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Kraków Academy: The Crown's Main School in the years 1773—1795

Summary: The establishment of the Commission of National Education initiated a process of profound changes in Polish education, including both organisational structures and teaching programmes. One of the first tasks faced by the new educational authority was the creation of a school system covering the successive stages of education from primary schools to universities. The new structures were to be headed by universities, exercising control over lower-level education. The existing universities in Kraków and Vilnius differed significantly from the level of modern European universities, so the Commission initially wanted to establish new ones. In the course of discussions and at the request of representatives of the Kraków Academy, decisions were made to reform both universities. The reform of the Kraków Academy was undertaken by her pupil, Hugo Kollątaj, who learned the current trends in the development of European universities during his studies abroad. The reformed university, which was now called the Crown School, consisted of the Colleges of Morality, with schools of theology, law and literature, and Physics, with schools of mathematics, physics and medicine. A Seminary for Candidates for the Academic Estate was launched at the university, in which future teachers were educated. The method of hiring and promoting lecturers was also changed, departing from the medieval rules. The university was to be a research and teaching institution with a comprehensive field of education. Modern knowledge, especially in the field of natural sciences, was to be applied in everyday life in order to contribute to raising the economic level of the country. The development of the social sciences and the humanities was in turn to be aimed at shaping a new model of the Pole — patriot and citizen.

Keywords: Commission of National Education, Kraków Academy, Crown's Main School, university, teacher education

1. Schemes for the Kraków Academy's new arrangement

One of Central Europe's oldest universities (founded in 1364), the Kraków Academy had found itself in a state of serious crisis in the 18th century. The dispute with the Jesuits over the influence on the Polish education system that had

persisted for nearly two centuries had considerably weakened the Academy's position, making it a provincial college of a plebeian nature. Both the curricula and the teaching methods showed traces of the Middle Ages; some sciences, e.g. medicine, were not taught there at all. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the Commission of National Education, established on 14 October 1773, did not initially consider Kraków's university in its plans of reforming the Commonwealth's higher education system. However, Kraków professors rightly assessed the transformation that was under way and predicted that the Commission would carry out a profound reform of the education system without the Kraków Academy's participation. Therefore, at a general meeting held on 22 October, they took the decision to send a delegation to Warsaw in order to establish cooperation with the Commission¹. The delegation to Warsaw met with King Stanislaus II Augustus and Bishop Michał Poniatowski. At a Commission meeting, the professors presented a draft scheme of an education system with the Kraków university at its head and expressed their readiness to create a teacher training system, involving a six-year course of theology, law, philosophy, speech and mathematics. Despite the Commission's declaration that it was open to cooperate, discussions continued inside the Commission about a potential closing of the Kraków Academy or transferring it to Warsaw. The situation began changing rapidly when Academy graduate Hugo Kołłątaj (1750—1812) returned to Kraków in 1775 from his studies abroad. Kołłątaj was a doctor of law and theology, educated in Vienna and Rome. Having had a perfect knowledge about how western European universities were organised, despite his young age (he was 26), he decided to undertake to reform his alma mater. After examining the Academy's situation, Kołłątaj set off to Warsaw, where he entered the circle of influential patrons, one of whom was Chancellor Andrzej Stanisław Młodziejowski (1717—1780). Using his connections, Kołłątaj found favour with Primate Michał Poniatowski and his secretary, Szczepan Hołowczyc, the key decision-makers in the field of education. In his conversations with them, they deliberated about a possible reform of the Polish education system, taking into consideration the Kraków Academy as the central university, on condition that it was profoundly reformed. Kołłątaj returned to Kraków and began compiling materials concerning the university's situation for the Commission. He soon sent to Warsaw his report on the situation (*Opis stanu Akademii Krakowskiej*²) with detailed information about the university's rights and privileges, curricula and income. He expressed his posi-

¹ M. Chamcówna, "Epoka wielkiej reformy", in M. Chamcówna, K. Mrozowska, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1765—1850*, 2, Kraków, 1965, 12.

² H. Kołłątaj, *Raport o wizycie i reformie Akademii Krakowskiej*, ed. M. Chamcówna, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1967, 73—93.

tive opinion about introducing lectures on eclectic philosophy and the reform of mathematical studies. The report was received positively by the Commission, who commissioned Kołłątaj to carry on his preparations of the reform on this basis. In 1776, Kołłątaj prepared another report outlining his scheme for reform of the Kraków Academy (*O wprowadzeniu dobrych nauk do Akademii Krakowskiej i o założeniu seminarium nauczycieli szkół wojewódzkich*³). Arguing for the necessity of the reform, he referred to the old tradition of the university which educated even poor students and pointed to opportunities of further advancement on condition that the necessary funds were contemplated to lift it up. Kołłątaj presented a project of transforming the Kraków Academy into a university which he named *Atheneum Augusti* in honour of the king. The new school was intended to consist of five departments, called academies. The Academy of Fine Arts was to provide study of foreign languages, rhetoric, geography and history. Polish was intended to have a priority; among modern languages, German was put in the first place. Following the example of modern universities, Kołłątaj proposed enriching the study of history by adding supplementary sciences, particularly numismatics and paleography. The Academy of Philosophy was meant to deal with the philosophy of reason (ethics, metaphysics, economics and politics), philosophy of senses (physics and mathematics) and logic. The focus was placed on the teaching of ethics as the history of the human heart. It was meant to eradicate bad habits and instil human rights and obligations. Kołłątaj extensively set out the syllabus for the teaching of politics that was intended to be of a utilitarian nature and encompass physics, commerce, agriculture, practical mathematics and geometry. He had high hopes for the expansion of the faculty of natural history. The knowledge about nature was treated in a practical sense, and research was to concentrate on native nature, from the perspective of utilising its resources. It was necessary to create requisite laboratories for the adequate teaching of this subject. Kołłątaj also envisaged the building of a botanic and zoological gardens. The prospective university was also supposed to possess an agricultural farm by the river where prospective farmers were to increase their practical knowledge. Being under the influence of physiocracy, Kołłątaj saw agriculture as the way towards developing the economy of the state. Since the new university's mission was to promulgate knowledge and the latest achievements of technology, Kołłątaj recommended Sunday workshops for artisans that would involve experiments. He emphasised the urgent necessity of creating an astronomical observatory.

³ The 1776 version (Jagiellonian Library, 5171/31) was slightly amended by the Commission in 1779 in order to present it, through Michał Poniatowski, to Papal Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Archetti. That version was published by Łukasz Kurdybacha (*Kuria rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w latach 1773—1783*, Kraków, 1949, 68—87). This is the version used in this study.

Presenting the organisation of the Academy of Medicine, he used the scheme prepared by Andrzej Badurski (1740—1789), titled *Propositio instituendi Collegii Medici* (1776)⁴. Badurski drew heavily from western models, particularly that of the Vienna university. He recommended the creation of five faculties: anatomy, botany and chemistry, physiology and medical material, pathology and medical practice and surgery and midwifery. The studies were projected to last five years, and candidates were to possess knowledge of mathematics and physics at the level of department schools⁵. Badurski emphasised the building of a hospital, a prosectorium and a botanic garden as necessary for the purpose of proper medical teaching.

In the Academy of Law, Kołłątaj put the law of nature in the first place in line with the physiocratic doctrine. Studies in criminal law constituted a complete novelty. Further down the line, he put domestic law and international law. Church law, based on new foundations, was to consist of Church Council Decrees and Church Statutes and was to be based on evangelical foundations. In the above-mentioned scheme of 1779, the Commission essentially changed the order of legal sciences by putting in the first place domestic law and moral law, followed by public church law, canon law, law of nations, criminal law and history of law as the last subject⁶.

The Academy of Theology was supposed to consist of five faculties: dogmatic theology, moral theology, polemical theology, history of the Roman Catholic Church, history of Church councils and biblical studies. The teaching of theology was to be void of any elements of Thomism, ideas of Francis Bacon or Molinism and was to be based on the preachings of Jesus Christ and the Church's apostolic teachings instead.

