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## Searching for excellence — appointments to chairs at the Medical Faculty of Vienna University in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Strategies for success or political programmes?

### (1) University, church and politics

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century appointments at the University of Vienna were determined by professional competence, networks and political expectations, as the history of the medical faculty demonstrates in different periods. In order to comply with the expectation of a 'turntable of Science' between Western and Eastern Europe, the medical faculty was forced to make concessions in its search for Excellence. On the one side, the Catholic Church controlled the university organization and selected, if possible, catholic professors. On the other side, the Habsburg Dynasty assigned its government to select from the appointment nominees of the medical faculty, those professors, from whom political correctness could be expected. The university had to conform to the changing political systems which determined the appointments of professors. This demand broke with the requirement on objective appointment procedures completely. According to Barbara Brezikofer, "scientific human resources" were always dependent on the structure of the institution which requested and administered them.<sup>1</sup> At every university, institutional structure shaped the professional role and reflected the mission of postsecondary educational institutions.<sup>2</sup>

### (2) Appointment procedures during reactionism

When the Second Viennese Medical School was founded around 1830, by the pathologist Carl Rokitansky, the internist Joseph Škoda and the dermatologist Ferdinand Hebra, qualification examinations decided on appointments to the medical faculty. After the doctorate, scholars, who wished to go into academia, were supposed to write a habilitation, a second thesis. Once they passed their habilitation, they were called 'Privatdozent'. The nomination for professor extraordinarius made them eligible to be appointed to a chair.<sup>3</sup> From the doctrines and principles contained in the qualification papers, the "morality" of the applicant was judged, which actually corresponded to a covered political "attitude examinations". This meant, the more system-conformal the submitted scientific work was formulated, the higher the chances were for the applicant.<sup>4</sup> The university at this time was not a place of "free intellectual exchange".<sup>5</sup> Chairs were given as acknowledgment for merits, which were based more on

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<sup>1</sup> Barbara Brezikofer, *Reputationen von Professoren. Implikationen für das Human Resource Management von Universitäten (Personalwirtschaftliche Schriften 19, München-Mering 2002)*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth P. Ruscio, "Many Sectors, Many Professions", in: B. R. Clark (ed.), *The Academic Profession* (London 1987), pp. 331–368, here p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Petr Svobodný, "Women docents and professors at medical faculties in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1939", in: Soňa Štrbáňová, Ida H. Stamhuis, Kateřina Mojsejová, *Women Scholars and Institutions*. Proceedings of the International Conference (Prague, June 8–11, 2003) ("Research Centre for the History of Sciences and Humanities, founded by the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic", Volume 13A (Prague 2004), pp. 375–399, here p. 376. See *ibid.*: The title "docent" is "in terms of academic hierarchy in some ways comparable to associate professor (USA) or reader (UK)".

<sup>4</sup> Susanne Preglau-Hämmerle, *Die politische und soziale Funktion der österreichischen Universität. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Mit einem Vorwort von Anton Pelinka (Innsbruck 1986), p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Manfred Fleischer, *Die politische Rolle der Deutschen aus den böhmischen Ländern in Wien 1804–1918. Studien zur Migration und Wirken politisch-administrativer Eliten*, (Europäische Hochschulschriften 831, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften; Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern 1999), p. 290.

loyalty to the system rather than on scientific work. Hence, to receive a chair at the University of Vienna, physicians were ready to fulfill the political expectations of the government. Whether they came from the capital Vienna or from the universities of the Crown lands, a chair or position at the University of Vienna was the ultimate goal of their university career.<sup>6</sup>

Rokitansky, Škoda and Hebra broke through the reactionary system of the Vormärz and the nature-philosophical orientation of medicine. Liberal and precise scientifically oriented, they were neither seen by the Catholic Church, nor by the conservative government, as a new generation of professors. In this time, natural scientists were classified as “free spirits, atheists or radicals” and their ideologies were thought to be a danger to the system.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, these young physicians from the Crown lands of the monarchy came from a lower social environment, as opposed to the one from which the older professors were recruited. In 1834, Rokitansky was nominated provisional professor extraordinarius at the pathological-anatomical institute.<sup>8</sup> The reason being, no other physician was interested in this subject which had little prestige at that time. Rokitansky then had to wait ten years for a chair for pathological anatomy and the full professorship.<sup>9</sup>

