

Civic Institute of Pavia, on the score of the romanza *Elisir d'amore* and *Il furioso* by Donizetti, arranged for two flutes by Camillo Golgi (today only the part concerning the 1st flute survives) showing a changing in tonality from re to do maggiore, with the melody mainly entrusted to the 1st flute and with arpeggio of accompanied written at intervals of third. From the reading of the score, Maestro Villani found that Golgi surely had to be an excellent flute player, since in his transcriptions virtuous cadenzas originally intrusted to the tenor or soprano's trills, are still maintained.

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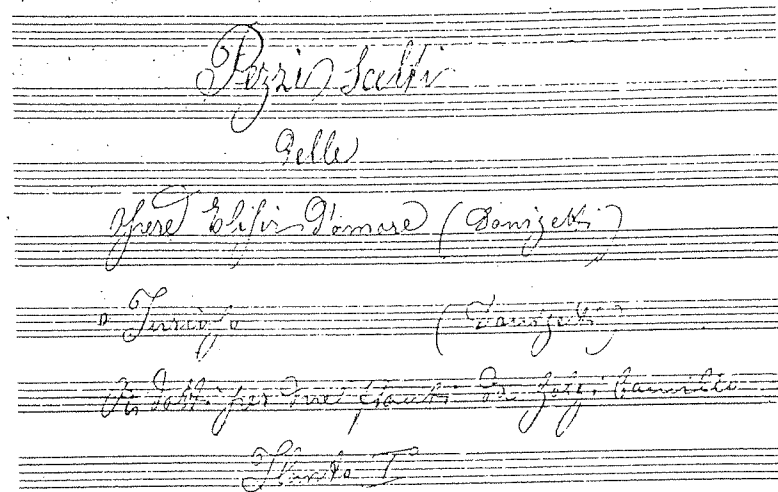


Fig. 4 - Cover page with handwriting of the score of music by Donizetti arranged for two flutes by Camillo Golgi.

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Articoli/Articles

SOME ASPECTS OF CAMILLO GOLGI'S
PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

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SUMMARY

The Authors present some considerations about the senatorial activity of Camillo Golgi.

His presence in Parliament confirms definite and not negligible interest in political affairs, especially those concerning health and universities.

This year sees the 150th anniversary of the birth of Camillo Golgi. As part of the celebrations and amid the various commemorative events aimed at up-dating and expanding the studies on different facets of his scientific life, we felt this was an ideal opportunity to present a short resumé of his political career as Senator of the Kingdom of Italy. Authors of a recent commemorative book on Golgi's life and scientific works, while defining him as resolute in his speeches to the Senate, also described him as a *stranger to politics*¹. This same observation was made by Tommaso Detti in reference to another Senator who like Golgi was one of the leading figures on the Italian scientific scene at that time.

He believed that

*the names of Bizzozero and Golgi, were not strongly associated with politics and, in any case, they were totally alien to any democratic sympathies*².

Key words: Camillo Golgi - Parliamentary activity

It was impossible for Golgi's position and thoughts to have the same front line role or be as influential in parliamentary politics as they were in the academic and scientific fields. However, this did not mean that his role as professor, and a professor of his standing in the Senate, was underestimated. This is particularly true, if one considers the general atmosphere of that period; the social orientation of medicine was in the embryonic stage, the medical professions were becoming actively militant in the fields of hygiene and legislation on working conditions, and the trust in the progressive and democratic character of science was developing. Though he was alien to certain schools of thought, his position as a professor in relation to the ideology of the Socialist students around him should not be ignored³.

In view of the above, today we would like to dwell on some aspects of Golgi's activity in his role as Senator (he was nominated to this position on June 14th, 1900 for the XIX⁴ category). We do not intend to give an analytical presentation of his entire parliamentary life, but we would like to discuss some of the themes which are of medical and academic interest, some of the subjects he was particularly dedicated to which illustrate the common characteristic of his activity⁵.