All the “academies” at the Atheneum Augusti were intended to work as scientific associations and employ scientists from all over the country and beyond. The university was meant to publish its own scientific journal. The positions in the faculties were to be filled by way of competition, which would have amounted to the removal of the medieval rules of promotion through the Junior College and Senior College. He dedicated a lot of his efforts to teacher training, which was an area in which the Commission was deeply interested. Kołłątaj

⁴ “Statuta antiqua Collegii Medici Universitatis Cracoviensis”, in *Liber actorum et conclusionum inclityae Facultatis Medicae in Universitate Cracoviensi*, Jagiellonian University Archives (hereinafter: JUA), 298, 100—116. Printed: *Rocznik Wydziału Lekarskiego w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim* 3, 1840, 23—35.

⁵ W. Bienkowski, “Andrzej Badurski, wybitny krakowianin wieku XVIII”, *Rocznik Krakowski* 39, 1968, 82.

⁶ M. Patkaniowski, *Dzieje Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Od reformy kołłątajowskiej do końca XIX stulecia*, Kraków—Warsaw, 1964, 22—24.

recommended establishing a teacher training seminary at the university that would educate the most talented youths, which would be fully maintained at the state's cost. Candidates for teachers would have been university students and were to gain degrees there, whereas the seminary would have been the place where they would raise their pedagogical competencies under the supervision of trainers.

The entire reform depended on the availability of funds. Kołłątaj had familiarised himself with the university's income only to realise that it required profound reform too and that it would be indispensable to identify new sources of income. His analyses demonstrated that the university's budget would not cover the planned expenditures, where he allocated sizeable amounts for professors' salaries and the equipment in new study rooms. Another problem that required solution was how to increase the income from the university's properties and establishing how big the Commission's dotation would be. Kołłątaj's calculations were changed by the Commission that in its own scheme, sent to the papal nuncio, doubled the university's expenditures in relation to those proposed and levelled professors' salaries by raising them to 6,000 zloty (medics were set to receive 8,000 zloty).

The project of the reform was modern and aimed at bringing the antiquated Kraków Academy closer to western solutions in the system of higher education. Kołłątaj had familiarised himself with the organisation of the University of Vienna, where he was staying during the second reform of this university. He had also got acquainted with the organisation and working of Marsigli's Institute in Bologna, which was home to one of the first attempts at combining practical and technical sciences with general university studies⁷. In his concept, the university was meant to be a scientific and didactic facility with a comprehensive area of study. Modern knowledge, especially in the field of natural sciences, was supposed to be applicable in everyday life in order to help develop the country's economy, whereas the development of the social sciences and the humanities was meant to help shape a new model of the Pole as a patriot and a citizen.

Having examined the project, the Commission entrusted Kołłątaj in 1777 to implement the reform of the Nowodworski schools and to conduct a visitation to the Kraków Academy. The detailed report from the visitation prepared by Kołłątaj was read at the Commission's sessions in the early spring of 1778⁸. In the course of his work, Kołłątaj had an opportunity to look closer at the Academy's problems and devise concrete proposals for the Commission

⁷ A. Żeleńska-Chelkowska, *Próby wprowadzenia nauk technicznych w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w latach 1776—1833*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1966, 21.

⁸ J. Leniek, "Ks. Hugona Kołłątaja Raport z wizytacji akademii krakowskiej, odbytej w r. 1777", in *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce*, 13, Kraków, 1914, 181—183.

regarding change at the university⁹. He contained his proposals in 17 points. They concerned matters such as the rector's term in office (three to six years), putting in order the Academy's privileges and seeking new privileges that would be adopted by the Sejm, releasing the chancellor from teaching work and removing the function of receiver, extending deans' terms to last one year, adjusting the time frame of university studies to the time frame at province schools, retaining the existing career advancement system, reforming schools under the Academy's authority, pausing the recruitment of new professors in both colleges in order to avoid unnecessary expenses, granting benefits in agreement with the Commission, enforcing liabilities due from the Academy's funds, reorganising the archive and library, taking over the St Roch Hospital for educational purposes, putting in order the pharmaceutical market, improving the sanitary state of the Nowodworski schools and taking over some post-Jesuit buildings. The Academy was intended to exercise supervisory functions over the Polish education system¹⁰. As far as curricula were concerned, Kołłątaj recommended removing subjects unfitting for the spirit of the age and contradicting the reform, such as peripatetic philosophy, astrology and preparation of calendars with forecasts. Lectures in mathematics were to be obligatory for all students. He recommended commencing without delay lectures in morals and physics (even without experiments). He considered the reform of the Departments of Theology and Law as less urgent and suggested delaying it until later. What he considered urgent was the foundation of an astronomical observatory and a teacher training seminary. He found the establishment of the physician associate school and the hospital dependent on the Commission's subsidy. Having examined his report, the Commission took the decision to commission Kołłątaj to carry out the reform of the Department of Philosophy.

2. The first reform of the Kraków Academy (1778)

Kołłątaj contained his scheme of the reform in the document *Ratio studiorum pro Facultate Philosophica*, announced on 1 October 1778¹¹. The principal reorganisation of the department involved reducing the number of the faculties to 10: four faculties of mathematics, as well as logic and mathematics, moral

⁹ This document was published by Mirosława Chamcówna under the title "O potrzebach Akademii Krakowskiej 1778" (H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 105—112).

¹⁰ H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 105—108; W. Baczkowska, "Reformatorskie inicjatywy w Uniwersytecie Krakowskim na tle marazmu naukowego epoki saskiej", in *Kraków w czasach saskich*, Kraków, 1984, 106.

¹¹ "Ratio studiorum pro Facultate Philosophica in Universitate Cracoviensi A. 1778". Reprinted: *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum Ordinis in Universitate studiorum Jagellonica, ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. Muczkowski, Kraków, 1849, CCXXIV—CCXL.

philosophy, natural history, physics, rhetoric and poetics. What is striking is the fact that the department's structure would not include a faculty of Polish, as Kołłątaj had proposed in his first version of the reform. The faculties of Latin poetics and speech, i.e. Latin rhetoric, were close to each other in didactic terms¹². What was new, however, was the faculty of physics to encompass naturalist subjects which until then had been dispersed through other faculties.

Owing to staffing scarcity, it was not possible to launch all the subjects. Because of that, Kołłątaj hoped to engage Academy graduates sent on foreign studies. The reform's general assumptions departed significantly from the original ones which Kołłątaj had proposed before the reform. That was caused by the circumstances and the necessity of creating a department that would educate mainly teachers. Therefore, the curriculum of philosophy studies had to be based on the foundation of province schools. That was the guiding idea in all the subsequent Academy reforms¹³. Kołłątaj provided the Commission with detailed information about the implementation of the reform¹⁴. He wrote of the undeniable success of reforming the Nowodworski schools but also reported on multiple difficulties he had encountered. Many of the problems were caused by the task of putting in order the archive, as a great number of documents were in possession of professors and had to be recovered¹⁵. He succeeded in partly reorganising the work of the library, bringing it under the management of Józef Putanowicz. Kołłątaj set the rector's term in office for three years and confirmed incumbent Rector Antoni Żołądziowski in his position. He also appointed a new prosecutor, entrusting that post to Priest Karol Marxen (1730—1808), and assigned Priest Andrzej Czucki (1733—1817) to assist him. He pointed to the necessity of appointing a university cashier who would release the prosecutor from some of the duties in the future. As the prosecutor's first job, Kołłątaj assigned him with the inventory of all the university's properties and assessment of their incomes, so that they could be leased for another three years. The prosecutor's responsibilities also included collection of all amounts deposited in various landed properties and buildings. Kołłątaj also

¹² T. Ulewicz, "Dzieje Katedry Historii Literatury Polskiej w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim. (Ogólny szkic historyczny)", in *Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Historia katedr*, ed. W. Taszycki, A. Zaręba, Kraków, 1964, 99.

¹³ It was also emphasised in the Commission's educational plan for the Commonwealth's Main Schools (*Plan instrukcji i edukacji przepisany od Komisji dla Szkół Głównych i innych w krajach Rzeczypospolitej*, post 1791): "Że zaś w Szkołach Głównych wszystkie nauki w swojej obszerności i w wyższym stopniu dawane być powinny..." (*Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rozporządzenia, ustawy pedagogiczne i organizacyjne (1773—1793)*, ed. J. Lewicki, Kraków, 1925, 336).

