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## Maksymilian Rose (1883–1937) – pioneer of brain research, Professor of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius<sup>1</sup>

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### STRESZCZENIE

#### Maksymilian Rose (1883–1937) – pionier badań mózgu, profesor Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie

Maksymilian Rose nie był dotychczas przedmiotem zainteresowania badaczy. Urodził się w 1883 r. w Przemyślu, zmarł w 1937 r. w Wilnie. Studia medyczne odbył na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, tu też kilka lat był asystentem. Z kolei na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim pracował jako docent. Zawodowo realizował się także w Niemczech i w Szwajcarii. W latach 1931–1937 kierował Katedrą Psychiatrii, następnie Katedrą Psychiatrii i Neurologii na Uniwersytecie Stefana Batorego w Wilnie. Do Wilna przeniósł z Warszawy kierowany przez siebie Polski Instytut Badań Mózgu. Była to jedna z trzech działających wówczas tego typu placówek w Europie. Rose był wybitnym badaczem mózgu, dodatkowy rozgłos uzyskał dzięki podjęciu badań nad mózgiem Józefa Piłsudskiego przekazanych mu po śmierci Marszałka. Na gruncie polskim Rose był jednym z nielicznych międzywojennych profesorów uniwersytetów, którzy mając pochodzenie żydowskie, otrzymali własną katedrę.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** historia medycyny, polska nauka w okresie międzywojennym, profesowie Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie.

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## SUMMARY

Professor Maksymilian Rose has not yet attracted any interest among historians. He was born in 1883 in Przemyśl and died in 1937 in Vilnius. Rose studied medicine at the Jagiellonian University and was an assistant there for several years. Then he worked as an assistant professor at the University of Warsaw and conducted research in Germany and Switzerland. In 1931–1937, he was Chair of Psychiatry, then Chair of Psychiatry and Neurology at the SBU in Vilnius. He headed the Polish Institute for Brain Research and moved it from Warsaw to Vilnius. It was one of the only three such centres in Europe at the time. Rose was an outstanding brain researcher who gained publicity for his research on Marshal Józef Piłsudski's brain. In Poland, Rose was one of the few interwar university professors of Jewish background who received their own professorial chair.

**KEYWORDS:** history of medicine, Polish science in the interwar period, Professors of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius.

## Introduction

In the interwar period, the achievements of Polish medicine were recognized on a European scale. One of the distinctive areas was Polish internal medicine<sup>2</sup>. Another first-rate specialization was neurology, mainly due to the research conducted by Professor Maksymilian Rose of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius (SBU)<sup>3</sup>. Two other Professors of the SBU were also particularly eminent in the scientific world – Kazimierz Karaffa-Korbitt, who dealt with bacteriology, epidemiology and hygiene, and Kazimierz Pelczar, who became recognized for his research into immunity in malignant tumours<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See: M. and M. Przeniosło, *Professors of Internal Diseases at Polish Universities in 1918–1939*, “Polish Archives of Internal Medicine” 2018(11), p. 693–700.

<sup>3</sup> In inter-war Poland all of the then five state universities offered medical studies: the University of Warsaw, Jagiellonian University, Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, Poznań University, and the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius (SBU). Each of them had a medical faculty, and in Warsaw there was also the Dental Academy.

<sup>4</sup> T. Ginko, *Zarys dziejów Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego*, in: *Z dziejów Almae Matris Vilnensis. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci 400-lecia założenia i 75-lecia wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, red. L. Piechnik, K. Puchowski, Kraków 1996, p. 190; A. Śródka, *Uczeni polscy XIX–XX stulecia*, t. 2, Warszawa 1995, p. 160, 161; t. 3, Warszawa 1997, p. 556–558; J. Samujłło, J. Rodziewiczowa, *Karaffa-Korbitt Kazimierz*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (PSB)*, t. 14, nr 1, Wrocław 1968, p. 41.

Thus far, the figure and achievements of Professor Maksymilian Rose have not been of much interest to historians. In the “Polish Biographical Dictionary” we only find a modest bio prepared by the Editorial Board<sup>5</sup>. Rose is an interesting research topic not only because of his achievements, but also as an example of a Polish scientist who developed part of his scientific and professional career abroad, and eventually achieved research success in the country. In Poland, he was one of the few interwar university professors of Jewish background who received their own professorial chair, which was not a common practice in the Second Polish Republic, despite a large number of talented Jewish people who devoted themselves to a scientific career. However, even among the interwar SBU professors there were more such people, some of them Chairs at the Faculty of Medicine: Michał Reicher (Chair of Descriptive Anatomy), Marian Eiger (Chair of Physiology), and Ignacy Abramowicz (Chair of Ophthalmology). In this respect, the SBU and its Faculty of Medicine were in a sense unique – at the Jagiellonian University, where the Faculty of Medicine was generally larger, there was only one professor with Jewish roots (Aleksander Rosner) in the interwar period. What also prompts a closer look at Rose’s figure is the fact that he was chosen to examine the brain of the late Marshal Józef Piłsudski. The research was interrupted by Rose’s death but he had managed to prepare the first volume for publishing, including numerous images of the Marshal’s brain. The paper aims to present the figure of Maksymilian Rose as an example that reveals a number of processes and phenomena that occurred in the interwar academic education.

