Izvorni znanstveni članak

GIUSEPPE CERVETTO. HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF AN ALMOST FORGOTTEN PHYSICIAN

GIUSEPPE CERVETTO. POVIJEST I FILOZOFIJA GOTOVO ZABORAVLJENOGA LIJEČNIKA

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SUMMARY

Giuseppe Cervetto (1807–1865) was a physician, lecturer, and medical historian from a Jewish family born in Verona, Italy. In addition to his clinical practice, he delved into historical studies, making notable contributions to the works of Italian anatomists from the 15th century, as well as to the physicians and their College in Verona, particularly G.B. Da Monte from the 16th century. In 1860, he was called to teach History of Medical Sciences at the University of Bologna. After two years, he became a lecturer in Hygiene and Forensic Medicine at Messina, but he sadly passed away at the relatively young age of 57 due to his delicate health. He strongly believed in the importance of medical knowledge «enriched by history», actively advocating the use of the biographical method in reconstructing the historical development of medicine and its inseparable connection with philosophy.

Keywords: medical biography, history of medicine, medical history, medical philosophy

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EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL CAREER

Giuseppe Cervetto was born on July 16, 1807, into a family of Jewish origins. According to the records found in the Archive of the Municipality of Verona, he was the son of Mezulan and Stella Bassani (Ferrari et al., 2019). His medical education started in his hometown of Verona, after which he pursued further studies at the University of Padua, where he obtained his degree in Medicine in 1830 with a thesis dedicated to spinal caries. More precisely, the academic degree conferred by the University of Padua was in "medicine and philosophy" until the reform implemented during the Third Austrian Domination (1813–1866). The reform, dated 1816/17, occurred only a few years before Cervetto's graduation and brought an end to a centuries-old tradition.

After achieving the academic title, Cervetto's professional endeavors encompassed two prominent roles: that of «Physician of the Pious Israelite Society» in Verona and «Primary Physician at the Civil Hospital» of the same city (Massalongo, 1918). Additional fragments of his autobiography emerge from his works, particularly in the frontispiece of his first written work with a historical-medical focus, "Cenni per una storia dei medici veronesi e del loro antico collegio" ("Insights into the History of Veronese Physicians and Their Ancient College", 1834), where Cervetto identifies himself as "Doctor of Medicine and Surgery / Master in Obstetrics and Ophthalmology / and Physician at the Civic Hospital" (Cervetto, 1834).

The strong involvement of Cervetto in the Italian cultural and also political climate during the Risorgimento is well confirmed by his repeated participation in the Meetings (Congresses) of Italian Scientists, which took place annually in various cities of the peninsula from 1839 to 1847. These gatherings represented an important and stimulating opportunity for scientists of the time, showcasing the existence of a unified Italian culture in the spirit of national identity. The first meeting, held in Pisa in 1839 under the auspices of Grand Duke Leopold II of Habsburg-Lorraine (1797–1870), was followed by a second one in Turin in 1840. During this meeting, the physician from Verona presented his work entitled "Cenni per una nuova storia delle scienze mediche" ("Remarks for a New History of Medical Sciences"), outlining the principles of his historiographic proposal. Later, an "Appendix" was added to this work, which Cervetto did not have the opportunity to present in Florence in 1841, but its contents were nonetheless published in Verona in 1842. In addition to his published printed works, this active participation in conferences and the formulation of innovative and original proposals certainly contributed to giving visibility to Cervetto in the diverse scientific panorama of the time, likely laying the groundwork for his appointment at the University of Bologna (Ferrari, 2019; Cervetto, Le Riunioni 1861).

Interest in the history of medicine

In parallel with his medical profession, Giuseppe Cervetto nurtures a personal interest in the history of medicine, a passion he has cultivated since his university education at Padua. During this period, he had the opportunity to attend lectures on the History and Literature of Medicine taught by Giuseppe Montesanto, the director of the city hospital (Ferrari, 2019). Motivated by the desire to «reclaim for the homeland the glories that foreign historians forgot or mistreated» (Massalongo, 1918), Cervetto decides to materialize this predilection for historical-medical studies. In 1839, he published a work with a distinctly biographical approach dedicated to the physician and humanist Giovanni Battista Da Monte ("Montano", 1498–1551), accompanied by an extensive documentary apparatus (Cervetto, 1839).

