

Željko Dugac

Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences,  
Division for the History and Philosophy of Science  
Department of Philosophy of Science  
Ante Kovačića 5, Zagreb, Croatia  
E-mail: dugachazu@gmail.com

## PHYSICIANS AS AN EXAMPLE OF TRANSITION OF INTELLECTUAL ELITES THROUGH THE DIFFERENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REGIMES

**Abstract:** In this paper the contributions of four scientists and physicians Miroslav Čačković, Teodor Wickerhauser, Dragutin Mašek and Andrija Štampar who were active in the period between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and socialism in Croatia is observed. This study has been undertaken as an example of the transition of elite's intellectuals who had a certain importance in the political, social and cultural domain, as well as certain sciences and professions. Those elite medical figures, with their education, administrative position and competencies established fields of activity and finally the institutions over which they extended their authority, managed to maintain the continuity of existence through two wars and the transition between three socio-political systems. The research confirmed that the example of prominent doctors and scientists who worked through the three political systems in Croatia can be seen in all the determinants set by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu by observing the craft of scientists, autonomy and access rights, scientific capital and scientific positions within scientific fields.

**Key words:** history of medicine, profession, Medical faculty, Yugoslavia

Non-MeSH: Pierre Bourdieu, Andrija Štampar, Medical faculty in Zagreb, Medical faculty in Vienna, intellectual elites, Miroslav Čačković, Dragutin Mašek, Teodor Wickerhauser, Austro-Hungarian monarchy

### Introduction

In this paper I will try to study contributions of particular scientists and physicians who were active in the period between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and socialism in Croatia.<sup>1</sup> This study will be undertaken as an example of the transition of elite intellectuals who had a certain importance in the political, social and cultural domain, as well as certain sciences and professions. The term intellectual elite as a sociological category not entirely sustainable and culturally controversial concept in this paper will be used only as a metaphor for exponents of something that Pierre Bourdieu, call legitimate science. The constitution of the Zagreb medical school and appointment of cathedra's and professors will be an example for research of the process of building something that represent legitimate science with legitimate representatives, or as I will call intellectual (medical) elites and its continuity through the different social and political environment [1]

As a reference in observing this process, I will use elements from the professional life of four important physicians, scientists and a kind of reformers of medical education and practice. They operated from the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 1950s, i.e. from the time of Croatia's transition from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 3rd October 1929 officially changed its name to Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and further to socialist Yugoslavia after WWII. Their professional life was marked by at least one change in the political and administrative apparatus and in some cases even by two changes.

The mentioned physicians I researched were Teodor Wikerhauser, Miroslav Čačković, Dragutin Mašek and Andrija Štampar. They were doctors who were, on the one hand, contemporaries of significant socio-political changes while, on the other hand, their professional life more or less maintained its continuity. Using, so to speak, their professional and scientific position, they managed to maintain the continuity of their professional activities.

## Materials and methods

As a theoretical framework for observing process of interest for this article, I will methodologically rely on the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical observations whose concepts of scientific fields, autonomy, and symbolic capital best sustained the processes I observed while researching these elite figures. Bourdieu's methodology relating to social groups and the wider scientific field in this paper is used only in the analysis of representatives of a particular profession, which does not want to simplify it but to encourage wider research of the medical profession using this theoretical pattern.

In this article I will use Bourdieu's book *Science of Science and Reflexivity* that most appropriate definite scientific field and its struggles and can be used in observing process of transfers of intellectual elites. [2 p67-100] Except published works conne-

---

1 This research emerged as part of a project funded by the Croatian Science Foundation, No. 5974, *Transition of Croatian Elites form the Habsburg Monarchy to the Yugoslav State*, led by Iskra Iveljić.

cted with the topic I also used some original archive documents from University archives in Vienna and Graz.

### Physicians as an example of transition of intellectual elites

The four physicians I researched Teodor Wikerhauser, Miroslav Čačković, Dragutin Mašek and Andrija Štampar were the professors at the Zagreb school of medicine at the time of the enrolment of the study or during the first decades of the faculty working.

