

Educating the Ottoman Physician

Author: Professor Nil Sari
Chief Editor: Lamaan Ball

Release Date: August 2005
Publication ID: 4097

Copyright: © FSTC Limited, 2005

IMPORTANT NOTICE:

All rights, including copyright, in the content of this document are owned or controlled for these purposes by FSTC Limited. In accessing these web pages, you agree that you may only download the content for your own personal non-commercial use. You are not permitted to copy, broadcast, download, store (in any medium), transmit, show or play in public, adapt or change in any way the content of this document for any other purpose whatsoever without the prior written permission of FSTC Limited.

Material may not be copied, reproduced, republished, downloaded, posted, broadcast or transmitted in any way except for your own personal non-commercial home use. Any other use requires the prior written permission of FSTC Limited. You agree not to adapt, alter or create a derivative work from any of the material contained in this document or use it for any other purpose other than for your personal non-commercial use.

FSTC Limited has taken all reasonable care to ensure that pages published in this document and on the MuslimHeritage.com Web Site were accurate at the time of publication or last modification. Web sites are by nature experimental or constantly changing. Hence information published may be for test purposes only, may be out of date, or may be the personal opinion of the author. Readers should always verify information with the appropriate references before relying on it. The views of the authors of this document do not necessarily reflect the views of FSTC Limited.

FSTC Limited takes no responsibility for the consequences of error or for any loss or damage suffered by readers of any of the information published on any pages in this document, and such information does not form any basis of a contract with readers or users of it.

FSTC Limited

9 Conyngham Road, Victoria Park, Manchester, M14 5DX, United Kingdom

Web: <http://www.fstc.co.uk> Email: info@fstc.co.uk

EDUCATING THE OTTOMAN PHYSICIAN

This article was first published in Turkish review *History of Medicine Studies* (Editors, Nil Sari-Husrev Hatemi), Istanbul 1988, pp. 40-64. We are grateful to Nil Sari, author of the article for allowing publication.

Where and how was the Ottoman physician trained? No definite answer has been given to this question yet. In this study, I am going to present a general view of medical education, based on certain documents.

The Ottomans had a special concept of medicine and methods of medical training. Besides the "tabib" whom we can call specialist of internal diseases, there were several other specialists, such as the "jarrah" (surgeon), "kakhâl" (ophthalmologist), "kirik-cikikci" (orthopaedist), "serbetci" (syrup preparator), "attar" (herbalist) etc., all dealing with the public health and trained in different ways.

Schools of Medicine (Madrasas) and Hospitals (Dâr al-Shifas)

The "tabib" held the highest position in the class dealing with health and was usually educated at "madrasa" (University) and "dâr al-shifa" (hospital). But, since the documents studied so far do not give full and satisfactory information, there is a great gap of knowledge about the education that took place at the "madrasa" and "dâr al-shifa". It is certain that in the Ottoman hospitals, as well as in Seljuk hospitals of Kayseri (1205-6) which has a double "madrasa plan" and Sivas, the physician was trained both side theoretically and practically.

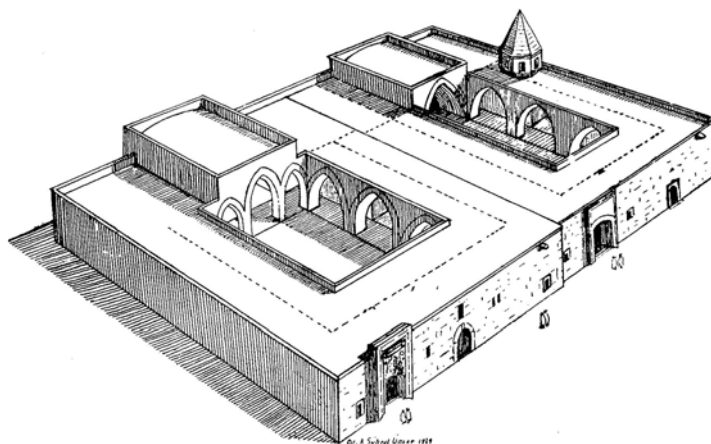


Figure 1. The Gevher Nesibe Sultan Shifahâne

The young man, who entered a trade in order to learn an art or a craft, serving under the supervision of a master or foreman, was called "cirak" or "Shaqird". One who wanted to be a physician was called "tâlib" and the name of the student physician was "Shaqirdi tabib." The "Sakird" attended clinical cases at the hospital and acquired theoretical learning in medical science in the madrasa and by reading medical manuscripts in the library of the "madrasa."