Škoda became well known for improving the method of physical diagnosis of thorax diseases.<sup>10</sup> However, his new scientific research methods were controlled by “the guardian[s] of tradition”<sup>11</sup>, the name given to conservative professors by progressive colleagues. When Škoda decided his patient’s treatment on his own, he was ostracized.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, his application for a leading position was rejected by the national institutions.<sup>13</sup> Despite excellent qualifications Škoda’s application, for the chair of special pathology and therapy at the medical faculty of the University of Prague, was rejected in 1841.<sup>14</sup> Škoda was known as a reliable scientifically oriented physician when he found a mentor in Baron Ludwig von Türkheim, referent at the Court appointed Study Commission.<sup>15</sup> Through his influence, the clinician received the department of thorax diseases at the General Hospital in Vienna.<sup>16</sup> The Irish ophthalmologist William Robert Wilde visited Škoda’s department in 1843:

Dr. Skoda’s private clinique, for diseases of the chest, is perhaps the best school for acquiring a knowledge of the diagnosis of such affections that the foreigner can visit. [...] As an auscultator, Dr. Skoda possesses an unrivalled reputation, and certainly his diagnosis of heart and lung affections is astonishingly correct.<sup>17</sup>

In 1845 Škoda applied for the chair of the medical clinic at the University of Vienna.<sup>18</sup> The council of professors did not take up his application from the list of possible candidates.<sup>19</sup> The qualification

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<sup>6</sup> Jean Bérenger, *Die Geschichte des Habsburgerreiches 1273 bis 1918* (Paris 1990, Wien-Köln-Weimar 1995), p. 577.

<sup>7</sup> Isidor Fischer, *Wiens Mediziner und die Freiheitsbewegung des Jahres 1848* (Wien 1935), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Personalakte Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky der medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Wien*, Fol. 1076 (Archive University of Vienna).

<sup>9</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen Karl Rokitansky’s*. Getreu nach dem Originale, copied Hans von Rokitansky (o. O. 1880), p. 30 (Hand-writings Collection, Institute for the History of Medicine, Medical University of Vienna).

<sup>10</sup> Rokitansky. *Zum Besten eines Reisestipendiums für einen Doctoranden der Medizin* (Wien 1874), p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Erna Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule im 19. Jahrhundert* (Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, Graz-Köln 1965), p. 143.

<sup>12</sup> Zdeněk Hornof, Dore Kramerová (eds.), *Handschriftliche Aufzeichnungen von Anton Jaksch, der im Jahre 1837 an einem von Josef Škoda abgehaltenen Kurs über Perkussion und Auskultation teilnahm*, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Medica*, vol. 13, 5/6 (1967), pp. 423–473, here p. 425.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

<sup>14</sup> Hermann von Schrötter, “Briefe von Joseph Skoda über seine Ernennung zum Professor der Medizin in Wien”, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 62, 1 (1912), pp. 67–74, here p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen Rokitansky’s*, copied by H. Rokitansky, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Josef Skoda, “Nachruf”, *Mittheilungen des Wiener medizinischen Doctoren Collegiums* 7, 14 (1881), pp. 202–205, here p. 203.

<sup>17</sup> William Robert Wilde, *Austria: Its literary, scientific and medical institutions. With notes upon the present state of science* (Dublin-London-Edinburgh, 1843), p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> Schrötter, “Briefe von Skoda”, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 62, 1 (1912), p. 70.

proceedings of Škoda only led to the appointment in 1846 because of the political interventions of Türkheim and Cabinet Minister Count Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky.<sup>20</sup>

Hebra too, received his own department of skin diseases, with the intervention of Türkheim and against the resistance of the Lower-Austrian federal state government in 1845. Four years later he was nominated professor extraordinarius for dermatology, but had to wait twenty years before he was finally appointed professor.<sup>21</sup> Rokitansky, Škoda and Hebra fulfilled all the requirements of a modern scientist. Their research output was increased by teamwork and participation of students and post docs from foreign countries; their research was published in well known journals, whereby their reputations grew nationally and internationally. These young physicians from the Crown lands Bohemia and Moravia were kept away from key positions due to the delays of their appointments. In the Habsburg Monarchy, the break-through of the modern scientifically oriented medicine was postponed.