¹⁴ H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 113—133.

¹⁵ J. Leniek, "Ks. Hugona...", 206—208.

set salaries for new professors of the Department of Philosophy. Regarding the clinic, he informed the Commission of the progress in negotiations concerning the takeover of the St Roch Hospital. He also informed the Commission of the visitation to Kraków-based pharmacies, conducted by Priest Badurski. It is worthy of note that the Commission did not approve of Badurski's proposal that he included in his post-visitation report. He suggested bringing the pharmacies under the Academy's supervision and entrusting it with the right to issue doctoral licenses¹⁶. He gave a very severe evaluation of the monastic pharmacies, recommending that they get closed, and that was likely to be the reason why the Commission did not accept his report.

A crucial change involved revision of the curricula from which all the remnants of scholastic philosophy were removed. Their contents were prepared with prospective teachers in mind. Kołłątaj emphasised the Academy's involvement in the implementation of the Commission's plans concerning the preparation of the teaching staff to work in schools. He considered the establishment of the teacher training seminary as the most urgent task, otherwise schools within two years would either be without teachers or their teachers would be undereducated, unable to provide instruction in their relevant subjects. He also recommended organising at the Academy evening sittings, conducted by distinguished and accomplished scholars, where scientific topics would be discussed in a light and leisurely fashion. That would be an excellent school for the students in developing their passions and character at the same time.

Kołłątaj mentioned work on the reform of the Department of Law as well. A scheme had been prepared stipulating that there would be seven faculties in operation: law of nations, history of law, domestic law, criminal law, public church law, canon law and domestic legal procedure. In the final part of his report, Kołłątaj raised the most difficult issue, namely the reform of the Department of Theology. That was a problem of profound importance, the solution of which would require diplomatic dexterity and resourcefulness. Canons' rich properties and high incomes looked tempting and taking them over for the benefit of the Academy could significantly improve its condition. However, since the factual supervision over the Department of Theology was exercised by religious authorities, it was impossible to achieve without reaching an agreement with the supreme leaders of the Polish Roman Catholic Church. The first step on the way to reforming the department was to reduce the number of the faculties to four: the Holy Scripture, moral theology, dogmatic theology and the history of the Church. A fifth professor was prescribed to teach Hebrew. Curricula for the

¹⁶ "Rozporządzenie aptek z zlecenia Prześwietney Kommissyi Edukacyjnej dnia 17 miesiąca października roku 1778 w Krakowie uczynione", *Rocznik Wydziału Lekarskiego w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim* 4, 1841, 38—48.

new faculties had already been prepared by Priest Jakub Jachimowski, the rector of the Castle Religious Seminary, and Priest Józef Bogucicki¹⁷.

Koźłataj's report coincided with the period of debate about the reform of universities and the teacher training system. The Commission appointed a team consisting of Joachim Chreptowicz, Michał Mniszek, Ignacy Potocki and the two scheme authors: Hugo Koźłataj and Antoni Popławski. Koźłataj had already written several times about his ideas of creating a teacher training seminary at the Academy. Popławski also presented an extensive scheme concerning restructuring the Piarist congregation of which he was a member himself. Having examined both schemes, the Commission decided to choose Popławski's scheme, but only the part concerning teacher training, while discarding his proposals of reforming the entire congregation and entrusting it with supervision over the education system. Conducive to the selection of Popławski's proposal was the opinion of Primate Poniatowski himself, who also saw clerics in the roles of future teachers.

3. The establishment of the Crown's Main School

At its session on 28 April 1780, the Commission took the decision to reform the Kraków Academy and the Vilnius Academy. From now on, both universities were to bear the names of the Crown's Main School and the Lithuanian Main School. The Main Schools were set to consist of four colleges. The College of Theology consisted of the School of Theology (with the faculties of dogmatic theology, moral theology, the history of the Church, as well as the Hebrew language and biblical studies) and the School of Church Law (canon law and canon law procedure)¹⁸. The College of Law consisted of the following faculties: natural law, economic law, political law and law of nations, domestic public and civil law, and additionally, criminal law and domestic legal procedure, practice and history of commerce, Roman law and the Greek language. The College of Medicine consisted of the Schools of Barber-Surgeons, Medicine and Pharmacy. The first school housed the faculties of anatomy and surgery with lectures on midwifery. The School of Medicine was home to classes on pathology and the medical matter. The last school was home only to the faculty of chemistry and botany lectures. The Colleges of Physics were meant to be the most comprehensive, even though they only consisted of two schools. The School of

¹⁷ M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w okresie wizyty i rektoratu Hugona Koźłataja 1777—1786*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1957, 98.

¹⁸ *Protokóły posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1778—1780*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1913, 168—169.

Physics consisted of the following faculties: physics, mechanics, agriculture and natural history. The School of Mathematics was home to the faculties of pure mathematics, mixed mathematics, applied mathematics and astronomy. Each college was headed by the chairman and deputy chairman. For the purpose of effective enforcement of the didactic process, each school was equipped with nine lecture rooms, an astronomical observatory, a chemical laboratory, a hospital and an anatomy theatre, a botanic garden and an agricultural farm. The rector was appointed to head the entire enterprise with the assistance of the university council. A public library was opened for the school purposes, run by two librarians and two assistant librarians. A financial inspector and deputy financial inspector were appointed to manage the university's finance, having at their disposal a computing assistant. A teacher training seminary for prospective teachers was planned to be opened at each school. The seminaries were to employ their own teachers of French and German, whereas the remaining subjects were to be taught at the Main School. The seminaries were designed to receive 30 candidates each. The above-mentioned session of the Commission concluded with assigning the Kraków Academy to be first to undergo reform and granting it employment posts for 23 professors, 10 vice-professors and 5 assistants. Moreover, it was authorised to supervise and control all schools in Poland, i.e. in the Crown.

Unfortunately, Kołłątaj did not succeed in implementing all of the Commission's decisions. He was prevented from doing so by the lack of the qualified teaching staff and poor infrastructure. While implementing the new university structure and new rules of appointing faculty leaders, Kołłątaj had to guarantee maintenance to all the 120 employed university members. Only 15 of those were to be employed in the new Crown's Main School. Part of the professors were asked to retire; others were posted to colony-schools. The remaining group were assigned administrative posts. The biggest challenge was posed by the theology professors. As a result of negotiations, the professors renounced their canon and prelature positions at the Collegiate Church of St Florian, receiving in return other forms of material security, which consequently gave the university significant gains.

Having successfully completed his negotiations with the professors, on 29 September 1780, on the day of Primate Poniatowski's namesday, Kołłątaj officially announced the initiation of the reform of the entire university. As a matter of fact, the College of Theology was the only one to launch work in full capacity. The following six faculties started work: the Holy Scripture, the history of the Church, dogmatic theology, moral theology, canon law and Church court procedure. The College of Medicine was slowly recuperating from the prior collapse. The actual classes were only conducted in the facul-

ties of anatomy, physiology, surgery and midwifery. Difficulties also occurred regarding the filling of the positions at the College of Law. The only faculties to be launched included natural law, political economics and Roman law. The College of Physics was at the stage of organisation and the following faculties were opened: physics, pure mathematics, mixed mathematics, astronomy and applied mechanics for craftsmanship. Of particular importance was the opening of the Seminary for Candidates for the Academic Estate, but the syllabus was not fully enforced in this case as well due to the lack of lecturers and only 20 candidates applied¹⁹.

The work on the reform was interrupted when a conflict erupted between Kołłątaj and the Kraków bishop's curia. The religious authorities had been anxiously looking at the changes that were under way and the actual degradation of the Department of Theology since the beginning of the reform. The university issues were soon exacerbated by personal conflicts between Kołłątaj and the curia, especially Bishop Sołtyk, who was suffering from mental impairment. The tension concerned lease of the Church's landed property and radically intensified. The continuing dispute led to Kołłątaj's dismissal from the position of school inspector and effectively restrained the entire reform²⁰. It was only after Sołtyk was removed from office and Kołłątaj's indictments were revoked that allowed the Commission to grant him the prior competencies.