Ottomans carried on the good tradition, building new hospitals, in addition to the old ones of the Seljuks¹. One of these was Bursa Hospital (1399), a part of the Sultan Yildirim complex where physicians were trained at the "dâr al-tib" (school of medicine) and there was a schoolroom in the hospital and a teacher who was a physician (tabib hoca)².

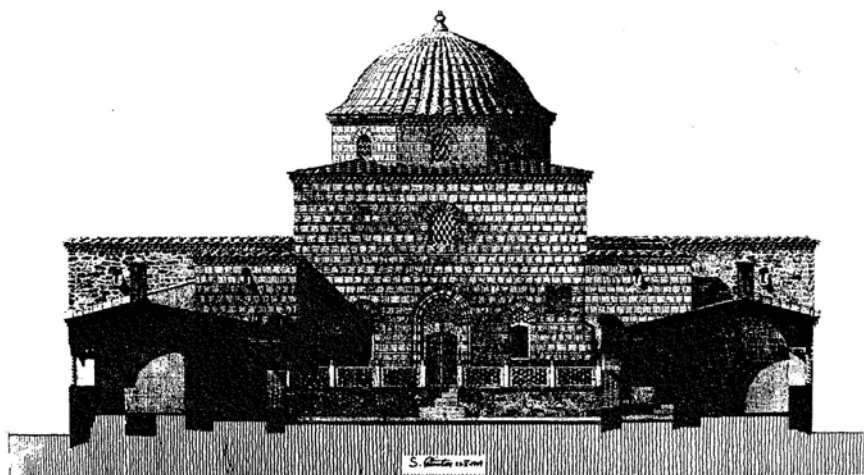


Figure 2. Yildirim Hospital in Bursa

It is also noted that in the Fatih Hospital (1470) in Istanbul, there was a teacher; called "darsiâm" and medical students, called "tabîb shaqirdi"³. In Edirne (Adrianople) at the Bâyezid II Hospital (1484) it is

¹ Neither the original nor a copy of the Waqfiya (trust of deed) of Kayseri Hospital has been found yet. See: (51: p.6). -Also see (8: p. 14): "The importance of the Gevher Nesibe Sultan Sifahâna - (The Kayseri Hospital)- is that it was **the first madrasa in Anatolia**, known to be founded with a "double madrasa" plan. From the existence of a passage between the two buildings, we can conclude that theoretical studies and practical work based on observation in the hospital were carried on together. -Prof. Unver believes that in Kayseri Hospital there was a medical faculty connected to the hospital by an inner gate. -We have the "Waqfiya" of the Sivas Hospital, which consists of only one building. It is not noted, however, that there was a medical faculty there.

² O. S. Uludag, writing about Husnu Efendi, known as the Professor physician (hoca tabib), concluded from the method of teaching in "Bursa Dâr al-Tib (medical school) that the Hospital at Bursa (also called Yildirim Darussifasi) was founded both as a hospital and a medical faculty, (see: 32: pp. 81; 138). -The architect S. Cetintas studied the canonical records of Bursa and in a document dated 1085, the phrase "the scholar who is a student at the faculty of medicine" is recorded. In addition, S. Cetintas writes in detail of the schoolroom of the Bursa Yildirim Hospital and presents several pictures of it. (see. 10: pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10).

³ When the Fatih Madrasa (Dar al-funûn) was first founded (1470) it had three schools: Islamic Divinity School, School of Islamic Law, and School of Arabian Literature; and yet it didn't have any school of positive sciences, such as school of medicine, or mathematics. Feeling the necessity for education in these fields, schools of medicine, mathematics (riyadiyya) and one for teaching prophet's example (Dar al-Hadith) were added to those already existing. See: (37), p. 33. -O. S. Uludag: "A hospital, (Bimarhâne) was also built for the practical observations of the students of medicine who had acquired theoretical medical knowledge at the madrasa (Sahn Madrasa) in the courtyard of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul, (see. 32: p. 142).