Also, Giovanni Battista da Monte (1489–1551) was born into a noble lineage in Verona. At the University of Padua, he pursued studies in literature, philosophy, and medicine. After obtaining his medical degree, he traveled to several cities on the Italian peninsula, including Palermo, Naples, and Rome, before returning to Padua, where he assumed the chairmanship of medicine at the University. Montano is recognized as a precursor to the clinical method, teaching medicine not only from the lectern but also at the patient's bedside.

As early as 1834, in the aforementioned work dedicated to physicians of Verona, Cervetto delineates with precision some of the guiding principles of his methodological approach to the history of medicine. He asserts that "we must, therefore, be inspired by the memories of our predecessors [physicians] who, in such great number, illuminated their respective centuries" (Cervetto, 1834). In other words, the objective was to shed light on the prominent Italian medical figures, thus rescuing them from the oblivion to which, according to Cervetto, they had been confined (Ferrari, 2019). Remaining congruent with the views expressed in 1834, Cervetto provides an additional practical example of his historical-medical method by publishing, in 1842, a second biographical work titled "Di alcuni illustri anatomici italiani del decimoquinto secolo" ("On Some Illustrious Italian Anatomists of the Fifteenth Century"). This publication, through the study of unpublished documents, is dedicated to reconstructing the lives and scientific contributions of Renaissance physicians and anatomists Marco Antonio Dalla Torre, Gabriele Zerbi, and Alessandro Benedetti (Cervetto, 1842).

In 1854, Giuseppe Cervetto relocated from Verona to Brescia (Ferrari& De Salvo, 2019), a city in which he became notably active, especially on the front of professional activities and, above all, in the field of historical-medical research. Notably, in the same year of his move, he published an expanded edition of his work from 1842, dedicated to the Italian medical Renaissance (Cervetto, 1854). Starting from 1859, he was duly registered among the physicians of the province of Brescia. He subsequently received the appointment as the «director of the balneo-sanitary establishment» of the city, as mentioned in one of his publications titled "Stabilimento idroiatrico di Trento" ("Hydrotherapeutic Establishment of Trento"), which was released in 1857 (Cervetto, 1857). Moreover, he was recognized as a corresponding member «of the Academy of the Department of Mella, later known as "Ateneo di Brescia"» (Ferrari, 2019).

TEACHING ACTIVITY

Over the course of several decades of research, Cervetto's scientific output gained considerable renown in medical circles, allowing him to attain the position of Professor of the History of Medical Sciences at the University of Bologna in 1860. This appointment marked one of the pioneering courses dedicated to this subject(Massalongo, 1918). Regarding this call, Cervetto wrote, "His Excellency Count Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere, with a gracious letter dated July 13, 1860, consulted me in Brescia about this honorable appointment which, following my affirmative response, was conferred upon me by a decree on the 18th of the same month" (Cervetto, 1861).

The university appointment followed the new provisions introduced on March 8, 1860, by the legislative decree of Luigi Carlo Farini (1812–1866), who was the Governor in Emilia (Italy) after it separation from the Papal States (Simeoni, 1947). These provisions envisaged the establishment of a chair for the compulsory teaching of the History of Medical Sciences. This course was to be held during the sixth year of the medical students' curriculum, as well as for those pursuing veterinary studies.

Despite being occupied with his medical practice for many years in Verona and subsequently in Brescia between 1854 and 1860, where he received a letter from the Minister of Public Education, Terenzio Mamiani (1799–1885), Cervetto had earned visibility and recognition within the scientific community. He achieved this through his writings, active participation in meetings of Italian scientists, and repeated proposals for a "New History of Medical Sciences".