Kołłątaj's return to Kraków in mid-June 1782 as a school inspector commenced the new period of transformation of the university's structure. From January 1783, Kołłątaj also held the post of rector of the Crown's Main School. When he arrived in Kraków, the university had already concluded its first re-organisation, performed by Jan Śniadecki (1756—1830), who was supported by Jan Jaśkiewicz (1749—1809). The change involved unifying the College of Physics with the College of Medicine under one name of the College of Physics, which was to be headed by Jaśkiewicz. Kołłątaj received very significant support from Śniadecki and Jaśkiewicz. A draft was devised within that circle of the Acts on the Crown's Main School's College of Physics²¹. Even though it never came into effect, it constituted a signpost for further change. Further reforms were implemented based on *Ustawy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej dla stanu akademickiego i na szkoły w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane* [The Commission of National Education's Acts for the academic estate and the schools of the Commonwealth], in which Kołłątaj edited the chapter titled *O Szkołach*

¹⁹ H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 143—158.

²⁰ M. Kanior, *Wydział Teologiczny w dziejach Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego (1780—1880)*, Kraków, 1998, 87.

²¹ Published by Władysław Szumowski (*Prace i Materiały Komisji Historii Medycyny i Nauk Matematyczno-Przyrodniczych PAU 2*, 1949).

Głównych [*On the Main Schools*]²². The Acts regulated the division of competencies between the Commission, vesting in it the legislative power, and the Main Schools, that had the executive power. The Commission reserved the right to conduct visitations to the Main Schools and issue professorial and official patents and retained oversight over the jurisdiction of the second instance. Importantly, the Acts ultimately specified the organisational rules of the education system. The Crown and Lithuania had their Main Schools that supervised and provided assistance to the schools of a lower rank in the school district under their authority. The said supervision involved first and foremost providing schools with qualified teachers; next, managing their incomes, organising the scientific life, creating and closing scientific institutions, exercising judicial power with regard to teachers and managing school assemblies. What this meant in practice was that the Main School's secretary and council took decisions concerning appointments to posts at the schools. The secretary also received reports on an annual basis from school inspectors whom the Main School's council despatched to individual schools. In organisational terms, the Main Schools were divided into two colleges.

Table 1. The Crown's Main School's organogram in the years 1783—1795²³

Faculty	Opened at the Main School
College of Morality	
School of Theology	
Holy Scripture	1783—1784
History of the Church	1783—1784
Dogmatic Theology	1783—1784
Moral Theology	1783—1784
School of Law	
Natural Law, Economic Law, Political Law and Law of Nations (Criminal Law — 1783—1786)	1783—1784
Roman Law and the History of Ancient Laws	1783—1784
Canon Law	1783—1784
Church Court Procedures	1783—1784
Polish Domestic Secular Law	1785—1786 — appointment of a vice-professor 1789—1790 — start of lectures
School of Literature	
Greek Literature	1783—1784

²² *Ustawy Komisyyi Edukacji Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na szkoły w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane*, ed. K. Bartnicka, Warsaw, 2015.

²³ Sec: JUA, SI 145.

Polish and Latin Literature	1782—1783 — lecture in rhetoric 1785—1790 — appointment of a vice-professor 1790 — establishing a faculty
Ancient Literature	1787
Prefect of the University Library	1783
College of Physics	
School of Mathematics	
Elementary Mathematics	1783—1784
Advanced Mathematics and Astronomy	1783—1784
Applied Mechanics	1783—1784
Mechanics and Hydraulics	1787—1788
School of Physics	
Natural History, Chemistry and Botany	1783—1784
Experimental Physics	1783—1784
School of Medicine	
Anatomy and Physiology	1783—1784
Surgery and Midwifery	1783—1784
Pharmacy and Medical Matter	1783—1784
Pathology, Therapy and Medical Practice	1784—1785

The creation of the faculty of Polish and Latin literature should be considered as an important novelty in the structure of the Crown's Main School. Kollątaj had argued in favour of creating such a faculty as early as 1776 with a view to strengthening the position of and developing the Polish language. The Commission, however, showed no special interest (despite having granted permission to set up the faculty of the Greek language), insisting on the development of the mathematical and natural sciences. The nobles, especially in the Kresy far eastern regions, demanded that Latin be taught. In order to meet those demands, Józef Muszyński (1750—1793) began in 1782 his classes on Ciceronian rhetoric²⁴. This was a makeshift solution, and it was not until the Commission's Acts were passed in 1784 that the Crown's Main School requested the Commission that the faculty of literature be created²⁵. The talks regarding the syllabus and the instructor were dragging on and it was not until 1790 that Marcin Fijałkowski was put in charge. The prefect of the University Library was also assigned to the School of Literature. This position was not only of an administrative nature as the prefect was also supposed to teach antiquities, i.e. classical antiquity. Due to the lack of a suitable candidate, the faculty

²⁴ M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w okresie wizyty i rektoratu Hugona Kollątaja 1777—1786*, 261.

²⁵ T. Ulewicz, "Dzieje...", 99.

was not launched until 1787, with Jacek Idzi Przybylski being appointed the faculty's professor.

Kołątaj also undertook intensive efforts to create the faculty of criminal law and the faculty of domestic public and civil law. Lectures on criminal law were successfully launched in the years 1783—1786. After a long preparation that mainly concerned the person of the lecturer, the Commission appointed Józef Januszewicz vice-professor of domestic law in 1785. However, the lectures effectively started in 1789, and Januszewicz received his professorial patent in 1790.

The efforts to create the faculty of international history never materialised. The Commission did not accept Kołątaj's proposal, explaining that it did not have sufficient funds. The faculty of economics was not set up either, even though its detailed design had been devised. The main obstacle was the lack of a suitable candidate. The university's leadership provided the reinstated School of Medicine with particular care. It initially consisted of two faculties: anatomy and physiology and surgery and midwifery. Following the university's reorganisation, in line with Kołątaj's plan, the faculty of pharmacy and medical matter was set up in 1783. Owing to staffing issues, the faculty of pathology and medical practice was not set up until a year later. Meanwhile, proposals had been made of further extension of the school and of combining physiology with pathology, as well as opening separate faculties of therapy and anatomy. The Commission, however, did not approve the proposed changes and recommended opening the long-planned faculties, i.e. the second faculty of surgery and faculty of veterinary medicine, instead. However, there was no time for these plans to ever realise.

No success was achieved regarding the creation of the faculty of architecture. Kołątaj was seeking to achieve this goal, and after Feliks Oraczewski departed, so was Feliks Radwański. No success was achieved with another of Kołątaj's useful ideas, which he presented in his treaty *O poprawie Szkoły Kadetów i wskrzeszeniu milicji obywatelskiej* [*On the reform of the School of Cadets and the restoration of a civic militia*], either. His proposal envisaged introducing into the syllabus of the School of Cadets military architecture, engineering and pyrotechnics. This direction of study had not been foreseen for soldiers but for the teachers who were to teach military subjects at province schools.

Kołątaj's term in office as rector ended in February 1786. The Commission, which had reserved the right to nominate the new rector and appoint heads of the faculties, decided on 28 April 1786 to appoint Oraczewski school inspector responsible for the completion of the reforms initiated by Kołątaj. Feeling aggrieved by the new situation, Kołątaj gave up his work at the Crown's Main School, leading the Commission to appoint Oraczewski the school's rector. He

assumed his post on 3 October 1786²⁶. Before his departure, Kołłątaj prepared, with his typical meticulousness, an extensive document: *O Szkole Głównej Koronnej Akademii Krakowskiej do Prześwietnej Komisji nad Edukacją Narodową przelożonej raport od dnia 1 października 1780 do dnia ostatniego miesiąca lipca 1784 roku*²⁷, which constitutes a perfect source of information on his work in Kraków and how the reform of the Academy had progressed.

