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# Jaroslav Bidlo and Milada Paulová: On the institutionalisation of Czech historical Slavonic studies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>

**Klíčová slova:** historiografie; Středovýchodní Evropa; historická slavistika; dějiny univerzitní vzdělanosti; dějiny vědy; Jaroslav Bidlo; Milada Paulová

**Keywords:** historiography; Central and Eastern Europe; historical Slavonic studies; history of university education, history of science; Jaroslav Bidlo, Milada Paulová

**Abstract:** This study follows the academic careers of Jaroslav Bidlo and Milada Paulová, focusing on their organisational activities in the realm of historical Slavonic studies. Both were professors of general history, specialising in the history of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula at the Faculty of Philosophy (Charles University, Prague). Their names are thus tied to the development of Czech historical Slavonic studies since their beginnings in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries until the 1960s.

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## Introduction

An intensive spread and growth of national self-awareness of Slavic ethnicities in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century made an important contribution to the establishment of Slavonic Studies as a field of science. While earlier Slavonic Studies tended to focus on the history of literature and linguistics, the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries marked their expansion towards the neighbouring disciplines: ethnography, anthropology, archaeology, and history. Alongside publications of key specialist works in the field: Lubor Niederle's *Slovanské starožitnosti* (Slavic Antiquities) – the development of new areas of Slavonic Studies was reflected in their institutionalisation in the form of new university departments,<sup>2</sup> dedicated platforms within existing scientific societies, or specialised journals.<sup>3</sup>

Historical Slavonic Studies nowadays designate an area of science investigating relations between Slavic nations, the development of the very notion of Slavic fellowship, and the history of Slavonic Studies.<sup>4</sup> We shall use the term to refer mainly to institutionalised historiography of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focused on the history of Slavic nations and regions with Slavic population, including relevant bordering territories. We believe that this interpretation is corroborated, among other things, by the definition of the full professorship of *thema* in protagonists of this study, Jaroslav Bidlo and Milada Paulová, and well as their professional focus: general history with special emphasis on the history of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Nevertheless, in their lectures – and in Bidlo's case also in his key synthetic works – they tended to emphasise the history of Slavic ethnicities in that territory. This approach had its critics back at the time and, significantly, was later rejected by Bidlo's student, Josef Macůrek, professor at Masaryk University in Brno,

<sup>2</sup> A typical example of this is full professorship in Slavic legal history, granted to Karel Kadlec in 1909 at the Faculty of Law of the Czech Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague. More on the context in K. Kadlec, *O katedrách historie slovanských práv*, St. Petersburg 1906 (a special reprint from *Sborník statej v česř V.I. Lamanskago*).

<sup>3</sup> The history of Czech and Czechoslovak Slavic Studies until 1938 is presented in a systematic fashion in the following collective monographs: M. Kudělka, Z. Šimeček, R. Večerka, *Česká slavistika v prvním období svého vývoje do počátku 60. let 19. století*, Prague 1995; M. Kudělka, Z. Šimeček, V. Štátný, R. Večerka, *Česká slavistika od 60. let 19. století do roku 1918*, Prague 1997; eidem, *Československá slavistika v letech 1918–1939*, Prague 1977.

<sup>4</sup> R. Vlček, *Historická slavistika na stránkách sta ročníků Slovanského přehledu. Tradice – současnost – perspektivy*, *Slavica Litteraria* 19 (2016), no. 2, p. 156.

who integrated non-Slavic peoples to the same extent as the Slavic ones into his perspective on the history of Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this contribution is to show, using the example of the two most important representatives of Historical Slavonic Studies in Prague in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the institutional foundations of this discipline. Specifically, we want to trace how Bidlo and Paulová used their position at the university and in central academic organisations. The focus is thus not on their work but their organising activities, which is also why this study largely relies on official documents. Our goal is to offer international readers a summary of several relatively detailed partial studies which we published in recent years in Czech journals.<sup>6</sup> Given the extent of the subject, we have tried to avoid excessive detail and limit citations of literature and sources to the most important ones.

## Jaroslav Bidlo and his university career

In 1882, as a result of national disputes, Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague<sup>7</sup> was split in two separate universities, a Czech and a German one. At the Faculty of Philosophy of the Czech Karl-Ferdinand University, historian and archaeologist Josef Ladislav Píč confirmed his habilitation already in 1883 in the history of Slavic nations. His lectures were dominated by focus on older history (Slavic mythology and the first Slavic states), ethnography, and archaeology. Píč's teaching career in Slavic history was soon overshadowed by Konstantin Jireček, who, despite his youth, had

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<sup>5</sup> For a clear overview, see J. Macůrek, *Úvahy o mé vědecké činnosti a vědeckých pracích*, Brno 1998, pp. 55–57.

<sup>6</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská univerzita: k počátkům české historické slavistiky*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 59 (2019), no. 1, p. 53–95; idem, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako člen Královské české společnosti nauk a České akademie věd a umění*, Dějiny věd a techniky 53 (2020), no. 3, p. 131–151; D. BrádlEROVÁ, *Milada Paulová a pražská univerzita: Historická slavistika*, ibidem, p. 97–147; eadem, *Milada Paulová a její působení v mimouniverzitních vědeckých institucích*, Dějiny věd a techniky 53 (2020), no. 3, p. 120–130; eadem, *Nová věda v novém státě – Emancipace československé vědy v rámci ČSNRB s přihlédnutím k historické slavistice*, Práce z dějin Akademie věd 11 (2019), no. 1, p. 1–18; D. BrádlEROVÁ, M. Ďurčanský, *Působení Jaroslava Bidla a Milady Paulové v pražské univerzitní extenzi*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 61 (2021), no. 1, pp. 61–88.

<sup>7</sup> The standard work on the history of the Prague university is *A History of Charles University*, eds. F. Kavka, J. Petráň, Vols. 1–2, Prague 2001.

demonstrated his outstanding skills as an organiser of Bulgarian scientific and cultural life. In 1884, Jireček was appointed full professor of general history, majoring in the history of Slavs and the Balkan Peninsula. His lectures tended to revolve around south-eastern Europe and its links with the history of the Osman Empire, eventually also the history of Byzantium. As a result, in principle they did not overlap with Pič's courses.<sup>8</sup>

In 1893, Jireček accepted the offer to transfer to the University of Vienna and become head of the Department of Slavonic Philology because of a vacancy. Among Jireček's students was Jaroslav Bidlo,<sup>9</sup> who continued to follow his former teacher's work after his departure to Vienna and maintained sporadic contacts with him. When Jireček died, Bidlo wrote several obituaries which clearly show his esteem of the Viennese professor and the importance he ascribed to his work in the European context.<sup>10</sup> In academic literature, though, Bidlo is viewed mainly as a student of Jaroslav Goll, a professor of general history. Personally, he also acknowledged the influence of Antonín Rezek, professor of Austrian history, and Josef Kalousek, his professor of Czech history. Bidlo's study trips abroad (Krakow 1892–1893, Moscow and Sankt Petersburg 1896–1897)<sup>11</sup> were, however, clearly inspired by Goll. Over time, Bidlo became a likely candidate for Konstantin Jireček's courses. From our

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<sup>8</sup> K. Kazbunda, *Stolice dějin na pražské univerzitě*, Vol. 3, Prague 1968, pp. 37–47; I. Dorovský, *Konstantin Jireček. Život a dílo*, Brno 1983, pp. 149–157.

<sup>9</sup> Jaroslav Bidlo (1868–1937) was a member of the oldest generation of the so-called Goll's School. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy of Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague, where he also confirmed his doctoral thesis and since 1911 served as a full professor of history of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. His most eminent works include *Dějiny Jednoty bratrské v polském vyhnanství*, Vols. 1–4 (1900–1932), *Dějiny Ruska v XIX. století*, Vols. 1–2 (1909–1911), *Kultura byzantská. Její vznik a význam* (1917), edition of sources *Akty Jednoty bratrské*, Vols. 1–2 (1915–1922), and a synthetic treatise *Dějiny Slovanstva* (1927). His international reputation grew following his presentation at the 8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw in 1933, where he outlined his conception of the history of Eastern Europe which led to a discussion that lasted several years.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bidlo, *Konstantin Jireček*, *Věstník České akademie věd a umění* 27 (1918), pp. 115–133; idem, *Konstantin Jireček*, *Almanach České akademie věd a umění* 28 (1918), pp. 158–168; idem, *Konstantin Jireček*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 43–44 (1919–1920), pp. 1–13.