-From the record, "a student of medicine (tabîb Shaqirdi) was to be roomed and boarded in the two rooms called "Balahâne", as a student (Danishmend), Prof. Unver concludes that medical students were educated at the Fatih Hospital. (See. 43; pp. 39-45). (see again (47).

-Evliya Celebi, the famous traveller of the seventeenth century, also writes that, a "dersiâmin hakimbasisi" - chief physician who was also a professor -was employed in Fatih Madrasa, (see. 15: c. 3, pp. 467-468).

-An outstanding Persian physician, named Kutb al-Din Ahmed, was appointed as a professor - hoca -to the Fatih Madrasa. (See: 39, p. 6; Quoted from: *Hammer Tarihi*, Cilt 3, p. 216). See also: (16: pp. 248-251), (39: pp. 6, 8); (44: p. 17); (28: pp. 831-840); (24: pp. 229-234).

noted that there was a medical school, called "madrasa-i atibba"⁴. As a continuation of the Islamic tradition, just as it was in Seljukian period, during the Ottoman period also, theoretical and practical medical sciences were taught in the hospitals. Until the mid nineteenth century, physicians were trained at hospitals that served as medical schools, too.⁵

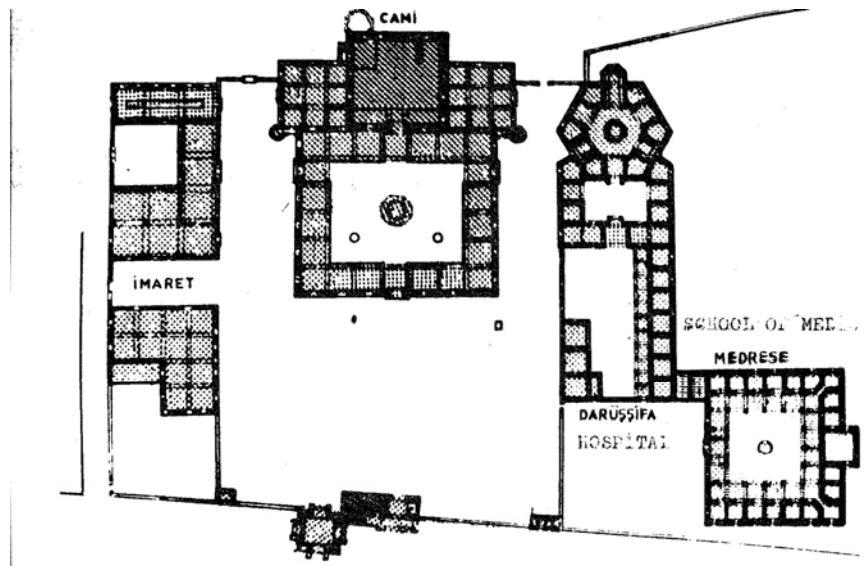


Figure 3. Site plan of Bayezid II Complex in Edirne

A separate medical school was founded at the "Suleymaniye Complex" (1556-7), where medicine was taught as an independent field of study⁶. The medical students had their courses in applied medicine at the

⁴ Dr. Rifat Osman says that: "The school of medicine (madrasa-i tibbiyye) at Bâyezid II. Complex in Adrianople was a separate schoolhouse, consisting of a classroom, rooms of the professor and students build around a garden, similar to other madrasas. (see. 23: p. 30). -Evliya Celebi says: "There is a hospital in the garden on the right of the large outer court of the Bâyezid Han mosque. Besides this there is a medical school (madrasa-i atibba) and students in its rooms; expert and experienced doctors, always studying and arguing about Plato, Socrates, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Physagoras; As it is said in a Hadith, there are two kinds of learning, one is the science of religion and the other is the science of the body. The science of the body precedes the science of religion. Following this Hadith, students study notable books on medicine and try to provide drugs for human beings and heal them. (see. 15: Vol. 3, p. 468).