The period of Oraczewski's tenure as rector (1786—1790) was filled with internal disputes and conflicts, which divided the academic community. The disagreements were not caused solely by animosities between professors but also by matters pertaining to the management of the university and its relations with the Commission. The model of collective management that had existed so far, with the dominant role of the Main School's council, no longer satisfied Kołłątaj who on several occasions engaged in a conflict with the council. Despite his discontent, Kołłątaj made no steps towards changing the system of university management, navigating adroitly between the council and the Commission. Oraczewski possessed neither the tact nor the diplomatic sense but exhibited aspirations towards strengthening the power of the rector with stricter subjugation of the university to the Commission²⁸. Oraczewski's personal traits and his inclination to cause conflicts and plot schemes also played their part. A powerful opposition soon arose under Jan Śniadecki's leadership seeking to frustrate the rector's decisions aimed at restricting the council's competencies. Using Primate Poniatowski's backing, Oraczewski succeeded in obtaining the Commission's permission to change the voting system in the council, which allowed him to strengthen his position. The few dubious employment decisions he took exacerbated the conflict which had resonated throughout Poland and drew in also representatives of the Warsaw academic community who published critical scientific reviews of the works of Oraczewski's adherents²⁹. Facing the mounting pressure and conflict escalation, in the summer 1789, the Commission examined the College of Physics's complaints against Feliks Oraczewski and Andrzej Trzciński, professor of physics, and concluded that one of the reasons for the disagreement was caused by an erroneous provision in the Acts of 1783. In the autumn 1789, the Commission convened several sessions addressing the situation at both Main Schools, where it considered two draft projects concerning management of the Schools. The first draft, devised by Śniadecki,

²⁶ JUA, 374, 1.

²⁷ H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 184—235.

²⁸ M. Chamcówna, "Szkoła Główna Koronna w walce o autonomię uniwersytecką", *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 2, 1957, 254.

²⁹ Zob. *Zakus nad zaciekami Wszechnicy Krakowskiej, czyli Uwagi nad niektórymi tej Akademii dySSERTACjami*, Warsaw, 1778.

sought to give schools, not only schools of higher education, extensive autonomy in line with the practice exercised so far; the other draft, prepared by Oraczewski, sought to grant broad powers to the Commission regarding control over and management of the schools of all levels. Śniadecki's draft was thought-through and detailed. He argued that professors' promotion should be determined by their scientific achievements and work, which could only be established by the Main School, and so it should be granted the sole right to appoint and dismiss the professors. The discussions resulted in the publication of the new version of the Acts³⁰. Even though no major changes were introduced as a result, the autonomy of the Main Schools was decisively reinforced regarding the election of the rectors and the professorial nominations. Under the new provisions, the first election of the rector of the Main School was held. The candidates were put forward by the colleges. The College of Physics proposed Jan Śniadecki, and when he declined, it endorsed the College of Morality's candidate Józef Szabel (1735—1805), who was elected as rector.

His tenure coincided with a tragic period in Poland's history and hard times in the history of the university under his authority. The year 1792 was one of the hardest. The political events impacted the university's financial condition. It was practically deprived of the income from its landed properties and soon also of the Commission's subsidies. Following 1793, there were no more funds for the professors' salaries. The reign of the Targowica Confederation had a disastrous impact on education. On 27 April 1793, the Commission of National Education was dissolved. Two Commissions of Education were established in its place: the Crown's Commission and the Lithuanian Commission. The Crown's Commission was hostile towards the Kraków-based university, and the prospect of closing it down or, in the best-case scenario, transferring it to Warsaw was being more and more boldly discussed. In these circumstances, the university's best-known professor, Jan Śniadecki, set off to Warsaw on the mission to rescue the university and secure its rights to its incomes. Śniadecki continued his journey from Warsaw to the Sejm session in Grodno, where given the support by the king, the marshal of the Sejm and the Russian ambassador, he embarked on an extensive promotional campaign, calling for the restoration of the Commission of National Education and for the existing status of the Main Schools to be retained. Rector Marcin Poczubut-Odlanicki of the Lithuanian Main School and Professor Hieronim Stroynowski were also involved in the campaign. Fierce disputes in the Sejm's forum led to the restoration of the Commission of Education and the Main Schools' powers had been

³⁰ *Ustawodawstwo...*, 209—330.

confirmed³¹. Of particular importance for the Crown's Main School was the fact that it obtained the rights to erect the clinic which it failed to enforce by the time the Commonwealth collapsed. Efforts to lift the university from its financial misery and to attract new students failed as well.

4. A new organisation of studies

The existing scheme of studying at the university had undergone profound reform. The traditional, hierarchical system in which the way to theology, law or medical studies had led through philosophy studies had been discarded. Now, the students would choose one of the study fields offered by the existing colleges from year one. The College of Physics educated candidates for the academic estate, so prospective teachers, “free” students (with their own funding), as well as attendees of the surgery school, i.e. medics. The “free” students were not subject to any rigours related to testing or exams. They would pick the lectures by themselves, sometimes study in several fields at the same time and would take exams when they wanted to make a doctoral degree. In 1783, the College of Physics set the time frame for particular courses: astronomy (until the observatory was erected) — one year, anatomy — three years (to be reduced to two years), surgery — two years; midwifery — one year, botany and chemistry — two years, pharmacy and medical matter — two years³². The School of Medicine's schedule was so arranged that students keen on expanding their knowledge could also attend courses in other fields than medicine.

One of the key tasks that the Commission set the Main Schools was the training of teachers. For this purpose, as early as 1780, the Seminary for Candidates for the Academic Estate was opened, organised according to the design by Piarist Antoni Popławski. Following the solutions applied in his own order, Popławski set up a seminary of a monastic type. The candidates made up a residential commune, sat at the common table and were fully maintained by the state. Popławski's severe discipline and authoritative attitude caused averse educational effects and faced resistance of the students. Such a solution had from the very beginning raised objections of Hugo Kołłątaj and Jan Śniadecki³³. Eventually, the Commission agreed to dissolve the seminary in 1783. The candidates were expected to live with the students in dormitories or private lodgings and to give private lessons in order to gain pedagogical practice. Greater

³¹ J. Hulewicz, “Jan Śniadecki jako organizator nauki”, *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej. Historia Nauk Społecznych* 2, 1958, 89—90.

³² *Wizyta Szkoły Głównej Koronnej przez Feliksa Oraczeńskiego 1786*, ed. W. Seredyński, Kraków, 1884.

³³ M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w latach 1786—1795*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1959, 271.

liberties were allowed regarding personal conduct, and the candidates' studies assumed a looser form. They were not connected with the awarding of scientific degrees, even though the candidates had been promised to obtain a doctoral degree if they completed a full course of study as early as 1780. The candidates chose the direction of study at their own discretion and were obliged to pass the tests of the lectures they selected. It soon turned out that the greater liberties caused the discipline and the qualities of studies to slump. For the purposes of repairing the situation, on 27 November 1787, the Commission established the Department of Candidates' Supervision under the direct authority of Rector Oraczewski³⁴. Rector Oraczewski along with the assisting professors introduced discipline that exceeded the severity of Popławski's discipline. Systematic inspections were introduced in the candidates' flats, a register of misdemeanours was kept, and a system of informants was put in place. Not only the students but also professors protested, including Jan Śniadecki. Facing the pressure and the widespread discontent, the Commission decided to close down the Department of Candidates' Supervision on 19 March 1790; the supervision over the candidates was entrusted to Priest Walerian Bogdanowicz³⁵. The change was to imply allowing greater liberties and lifting the nearly police supervision that brought no tangible results anyway. Unfortunately, the closing down of the department had no major bearing on the raising of interest in "teacher studies". In the early 1790s, the number of candidates continued falling. Although the Commission guaranteed full maintenance to the candidates for the first two years in November 1790, there were ever fewer candidates. During the first year of the seminary's activity, only 15 of the 30 planned candidates were admitted³⁶. The greatest number (23) was admitted in the years 1786 and 1787. The first significant fall in the number of candidates was recorded in 1788 with 17 state-maintained candidates; the following year, there were only 10, and in 1792—1793, 7 candidates. In such circumstances, the Crown's Main School discontinued admitting new candidates in October 1793. Aside from the state-maintained candidates, there were also voluntary candidates who paid for the education with their own money, but their number never exceeded eight in any given year. There were a slightly bigger number of monastic candidates sent by their orders. The numbers peaked in 1787—1788 when the Main School educated 42 candidates. The full cycle of teacher training spanned three years. However, due to the high demand, the candidates were sent to work after the second year and even after the first year of study. In total, in the years 1784—

³⁴ JUA, 30, 2; M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w latach 1786—1795*, 36.