The authors based primarily on source materials collected in the Lithuanian Central State Archives in Vilnius (LCSA), including Maksymilian Rose’s personal files. Some documents from the Jagiellonian University Archives (JUA) proved useful in reconstructing the earlier stage of his life. Also for some threads, it was necessary to refer to the interwar reports and statistics on higher education as well as the daily press from the period under review.

### **Education, professional and scientific development until obtaining a professorial chair**

Maksymilian Rose was born on May 19, 1883 in Przemyśl. After completing primary school, he continued his education in the hometown gymnasium, then

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<sup>5</sup> Editorial Board [PSB], Rose Maksymilian, in: *PSB*, t. 32, nr 1, Wrocław 1989, p. 43–44.

the gymnasium in Wadowice, where he obtained his secondary school-leaving certificate with distinction in 1902. In the years 1902–1908, Rose began medical studies at the Jagiellonian University. The source information from this period is rather scant, but we know that in the second semester of the 1905/1906 academic year he was temporarily removed from the list of students due to not paying tuition fees. One can guess that the reason was financial problems<sup>6</sup>.

From April 1907 to June 1908, Rose worked as an apprentice, and then from October 1908 to April 1909, as an assistant at the Clinical Unit of Nervous and Mental Disease of the Jagiellonian University<sup>7</sup>. There, on July 30, 1908, he obtained a doctorate in medical science, passing all the science doctoral examinations “with excellent progress”<sup>8</sup>.

From April to October 1909, Rose underwent military service on the Nervous and Mental Disease Ward of the Garrison Hospital in Kraków. Then he went to Berlin, where until April 1910 he perfected his skills in Professor Hermann Oppenheim’s polyclinic and the neurological and psychiatric clinic of Prof. Theodor Ziehen. For the next nearly ten months (from April 1, 1910 to January

<sup>6</sup> Lithuanian Central State Archives in Vilnius (LCSA), the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius (SBU), f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44 (Maksymilian Rose’s personal university files), p. 1, 84; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 329; *Corpus studiosorum Universitatis Jagellonicae 1851/51–1917/18*, “R”, red. K. Stopka, Kraków 2013, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> In June 1908, prior to Rose’s doctorate and employment as an assistant at the Jagiellonian University, the university authorities were informed about his misconduct during a student rally convened in connection with the so-called Warhmund’s case. However, it seems that he suffered no consequences for the alleged “cutting speech against the Academic Senate” during the assembly. Prof. Jan Piltz, Head of the Department of Neurology and Psychiatry, defended Rose and assured that he practically withdrew from active student community life and devoted himself to research and work in the polyclinic of nervous diseases. Rose himself assured Prof. Piltz that he did not say anything “that would insult the university authorities”. AUJ, sygn. S II 619 (Maksymilian Rose’s personal file), n.p. (a letter on behalf of the Academic Senate on the behaviour of M. Rose of September 19, 1908; a letter from Prof. J. Piltz to the Dean’s Office of the Faculty of Medicine of September 28, 1908). Dr. Ludwig Warhmund was a lecturer in canon law at the University of Innsbruck, but in his views he referred to Darwinists, openly opposed the dogmas and teachings of the Church, and criticised Church interference in the independence of academic thought. In 1908, this caused a serious ferment at the University of Innsbruck, whose echoes spread to academic centers across Europe, including the JU. “Kurier” 1908, nr 126, June 4, p. 4; “Naprzód” 1908, nr 135, May 16, p. 1; P. Stach, *Znaczenie O. Foncka dla nowoczesnego ruchu biblijnego*, “Collectanea Theologica” 1932, nr 13/3, p. 163–207.

<sup>8</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 1, 47; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 329, 339; Jagiellonian University Archives (JUA), sygn. S II 619, n.p. (correspondence regarding the employment of Rose as an assistant of 1908); “Gazeta Lwowska” (“GL”), 1902, nr 139, June 20, p. 3.

15, 1911) he stayed in Switzerland as a full-time assistant at the mental hospital in Rheinau, Canton of Zürich. Then for a year he worked in Tübingen, in Prof. Robert Gaupp's neurological and psychiatric clinic and its anatomical laboratory under the direction of Korbinian Brodmann. At the end of 1911, he returned to Kraków, where he began his medical practice the following year. At the same time he worked in Prof. Kazimierz Kostanecki's neurological laboratory at the Department of Descriptive Anatomy of the Jagiellonian University (January 1, 1910 – August 1, 1914)<sup>9</sup>.