<sup>11</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Szkola historyczna Golla i jej przedstawiciele (Goll, Pekař, Bidlo) na stosunków czesko-polskich*, [In:] *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU*, t. VIII, Kraków 2007, p. 252–259; B. Jiroušek, *Studijní cesta Jaroslava Bidla na Rus v letech 1897–1898*, Scientific Papers of the University of Pardubice, Series C, Faculty of Humanities, Supplement 3 (2000), pp. 83–90.

perspective, the time that elapsed between Bidlo's habilitation (1900) and full professorship (1911) was not very long: the historian, then 41 years old, had another quarter of a century of active work in academia.<sup>12</sup>

The courses offered by Bidlo after 1900 focused mostly on the history of the European East in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era and, in particular, on the relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was the historical background against which he studied a topic of his life-long interest: the history of the Union of Brethren in Polish exile. Sometimes, he interspersed these courses with lectures on current subjects, eventually on the publications he was working on. For instance, when Europe was witness to the progress of the Russian revolution in 1905, he announced a lecture on the 'History of Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century' and soon after published an eponymous study. He also repeatedly turned in his lectures to the history of Byzantium, especially its medieval part. Although Konstantin Jireček had likewise lectured on this subject, it is Bidlo who is considered the founder of the Czech Byzantine Studies as a separate discipline.<sup>13</sup> Since the beginning of his career, Bidlo attempted to address the history of Slavic nations (or Eastern Europe) in a synthetic manner. He lectured on the subject since the academic year 1901/1902 ('Dějiny národů slovanských v přehledu', i.e. The history of Slavic nations in an overview). He promoted the courses every time he was preparing a new work on the topic: 'Přehledné dějiny národů slovanských' (1909/1910; A synopsis of the history of Slavic nations), 'Filosofie dějin východoevropských' (1921/1922; Philosophy of the history of Eastern Europe), 'Literatura k dějinám evropského východu' (1922/1923; Literature on the history of European East), 'Přehled dějin východoevropských' (1927/1928, 1928/1929; A synopsis of the history of Eastern Europe), and 'Východoevropské dějepisectví' (1933/1934, 1935; Historiography of Eastern Europe).<sup>14</sup> At this point, it should be noted that after 1910, in his more general lectures the adjective 'Slavic' was usually replaced by 'East European'.

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<sup>12</sup> More detail in K. Kazbunda, *Stolice dějin*, p. 221–225, 239–242, 275–293, 387–393; M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská*, pp. 58–70.

<sup>13</sup> L. Havlíková, *K počátkům české byzantologie. P. Šafařík – J. Bidlo – M. Weingart*, [In:] *Česko-slovenská vzájemnost a nezájemnost*, eds. I. Pospíšil, M. Zelenka, Brno 2000, pp. 140–146.

<sup>14</sup> A synopsis of Bidlo's university lectures in M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská*, pp. 89–91.

Another long-term feature of Bidlo's teaching were his courses at the history department given since 1907, where he presented topics from Slavic history and asked students to write papers on relevant subjects. Owing to Bidlo's initiative, some particularly good papers were even published. Bidlo had also supervised several doctoral theses of his students, a prerequisite for acquiring a doctorate in philosophy.<sup>15</sup> The sources analysed in his courses tended to be related to Bidlo's current professional interests (Byzantine history in 1911–1915, before he published his *Kultura byzantská*, The Culture of Byzantium) or to relevant important anniversaries (e.g., sources related to the Battle of Grunwald in 1909/1910).

Bidlo was perceived as a strict and demanding examiner but also a dedicated and selfless tutor, especially where his students' academic activities were concerned. Milada Paulová, his student, later recalled that he used to be 'strict and inaccessible but when a student needed help with his or her work, help with acquiring materials, they could approach him – as we used to say – even at midnight'.<sup>16</sup> Bidlo also ensured that the students were financially provided for.<sup>17</sup> He lobbied on behalf of individuals and groups also as a senior member of the Faculty of Philosophy and in other positions in which he served. This brings us to Bidlo's organising and administrative activities at the university, an area where he was more active than most of his colleagues.

Since April 1906, he attended regularly meetings of the professorial assembly of the Faculty of Philosophy, when his appointment to associate professorship came into force. In this way, he participated in the internal operations of the faculty and its relations to other institutions, state authorities, and the public, and his proposals could actively influence the developments. In terms of issues pertaining to Slavonic studies before the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, he became actively involved in changes to the rules of *viva voce* doctoral examinations 'for candidates combining the study of history with Slavonic philology' and in changes to lecturing positions in Slavic languages and the relevant remuneration. Bidlo's activity in the committee for the affairs of private lecturers and in the committee for foundations was of more general nature but had a large impact on providing for the financial needs of students.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, pp. 70–72.

<sup>16</sup> Jaroslav Bidlo – Milada Paulová. *Střet generací? Paměti a vzájemná korespondence zakladatelů české byzantologie a slovanských studií*, eds. D. Brádrlová, J. Hálek, Prague 2014, p. 145.

<sup>17</sup> B. Jiroušek, *Jaroslav Klik. Historik ve stínu Josefa Pekaře*, České Budějovice 2011, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> For detailed references to sources, cf. M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská*, p. 77.

During WWI, Bidlo was perceived as loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>19</sup> In fact, in the academic year of 1915/1916, due to pressure from the Ministry of Education, as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, he even had to suggest that Ernst Denis, a French Slavonic scholar, be removed from the list of honorary doctors of the Czech university.<sup>20</sup> This did not, however, affect his post-war career. On the contrary, once an independent state was formed, he enjoyed even more prestige as the sole full professor representing Historical Slavonic Studies in the new republic. He was responsible not only for training his successor in Prague but also for educating future lecturers in the field at the newly founded universities in Brno and Bratislava. He was also asked to supply key libraries with basic literature on Slavonic studies in the context of history. All in all, Bidlo's involvement in organising Slavonic studies was, during the first few years after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, extensive and remarkable.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the growing number of responsibilities, the job at the university remained for Bidlo the core of his academic and public activities, even during the Interwar period. In addition to giving lectures and teaching at the department, his engagement in academic administration grew. After 1918, he was a member of nearly thirty committees evaluating proposals for habilitations and professorships. In this way, alongside various historical disciplines he also influenced the development of academic staff in related areas of humanities and social sciences, such as Classical philology (linked to courses in ancient history), Oriental studies, sociology, and pedagogy. Directly related with lecturing in Slavonic Studies at the Charles University were the habilitations of Miloš Weingart (Slavonic philology), Milada Paulová and Josef Macůrek (history of Eastern Europe), and Josef Páta (Sorbian studies).<sup>22</sup> Bidlo was also active in integrating scientists – immigrants from the Ukraine and Russia, such as Dmytro Doroshenko (Ukrainian history), Oleksandr Kolessa (Ukrainian history and language), Alexandr Alexandrovich Kizevetter and

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<sup>19</sup> M. Kučera, *Rakouský občan Josef Pekař (Kapitola z kulturně politických dějin)*, Prague 2005, pp. 106–107, 243–244; K. Kazbunda, *Jaroslav Goll a Josef Pekař ve víru války světové*, Part VI: *Stolice dějin na české univerzitě v Praze 1914–1918*, Prague 2000, pp. 106, 203.

<sup>20</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako osoba veřejná*, [In:] *Čas optimismu a tížádostivých nadějí. Prezentace a reprezentace české vědy a kultury v prvním desetiletí samostatného státu*, ed. D. Blümlová, České Budějovice 2009, pp. 60–61; M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská*, p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako osoba*, pp. 60–64.

<sup>22</sup> For details, see M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a pražská*, pp. 80–82.



Antony Florovsky (both Russian history). In these cases, not always full professorship was achieved, since the Ministry of Education and National Instruction tried, especially since mid-1930s, to offer after the end of fixed-term pre-agreed professorship less paid and less prestigious lectureships. This is reflected in the surviving correspondence between Doroshenko, Florovsky, and Bidlo.<sup>23</sup> Their letters also show that Bidlo was viewed as a person influential and trustworthy enough to playact as a mediator with the ministry.