We do not want to talk about his activity within the various commissions simply because they are linked directly to his scientific interests, for example the one promoted by Nitti in 1919 under the initial Presidency of Alessandro Lustig for a Bill regarding the prevention of tuberculosis, or in the General Committee for the Prevention of Tuberculosis (this committee operated between May, 1919 and February, 1921⁶ but the results were disappointing). We will not even touch on his activity as a member of the Senior Health Board (he was a member until 1886 and was President for a number of years)⁷. What we would like to describe are the events of March, 1911 regarding dental practice and training, and of March, 1917 regarding the protection and assistance of disabled servicemen. We will also touch briefly on the subjects of the unjustified closure of the Chemistry department in the University of Pavia in March, 1906, the university assistants in June, 1913 and the problem of the places of Ordinary Professors in the specialized training clinics in Mi-

lan, again in June, 1913. His love and passion for the university were always very much to the fore as they were very close to his heart; he felt he was an authority on this subject, a fact which was obvious from his speeches. When he opened a debate in the Hall, his counterparts were often other lecturers from the medical faculty. They frequently touched on the specific problems which involved the Pavia headquarters - and Golgi often referred to himself as the representative of Pavia University⁸. The *Bill on the necessity for a degree in medicine and surgery in order to practise dentistry* was discussed on March 19th, 1911. It gave him the necessary stimulus for a further, broader speech on the moves to standardize dental instruction/training and to re-adjust the interim legislation governing illegal dental practice. After the first moves by the Italian Kingdom, starting in 1865 continuing for at least two decades, the government tried to introduce legislation which addressed the need for more control in the fields of health and science and safeguarded correct dental practice. The Boselli Decree of April 24th, 1890, as we all know, sanctioned the necessity of the degree in medicine before beginning dental practice.

However, the majority of universities were not in the least bit enthusiastic about teaching it - the subject was distributed within the surgical institutes, and only in those institutes where there were facilities and people suitable for doing it⁹. Golgi's speech fitted into the debate on some points of the project which had already been approved by the House and on the proposals which had been proffered by the Central Office of the Senate¹⁰, which underlined the contradictions between the preliminary report and the articles of the proposed law. The Bill aimed at an obligatory degree in medicine in order to practise dentistry but basically in four of its articles, offered two points which could be defined as *true reforms*. The first point states the necessity to include dental training in the routine study program of the Medical Faculty. Naturally, everyone agreed on this point because the needs of medicine in the training and in the careers of the army and the navy were indisputable and it was these areas which interested the legislators to a greater extent during those years. In order to overcome the limits of the old Boselli decree, the project



Fig. 1 - Golgi's visiting-card showing informations about his parliamentary and public health offices (Museo per la Storia dell'Università di Pavia).

suggested the formation of special courses in dentistry and dental prosthetics within the existing surgical institutes.

In this way, the students could avail themselves of scientific practice and training with all the knowledge, practice and demonstration involved in the development of the sector. However, care had to be taken to ensure that the nomination of the lecturers was done according to the laws governing the conferring of professorships. The Central Office of the Senate proposed further improvements on the House's proposal, by asking for a gradual introduction of the programme, but for a course to be introduced into every medical faculty. The second point of the report from the central office included another possibility that, according to Senator Golgi, appeared almost like a *Counter-proposal* when compared to the first part, because it proposed specialized training courses in dentistry. A class of specialists in the sector, separate from medicine, already existed in USA and other European countries. The report from the Central Office called on the necessity to have a suitable number of qualified dental specialists in Italy too, particularly in the larger urban centers where the lack of this figure was felt more acutely. Even though

the urban doctors were better educated compared to rural areas, they were not sufficient in number to cover the need for dental treatment too. The creation of *Complementary dental schools* was suggested with the activity starting only in the three universities where official training already existed - namely Genoa, Naples and Rome. Golgi agreed with the idea of creating specialized dental schools in the Italian Universities.