³⁵ JUA, 28, 26.

³⁶ JUA, 92, 286.

1795, as many as 63 teachers were despatched to work at schools³⁷. This was little in contrast to the actual needs of the education system and only a fraction of what had been planned.

The biggest group of students in the College of Physics were those studying at the School of Medicine. In order to launch medical studies, the university authorities founded a surgery school that was intended to train specialists that would be most useful for the general public.

Candidates were to be recruited mainly in Kraków's medical community. Therefore, on 21 January 1780, Andrzej Badurski sent a letter to the magistrate, requesting that pressure be exerted on barber surgeons to send their apprentices to university. In his letter, he requested the city authorities to send several women to study midwifery. The city's response was rather limited, so Kołłątaj requested the king and the state authorities that they issue an order to the royal cities to send one or two candidates for surgeons and cover the cost of their stay in Kraków. The first royal order was issued in 1783, but it was practically ignored, as out of the 213 cities only 53 send their representatives. Therefore, in 1784 and 1785, new orders were issued with amendments concerning the covering of the costs of the students' stay in Kraków³⁸. This time, the plea was more effective. In late 1785, Kraków saw the arrival of 170 students³⁹. The university offered them common lodgings in one of the dormitories which was called the Surgeons' Dormitory, as well as full maintenance. It imposed severe discipline and a system of punishments for misdemeanours, including corporal punishment. Initially, the living conditions of the dormitory occupants were good. However, the situation began worsening due to the lack of funds as the cities defaulted on their financial commitments. The university had to subsidise the "surgeons" with sums amounting to 10,000 zloty. Cities that were struggling with financial difficulties were forced to cease sending their boys to university. During Oraczewski's visitation, the surgeons' school taught 98 students. In 1791—1792, as few as 20 towns sent the total of 24 students; the following year, nine towns (11 students), and in 1793—1794, only one town. In such circumstances, the Surgeons' Dormitory was closed, which amounted to the end of surgeon training based on towns' subsidies⁴⁰.

Aside from surgeons, the School of Medicine also educated prospective physicians who could complete their studies with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. The scheme of medical studies was devised in line with the latest

³⁷ K. Mrozowska, *Walka o nauczycieli świeckich w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1956, 40.

³⁸ Cited by: W. Szumowski, *Krakowska Szkoła Lekarska po reformach Kołłątaja*, Kraków, 1929, 89.

³⁹ "Wizyta...", 133.

⁴⁰ W. Szumowski, *Krakowska...*, 156.

solutions applied at foreign universities. The basis for medical education was surgery, considered as a lesser medicine. Surgical studies, even in their four-year scheme, did not provide qualifications of a doctor of internal medicine. Such qualifications were secured by a doctorate in medicine. In order to achieve that, it was necessary to complete surgery course lasting three years. The doctoral programme consisted of two phases. First, the candidate took a general exam in all specialisations and on passing it, received the degree of Bachelor which authorised him to apply for the doctoral exam. Surgeons were not eligible to apply for the doctoral studies as they took the exam only in their specialisation. The practical part of the exam, i.e. by the patient's bed, played a crucial part of both exams⁴¹. The first doctoral exam was held in 1787, and by 1791, eight doctors had been approved. The worsening political situation meant that part of the candidates was content to finish their studies with a bachelor's degree or with verified attendance in the classes.

The College of Morality educated mainly theologians and lawyers, but some subjects were attended also by candidates for teachers. Theology students included religious seminary students, monks from religious orders which were entrusted with public schools, as well as students, mostly priests, intending to make a doctorate in theology. In 1783, the length of each course was set as follows: Holy Scripture — four years, history of the Church — four years, canon law — three years, canon law procedure — two years, moral theology and dogmatics — three years, law of nature, economics and politics — two years, Roman law — two years⁴². The changes that ensued in the subsequent years involved reducing the theology courses to three years.

The Crown's Main School saw changes to the rules of studying theology. As early as at the first session of the Theology-Canonical College on 8 October 1780, one of the key issues raised was to prepare the general principles of organising theological studies. The principal change concerned the way in which the candidate obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology. Only a candidate with impeccable conduct and loyal to the Roman Catholic Church could apply for the degree. Apart from a proof certifying this, the candidate also had to produce the certificate of completion of a province school. Another precondition was the attendance in the classes of mathematics, physics and laws of nature, as well as the completion of a four-year course in theology⁴³. Only by having met all these conditions the candidate had the way open to the doctoral exam which involved defence of four theological theses. In the event the candidate applied for the degree of Doctor of Canon Law, he would additionally defend a thesis

⁴¹ Cited by: W. Szumowski, *Krakowska...*, 148.

⁴² "Wizyta...", 40.

⁴³ JUA, 393, 1.

in this area. The course of legal studies was similar to those in the theological field. Lectures in law were accessible to all students of the College of Morality, in particular the theology students. It is, therefore, hard to assess how many of them were set to make a bachelor's or master's degree in law or theology as we do not possess an itemised breakdown of candidates. In the first year of the Crown's Main School's operations, 104 students enrolled in the College of Theology. The next year saw the number fall to 70 students, and in 1784, the entire College of Morality educated 104 students. The number of the College of Morality students was in principle twice as big as that at the College of Physics. Over the years 1780—1793, it educated 642 students⁴⁴.

On embarking on the reform of the Department of Philosophy, Kołłątaj also prepared methodological proposals for the professors. Intelligibility and clarity of the lecture, along with abundance of explanations, were set to be the basis of university didactics. Meeting these objectives required a suitable method. Kołłątaj found one, namely the analytical method, as the most fitting one to acquire comprehensive education⁴⁵. In this case, Kołłątaj drew from Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, whose works were well known in Poland. The principal change involved having the liberty to select the authors, i.e. allowing for philosophical freedom and free debate in the spirit of the epoch. The professors were obliged to prepare their own lesson outlines which had to be, however, accepted by the department's dean. From 1783 onwards, the outlines were printed. Aside from the lectures, one of the basic methods of didactic work at the College of Morality involved showings⁴⁶. This was a form of public responses that candidates gave to the questions they had been asked before. The list of subjects of the showings containing the names of the students and dates of showings was printed. The showings were not only a form of verifying the student's knowledge but were also meant to prepare them for public speeches.

5. Work on creation of a modern educational and scientific base

The profound reform of studying programmes and implementation of new educational contents required new study rooms and equipment with modern study aids. Although the university had at its disposal several properties in the city, it did not possess any modern study and lecture rooms. Intensive search was

⁴⁴ K. Mrozowska, *Funkcjonowanie systemu szkolnego Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony w latach 1783—1793*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1985, 67.

⁴⁵ *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Pisma Komisji i o Komisji*, ed. S. Tync, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1954, 99.

⁴⁶ JUA, 245, 35.

launched for a property that could house the College of Physics. Since none of the post-Jesuit buildings met the necessary requirements, it was decided that construction would be completed of the house at 6 St Anna Street and financed by the fund of Priest Kazimierz Stanisław Pałaszowski (1693—1758)⁴⁷. In 1784, four lecture rooms and two study rooms were made available⁴⁸. The rush caused the building to be finished improperly and require permanent repairs. The construction of an amphitheatre room at the St Barbara's Church for the purpose of lectures in medicine was an undeniable success.

Collection of study aids was an individual matter of each professor. They would present a proposal at a college meeting, and a decision was then taken jointly about allocating funds to relevant faculties. The greatest contribution to the collection of study aids is credited to Jan Jaśkiewicz, who is also credited for properly equipping the study room of natural history. The exhibits were bought abroad, mainly in Paris and London, and part of them were obtained on domestic study trips. Jaśkiewicz purchased the first study aids for the chemical laboratory. They were mainly glass vessels, brought from Vienna and Paris, and over a dozen of preparations⁴⁹. On his part, Feliks Radwański was the creator of a new device in the machine study room. He collected there mainly materials and models for lectures in mechanics and hydraulics. The study aids collected until then had only served as examples for describing the general laws of physics. The new study room accommodated concrete models of machines, devices and buildings⁵⁰.