Bidlo played a similarly important role as a member of a committee inviting visiting professors from abroad. This was not a mean feat because it required pairing up the professors' busy schedules and the operations of the Faculty of Philosophy. For instance, in the case of Franciszek Bujak, a visiting professor from the university in Lemberg (Lwów), over two years had elapsed between the original invitation in February 1926 and his lecture in May 1928, whereby the date had to be postponed several times and for various reasons.<sup>24</sup> On top of that, it required money, collected usually in collaboration with the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education, eventually also other institutions. With respect to lectures organised by Bidlo, he partnered up with the Slavic and the Oriental Institutes. The lectures of visiting professors at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University during the Interwar period have not yet been reconstructed. A partial study focused on guests from Poland, however, shows that in 1922–1937, there were 14 visiting professors, six of them historians and leading personalities of Central European historiography (Stanisław Kot, Franciszek Bujak, Waclaw Sobieski, Marcelli Handelsman, Olgierd Górka, Oskar Halecki).<sup>25</sup> The surviving private correspondence shows that Bidlo played a key role in arranging their stay: from inviting them, all the way to reports in the press.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences [henceforth MIA], collection J. Bidlo, inv. nos. 130 and 162.

<sup>24</sup> The original documentation pertaining to visiting professors at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University unfortunately survived only in fragments (only letters A–C). Detailed information must therefore be sought in other sources. On F. Bujak's lectures, cf. Archives of the Charles University (henceforth CUA), collection Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, box 127, id. no. 1333.

<sup>25</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Od niezgody do bratniej serdeczności i z powrotem. Wydział Filozoficzny Uniwersytetu Karola w Pradze a współpraca z nauką polską (1918–1938)*, *Historia Slavorum Occidentis* 8 (2015), no. 1, pp. 160–163.

<sup>26</sup> This follows from correspondence that survived in Bidlo's personal collection; further also cf. *Korespondencja Stanisława Kota z Jarosławem Bidło*, eds. P. Biliński, M. Ďurčanský, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 52 (2008), pp. 239–267; *Listy Wacława Sobieskiego do Jaroslawa*



Likewise linked to his academic work were Bidlo's activities related to the so-called university 'extension' (lectures for the public).<sup>27</sup> This was a part of a wider trend of expanding public instruction, in which the Czech university in Prague participated since 1899, and since 1908 collaborated in organising lectures for the public with the Czech Technical University. The Charles University had first ten and later twelve members in the joint Committee for the Organisation of Lectures for the Education of the Public of Czech Universities – as its name was until 1926. Bidlo was elected to this committee for the first time in the academic year of 1911/1912, after participating as a lecturer. First, he lectured mainly on the Unity of Brethren but after publishing a synthetic chapter on the history of Slavic nations in an important anthology called *Slovanstvo* (Slavdom),<sup>28</sup> the history of the Slavic nations became the dominant topic of his lectures. In connection with the committee's activities, in early 1917 Bidlo was asked to prepare a comprehensive report on the activities of the extension for the Ministry of Education in Vienna. His engagement had doubtless further improved his standing.<sup>29</sup>

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, the new universities in Brno and Bratislava set up their own committees for organising lectures for the public and joined forces with the Prague committee. As head of the Prague committee from July 1921 until October 1931, Bidlo held in this umbrella organisation the most important position. His re-election for two terms attests to the trust he enjoyed but the nature of his field of expertise must have – within the generally Slavophile mood – also played its role. After all, even one of the first applications addressed to the Ministry of Education of the young republic (still in 1918) said that the purpose of the extension is to work for the benefit of a nation 'that would also be imposing

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*Bidla z lat 1901–1933*, eds. P. Biliński, M. Ďurčanský, *Klio Polska. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Historiografii Polskiej* 13 (2021), pp. 149–179.

<sup>27</sup> The entire phenomenon of university lectures for the public deserves more attention in Czech historiography. Cf. R. Horna, J. Opravil, M. Paulová, *Extense vysokých škol v Republice československé v třicetiletí 1898–1928*, Prague 1928; F.X. Halas, *Extenze československých vysokých škol a brněnská univerzita*, Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity C 28 (1981), pp. 53–95. Sources on the history of the Prague university extension have the form of boxes with documents sorted by year and a book of records of meetings of the committee responsible for the Prague extension. CUA, collection Akademický senát Univerzity Karlovy, box 222, inv. no. 3350–3352; *ibid.*, box 230, inv. no. 3384–3385.

<sup>28</sup> J. Bidlo, *Historický vývoj Slovanstva*, [In:] *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti*, eds. J. Bidlo, J. Polívka, Prague 1912, pp. 3–131.

<sup>29</sup> D. Brádlarová, M. Ďurčanský, *Působení Jaroslava Bidla*, p. 67.

with respect to other, especially Slavic countries, with whom it wishes to maintain the warmest of international relations'.<sup>30</sup>

During his term as head of the Prague extension, Bidlo had to deal with numerous pressing issues, such as its position vis-à-vis other institutions of public instruction, especially the newly founded and better funded Masaryk's Institute for Public Education. The committee for the extension organised courses for teachers of lower grades. Completely new on its agenda were lectures for Slovakia (before the foundation of the Bratislava extension) and lectures for Czech minority schools abroad and for the compatriots in Austria. In 1929, the committee successfully renewed the publication of lectures in print, and collaboration with the radio (Radio journal station) followed suit.<sup>31</sup> At Bidlo's suggestion, the extension established collaboration with the Slavic Institute and at the occasion of President Masaryk's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday, organised a series of lectures on his relations to Slavic nations.<sup>32</sup> By the time Bidlo resigned from his work for the extension, it was an established institution with sound financial reserves, which during the time of the Great Depression turned out to be decisive for its further activities.

## Jaroslav Bidlo and academic societies

Jaroslav Bidlo's personal prestige and influence was derived mainly from his position as professor at the largest and oldest university in Bohemia, and membership in scientific societies and institutions was an arena where he could exercise the relevant influence. Over time, Bidlo had joined the two most important nation-wide Czech scientific societies: the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences and the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts.<sup>33</sup> He was significantly more engaged in the former society's operations.

In 1902, in connection with the twentieth anniversary of a separate Czech University, Bidlo published in *Czas*, a Krakow journal, an article in which he evaluated the development of Czech academic historiography during that period.<sup>34</sup> He focused

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<sup>30</sup> Letter of Filip Počta, president of Committee for popular lectures at Prague Universities, to the Ministry of Education and Popular Instruction, 9 December 1918, Prague, CUA, collection Akademický senát Univerzity Karlovy, box 230, inv. no. 3384.

<sup>31</sup> D. Brádrlerová, M. Ďurčanský, *Působení Jaroslava Bidla*, pp. 77–85.

<sup>32</sup> *Sborník přednášek o T.G. Masarykovi*, ed. M. Weingart, Prague 1931.

<sup>33</sup> On their history, see *Bohemia docta: The Historical Roots of Science and Scholarship in the Czech Lands*, eds. M. Franc, A. Kostlán, A. Mířková, Prague 2018.

<sup>34</sup> J. Bidlo, *Czeska szkoła historyczna*, *Czas* (evening edition), 27 December 1902, no. 296, p. 1 and 29 December 1902, no. 297, p. 1.

especially on the work of professors Josef Emler, Antonín Rezek, and Jaroslav Goll, who transferred from the previous (joint Czech and German) university at working age and their significant impact on the students. According to Bidlo, the 'Czech historical school' was characterised by a critical approach resting on the results of contemporary European historiography, which did not shy from unpleasant truths (the affair of the forged manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená hora was still fresh). At the end of his article, Bidlo named several young historians, mostly shortly after habilitation, who would (and indeed did) become the leading personalities of Czech historiography. On paper, the group looked compact but in reality, it was already starting to split into two teams, with Josef Pekař, Josef Šusta, and their adherents on the one side and Václav Novotný, Gustav Friedrich, and Jaroslav Bidlo on the other.<sup>35</sup>

Using Bidlo's example, it is obvious that this split, caused both by differing views and personal animosities, was also reflected in the membership and activities of the abovementioned historians in academic societies, where the constellation of relationships led to a kind of delimitation of influence. It ought to be noted that only full membership implied a real possibility of influencing activities of an academic society and its executive organs on an ongoing basis. Our research indicates that three dates are of key importance in this respect: in 1915, Novotný became full member of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences and Bidlo joined him in 1917, while Pekař became full member of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1916. Bidlo and Novotný, who tended to work in tandem, were thus more closely linked to the traditional and less financially viable Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences. This was reflected also in practical affairs. While Pekař was since 1928 until his death 1<sup>st</sup> class secretary for the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, Bidlo was in 1923–1932 the head librarian of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, then for a year its main secretary, and from 1935 until his death 1<sup>st</sup> class secretary (pertaining to philology, philosophy, and history). In this function, he was preceded in 1923–1932 by Václav Novotný and in 1932–1935 by Gustav Friedrich. In addition, Bidlo was repeatedly elected to the praesidium of the Society.<sup>36</sup>

As a full member of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, Bidlo could also influence its publications. As a result, various texts by his students appeared, espe-

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<sup>35</sup> The subject of differences of opinion within the so-called Goll's School has been described in relative details, cf. at least J. Marek, *Jaroslav Goll*, Prague 1991, pp. 262–269; F. Kutnar, J. Marek, *Přehledné dějiny českého a slovenského dějepisectví. Od počátků národní kultury až do sklonku třicátých let 20. století*, Prague 1997, pp. 486–489.