-In a paragraph of the "Waqfiya" of Adrianople Hospital, referring to the disciplinary punishment of the personnel it is stated that: "If the professor does not attend classes without a true excuse; his wages being taken without any service, will be an undeserved gain, so it will do him no good." Thus, the teacher is morally punished, (see. 18: p. 35). -Evliya Celebi writes that theoretical lessons were given two days a week at "Hafsa Sultan Hospital" (Bimarhâne; 946/1539) in Manisa. (see. 15: Vol. 13: p. 74).

⁵ See: 25 and 26.

⁶ O. S. Uludag says: Having acquired learning in religion and language arts etc. in the "hâric and dâhil madrasas - (degrees in the hierarchy of schools of canonical law; hâric madrasa - the primary school of the madrasa)- the student (Shaqird) who wanted to study positive sciences such as medicine, natural science (tabiiyat) and mathematics (riyadiyat), should attend the Suleymaniye "tatimma" (a school preparing for higher madrasa education). In addition, it is noted that the graduates received a diploma and that the medical student had practical experience in medicine in the hospital (Dâr al-Shifa) nearby the madrasa. (See. 32: pp. 101-102, 107). -Prof. Uzuncarsili describes the site of the medical school; the formalities for appointing the professor (mudarris) and his relation to the office of the head physician: "South-west of Suleymaniye Mosque, a medical school, and a pharmacy, in the western part of the "imaret" -free kitchen- a "tabhâne" (almshouse) -and

hospital near the "madrasa". Suleymaniye medical school is described in the "Waqfiya," as "a supreme and honourable school built for the science of medicine..."

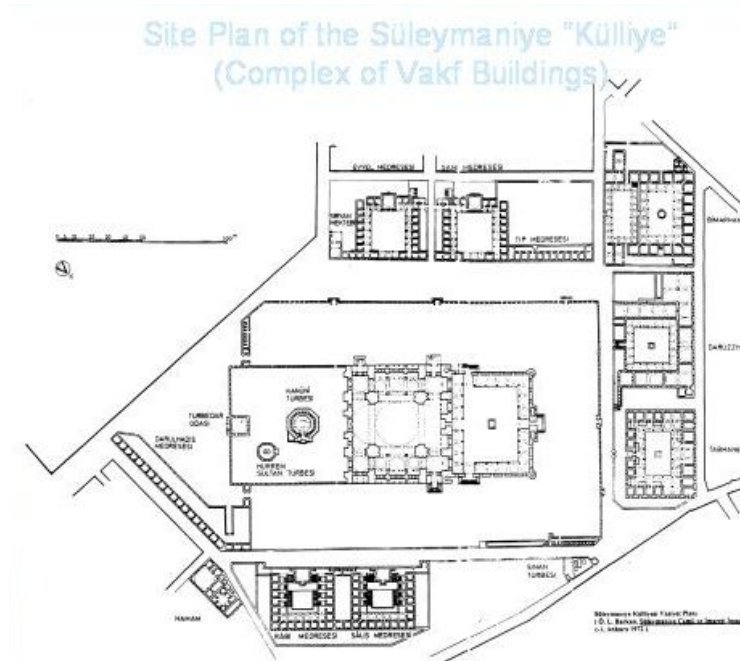


Figure 4. The site plan of the school of medicine in the Suleymaniye Complex.

The staff consisted of a "mudarris" (professor) with a payment of 20 akcas per day and eight "danismends" (students) who were paid two akcas per day." Danishmends were the students of the medical school who had completed the madrasa education.⁷

In the "Waqfiya" (trust of deed) of the Suleymaniye foundation, the following are stated about the qualifications and duties of the professor (mudarris) of the medical school: "In this beautiful school of medicine the one who is known as virtuous, considerate, praised with strength of intuition and keenness of senses; endowed with common sense, high intelligence and healthy sense organs; the one who is informed of all the subtleties of logic and medicine; the Plato and Aristotle of his day; distinguished amongst the physicians endowed with the gift of the healing power of the breath of Jesus; the one who surpasses all those of the rank of Galen is the professor (mudarris). He is expected to work assiduously to teach medical students the principles drawn from the heritage of the old masters of medicine; to try hard to teach the right principles which are important for restoring health; to attend classes regularly; to be helpful in every other respect and for all these services he shall be paid 20 "akcas" a day.

a hospital were built. The post of the university professorship here was allocated to the physician named Isa Oglu Ahmed of Izmit, with a salary of 60 akcas and his rank was regarded a step below that of palace chief physician and this position of madrasa professorship was decided to be awarded to those specialized enough in his profession to be a candidate for the position of the "chief physician" (hekimbasi). At present, we do not have any information about the text books used at the medical schools. See: 37; pp. 33-35, p. 38. In libraries today there are manuscripts written in different centuries. These manuscripts were probably used as texts for instruction.