In the preliminary lecture of his course, delivered in Bologna on November 27, 1860, while praising "Felsina [Bologna], illustrious mistress of knowledge" for welcoming him to its university, Cervetto's extensive reflection on the necessity of incorporating the History of Medicine into the educational path of future physicians begins by focusing on the Italian context: "History should thus confirm that our country boasts the greatest representation in the annals and triumphs of medical sciences, and that the tapestry of their events must be an integral part of national historical studies". He then expanded his discourse to encompass the diverse European scenario: "Enlightened by such a potent and beneficial truth, numerous European governments, for nearly half a century, have grafted this historical branch onto the organic structure of medical education, either as a connected chair within the university career or as a free school in a College or as part of advanced Institutes".

Contemporary to Cervetto, the only others having the same teaching role in universities across the Italian peninsula during the unification process were Francesco Puccinotti (1794–1872) in Pisa and Florence and Salvatore De Renzi (1799–1872) in Naples. As noted by M.D. Grmek (1924–2000), "both of them closely aligned with the German Romantics [...] they attribute a profound significance to the historical development of medicine" (Grmek, 1993).

Puccinotti was a determined advocate of the need to reclaim the Hippocratic method in medicine. In this regard, he found himself in open contrast with the views espoused by the physician with Jacobin sentiments, Giovanni Rasori (1766–1837), who, following the path of Brownism, upheld the doctrine of "Controstimolo", which was destined for inevitable decline. Rasori was also a polemical proponent of the "Analisi del preteso genio di Ippocrate" ("Analysis of the Alleged Genius of Hippocrates") (Rasori, 1799). Before assuming the chair of the History of Medicine, Puccinotti held positions in Theoretical Medicine, Hygiene, and Forensic Medicine in Pisa. He further distinguished himself as the founder of the "New Italian Hippocratic School", which he also termed "iatro-philosophical". We shall delve deeper into the significance of this term later in the article, noting its strong idealistic inspiration (Cosmacini, 1987; Fortuna, 2016).

As for Salvatore De Renzi, the author of the monumental "History of Italian Medicine" in 5 volumes (Naples 1845–1848), his historiographic approach was explicitly inspired by the thinking of Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), "enlightened mind who, foreshadowing his century, pointed to the history of sciences as the true source of the progress of knowledge and the improvement of the human species" (Cappelletti, 1991). De Renzi considered the History of Science not only

as a "narrator of events in their chronological sequence; but as a rigorous evaluator of the causes of social developments".

The imprint left by Cervetto on his own teaching is also attributable to the romantic vein of historical-medical studies (Bernabeo, 1988), in substantial harmony with the perspective of his contemporaries. Moreover, the entirely cordial relationship between Cervetto and De Renzi is confirmed by the latter's writings in III volume of his aforementioned History of Medicine, where he commends Cervetto's work on the clinical activity of Giovanni Battista Da Monte: "This is not a mere opinion, but it is based on monuments, documents and authorities that my esteemed friend Giuseppe Cervetto, with great diligence and ingenuity, gathered in his history of Da Monte, published in Verona in 1839" (De Renzi, 1845–48).

Cervetto, in "Preliminary Lecture to the Course" (1860), does not hesitate to reciprocate his colleague's praise, emphasizing the «copious and substantial volumes» authored by his friend De Renzi solely for the "History of Medicine in Italy" (1845).

According to the proposal put forth by the newly appointed professor, «the new historical course for Bologna, naturally completed in two or three years», was succinctly structured as follows:

- A. The life and works of the most celebrated or meritorious figures in medical or surgical science and related fields ("Bio-Biblio-graphy").
- B. Deductions from these works, especially national ones, of authentic claims of actual discoveries in various branches of the health science ("Biography of Science").
- C. Historical philosophy of systems and physio-patho-logical theories that caused the most commotion and were fruitful in effects in relation to the civil, philosophical, political, and religious state.
- D. Historical Pathology and Epidemiology.
- E. Health and Educational Institutes and establishments whose organization and development were connected, as they are today, to the state of medical knowledge and civil life (Cervetto, Prelezione 1861).