<sup>36</sup> For more detail, see M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako člen*, p. 133.

cially in the *Věstník* (Bulletin) of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences.<sup>37</sup> After 1918, on behalf of the Society, Bidlo participated in the work of a committee set up by Czechoslovak academic societies for the purpose of improving international relations. He also helped with the publication of *Revue des travaux scientifiques tchécoslovaques* with the aim to acquaint international readers with the results of Czechoslovak science, and when the journal was closed down in 1932 due to the economic crisis, Bidlo was appointed head of the liquidation committee.<sup>38</sup>

Relevant to international relations was also an attempt, in early 1920s, to establish closer relations with Yugoslav academies. In response to an initiative by the academies of science in Zagreb and Beograd, in October 1921 the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts and The Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences sent to Zagreb a delegation of four members who, on behalf of the Royal Society, included Bidlo. In his unofficial report, he was rather sceptical about the project due to lack of financial resources. Somewhat more positive was his newspaper article, where he emphasised that the entire project would follow-up on the pre-war idea of a union of Slavic academies and that negotiations with Polish academic societies were also envisioned.<sup>39</sup> On the Polish side, however, the visit of Czechoslovak academics evoked rather apprehension, as attested by a letter of the Polish consul in Zagreb, which mentioned Bidlo in a negative spirit.<sup>40</sup>

The Polish side's suspicions were not quite fair. After all, during his active engagement in relevant affairs, Bidlo repeatedly emphasised the need to collaborate with Polish science and in 1923, he was one of the first Czech academics to visit all five Polish universities with the aim of establishing contacts and acquiring literature.<sup>41</sup> As a librarian of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, he was in charge of exchange-

<sup>37</sup> *Jaroslav Bidlo*, pp. 66, 123.

<sup>38</sup> Editing of the journal was entrusted to Bidlo's close collaborator Josef Dobiáš, professor of ancient history at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University; cf. I. Koucká, *Historik starověku a klasický filolog*, [In:] *Josef Dobiáš (1888–1972). Život a dílo*, ed. H. Kábová, Prague–Pelhřimov 2019, p. 60.

<sup>39</sup> J. Bidlo, *Sdružení československých a jihoslovanských akademií*, Československá republika, 4 November 1921, no. 303, pp. 2–3.

<sup>40</sup> The letter of the Polish consul in Zagreb was sent to Polish universities and academic institutions; cf. Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU w Krakowie, collection Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Korespondencja Sekretarza Generalnego, no. 725/1921; Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie, collection Wydział Lekarski, sign. WL II 595.

<sup>41</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo a jeho cesty do Polska*, [In:] *Cestování Čechů a Poláků v 19. a 20. století*, eds. P. Kaleta, L. Novosad, Prague 2008, p. 150.

ing publications, for instance for the newly formed section for the history of Polish legislation of Przemysław Dąbkowski at Lvov University.<sup>42</sup>

Since the second half of the 1920s, Bidlo had a significant influence on the composition of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences: he brought forth proposals to elect new members, especially historians with focus on the history of Slavic nations. The Royal Society had four types of memberships: non-resident (reserved almost exclusively for members from other countries), corresponding (this category could include Czechoslovak members from outside Prague), full, and extraordinary (these categories were reserved for local members, mainly from Prague, expected to attend the Royal Society sessions). The table below shows that as a full member, Bidlo took part in at least 117 membership proposals.<sup>43</sup> Of these, 46 were most likely initiated by him personally, because proposals either written in his hand or provably originating from him have survived. In other cases, he was one of the signatories but probably not the chief initiator of the proposal.

Table. Bidlo and his participation in proposals regarding membership in the Royal Bohemian Society for Sciences\*

	Non-resident	Corresponding	Extraordinary	Full	Total
1917–1921	4 (2+2)	1 (0+1)	2 (0+2)	1 (0+1)	8 (2+6)
1922–1926	5 (4+1)	5 (1+4)	4 (1+3)	0 (0+0)	14 (6+8)
1927–1931	18 (10+8)	12 (4+8)	16 (5+11)	3 (2+1)	49 (21+28)
1932–1936	13 (9+4)	14 (3+11)	17 (3+14)	2 (2+0)	46 (17+29)
<b>Total</b>	<b>40 (25+15)</b>	<b>32 (8+24)</b>	<b>39 (9+30)</b>	<b>6 (4+2)</b>	<b>117 (46+71)</b>

\*The first number in the brackets represents the number of proposals most likely initiated by Bidlo, the second represents proposals where Bidlo joined a proposal brought forth by someone else.

Bidlo thus initiated for instance the election of Yugoslav historians Stanoje Stanojević, Jovan Radonić, Ferdo Šišić, Milan Prelog, Vladimir Čorović, Viktor Novak, and Dragutin Anastasijević, Romanian historians Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe Bratianu, and Constantin Marinescu, Polish historians Jan Ptaśnik, Waclaw Sobieski,

<sup>42</sup> P. Dąbkowski to the library of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, 27 June 1924, Lwów, MIA, collection J. Bidlo, box 3, id. no. 115.

<sup>43</sup> The overview listed in the table and other information regarding membership in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences is based on an analysis of personal files: MIA, collection KČSN, boxes 14–26. Cf. also M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako člen*, pp. 139–141.

Stanisław Zakrzewski, Franciszek Bujak, Stanisław Kot, Feliks Koneczny, Marcelli Handelsman, and Adam Szelągowski, the Norwegian historian Halvdan Koht, the Swedish classical philologist Martin P. Nilsson, the German Byzantine scholar Franz Dölger, the Austrian Slavonic scholar and historian Josef Matl, and the American historian Robert J. Kerner. Bidlo also supported the election of various Czech colleagues, partly his students and successors, including Milada Paulová (extraordinary membership in 1928) and Josef Macůrek (extraordinary membership in 1932). During his tenure as 1<sup>st</sup> class secretary in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, the high number of proposals for non-resident members in the Society even led to arguments with the chief secretary, but Bidlo stood his ground and all the candidates proposed by him were elected.<sup>44</sup>

Bidlo's intensive work in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences contrasts with his much less active involvement in the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts. Bidlo passed through all the categories relevant to local members (corresponding, extraordinary, full) in 1909, 1921, and 1927, respectively. After becoming a full member, he started to regularly attend the 1<sup>st</sup> class meetings of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (social sciences). In addition to several smaller tasks, he was active in the work of the financial committee and two committees that were directly relevant to Historical Slavonic Studies. Bidlo was a member of the so-called 'Silesian committee'. This body was established in response to the political situation in the region, especially Polish activities represented by the monograph *Historia Śląska* (The History of Silesia) published by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the spring of 1934, the Silesian committee had concluded that it was not possible to publish a similar monograph written from the Czechoslovak perspective because requisite preparatory studies were required. The committee was supposed to find finances for undertaking the work, initiate cooperation with historians, ethnographers, and linguists, and establish a specialist journal. But after two years of work, the Silesian committee was not able to show much in terms of concrete results.<sup>45</sup>

Significantly more active and successful was a committee for a historical dictionary of Slavonic law (which came to be known as 'Kadlec's glossary'), headed by Bidlo. This undertaking, realised since 1929 jointly with the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, was financially demanding and the Czech Academy contributed to it

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<sup>44</sup> File 'Protokol o schůzi členů KČSN', 11 November 1936, 9 December 1936, and 13 January 1937, Mia, collection KČSN, box 7, inventory number (further inv. no.) 19.

<sup>45</sup> M. Ďurčanský, *Jaroslav Bidlo jako člen*, pp. 144–147.



regularly. In 1933, Bidlo presented the envisioned form of the resulting publication and the publication plans in an editorial series, 1<sup>st</sup> class Conversations of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts. Although the book was not published, the Academy kept financing the preparatory works.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the above, Bidlo was the official representative of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts in the Federation of Historical Societies of Eastern Europe. The foundation of this organisation in 1927 was an ambitious attempt at international cooperation of Central and East European states in the field of historiography under Polish leadership, which enjoyed full Czechoslovak support. Within the Academy, Bidlo was in charge of coordinating the financial aspect of Czechoslovakia's membership in the Federation: payment of membership fees and publication of the *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe orientale*, which he co-edited as a member of the editorial board.<sup>47</sup>

Bidlo had little influence on the membership in the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts aside from proposing membership for several of his younger colleagues or supporting other proposals. Regarding international members, the only case that can be unequivocally linked to him concerned a proposal of membership for Ion Nistor, a Romanian historian.