⁷ See: 14 (1939 , Vol. 1), pp. 125-126.

The eight applicants "tâlîbs" who chosen to be physicians are called "danishmends" and they are expected to be eager to learn the factors of health; be true believers, known as well behaving persons. If they studied medicine properly, putting forth all their effort, they will receive two akcas per day in return. Obviously, the student received a kind of scholarship.

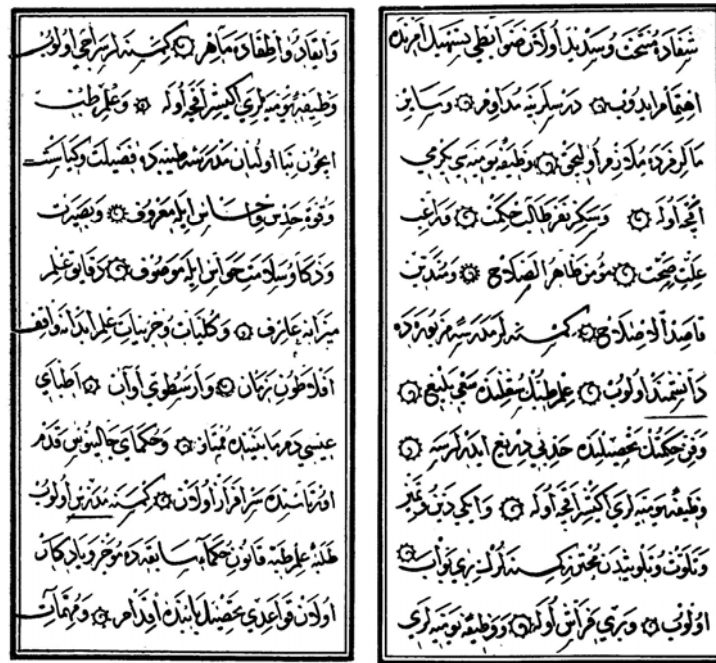


Figure 5. The paragraph referring to the beautiful school of medicine (madrasa-i tayyiba) and the instructor (mudarris) in Suleymaniye trust of deed.

As we learn from the "Waqfiye" of Suleymaniye, there was a supervisor called "nuktaci," at the medical school, who saw that the instruction was carried on regularly. The qualifications and the duties expected from the "nuktaci" were:

"To be a true believer, an honest man; strict and intolerant to those neglecting their duties; to be, free from wordy ambitions; brave in case of need. The 'nuktaci' is responsible for supervising the regular attendance of the professor (mudarris), assistants (muid), and students to the classes and for observing their duties, as well. He was to report to the trustee those who neglected their duties without any proper or important reason, on which the trustee was to withhold their daily payment. The nuktaci's daily wages was three akcas."

In the madrasas, a "muid" also was employed. The "muid" repeated the lesson given by the mudarris, heard the students reciting their lessons and in the mean time supervised the behaviour of the students. It is interesting that the "muïds" were selected from the most talented and skilful students. This must have motivated the students. "Muïds" were occasionally appointed to hospitals (Dâr al-shifa) or as palace physicians.⁸

⁸ See (45) in bibliography for the documents about the appointment of "muïds". The following is a description of "Shaqird,"

Graduation from classical madrasa was required in order to be qualified for enrolment to the medical school to specialize. The physician who had already studied Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), divinity, philosophy, and literature had by then learned Arabic and Persian as well. Physicians educated at hospital were always required to have "madrasa" education as well as medical learning.

