this time, and their importance for this particular empire is a product of cultural memory.

Thus, what seems to be a study of empire through the prism of scholarship is also a study of scholarship through the prism of empire, or rather

through several prisms in the kaleidoscope of imperial memory. This proposed perspective therefore places a particular network in the foreground, concentrating on the several thousand careers spanning the historical moments of the empire, beginning with the institutionalization of philosophical faculties at universities following the 1848 revolution. In 1848 not only were national wishes expressed, but scientific integration and regulation also began. Until this time, research-based scholarship, except in medicine, had largely been excluded from the universities, finding its place in the seclusion of private or imperial institutions. The number of academies and universities did not change significantly over the subsequent years; from 1849 the so-called Thun-Hohenstein reform (discussed later) provided a solid basis for higher education even beyond the empire. By regarding the universities in Cracow, Chernivtsi (established in 1875), L'viv, Graz, Innsbruck, Prague (divided into two universities in 1882), Vienna, and Olomouc (closed in 1856) not as stable sites but as intersections of networks, I want to decenter the history of scholarship in imperial Austria. While most of the examples I discuss are from the universities in Vienna, Prague, Cracow, and L'viv, I argue that much can be discovered by regarding them as nodes within more broadly defined networks, both Habsburg and central European. Academic developments in Vienna or Cracow cannot be understood without taking those in Innsbruck or Chernivtsi into account, and vice versa. With the help of networks, I present a dynamic and changing space that encompasses all of Habsburg central Europe and, especially after 1918, reaches beyond it. The intellectual distance between Munich and Vienna, or between Warsaw and Cracow, was constantly being redefined, just like the distance between Vienna and Budapest, which grew rapidly in the 1860s.

The network analyzed here thus takes on a new aspect as part of a constantly changing academic structure across (at least) central Europe, closely interwoven with other empires and states that either shared cultural or linguistic traits or invited scholars from the Habsburg Empire to work at their institutions (e.g., the Principality of Bulgaria).[11] This analysis is therefore not only of an imperial space but also of a scholarly one; hence, I prefer to speak of *academic space* as the object of inquiry, with *space* defined as a social entity stretching across political boundaries and accommodating networks that supersede them. Moreover, this space was a dynamic entity; the changing relations among the state, culture, and science/education all affected the social components of the institutions examined here, which in turn influenced the exchange of knowledge. After the demise of the

empire, Habsburg scholars migrated further, to universities in Ljubljana/
Leibach, Brno/Brünn, Warsaw, and Cluj/Klausenburg/Kolozsvár, as well as
via Bratislava/Pozsony/Pressburg to Padua. This initial wave of academic
mass mobility enlarged the network substantially and weakened its ties (a
second wave followed the beginning of National Socialism and finally World
War II only a few years later). The "Cisleithanization" of scholarship in
central Europe, and the Habsburg legacy, with all its shortcomings and ad-
vantages, forms the final point of this narrative.

Intellectual Geographies

Recent decades have witnessed a growth in 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 universal
claims of the mid-twentieth century, a growing literature on both the local
appropriation of knowledge and the local conditions of its production has led
to a reconsideration of scientific space and the processes under way within
it.[12] Space as a new paradigm also aroused the interest of geographers. Most
important, the spatial turn brought about a reevaluation of the influence of
power relations in the scientific process. Concentrating on different sites
where knowledge is produced, and the influence of spatial positioning on
the shape of knowledge, the geography of knowledge extends the scope of
the classic historiography of science and education.[13] Moreover, scholars em-
phasize that circulation is a site of knowledge formation, not simply a space
between centers and peripheries, or between senders and receivers, that has
no epistemic qualities of its own.[14] Yuri (Juri) M. Lotman, for whom the pe-
riphery is a space of increased intellectual productivity because it lacks the
homogenizing power of the center, thus enabling cross-boundary relations
impossible in the center, provided a metatheory for such conceptions of cir-
culation.[15] Below I privilege Lotman's view over that put forward by Michel
Foucault, for whom space was controlled by the center, while peripheries
had only limited possibilities for innovation.[16]

One of the most important changes resulting from this approach is the
notion that space is not something "out there" but an entity produced by
repetitive actions that are influenced, but not determined, by social, cul-
tural, and political contexts.[17] For instance, the production of space through
the construction of railroads united vast regions of the United States and

the Russian Empire, creating a sense of togetherness and state unity more decisively than any legal measures could have.[18] Recent work on higher education in the United States and Britain has highlighted universities as similarly unity-promoting institutions. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, universities, although rooted in local circumstances, remained crucial parts of the unifying networks of education; norms and values were transferred at the same rate as scholars.[19] The tensions among the state/empire, ephemeral transnational science, and local cultural, social, and religious contexts were obvious, but skillful mediation created a network of institutions guided by the same norms, thus supporting the state that imposed them. As different as universities became, they were part of the project of intellectual unification—*e pluribus unum*, to use the slogan of the time.

While hierarchies and hegemonies influence the production of space, the spatial turn pays more attention to how people live in the space, exploring the possibilities offered by its contingency. This also means that the center-periphery structure is socially constructed, even if it is perpetuated by politics and accumulated prestige.[20] Works on the Spanish and German university systems clearly show how certain universities became centers, thereby influencing outcomes for the system as a whole.[21] However, while politics played an immense role, the structuring of academic space in Continental Europe into universities of entrance, universities of promotion, and final-station universities (*Einstiegsuniversität*, *Promotionsuniversität*, and *Endstationsuniversität*), as German historian Marita Baumgarten has named the different types of institutions, was a long-lasting process resulting more from the accumulation of cultural capital than from academic policy or financial issues.

The present work draws attention to another academic space: the university system of the late Habsburg Empire, and more precisely its Cisleithanian ("Austrian") part.[22] Not acknowledged as an empire *sensu stricto*, the area enclosed by Habsburg imperial boundaries witnessed in the sixty years between the "Spring of Nations" in 1848 and the "War of Nations" in 1914–18 a nexus of concurrent imperialism and nationalism, or of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies.[23] At the same time, it had to accommodate differing geographic projects, as stable "cultural nations" exceeded the monarchy's boundaries and became more and more bound to spaces defined by linguistic affinities. The identity issue of being a loyal national and imperial subject (either both or one or the other; the two were by no means mutually exclusive) was experienced both collectively and individually through inscriptions in

everyday procedures, communication, and ideological networks as well as outbreaks of ceremonial patriotism.[24] While these identity projects differed depending on the historical situation and the cultural implementation (for example, the resuscitation of the idea of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or pan-German ideology), their interdependent development shared a common pattern subsumed under the banner of change from civic-cum-territorial to ethnocultural nationalism.[25]

Given its idiosyncrasies, the Habsburg Empire has recently been the subject of extensive research that has analyzed the contemporary nature of the putatively exclusive processes of state loyalty and ethnocultural nationalism. The history of science has, however, only recently taken note of this peculiar imperio-national space, previously confined to national narratives, and it has often merely produced recollections of particular institutional pasts in its function as an archivist of local memories. While the attention has recently shifted from nation to empire,[26] I argue that concentrating on the parallelism and interaction of national and imperial projects sheds more light on the sociogeographic character of knowledge in the central European "laboratory of world history" than does an either-or choice.[27] This work thus focuses on the development of science and scholarship in the space between the projects of empires and the projects of nations. The mediations and tensions that occurred between the needs and demands of scholarship and those of education serve as an example of scientific interacademic mobility, through which such spatial ambiguities can best be visualized.

Academic mobility did not stop with the end of the empires. Even if the sociocultural contexts are different, an analysis of the Habsburg scholarly peregrinations can say much about when policies of exchange bear the most fruit and how long-term the effects of these policies are. The Erasmus mobility program and the Bologna Process have, in different ways, been acknowledged as tools for bringing Europeans together and fostering a common, if not unitary, identity.[28] To a large extent, these programs intend to reconcile schisms that the nineteenth century produced.[29] Indeed, many parts of this book are concerned with how and why universities became national outposts, but also when they started to be international again.

Contrary to historians of nationalism, I argue that the nationalization of the peripheries was itself a reaction to processes that began in Vienna, the intellectual center.[30] Just as in the nineteenth century Slavic activists opposed the politically induced prevalence of German as the medium of education (not the traditional role of German as the language of publication), in the

twentieth and twenty-first centuries scholars from universities that utilized, for example, German or French as their academic language are reacting to the imposition of English as the lingua franca of scholarship.[31] They do not oppose publishing in English so much as *having* to publish in English, including in disciplines that are intrinsically local, like regional historiography.

Habsburg Space(s)

The Habsburg space was occupied by the irony of contesting spatiality. After this area was divided in 1867 into territories centered on the "Garden" (Vienna) and the "Workshop" (Budapest),[32] the increasing number of nationalities brought about new forms of spatial conflict, between staging the empire and staging the nation.[33] This duality had developed slowly over time. When in 1851 the professors at the Jagiellonian University greeted Franz Joseph in their traditional togas instead of the prescribed clerk uniforms, stressing their independent traditions, this was met with serious political consequences. Less than thirty 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 different perceptions of the historical importance of this event.[34] Throughout the nineteenth century, the university buildings across Cisleithania represented intellectual unity visually and publicly, but in the second half of the century, they increasingly did so only in German-language universities, including Chernivtsi. The Collegium Novum in Cracow (completed in 1887) and a new building at the University of L'viv (conceived in 1912 but never realized) were purposefully designed to include "Polish" elements.[35] The space changed with shifting political affiliations as well; in 1907 universities throughout the empire protested the violation of university autonomy in the case of Ludwig Wahrmund, which also provoked the first demonstration by Czech and German students since 1859. Here, the existence of a common enemy—conservative clerics—largely overcame national differences, uniting the empire.