### (3) The Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna opens up

The reactionary system under State Chancellor Prince Clemens von Metternich-Winneburg broke with a revolution, on which the liberal physicians from the University of Vienna had substantial influence. Due to the over representation of doctors, the March Revolution of 1848 was also called the “doctors revolution”.<sup>22</sup> Metternich was forced to resign and fled to England. Kolowrat took over the executive functions of the provisional State Department and disposed a turn in the education- and science-politics.<sup>23</sup> The Court appointed Study Commission was waived, and replaced by a Board of Education. A principle from the March 1849 constitution: “The science and its teachings are free” became the symbol of a new era.<sup>24</sup>

One of the most substantial results of the “doctors revolution” was the opening up of the university. Lecturers, who had gained their habilitation at the medical faculty of the University of Vienna, received not only chairs at universities of the Habsburg Monarchy, but also in Germany.<sup>25</sup> To improve the transfer of knowledge with this neighbour country, graduates from the Berlin Medical School were appointed to Vienna. The leading person behind the scene was Franz Seraphin Exner, a scientific adviser at the Board of Education and former professor of philosophy at the University of Prague. He was a “glowing admirer” of the education system in Germany, particularly in Prussia.<sup>26</sup> Between 1849 and 1900, a total of thirteen per cent of foreigners were appointed to the Viennese medical faculty, the majority coming from Germany.<sup>27</sup> Ernst Wilhelm Brücke, graduate of the Berlin Medical School and professor extraordinarius of physiology and general pathology at the University of Königsberg, applied for the chair of physiology at the University of Vienna in 1848.<sup>28</sup> At first, he was afraid he would not be the right person for a conservative, catholic university, as he was a foreigner

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<sup>20</sup> Max Neuburger (ed.), *Die Wiener Medizinische Schule im Vormärz* (Wien-Berlin-Leipzig 1921), p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 153.

<sup>22</sup> Gernot Stimmer, “Mythologisierung der Revolution von 1848 als Modell einer Studentenrevolution”, in: Christian Helfer, Mohammed Rassem (eds.), *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert*. Studien und Materialien. (*Studien zum Wandel von Gesellschaft und Bildung im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* 12, Forschungsunternehmen “Neunzehntes Jahrhundert” der Fritz Thyssen-Stiftung, Göttingen 1975), pp. 243–302, here p. 247.

<sup>23</sup> Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie (Österreichische Geschichte 1804–1914)*, Wien 1997), p. 262.

<sup>24</sup> Hugo Hantsch, “Die kulturelle Funktion des Österreichischen Bildungswesens im Donauraum”, in: Anton Kolbabeck (ed.), *200 Jahre österreichische Unterrichtsverwaltung. 1760–1960*. Festschrift des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht in Wien (Wien 1960), pp. 13–29, here p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Werner Ogris, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Leo Graf Thun-Hohenstein*. Festvortrag anlässlich des Rektorstages im Großen Festsaal der Universität Wien am 12. März 1999 (Wien 1999), p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Franz Gall, “Akademische Laufbahnen an der Universität Wien in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der medizinischen Fakultät”, in: Helfer, Rassem (eds.), *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 63–74, here p. 69.