Bidlo did, however, play a significant role in the development of academic culture of remembrance within the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts. In the 1930s, obituaries of members who passed away appeared as separate publications. Bidlo contributed to them by texts about the Polish historian Michał Bobrzyński, Bulgarian historian Vasil Nikolov Zlatarski, and Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky.<sup>48</sup> These brief publications were in the Czech environment for a long time the most detailed and competent sources of information about these important representatives of historiography of Central and Eastern Europe.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, p. 147. On the conception of the entire project, cf. K. Kadlec, *O potřebě historických glosářů slovanských*, Lwów 1925 (special imprint from *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Oswalda Balzera*).

<sup>47</sup> J.B. Novák, *Federace historických společností východní Evropy*, [In:] *Z dějin východní Evropy a Slovanstva. Sborník věnovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi, profesoru Karlovy university, k šedesátým narozeninám*, eds. M. Weingart, J. Dobiáš, M. Paulová, Prague 1928, pp. 441–449; J. Lach, *Poláci a Čechoslováci jako členové mezinárodní historické komunity v letech 1918–1938*, *Moderní dějiny* 15 (2007), pp. 221–238.

<sup>48</sup> J. Bidlo, *Michal Hruševskij*, Prague 1935; idem, *Michal Bobrzyński*, Prague 1936; idem, *Vasil Nikolov Zlatarski*, Prague 1937.

## Milada Paulová and her academic career

Historian Milada Paulová (1891–1970)<sup>49</sup> is generally known as the first woman in Czechoslovakia who achieved the highest academic ranks (associate professorship and full professorship) and crucially contributed to the contemporary academic discussion of the academic approach to the Czech and Yugoslav anti-Habsburg resistance. Paulová was Jaroslav Bidlo's favourite as he soon recognised her considerable academic potential and decided to train her as his successor at the Department of General History of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

Jaroslav Bidlo assumed that Paulová would focus primarily on Byzantine studies and medieval subjects. Therefore, her subsequent clear preference for modern history not only led to a conflict but also to a transformation of this historical discipline. Bidlo, an advocate of 'pure science' free of any political influences, was confronted with his student's political activism as she came to prefer a modern subject and a narrow specialisation. The tensions between the teacher and his student had to do with their different perceptions of academic research and differing views on applying historical methods to subjects from 'current' history and still maintaining academic objectivity. Paulová was forced to bend to her teacher's demands and apply

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<sup>49</sup> From further literature on Milada Paulová, let us name at least some of the most important and most recent works: D. Bráđlerová, J. Hálek, *Osobní a profesní vztah Milady Paulové a Jaroslava Bidla na pozadí jejich vzájemné korespondence*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et historica, Z pomocných věd historických – Inter laurum et olivam XVI/2002, eds. J. Šouša, I. Ebelová, Prague 2007, pp. 553–569; eadem, *Jihoslovanský výbor, Slovinci a Milada Paulová*, [In:] *Češi a Slovinci v modern době: politika – společnost – hospodářství – kultura / Slovenci in Čehi v dobimoderne: politika – družba – gospodarstvo – kultura*, ed. J. Gašparič et al., Prague–Ljubljana 2010, pp. 117–132; eadem, *Milada Paulová a její reflexe vzniku republiky*, [In:] *Muži října 1918: osudy aktérů vzniku Republiky československé*, ed. R. Kučera, Prague 2011 (= Střed. Supplementum 1), pp. 121–130; B. Neumann, *Milada Paulová (1891–1970). Příběhy cesty k dosažení první ženské docentury v Československu v roce 1925*, doctoral thesis, Faculty of Education of Charles University, Prague 2009; L. Havlíková, *První žena na Univerzitě Karlově. (Paměti Milady Paulové)*, *Slovanské historické studie* 34 (2009), pp. 127–166; „Drahý pane kancléři...“ *Vzájemná korespondence Milady Paulové a Přemysla Šámala*, I.–II., eds. D. Bráđlerová, J. Hálek, Prague 2011–2012; L. Havlíková, *Milada Paulová et son monde byzantin. Contribution a la relation entre M. Paulová et J. Hussey*, *Byzantinoslavica* 70 (2012), pp. 25–52; Jaroslav Bidlo; D. Bráđlerová, *Milada Paulová a pražská*; eadem, *Milada Paulová a její*; eadem, *Milada Paulová – historička prvního odboje*, [In:] *Univerzita a republika. Vybrané příspěvky z konference*, ed. D. Suchánek, Prague 2021, pp. 20–42.

for professorship based on works on Byzantium, but time had proven her right. The post-war development of academic research, influenced by a continuous increase in the body of information and new knowledge, did prefer specialisation, and contemporary history eventually became a full-fledged historical discipline.

Milada Paulová started her university studies at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague<sup>50</sup> in 1913. At that time, she intended to become a secondary school teacher majoring in geography and history. Already during the freshman year, she attracted the attention of her future mentor, Jaroslav Bidlo, who had higher expectations of her. First of all, she had to familiarise herself with the vast history of the Byzantine Empire within the context of European historical developments and work on language skills that would be expected of a future Byzantine scholar.<sup>51</sup> Her doctoral thesis, *Styky českých husitů s cařihradskou církví na základě církevních poměrů byzantských* (Relations Between the Czech Hussites and the Church in Constantinople Based on the Situation in the Byzantine Church),<sup>52</sup> which she defended on 19 January 1918 and on whose basis she received on 21 January 1918 the title of a doctor of philosophy, was on Byzantine studies.<sup>53</sup> The outstanding scientific competence and unusual subject of her dissertation attracted the attention of historians Josef Šusta and Josef Pekař, Bidlo's competitor. On 15 May 1918, Paulová was declared fit to teach history and geography at Czech secondary schools<sup>54</sup> but by this time, Bidlo and Šusta had already taken steps to enable Paulová to continue academic work. As

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<sup>50</sup> Women could engage in regular studies at faculties of philosophy by virtue of a directive of the Viennese Ministry of Cultus and Education of 23 March 1897. Cf. J. Havránek, *První absolventky Univerzity Karlovy*, [In:] *Charlotta Masaryková. Sborník z konference k 150. Výročí jejího narození, konané 10. listopadu 2000*, ed. M.L. Neudorflová, Prague 2001, p. 85.

<sup>51</sup> Aside from perfect German and native Czech, Milada Paulová also spoke and/or read Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian.

<sup>52</sup> Paulová lectured on this subject on 19 February 1917 in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences in the Celetná Street in Prague; MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 49, inv. no. 1017.

<sup>53</sup> Documents on events in the life of Professor Paulová in a chronological order, A copy of expert opinions by J. Šusta and J. Bidlo, 1 February 1918, and granting of the title of Doctor of Philosophy of 21 January 1918, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 56 (supplements). A register of doctors of the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University / Charles University IV, CUA, collection Matriky Univerzity Karlovy, inv. no. 4, p. 1551.

<sup>54</sup> A certificate of proficiency to teach, 15 May 1918, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 56 (supplements); Milada Paulová – documents attesting to taking an examination for teaching at secondary schools (gymnasiums), CUA, collection Zkušební komise pro učitelství na středních školách Univerzity Karlovy, inv. no. 206.

a result of their efforts, Paulová became an assistant at the department of history as of October 1918 and most likely also was promised a position in the Public and University Library (26 July 1919)<sup>55</sup> where she worked until 1935. By that time, she was already lecturing at the university as an associate professor (Dozent).<sup>56</sup>

Employment at the Faculty of Philosophy and the university library enabled Paulová to continue her scientific work, as attested among other things both by her study trips abroad and her publications. From the perspective of her future orientation, her stay in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (i.e., Yugoslavia) from April 1920 until September 1921 was crucial and definitively convinced her to abandon the earlier envisaged career in Byzantine studies and focus on modern history. She was sent to this internship after Jaroslav Bidlo's recommendation; he was a member of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav League. Her mission was to write a study on the collaboration between Yugoslav<sup>57</sup> and Czechoslovak anti-Habsburg resistance. Information gleaned from interviews with Yugoslav politicians became a key part of the foundation of her lifelong work on anti-Habsburg resistance, which led to numerous studies and books, the most important of them being *Tajná diplomatická hra o Jihoslovany za světové války* (The Secret Diplomatic Game for Yugoslavs During the World War, 1923) and *Jugoslavenski odbor* (Yugoslav Resistance, 1925), both of which are nowadays viewed by Croatian and Serbian historians as unique and in some respects unsurpassed.<sup>58</sup> *Jugoslavenski odbor* was even re-published in 2020, this time in Serbian and with an afterword by Serbian historian Mira Radojević, as 'Jugoslavenski odbor – istorija i kontroverze' (Yugoslav Resistance, History and Controversy).<sup>59</sup> Paulová repeatedly returned to Yugoslavia to collect more archival

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<sup>55</sup> Jaroslav Bidlo, letter no. 14, Paulová to Bidlo, 26 June 1919.