During the nineteenth century, the Habsburg space also gradually moved from the unity of an empire held together by the monarchy and the German language toward the political dualism of one monarch and two distinctive parliaments for its respective halves, characterized by different state languages, German and Hungarian. The fabric of languages and politics, including the language of education, grew apart not only along the divisions

between Cis- and Transleithania but also within these semi-autonomous entities. National languages increased in importance, and German, the de jure nonnational language of the empire that was endowed with imperial and national allure, witnessed a decrease in practicality in the face of opposition by nationalists.[36] Academia was directly included in this process, influencing it and being influenced by it. Moreover, the spatial projects of different nationalist activists overlapped to create hierarchies, particularly in Galicia, where Poles controlled the provincial Diet, creating micro-imperialisms.[37]

The growing influence of nationalist discourses meant that projects to consolidate imperial space could no longer be induced by the center.[38] The empire's policy-driven structure led to conflicts, for example, the Badeni Crisis of 1897. The introduction of compulsory bilingualism in Bohemian government offices led to serious opposition from German-speaking politicians and nationalist activists, who saw this measure as undermining their privileged position, not as promoting equality or improving communication for Czechs.[39]

At the same time, the national space was increasingly represented as different from the imperial space, having its own boundaries as well as a distinct history and culture. The eminent Prague historian František Palacký created, for example, an ethnicity-based history of Bohemia, in which Czechs and Germans constituted historically disparate factors, divided by language, religion, and folklore.[40] Polish-language scholarship energetically pursued research based on the space of the Commonwealth despite political restrictions.[41] The legal distinctiveness of some Habsburg provinces and historical non-Habsburg state traditions had already been the subject of treatises in the first half of the nineteenth century. A similar strategy was seen in the late nineteenth century for Ruthenians/Ukrainians, whose historical ethno-spaces were divided between the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Empire.[42] In comparison to Czech nationalists, who imagined autonomy within the Habsburg Empire, both Polish and Ruthenian nationalists' imagination went beyond Galicia's boundaries; in particular, the Polish nationalists early on envisaged the reunification of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Recall, however, that the Commonwealth generally did not mean an independent national state but rather an autonomous entity within the Habsburg Empire, as Austro-Slavism and loyalty to the emperor were popular in Galicia, in large part because of the threat of Russian imperialism, which was often referred to and was commonly codified in writing and popular culture.

The strengthening of national projects, which influenced all areas of cultural life, took place within the framework of Habsburg culture and the empire's intellectual atmosphere. What was, however, the Habsburg imperial scientific space as imagined and practiced by scholars? A brief glance at its strategies and institutions should clarify this. The role of scholarship-related policy in structuring the Habsburg academic space can be illustrated by the opening of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste) in Vienna in 1847. Klemens Wenzel Metternich, the minister of state (1821–48), saw it as both a state-controlled "valve" for scholars—fulfilling their wish to have an institution to further their work and thus easing political tensions previously fueled by the lack of such a place—and a means to improve Habsburg's standing internationally.[43] During the discussions on the creation of the academy, its supraregional character was somewhat disputed both by proponents of a strong Viennese center for science and by those who wanted the Viennese academy to reach the same level as the provincial learned societies of the time. Among the nominees in 1847 and early 1848 were not only Viennese scholars (who constituted about half the nominees) but also Czech-Bohemian, Hungarian, and Italian scholars, signifying the unity of the Habsburg scientific community at that time.[44] Galicia, symbolically incorporated through Josef Russegger, a geologist and the administrator of the salt mines in Wieliczka/Großsalze (a corresponding member[45] of the academy in 1848), was officially excluded owing to the political turmoil in Galicia. Michał Wiszniewski, a professor of Polish literature in Cracow, was proposed as a corresponding member in 1848, but his nomination was rejected by the emperor.[46] The first Polish and Ruthenian scholars were chosen only in the late nineteenth century.

The academy was to be imperial, as its name indicates; in reality, it never was. Non-German-speaking authors rarely published in its periodicals or participated in its book series. Creating the image of a united monarchy, the series Fontes Rerum Austriacarum (Austrian historical sources) included sources on imperial spaces that, although centered on Vienna, also included Bohemia in the fifteenth century (see volume 20 of the version edited by František Palacký in 1860).[47] Apart from a number of works on various Habsburg monasteries, the most attention was paid to Veneto, a part of the monarchy that the Habsburgs were gradually losing at the time. One can also find documents on and from Carniola, Istria, and Transylvania but not Galicia. Indeed, the series Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Bohemicarum,

Polonicarum (!), Hungaricarum, and Italicarum[48] were planned, but the suggestion of a state history encompassing local histories was soon replaced by an Austriacarum rather than a Habsburgicarum. The introduction and description of the objectives of the series, despite occupying several pages in the first ten volumes, were soon removed. Nationally oriented editions of sources appeared outside of the series, such as Augustyn Bielowski's six-volume *Monumenta Poloniae Historica = Pomniki dziejowe Polski* (Polish historical monuments, 1863–92), which opened with documents on Slavs in the Vistula region, and Antoni Zygmunt Helcel's *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki* (Monuments of old Polish laws), published from 1856 on, envisaging an empire-transgressing space. *Monumenta historiae Bohemica* (Bohemian historical monuments) (with a secondary title in Czech, *Staré paměti českých dějin* [Bohemian/Czech historical monuments]) was later published under the supervision of Anton (Antonín) Gindely in Prague from 1865 on.

While the imperial academy was intended to synthesize the forces concentrated in local academies, its mutation into an "Austrian" academy proved to be an obstacle to communication. To begin with, it had different competences than the local proto-academies (i.e., the scientific societies), not to mention the national academies (e.g., the French and British ones). As James E. McClellan has discussed, academies across Europe shared similar structures, competences, and scopes.[49] However, while the imperial academy was in many ways similar to other academies across Europe, the most important proto-academies in the Habsburg monarchy were in fact structured differently, and they had different aims. Regional proto-academies of science such as the Cracow Scientific Society (Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie) and the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia (Vaterländisches Museum in Böhmen / Vlastenecké muzeum v Čechách, known after 1848 as the České museum [Bohemian/Czech Museum] and from 1854 as the Museum Království českého [Museum of the Czech Kingdom])[50] concentrated on the development of science and scholarship in their national tongues after 1848. The Society of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia (Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen, established in 1818) began life as a multicultural Bohemian institution, but under the reign of Palacký, it soon turned to publishing predominantly on the past and present of Czechs in Bohemia. From its inception, the Cracow Scientific Society (established in 1815, incorporated in 1846 in Galicia) aimed to expand Polish-language scholarship through literary research and the development of a scientific

language. While membership in the Society of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia was limited to Bohemians, especially members of the aristocracy, the Cracow society consisted mostly of professors from the Jagiellonian University. Nevertheless, these organizations did not actually function as societies of a multicultural space because their concentration on the national language restricted publishing and lecturing opportunities for other scholars. The reorganization of these societies into fully developed academies (both named after Franz Joseph, of course) supported the empire's division into national spaces. Members of the Franz Joseph Czech Academy for Science, Literature and the Arts (Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, established in 1890) were forbidden from publishing in languages other than Czech in the academy's journals. The Academy of Arts and Sciences (Akademia Umiejętności, from 1919 the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences [Polska Akademia Umiejętności]), which was born out of the Cracow Scientific Society, was in an even more awkward position, as the region within which it could recruit faculty members exceeded the empire's borders, while the legal system differentiated between state-defined "provincial" (*krajowy*) and "foreign" (*zagraniczny*) members, with both sections limited in numbers. Here, the imperial boundary intersected with the national geography; one of the main criticisms of the academy was that it did not include the most renowned Polish scholars and thus did not represent the entire Polish cultural space. Similarly, the Ševčenko Scientific Society in L'viv (Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenka, established in 1873) was formally restricted to Galicia, although it in fact included Ukrainians from both the Russian and Habsburg Empires. In 1907 an identical scientific society opened in Kiev; its first head was Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj from L'viv, who not only transferred the structure of the society but also created a parallel set of journals.

The transimperial character of the Ševčenko Scientific Society after 1907 may be considered an exception, but nationalist efforts to exceed the imperial space had symbolic importance. One of the most important ideas was the symbolic assertion of their nonimperial space, for example, through cooperation in matters related to printing. The dissemination of books from other empires was often restricted; thus, many works were printed in two or three publishing houses in different empires. Helcel's *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, for instance, was published in Warsaw but using type from Cracow.[51]

This symbolic creation of a space for scholarship cannot be restricted to national spaces, however. In the first half of the nineteenth century in particular, the idea of a Slavic brotherhood united the Slavs of the Habsburg Empire. Perceiving a lack of an educated public within national spaces, several journals addressed "Slavs" as an existing public capable of reading each other's languages. The *Kwartalnik naukowy, wydawany w połączeniu prac miłośników umiejętności* (Scholarly quarterly, edited in cooperation with lovers of knowledge), edited by Helcel from 1835 to 1837, included Slavic and German scholars in its board of editors. With an openly antinationalist viewpoint, it strove to review as many works from Slavic literature as works written in other languages.[52] The Czech-language journal *Krok: Weřegný spis wšenaučný pro wzdělance národu Česko-Slowanského* (Krok: Public general scientific journal for the educated people of the Czech-Slav nation, 1821–40) similarly addressed a non-German space, oscillating between a Czech (ethnic) space, a Czech-Slovak (language) space, and a Slavic space. It was also ironic that the Slavic space lacked a precise definition. In the introduction to the journal, Jan Svatopluk Presl defined Slavs in opposition to Germans but acknowledged that this was a foreign definition, because Slavs also differed internally.[53] The term *pan-Slavic*, initially as a counterpart to *pan-German*, introduced another space of interaction, which was subsequently tightened to create a space reminiscent of the German Confederation. The pan-Slavic movement did not go beyond this definition; it lacked not only a mythology but also a communicative basis and, most important, regular interaction. At the first Slavic Congress of 1848, it was already visible that the nationalists' focus on national languages threw the claim of the unity of the Slavic language into oblivion. Subsequently, pan-Slavism not only failed in practice but was criticized as a cheap substitute for internationalism;[54] pan-Slavic academic interaction perhaps did not cease to exist,[55] but it became of only tertiary importance, after its heyday in the *Vormärz* (Pre-March) period and during neoabsolutism.

Despite their concentration on nationality as their primary point of reference, most Habsburg institutions retained international and thus intercultural components. On the one hand, this was driven by the membership of foreign (i.e., nonnational) scholars in local academies, awarded mostly to prominent scholars but also to scholars who had a particular political alignment within the empire. For example, the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow nominated Heinrich Zeissberg, a former professor of history in L'viv

and a specialist on the "Polish" Middle Ages, as well as Eduard Suess, a geologist and politician who before becoming president of the imperial academy in Vienna opposed the existence of the University of L'viv.[56] On the other hand, the imperial academy in Vienna organized pan-Habsburg projects and commissions, aiming to include scholars representing all of the Cisleithanian provinces. In contrast, provincial organizations that had previously been transcultural mostly became battlefields of conflicting interests and slowly turned into monolingual organizations; for them, an exchange with scholars with different cultural allegiances was itself a form of internationalism.