<sup>28</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 261.

and a protestant.<sup>29</sup> Despite difficult circumstances he received his appointment decree on 30 March 1849.<sup>30</sup> Since 1805, Brücke was the first professor from a university outside of the Habsburg Monarchy, who had received a chair in Vienna.<sup>31</sup>

When Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein became Minister of Education in July 1849, “the spirit of the Roman-Catholic restoration” once again determined the politics in education. According to Thun, universities in Austria should be led catholic-conservatively and in their scientific level, equated to the protestant universities in Germany.<sup>32</sup> The conception was a contradiction in itself, because the controlling principle of the Catholic Church was not compatible with academic freedom of protestant universities.<sup>33</sup> Alfons Lhotsky stated, that in appointment negotiations, Thun-Hohenstein paid more attention to the religious denomination and origin of the applicant, rather than to qualifications. The “votes of the councils of the professors” were regarded by the Minister of Education as an ‘unbinding’ recommendation. The minister ranked the candidates for a chair as he saw it correct and politically convenient.<sup>34</sup> It was Thun, who proposed that a second medical clinic at the University of Vienna should be opened for the internist Johann Oppolzer.<sup>35</sup> Oppolzer’s appointment to the chair of this clinic was not discussed at the medical council of professors beforehand. Skoda and Rokitansky approached the new council member with caution, whereas Hebra rejected him outright.<sup>36</sup>

The dissolution of the Board of Education on 20 October 1860 and the dismissal of Thun Hohenstein pointed to a liberalization of educational politics.<sup>37</sup> However, the new German liberal Minister of State, Chevalier Anton von Schmerling, a “servant of the crown” rather than a reformer, was now responsible for the Department of Education and Science.<sup>38</sup> In publications and celebration speeches, professors referred to the education misery. Oppolzer, as a rector for the academic year 1861/62, criticized the lack of reform readiness in his inauguration speech.<sup>39</sup> When the new pathological-anatomical institute was opened in 1862, Rokitansky held an impressive speech on the meaning of the “Freedom for Natural Science”<sup>40</sup>. Shortly afterwards, Schmerling offered the pathologist the position of a medical study adviser at the Department of State. The Minister of State put political hopes in Rokitansky. As his “programme”, the pathologist presented two brochures to the Minister of State: “Contemporary Questions relevant to the University”<sup>41</sup> and “The Conformity of the Universities in

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<sup>29</sup> Ernst Wilhelm Brücke, “A letter to Emil du Bois, dated Königsberg, 6 February, 1849”, in: Hans Brücke, Wolfgang Hilger, Walter Höflechner, Wolfram Swoboda (eds), *Ernst Wilhelm von Brücke, Briefe an Emil du Bois-Reymond 1 (Publikationen aus dem Archiv der Universität Graz 8, Graz 1978)*, p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> Brücke, “A letter to Emil du Bois, dated Königsberg, 30 March, 1849”, in: *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 259.

<sup>32</sup> Ogris, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Leo Graf Thun-Hohenstein*, p. 13 f.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Meister, *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens 1*, vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 13. Jänner 1961. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 239, 1 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, Heft 6, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Wien IV*, Wien 1963), p. 86.

<sup>35</sup> Helmut Gröger, Johann Oppolzer — Diagnostiker, Therapeut, Lehrer, in: *Historie Čs. Mediciny a Farmacie ve Svetovém Kontextu*. Symposium pořádané v Plzni 7.–10. Července 1992 (Lékařská Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Plzni 1993), pp. 69–72, here p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 151.

<sup>37</sup> Josef Hochgerner, *Studium und Wissenschaftsentwicklung im Habsburgerreich. Studentengeschichte seit Gründung der Universität Wien bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Studenten in Bewegung. Österreichische Studentengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart 1 (Wien 1983), p. 165.

<sup>38</sup> Georg Franz, *Liberalismus. Die deutschliberale Bewegung in der Habsburgischen Monarchie* (München 1955), p. 264.

<sup>39</sup> Johann Oppolzer, “Ueber Lehr- und Lernfreiheit. Festrede bei Gelegenheit seiner Installation zum Rector magnificus”, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 11, 3 (1861), pp. 43–53, here p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Carl Rokitansky, *Festrede: Freiheit der Naturforschung*. Feierliche Eröffnung des pathologisch-anatomischen Instituts im k. k. allgemeinen Krankenhaus am 24. Mai 1862 (Wien 1862).

<sup>41</sup> Carl Rokitansky, *Zeitfragen betreffend die Universität mit besonderer Beziehung auf Medizin* (Wien 1863).