During the Great War, from August 1914 to November 1918, he was a battalion and regimental medic, and for the last two years the head of the Nervous and Mental Disease Ward at the Garrison Hospital in Przemyśl, as well as the chief medic of the Polish Legions Concentration Station. After the war, he returned to Kraków and became the head of the Nervous Disease Ward at the Reserve Hospital No. 3, and from autumn 1921 the head of the Neurological and Psychiatric Ward at the District Hospital. In the same year, he resigned his commission and joined the reserves in the rank of major, returning to his scientific work in Prof. Kostanecki's laboratory<sup>10</sup>.

In 1925, Rose left for Germany again because he was offered to head a department at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Brain Research in Berlin. The position was equivalent to the post of associate professor. Rose took it up on August 1 and formally held until the end of 1928. At that time, he was granted full rights to practice the medical profession in Germany (December 1925), defended his German doctorate (January 1926), and became a scientific member of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute (December 1926). Also, from 1925 he was a co-editor and manager, and from November 1927 the only editor and manager of the German "Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie"<sup>11</sup>.

Having returned to Poland in 1928, Rose habilitated in neurology at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Warsaw. For the next two years he worked there as an associate professor and became the head of the brain research laboratory at the Institute of Histology and Embryology. The then habilitation had a different nature – it only gave the right to lecture<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, only scholars

<sup>9</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 1–1v, 24, 68; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 300, 329, 339.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 1, 24; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 329–329v.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 24; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 300, 329v.

<sup>12</sup> The procedure (subject to the approval of the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education) was carried out at the faculty level on the basis of one work – a habilitation thesis. Another output was not required, but could be taken into account by the reviewers.

who were guaranteed by the university to teach did it, and the total number of habilitations at universities was relatively small. However, a postdoctoral degree was gradually becoming important for another reason – it was an advantage for those who wanted to obtain a professorial chair<sup>13</sup>.

In the late 1920s, Rose's scientific reputation was growing rapidly. In October 1928, he was appointed the Director of the newly established Polish Institute for Brain Research in Warsaw. Along with Berlin and Vienna, it was one of the only three such centres in Europe. In June 1929, he became a correspondent member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków<sup>14</sup>. In the years 1930–1937, he was a professor at the SBU in Vilnius (which will be discussed in detail in the next part of the paper). In 1934 he became an active member of the Warsaw Scientific Society<sup>15</sup>.

### Chair at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius (1931–1937)

In the interwar period, the system of employing professors at Polish universities based on a limited number of associate and full (more prestigious) professorial chairs created by the state. Professors were employed as the heads of these chairs. They were appointed by the president (initially the head of state) at the request of the university's faculty council. The application was accepted by the university senate and then approved by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education<sup>16</sup>.

Throughout its existence, the SBU was the smallest Polish university in terms of the number of students and academic staff employed. In its initial period of operation, the SBU encountered staffing problems, especially with regard to professors. Many of the professorial chairs granted to the University were vacant. In the 1922/1923 academic year, there were 117 professorial chairs (101 full and

<sup>13</sup> See: M. Przeniosło, *Stopnie, tytuły i stanowiska naukowe w II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Res Historica" 2012, nr 33, p. 151–171.

<sup>14</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 1, 24, 68, n.p. (correspondence from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education – MRAPE – regarding the habilitation of Maksymilian Rose of July 27, 1928); ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 300, 329v.

<sup>15</sup> A. Opalski, *Wspomnienia pośmiertne: Maksymilian Rose (1883–1937)*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego" 1938–1945, nr 31–38, p. 239–241.

<sup>16</sup> *Ustawa z dnia 13 lipca 1920 r. o szkołach akademickich*, Dziennik Ustaw RP 1920, no. 72, pos. 494, p. 1285, 1286.

16 associate)<sup>17</sup> and only 54 professors employed (27 full and 27 associate)<sup>18</sup>. In 1931/1932, there were 99 chairs<sup>19</sup> (47 full and 52 associate) and only 79 professors<sup>20</sup>. The University of Poznań, with only a slightly larger total number of students than the SBU, had 124 full and 115 associate professorial chairs, and 73 and 98 professors respectively. At the University of Warsaw, there were 135 and 128 chairs, and 89 and 107 professors<sup>21</sup>. The Faculty of Medicine was one of the most numerous at the SBU, both in terms of the number of research and teaching staff and students. After the period of organization, in the years 1919–1922, the Faculty had the largest number of working professors – over 20 were employed by the late twenties. In the early 1930s, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences equalled, and from 1933/1934 surpassed it in this regard<sup>22</sup>.