Theodor Wickerhauser (1858–1946) first studied Philosophy faculty in Zagreb and then he moved to Graz. According to archival documents, he moved to Graz at the 5th semester of medical studies. From the documents from the Graz University we can also see that he passed physiology exam in 1880 and anatomy at 1881. Next 1882 he had a surgical exam. [3] He graduated in medicine in Graz on July 14, 1883. [4] From 1890 to 1914 he was the head of the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Zagreb. He ran the Surgery Department as he specialized in abdominal surgery. He also practiced gynecology. He educated a number of young surgeons, for example his student was Miroslav Čačković who later became the first dean of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb. Wickerhauser was one of the founders of the Zagreb Medical Faculty in 1917, where he was a professor. He was also an honorary member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (now the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). [5]

Miroslav Čačković Vrhovinski (1865–1930) studied medicine in Vienna and graduated on 9th February 1895. [6] In Zagreb, he worked at the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity, and from 1914 to 1928 holds a position of the head of the Surgical Department. With the founding of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb in 1917, he became the first dean and professor of surgery. He was the vice-president and president of the Association of Croatian Physicians, President of the Yugoslav Medical Society and editor-in-chief of *Liječnički vjesnik*, the official journal of the Croatian Physicians' Association. Čačković was also extremely engaged in numerous fields of social life and engaged in charitable, educational and artistic work. [7]

Dragutin Mašek (Knight of Bosnadolski) (1866–1956) graduated in medicine in Vienna on July 12, 1890 [8]. After return to Zagreb he also worked in the Surgical Department at the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity. In 1894 he took over the management of the Department of Otorhinolaryngology, Dermatology and Urology. He was also the president of the Association of Croatian Physicians (1913–1919) and the National Health Council (1913–1914). On these positions he advocated the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb. By founding the faculty, he became a professor, and later founded a clinic for Otorhinolaryngology. He organized the temperance movement against the alcohol consumption, exercise promotion, and deaf-mute therapy.[9]

Andrija Štampar (1888–1958) graduated in medicine in Vienna 23. December 1911. [10] In 1919, he became the head of the Department for Racial, Public and Social Hygiene of the Ministry of Public Health of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. He founded a number of public health and social medical institutions, including the School of Public health in Zagreb. He became an extremely respected international

public health expert and throughout the 1930s worked almost all over the world as an expert on the League of Nations Health Organization. He was appointed as a full professor at the Medical Faculty in Zagreb in 1939. After the Second World War, he became the dean of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb, the rector of the University of Zagreb and the president of the then Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). At the same time, from the end of the Second World War until 1948, he was the president of the Interim Commission, which played the role of the World Health Organization at that time. He was one of the most recognized domestic and world experts in public health and social medicine. [11]

### Discussion

As can be seen, all the physicians mentioned were Austrian students, mostly Viennese. After graduating from college, they gradually took important positions in Croatia and shaped the areas of certain specialist professions, as well as university positions. As much as possible, they participated in the formation of a medical study that did not exist in the country until then and in which they took leading positions. Of course, there were certain differences between them and some, such as Andrija Štampar, had somewhat specific situations. Štampar, as the most publically exposed of them, experienced the highest degree of turbulence in his professional life. For example, with the introduction of the dictatorship of King Alexander, Štampar interrupted his professional work in the country and went abroad. In the end, this proved to be a decision that brought him exceptional career progress, since by working abroad he achieved a significant international reputation which, upon his return to Yugoslavia, represented an excellent symbolic capital.

In his book *Science of Science and Reflexivity*, Bourdieu states that the scientific field is characterized by a certain structure, and that it is a field of struggle to preserve or transform that field of forces. Thus, scientists, teams, laboratories, etc., defined by the scope and structure of their capital, determine the field, that is, the state of forces that act on scientific production and on the processes of scientists. The importance of a particular individual within that field depends on the other field protagonists and mutual interrelationships and characteristics.

Bourdieu's observations can be easily recognized in our case as well, since regardless of all social transitional shifts, a field of scientific-medical activity is formed within which actors with greater importance set the characteristics of the field itself. They build systems and specific areas of specialization of medical work, set criteria for education and advancement, and determine the values of a number of parameters within medicine as well as within the whole health system and health education.

Bourdieu further states that the strength of a particular entity in that system, which can provide it with a competitive advantage, is related to the volume and structure of the different types of capital it owns. That scientific capital is a special kind of symbolic capital, capital based on cognition and recognition. A typical example of this is Andrija Štampar, who after the foreign valorization of his work became an absolute authority in his native scientific field and in his homeland. There is also an intellectual

import-export, which significantly affects the formation of a position within the scientific field, as well as in increasing scientific capital.