Consideration of present Austrian Conditions”<sup>42</sup>. They contained plans for a common education programme with the universities of Germany.<sup>43</sup>

For the prospective co-operation, Rokitansky engaged himself for the appointment of well-known German physicians such as the surgeon Theodor Billroth, another graduate of the Berlin Medical School, and professor at the University of Zurich.<sup>44</sup> He hoped, that with appointments of German scientists, the ‘German science’ would be strengthened. The election of Billroth, as candidate for the chair of the Second Surgical Clinic, was commented on euphorically by a colleague:

In the question of appointment [...] the council of professors could not have made a luckier choice, than Billroth. [He] actually [counts] to the first eminent authorities of surgery in Europe. [...] The acquisition of such a distinguished instructor therefore lies in the deepest interest of our university.<sup>45</sup>

With his sensational pioneer operations of the larynx and stomach, Billroth had acquired a high reputation in society. In Vienna, he was selected into the circle of “the hero professors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”<sup>46</sup>. Billroth was thirty-eight years old when he received the chair for surgery. Franz Gall found in his investigation for the period of 1848 to 1900, the academic career peak of physicians was reached relatively early at the University of Vienna. From the appointed one hundred professors, nineteen per cent were even under thirty years of age when they were appointed to a chair, the youngest of them was twenty-three and only one was over forty. Concerning mobility, forty-five of these professors taught at more than one university: two per cent at five, two per cent at four, twelve per cent at three and the majority at two.<sup>47</sup> Generally it showed, that the Viennese Medical School achieved international reputation with the promotion of young, flexible and talented physicians.

#### **(4) National versus liberal appointment policy**

A concise example of this is the appointment of Salomon Stricker. After graduating from the medical faculty at the University of Vienna, he first worked at Brücke’s institute for physiology. Stricker concentrated on experimental research and through this, he was able to have his own laboratory at the clinic of Oppolzer. In 1868, when he was thirty-four years old, he was nominated professor extraordinarius.<sup>48</sup> His laboratory was renamed to an institute for experimental pathology. By separating experimental pathology from general pathology, Rokitansky was able to create at the Board of Education a full professorship for Stricker, without an appointment procedure. The specialization of pathology seemed to Rokitansky a specific selection option for the Viennese Medical School in relation to the Berlin Medical School. The council of professors of the medical faculty protested against the form, in which a new chair was created for Stricker in 1873, and against the separation from general pathology.<sup>49</sup> Since “the opposition protested against the chair for experimental pathology”, Stricker wrote in an article in the ‘Wiener klinische Wochenschrift’, he and Rokitansky were being blamed about removing the medical faculty of Vienna University “from the universities of the new German Reich”.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Carl Rokitansky, *Die Conformität der Universitäten mit Rücksicht auf gegenwärtige österreichische Zustände* (Wien 1863).

<sup>43</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen Rokitansky’s*, copied by H. Rokitansky, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> See Carl Rokitansky, “A letter to Theodor Billroth, dated Vienna 1 April 1867”, in: Isidor Fischer (ed.), *Briefe an Billroth. Aus dem Archiv der Gesellschaft der Ärzte in Wien* (Berlin-Wien 1929), p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Emanuel Berghoff, “Zur Besetzungsfrage der Schuh’schen Klinik”, *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift. Sonderdruck* 21 (1931), p. 2 f.

<sup>46</sup> Jörg Zittlau, *Eine Elite macht Kasse. Der Professorenreport* (Hamburg 1994), p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Gall, “Akademische Laufbahnen an der Universität Wien”, in: Helfer, Rassem (eds.), *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert*, p. 69 f.

<sup>48</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 549.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 550.

<sup>50</sup> Salomon Stricker, “Die experimentelle Pathologie. Feuilleton”, *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift* 9, 42 (1896), pp. 959–961, here p. 960.