As can be observed, the starting point of the historical analysis proposed by Cervetto is the biographical-bibliographical method, with a significant philosophical component that indeed permeates his entire work. The celebratory undertones associated with the Risorgimento, culminating largely in the unification of the country, resonate prominently throughout the entire Preliminary Lecture, highlighting the role played in that historical event by the Kingdom of Sardin-

ia, specifically the House of Savoy under the reign of King Vittorio Emanuele II (1820–1878), with Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour (1810–1861), serving as Prime Minister. Looking to the future of this discipline, Cervetto, in his Preliminary Lecture for the new course on the history of medicine (1860), urged young students to choose as the topic of their thesis not a «theoretical-practical point», but rather a «deceased fellow citizen [physician], ancient or modern, among the many awaiting justice». In this way, according to the Author, «these theses would be worthy of preservation instead of being destined for a fleeting existence» (Cervetto, 1861).

The style of the memory that Cervetto reads at the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of Bologna just a month later (December 20) is similar to the mentioned Preliminary Lecture, as the chronological course of the meetings of Italian scientists intertwines with broader historical considerations, always with a strong celebratory connotation of patriotism and Risorgimento ideals (Cervetto, 1861).

As a consequence of the fall of the third government led by Camillo Cavour on March 23, 1861—the last cabinet of the Kingdom of Sardinia before the proclamation of the Unification of Italy on March 17, 1861—Terenzio Mamiani's tenure as Minister of Public Education also came to an end. In the newly formed Kingdom of Italy, the fourth Cavour Government assigned the same ministry to Francesco de Sanctis (1817–1883). He had, on several occasions, expressed hostility towards Cervetto (Ferrari, 2019) and would replace him in the chair with Angelo Camillo De Meis (1817–1891), a physician of abruzzese (Italian) origin with a strong interest in philosophical studies, with whom he had previously maintained close collaborative relations. De Meis held the chair in Bologna until he died in 1891, unlike other Italian university seats where the teaching of the History of Medicine was abolished after the 1870 reforms.

In 1863, Cervetto was called to the University of Messina. According to G. Ferrari, the teaching position held by Cervetto at the Sicilian university was in Hygiene and Forensic Medicine, while R. Massalongo, later echoed by R.A. Bernabeo, claimed it was in the History of Sciences. Accepting this appointment, which undoubtedly took Cervetto far from his familiar surroundings, was influenced by precarious health conditions and his search for a climatically more favorable residence (Massalongo, 1918; Taccari, 1980), considering the presence of a morbid condition that, as stated by biographers, seemed to follow a plausible chronic and progressive course (tuberculosis?). However, the swift conclusion of his relationship with the University of Bologna also played a significant role in his decision.

However, the stay in Messina, for which little information is available, did not benefit Cervetto's health. After leaving Sicily, he passed away in Padua on September 10, 1865, while returning to his city of origin.

HISTORICAL METHOD

In his writings, Giuseppe Cervetto expresses gratitude toward traditional historical reconstructions of medical sciences, at the same time maintaining a critical approach. According to his assessment, those accounts are imperfect, narrow-minded, and uncertain. Their errors and inherent incompleteness make it necessary to compile a new history of medicine, which he himself advocates for. However, he did not leave behind any published results despite the elaborated program, which we shall now report.

Such an ambitious work, which in his intentions will join monumental, civil, and ecclesiastical historical works, must be conducted with an original drafting method compared to previous works. Cervetto is well aware of the "immensity" of such a «gigantic undertaking» and the related risk of being overwhelmed by it, as has happened to the daring pioneers in the past (Cervetto, 1843). For this reason, he foresees an «indispensable» extensive collaboration among scholars who draw from both municipal and national analytical journals. The goal is to create a network that includes, on the one hand, local civic commissions (secondary entities) to collect the medical-surgical history of a particular municipality and, on the other hand, national committees (primary entities) to ensure a coherent overall perspective. Once the materials are gathered, Cervetto's program envisions that historical research should be conducted «without tenderness»: while acknowledging the merits of illustrious past physicians, the historian of medicine must be objective, impartial, and stringent in their assessment. As for the structure of the work, it should follow a geographical-topographical division, while the presentation order should be chronological, as it is "the most suitable for showing the regular path of our art and science, like any other".