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed account of Paulová's university career, see D. Brádrlová, *Milada Paulová a pražská*. The most important documents are kept in MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 56 (supplements – documents on events in the life of Professor Paulová in chronological order) and in CUA, collection FF UK, box 47, inv. no. 566 (Paulová's personal file).

<sup>57</sup> Yugoslav resistance gathered to form a Yugoslav Committee (Jugoslavenski odbor), established in May 1914 by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian emigres. It had a similar function as the Czechoslovak National Council (Čs. Národní rada) in Paris. The Yugoslav Committee proclaimed that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians were one nation, and that a nation had the right to an independent state.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. J. Hálek, B. Moskovič, "The Milada Paulová's Syndrome" – *The Life's Work of the Czech Scholar and Its Influence on the Historiography in the Socialist Yugoslavia*, *Acta Historiae* 25 (2017), pp. 1071–1092.

<sup>59</sup> M. Radojević, *Jugoslavenski odbor – istorija i kontroverze* [Afterword], [In:] M. Paulová,

materials and oral testimonies on Yugoslav resistance. Her witnesses even included King Alexander I, who granted her two audiences in 1924.<sup>60</sup> She last visited her beloved Yugoslavia in 1947 to establish lasting contacts with the new generation of Yugoslav historians and prominent public figures: Srđjan Budisavljević, Vaso and Branko Čubrilović, Milan Marjanović, Alexander Belić, and others (see below).<sup>61</sup>

Although Paulová started to focus on modern history, Bidlo's intention (even after her habilitation) was to train her mainly as a Byzantine scholar. To this end, in 1927 he organised for her two stays: one in France, where she studied with French Byzantine and Slavic scholars Charles Diehl, Gabriel Millet, René L. Bréhier, and Louis Eisenmann; and one in Munich where she studied with Krumbacher's successor, August Heisenberg. Paulová went to both locations but used the gathered material only later, when Bidlo gave her an ultimatum and said she could be appointed associate professor only after presenting several scientific works dedicated to Byzantine studies.

In an effort to support Paulová's career, Bidlo had secured her membership in two important scholarly institutions: in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences (1929)<sup>62</sup> and in the Slavic Institute (1929). Her work and influence in these organisations did not, however, come close to the position occupied by her teacher. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, Paulová clearly ignored her teacher's pressure on being more active in Byzantine studies. Instead, she persisted in her focus on research on Czech and Yugoslav anti-Habsburg resistance. This work resulted in 1928 in a book called *Jihoslovanský odboj a česká Maffie* (Yugoslav Resistance and the Czech Mafia), which was something of a harbinger of a much more extensive work, which was taking up most of her academic attention: the *Dějiny Maffie* (History of the Mafia, 1937–1938).

In 1931, Bidlo – with Šusta's tacit consent – threatened Paulová that unless she quickly produced another significant work in Byzantine studies, he would propose

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*Jugoslavenski odbor. Povest jugoslovenske emigracije u vreme Svetskoga rata 1914–1918*, Novi Sad 2020, pp. 811–858.

<sup>60</sup> This dispute can be followed in detail in the published correspondence, see „*Drahý pane kancléři...*“.

<sup>61</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file. Granting of a paid leave to M. Paulová for the purpose of a lecture tour in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, 1 December 1947, CUA, collection FF UK 1882–2000, box 47, inv. no. 566.

<sup>62</sup> After the election of Marie Curie-Skłodowska (1927) Paulová was only the second female member of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences. Cf. D. Brádlarová, *Milada Paulová a její*, pp. 121–123.

another candidate for associate professor, most likely Josef Macůrek, his second most important student.<sup>63</sup> Paulová reacted to this demand rather emotionally and even wanted to resign from her position. Both Bidlo and her other protector, Přemysl Šámal, chancellor of the President of the Republic, eventually dissuaded her from this step.

In the end, following Chancellor Šámal's recommendation, Paulová rather unwillingly agreed to her teacher's demands and in January 1933, presented Bidlo with a study 'Význam islámu v kultuře Středomoří'<sup>64</sup> (The Importance of Islam in the Mediterranean Culture), which did belong to Byzantine studies. She assumed that by completing this work, she met the conditions for a professors. Yet, Bidlo requested another 'source-based' work, one that would analyse the impact of the Third Crusade of Byzantine history, in particular a study on the 'Účast Srbů při třetí výpravě křížové' (Participation of Serbs in the Third Crusade).<sup>65</sup> This request from Bidlo threw Paulová into a deep psychological crisis and led to their long estrangement, which was settled only a few months before Jaroslav Bidlo's death. Paulová was tormented by a fixed idea that Bidlo wanted to replace her by Josef Macůrek, although his primary interest was to establish his position at the Faculty of Philosophy of Masaryk University in Brno<sup>66</sup> and Bidlo's preference for Paulová was constant and unswerving. Bidlo tried to explain his position by a logical argument, where he noted that his position of the first professor of East European history at Charles University forced him to choose an unassailable successor.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Josef Macůrek (1901–1992), a Czech historian, in 1921–1925 studied history at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University in Prague, in 1925–1930 worked there as an assistant, in 1930–1935 as assistant professor. Since 1935, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of Masaryk University in Brno. Since 1965, a corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in 1968–1969 director of the Institute for the History of European Socialist Countries of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His work focused on the history of East European nations, Czech-Romanian relations, and Hungarian and Polish history. For recent literature on his life and work, see R. Vlček, *Josef Macůrek a brněnská škola historické slavistiky*, Dějiny věd a techniky 53 (2020), pp. 152–187.

<sup>64</sup> Printed in 1934 in the Bulletin of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences.

<sup>65</sup> *Byzantinoslavica* 5 (1933), pp. 235–303.

<sup>66</sup> Correspondence J. Macůrek, J. Macůrek to B. Navrátil, 8 February 1929, Moravian Provincial Archive, file Bohumil Navrátil, sign. G 51, box 2.

<sup>67</sup> Bidlo's letter to Paulová, 14 February 1933, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 3, inv. no. 76.



Immediately after the above mentioned works in Byzantine studies were published, on 25 January 1934 Bidlo proposed Paulová for extraordinary professor. The professorial assembly of the Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University adopted this proposal unanimously on 17 May 1934 and all that was left was the consent of the Ministerial Council and the Ministry of Education and National Instruction. Definitive appointment of Paulová to associate professor was then unfortunately complicated by unwillingness of Jan Krčmář, Minister of Education, and Karel Trapl, Minister of Finance to allocate from the stretched state budget more funds to the newly appointed professor. Lobbying on the part of some narrow interest groups who preferred their candidates also played a role. However, in close cooperation with Chancellor Šámal, Paulová eventually overcame all obstacles and on 21 August 1935 was appointed extraordinary professor of general history of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University,<sup>68</sup> effective as of 1 October 1935. That put an end to her work in the National and University Library.

Ahead of her were now two relatively peaceful years, when she had time to acclimatise, under her teacher's supervision, to the role of a university teacher. 1937 marked a turning point for her when Jaroslav Bidlo died and Paulová thus became the main representative of university-based historical Slavonic studies and Byzantine studies in Czechoslovakia. In this role, she participated in August 1938 in a meeting of the Federation of Historical Societies of Eastern Europe and a little later in the Eighth International Congress of Historians in Zurich<sup>69</sup> where she was elected Czechoslovak representative in the dictionary committee of the Federation.

Paulová took over Bidlo's department at a time when Czechoslovakia faced an ever more urgent threat of disintegration. In this dismal atmosphere, she also finished her opus magnum, the *Dějiny Maffie* (The History of the Maffia).<sup>70</sup> After the

<sup>68</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file, personal file, p. 7, CUA, collection FF UK 1882–2000, box 47, inv. no. 556; Appointment of Paulová to full professor by T.G. Masaryk on 21 August 1935, Archive of the Office of the President of the Republic, collection Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. no. 1357, P 820/35; Letter of the Ministry of Education and National instruction to M. Paulová, 23 September 1935 (copy), MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 1, inv. no. 14.