Armand von Dumreicher, the son of the surgeon Johann von Dumreicher and German-national oriented juristic adviser at the Board of Education, stated that the medical faculty was politically affected, since the power was in the hand of a federalistic government. Dumreicher spoke as well from the dangers of losing the ties with the universities of the German Reich. In April 1871, the medical faculty decided to let the Austrian Heinrich von Bamberger, professor for internal medicine in Würzburg since 1854, have the chair after Oppolzer. However, the Board of Education rejected this because Bamberger was said to be a little too unpatriotic since he had left Austria. Dumreicher interpreted this view as “genuinely old-Austrian”.<sup>51</sup> In the attack on the Austria-centred, liberal education- and science-politics, Dumreicher found support with quite a few professors at the medical faculty, who had known each other from academic societies or fraternities. German-national oriented, they saw Bamberger, like Billroth, as an important mediator between the universities of the Habsburg Monarchy and the German Reich.

In the academic year 1873/74, the controversy between the liberal and German-national professors focused on the appointments for three vacant chairs: pharmacy, applied medical chemistry and pathological anatomy. The Board of Education wanted to give the chairs, if possible, to Austrians. In order to rank Ernst Ludwig at the top for the chair of applied medical chemistry, some professors compiled an excellent advisory opinion for the Ministry.<sup>52</sup> Only Billroth rejected it,<sup>53</sup> as Ludwig was the candidate of Rokitansky.<sup>54</sup> The surgeon knew, how to use his prestige and influence at the top of the hierarchy of the council of professors when it came to appointment procedures. Different opinions between the Board of Education, represented by Rokitansky and certain professors such as Billroth, were ignored by different “tricks”.<sup>55</sup> Billroth opposed himself again in the appointment of the successor on Rokitansky’s chair of pathological anatomy, for which the pathologist Richard Heschl, a former assistant of Rokitansky, had applied. From 1855 to 1861, Heschl had taught general pathology at the University of Cracow, then he left for the University of Graz.<sup>56</sup> Billroth refused to support “black-yellow” professors, who were monarchists and stood faithful to the flag of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>57</sup> The surgeon showed Rokitansky clearly that his influence at the medical faculty of the University of Vienna had sunk.

Pierre Bourdieu explains this behaviour of individual groups with a conflict model. For the “struggle for power” of their representatives, “excluding-strategies” were used, orientated on the “reproduction of the corporation-body”.<sup>58</sup> For new appointments of chairs, candidates were selected “who represented the group at best or who [were] worthy of becoming a member of the group”. In the arising competitions, the particular groups were anxious to change, to increase or at least, to maintain the “social distances” to non-members.<sup>59</sup> Through the increasing German nationalism, Germans were preferred to foreigners in appointment-procedures at the University of Vienna.

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<sup>51</sup> Armand Dumreicher von, *Die Verwaltung der Universitäten seit dem letzten politischen Systemwechsel in Österreich* (Wien 1873), p. 95 f.

<sup>52</sup> *Das Unterrichts-Ministerium und die Wiener medicinische Fakultät* (Wien 1874), p. 4 f.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 523.

<sup>55</sup> Marina Fischer, Hermann Strasser, *Selbstbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung der österreichischen Universitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie der Universität* (Wien 1973), p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 566 f.

<sup>57</sup> Theodor Billroth, “A letter to Rudolf Virchow, dated 1 January, 1875”, in: Christian Andree, *Rudolf Virchow – Theodor Billroth. Leben und Werk* (Katalog der Ausstellung der Stiftung Pommern im Rantzaubau des Kieler Schlosses vom 9. Juni bis 2. September 1979, ed. Stiftung Pommern, Kiel, Stiftung des öffentlichen Rechtes; Neumünster 1979), p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft* (Frankfurt<sup>5</sup> 1992), p. 262 f.

<sup>59</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Frankfurt 1992), p. 110.