Cervetto's chosen form is the biographical one, which is considered by the author to be the most useful in providing excellent materials for the history of medicine. The sources of medical knowledge, namely the lives and works of the "most prominent and illustrious departed", thus become the very sources of historical knowledge of medicine. In other words, writing a new history of medical sciences means crafting a "biographical history for medical sciences». According to Cervetto's intentions, it will rest upon the names (including the most "admired" figures) of those "renowned and great masters, professors deserving of all praise,

splendid artists" who actively contributed with their intellect and heart to scientific progress and social well-being. Cervetto emphasizes that in clarifying their personal information and facts, i.e., their studies and endeavors ("sublime discoveries or works of genius"), one will make "biography a grade of history" (Cervetto, 1841).

In summary, the combination of the chosen structure and form will ensure the gathering and illustration of the lives, works, and portraits of the worthy individuals who preceded us "to coordinate them in many impressive collections throughout the most prominent cities of the [Italian] peninsula" (Cervetto, 1843).

PHILOSOPHICAL INSIGHT

The history of medicine, as conceived by Cervetto, is closely connected to philosophy – a connection likely influenced by his academic degree, which, as previously mentioned, was in "medicine and philosophy". The profound link between these two disciplinesis recognized and explicitly stated by the physician from Verona, who cites specific authors, including Tommasini G. (1815), Mangiovini A. (1821), Conti C. (1832), Bouillaud J. (1836), Bernardi (1839), Geromini F.G. (1840), and Giusto F.C.H. (1852).

The philosophy, in its social aspects, is found both in the origin and the purpose of medicine. Philosophy, "the offspring of heaven", is the mother of all sciences, including medicine, through which "Homines ad Deos accedunt" ("men approach the Gods"), as stated by "the old man of Cos who likened that physician who is a philosopher to the Gods" (Cervetto, 1834). Thus, while the philosopher is not necessarily a physician, the physician is undoubtedly a philosopher. Consequently, the history of medicine, referred to as "the path of healing art", reveals the history of the philosophy of medicine, encompassing the "essential various theories and systems" (Cervetto, 1842), to the extent that it is appropriate to speak not only of the history of medicine but predominantly of the "history of medical philosophy", the "philosophy of medical history", or "jatro-philosophy"—a term combining the concept of "who heals" or "the doctor" with the wisdom of philosophy. Cervetto further explains the idea of a «national philosophical history of the art [...] where Italian medical history serves as the nucleus to the general one» (Cervetto, 1843). In fact, it is precisely through the "sublime study" of the history of medicine that "the interdependence and connection of our art with other sciences, and most notably with philosophy and civilization are revealed" (Cervetto, 1842). Therefore, the history of medicine is, above all, the history of a "pre-eminently social" science. Its most accomplished realization, of which Cervetto aspires to be the author, is distinguished not only by "historical faith, wise criticism, accuracy and length" but also by "instructive philosophy" (Cervetto, 1841).

What is particularly interesting in Cervetto's perspective is this "assimilation" (not reduction) of medicine into philosophy, rooted in a classical hermeneutics that does not distinguish between the humanistic and scientific domains, despite being situated in the positivist period, occurring at least two centuries after the scientific revolution and the introduction of the experimental method. Cervetto (1842) himself places medicine and philosophy in the same historical category—that of the sciences—describing it as "attaining to criticism, erudition, philosophy, the spirit of observation and studying the immutable laws of creation [through] experimental sciences, including medical and surgical ones, based on observations, experiments, cases, inductions and facts", distinct from the civil field ("attaining to speculations of the moral world, "poetic wisdom" and studying human passions").