Overview of the Chapters

To do justice to the differing spatial projects in the empire, this book takes the perspective of academic institutions and their governing body, namely, the Ministry of Religion and Education (Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht). I follow a biographical perspective, looking at the gestation, birth, maturation, and demise of the academic system in the monarchy. The story does not end with the dissolution of the monarchy, though, since the successor states drew not only their academic cadres but also their models for a university system from their shared past.

I begin my narrative with a description of the Habsburg scientific landscape of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, showing how certain seeds of cultural differentiation were planted (but did not bloom) under Metternich's regime. After the revolution in 1848, the immediate changes in university policy implemented many liberal measures within Habsburg scholarship. These were systematized and put into practice under the minister of education Leo Thun-Hohenstein,[57] with whom chapter 2 is concerned. Both in theory and in practice, this period was instrumental in not only producing a common Habsburg academic space but also filling it with a particular ideologically laden approach to knowledge; the scholarly appointments made during this time meant that this approach remained influential throughout the century. This policy also introduced institutions that became instrumental in promoting the disintegration of the common space; in particular, the philosophical faculties changed universities from producers of civil servants to producers of culture, which made that faculty an easy object of nationalist agitation. The linguistic disintegration that began in

1848, however, encountered a serious backlash because of the neoabsolutist political atmosphere.

I argue in chapter 3 that the most important changes took place in the 1860s, when, after Thun-Hohenstein's resignation, subsequent ministers practiced a much more liberal policy than had been possible during neo-absolutism. They allowed university autonomy to be implemented, which affected both scholarship and the language of instruction. The discussions over language also show how the initially imperial idea of Kultur-Bildung (culture-education) became inscribed into the national rhetoric of the German-language elites of western Cisleithania and how it was translated into national claims by other Habsburg cultures.

It is precisely this process, along with the onset of liberalism in the lin-guistic subsystems of Cisleithania, that I deal with in chapters 4 and 5. All three spaces—Czech, German-Austrian, and Polish—developed in different directions over time. The German-language universities, initially included in all pan-German networks, became more isolated after the Austro-Prussian War. The empire thus grew more reliant on its own graduates, who were mostly educated in Vienna and eventually sent out to work at provincial universities. A hierarchy of universities stabilized toward the end of the nineteenth century: at the top was Vienna, overrun with Privatdozenten but appointing only well-known scholars as professors, whereas Innsbruck and Chernivtsi were at the bottom: they had almost no Privatdozenten, and professors frequently spent only a few years there before being appointed to a larger university. Galicia, however, was open to scholars from abroad from the 1870s on. Through the appointment of scholars from the Russian and German Empires as well as frequent habilitations by graduates from these two states, its universities became monolingual but multicultural. By contrast, the Czech University of Prague drew from Bohemian and Moravian institutions and, except during the period immediately after the university split into two, experienced almost no exchanges with the rest of the empire or abroad. It did, however, seek to retain international cooperation through different means. At the same time, the universities in Prague and Galicia were undergoing a process of intrafaculty differentiation across ideological lines, which grew stronger toward 1900.

Importantly, the spatial processes described here were vital for shap-ing scientific advancement in the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire. They led to diminishing movement of scholars across the Czech, German,

and Polish subsystems and the intensification of other forms of exchange. However, spatial issues also determined the development of a disciplinary nexus in the empire, as the durable (i.e., codified) diversification of disciplines was also hierarchical, and thus connected to the spatially determined hierarchy of universities, as were the migratory networks.

With the ongoing division of academic spaces, issues of religious denomination, which I discuss in chapter 6, remained problematic for universities. First, Jewish scholars, although admitted as Privatdozenten, were underrepresented in higher positions. Increasing anti-Semitism, which occasionally turned violent in Innsbruck, Graz, and Prague, inhibited the appointment of Jewish scholars from Vienna, where numerous Privatdozenten were Jewish, creating glass ceilings and "invisible ghetto walls" that hindered their careers. At the same time, Jewishness was redefined from a religious to an ethnic and cultural category. While conversion represented a possible loophole in the anti-Semitic legal policy of the 1850s, the boundaries of Jewishness were defined more in terms of ethnicity in the late nineteenth century. While being Jewish and German was hardly a contradiction for most people, the populist discourse across the empire tended toward exclusive definitions.

World War I led to institutional disintegration and division across the intellectual landscape of central Europe. As I show in chapter 7, not only did the legacy of the empire dominate the many possible models of university education, but scholars from Cisleithanian universities shaped the institutions of the interwar period, with regard to both science and organization. However, this postwar Cisleithanization of central Europe, which brought forward fascinating innovative trends (e.g., analytic philosophy throughout the space in question), cannot be understood without the changes already set in motion in the Thun-Hohenstein era.

Finally, I want to mention two groups who are not heroes of my story but are indeed largely touched by it. First, women's academic careers were obstructed and made impossible for many years. It was only in 1905 that the first woman habilitated at a Habsburg university—Elise Richter. Indeed, it was precisely the atmosphere I described in chapter 6 that reinforced this exclusion.[58] The second group is the geographically immobile scholars, who make up the majority of the scholars I examine when looking at career patterns.[59] In the later nineteenth century, this group also faced the negative effects of the mobility requirement. While I describe how this group came into being and offer a more optimistic view of their careers than their

exclusion would imply, I do not engage with their lives and careers in detail. I see their story, however, in terms of different career choices, not academic failure, and I offer examples illustrating that a university professorship was not always the preferred career choice. Especially given the recent situation in the global academic job market, the story of the academic precariat is probably more necessary than ever, and this book should serve as an invitation for future scholars to tell it.

Centralizing Science for the Empire

There is no freedom of discussion and of thought; for each science there is one compulsory . . . textbook, from which nowhere and never, not even in oral commentaries, one is allowed to drift. A student's memory is strengthened at the cost of his intelligence; his head is filled with an abundance of unbeneficial, unpractical things, so that there is no room left for thinking, —his character, his moral education are totally neglected. . . . That is why one finds few or no students at the Austrian schools who were called there by the love of science, or an interest in the things one can learn. Almost all attendees see their studies as a necessary evil, as an unavoidable means to arrive some day at an official function, or rather at the remuneration that all of them envision in the distance as the only aim of their golden dreams.

—Viktor Andrian Werburg, Österreich und dessen Zukunft[1]

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

—Ministry of Religion and Education, 1897[2]

The assessment of Cisleithanian universities published anonymously by the liberal politician Viktor Andrian Werburg (see epigraph) introduces the topic of the structure of the scholarly landscape before 1848. During the nineteenth century, questions of what "science and scholarship" meant, what

place they would have in universities, and what the function of universities would be were raised several times, leading to a variety of solutions. Some of the most influential changes were the reforms of 1849, when the new Ministry of Religion and Education not only reformed the universities but also rewrote their histories.[3] The connection between politics and history writing was particularly evident in 1853, as the conservative faction of the Habsburg Parliament pilloried the liberal reforms, while historians and publicists allied with the ministry crafted a gloomy picture of pre-1848 academic misery. Many later historians, up to the present day, have accepted this picture rather uncritically, repeating the story of how Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein triggered the takeoff of higher education immediately after the revolution of 1848.[4]

In this chapter I challenge this view. I claim that the criticisms of pre-1848 Habsburg scholarship are often linked with a conceptual imposition of the post-1848 idea of academia and that, instead, one has to accept the functional dualism of scholarship during the first half of the nineteenth century. Early nineteenth-century scholarly endeavors can tell us much about how different political activists perceived the role of scholarship in the Habsburg Empire. At the same time, this period shows two different models of spatial structure in Habsburg scholarship: one accentuating a decentralized and multilingual monarchy and one promoting the primacy of Vienna and the German language.

Before 1848 Habsburg universities were institutions for the production of loyal subjects, while the primary places for the production of scientific knowledge in the empire included museums, state collections, libraries, botanical and zoological gardens, pharmacies, and a number of more or less formal societies and clubs. The latter, especially, played a prominent role by hosting and financing renowned scholars. The imperial cabinets in Vienna, as well as the imperial library, held resources that attracted researchers from all over the empire, and the state supported such endeavors by awarding positions to the most scholarly and politically suitable individuals. While these positions were mostly administrative, for example, as a head librarian or curator, they allowed enough time for research, making them crucial for the production of new knowledge. Universities were at the time far from the importance they achieved in the second half of the century. They were rather like high schools, concerned more with the education of civil servants than with the development of scholarship. Although fostering scholarly interest among students was not their primary aim, university professors

were still often internationally renowned scholars, especially in the sciences and medicine.

Even the University of Vienna, located amid formidable imperial collections, "did not enjoy a good reputation in the learned world."[5] The exception was the medical sciences, for which Habsburg universities were renowned well beyond central Europe.[6] Lorenz Oken, the famous natural scientist and foremost organizer of pan-German scholarly communication through his journal *Isis* (established in 1816) and his role in the creation of the Congresses of German Natural Scientists and Physicians (Versammlungen Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte), wrote in 1818 a fitting description of the problems Habsburg scholarship encountered, commenting on the inauguration of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia. Praising the collections in Graz, Prague, and Vienna as some of the most interesting in Europe, he stated that they would not lead to scientific development if they were not included in the communication network of science: "What do you do with it? Nothing. Nothing. And once more nothing."[7] In particular, he blamed repressive censorship 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 scholar stimulates scholar. If you had a lively general literary life and work . . . they [the scholars] would be allowed to write everything that the wind whispers in their ears."[8]

Censorship, which inhibited intellectual exchange within the monarchy as well as with scholars in other countries, figured in critical writings almost universally as the main hurdle to scientific flourishing. However, a second factor, the lack of scholars in the centralized scientific institutions, was also seen as a serious obstacle, not only by Habsburg scholars but also by foreigners, such as the British surgeon William Wilde.

Reporting on his journey to the empire in 1843, Wilde portrayed Vienna as a city with a lively scholarly production, especially in medicine (pathological anatomy and ophthalmology), and a profound scholarly history. He wrote, "It is more than Egiptian blindness in them [the Austrian monarchy and the ruling house] to remain passive spectators of the overpowering efforts of the Sclaves [Slavs] and Magyars, and not to strengthen and bind together . . . the German elements of the constitution." 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 to the Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians, to whom academies are permitted."[9]

Wilde denounced what the German-Austrian scientific landscape lacked in comparison to international (here, British) standards. First, despite the existence of scientific productivity, this was not channeled through journals under the auspices of a centralized academy that could place its stamp of approval on them. Nor was it possible to coordinate the work of different institutions. For example, there were no meetings for "mutual instruction" by scholars, where they could exchange ideas and steer joint projects.[10] Second, Wilde saw Habsburg scholarship as an outcome of networks of scholars from the varying cultures, which he called races. Vienna, a symbol of German culture in the empire and thus of the German Confederation, lagged, in this Briton's eyes, behind Pest, Prague, Milan, and Venice in intellectual productivity. For observers trained in the British Empire, by 1843 the Habsburg Empire was already characterized by ongoing conflict among clearly defined cultures rather than being a multicultural ensemble embodying peaceful cooperation.