## (5) Anti-Semitism influences academic careers

Although appointments of Jews were not hindered by anti-Semitism, criticism of their scientific work and institutes made it difficult for them to receive appointments. The academic career of Johann Schnitzler is a clear example of this. In 1865, he gained his habilitation in diseases of the breathing- and circulation organs at the University of Vienna.<sup>60</sup> At the end of 1871, Schnitzler decided to establish a hospital in which needy patients could be treated free of charge. In return, they would be available as demonstration objects for students. On 1 January 1872, the Policlinic was opened as an addition to the university clinics and hospitals in Vienna.<sup>61</sup> University lecturers, who had fewer opportunities for advancement at the university clinics because of their Jewish origin, were elected for heads of departments at the Policlinic.<sup>62</sup>

The patient frequency confirmed that there was a need for this type of hospital in Vienna. However, Schnitzler had many opponents amongst the practical physicians, the medical council of professors and the medical section of the Viennese municipal council.<sup>63</sup> Anonymous brochures were written against the Policlinic. Defamation and motions of no confidence were used to weaken the health centre.<sup>64</sup> Schnitzler assumed that the criticism he wrote in his journals 'Die Wiener Medizinische Presse' and the 'Internationale klinische Rundschau' against resolutions of the councils of professors, were a further reason why he could not expect support of the colleagues in view to an appointment as a full professor.<sup>65</sup> The attacks of the 'German' physicians were directed against the collective of the 'Jewish' physicians or centred on Schnitzler personally. Even before Johann Schnitzler died on 2 May 1893, efforts were made to take all Jews out of the Policlinic, a clinic of Jewish origin.<sup>66</sup>

The academic career of the neuro-pathologist Sigmund Freud was already determined by anti-Semitism at the University of Vienna<sup>67</sup> and the distrust against a new field of medicine, in this case, against the psychoanalysis. On 5 September 1885, Freud gained his habilitation and became a university lecturer. Based on his numerous publications, Freud expected to be nominated professor extraordinarius, but he refused to look for someone who would give him the application at the council of professors. Without his knowledge, the internist Hermann Nothnagel and the psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing, recommended Freud for a professorship there.<sup>68</sup> The reconciliation at the council of professors was delayed and several times, younger colleagues were preferred in the professor extraordinarius nominations until 1897. Freud decided, "to break with the university definitely".<sup>69</sup>

Despite the recommendation of the council of professors and despite the acceptance of their references in the Ministry, Freud's application for nomination remained as an outstanding file in the Ministry for several years.<sup>70</sup> In 1901 Krafft-Ebing and Nothnagel intervened again at the council of

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<sup>60</sup> Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 417.

<sup>61</sup> *Die Poliklinik und die Kämpfe gegen dieselbe* (Wien 1886), p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> Konrad Weiss, "Medizin-Unterricht an der Wiener Allgemeinen Poliklinik", *Österreichische Ärztezeitung* 27, 11 (1972), pp. 667–672, here p. 668.

<sup>63</sup> *Die Poliklinik, Das Medicinische Professoren-Collegium und die Praktischen Aerzte Wiens. Streiflichter auf die ärztlichen Verhältnisse der Residenz* (Wien 1877), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> *Die Poliklinik und die Kämpfe gegen dieselbe*, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> VA. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht 4 Med. Schnitzler. Nr. 14 933 ex 1878. Cit. in : Lesky, *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, p. 417 f.

<sup>66</sup> Reiner Speck, "Die Allgemeine Wiener Poliklinik und 'Professor Bernhardi'. Zum hospital-historischen und biographischen Hintergrund in Arthur Schnitzlers gleichnamiger Komödie", *Historia hospitalium* 14 (1981/82), pp. 301–320, here p. 309.

<sup>67</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race and Gender. Freud, Identität und Geschlecht* (Princeton/New Jersey 1993, Frankfurt am Main 1994), p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> Kurt R. Eissler, "Ein zusätzliches Dokument zur Geschichte von Freuds Professur", *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse* 7 (1974), pp. 101–113, here p. 102 f.

<sup>69</sup> Kurt R. Eissler, "Julius Wagner – Jaureggs Gutachten über Sigmund Freud und seine Studien zur Psychoanalyse" (Entgegnung auf Prof. Gicklorns wissenschafts-geschichtliche Notiz in der *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift* 69, 30 (1957), pp. 533–537, *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift* 70, 22 (1958), pp. 401–408, here p. 404.

