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„HISTORY. CIVILISATION. CULTURE" DOCTORAL SCHOOL

Body, Image and Discourse. The Contribution of Anatomy to the Formation of the "Medical Gaze" at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj (1872-1940)

Abstract of the PhD Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The research question

The research question of the present PhD thesis revolves around the pairing between image and medicine and can be summarised as follows: how does the visualisation of knowledge in the field of anatomy succeed in laying the foundations of a university discipline and thus contribute to the formation of the "medical gaze?" The purpose of this question is to allow me to address a topic that benefits, in other cultural spaces, from a vast bibliography, from the unique perspective of the case of the University of Cluj between 1872 and 1940, from an interdisciplinary perspective. As medical education in this area gained increasing importance with the establishment of University in 1872, the basis of medicine, anatomy, could not remain ignored by the great reforming projects in the field. The visualisation of medical knowledge through anatomy was a process with profound effects in several areas: in anthropology, betraying the ambition of the anatomists to say more about living people than about the bodies on the dissecting table; in medical history, given that the achievements of the anatomists in Cluj were elevated to the status of cultural acts; in the ambition to legitimise a whole sphere of medical agents and activities by promoting the "anatomical-clinical spirit of the Cluj medical school."

The subsequent question that articulates the structure of this research is: in what specific ways did the study of anatomy inform the "medical gaze" at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, between 1872 and 1940? The proposed argument is that anatomy communicated its knowledge about the human body primarily in *illustrative* (explanatory) and *discoursive* (processual) images. While the former reunited instances of material culture (specimens, preparations, moulages, écorché), as well as anatomical illustrations (in books, treatises, manuals, atlases), the latter were products of close interactions between the researches of the anatomists and the bodies of work developed at the other institutes and clinics belonging to the Medical Faculty. In the present research, discoursive images represent technologies of seeing articulated in the form of texts accompanying illustrations in anatomical textbooks, as

well as dissections carried on the corpses and later conceptually transferred in dissection manuals. The two types of images are particular to the kind of knowledge production developed at the Medical Faculty and inform the "medical gaze," as formulated by Michel Foucault when he wrote about the implications of the debates between clinical practitioners and pathological anatomists.

Being an anatomist at the Faculty of Medicine meant that one was provided with the institutional framework to create, disseminate and advance a particular way of looking at the human body that would not only contribute to the training of the future doctor but would also find support in the work performed at the nearby clinics and research institutes. Various platforms for communicating research findings were created in the shape of museological displays, academic reunions, and medical treatises. The main branches of institutional anatomy (one descriptive and topographic, one pathological) were called on to join the project of modernising medical science, but they could only do so in what was distinct to their field: by using death as the starting point for spatialising disease in the confines of organs and tissues, they relied on increasingly experimental methods in order to organise and expand visualisation techniques.

Discoursive images

The role played by discursive images in the formation of the "medical gaze" exhibits mainly the interactions between anatomists and clinicians to configure medical training in a shape as scientifically productive as possible. They encompass technologies of seeing and dissection practices, in the sense that anatomical images become processual and help build an infrastructure of vision-related mechanisms that affect the ways bodies were looked at and subjected to cure treatments. By "technology of seeing" I refer to several activities performed and recorded by anatomists with the deliberate purpose of drawing a systematic approach to acquiring visual expertise in their field, for students and researchers alike. Such activities include: the textual description of the visual processes involved in the act of dissection, next to the anatomical illustrations in the textbooks; the organisation of the anatomical lessons primarily by use of projections and other visual aids; the reappropriation of anatomical traditions through the lens of "modern science," which places an overwhelming importance on the educated eye of the clinician. Drawing methodologically on Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic* (1963), I aim to identify modes of discourse in the anatomical textbooks read or written by the anatomists, because those allow them to spatialize the body and locate pathological variations by means of visual description. Additionally, I use the category of *discoursive*

images in order to demonstrate that, far from being the systematic investigators of morphological structures as they claimed to be, anatomists presented their findings in heavily visual terms and resorted to a rich vocabulary of spatial metaphors. They ultimately reveal that both anatomists and clinicians were deeply aware of how imbued of vision-related terms their bodies of work were and that it was symptomatic for the kind of research they aimed to uncover.

The main categories of discoursive images can be identified as: a first group brings together the conceptual frameworks, schools of thought and traditions of writing about the human body inherited and appropriated by the anatomists in Cluj; a second group encompasses dissections as vehicles for employing images in sequences whose careful orchestration leads to the creation of medical methods for reading the body. When putting in words their activities in the lecture rooms, dissection halls or laboratory rooms, anatomists worked in an already codified field of terms and concepts. They described their procedures on the corpse as their predecessors did (i.e. starting from morphology), but they aimed at adjusting their texts according to the school of anatomical thought they adhered to (i.e. functional anatomy, meaning merging anatomy with physiology). Such adjustments were in turn influenced by the debates with the clinical practitioners who relied on anatomists for providing the medical body with the procedural basics for cutting up bodies.