At the turn of 1930/1931, the crowning period of Maksymilian Rose's professional and scientific career began – he was employed and received his own professorial chair at the SBU in Vilnius. The procedure for appointing professors to vacant and newly created chairs was precisely defined in the Act on Academic Schools. First, the faculty council appointed a committee to examine candidates. Next, the committee turned to professors of academic schools from all over the country who lectured the same subject as in the chair being staffed with a request – each of the professors was asked to send a reasoned opinion on candidates they considered most suitable for the post. The only exception from this procedure was when the council intended to nominate a person who was already a professor at one of the state academic schools. When an associate professor was promoted to the rank of a full professor, the Act required them to prove that their scientific achievements increased during the associate professorship. After two months, the committee considered the opinions sent and prepared a report on the proposed persons, including substantive justification. Based on this information, the faculty council selected a candidate for further procedure. The Act allowed to propose two candidates if the council's decision was not unanimous and the minority supporting another person requested that a dissenting opinion be taken into account. The set of documents sent to the Ministry of Religious

<sup>17</sup> *Rocznik Statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1923*, Warszawa 1924, p. 169.

<sup>18</sup> *Spis wykładów i skład Uniwersytetu w roku akademickim 1922/1923*, Wilno [1922], *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> A vacant professorial chair was usually a temporary state until a suitable candidate was found, also due to the lack of such candidates in less popular disciplines.

<sup>20</sup> Central Archives of Modern Records (CAMR), MRAPE, sygn. 241, p. 39; *Skład Uniwersytetu w roku akademickim 1933/1934*, Wilno [1933], *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> CAMR, MRAPE, sygn. 241, p. 24–29, 49–52; *Rocznik Statystyki*, p. 169.

<sup>22</sup> H. Wittlinowa, *Atlas szkolnictwa wyższego*, Warszawa 1937, p. 48, 49.

Affairs and Public Education (MRAPE) included: the council's request, the candidate's scientific works, their personal documents and curriculum vitae, the committee's report, and all the opinions sent by the professors. The Act also specified the Minister's powers regarding the approval of candidates – he could reject the council's choice as inappropriate, which required the council to propose further candidates until reaching an agreement. Without the will of the faculty council the appointment was not possible<sup>23</sup>.

The Chair of Psychiatry which Rose took up had remained vacant from April 1925 when its head, Prof. Antoni Mikulski, died<sup>24</sup>. The Council of the Faculty of Medicine did not vote unanimously, and Rose was chosen under a cloud of scandal. The first voting was on May 27, 1930 – Rose received 10 votes out of 19, and the second with 7 votes was MD PhD Adolf Fałkowski. At this time, the Council wanted to employ Rose as a full professor (the chair had the status of a full one), but on June 6 the University Senate decided not to consider appointing him as full professor (four professors submitted dissenting opinions) and refer the case back to the Faculty. The second voting took place on June 24. In the first round, Rose received 8 out of 19 votes, followed by MD PhD Witold Łuniewski, Director of the Tworki Mental Hospital. In the second round, Rose was supported by 12 voters while Łuniewski by 7, so the Senate (by a majority of 6 to 3) presented the former for the approval of the MRAPE, this time as an associate professor. Professors Kazimierz Karaffa-Korbutt, Zenon Orłowski and Stanisław Władyczko submitted their comments on the voting, but the Senate did not accept part of their letter as it was inadmissible to analyze the secret ballot. After a few days (July 2), the Faculty of Medicine received a complaint from Prof. Jan Szmurło about the violation of the secrecy of voting<sup>25</sup>. The course of the voting and the accusation that ballot secrecy was violated indicate that part of the University's community was clearly reluctant towards Rose. This is also confirmed by the events of the following days.

On August 27, 1930, the Vilnius newspaper "Słowo" published a short note on an anonymous letter they received (signed "Psychiatrist"), in which the author

<sup>23</sup> *Ustawa z dnia 13 lipca 1920 r. o szkołach akademickich*, p. 1285.

<sup>24</sup> In the years 1927–1929, the psychiatry classes assigned to the chair were conducted by Rafał Radziwiłowicz, who was employed as a contract professor. He could not take up the chair because he exceeded the retirement age.

<sup>25</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 12–15, 51–54, 62; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 321, 333, 327–328. Individual and collective dissenting opinions were submitted by professors: Sergiusz Schilling-Siengalewicz, Stanisław Władyczko, Kazimierz Karaffa-Korbutt, Zenon Orłowski, and Teofil Gryglewicz.

accused Rose that, although an expert in brain architecture, he was not a psychiatrist as much as would be required by the “special conditions” in the Eastern Borderlands (forensic expertise, patient care). The newspaper refused to publish the anonymous letter, but in fact the essence of its content was revealed, questioning Rose’s competence and reflecting badly upon the Vilnius medical environment, among whom (allegedly) there was someone anonymously slandering a colleague<sup>26</sup>. Three days later, MD PhD Julian Podwiński requested the Vilnius Medical Chamber to initiate an investigation and submit the case to the prosecutor’s office. He emphasized that the mention in the newspaper was “unheard of in the history of the fight against undesirable competitors”. It discredited Rose in the eyes of the public and cast suspicion on each of the Vilnius psychiatrists as a potential author of the vice. The Medical Chamber responded that they „are taking the matter off the agenda” because the editors of “Słowo”, despite knowing the name of the author of the libel, refuse to disclose them. Podwiński regretted that the Chamber had not exercised its powers to question the Vilnius psychiatrists in the case. He did not rule out that the whole plot to denigrate Rose’s competence came from a non-medical environment<sup>27</sup>.