<sup>69</sup> For more on the context, see J. Lach, *Českoslovenští historici na meziválečných historických sjezdech*, [In:] *Česká a československá účast na mezinárodních kongresech historických věd*, ed. B. Jiroušek, České Budějovice 2006, pp. 29–51.

<sup>70</sup> M. Paulová, *Dějiny Maffie. Odboj Čechů a Jihoslovanů za světové války 1914–1918*, Volume I: *Ve znaku persekuce*, Prague 1937; M. Paulová, *Dějiny Maffie. Odboj Čechů a Ji-*

occupation of the Czech Lands by Nazi Germany, it used to identify and persecute the former Maffia members and their collaborators.<sup>71</sup> Paulová's position as head of the department received further support when the professorial assembly proposed (on 26 January 1939) that she be appointed full professor in general history majoring in the history of the European East.<sup>72</sup> The Ministry of Education, however, rejected this proposal, noting that it should be 'postponed until later, more auspicious time'.<sup>73</sup> On 31 July 1940, together with all other university professors Paulová was sent home on sabbatical.<sup>74</sup> Subsequently, she received some space for scientific work from the National Research Council, but since the subject of anti-Habsburg resistance was under the new circumstances taboo, she focused on Byzantine studies and medieval Slavic subjects.

The liberation in May 1945 triggered off processes leading to the appointment of new university professors, including postponed applications. On 15 August, the professorial assembly of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University decided to propose that Paulová be appointed full professor. This time, the process went smoothly and Paulová was appointed full professor of the Faculty of Philosophy for the history of Slavic nations and Byzantine studies, retroactively since 28 October 1939.<sup>75</sup>

In the meantime, of crucial significance was the fact that Paulová's focus had shifted to Byzantine studies – as her teacher Jaroslav Bidlo wanted right since the beginning. She dedicated her time to saving the languishing *Byzantinoslavica* journal, published by the Slavic Institute since 1929, and to transforming it into an inter-

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*hoslovanů za světové války 1914–1918*, Volume II, Part I: *Proti t.zv. národní straně*, Prague 1938.

<sup>71</sup> V. Černý, *Paměti II (1938–1945): Křik koruny české*, Brno 1992, pp. 166–167.

<sup>72</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file, letter no. 833/F.f.1938/39 (Mk); CUA, collection FF UK, inv. no. 566; Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file, except from the protocol of meeting of the professorial assembly of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University on 26 January 1939, 4 February 1939, CUA, collection FF UK, inv. no. 566.

<sup>73</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file, letter of the Ministry of Education to the Dean's Office at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University, 6 March 1939, CUA, collection FF UK, inv. no. 566.

<sup>74</sup> An overview of the activities of Charles University faculty during the war is included in A. Kostlán, M. Šimůnek, *Na dovolenou s čekatelným? Profesori a další vědecko-pedagogičtí pracovníci Univerzity Karlovy po uzavření českých vysokých škol v listopadu 1939*, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 61 (2022), no. 1, pp. 47–77.

<sup>75</sup> For a clear overview, see D. Brádlarová, *Milada Paulová a pražská*, pp. 127–129.

nationally respected platform for Byzantine studies.<sup>76</sup> The journal was founded by Miloš Weingart, whose intention was to create a platform for publications on Byzantine-Slavic relations and philology. Although the academic quality of the journal was high, it did not achieve as much international renown as it was originally expected. It suffered from lack of contributions and subscribers and in effect served mostly as a place for exchanging foreign journals and books, especially on Slavic subjects.

At a meeting of Czech Byzantine scholars on 17 August 1945,<sup>77</sup> Paulová proposed a plan aimed at preserving and reforming *Byzantinoslavica* journal. To win international respect for the journal and to make it more sought after, it was imperative to increase the number of contributions to comprehensively conceived Byzantine studies, add a section on bibliography, and ensure once again its regular publication. Paulová had argued that the earlier international centre of Byzantine studies, associated with *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, ceased to exist while other international journals like *Byzantion* (Brussels) and *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Athens) were partial, more narrowly focused. Paulová's primary ambition was to gather around the *Byzantoslavica* relevant scholars from the Slavic countries but hoped that the project would attract also scholars from non-Slavic countries.<sup>78</sup> Other active participants of the revival project included palaeoslavist Bohuslav Havránek and art historian Nikolaj Lvovič Okuněv.<sup>79</sup> Although in 1949, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* was restored and Europe was divided by the Iron Curtain, collaboration with West European Byzantine scholars survived and continued.

In 1945–1948, Paulová enjoyed many other professional successes. She became a member of a number of prestigious Czechoslovak social and scientific institutions and committees: the Slavic Institute, the National Club, the Examination committee for teaching history at secondary schools in Prague, the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Czechoslovak National Research Council, the Committee for proposal to award honorary doctorates to foreign scholars, the Historical Club, the Concept committee for preparing the Conference of Czechoslovak Historians, the Central

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<sup>76</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal and professional file, An overview of activities of the Department of General History of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Charles University in the area of Byzantine studies in 1945–1955, CUA, collection FF UK, inv. no. 566.

<sup>77</sup> The Committee for Byzantine Studies, Records from meetings 1945–1951, Record from the meeting of the Committee for Byzantine Studies, 17 August 1945, MIA, collection Slovanský ústav, box 28, sign. J 1, inv. no. 175–176.

<sup>78</sup> Letter to M. Paulová, 26 July 1945, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 56 (supplements).

<sup>79</sup> B. Zástěrová, *Dějiny Byzance*, Prague 1992, p. 473.

Union of the National Resistance in Prague, the Society for Cultural and Economic Relations with the USSR and the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, the Extension of the Czechoslovak Universities, and the Joint Slavic Committee.<sup>80</sup> Aside from that, she was asked by the newly founded Palacký University in Olomouc to lecture on general history.<sup>81</sup>

The communist coup d'état of 25 February 1948 brought material uncertainty and examinations of political allegiance into Paulová's life. Her works mapping Czech anti-Habsburg resistance were proscribed. Although Paulová did pass all the political checks<sup>82</sup> and managed to keep her place at the Faculty of Philosophy, she had to come to terms with a fundamental change in the organisation and content of education based on the Soviet model. This included a restriction on teaching Byzantine studies<sup>83</sup> and a marked decrease in the level of education of the incoming students. All historical disciplines were united into a single department governed by proponents of the Communist regime (Václav Husa, Jaroslav Charvát, Oldřich Říha).<sup>84</sup> Due to long-term health problems, Paulová applied for release from the editorial board of the *Byzantinoslavica*,<sup>85</sup> where she was replaced by her colleague Antonín Dostál, and then also limited her teaching activities.

These events were, however, counterbalanced by the fact that for the first time in years, she was officially permitted to dedicate her time to research on anti-Habsburg resistance. The Ministry of Education and Culture even granted her a year-long leave for the academic year 1957/1958 to work on the history of Czechoslovak and Yugo-

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<sup>80</sup> Documents pertaining to her activities in these institutions are kept in the MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 56 (supplements).

<sup>81</sup> Milada Paulová, Personal file, Letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University to the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy of Palacký University in Olomouc, 5 November 1947; Application of the Dean's Office at the Faculty of Philosophy of Palacký University addressed to the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University regarding permission for Milada Paulová to give lectures in Olomouc, 1 October 1947, CUA, collection FF UK, box 47, inv. no. 566.

<sup>82</sup> J. Hanzal, *Cesty české historiografie 1945–1989*, Prague 1999, p. 34.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Z. Pousta, *Univerzita Karlova v letech 1947–1953*, [In:] *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, Vol. IV, eds. Z. Pousta, J. Havránek, Prague 1998, p. 263–306, and J. Havránek, *Univerzita Karlova v letech 1953–1969*, [In:] *ibidem*, p. 307–324.

<sup>84</sup> J. Polišenský, *Historik v měnícím se světě*, Prague 2001, p. 153.