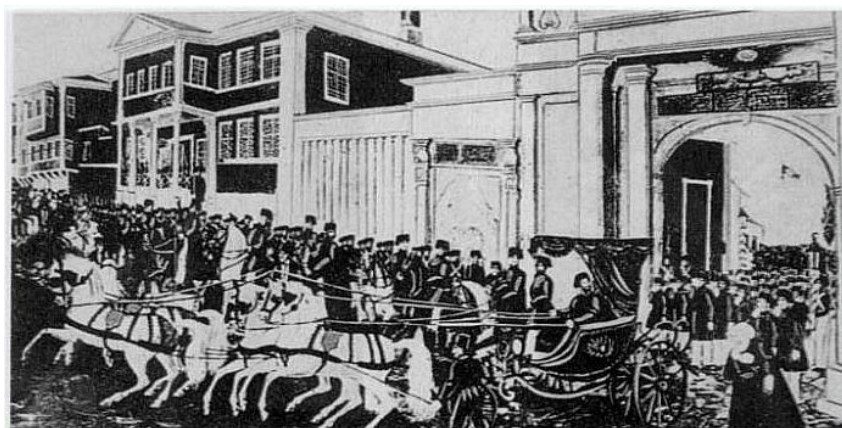


Figure 6. Ceremonial initiation of the Medical School reopened and renamed as Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Adliye-i Shâhâne (Royal School of Medicine), by Sultan Mahmûd II.

In addition to learning Islamic divinity, they were expected to acquire knowledge of all sciences. Having received a certificate according to the textbooks he had studied in the class, he continued in the class of another professor (mudarris). And when he had received the last certificate he became a "mudarris", or a "qâdi" (qâdi-judge of the Islamic canon; governor of a district) As a result many physicians could chose to work in various fields, as a "mudarris", a "qâdi", an "imam" and "kazasker"-(Chief military judge)-⁹.

"Danishmend" and "muid" by M. Z. Pakalin in his dictionary, titled *Osmanlı Tarih Terimleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü*. Shaqird: It is a term used as an equivalent for a prospective civil servant in government offices. Students and apprentices working with a craftsman were called Shaqird, too. (See. p. 305). Danishmend: A term used for those educated at madrasa. The danismends who had taken a required examination successfully were called "mulazim". Muîd: Tutor at the madrasa and those in the status of assistant professorship (p. 573). Also see (37: p. 8).

⁹ The following are some of the famous physicians who had had both a madrasa and a medical education: Ahmadi (1330-1413) had studied Islamic sciences and positive sciences such as pharmacy, astronomy, physics and mathematics, as well as medicine. Hajji Pasa of Konya (d. 1424) who was the chief physician at he Mansuriye-Kalavun Hospital, had been educated at a "madrasa" in Egypt. He was a profound scholar in religious sciences and he came to be interested in medicine only later because of an illness. Saban Shifai of Ayas (d. 1705), Nuh b. Abdulmannan (1628-1707), Ali Munsî of Bursa (d. 1733), head-physician Hasan Efendi (d. 1734), Abbâs Vesîm Efendi (d. 1759), Shanizâde Mehmed Atâullah Efendi (1771-1826). See: 27 (1970): pp. 287, 284-285, 299, 301-304, 307-308). We can also mention the following physicians who studied medicine after having had classical education in madrasa and who were employed as "qâdi", "imam" and even "kazasker": Hajji Pasa (d. 1424) was appointed as "qâdi"; head-physician Sâlih b. Nasrullah (d. 1669) as "qâdi" of Istanbul and "Kazasker" of Istanbul and "Kazasker" of Anatolia; Saban Shifai (d. 1705) as "mudarris" and "qâdi"; Katipzâde (d. 1769) as "imam". (See. 27: pp. 287, 284-285, 299, 301-304, 307-308). I believe a short outline of the education in madrasa would help the reader to understand the education in these institutions of higher education. The following paragraphs are quoted from Prof. Uzuncarsili: "İjzatznâme" is a degree or a diploma that qualified a graduate to be an instructor in a madrasa. The progress in madrasa education was based on the individual course of study with a certain professor. The madrasa student who studied a certain textbook with a professor of a certain rank was awarded a certificate, which qualified him to attend another subject and another textbook with another professor with a higher rank. Progressing in this way, he completed all the courses with professors of different ranks and was awarded the final certificate and a degree of diploma that qualified him to be appointed as an instructor or "qâdi." (See: 37: p. 75). In the course of time, some students were seen to omit the course of some professors and attend to others of the higher course, aiming to graduate in the

The Ottoman scholars used to attend the madrasas in Syria, Egypt, and Iran¹⁰. For instance the physician Hajji Pasa (1424) obeying the fashion of the day, studied at a madrasa in Egypt and later on he got interested in medicine and becoming a physician he was promoted in time to be the head-physician of Kalavun Hospital¹¹.