From the course of events it is clear that part of the Vilnius academic community was reluctant towards Rose when he was being considered for the Chair of Psychiatry. An obvious reason could have been that he was an outsider and a newcomer to the already established Vilnius community. Also, we may speculate that his background and the socio-political context of the period were not without significance<sup>28</sup>. On the other hand, the allegations were somehow substantive since Rose was a neurologist in the first place and his interest in psychiatry mostly stemmed from the strong conviction that mental disorders developed as a result of organic changes in the brain. This could raise doubts in some academics’ minds as to whether they had the right candidate for the Chair of Psychiatry.

On September 20, 1930, by order of the President of the Republic of Poland, Maksymilian Rose was appointed Associate Professor of Psychiatry at the SBU Faculty of Medicine in Vilnius. He assumed the Chair of Psychiatry and became

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<sup>26</sup> “Słowo” 1930, nr 195, August 27, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 334, 336–336v.

<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of the 1930s, the academic community (also in Vilnius) saw some anti-Semitic incidents and incitement of turmoil by the right-wing members of the academic community; M. Przeniosło, *Władze Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie 1919–1939*, “Przegląd Historyczny” 2016, z. 4, p. 537–561.

the head of the Psychiatric Clinical Unit on April 1, 1931, and by the end of the month gave an inaugural lecture *Challenges of Modern Psychiatry*<sup>29</sup>.

On October 1, 1933, the Chair of Neurology at the SBU was dissolved. Professor Stanisław Władyczko who occupied it was put on light duties and a year later eventually retired by the decision of the MRAPE. The new Act on Academic Schools allowed the Ministry to both create and dissolve professorial chairs (in total over 50 professorial chairs were dissolved across the country)<sup>30</sup>. Accordingly, the Neurological Clinical Unit managed by Władyczko was also liquidated. This in consequence required a reorganization of Rose's clinic. The former Clinical Unit of Psychiatry was renamed the Clinical Unit of Nervous and Mental Diseases, and Rose received a new nomination as an Associate Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry (April 29, 1934). In the meantime, on April 24, 1934, the Council of the Faculty of Medicine unanimously adopted and submitted a motion to the MRAPE to appoint Rose as a full professor of neurology and psychiatry, stating that his scientific achievements "significantly increased during the associate professorship". The recommendation was approved by the Ministry, and on September 26, 1934, President Ignacy Mościcki appointed Maksymilian Rose as a Full Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry at the USB Faculty of Medicine in Vilnius<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Polish universities of the interwar period developed their internal organizational structure in accordance with the Act on Academic Schools and divided their faculties into institutes. If a professor held a chair entrusted by the MRAPE, they were also the head of an institute. The institutes were mostly responsible for the organization of teaching and had specific classes assigned. Since clinical classes required more specialized facilities, the professors who conducted them were in charge of university clinical units (clinics) instead of institutes. Particular institutes and clinical units had specific premises assigned for both staff needs and teaching purposes. As for the SBU Faculty of Medicine, some of the facilities housed in the university buildings, others outside. The latter were mainly the clinical units – counterparts of institutes, but also actual specialized wards with hospital beds, located in actual hospitals, mostly in the Military Hospital in Antakalnis. The Psychiatric Clinical Unit was also located in Antakalnis, but in the Provincial Hospital; LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 20, 24, 68; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 300, 308, 317, ap. 3 IXB, b. 190, p. 33v; *Skład Uniwersytetu w latach akademickich 1927/1928 i 1928/1929*, Wilno [1929], p. 26–33; S. Trzebiński, *Wydział Lekarski USB w latach 1919–1929*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, t. 2, *Dziesięciolecie 1919–1929*, Wilno 1929, p. 441, 442.

<sup>30</sup> Decisions to dissolve professorial chairs were a result of reorganization, but sometimes they were clearly political in nature and served to eliminate people involved in the opposition from a university. No political motives were found in the case of Władyczko's chair.

<sup>31</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 48–49, 67; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 298–299, 310–311.