Dissection operates as a discoursive mode by functioning in the following way: it is not only meant to represent the practical side of the anatomy lesson, but gradually is given the status of a methodological tool in the clinical perspective. Therefore it is not just the anatomist who performs dissection, but the clinician too is called to master the visualisation of the body in pieces, even when there is no immediate application of surgery required.

An additional query pertains to the relationship between discoursive and illustrative images within the anatomical textbook. It is a relationship that manifests itself as a double-folded feature: illustrations work as explanatory visual models for the inserted text, but they also create content on their own. By contrast to the static nature of the illustrative images, the discoursive ones are a direct consequence of the potential inscribed in the language employed by the anatomists themselves.

Illustrative images

The relationship between discoursive and illustrative images in the anatomical textbook can be described as follows: illustrative images communicate content about the human body primarily in a didactic way and their impact mainly consists in the formation of

the macroscopic medical gaze. This means that clinicians are trained to see the human body as a sum of bodily parts and to decipher the effects of disease in human bodies by paying close attention to the pathological transformations in their structures. The advantage purported by anatomy's production of illustrative images consists in creating for the physician the possibility to "read" the human body, as a sum of regions and structures which ultimately leads him to the identification of morphological entities. The disadvantage is that it perpetuates a classificatory mode of dealing with elements of the body and allows little space for the development of a medical gaze able to connect forms to functions and thus to reveal processes of transformation which can help the physician in the curing of an illness.

When examining the main types of illustrative images in the field of anatomy, the following categories can be identified: images as objects (related to the material culture of anatomy) and images as pictures (related to drawings and photographs in books and treatises). The production of this category of images entails certain consequences, which can be outlined as follows: the images as objects participate in a culture of display and reveal the museological impulse of the anatomical field. Collections of material culture are carefully put together and they are not hidden either from the student's or the general public's eye. Rooms for a museum of anatomy are filled with anatomical specimens, both at the Descriptive and the Pathological Institute. These rooms are visited and commented upon equally by anatomists and clinicians. The creation and utilisation of anatomists' illustrative images for the clinician's medical gaze can be evaluated in terms of its advantages or disadvantages. On one hand, these images help consolidate the clinician's visual abilities when confronted with the patient's body by allowing for a quick identification of its main structures and regions. On the other hand, they nurture a rather static identity for the anatomical image, unable to sufficiently adapt to the requirements of the gaze in clinical practice.

The research sources

As previously stated, the present dissertation aims to formulate an argument about the conjunction of knowledge visualisation and historical writing applied to the department of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj between 1872 and 1940. Investigating this topic confronts us primarily with a semantic polymorphism within which several anatomies gravitate: a form continuing the Enlightenment tradition, as a distinct discipline of medical-scientific study (a university discipline at the Faculty of Medicine after 1872); a practice that engages a professor in front of an audience and operates a series of specific actions in the medical faculty's lecture hall (explanation, analysis, dissection); a platform to

showcase the ambition to write a textbook in a national language (a first treatise in Romanian in 1923); a springboard for anthropological investigations (research based on the study of skulls and physiognomies in the 1920s and 1930s); a theory requiring a complex architectural space designed to accommodate the multiplicity of activities (the amphitheatre, the laboratory, the dissecting room); a visual technology that draws on both the acquisitions of art (the academic tradition of the Belle Arte) and those of specific material culture (wet and dry pieces and preparations); a discipline whose development is simultaneously accompanied by its own collecting double (the anatomy museum attached to the anatomy department).

For this reason, the chosen sources reflect the plurality of environments involved in the process of modernising anatomy in early 20th century Transylvania, but also the need for an interdisciplinary methodological approach. The first category is constituted by textual sources, namely the medical and anthropological literature of Victor Papilian, a reference figure in the research project; treatises on anatomy from other cultural spaces to which Papilian's volumes refer directly or indirectly (those of Duval, Poirier, Rauber-Kopsch, Spalteholz, Tandler, Testut, Toldt, Gray); other medical treatises written in Romanian in the period immediately following the publication of Papilian's volumes (those of Titu Vasiliu, Iuliu Hațieganu, Ioan Goia). Since the history of the medical department was established in the same period as the anatomy department, I will also use texts from the history of the medicine department, especially those produced by Jules Guiart and Valeriu Bologa between 1920 and 1940. The Annals of the University of Cluj are consulted together with those of the universities of Bucharest and Iași, where an anatomy education with reforming ambitions developed at the same time. The memoirs (O. Ghibu, V. Anania, Grigore T. Popa, E. Pamfil), together with the periodicals in the press that wrote about anatomy education in Cluj, but also to which Papilian collaborated as a writer, constitute another category of textual sources. In this regard, I mention that I have chosen to go through the artistic literature written by Papilian because it contains numerous clues about the work of the staff active at the anatomy department, the concrete organisation of the spaces for anatomical instruction, fashioned in the language of literary fiction.