However, he felt that the main problem was which organizational model to adopt. The office report was strongly in favour of the American Model - one which had been applied and copied in other European countries. It was based on independent schools which awarded a *Diploma* of Dentistry after three or four years' study; they were not necessarily linked to a University and/or course which led to a degree in medicine. However, the proposal of the same office proposed the model which was applied in Austria-Hungary where, until 1899, dental studies was a compulsory subject in the medical curriculum in the form of a specialized training course to be completed in a three-semester postgraduate course. The three Universities, Genoa, Naples and Rome, had activated training courses which lasted two years: on completion the dentists would be awarded a *Diploma* in dentistry. At this point, Golgi suggested caution and recommended to the House that no hasty decisions should be made. In Italy at that time, nothing similar existed in any of the other medical and surgical specialities which were no less important than dentistry on a practical and scientific level¹¹. Golgi looked for an intermediate solution which lay somewhere between two such different solutions - the independent schools based on the American model and the post-graduate training schools. In the final analysis, he opted for the idea of a course of study which branched away from the traditional medical degree course from the third or fourth year onwards; two different routes could be opened to the students - one of which led to the degree in medicine and surgery and the other qualified them in dentistry. This model existed already in the natural science faculties which at a certain point branched off into physics, chemistry or natural science; the faculties of mathematics split into departments of engineering or pure mathematics; and pharmacy had parts of

the study course in common with medicine and science for the degree in pharmacy or in chemistry and pharmacy. There was another possibility which did not escape Golgi's notice and that was the foundation of totally separate dental departments alongside the existing ones in other disciplines. These departments would organize their own scientific and practical activities allowing them to reach a goal of free teaching.

Another point in the Bill examined the problem of illegal dental practice which had already been tackled, unsuccessfully, by various Ministers - Boselli, Cremona, Baccelli and the Superior Council of Health and Education. Its interim provisions had protracted indefinitely. In its report the Central Office, while deploring the fact that the scourge of illegal practice had been tolerated, agreed with the training proposal; anyone who could provide concrete evidence of at least eight years *manual practice* or three years attendance at a school in Italy or abroad could be accepted on the courses.

Golgi recommended caution once again and insisted on linking these new regulatory proposals to the debate on quality and education models. He quoted the Stomatology Association of Emilia:

Dentists of the future? After graduating with two degrees, their just rewards after eight years of classical studies and a further eight of university studies - these qualified dentists will find themselves with colleagues who have qualifications of a sort, in possession of a general certificate of education from the primary school; in the area of specialized studies - the best that can be hoped for is that they will have been awarded a proficiency certificate obtained through a superficial examination.

Another of his ideas was that dental practice had to be kept separate from dental mechanics which the majority of dentists combined in an insoluble union. Convinced that the best dental mechanics were done by specialist technicians with specifications and independent mechanical qualifications, working under the guidance of the dentist, Golgi admitted that dental prosthesis was a totally separate subject from dental sciences and it was not necessary to have a degree to practice it. He felt that the idea of a special class of dental technicians with studies, educa-

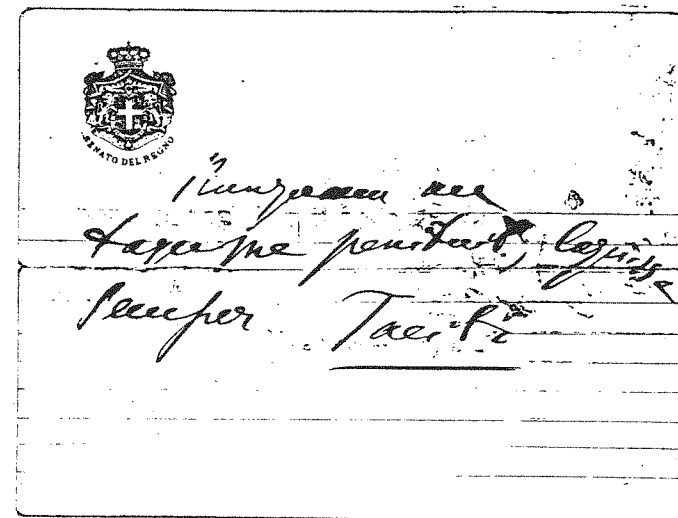


Fig. 2: Golgi's handwritten on Senate's headed card showing latin words he usually repeated as Tacitus' teaching: *I never regretted having been silent, always having spoken* (Museo per la Storia dell'Università di Pavia).