To sum up this stage of Rose's career, it is worth mentioning that, at the beginning of 1930, several other scientists were considered as candidates for the Chair of Psychiatry. Not all of them were ready to unconditionally accept the post<sup>32</sup>. MD PhD Marcin Zieliński of the Jagiellonian University wanted to become acquainted with the living and working conditions in Vilnius before making any decision. Another scholar of the Jagiellonian University, MD PhD Eugeniusz Artwiński (son of Stefan, President of Kielce from 1934), refused due to personal and family matters in Kraków. It seems that it was a kind of compromise to employ Rose for the position at the SBU. His counter-candidates seemed to have more experience in the practice of psychiatry, but they were not too enthusiastic about moving to Vilnius. Instead, Rose was a recognized, independent specialist in the field of brain research, with impressive scientific achievements<sup>33</sup>.

### Scientific and teaching activity

Even before taking up the Chair of Psychiatry, Rose had over 30 scientific papers published in print, mainly in German and Polish<sup>34</sup>. Based on the assumption that mental disorders are a result of brain disease, he began to research into "lower" animals, with less complex brain anatomy than in humans, and created a comparison scale for further research on the human brain, with particular emphasis on the role of the cerebral cortex and his own original histogenetic division. To this end, he studied the brains of animals such as mice, bat, guinea pig, mole, rabbit, and monkey. One of his conclusions was that the best way to understand the brain areas which in "higher" mammals and humans are less developed, is to study them in "lower" animals. Conversely, the brain areas that in "lower" animals remain in the first stages of development are easier to understand by analyzing their structure in "higher" animals and humans. Rose described his

<sup>32</sup> Although a professor's salary was more than decent (discussed in detail in the further part of the paper), for medical doctors it was not a factor of major importance because they earned high salaries anyway.

<sup>33</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 55–61a.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 70; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 302, 329–331v. The resume prepared on July 4, 1930 by the SBU Faculty of Medicine dean's office contains a list of 33 papers and 4 readings. On the other hand, in the document of April 24, 1934, attached to the application for full professorship, we find information about 36 scientific papers published in German (25), Polish (10) and Russian until Rose took up the Chair of Psychiatry at the SBU.

microscopic technique in detail and supplemented the results with remarkable photographs. From 1909, he also dealt with the forebrain of reptiles (crocodiles, turtles) and birds, sensory disorders in some diseases of the spinal cord, coordination disorders, histogenic division of the cerebral cortex, human and ape olfactory cortex, neurofibromatosis type 1, epilepsy, frontal lobe, and striatum<sup>35</sup>.

Within three years of taking up the professorial chair in Vilnius, Rose authored another 10 works in German and 7 in Polish. The main areas of his study were: cytoarchitectonics of mouse and rabbit cortex, forebrain cytoarchitectonics, spinal cord tumour, progressive paralysis, cytoarchitectonics and myeloarchitectonics of human cerebral cortex, anatomy of the subcortical structures, ontogeny and phylogeny of the central nervous system and interbrain. Six of these papers, a total of over 300 pages, were included in a popular neurology textbook published in Berlin by professors Oswald Bumke and Otfried Foerster. One of the interesting conclusions Rose reached in his studies concerned the comparison of the frontal lobe in humans and animals. While he managed to detect the posterior area of the frontal lobe (responsible for motor functions) in all mammals, the frontal area of the lobe (responsible for "spiritual activities" in humans) was not present in animals. The only exception were apes, in which he found some development of this area, however disproportionately smaller when compared to man<sup>36</sup>.

Undoubtedly, Maksymilian Rose's work that generated the greatest publicity in Poland was the first volume of *Mózg Józefa Piłsudskiego* (*Józef Piłsudski's Brain* or *Le cerveau de Joseph Piłsudski*). The text was in Polish with French translation on neighbouring pages. The publication was supplemented by an atlas containing 36 charts with colour photographs. The research and publication of subsequent volumes were interrupted by Rose's death and the outbreak of WW2. Although Rose is the only author of the book, he conducted the research on Piłsudski's brain and prepared the first volume together with a team of colleagues at the Polish Institute for Brain Research in Vilnius, e.g. the translation into French was made by Dr. Stanisław Witek<sup>37</sup>. It should be emphasized that the study of Piłsudski's brain had more political than scientific significance. In 1928, the Marshal suffered a stroke which influenced the suitability of his brain for research purposes after his death.

Rose followed the path which he had created and outlined himself. By applying the ontogenetic and morphological-comparative methods, he gradual-

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 329v–331v; A. Opalski, *Wspomnienia pośmiertne*, p. 239–241.

<sup>36</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 70–72; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 302–304.