<sup>85</sup> Letter by Milada Paulová, draft, 5 November 1952, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 1, inv. no. 12.

slav resistance.<sup>86</sup> The outcome of this work was a book, *Balkánské války 1912–1913 a český lid* (Balkan Wars 1912–1913 and the Czech People) published in 1963.<sup>87</sup>

In 1961, Paulová resigned from her position at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University<sup>88</sup> and was elected honorary vice-president of the International Association of Byzantine Studies.<sup>89</sup> Of pivotal significance to her scientific work was the revival of anti-Habsburg resistance among Yugoslav historians: Yugoslav researchers, eyewitnesses, and even family members of the actors started to turn to Paulová with supplementary information or requests for information (Ferdo Čulinović,<sup>90</sup> Dušan Kermavner,<sup>91</sup> Dragoslav Janković,<sup>92</sup> Bogdan Krizman,<sup>93</sup> Viktor Novak,<sup>94</sup> Dragovan Šepić<sup>95</sup> a Jaroslav Šidak,<sup>96</sup> Rade Mičićova,<sup>97</sup> Stojan Pribičević,<sup>98</sup> and others).

These circumstances prompted Paulová to revise her opus magnum, i.e., the mapping of Czech national resistance against the Habsburgs. The outcome took the form of a book named *Tajný výbor (Maffie) a spolupráce s Jihoslovany v letech 1916–1918* (The Secret Committee, the Maffia, and Collaboration with Yugoslavs in 1916–1918), which appeared in 1968. This monograph was the culmination of

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<sup>86</sup> Communication of the Ministry of Culture to the Rector's Office of Charles University, 12 August 1957, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 1, inv. no. 9.

<sup>87</sup> Twice about history, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 49, inv. no. 1017.

<sup>88</sup> Termination of regular employment at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 1, inv. no. 13.

<sup>89</sup> A clipping from *Práce* newspaper, no. 241, 7 October 1961, p. 5, collection Milada Paulová, box 49, inv. no. 1017.

<sup>90</sup> Correspondence Ferdo Čulinović, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 4, inv. no. 97. For more on the correspondence, see also Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, collection Ferdo Čulinović.

<sup>91</sup> Correspondence Dušan Kermavner, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 6, inv. no. 219.

<sup>92</sup> Correspondence Dragovan Janković, *ibidem*, inv. no. 200.

<sup>93</sup> Correspondence Bogdan Krizman, *ibidem*, inv. no. 240. For more on the correspondence see also Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, collection Bogdan Krizman.

<sup>94</sup> Correspondence Viktor Novak, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 8, inv. no. 323; Correspondence Jasna Novaková (daughter), *ibidem*, inv. no. 321; Correspondence Paša Novaková (wife), *ibidem*, inv. no. 322.

<sup>95</sup> Correspondence Dragovan Šepić, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 9, inv. no. 400.

<sup>96</sup> Correspondence Jaroslav Šidak, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 11, inv. no. 451.

<sup>97</sup> Correspondence Rade Mičićova, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 8, inv. no. 296.

<sup>98</sup> Correspondence Stojan Pribičević, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 9, inv. no. 364.

her career, and it is sad and ironic that it was published at a time when subjects of anti-Habsburg resistance and their alternative interpretations that did not fit the Marxist ideology were once again deemed undesirable.

In the last years of her life, Paulová engaged in a systematic organisation of her personal and academic documents: she bequeathed her library to the Institute for the History of European Socialist Countries of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, where eleven of her students were employed as researchers, and her manuscripts to the Archive of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.<sup>99</sup> Milada Paulová died on 17 January 1970 and is buried in her family's tomb in Loukov.

Thus ended the life of Milada Paulová, an important Czech historian, whose academic career was marked by continuous tension between her original focus on Byzantine studies and her newly found mission to map modern history. Although the Czech and international community of historians know her mainly as a historian of modern history, whose works Yugoslav historians still considered in many ways unsurpassed, her crucial contribution to the organisation of Czech historical sciences consisted in saving the specialised *Byzantoslavica* journal and education of a new generation of Czech Byzantine and Slavic scholars, all of which she achieved in the complicated geopolitical circumstances of the twentieth century.

## Conclusion

The activities of Jaroslav Bidlo and Milada Paulová at the Prague university span over more than half a century of development of Czech historical Slavonic and Byzantine studies. Their work and teaching activities show how the two areas of sciences were at that time interconnected. Bidlo was a truly foundational personality, who used his influence at the university and in leading scientific societies and in his public engagements. It is also quite apparent that in contrast to Bidlo, who was trying to encompass the history of Central and Eastern Europe in its entirety, Paulová worked at a time of growing specialisation. Unlike her teacher, she also worked under considerably more complicated political and social circumstances, including the German occupation and the Communist coup d'état in 1948. Although historical Slavonic studies did not belong to sciences that were outright proscribed (like for instance sociology), the shift of focus on the part of both Milada Paulová and her colleague

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<sup>99</sup> Last will and testament, 17 February 1969, MIA, collection Milada Paulová, box 2, inv. no. 39.



Josef Macůrek to less politically sensitive subjects (Byzantine studies and the history of Early Modern Era) speaks volumes. Despite a degree of marginalisation, they were nevertheless permitted to continue teaching and have left their mark on numerous students. As a result, the current Czech historical Slavonic studies can, as a science, draw on a century of uninterrupted continuity.

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## Résumé

### **Jaroslav Bidlo and Milada Paulová: On the institutionalisation of Czech historical Slavonic studies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

This study focuses on the development of Czech historical Slavonic studies as a scientific discipline emancipated from broadly conceived (predominantly linguistically oriented) Slavonic studies in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This process is demonstrated on the example of professional development of two key personalities of this field, Jaroslav Bidlo (1868–1937) and Milada Paulová (1891–1970). One after the other, these two scholars were professors of general history at Charles University with special focus on the history of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently, they were also in charge of organising this field of research, its external representation, and education of future scholars.

The first two parts of the study follow Bidlo's academic career at the university and his active involvement in various scientific societies. Bidlo's teaching activity encompassed subjects from the entire range of the discipline, but his courses also reflected current events

(the revolution in Russia in 1905, the anniversary of the battle of Grunwald, etc.). He soon became the founding personality of Czech Byzantine studies. Between 1906, when he was appointed associate professor, and his death, Bidlo regularly attended meetings of the faculty professors. He influenced events and developments at the university as a member of numerous committees, in the academic year 1915/1916 as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and in the 1930s as member of the academic senate of Charles University. In 1921–1931, he was president of the Extension of Prague universities, which alongside Charles University included also the Czech Technical University. The extension was in charge of organising lectures for the general public.

Full membership in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences (1917) and in the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (1927) also significantly expanded Bidlo's influence. This study shows that he focused on activities mainly in the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, where he held a number of positions, including that of secretary of the 1<sup>st</sup> class and shortly also that of the general secretary. He had a large influence on the Society membership, especially with respect to international members. In 1917–1937, his name figured under 117 successful proposals for election of new, especially foreign, members of the Society, whereby it seems he was personally responsible for drafting 46 of them. The lower level of activity in the Academy of Sciences and Arts was clearly a consequence of his tense relationship with Josef Pekař, professor of Czech history, who for many years held an important position of head of the first class of the Academy, i.e., a section dedicated to humanities and social sciences. Bidlo tried to harmonise his membership in the Society and the Academy: his aim was to exert a more significant influence in favour of some larger joint projects, be it the work on a dictionary of historical law (so-called Kadlec's glossary) or collaboration with the Federation of Historical Societies of Eastern Europe.

Milada Paulová started her professional career under Jaroslav Bidlo's supervision as one of his most gifted students. With his help, she secured the position of a clerk in the Public and University Library and in 1925 became the first woman in Czechoslovakia to achieve habilitation. Her scholarly interest oscillated between Byzantine-Slavic relations and current history of the Balkans. The significance of her pioneering research into the history of Yugoslav resistance during WWI is still highly valued (including her use of the methods of oral history), but it was also her approach to most recent history that led to a rift between her and Bidlo. As extraordinary (1935) and full (1945, formally since 1939) professor, in view of the political situation she focused mostly on Byzantine studies. After the end of WWII, she managed to rescue *Byzantoslavica* journal, whose existence was repeatedly threatened for economic reasons. She was a member of many scientific societies, but her influence did not surpass that of her teacher, Jaroslav Bidlo.

It is quite apparent that in contrast to Bidlo, who tried to encompass the history of Central and Eastern Europe in their entirety, Paulová worked at a time of growing specialisation. She also had to overcome the challenge of working under much more complicated political and social conditions, both during the Nazi occupation and then after the Communist coup

d'état in 1948. After the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, historical Slavonic studies enjoyed a heyday, but after 1938 their position was complicated. Temporary marginalisation of this field, whose original concept did not conform to current circumstances, can also be traced in activities of Bidlo's second most important student, Josef Macůrek (1901–1992) after 1948. Nevertheless, both Macůrek and Paulová, even in the trying conditions of the 1950s and the 1960s, significantly contributed to the fact that Czech historical Slavonic studies now enjoy a century-long continuity of research.

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