Wilde clearly grasped some of the main characteristics of the empire, in which multiple languages coexisted but scientific communication was limited by scholars' lack of linguistic skills. The ongoing development of national bibliographies and dictionaries, and the growing scholarly and literary production in national languages, prevented an overview of the empire's cultural production as a whole; this production was attributed to the different linguistic groups, not to the empire.

But the problem was not the growing number of publications in Slavic languages but the hegemonic structure of language competence. While Slavic scholars read and used German (among other languages), German scholars could read French, Italian, or English but rarely the other languages of the empire. In 1830 the influential journalist Franz Sartori criticized this German-centrism of the empire, reminding his colleagues that "the *German* language is *not the sole* language in the Austrian Empire"[11] and arguing for cultural cooperation and the overcoming of linguistic boundaries. Although the idea of the *Gesammt-Monarchie* (lit., Whole-Monarchy, i.e., a unified monarchy) was supported in various ways, this rarely went so far as to include educational multilingualism; there was no acknowledgment of the multitude of literary languages suitable for higher education. Sartori was also unique in showing an interest in the cultural life of the periphery while himself being part of the political center; he stressed the Habsburg ideals of cultural autonomy and productivity to his German-speaking readers. Most scholars preferred to look toward other centers, France or the other

lands of the German Confederation, disregarding what was happening in different languages within their own state. Habsburg scholars participated in the Congresses of German Natural Scientists and Physicians, with the twenty-first congress even taking place in Graz in 1843.[12] However, there was no congress of Habsburg science to foster a common identity, as the congresses in other states or empires did, or even the congresses that spanned state boundaries, as in Scandinavia.[13] In addition, it seems that only a few people such as Sartori even desired such a gathering.

Composite Scholarship in a Composite Monarchy?

With the support of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, in the course of the late eighteenth century German became the primary language of the empire. This met with opposition from Magyar and Slavic language activists, who were increasingly expressing their desire for their languages to be treated on a par with German. The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw an increasing number of apologies for the Slavic languages, which aimed to reevaluate the linguistic hierarchies within the public and political spheres.[14] A centralization process during the reign of Maria Theresa, intended to unite the empire, did just the opposite, instead forging patriotic identities that increasingly aligned themselves with the different languages of the provinces. In turn, interest in the humanities in general began to grow among the provincial elites, resulting in the creation of scholarly societies.

Intending to forge interest in regional histories and languages, from the early nineteenth century the aristocracy began bringing forward and supporting various scholars, who, paid and partly sheltered from governmental policy by the aristocracy, could publish and travel with fewer constraints than scholars employed at the imperial institutions. This new aristocratic interest in scholarship also led to the establishment of the first scholarly societies in the Habsburg Empire. While a large number of such societies survived for less than a year, and several lingered longer, a few began to evolve into small academies of science.[15] Similarly, the aristocracy founded provincial museums, such as the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia (Prague), the Hungarian National Museum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum) in Pest, the Joanneum in Graz (Styria), the Moravian-Silesian Museum (Mährisch-Schlesisches Museum) in Brno, and the Lubomirski Museum (Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich, a branch of the Ossoliński Scientific Institute [Zakład

Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich]) in L'viv, with the principal aim of forging both scholarship and local patriotism.[16] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these provincial institutions were still linked to a strong sense of patriotic regionalism, rather than to the resuscitation or invention of nations. In most cases, this local patriotism was also not linguistically exclusive but rather inclusive, seeking to unite regional peoples from all social and linguistic groups. The aristocratic patronage enabled the museums to be active internationally and encouraged scientific development irrespective of political limitations.[17] In fact, the scholars and institutions supported by aristocrats enjoyed to a certain extent a better situation than those financed directly by the empire, which were under closer scrutiny from Vienna. The learned societies in Bohemia and Galicia were able to realize various versions of provincial scholarship in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In Prague the Private Society in Bohemia for the Development of Mathematics, the Fatherland's History, and Natural History (Private Gesellschaft in Böhmen, zur Aufnahme der Mathematik, der vaterländischen Geschichte und der Naturgeschichte), an aristocratic organization founded around 1771, included representatives of several noble Bohemian families. It was strictly a regionally bound institution that aimed to foster research on provincial and regional topics and to catch up with "German" cities, where academies had already reinforced universities, as Ignaz Born wrote in the introduction to the first volume of the society's proceedings.[18] In 1784 Joseph II and the Studienhofkommission (the Aulic Educational Commission, serving as the de facto Ministry of Education) denied the society status as a learned academy. The society was, however, allowed to use university facilities; it received one room in the Prague Carolinum (from 1828, two rooms), and its bylaws were approved. In 1791 Leopold II awarded the society royal status, and from then on it was known under the bilingual name Königliche böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften / Královská česká společnost nauk (the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences), uniting Bohemian scholars regardless of their language or religious affiliation.[19] The society's links with the aristocracy ensured a stable financial situation, allowing it to grant awards, subsidies, and scholarships and to publish *Gelehrte Nachrichten* (Learned news, 1771–72) and, later, *Abhandlungen* (Treatises).[20]

In Galicia, in contrast, the first provincial learned society was established only in 1827, when Count Joseph Maximilian (Józef Maksymilian) Ossoliński, the imperial librarian in Vienna, opened the Ossoliński Scientific Institute (Ossolineum) in L'viv after ten years of preparation. Ossoliński was

an amateur historian, primarily interested in source research;[21] however, he was internationally known and was one of only three Habsburg scholars invited to become members of the Society for Older German History (Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde), which edited the prominent series Monumenta Germaniae Historica.[22] The Ossolineum, devised as a provincial institution, increasingly became a Polish one, however. In the 1830s the institute printed conspiratorial writings and edited sources on the November Uprising (1830–31); as a result, it was placed under police control, and its activities were severely limited. It was revived only after 1848. Despite its struggles, it continued to forge an understanding between the speakers of the two Galician languages, bringing together the allegiances of Polish and Ruthenian scholars.[23] The Ossolineum was also linked to other Polish institutions in Cracow, Warsaw, and Poznań/Posen, and its publications clearly envisioned a space different from the Galician one.[24] The Cracow Academic Society Linked with the University of Cracow (Societatis Litterariae cum Universitate Studiorum Cracoviense Conjunctae / Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim połączone) became a cradle of Polish-language scholarship after 1815, even if it was of only local importance because it was part of the Free City of Cracow (1815–46).

In the period before 1863, however, it was in the Grand Duchy of Posen and the Russian Empire's Kingdom of Poland (from 1867 Vistula Land) that Polish-language scholarship thrived, escaping Metternich's censorship.[25] In particular, the Russian Empire provided, until 1831, very favorable conditions for universities under the protection of the tsar and the local aristocracy, allowing them to teach in Polish.[26] In Prussia chairs of Slavic languages were created at the universities in Berlin and Wrocław/Breslau, and societies concentrating on Slavic languages and history emerged; several of the émigrés from the Habsburg Empire who were teaching in Prussia moved back to the Habsburg Empire after 1848 and were instrumental in Habsburg government measures to strengthen loyalty after that time.[27]

While the Ossolineum was an independent, private institution, Ruthenian scholarship flourished around state-sponsored institutions, namely, the Studium Ruthenum (Студіум рутенум), established in 1787, and the Stauropegion Institute (Stavropihiys'ky Instytut, or Ставропігійський інститут), established in 1788 as the Greek Catholic successor to the Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood (Uspens'ke Bratstvo).[28] Both were closely associated with the Greek Catholic Church, and both educated and organized

Ruthenian elites around it, including hosting a printing house for Ruthenian literature. The Studium was an autonomous part of the university that offered lectures in Church Slavonic.[29] The institute, headed by the historian and archivist Denys Zubryc'kyj (Денис Зубрицький), had a high scholarly profile and served as a meeting place for L'viv's Ruthenian intellectuals.

Zubryc'kyj's works illustrate, however, the political essence of the debates about Ruthenian culture. While striving to underscore Ruthenians' distinctiveness from Poles, Zubryc'kyj saw Ruthenians as a branch of Rus' culture, united by the use of Church Slavonic. A new generation of Ruthenian nationalists, however, pleaded for cultural development based on the vernacular spoken in Galicia.[30] However, the church's influence also hindered such vernacular-language ideologies: *Rusalka Dněstrovaja* (The nymph of the Dniester), published anonymously in Buda in 1837 by three Studium students, set the standards for late nineteenth-century vernacular Ruthenian.[31] Nevertheless, strong opposition from church authorities prevented it from finding as many supporters as intended. *Rusalka Dněstrovaja* was published in Buda to escape Galician censorship (it had been rejected by a Galician censor for Ruthenian literature, the professor of moral theology Venedykt Levyc'kyj [Венедикт Левицький]). Yet its circulation was hampered by the L'viv metropolitan Mychajlo Levyc'kyj (Михайло Левицький), who bought almost the entire run of the first edition.[32] Moreover, church authorities exiled all three authors to small villages as priests, which impeded their future activities. While the language issue for Galician Greek Catholics was not set before 1848, it was clear that the gap between different groups was increasing and was being translated into ethnic terms. Indeed, the idea of introducing a Polish-based alphabet to write Galician Ruthenian attracted only a few—predominantly, but not exclusively, Polish nationalists claiming Ruthenian as a Polish dialect.[33]

The development of provincial societies concentrating on language and history shaped both the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the monarchy. In the latter, Ferenc Széchényi founded a museum and library as early as 1802 but succeeded in creating the Hungarian Learned Society (Magyar Tudós Társásag) only in 1825. In line with other learned institutions, this society concentrated in its early years on developing a Hungarian scientific language and literature as well as modernizing scholarship in the Hungarian part of the monarchy.[34] The society clearly supported the idea of cultural distinctiveness for the Hungarian Crown, although this was not its primary aim; this was also not the same as supporting the goal of political autonomy.[35]