<sup>70</sup> Eissler, "Ein zusätzliches Dokument zur Geschichte von Freuds Professur", *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse* 7 (1974), p. 103.

professors in order to accelerate the negotiations at the Board of Education.<sup>71</sup> Elise Gomperz, an “old friend and former female patient”, intervened through the Minister of Education, Wilhelm von Hartel, a former faculty colleague of her husband. The procedure was supposed to be delayed as secret plots against Freud should have hurt his image by the Minister of Education.<sup>72</sup>

From a former teacher, the physiologist Sigmund Exner, Freud experienced that they smiled about the psychoanalysis “in certain circles”.<sup>73</sup> “The city of Vienna has done everything, to deny its part on the genesis of psychoanalysis”, Freud wrote in his biography. “In no other place can the analyst feel so clearly the hostile indifference of the scholarly and educated circles as here in Vienna now”.<sup>74</sup> Not before 1902, seventeen years after the habilitation, was Freud nominated professor extraordinarius. The psychoanalyst attributed the delay to “confessional considerations” of the government.<sup>75</sup> He described the public’s reaction to his nomination in a letter to Wilhelm Fliess. It sounded like a parody on the Habsburg Monarchy:

The participation of the population is very big. Already it rains congratulations and flower donations, as if the role of the sexuality would suddenly be acknowledged by His Majesty, the meaning of the dream confirmed by the Council of Ministers, and the necessity for a psychoanalytic therapy of the hysteria confirmed with two thirds majority in the parliament. [...] I learned that this Old World is governed by the authority like the New one by the dollar. I made my first bow in front of the authority, and may hope to get rewarded.<sup>76</sup>

Freud had to wait for eighteen more years before he was awarded with a full professorship in 1920.<sup>77</sup>

## (6) Conclusion

This paper has shown that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an appointment to a chair at the medical faculty of the University of Vienna was not only decided by high professional competence, but also by the number and quality of publications and the status in the Scientific Community. In “Searching for Excellence”, the social and national background, the religious denomination, the support of the university and non-university organizations and fraternities also played an important role in determining careers. During Reactionism, a strong political lobby of Bohemians promoted young physicians from the Crown lands, during Liberalism, it concentrated on appointments of physicians from Germany. Graduates from the Berlin Medical School improved the scientific standards at the Viennese Medical School and initiated co-operations between the universities of both monarchies. While the federalistic government searched for the suitable professor, it focused on the type of the ‘true Austrian’, that was bound by German national professors to the German nationality in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jews were increasingly hindered in their career.

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<sup>71</sup> Kurt R. Eissler, “Zwei bisher übersehene Dokumente zur akademischen Laufbahn Sigmund Freuds”, *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift* 78, 1 (1966), pp. 16–19, here p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> Sigmund Freud, “A letter to Wilhelm Fliess, dated Vienna IX., Berggasse 19, 11 March, 1902”, in: Ernst und Lucie Freud (eds.), *Sigmund Freud, Briefe 1873–1938* (Frankfurt am Main<sup>3</sup> 1980), p. 259.

<sup>73</sup> Freud, “A letter to Elise Gomperz, dated Vienna IX., Berggasse 19, 8 December, 1901”, in: *ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>74</sup> Sigmund Freud, “*Selbstdarstellung*”. *Schriften zur Geschichte der Psychoanalyse*, ed. und eingeleitet von Ilse Grubrich-Simitis (Frankfurt am Main 1971), p. 175 f.

<sup>75</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Gesammelte Werke II / III: Die Traumdeutung. Über den Traum* (London 1942, Frankfurt am Main<sup>6</sup> 1976), p. 142.

<sup>76</sup> Freud, “A letter to Wilhelm Fliess, dated Vienna IX., Berggasse 19, 11 March, 1902”, in: Ernst und Lucie Freud (eds.), *Freud, Briefe*, p. 260 f.

<sup>77</sup> Katja Behling, *Dunkler Seele Zauberbann. Sigmund Freud und die Psychoanalyse* (Graz 2006), p. 155.