There was a close relation between the medical service in the palace and hospitals. Just as the physicians of Suleymaniye were appointed as palace physicians, there were also palace physicians who were transferred to a hospital¹². And even there were physicians working as palace physicians, who at the same time, served at Fatih and Suleymaniye Hospitals¹³.



Figure 7. Chief physician. Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

The chief physician (Hekimbasi) was not only in charge of the health affairs of the state, but was, also, closely interested in medical education. From a document in Topkapı Palace archive, (E. 668; 16th century),

shortest time they could, and become instructors. In order to improve the system, decrees (fermân) were issued, to the effect that those who didn't study properly should be dropped from school and the professors who permitted these students to attend his courses were to be dismissed. (See: 2: pp. 50-51); (1: pp. 97-100); (37: pp. 67, 241-260). In case of several applications for a single position available as a mudarris, a competitive examination was given. In this examination the candidate instructors was asked to talk and write an essay. Questions were arranged so as to meet the standards of madrasa education. The essays were read and evaluated by a committee and the winner was appointed (see 37: p. 63). There were about 120 "madrasas," 89 "Dâr al-Shifas" and 9000 students in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in the Ottoman territory. (See: 37, p: 98).

¹⁰ See. 37: p. 227.

¹¹ See 27: pp. 284-285.

¹² See 40.

¹³ See 27: pp. 301-303.

referring to the appointment of the head-physician we learn that he was to be elected of the professors (mudarris) of the highest rank.¹⁴

In another document in Topkapi Palace Archive, we find a list of the books to be used by the head-physician. In a record at the back of this document, it's noted that these books were given to the head physician Molla Kasim in 1575 who on his retirement, delivered them over to Isa Celebi, who replaced him, in 1580. We can conclude from these documents that head physicians were closely interested in medical education.



Figure 8. The list given from the inner treasure to the chief physician for instruction.

The list mentioned above may provide a clue for the curriculum of medical education. This list includes 66 books in Arabic¹⁵. Eighteen of these books consist of Avicenna's *Canon* and its commentaries, one of which is *Mu'jaz*, an abridged version of Canon by Ibn-i Nefis (d. 1288), composed for practical use. Some notable books in the list are, *Mufradât* of Ibn al-Baytar (d. 1248), *Mansûri* and *Kitâb al-Hâwî* of Râzî (Rhazes; d. 925); *Fusûl* of Hippocrates, that is the commentary of his book, on "seasons"; *Shifa' al-Askâm* (1381) of

¹⁴ The head-physicians were elected of those qualified as scholars, as well as medical doctors, in accordance with an article of law referring to the appointment of the head-physicians, until the year 1836. (See: (36: p. 367). Also see: (32: p. 201).

¹⁵ Although the books studied in medical schools were in Arabic, as we noted, medical books were begun to be translated into Turkish in increasing numbers, from the fourteenth century on. Moreover, we know that many books of medicine were written and compiled in Turkish. For instance, Sabuncuoğlu Serefeddin wrote his famous book of surgery in Turkish, so that Turkish-speaking people could read and understand it. We note that the medical terminology in the text was well established, (see 19 for extensive knowledge and linguistic characteristics of the age). The language of instruction in madrasa is believed to be Arabic; though there are some writers who presume that it was Turkish. Practical bedside instruction was certainly Turkish.

Hajji Pasa (d. 1413-17); *Kitâb al-tasrîf* of Zahrâvî (d. 1013). Also a book of astronomy (hay'a); *Hayât al-hayavân* (zoology) of Demîrî (1344-1405); *Âdâb al-tabîb* (medical ethics) believed to be written by Rahâvî (9th century); a book of ophthalmology; a book on diet and three books on anatomy.