With time, regional societies, initially pluricultural and not tied to a particular national group, were increasingly inscribed into nationalistic policies, and their resources were used to propagate different national positions. Paradigmatic here is the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia. In the article advertising the opening of the museum in 1818, Franz Graf von Kolowrat clearly depicted science and scholarship as a means to forge a transcultural understanding: "The history of all people [*Völker*] identifies epochs in which the energy of nations, directed outward, excited by long tempests, when calmness returns, reclaims itself, reconciles bedraggled muses, and elevates the arts and sciences to flourish."[36] However, in due course, the museum contributed substantially to the establishment of Czech nationalism by opening its publications to Czech-speaking authors. From 1827 the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia published the *Monthly of the Society of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia*, in Czech and German versions (*Monatsschrift der Gesellschaft des Vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* and *Časopis Společnosti wlastenského museum w Čechách*), both edited by František Palacký. Although both journals were established to "foster enlightened knowledge among the people [*líd*],"[37] their content differed: *Časopis* dealt mostly with Czech literature and history (publishing analyses as well as, for example, poems). Indeed, the editorial for the first edition stated, "Often proclaimed and felt in our nation was the need for such a journal, which, adapted to the knowledge of the more enlightened [people] among the folk, fills the gaps and deficiencies existing in our language and literature. . . . [T]he 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."[38]

The German-speaking publication also included a wide range of historical and philological studies concerned with the Czech nation and with Slavic culture but met with only marginal interest, with fewer than two hundred readers per issue. In 1830 it began to appear quarterly, and by 1832 it had been canceled; readers were informed that the journal would appear irregularly, which heralded the end of its existence.[39] The Czech journal was renamed *Časopis Českeho Museum* (Journal of the Bohemian Museum), and financial problems forced it under the patronage of the Czech Foundation (Matice česká), an autonomous branch of the museum concerned with literature that also owned a printing house specializing in Czech-language publications. Scholars gathered around these early museum-built networks of Czech patriotic scholars and educated a public desperate to hear spoken

Czech as a scientific language and to become involved in fostering patriotic scholarship. By 1847, 685 people had the highest and most expensive membership status, *zakládatel* (founder), with a growing percentage of them coming from the bourgeoisie.[40]

The establishment of Czech and Ruthenian as literary and scholarly languages, and their use in scholarly publications, remained largely unfinished business in 1848. Their use, together with an ever-growing number of publications in Polish, did begin to create an intellectual disruption in Habsburg cultural life, however. "Culture," previously limited to elites and transregional social groups, extended to a broader population within geographically delimited nations. The nineteenth century followed the model of eighteenth-century cameralism, which had abandoned Latin-based scholarship and introduced new ways to popularize knowledge for the public, thus inducing a growing rejection of the republic of letters and moving more toward a science for the people as part of provincial well-being.

The change from transnational Latin to state languages had been perceived differently among different groups, since from the late eighteenth century languages were variously seen as either a neutral tool of communication or a symbolically laden medium. German and Polish were representational languages of loyalty in the Habsburg Empire and the now nonexistent Commonwealth, respectively, as well as for ideologies of (ethnic) nationalism, which manifested itself only much later. Publishing in a language other than that of the state slowly built up a sense of belonging to something other than Habsburg society. In most cases, however, in 1848 it remained unclear what the new community would be. Czech activists had the option to be Bohemians (different from Moravians), Czecho-Slavs, or Czechoslovaks, among others. Ruthenians could opt for Russian, Little Russian, Rus', Ukrainian, or local Galician/Ruthenian projects, with each movement using different, yet mutually understandable, vocabularies and having its own corresponding alphabet. Whether Austrians were just another Germanic people who needed a distinct language and whether Poles should modify their language to include groups regarded as minorities were fiercely debated in the early nineteenth century, although political identities still varied considerably.

Scholarship conducted in vernacular languages was mostly locally oriented, encompassing descriptive and ethnohistorical disciplines and aiming for a broader fostering of culture. However, it lacked a public, an issue that came to light only later in the century. Still, in the early nineteenth century,

nationalized scholarship did not offer fierce opposition to state institutions, which were tuned toward other educational scientific models, to the dismay of many who envisioned freedom and liberalism, irrespective of their cultural or ideological background. It was rather a complementary system separate from state-supported institutions and turning toward a new public. Clearly, many scholars saw the problem of lack of communication across the empire and proposed statist solutions, such as the creation of an academy of sciences, a place uniting scholars from throughout the monarchy and offering them opportunities for communication.

Centralizing Science: The Imperial Academy

Because the regional aristocrats were investing in local societies, and the central government remained disinterested in forging new knowledge, interest in a centralized scholarly institution was limited. The aristocracy even openly complained in the 1840s that the creation of a central learned society would diminish the importance of the well-functioning regional societies and lead to unwanted centralization.[41] Provincial elites were clearly opting for a monarchy where cultural distinctiveness was cherished, and scholarship was one means to support this. The creation of a Viennese academy, which had already been proposed by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz around 1700,[42] was opposed not only by many aristocrats but by Metternich as well, who initially did not support the idea of autonomous science and scholarship. He would allow the academy only if it were in the political interests of the empire, and this was not the case until after 1845, when pressure against censorship and an oppressive regime grew stronger. The Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts, inaugurated in 1847, served, however, not only as a meeting point for scholars but also as a project structuring the scholarly geography of the empire, centered on the capital city. The absence of the word *royal* (*königlich*) from the academy's name symbolized that the Cisleithanian part stood at the center, thus securing Hungarian distinctiveness at the scholarly level.

Speakers at the inauguration of the academy underscored its political role beyond any doubt. Its aim, apart from forging scholarship, was "to secure the . . . beneficial knowledge and experience . . . as well as to support the government's functions through answering questions and problems that belong to the scope of scholarship."[43] Metternich saw the institution as both a state-controlled outlet for scholars and a means to better the empire's

standing in international competition, as notable academies were already highly valued.[44] To guarantee state control over the academy, Archduke John of Austria served as its curator, and the academy was subjected to censorship of both its publications and correspondence. However, on 13 March 1848 the government freed the academy from censorship owing to its inefficiency.

The first president of the academy was the famous diplomat and pioneer of oriental studies Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Before the creation of the academy, he clashed with politicians over his involvement with a famous 1845 memorandum, *Die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Österreich* (The present conditions of censorship in Austria).[45] During his tenure as president (1848–49), his political views became milder, and he argued that the academy should be neither a political nor an educational body but rather ought to deal with science itself. Under his presidency, the withdrawal from political involvement was immediate: for instance, the academy refused to lend its support to political gatherings such as the Frankfurt Parliament.[46]

Although its pan-imperial character remained contested, the academy aimed to serve as a supraregional meeting place for scholars across the empire. The reality, as described in the introduction to this book, lagged behind these ambitious plans. While regional societies contested the primacy of Vienna, the academy itself turned to fostering Austrian, that is, German/Habsburg, science.

The empire's two scholarly spaces, the provincial and the imperial, clearly began to grow apart in the early nineteenth century, and the imperial academy was, in a way, a last resort to unify them again. Now I turn to the universities to show, first, how these institutions dealt with the problem of spatial disparities before 1848. Then I discuss how the 1848 revolution changed the universities' outlooks and brought forward new agendas, which led to the Thun-Hohenstein–Exner reforms of 1848–49.

The Vormärz University

During the Enlightenment, universities were restructured from autonomous corporations into state agencies, in which "scholarly education [*gelehrte Ausbildung*] turned into a form of 'state production.'"[47] Throughout Europe, including in other states in the German Confederation, Vormärz was an epoch in which universities came under increasing supervision from governments, which feared, in particular, student unrest.[48] Also in Russia, where

universities traditionally had a strong corporate character, the government was trying to limit them, although, ironically, with much less success than in the Habsburg Empire or Bavaria.[49] Similarly, in the Habsburg Empire the imperial administration closely scrutinized the universities. Universities were defined primarily as places of education and discipline, not as places where the *artes liberales* should thrive. Joseph II wrote in his resolution of 25 November 1782 that

> the youth must not be taught things they would use in a strange way or in a way that does not serve the well-being of the state, since the essential studies at the university serve the education of state functionaries, and are not dedicated to breeding scholars. They [scholars] should acquire scholarly qualifications by themselves, once they acquire the first principles. One should not believe that one can find a single example of someone becoming [a scholar] merely through a lectern.[50]

Four decades later, Francis II formulated similar ideas, reasserting universities' role 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 do not want teachers who fill the heads of my students with that nonsense which turns out the brains of so many youths in our days."[51]

The above-mentioned dualism between education and scholarship was pivotal for the imperial/statist understanding. Through their corporate character, Habsburg universities also had a firm link with the city where they were located and the regional public. *Doktoren-Collegien*, the colleges of doctors[52] and professors (both active and retired), were part of the university and had the crucial right to award doctorates (*Promotionsrecht*); they also had members in the academic bodies (faculties, academic senates, etc.). At the same time, they were compulsory representatives of all graduates, similar to the Chamber of Labor, controlling accreditation for practice, especially for jurists and medical students.[53] From 1818 the office of the dean was also under the control of the Doktoren-Collegien, and professors were not permitted to hold this position as it would keep them from teaching.[54]

The corporate character of the universities did not mean that there was no place for science within the university walls. A glance at the names of, for example, the physicists or chemists, especially in Vienna, reveals modern and well-acknowledged scholars, who were also well linked internationally.

However, the lack of funding for new institutes and research opportunities hampered innovation. At the same time, universities in other German states—not only in Prussia (Berlin or Halle) but also in Bavaria (Munich), the Kingdom of Hannover (Göttingen), and the Grand Duchy of Hesse (Gießen)—gained more of a reputation, turning toward new educational methods and experimental science. Even the Russian Empire was more liberal toward universities at this time, allowing them considerable autonomy in order to facilitate the modernization of the state; it both invested in foreign professors and sent leading Russian academics abroad.[55] Habsburg scholars knew this and demanded changes to bring their universities up to par with the provincial academies. As in other states, supervision by the *Studiendirektoren*,[56] the censorship of schoolbooks, and strong political control over the subject matter (both the curriculum and the content of each lecture) were among the factors blamed for academic misery. As a result, university reform was one of the most prominent demands during the 1848 revolution.