Noteworthy is also Cervetto's observation regarding the emergence, while retracing the history of medicine, of a maturation of a relational philosophy among physicians, united by the same "philanthropic and highly useful ardor". If, as Cervetto records, they were isolated "until yesterday", competing and fighting among themselves for personal interests, now they are finally aware of the importance of being united "by their love for truth and utility within the scientific community as a powerful association of enlightened brotherhood". The history of medical sciences thus demonstrates the overcoming of that "fatal dissension among them that has torn apart medicine for a long time", in favor of an "amnesty" for a higher good: to unite in association as a "medical family" for the benefit of society. A virtuous example is the scientific association "Società Italiana dei 40" ("Italian Society of the 40"), founded in 1782 in Verona (and during Cervetto's time, headquartered in Modena) by Anton Mario Lorgna Veronese. This academy included not only physicians but also other Italian scientists, consisting of the 40 greatest scientists of that era.

In summary, the physicians who populate Cervetto's history of medicine are not merely wise individuals who, through their studies, dedicated themselves to clinical work. They are, rather, philanthropists who, through their "toils, hardships and martyrdoms", sacrificed for the progress of civilization and science, the improvement of humanity, and the enhancement of its happiness, battling against ignorance, prejudices, malice, and abuse of power. Consequently, the purpose of the history of medicine is not merely intellectual. It is primarily to encourage readers to follow the example of past physicians and be inspired in order to enrich and improve «social coexistence», as Cervetto (1842) writes: "Historia extinctos, Medicina resuscitat aegros. Qui Medicis vitam reddit, utrumque facit" ("History extinct, medicine revives the sicks. Who gives life to physicians accomplishes both things").

Conclusion

Giuseppe Cervetto played a significant clinical role, contributing also to the educational dimension of medicine. However, he deserves to be primarily remembered for his studies in the history of medicine, a discipline that undoubtedly constituted the central core of his intellectual efforts. In this field of study, the 19th-century Veronese physician demonstrated dedication and rigor, focusing particularly on the methodological aspect, which he selected in the biographical form. Cervetto firmly believed in the possibility of reconstructing the historical trajectory by detailing the lives and works of the "most illustrious deceased physicians". At times, he might have displayed an overly laudatory tone, but this does not negate the scientific and methodological value of this Veronese physician's work. Specifically, his own method became the key to understanding and bringing to light his own thinking, constantly directed with passion toward a "new" history of medicine capable of recognizing the philosophical and social spirit of medicine.

The intertwining of philosophy and medicine, united by a sense of medical brotherhood both toward the public and at the intra-collegial level (which matured precisely during Cervetto's historical period), expresses and highlights the intrinsically humanistic dimension of medicine – a science where human life is simultaneously the author, means, and purpose; technique and creation; evidence and art; action and relationship.

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SAŽETAK

Giuseppe Cervetto (1807. – 1865.), liječnik, predavač i povjesničar medicine iz židovske obitelji, rođen je u Veroni u Italiji. Uza svoju kliničku praksu, bavio se povijesnim studijama, pružajući značajan doprinos djelima talijanskih anatoma iz 15. stoljeća, kao i liječnicima i njihovoj visokoškolskoj ustanovi u Veroni, a posebno G. B. da Monteu iz 16. stoljeća. Godine 1860. pozvan je da predaje povijest medicinskih znanosti na Sveučilištu u Bologni. Nakon dvije godine postaje predavač kolegija Higijena i forenzična medicina u Messini, ali je zbog narušenog zdravlja preminuo u razmjerno mladoj dobi od 57 godina. Čvrsto je vjerovao u važnost medicinskog znanja "obogaćenoga poviješću", aktivno se zalažući za upotrebu biografske metode pri rekonstrukciji povijesnoga razvoja medicine i njezine neraskidive veze s filozofijom.

Ključne riječi: medicinska biografija, povijest medicine, povijest bolesti, medicinska filozofija