<sup>37</sup> A dozen or so copies have been preserved in Polish libraries and several in foreign ones.

ly moved from researching brains of various animal species, to the complex architecture of human cerebral cortex and brain areas. He delivered lectures at university and for academic associations, including *Brain and Mental Life* (*Mózg a życie psychiczne*), *Hygiene of Mental Life* (*Higiena życia psychicznego*), *Brains of the Mental Elite* (*Mózgi elity umysłowej*), conducted clinical lectures for practitioners (e.g. on sciatica, general paresis), lectured for teachers and school doctors about brain areas responsible for speech and writing. He was also socially involved, giving the paper *The Influence of Alcohol on the Brain and Mental Performance* (*Wpływ alkoholu na mózg i sprawność psychiczną*) at the 10th Anti-Alcohol Congress in Kraków. According to the opinion attached to the application for full professorship, signed, among other scholars, by Prof. Aleksander Januszkiewicz<sup>38</sup>, Rose proved himself as an excellent teacher<sup>39</sup> able to attract and focus listeners' attention. His lectures enjoyed high attendance due to his deep knowledge and the ability to present the matter transparently and in a factual manner. Like all chaired professors, both during the associate and full professorships, Rose was obliged to at least five hours of lectures and two hours of classes per week throughout the entire academic year, or in an appropriate proportion according to the principle that two hours of classes corresponded to one hour of lecture. He was also commissioned to give lectures in medical psychology (not assigned to his chair)<sup>40</sup>.

Rose was constantly updating his knowledge and followed the latest research and treatment trends in the west of Europe. In early July 1931, he applied for a scientific passport for himself and his wife, MD PhD Stella Rose, to travel to Berlin and Vienna. Over three years later, he submitted a similar request. He wanted to visit Berlin libraries in order to supplement the literature for professors Bumke and Foerster's textbook, in which he was the author of several chapters. Rose received the permit, but for some reason did not go, so he applied again at the end of 1935, justifying that he had not been abroad for three years<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Chair of the SBU Faculty of Internal Medicine at SBU; among other things, provided medical advice to Józef Piłsudski.

<sup>39</sup> Maksymilian Rose possessed excellent teaching skills. The other professors of the Faculty of Medicine that enjoyed a good reputation among students were: Aleksander Januszkiewicz, Kornel Michejda, Kazimierz Opoczyński, Sergiusz Schilling-Siengalewicz i Michał Reicher. T. Ginko, *Zarys dziejów Wydziału Lekarskiego*, p. 191, 192; A. Śródka, *Uczeni polscy*, t. 2, p. 102; t. 3, p. 310, 530, 553.

<sup>40</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 73–76, 78, 81–82; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 305–308.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 22–23, 63, 79–80; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 276–277.

## Organizational and administrative activity

Within three years of taking up the SBU Psychiatric Clinical Unit, Rose managed to accomplish a number of organizational and administrative works. As for renovations, he restored the pavilions for quiet patients and created two new observation and several isolation rooms. The area outside the clinic was adapted in a way that all patients could spend unlimited time in the garden, which certainly was of great importance for mental patients. In 1933, a kitchen and a laundry were built exclusively for the needs of the clinic, the roadway on the clinic's premises was paved, a new pavement was laid, and the entrance and farm buildings received new fences. At Rose's request, the Kojrany estate, located 9 km from the clinic, was incorporated into the hospital premises and turned into an agricultural colony for the mentally ill. As a result, the number of beds for patients increased from 150 to 230. As for staff organization, Rose employed a porter who checked all visitors entering the place and introduced a new duty roster so that each employee had a ten-hour shift. Also, the head of the clinic tried to make the stay more enjoyable for the patients. In 1931, a radio was installed in each ward and the speakers set up in a way that in the summer all patients could listen to radio broadcasts in the garden. Other forms of entertainment for patients were cinema, sports games, and monthly dance parties in winter<sup>42</sup>.

Rose also created the right conditions for scientific work at the Polish Institute for Brain Research, which he moved from Warsaw to Vilnius as the only institution and clinical laboratory of this kind in Poland. For this purpose, he allocated seven rooms in the attic of one of the hospital buildings. In three of them he collected microtomes, thermostats, and cameras, as well as microphotography and darkroom equipment. The fourth room housed an operating theatre, and the other three served as laboratories for the head and his colleagues. Rabbits were kept for research purposes, and a room for apes was prepared in one of the buildings. This well-organized clinical unit and the meticulously equipped institute constituted a complete facility with a high degree of independence, prepared for the full scope of research on normal and pathological anatomy, histology, and brain architectonic and physiology<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 69–70; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 301–302.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 70; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 302.

## Family and financial situation

Maksymilian Rose came from a Jewish family. He was the son of a shopkeeper, Isaac-Eli (Elijah), and Leia, née Iszaelewicz (Izraelewicz). His wife Stella, née Schorusteni (SchorNSTein), was his closest scientific associate. She worked at the SBU Psychiatric Clinical Unit as a volunteer. Stella was one of the first five women to graduate from the Jagiellonian University. Maksymilian and Stella's wedding took place in 1908, their daughter Ewa Maria Renata was born on April 18, 1913<sup>44</sup>.