The number of Habsburg universities and faculties varied over time, but they remained closely linked to the existing educational premises of the central government. Most universities (apart from those in Vienna, Prague, and Pest) were demoted to *Lyzeen* (lyceums) in the late eighteenth century, but in the early nineteenth century Francis I reinstated universities in L'viv (1817), Innsbruck (1826), Graz (1827), and Olomouc (1827), but without medical faculties. In the provinces, medical studies were taught in university-connected medical-surgical academies (*mediko-chirurgische Lehranstalten*); these had a limited number of teachers, and the courses were oriented toward the practical education of midwives and surgeons (*Wundärzte*). The Imperial and Royal Medical-Surgical Joseph's Academy (k.k. medizinisch-chirurgische Josephs-Academie) in Vienna, established in 1785, had the same practical orientation; in the 1820s it became de facto the second medical faculty of the university, serving as an important place for teaching and practicing medicine, even if it was not formally incorporated into the university. The medical faculties themselves were divided into a two-year surgical course of study for civil physicians and surgeons (*Chirurgisches Studium für Civil und Wundärzte*, including courses for midwives), structured similarly to the courses at the medical academies, and a five-year study of pharmacology and the higher surgical arts (*Studium der Arzneykunde und höheren Wundarzneykunst*); this reflected the duality between practical education and "higher" education.

The philosophical faculty (*Philosophicum*), reformed throughout the empire in 1805, had the same semi-university status as the medical academies, forming a preparatory level between the gymnasium and the university.[57] The philosophical faculty taught a wide range of disciplines, including humanities and the sciences (except medicine), but with special consideration to philosophy, which was defined as a "medium of high intellectual culture" and a "groundwork science [*Wissenschaft*] for all other vocational sciences"[58] and was clearly denoted as preparation for the subjects taught at the university.

University lectures were held based on the so-called *Vorlesungsbücher*, textbooks that had to be approved by the Ministry of Education and which were literary read aloud. Disobedience was severely punished; some notable scholars were removed from their universities for violating this rule.[59] Although professors were allowed to submit their own books as the basis for their lectures, only a few decided to do so, as this path was highly complicated and uncertain. It wasn't until the late 1820s that free lectures based on the lecturer's own manuscripts were allowed for noncompulsory subjects.[60]

The restrictions within the Habsburg monarchy also influenced the ways in which universities could interact with scholars and institutions in other countries. The possibility of studying abroad (including in the non-Habsburg parts of the German Confederation)—which was especially tempting for non-Catholic students since Habsburg universities were Catholic institutions—was restricted greatly in 1829; foreign courses and diplomas were not accepted, and students attempting to cross the border required police authorization.[61] The government was seemingly alarmed that the freedom of learning and teaching introduced at some foreign universities could open a channel through which liberal or anti-absolutist ideas could travel.[62] Students who wanted to study outside the empire but were not members of the privileged aristocracy[63] could bribe functionaries, but this could bring its own problems with the police.[64]

Restrictions on the exchange of ideas were reinforced in other areas as well. From 1815 on, libraries produced lists of banned books; these could not be read in the library and included Johann Gottlieb Fichte's *Staatslehre* (Doctrine of the state, 1813) and Joseph von Hormayr's *Taschenbuch für vaterländische Geschichte* (Pocket book of the history of the fatherland, 1811–48). Further, authors such as Goethe, Schlosser, and Kant could be read only *erga schedam*, that is, with permission from the local

police department.[65] Moreover, because of his paranoia toward liberalism, Metternich banned universities from corresponding with foreign schools.[66]

The development of Galician universities was more complicated. The Cracow Academy (Akademia Krakowska, later renamed the Jagiellonian University) was the provincial university (*Landesuniversität*) for Galicia in 1805–17, while during the same period the University of L'viv was closed, and only a lyceum operated in that city. After 1817, when Cracow became a free city, L'viv's lyceum was given the status of a university under the name Francis I University; it was structured along the lines of other Habsburg universities, with German as the language of instruction. A chair of Polish language was created in 1817 but filled only in 1827 by Mikołaj Michalewicz, neither a good scholar nor a gifted teacher.[67] The Cracow Academy was at that time a semi-autonomous body controlled by protector states (Habsburg, Prussia, and Russia), with extended rights that included the possibility of accepting students from other regions of the pre-partition Commonwealth. This privilege was revoked in the aftermath of the November Uprising, because the university was regarded as an important place for forging revolutionary nationalist ideas and contacts.[68] At this time, the academy was still a small provincial institution, with some two hundred students, compared with the fourteen hundred at L'viv. The curriculum was based on that of Habsburg universities, with a preparatory philosophical faculty. Only the law faculty worked according to a slightly altered curriculum from the University of Berlin. After the Cracow Uprising in 1846, the Habsburg Empire incorporated Cracow, and the Cracow Academy began to be restructured on the Austrian model. While initially there were plans to close it, the government decided to retain it, thanks to the goodwill of the government's minister plenipotentiary Stephan Ladislaus Endlicher, a Viennese botanist. Its restructuring was completed during the reforms of 1849, which unified education across the monarchy.[69]

The language of instruction was the most important binding element in the pre-1848 empire: Latin in all subjects in the secular faculties and German in the philosophical faculties. Even lectures on vernacular literatures were held in Latin in L'viv and Prague. The only exception was the practical teaching of foreign languages (readerships) and the first year of education for midwives and surgeons, which took place in the local language. Since civil servants and physicians dealt with the local population, which in many cases knew neither German nor Latin, inclusion of the vernacular in the university system was necessary to enable interprovincial transfer of staff. Some knowledge of the local language was also required to obtain teaching

positions at certain universities.[70] In Cracow from 1833 onward, the language of instruction was Latin, with the exception of practical subjects and lectures at the philosophical faculty, in which instructors had a free choice of language, except in the subjects of religion, philosophy, and the classical languages (taught in Latin) and Polish literature and popular mechanics (taught in Polish).

Linguistic uniformity at the faculties enabled lecturers to be mobile and reinforced the standardization of the Habsburg intellectual space. To level the chances of scholars from all provinces, standardized open contests (*Conkursverfahren*) were introduced, consisting of an exam with three questions and an open lecture. Teachers who already held an appointment at another university were exempt from the exam. The *Studiendirektoren* compiled the results into a standardized list (the *Kompetenztabelle*), less often naming only the three best candidates in hierarchical order (the *terna*), and forwarded it to the Studienhofkommission together with the opinions of the provincial government. The final appointment by the emperor was provisory for three years (the *Probetriennium* or *Provisorium*) and at the end of that term had to be verified to become a permanent position.[71] In this way, the open contests allowed scrutiny of the political and ideological appropriateness of the candidates. The process of appointing professors was indeed somewhat similar to that for officers in the army: applicants had to not only comply with the political ideology of the monarchy but also be able to resist, or even appease, any nationalistic feelings at the universities. As for military personnel, this meant moving teaching staff across provinces.[72] In the case of universities, however, the circulation was hegemonic: only a few scholars who had not been educated at the main universities could get a position there, while staff from the universities in Vienna or Prague were widely represented at universities in other provinces.

The rules for appointments and the actual practices both supported the centrality of Vienna. Early nineteenth-century lawmakers foresaw that senior professors should be appointed to the University of Vienna as a reward for their long service and as a guarantee of high scholarly standards at the central university of the empire.[73] In fact, most scholars teaching in the capital were nominated in this way.[74] This led to criticism of the low research standards in Vienna, because older professors usually concentrated more on teaching than on scientific production. Critical intellectuals spoke of Vienna as an "honorable house of invalids,"[75] and Ernst von Feuchtersleben, responsible for the universities for a short time during the chaos of 1848, made the rejuvenation of the Viennese medical faculty one of his priorities.[76]

While scholarly quality was not the main priority at the universities, the government still pursued academic professionalization. From 1811, universities included *Pflanzschulen zur Bildung künftiger Professoren* ("nurseries for the education of future professors"), which consisted of assistants, adjuncts, prosectors, and so on. In the medical faculty, the *Pflanzschule* consisted of, more or less, all scientific personnel assigned to professors, both at the university and at the hospital, including assistants and secondary physicians. The other faculties had a limited number of young academics: the theological and philosophical faculties each had two, and the law faculty had one.[77] The main aim of the *Pflanzschule* was to prepare scholars for a professorship, and professors were officially forbidden to treat their younger colleagues as servants (*Handlanger*), which could impede their academic progress.[78]

While they did not serve as a meeting place for international scholars, Habsburg Vormärz universities were an interesting mixture of social and cultural backgrounds. At the Viennese medical faculty, for example, immediately before the revolution, most professors were the offspring of lower state officials and members of the bourgeoisie. Aristocrats were rare; similarly underrepresented were peasants, although one can find sons of millers and village judges.[79] However, even more impressive examples of social mobility were possible: Antoni Bryk was officially a serf until 1848; he illegally obtained a university education in Vienna and ignored repeated requests by his lord to return to Galicia as a military physician. After the revolution, already a free man, he was appointed a professor of forensic medicine at Cracow.[80]

Given their educational and practical orientation, pre-1848 universities and intellectuals played an important role in discussions on the ideology of the state and/or nation, as their position was certainly privileged in comparison with that of private scholars. Simply through elaborations on linguistics, several university scholars gained respect within national groups, although they were rarely in the first ranks of patriots or nationalists. The brothers Jan Svatopluk Presl and Karl Bořiwog Presl, professors of zoology and mineralogy and of natural history and technology in Prague, respectively, who were also active Czech nationalists, can be regarded here as rare exceptions to the rule. To a large extent, however, universities effectively remained tertiary institutions intended to forge patriotism among state officials, producing subjects loyal to the empire and the throne. It must also be noted that many professors indeed participated 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 was later claimed. Thus, even if the Studienhofkommission had succeeded in keeping nationalists of all sorts outside the university walls, 1848 proved that it had not eliminated liberalism.

More important, universities, like the other scholarly institutions discussed in this chapter, were not universally accepted by political groups within the monarchy. The use of German as the language of instruction was not a problem only for the increasingly nationalized provinces. By predominantly nominating German-speaking scholars, universities failed to include provincial residents as teachers, estranging the universities from the city elites, especially in Galicia.[81] One exception to this rule was the historian Joseph Mauss (born in Tengen, now in Baden-Württemberg but until 1806 part of the Habsburg Empire), who enjoyed celebrity status in L'viv and is said to have encouraged his L'viv students to participate in the November Uprising in 1830–31.[82] Scholars' adaptation to the urban culture they encountered played an even more important role after 1848, often deciding entire careers.