A lot fewer study aids were collected at the School of Medicine. There were discussions about creating an anatomy study room and a surgery study room, but those ideas were never materialised, like in the case of the pharmaceutical laboratory. The main problem professors faced was obtaining human corpses, with some of them committing illicit practice. The creation of the clinical hospital was a great success. The idea to acquire one of the existing hospitals in Kraków proved to be unviable⁵¹. The decision was taken to establish a new hospital at the post-Jesuit college at the St Barbara's Church, where autonomy and surgery had already been taught. The KEN approved this idea in 1778,

⁴⁷ J. Michalewicz, M. Michalewiczowa, *Fundationes pecuniariae Universitatis Jagellonicae in saeculis XV—XVIII*, Kraków, 1999, 675.

⁴⁸ M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w okresie wizyty i rektoratu Hugona Kollątaja 1777—1786*, 184.

⁴⁹ E. Wyka, "Najstarsze naczynia chemiczne w zbiorach Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Opuscula Musealia* 7, 1994, 70—75.

⁵⁰ J. Piłatowicz, "Zanim powstały politechniki. Nauczanie przedmiotów matematyczno-przyrodniczych i technicznych w dobie reform Komisji Edukacji Narodowej", *Historia i Świat* 2, 2013, 82.

⁵¹ W. Szumowski, *Krakowska...*, 16 and subsequent.

and in 1780, it disposed of the building for the benefit of the university and granted a permanent subsidy for the hospital's operations. As the subsidy was insufficient, Andrzej Badurski, as the hospital manager, sought private sponsors and organised fund-raising activities in Kraków⁵². He also succeeded in obtaining the Church authorities' permission to attach to the hospital the Sisters of Mercy Hospital with all its equipment and patients. This was a very important but troublesome decision. The Sisters brought in two profitable funds which significantly improved the hospital's financial condition. The rising number of patients and children led to the deterioration of the conditions of treatment at the hospital⁵³. New premises were being sought as a result, and the monastery buildings with adjacent gardens, owned by the Carmelites, was selected as the venue. The Carmelites disposed of their property for the public convenience and the Acquisition Deed was signed on 13 August 1787 by the Carmelite Order's principal and Primate Poniatowski. This was a serious oversight which was to cause multiple disputes in the future between the Church authorities and the university regarding the ownership rights to the hospital, which was given the name of St Lazarus Hospital. It also impacted the tone inside the hospitals, as the nuns were reluctant to follow the orders of their secular supervisors. Nevertheless, the hospital perfectly fulfilled its objectives as a medical facility and a school where prospective surgeons and physicians learnt their trade.

The establishment of the Astronomical Observatory was an important initiative from the didactic and scientific point of view. First designs appeared in the early 18th century, but there was a lack of favourable sentiment and funds to implement them⁵⁴. It was not until 1780, on the occasion of the establishment of the Crown's Main School, that Kołłątaj declared that an observatory would be erected and nominated Jan Śniadecki as the project's key coordinator. The works progressed slowly though. Initially, only a handful of astronomical tools were collected, and part of the equipment was acquired from the post-Jesuit Poznań college⁵⁵. It was only in 1787 that the decision to build the observatory was made, with Feliks Radwański put in charge. Śniadecki's departure to England was used by his opponents in Kraków to reject the construction draft and decide that the post-Jesuit building in Kraków's borough of Wesola near the botanic garden that was under construction would be converted into an

⁵² H. Kołłątaj, *Raport...*, 141.

⁵³ W. Szumowski, *Krakowska...*, 217.

⁵⁴ E. Rybka, "Zarys historii astronomii w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim", in *Studia z dziejów katedr Wydziału Matematyki, Fizyki, Chemii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. S. Gołąb, Kraków, 1964, 15.

⁵⁵ F. Karliński, "Rys dziejów Obserwatorium Astronomicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", in *Zakłady uniwersyteckie w Krakowie. Przyczynek do dziejów oświaty krajowej podany i pamięci pięciuset-letniego istnienia Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego poświęcony*, pref. J. Majer, Kraków, 1864, 96.

observatory. Construction developments were very costly and dragged on until 1792 when the Astronomical Observatory was officially opened. Śniadecki was appointed scientific custodian of the observatory. In 1791, the Commission appointed Józef Czech as his assistant. Providing the observatory with modern equipment was the major problem. Using his connections with British and French astronomers and with their help, inasmuch as the university's financial resources allowed it, Śniadecki systematically had the equipment and requisite scientific literature delivered to the observatory⁵⁶. Astronomical observations had been conducted prior to the official opening of the observatory. Once the observatory premises had been eventually refurbished and relatively well supplied with astronomy equipment, financial difficulties arose along with the collapse of the Commonwealth and Śniadecki's departure from Kraków, which curtailed the pace of scientific research.

Koźłataj was also the mastermind of the establishment of the Botanic Garden. For this purpose, he privately purchased a post-Jesuit garden and a plot of land in the Kraków borough of Wesoła, which he later donated to the Crown's Main School. He appointed Jan Jaśkiewicz as the garden's organiser, whom he subsequently sent to Vienna on a scientific trip to get acquainted with the organisation of the botanic gardens there⁵⁷. Jaśkiewicz brought well-known gardener Franciszek Kajzer from Vienna, whom he put in charge of the practical organisation of the garden. Selecting the old-French model for the new garden, which was supposed to be a live museum of the world's flora, turned out to be an unfortunate solution as it subsequently made it difficult to expand the garden. Moreover, using Jaśkiewicz's involvement with scientific research, Kajzer undertook at his own discretion costly and often wrong decisions. The inspection carried out in 1787 found significant negligence. Of the 573 purchased species of plants, only 300 were sowed and 202 developed⁵⁸. Jan Szaster devised a repair programme, the principal provisions of which envisaged subjecting the gardener to strict supervision of the natural history professor, making redundancies, and putting a greater stress on collecting domestic plant species that could be used in research⁵⁹. It was not until Franciszek Scheidt took up the po-

⁵⁶ *Korespondencja Jana Śniadeckiego. Listy z Krakowa, 1787—1807*, ed. M. Chamcówna, S. Tync, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1954, 118; M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w latach 1786—1795*, 100.

⁵⁷ W. Szafer, *Zarys historii botaniki w Krakowie na tle sześciu wieków Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków, 1964, 45.

⁵⁸ A. Zemanek, *Dzieje nauczania botaniki w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim (1783—1917). History of teaching the botany at the Jagiellonian University (1783—1917)*, Kraków, 1991, 19.

⁵⁹ M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w okresie wizyty i rektoratu Hugona Koźłataja 1777—1786*, 189.

sition of natural history professor in 1787 with Kajzer being dismissed and Polaczek taking his place that profound changes could take place. It follows from the 1791 report that organisational works had been completed. The garden was home to some 3,000 plant species from different climate zones, taking particular pride in its banana palm trees that grew and blossomed there. (Bananas were sent all the way to the king himself). Although a plan of further development of the garden had been devised, the university's financial condition did not allow for its implementation.

During the existence of the Crown's Main School, efforts were made to put in order the archive and library collections. Over centuries, the university had gathered a sizeable collection of archived materials which were dispersed in different rooms in a disorderly way, and a significant part of the documents remained in private hands. Having assumed the office of rector, Kołłątaj collected a large part of the documents in his own flat where they were put in order, catalogued and transferred to an allocated room at the Collegium Maius. The cataloguing and ordering work had not been completed by 1795. The Kraków Academy possessed also several libraries. Following the closing down of the Jesuit Order, its library was acquired by the Crown's Main School. Two large private libraries were also donated by private donors. Cataloguing works was conducted by successive librarians. Przybylski completed the cataloguing of the library collection, sending out exhibits and mineral specimens to colleges⁶⁰. No success was achieved regarding the creation of a single library and effectively until the end of the existence of the Crown's Main School, aside from the largest library at the Collegium Maius, there were seven smaller libraries. The library, however, never obtained the right to a compulsory textbook, as did the Vilnius Main School⁶¹. The lack of funds meant that the library could only be expanded by donations. Although there was a fund in place for newspapers, journals and evening sittings it was used improperly. The valuable post-Jesuit library, stored in the former college, was seriously dispersed, and even destroyed, in the first years of the Austrian rule. The new authorities demanded that the buildings be deserted and the books transferred. During the transport, a lot of the books never reached the designated places, often ending up in private hands.