Bourdieu points out another important determinant of action in the scientific field, and that is that each participant must have two types of capital, namely scientific and administrative. This can be seen especially in our examples since all four mentioned doctors have taken significant positions in their professions by improving certain work techniques or introducing new methods of work, but on the other hand they have also taken important administrative positions as heads of departments, clinics, hospitals, deans, professors, rectors, members or presidents of the academy. [2 p51-100]

In his overview of some of the main trends in the modern intellectual history, Branimir Janković describes intellectuals simply and plausibly as prominent and influential protagonists of political, social, cultural, scientific, educational and religious life. Descending from the field of ideas to a hybrid field of realization and practice, Janković states that intellectual figures were immersed in various challenges and supports of certain political and social systems. [12 p11-77 Physicians were only incorporated into these processes, although often with much less public or political condemnation, as they were needed by all regimes, so modified criteria were set for them almost regularly. Thus, in 1920, Štampar was seen as someone who promoted socialist ideas, in 1930 as a person who was a Croatian nationalist, and in 1950 simply as an internationally recognized doctor and scientist.

In the analysis I conducted, the question of the degree of autonomy of the scientific field, as described by Bourdieu, also arose. Namely, the formation of certain disciplines establishes authority over them and strictly defends the right of access to those who are not competent. The institutionalization of a particular area further strengthens the authority and defends the space. This phenomenon is also observed in our medical scientists who have formed the areas of their work and selected the people who can enter it. For example, Čaković was a student of Wickerhauser and Wickerhauser was a professor at the faculty where he was one of the founders and whose dean was Čačković. This autonomy of the scientific field is so strong that even more intensive changes in the political environment and social order do not call into question the established environments and their autonomy. For example, the change from a capitalist system to a socialist one did not shake up the medical scientific field, so Štampar continued in 1946 where he left off in 1941.

### Conclusion

The medical elites, with their education, administrative position and competencies established fields of activity and finally the institutions over which they extended their authority, managed to maintain the continuity of existence through two wars and the transition between three socio-political systems.

The research confirmed that the example of prominent doctors and scientists who worked through the three political systems in Croatia can be seen in all the deter-

minants set by Pierre Bourdieu by observing the craft of scientists, autonomy and access rights, scientific capital and scientific positions within scientific fields.

At the same time, it is clear that transfers within social systems have not shown significant turbulence for physicians and their scientific and administrative positions. The same is with the continuity in the development of professional and institutional frameworks.

### References:

1. Pećina M, Klarica M, editors. Medicinski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu: 1917.-2017 [The Medical Faculty University of Zagreb]. Zagreb: Medicinski fakultet; 2017.
2. Bourdieu P. Znanost o znanosti i refleksivnost [Science of Science and Reflexivity]. Zagreb : Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Hrvatsko sociološko društvo; 2014.
3. Document: Wickerhauser Theodor, 1882, Universitätsarchiv, Graz.
4. Document: Wickerhauser Theodor, 1883, Universitätsarchiv, Graz.
5. Wickerhauser T. Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje [The Croatian Encyclopedia. Online edition]. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020. Pristupljeno 4. 1. 2021. <<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=66099>>
6. Promotionsprotokoll, 1894-1895, 33.6-33.9. Universitätsarchiv, Wien.
7. Čačković Vrhovinski M. Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje [ The Croatian Encyclopedia. Online edition]. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020. Pristupljeno 4. 1. 2021. <<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=13116>>.
8. Promotionsprotokoll, 1890, M 33,5 - 2924, Universitätsarchiv, Wien.
9. Mašek D. Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje [The Croatian Encyclopedia. Online edition]. ]. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020. Pristupljeno 4. 1. 2021. <<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=39349>>.
10. Promotionsprotokoll 1911, 33.6-33.9. Universitätsarchiv, Wien.
11. Dugac Ž. Andrija Štampar (1888-1958): Resolute Fighter for Health and Social Justice. In: Borowy I, Hardy A, editors. Of Medicine and Men: Biographies and Ideas in European Social Medicine between the World Wars. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang; 2008; p. 73-101
12. Janković B. editor. Dialog s povodom 6, Intelektualna historija. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturalne studije, Poslijediplomski doktorski studij Moderne i suvremene hrvatske povijesti, u europskom i svjetskom kontekstu, FF Press; 2013, 11-77.

*Submitted:* 27/09/2020

*Reviewed:* 08/10/2020

*Accepted:* 19/10/2020