Scientific excellence clearly did not necessarily correlate with openness to nationalism, even if later generations did remember many scholars who united these characteristics. Yet, even in the Vormärz, the public was increasingly involved in regional scholarly endeavors linked to linguistic projects, such as the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia or the Ossolineum. In the prerevolutionary discourse, these two assets apparently began to merge, especially among non-German elites. Universities, highly esteemed as vital institutions of cultural and intellectual life, especially in smaller cities, were seen as places whose potential had yet to be fulfilled. By 1848 students and significant parts of the city public in L'viv, Pest, and Prague were also certain that the solution to academic misery was not only greater freedom but also the inclusion of local languages as the medium of instruction. As a result, the 1848 revolutionaries requested linguistic equity, which should not be hastily interpreted as only a nationalistic claim.

On the Barricades: Universities in 1848

The revolution of 1848, often seen as a turning point in the history of the Habsburg Empire, brought far-reaching changes for universities and intellectual life in central Europe. First, the short-term liberal government remodeled the universities based on the Prussian system, although with

variations reflecting the cultural particularities of the empire. Universities began to teach humanist subjects at the academic level, in accordance with liberal and nationalist demands, but with the same aim as in the Vormärz, that is, promoting a loyalist narrative, a plan that ultimately backfired. Second, the revolution spawned various regional demands: Bohemia sought a reassessment of the boundaries of the German Confederation, the Hungarians wanted changes in the structure of political relations, and the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia demanded federalization and secession. All this illustrates the instability of the imperial space and political structures, across the empire as well as within the provinces themselves, requiring new modes of spatial governance. Third, the constitutional reforms, as well as the liberalization of cultural life, although brief and followed by a neoabsolutist regime, reconfigured the political structure of the monarchy as well as the discourse of loyalty and culture's place in 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 events did not result in changes to the laws, but they publicly presented the points of agreement among the different parties. This, along with the abolition of censorship, enabled the creation of an active public sphere and 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 rather a set of gradual transformations facilitated by the atmosphere of 1848, including the free flow of literature, the accentuation and acceptance of cultural diversity, and a relaxation of border policing, which elevated the importance of cultural-cum-linguistic spaces while lessening the influence of state borders.

As the wave of revolutionary movements and outbreaks in 1848 shook the Habsburg monarchy, students were among the first on the barricades in Cracow, Prague, and Vienna (see figure 1).[83] Their teachers often joined in or even led the political reaction against absolutism, proving that political supervision during the Vormärz 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. In Cracow, for example, scholarly political activism had a long-standing tradition. During the uprising in the Free City of Cracow in 1846, the professors of the medical faculty had cared for the wounded insurgents on the battlefield. The professor of Polish language and literature Michał Wiszniewski was even, for a day, the self-proclaimed leader of the rebellion in Cracow, although
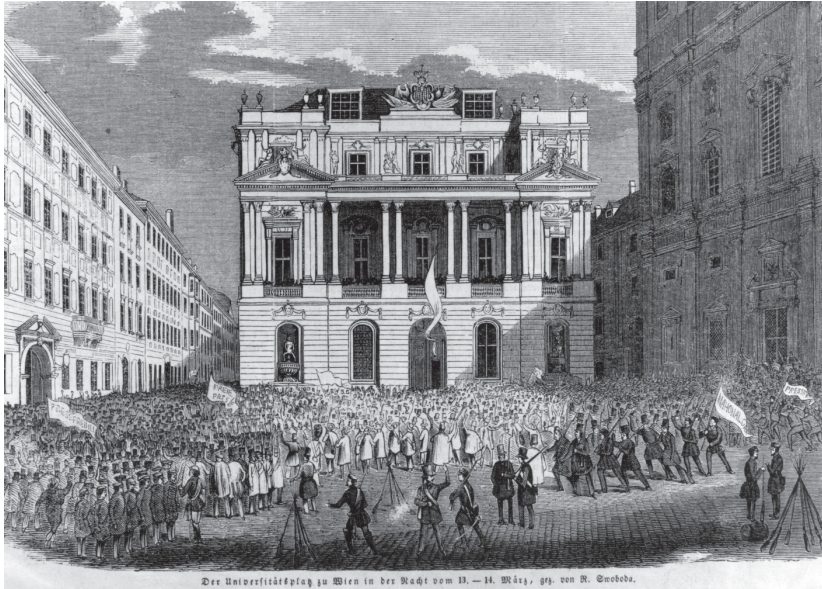
FIGURE 1 University Square in Vienna during the night of 13–14 March 1848 and the establishment of the Academic Legion. (Archive of the University of Vienna, 106.I.584. Artist: R. Swoboda.)

he strove to conclude the rebellion through political mediation, against the will of the nationalistic organizations.[84] In other regions, groups of scholars and intellectuals fueled political liberalism, demanding the liberalization of public and cultural life, but without engaging in open antigovernment action.

In university cities, students formed so-called *Studentenlegionen* (Student Legions), whose aim was to aid the revolutionaries through active participation. At the beginning of the movement, national issues were decidedly in second place behind political calls for coups d'état against Metternich's oppressive regime, in favor of liberalism. In Prague, Bohemian students who identified as Czech or German fought together, forgetting their cultural conflicts and differences and turning against the government. Paradoxically, this meant turning their rage against Leo Thun-Hohenstein, who shortly before had been named governor of Bohemia. The young count was held captive in the Carolinum and was released only through the mediation of the language scholar and historian Pavel Josef Šafárik (also written Šafařik), who later had a massive influence on Thun-Hohenstein's appointment policy in Bohemia.[85] Alliances across linguistic and cultural-political

borders were forged. Viennese students signed a petition calling for lectures in Czech at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague and lectures in Polish at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In Galicia, however, the supranational idea of political revolution lost out to national divisions, as Ruthenian nationalists fiercely rejected cooperation with the Polish national party and vice versa.[86]

Professors also manned the barricades, demonstrating the ineffectiveness of Metternich's attempts to forge uncritical loyalty to the universities. Even before the revolution, the Viennese Juridical-Political Reading Association (Juridisch-Politische Leseverein) had united intellectuals of all estates, including students and professors. They played an eminent political role in promoting anti-absolutist policy, lobbying the court for, among other things, the abolition of censorship.[87] In Innsbruck the professors Albert Jäger and Alois Flir, among others, stood at the center of the struggle over the question of Tyrolean autonomy.[88] In Cracow academic legions were organized by the professor of library sciences Józef Muczkowski and the physiologist Józef Majer; in L'viv the librarian Franciszek Stroński and the chemist at the technical academy, Friedrich Rochleder, led the academic legion.[89] And in Pest professors were involved in the revolution on the side of the Hungarian party and supported independent reforms of the universities.[90] However, political participation also brought negative outcomes for the universities: for example, the university buildings in Vienna and L'viv were closed, the first owing to a political decision seeking to counter the possibility of student gatherings in the city center, the latter owing to serious damage during the bombardment of the city.[91] Prominent supporters of the Hungarian Revolution, including some university lecturers, had to leave the country after the revolution failed. Most professors were, however, swiftly reinstated, as were other officials who initially experienced repercussions after 1848–49.[92]

Petitions remained the most useful and effective tool in the revolution, following the growing success of political negotiation, which gradually took the place of the mutiny-oriented revolutionary outbursts that had been issuing unconditional but barely acceptable demands. Even though the appeals raised in the petitions were not entirely successful, the mediation of multiple interests showed more promise than did military actions, although both the success of dialogue and the subsequent changes remained closely connected to the government's assessment of the revolutionary demands.

Determining what to include in the petitions led to dissension both between professors and students and between faculties; the discussions brought

to light the variety of approaches to the function of universities and scholarship. At the same time, an analysis of the petitions shows that while some demands were common across the whole empire, the views from the capital and the provinces differed in many respects. The regional disparities heightened once liberal possibilities were in sight, and the ministry had to negotiate among differing interests and unify the structure of the academic space.

The proceedings at the Jagiellonian University, where several drafts were discussed, help to illustrate the problem of restructuring universities in a monarchy with different academic traditions. The first petition to the emperor, composed by the rector Józef Brodowicz and accepted by the students and professors in March 1848, aimed to reintroduce university autonomy according to the 1818 bylaws, encouraging freedom of teaching and learning and granting the university exclusive legal control over students—*intra* and *extra moenia* (within and outside of university walls). Furthermore, the project pleaded for the restitution of funds and lands (including those from the parts of the Commonwealth now under Prussian and Russian rule) and for the subsumption of all educational facilities in the city under the university's governance with a guarantee that "apart from the university and establishments linked to it, no other educational institutions would be established without its knowledge and explicit consent."[93] This was a particular concern for religious corporations that were responsible for their own schools. The petition demanded, furthermore, "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."[94] This project thus aimed to reclaim the privileges the university had enjoyed in the eighteenth century, when it controlled virtually the entire Polish part of the Commonwealth and successfully hindered the establishment of other academic institutions. This resolution, however, never left the building owing to a subsequent conflict between Brodowicz and the students.

The next petition, proposed in the autumn of 1848 by Józef Majer, included the abolishment of courses on religion, the use of Polish as the medium of instruction in all subjects, and the introduction of the history of Poland among the courses taught, as well as, similar to Brodowicz's proposal, financial demands. This project also met with opposition, especially because of the questions of religion and language it raised. The canonical jurist Feliks Leliwa Słotwiński, for example, opposed it, stating that religion should guard students from the "errors of philosophy" and that the exclusive use of Polish not only would negatively affect disciplines such as Austrian, Roman, and civil and church law but would also "attest national hate . . . and

affront the first rule of Christian religion."[95] Majer's petition was finally presented to the new governor of Galicia, Wacław Zalewski, and incorporated suggestions for new chairs, including for the history of Poland, Polish law, and the languages of eastern Europe. Some of these demands were fulfilled, especially the use of Polish, acknowledged on 11 October 1848 by the governor: professors who did not know Polish could remain at the university, but Polish-speaking assistants would be appointed to support them.[96]

Several months earlier, Franz Stadion, the governor of Galicia and later minister of the interior, had already allowed the partial use of Polish in L'viv by Privatdozenten, but the main language of instruction was to remain German, or possibly Ruthenian, which was apparently envisioned to slowly replace German as the language of instruction in Eastern Galicia.[97] The partial privileges for Polish in this part of the province were abandoned shortly after a change in prime ministers at the end of 1848, with the argument that the majority of the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia were more averse to Polish than to German.[98] The issue of language use at secondary schools became one of the critical questions for the Prague Slavic Congress, where Polish and Ruthenian nationalist organizations each envisaged their respective language as a leader in cultural matters in L'viv and achieved no binding agreement.