tion and practice different to those required for dentistry was reminiscent of the craftsmen who made orthopedic appliances according to the needs and under the direction of the doctor. In view of the complexity of the problem, Golgi felt that a special study commission consisting of representatives of surgery and anatomo-pathology and dentistry should be set-up to examine the various alternatives¹². On March 19th, 1917, he spoke to the Senate on the Bill for the protection and assistance of disabled servicemen. Since the beginning of the war, he had assumed the direction of the huge reserve military hospital which had been set-up in the Borromeo College in Pavia. It was used to treat the injured in need of special forms of therapy¹³. He took the floor to uphold the idea that through compulsory surgical operations, one could obtain a total or partial recovery of the function of an injured limb, according to the principles of scientific and surgical art. Although this same principle had been accepted in France, in Italy surgery on military personnel was still conditioned by paragraph 123 of the recruitment regulation of July 2nd,

1890. According to this regulation, no-one enrolled in the forces could be subjected to any form of invasive surgery to make him fit for military service unless the patient gave his express permission. There are some very important ethical problems interwoven in this subject which are beyond the limits of this Bill and which we will not cover in today's discussion. The Military Health Observers published explanatory directives which agreed perfectly with that attitude; also in the list of imperfections or infirmities which could cause ineptitude for military service, on the question of treatments to be performed prior to a final evaluation, it was clearly defined that invasive treatment could not, under any circumstances, be made obligatory. Then there was the Decree of Lieutenant of May 1st, 1916, *on the payment of privileged war pensions* which described a number of economic consequences for those injured in war where the lack of healing depended on the absence of treatment.

However, this had no effect in shifting the determination of the military authorities who were in total opposition to anything which may have been or which appeared to be coercion of a soldier into accepting an operation. Golgi did not wish to criticise the behaviour of the military hierarchy, but he pointed out that things were sometimes reaching the stage of the ridiculous with patients even refusing a subcutaneous or intravenous injection, illustrated with cases from his personal experience. He underlined the contradictions between the two dispositions which on the one hand stated the need for compulsory prevention (anti-tetanus, anti-smallpox, anti-cholera injections) and on the other condoned the right to refuse treatment as a means of rehabilitation¹⁴. In his opinion, the law which proposed the formation of a new body *The Italian Association for the protection and assistance of disabled servicemen* had to overcome the serious problem of the wounded soldiers' rights to refuse functional rehabilitation.

What I mean was this idea, based on the greatest respect for individual freedom, is a truly liberal idea. However, if it really is such, I would like to add that what has been included in the law on obligatory instruction is a reactionary one... I feel that it is very crafty to make any sort of connection between the assistance of disabled servicemen and the respect of the individual's freedom.

He was also President of the Council in defence of the maimed and disabled for the Province of Pavia which had voiced agreement for obligatory treatment of the consequences of injuries and he had been conferred the general mandate to discuss the question.

He quoted 6,150 anatomical injuries against about 25,000 *functional injuries*. Enrico Burci, the extraordinary inspector for the assistance of disabled servicemen, observed that many *permanent disabilities* could have been avoided or reduced had treatment been rapid. But the Senate Commission had not even considered the question of compulsory preventive surgery, because it was not their concern but was the responsibility of the Italian Association for the protection and assistance of disabled servicemen. The Bill appeared to introduce a concept which was close to obligation where art. 12 stated that soldiers maimed in war had to be assisted by the military health administration until they were healed completely or until the function of the injured part had been recovered to such a degree as to guarantee the maximum possible recovery of work capacity. Naturally, in many cases this recovery can only be obtained by surgery.