The family paid for the gymnasium for Ewa Rose – the tuition fee was 65 zloty per month, but as a daughter of a public servant she was entitled to a refund of 30 zloty. The school had no objections to her learning progress. As a professor whose daughter was a gymnasium student, Rose was granted a family allowance for two family members (wife and daughter) from April 1, 1931. The family received the additional benefit even after Ewa Rose came out of age, because in October 1931 she became a medical student at the SBU Faculty of Medicine<sup>45</sup>.

In the interwar period, the salaries of state university academic staff were part of the public service remuneration system. Compared to other university employees and other professions, professors earned high salaries, particularly from 1933. At that time, a full professor received a basic salary of 1000 zlotys, an associate professor – 700 zlotys, and a deputy professor – from 450 to 500 zlotys (500–600 zlotys from 1936). Adjuncts earned 335 zlotys with the possibility of promotion to a higher group and a pay rise to 450 zlotys. A senior assistant received 260 zlotys, also with the possibility of being promoted by two notches, to 450 zlotys with habilitation, and a junior assistant – 210 zlotys. Before 1933, the salaries of researchers were around 10–20% lower<sup>46</sup>.

In the 1908/09 and 1909/10 academic years Rose earned 1,400 kronas<sup>47</sup> a year as an assistant at the Jagiellonian University. Shortly after receiving the chair at the SBU, he sought to include the earlier period of work (from 1908) as part of his professorship because his previous responsibilities were related to those after receiving the chair. This would result in an over 25% increase in pay. At the end of 1933, Rose received a confirmation that the 12 years and 5 months of his previous

<sup>44</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 1, 2, 22–23; A. Śródka, *Uczeni polscy*, t. 3, p. 551.

<sup>45</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 7, 18–19, 21, 27, 32–33, 43–45.

<sup>46</sup> See: M. Przeniosło, *Dochoody nauczycieli państwowych szkół akademickich w II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" 2008, t. 68, p. 35–63.

<sup>47</sup> The official currency of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which Kraków was part of at the time.

scientific work were added to the period of his professorship, and his salary increased from 1934. In addition, in the 1935/36 and the following academic years, Rose received 50 zlotys per month for an hour of commissioned lecture (he was obliged to give two hours of lectures in medical psychology). He also received an appropriate duty allowance as the head of the Psychiatric Clinical Unit<sup>48</sup>.

Professor Maksymilian Rose died on November 30, 1937 in Vilnius. His sudden death was reported, among other newspapers, in "Gazeta Lwowska". Immediately, condolences were sent from all over the country<sup>49</sup>. Rectors of all major academic centres were informed about the funeral ceremonies that took place on December 2, 1937. At the SBU it was a day off from classes. During the memorial service in Piotr Skarga courtyard, the deceased was accompanied by university authorities, professors, representatives of social organizations, academic youth and the choir. Rose's body was taken to Kraków and buried at the New Jewish Cemetery. In 1971, Stella Rose rested next to her husband, and in 1996, their daughter Ewa Rose-Boratyńska (who eventually became a psychiatrist like her father) was buried in the family tomb<sup>50</sup>.

Immediately after her husband's death, Stella Rose received a death grant equal to his three months' salary. Then she applied for a full widow's pension including the right to her husband's pension scheme. In mid-1938 the MRAPE refused to increase the pension, therefore in September, Stella Rose requested the Ministry again to include the over 12 years of her husband's pension scheme, prior to his employment at the SBU, in her widow's pension. She emphasized that she was her husband's closest scientific associate and informed about her difficult financial situation<sup>51</sup>.

Maksymilian Rose was one of the most famous Polish professors of medicine in the interwar period. His brain research was pioneering not only in Poland but also in the world. Rose's scientific activity added value not only to the SBU, but to

<sup>48</sup> JUA, sygn. S II 619, remuneration orders of October 12, 1908 and August 28, 1909; LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 25–26, 30–31, 38–41, 46–47, 81–82; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 308, 314, 316.

<sup>49</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 84, 90–113, 119, 131; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 279–291. Many prominent institutions expressed their grief: MRAPE, universities of Warsaw, Kraków, Lviv, and Poznań; SGH Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw University of Life Sciences, Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Dental Academy in Warsaw, Warsaw University of Technology, Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków, and AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków; "GL" 1937, nr 274, December 2, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 115–118, 120–124, 131; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 295–296; Information on the Rose family tombstone at the New Jewish Cemetery in Kraków.

<sup>51</sup> LCSA, SBU, f. 175, ap. 1 IBb, b. 44, p. 8–9, 83, 85–89, 125, 127–130v; ap. 3 IXB, b. 176, p. 278.

the whole city of Vilnius, where the Polish Institute for Brain Research was moved from Warsaw. Although the beginnings of his professorial career in Vilnius were not easy, Rose's calibre as a scientist soon convinced the vast majority of opponents, who realized the benefits from his employment for the entire local medical community.

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