The issue of cultural equity was also at stake in Prague. The students who prepared the petition, which the faculty accepted and supported, placed freedom of religion and teaching at the forefront of their demands but included university autonomy in legal questions, inclusion of the technical schools as part of the university (as the fifth faculty), and freedom of assembly according to the laws of the University of Munich.[99] The petition, forwarded to the government in late March 1848, was answered on 2 April: as in L'viv, Privatdozenten[100] were allowed to teach in Czech, German, "or any other language";[101] freedom of teaching and religion was approved; and students were allowed to study at foreign universities.

While the equality of languages was widely discussed at the provincial universities, and was seen as part of the liberalization of academia, in Vienna the political reorganization and structural liberalization of the educational system were central. This restructuring also, however, included multilingual instruction as a means of stabilizing loyalty. Between the beginning of the revolution in 1848 and June 1849, the minister of education changed several times, depending on political alliances: first, Franz Freiherr von Sommaruga, then Ernst von Feuchtersleben (de jure *Unterstaatssekretär*,

that is, undersecretary of state), followed by several interregna during which the ministry was subordinated to or joined with other departments, and, finally, Leo Thun-Hohenstein, who arrived in office in July 1849, directly after his rather unfortunate time in Bohemia. Before appointing Thun-Hohenstein, the government considered the ministry as a possible concession to the Slavic subjects of the empire. Among possible candidates for the office, František Palacký attracted the most interest. Palacký, a renowned historian and an acknowledged Bohemian patriot, was (in)famous for his refusal of an invitation to the Frankfurt Parliament and was a critic of Habsburg alignments with the German Confederation; he was also a signee of the Slavic Congress in Prague and a Lutheran.[102] Franz Pillersdorf, the minister of state from May to June 1848, was willing, however, to include Palacký in his government, probably as a symbolic recognition of the political influence of the loyal Slavic spokesman. The German conservatives as well as the Catholic press regarded this as "insane" and a "mockery of sanity and reason"; in their view, Pillersdorf's government had offered the position to "the most impossible of impossibles, the man . . . who is responsible for the lion's share of the current Bohemian tumults."[103] It was, for them, a symbol of the "assassination of our great German fatherland,"[104] which was threatened by such appointments, which were turning Austria into "a Slav state."[105] Palacký, however, rejected the nomination, stating that he could serve the fatherland better on other fronts. Even though the project of including Palacký in the government failed, Habsburg politicians awarded several educational concessions to the Slavs to promote loyalty in the direct aftermath of the upheavals. These included appointments of Slavic scholars and permission to use Slavic languages in teaching.

Among state officials, the idea of university reform went through several stages during the revolution and its aftermath. The initial step was political advancement in the freedom of teaching and learning in late March 1848,[106] followed in June by the announcement of plans to reform the education system, formulated by Feuchtersleben and Franz Exner, a Prague professor of philosophy and pedagogy who had been responsible since April 1848 for the preparation of educational reforms in the Ministry of Education. They envisioned universities as part of the cultural but not the political arena, thus breaking with the pre-1848 withdrawal of academia from public life. Feuchtersleben also supported corporate ideals of the university as a unity of professors and academics. In his eyes, the "caste-like enclosure" of professorships should especially be avoided: "the necessity of a connection with

the scientific folk life [*wissenschaftliches Volksleben*] . . . is to be adamantly defended and fought for."[107] In November 1848 Feuchtersleben resigned, leaving countless projects unfinished; only two were partially completed, namely, the renewal of the Viennese medical faculty through the pensioning off of five, in his eyes, overage professors and the reorganization of philosophical study into a faculty.[108]

Shortly after Feuchtersleben's resignation, the government published two laws on 11 December 1848 changing the appointment rules for professors and on 19 December a law concerning those for Privatdozenten. The academic senate remained officially responsible for preparing proposals for new professorships and sending them to the Ministry of Education. Instead of the *Kompetenztabelle*, faculties were now obliged to prepare terna proposals, which were much less formal in style.[109] Once a chair was unoccupied, the university had to ask the provincial government to issue a public tender with deadlines; it was, however, by no means obliged to include in the terna those scholars who applied. Rather, the proposal should discuss scholars appropriate for the post, both domestic and foreign. Only in exceptional cases were *Conkursverfahren* allowed, held not by the faculty but by the ministry. The ministry could also hold its own *Conkurs*, if unsatisfied with the proposal. Also, the three-year probationary period (*Probetriennium*) was retained, leading later to protests by the universities, which regarded it as demeaning academic dignity.[110] Importantly, the ministry also established the minimum remuneration for full professors. Associate professors—scholars permanently appointed for disciplines that were not part of the curriculum, who thus could be specific to a single university—negotiated their salaries on a case-by-case basis until 1918. In this, Vienna remained the best-paying university, with Prague in second place, followed by Cracow and L'viv and, finally, Graz, Innsbruck, and Olomouc, where the regular salary was only two-thirds of the salary in the capital (see table 1). This salary structure had an immense influence on the career paths of professors until the end of the empire in 1918.

The law concerning Privatdozenten superseded the local regulations, which had often been provisional and chaotically enacted. While these had stressed university autonomy and had given academic bodies control over the habilitation procedures, the new law privileged the ministry. In addition to being accepted by the faculty, a candidate for Privatdozent had to go through a public examination, a test lecture, and confirmation by the ministry before being officially permitted to teach.[111] The *Privatdozentur* was limited to the faculty and the university that approved it; any change in either

Table 1   Salaries of full professors at Cisleithanian universities (in guldens)

	1849	1870	1898
Vienna	1,600	2,200	3,200
Prague	1,300	2,000	3,200
Cracow	1,200	1,800	3,200
L'viv	1,200	1,800	3,200
Graz	1,000	1,800	3,200
Innsbruck	1,000	1,800	3,200
Olomouc	1,000	n/a	n/a
Chernivtsi		1,800[1]	3,200

Sources: "Erlaß des Ministers des Cultus und Unterrichts, womit die mit Allerhöchster Entschließung vom 26. October 1849 genehmigte provisorische Vorschrift über die künf-tige Regulirung der Gehalte und des Vorrückungsrechtes der Facultäts-Professoren an den Universitäten zu Wien, Prag, Lemberg, Krakau, Olmütz, Gratz und Innsbruck mitgetheilt wird," *Allgemeines Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1849* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1850), 811–13; "Gesetz von 9. April 1870 betref-fend die Gehalte der Professoren an den Weltlichen Fakultäten der Universitäten und das Quartiergeld der Facultäts-Professoren in Wien," Reichsgesetzblatt, 12 April 1870, 75–76; "Gesetz von 19. September 1898 betreffend die Regelung der Bezüge der Professoren an Universitäten und denselben gleichgehaltenen Hochschulen und Lehranstalten," Reichs-gesetzblatt, 20 September 1898, 295–96.
Note: n/a, not applicable.
[1]Data is from 1875.

of these meant that the process had to be repeated (there were exceptions to this rule, however).[112] Moreover, Privatdozenten had to receive permission to use teaching aids, demonstration materials, and seminar libraries, which made their position dependent on the full professors who controlled these resources. The subject (*Fach*)[113] covered by a Privatdozent depended on a syllabus submitted during the habilitation process, and it could be expanded only with the ministry's approval. Thus, this law favored professionalization and political supervision instead of the previous principles of autonomy. In the direct aftermath of the granting of autonomy in 1848, several universities appointed scholars as *Dozenten* without the ministry's authorization; after the new regulations were enacted, these scholars had to habilitate to achieve the status of Privatdozent.[114] Formal habilitation procedures and ministerial control led to a considerable reduction in the number of instructors, espe-cially in Prague, but the ministry harshly reminded the faculties that they were responsible for controlling the teaching and political behavior of their instructors in accordance with the new rules.[115]

Another important change also occurred in 1848: the appointment of several Slavic scholars, especially for the chairs of Slavic languages. These included, most prominently, Franc Miklošič (Franz von Miklosich) and Jan Kollár for chairs in Vienna (the latter for Slavic archaeology), František Ladislav Čelakovský and Jan Pravoslav Koubek in Prague, and Jakiv Holovac'kyj in L'viv (for the Ukrainian language), most of whom were very likely supported by Šafárik.[116] In the appointment papers for Čelakovský that were handed to the emperor, the ministry openly stated that such appointments were political, without clarifying, however, what political direction was intended.[117] In this way the ministry not only supported the Austro-Slavic movement but also appointed intellectuals who were openly anti-Hungarian (Kollár and the Lutheran theologian Karol Kuzmány) or anti-Polish (Holovac'kyj). It was an important change from the policies of Vormärz, which had kept nationalists out of the universities. The inclusion of a number of Slavic scholars aimed to appease nationalist activists, but at the same time it lessened the universities' uniting role by allowing political dissent to enter the professorship.

The most important manifestation of the 1848 commitment to liberalism was, however, the proposal prepared by Exner during Feuchtersleben's ministerial term. The proposal was overtly liberal and oriented to university models in other German states, but it remained true to the function and position of the university in the tradition of the Vormärz. It was, in fact, built largely on the 1830s discussions about university reforms, in which Exner had had a leading role.[118] According to the draft published in the government's own *Wiener Zeitung* (Viennese newspaper) late in July 1848, the education system was to remain a representation of the *Volk*. Its main function was to prepare functionaries and teachers for future careers. Universities thus represented not scholarship but the political and national needs of the provinces. Moreover, 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."[119] He proposed an educational structure based on the pedagogy of Johann Friedrich Herbart, centered on gymnasia, with universities clearly subordinated to the needs of secondary education. Together with the nominee from Szczecin/Stettin, the Protestant classical philologist and educational reformer Hermann Bonitz, he also remained responsible for gymnasium curricula, which shaped secondary education until the late nineteenth century.[120]

Exner's role in the implementation of these reforms diminished over time, and he died prematurely in 1853. He remained popular among university professors, however, and his projects have been acknowledged as more liberal than those that were ultimately introduced. Franz Krones formulated a metaphor for the change in the political atmosphere between 1848 and 1849, stating that the final reform related to Exner's project as "the imposed constitution [of 1849] [did] to the April Constitution."[121] This reform implementation was already marked less by Exner than by Thun-Hohenstein, the "conservative savior"[122] of Habsburg education, who saved education both *for* and *from* the conservatives. As a moderate politician, he fiercely rejected the neoabsolutist turn toward complete subjection of universities to the government but at the same time pursued a statist and Catholic appointment policy, discussed in the next chapter. As I argue, while conducted with conservative ideologies in mind, Thun-Hohenstein's modifications and appointments in fact paved the way for the developments in the late nineteenth century, including spatial disintegration along linguistic lines.