Nevertheless, the report which preceded the Bill had interpreted the Commission's intentions in a totally different manner. While admitting that the return to working capacity absolutely required the conscious and voluntary consent of the invalid, the Commission was definitely against compulsory treatment:

...it appeared to us that one cannot, even temporarily, and even though to the patient's advantage, oblige him who has already sacrificed himself or his country, to enter a work house and stay there against his will.

There were moralistic comments, coloured with feelings of respect for the individual's freedom. In addition, Golgi strongly opposed the problem of analysing *psychological co-efficients* which contributed to the refusal of operations and advice, on the instigations and different moral pressures applied to *poorly educated minds*. He reached a point of declaring that in his opinion it was sly to try to link the problems of adequate treatment of the disabled servicemen with those of respecting the individual's freedom; while professional re-habilitation, even using possible

means of coercion, represented an undoubted advantage for the individual himself and society at large. His long lecture drew to a close with a recommendation to the Government to do

further investigation into the entire complex question (to include the necessary guarantees for the servicemen) in reference to the whole problem of obligatory operations, through which, according to the simplest scientific and technological principles, one can obtain either perfect recovery of function, complete healing or at least significant improvement.

Now we would like to summarize briefly some of the positions in the Hall. In his speech on March 16th, 1906, to Minister of Education Boselli, aimed at obtaining a reply on the measures that the Minister intended taking

when faced with student agitation in Pavia University provoked by the unjustified and arbitrary closure of the scientific Institute which had been ordered by the Institute's Director himself.

Prof. Oddo had ordered the closure to students of the Chemistry Institute to students for economic reasons - a severe lack of funds -, something Golgi found totally unjustified. In the sitting of June 11th, 1913, he made a recommendation to Minister Credaro, from a different position to that of Maragliano. It referred to the question of the University assistants and the re-organization of the entire class of University assistants and their salaries, particularly in the faculties of medicine and science. Golgi had made it quite clear to the Senate that he was totally against the foundation of a Milanese University¹⁵; he openly declared his favour for Bari for *reasons of a political nature*. In the sitting of June 17th, 1913, the *Bill Allocation of funds for the specialization clinics in Milan awarded by the Decree of June 9th 1910 n. 819, which created two new lecturing posts in the clinics themselves.*

The discussion tackled the administrative aspect of placing the two new professors on a level with the university professors. Golgi pointed out that those professorships had been created by the sole deliberation of the Institute's Board of Directors. The crux of the matter was that his speech touched directly on the problem which was very close to the bone and that was his

marked disapproval of the idea of a new University in Milan and that the Institutes/Clinics represented the first concrete step in the direction to promote the medical faculty:

Despite recognising that the number of Universities in Italy was more than excessive, he did not hesitate to declare: - I am not worried by the contradiction of my words - I will gladly vote for the creation of a new university in Bari. That, in my opinion, is necessary not only for scientific and didactic reasons, but also to improve the level of education in Southern Italy and again for intuitive reasons of a political nature.