As mentioned earlier, medical artefacts are an important source base for research, to which other types of visual sources are added: anatomical illustrations from Papilian's books, but also from other authors he consulted, which reveal striking aspects of his status as an anatomist and commissioner of illustrations; a cinematographic source represented by the 1920 film *A Világrém* [*From the Horrors of the World*], directed and produced in Cluj by Jenő Janovics, whose plot is punctuated cinematically by a montage showing the bodies of the protagonists in a fragmented form, according to a visualisation model of anatomical origin.

Last but not least, I chose a category of museum sources that underline the transition towards the modernity of anatomy as a discipline and its transformation into a basis for organising medical-scientific knowledge with an impact on the whole society.

Methodological and conceptual innovations

On a methodological level, this research proposes an approach to writing medical histories applied to the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj against the background of three main conceptual spheres: "medical gaze," "science, technology and medicine," and "technical image."

The "medical gaze" helps us conceptually to recreate the story of anatomy as an account of image production meant for a wider field of medical practitioners at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj between 1872-1940. Medical texts produced in the environment of the Cluj University demonstrate a close partnership between clinical practice and the pedagogy of anatomy. Of significant relevance here is Foucault's proposal of "medical gaze" as a key concept for analysis, pointing out how clinical work encourages knowledge acquisition for the purpose of controlling disease. The change incurred through the use of this concept refers to the way the patient's body is mobilised: away from its framing as a container for illness, it now turns into a device facilitating positive change in how medical practitioners operate. Signs and symptoms of the body-to-be-cured are now in centre focus for the work of clinicians and anatomists. The difference between their working methods and aims relies on how they integrate death in their practices: while for anatomists it constitutes a meaningful initiative point for carrying out research able to advance knowledge about the living body, for clinicians it is a reality marking the end of a patient's life. These changes made a lasting impact on how disease ended up being conceived by researchers and the general public.

STM research (standing for "science, technology and medicine") provides a methodological approach that is also preoccupied with the exploration of the contradictions surrounding the concept of medical "progress" starting with the mid-nineteenth century. Its main aim is to deconstruct the relationship between the traditionally accepted two main actors of the scientific story: knowledge and practice. This approach is helpful also for the discipline of anatomy, because it promotes the simultaneous examination of contexts together with the implications on dealing with the human living subjects around them, as seen in physical anthropology and evolutionary theories. The STM framework departs from Foucault's approach, in the sense that it does not antagonise the two categories of "body" and "gaze" from the perspective of control and discipline. Instead, it invites researchers to carefully

examine the spatiality of activities performed within the institutional grounds of the university, to read the texts of anatomists in order to find out how they conceived their practice in the specialised institutes of anatomy, and the methods they employed in fashioning it as a scientific endeavour.

Horst Bredekamp's concept of "technical image" represents an indispensable tool for making sense of scientific imagery and pointing out the contradictions embedded in theorising pictures of anatomy. His contribution goes back to *Bildwissenschaft*, profusely indebted to Aby Warburg's cultural art history. Experiments and observations are linked to knowledge-production in a manner that does not dismiss the art-historical traditions in the interpretation of images, but expands them through applying the methods of art history upon images from the realm of science. "Technical images" can be found where science, technology and medicine collide, are inextricably bound to the instruments that helped create them, or to the imaging procedures used in their production. By marrying methods from art history, material culture studies and philosophy of science, "the technical turn" emphasises the instruments, tools and apparatuses and hands that corroborated in the creation of "technical images."

By contrast to the argument developed by Daston and Galison in *Objectivity*, which connected the development of scientific images to a deliberate "self-restraint" on the part of the makers of atlas images, the authors of *The Technical Image* emphasise the generative effect that images themselves operate on developments in science. For this to happen, it is however necessary to start from the premise that conscious aims are not determinedly inscribed in scientific workings and that there are limitations to the textual counterparts of the images. In a way, this acts as an invitation to study machines and instruments as main actors in the knowledge-production process and signals also that not every intention set out by the researchers would ultimately lead to the invention of new scientific content. It is more than an interference between "man" and "machine," but rather a call to look at scientific media in a thoroughly new way: beyond deliberate choice, there is a whole universe of discoveries informed by the specificity and uniqueness of each device producing the visual representation. Thus, to look at images of non-artistic context is to treat them art-historically in order to disclose the mechanisms at work for the advancement of knowledge in various fields of science, anatomy included.

By focusing on aspects related to seeing and vision, this research proposes that anatomy is responsible for creating and disseminating systems of imaging, needed to decode the messages of the objectified body of the patient or the laboratory material. The concept of death carries a unique mix of fascination and "edutainment." For anatomists active at the end

of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century at the University in Cluj, it is through examining death from the standpoint of the dissecting table that they investigate the nature of disease and its relationship to the specificity of life. As investigated in the work of Victor Papilian, dissection is envisioned as an intellectual process that fuels the conditions for educating the eye of the future physician in the direction of a medical gaze, often looking inwards at its own mechanisms and purposes. The dissected body on the anatomist's table is also a departure point for his entanglements in the area of medical experimentation, deploying activities performed in laboratories, away from the public gathered in the amphitheatre where anatomy is taught as a normative discipline at the basis of medical education.

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