6. Professors' scientific achievements

In the days of the KEN, the Kraków-based university engaged teachers for whom education of young people was the primary purpose. During the period

⁶⁰ "Wizyta...", 45.

⁶¹ JUA, 9, 28; M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Szkoła Główna Koronna w latach 1786—1795*, 148.

of great reforms of Polish education and the university's profound reform, organisational and content-oriented issues dominated their activities, with their scientific work being set aside. Even though most of them did not conduct unique scientific research, they got intensively involved in the promotion of the latest accomplishments of the world's science through their classes. The lack of major research initiatives prevented establishing cooperation with scientific centres abroad. Such a situation was to a large extent caused by the educational policy of the Commission, which sought to professionalise education, make knowledge more practical and did not endorse scientific initiatives. The professors were required to carry out solid educational work, leaving involvement in scientific research at their discretion. The only thing they were expected to deliver was work on academic and lower schools' textbooks.

Until 1780, the professors were required to present dissertations at the successive levels of advancement. The dissertations mainly concerned issues of Aristotle's philosophy and their value and volume varied from one or two pages to tens of pages. Their favourite way of earning extra income was publishing calendars containing forecasts and often fabricated information, although scientific news began occurring in the second half of the 18th century⁶². Once the Crown's Main School was established, the professors gave up this activity, but they continued writing panegyrics and poems for special occasions, the quality of which was often less than impressive. Physiocracy was a very influential idea for the Crown's Main School professors who gave it some specific traits in the bid for a moral and economic recovery of the nation. Therefore, they concentrated on writing works for the citizens in general, which presented the application of new discoveries in the economy and agriculture and the possibility of using domestic supplies of raw materials. The field of mathematical and natural sciences generated the greatest number of essays. No doubt Jan Śniadecki was the most outstanding scholar of the Crown's Main School, although his most notable period of scientific work was during his stay in Vilnius⁶³. He was the first professor in Kraków to deal with advanced mathematics and the first lecturer to instruct differential calculus and integral calculus. It was here, too, that he wrote one of his best textbooks in this subject⁶⁴. Śniadecki deserves plenty of credit also in the field of astronomy. It was thanks to him that the astronomical observatory was created and systematic astronomical observations began,

⁶² See: G. Raubo, *Kalendarze, kurioza i rzeczy ostateczne. Z zagadnień literatury popularnej w dawnej Polsce*, Kalisz, 2011.

⁶³ W. Forys, J. Mietelski, A. Pelczar, "Jan Śniadecki (1756—1830) — matematyk, astronom, reformator Akademii", in *Złota księga Wydziału Matematyki i Fizyki*, ed. B. Szafirski, Kraków, 2000, 274.

⁶⁴ J. Dianni, *Studium matematyki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim do połowy XIX wieku*, Kraków, 1963, 136.

which was appreciated on the European scale⁶⁵. The biggest achievements in natural history that included mineralogy and chemistry should be credited to Jan Jaśkiewicz and his successor in the faculty, Franciszek Scheidt. Jaśkiewicz was a renowned scientist in Europe owing to his scientific journey that he made through Styria, Carinthia, Trieste, Venice and Verona to Innsbruck and on to Freiburg and Paris⁶⁶. The report from this journey was published in the journal *Observations sur la physique, sur l'histoire naturelle et sur les arts*, and additionally in the form of a lecture in the French Academy of Sciences in Paris on 17 February 1781, after which he was admitted as a member in this prestigious organisation. Jaśkiewicz also made domestic journeys seeking minerals and ore deposits, this way contributing to the development of the Polish mining and steelmaking. Research into the chemical composition of waters was very popular with the College of Physics professors. The professors examined the local healing springs, isolating their elementary composition and saturating water with gases. Jaśkiewicz and Trzciński recorded the biggest achievements in this field. During his studies abroad, Trzciński had an opportunity to study chemistry in the chemical context⁶⁷. He also acquainted himself with the latest achievements in the field of electricity, promoting these achievements in his multiple works. Not all the achievements were taken uncritically. Some of the professors were still having problems accepting the Copernicus theory, and some considered the phlogiston theory as a scientific one till the 1790s, even though Jaśkiewicz and Scheidt promoted Lavoisier's theory in their lectures and dissertations.

The balloon experiment was replicated in Kraków as well. The news of the Montgolfier balloon flight reached Poland two days later, i.e. 17 October 1783. It aroused a great interest among the Main School professors who decided to re-stage the experiment. Śniadecki, Jaśkiewicz, Szaster and Scheidt were involved in the undertaking. They performed several improvements, e.g. applying a different type of fuel to heat the air and change the shape of the craft. The experiment was successful and the French Academy of Sciences acknowledged that the balloon had flown higher than both balloons in Paris⁶⁸. The Commission of National Education found further experiments as costly and redundant and further works were abandoned.

⁶⁵ E. Rybka, "Zarys...", 17 and subsequent.

⁶⁶ I.Z. Siemion, "Podróż mineralogiczna Jana Jaśkiewicza", *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki* 1, 1992, 129—137.

⁶⁷ For more information about Andrzej Trzciński's position in the Kraków milieu see: A.K. Wróblewski, "Ks. prof. Andrzej Trzciński — próba rehabilitacji", *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU* 7, 2005, 5—33, 38—49.

⁶⁸ *Opisanie doświadczenia czynionego z banią powietrzną*, Kraków, 1784.

In the field of humanities and social sciences, the biggest number of works were written in the realm of law. Most works were, however, intended for textbooks and made no new propositions for the existing legal science, concentrating mainly on procedural law. The exceptions included works by Sebastian Czochron, who sought to introduce to the Polish reality the latest tendencies in legal sciences. Czochron may be considered as the most distinguished Polish legal scholar of the 18th and 19th centuries. His views had been shaped during his foreign studies in Austria and France, where he had well acquainted himself with the major philosophical currents of the epoch, especially with the philosophies of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu and Voltaire. In his works, he cited as many as 150 authors. In issues concerning the Church, he followed the general assumptions of Gallicanism, while in legal issues, he followed the ideas of Humanitarianism⁶⁹. Main School professors were involved in the codification of Polish law (the so-called King Stanislaus II Augustus's Code), which was never completed owing to the political situation. They also translated into Polish scientific works, textbooks and literary works. Trziński translated Johann Polycarp Erxleben's textbook of physics, expanded by Georg Lichtenberg's works; in his texts, Trziński cited scholarly essays of British and French scientists⁷⁰. Professor Krzysztof Idatte made several translations from the Greek literature and contributed to the purchase of the Greek font for the university's print shop where they were published. However, the greatest credit in this field should be owed to J. Przybylski, who translated major works of classical literature. The Polish reader will be indebted to Przybylski for his translations of the most distinguished works of 18th- and 19th-century philosophers, as well as of selected books of the German, Spanish and French literatures.

The slow development of scientific research at the Crown's Main School was caused by the pressure of the Commission of National Education that prioritised the didactic objectives over science on the one hand, and on the other, by the lack of the suitable scientific sentiment at the university. Most of the professors were engaged in personal conflicts and sometimes conducted pseudo-scientific polemical debates. Despite the conflicts, they gave priority to the interest of the university, as they did to the interest of the people and the state. In times of difficulty, they demonstrated patriotism, and during the Kościuszko Uprising, they actively participated in the work of the uprising's governing bodies. The short period of the Crown's Main School's existence was extremely significant

⁶⁹ S. Czochron, *Dysertacya o prawodawstwie kryminalnem*, Kraków, 1788; S. Czochron, *Uwagi moralne gruntujące się na prawie natury i religii*, Kraków, 1782; S.J.K. Czochron, *Dysertacya o prawie kryminalnym*, pref. J. Widacki, Kraków, 2009.

⁷⁰ G. Lichtenberg, *Fizyka Jana Polikarpa Erxlebena*, Kraków, 1788.

in the history of the Jagiellonian University. In terms of organisation and the syllabus, Kollątaj's reforms brought the university closer to foreign universities. Unfortunately, the political situation and collapse of the state made impossible full implementation of the reforms.

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