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2. DETTI T., *Fabrizio Maffi - Vita di un medico socialista*. Milano, 1987, p. 32. In reference to his participation in administrative life as town councillor, it should be remembered that his candidature for the 1893 elections in the City of Pavia was remembered as an expression of the moderates, however this is one period of Golgi's life which still has to be examined.
3. BELLONI L., *Anna Kuliscioff allieva del Cantani e del Golgi e le Sue ricerche sulla etiologia della febbre puerperale*. Physis, 1978, 20: 337-348; IDEM, *Allievi minori di Camillo Golgi: Anna Kuliscioff e il suo contributo alla etiologia della febbre puerperale*. Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo 1978, 112: 111-117.
4. The nomination was convalidated on June 17th and the new Senator was sworn in on July 11th. *Il Parlamento Italiano 1861-1988*, Vol. 14, Roma, 1989, pp. 111-117.
5. With this in mind, the substance contained in Golgi's parliamentary speeches and even the existing documentation in the History Museum of Pavia University is an interesting source of material waiting to be explored.
6. The Council with Golgi as President consisted of Ettore Marchiafava Vicepresident, Achille Villa for MAMPG, Cesare Baudel for the Italian Red Cross, Michele Pietravalle for the Association for disabled servicemen, Pio Foa, Ettore Levi, Fabrizio Maffi, Nicola Sforza, Giovanni Giachi and Luigi Manfredi as experts, the General Director of Health and the Observers of Military and Marine health. See DETTI T., *Stato, guerra e tubercolosi (1915-1922)*. In: *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, Torino, 1984, p. 935.
7. Among his interventions on proposals and Bills, or his statement on the different problems, there was the question of malaria but we will not go into detail on the position he took in this debate. It was discussed in the Senate and by the Commission set-up by the Internal Affairs Minister in 1901. This chapter has already been thoroughly dealt with and it is well highlighted by Golgi's contributions in the scientific headquarters. Refer to the lecture held during the fourth international congress on Rice growing in Vercelli in 1912.
8. As in the interpellanza of March 1906.
9. COEN CAGLI G., *Storia della legislazione odontoiatrica in Italia*. Acta Medica Italica 1935, 6: 127-139.

10. Consisting of Senators Achille De Giovanni, Francesco Durante, Carlo Guala and Ludovico Mortara under the Presidency of Luigi Torrigiani.
11. He mentioned Ophthalmology, ENT, Obstetrics, Nervous and Mental Disease, Dermosyphylogy.
12. Golgi did not agree with Francesco Durante who took part in the discussion. He too was a member of the Central Office of the Senate. In closing his lectures, Golgi repeated that he felt a two-year post-graduate course was excessive. His latest comments were directed towards the problems which would arise in the University; at that time, the law had been published but the official teaching - an indispensable requisite for the foundation of the specialization courses - had not yet been enforced in accordance with the new legislation. The law was returned to the Chambers, was finally approved and became executive from March 31st, 1912. See: COEN CAGLI G., *Storia della legislazione...* Op. cit., p. 133.
13. He showed his interest in the subject of war and the military on numerous occasions - for example in the letter he wrote to Fabrizio Maffi dated August 12th, 1991 quoted by DETTI T., op. cit., p. 248.
14. G. Boschi dealt with the subject of *wishing to heal those who have no wish to be healed*. See: BOSCHI G., *La guerra e le arti sanitarie*. Milano, 1931, p. 77.
15. See also: PENSA A., *Ricordi di vita universitaria (1892-1970)*. Supervised by B. Zanobio, Milano, 1991, pp. 137-55.

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Articoli/Articles

STORIA E CRITICA DELLA MEDICINA DEI SISTEMI
IN AUGUSTO MURRI E LA SUA SCUOLA

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SUMMARY

*HISTORY AND CRITICISM OF SYSTEMATIC MEDICINE
IN THE WORKS OF AUGUSTO MURRI AND HIS SCHOOL*

Augusto Murri's last book entitled Nosologia e Psicologia was published in 1924; in the same year his follower Antonio Gnudi delivered a very important commemorative speech for the 100th anniversary of the Società Medica Chirurgica of Bologna.

Both works have great value for the understanding of both the history and the theories of so-called Systematic Medicine as well as the criticisms that led, through Maurizio Bufalini's ideas and the teaching of Augusto Murri and his School, to the birth, at Bologna, of scientific medicine.

Nel 1924, all'età di 83 anni, Augusto Murri pubblica l'ultimo suo libro intitolato *Nosologia e psicologia*, che rappresenta forse la sua opera più impegnativa. Essa rappresenta infatti una confutazione delle teorie eziologiche del tempo sulla causa delle malattie psichiatriche ed un commento critico alla nascente psicanalisi freudiana.

L'opera si proponeva essenzialmente di dimostrare errata la definizione di malattie *sine materia*, definizione che comportava l'accettazione di una classe di malattie prive di *alterazioni mate-*

Key words: Augusto Murri - Antonio Gnudi - Medical Systems