Surgeons, Ophthalmologists and the "Royal Craftsmen's Organization (Hâssa Ehl-i Hiref Teskilati)

The organization of artisans in the palace was an important institute of education. Surgeons and ophthalmologists were educated at hospitals or learned medicine at a shop, working as an apprentice with a master. There were also families that carried on the medical profession as a family tradition, the younger learning it from their elders in the family hearth.

There was, however, an organization in the palace too, which trained surgeons and ophthalmologists, who were regarded as craftsmen. The organisation of artisans in the palace was also an important institute of education. This organization named "hâssa ehl-i hiref" selected and educated those talented to become ophthalmologists or surgeons. Names of the surgeons and ophthalmologists, masters, apprentices and other personnel who were connected to the craftsmen's organisation and payments made to them are recorded in the registers of the craftsmen's organization found in Topkapi Palace archive. In addition, in some of these registers, concise information about the said surgeons and ophthalmologists is inserted. The payment registers of the organization (Topkapi Palace Archive, No. D. 9706) dated 1525 is the oldest document with additional information of this kind; I have so far seen¹⁶. In this document, under the title of "members of surgery" 45 and under the title "apprentices of surgery" five names are mentioned. But in the year 1596 we see that the number of the members of surgery was increased to be 79 and apprentices to 33.

The following passages from the article titled "Documents on the history of Ottoman medicine" by Rifki Melul Meric, who made an extensive study of this organization that is very important for our subject, are found interesting enough to be quoted:¹⁷

"Surgeons and ophthalmologists were guilds of the craftsmen's organization of the palace school. These "royal surgeons" and "royal ophthalmologists" were also employed by the "Yeniceri" (Janissary) organization during peace, as well as, in war. Their guilds were consisted of masters and students.

¹⁶ See 21. The register recorded at number D. 9706 in Topkapi palace archive at present is same as the one at number D. 9613, which was published by Rifki Melul Meric There is a list of surgeons and their apprentices, between the sheet number 23 b-25 a. For more extensive knowledge about the list of members of surgeons and ophthalmologists before and after the year 932 (H) and the royal craftsmen's organization see 21. Also see: (29: p.3); (36: pp. 316, 364, 430, 462-464). -The head-physician, surgeons and ophthalmologists were palace officials in the rank of scholars, employed in "Bîrûn", that is the outer palace department. See: (36: p. 358). -Surgeons for the army service were selected from the craftsmen called "erbab-i hiref" and they were directed by a qualified chief-surgeon who had a degree. See: (35: pp. 405-406). -Also see: (46: p.3) - The practice of surgery, especially outside the palace might have been traditionally left from father to son, as a kind of hearth. For, some documents record that the father was replaced by the son, on his death. Some physicians used to keep secret what ever they knew of the methods of diagnosis and treatment. Usually this secret information was transferred to the son by the father and was a private possession of the "family." The same may be said of the other occupations. See 46: p. 4.

¹⁷ See 21 (No. 1/16): pp. 37-113.

Those inaugurated or oriented to become surgeons or ophthalmologists in the craftsmen's society and those of the "Pencik"¹⁸ and "devsirme oğlanları" (boys recruited for the janissary corps) who were talented were appointed to the vacancies or to the apprenticeships created to meet the requirement; and they received the same payment made to them before the appointment. The wages of those who proved efficient used to be raised. These additional payments were usually made when the wages of the late masters and students of the craftsmen's organization was distributed amongst those qualified or was awarded as a privilege. On proving their efficiency, students were promoted to the membership of masters. The vacancies and positions newly created to meet the necessities were filled by those who deserved on the submission of the royal treasurer.¹⁹ In addition to the royal treasurer's submission, the reference note of the "Ra'is al-kuttab"²⁰ was to be taken into consideration as well. The members of the craftsmen's organization were subordinate to the treasurer. Their salaries were paid by the minister of finance (Sikk-i evvel defterdari; basdefterdar).

The craftsmen's organization being palace servants, they were also connected with the royal army, "kapikulu"²¹. They were from time to time appointed to the army services and served there.

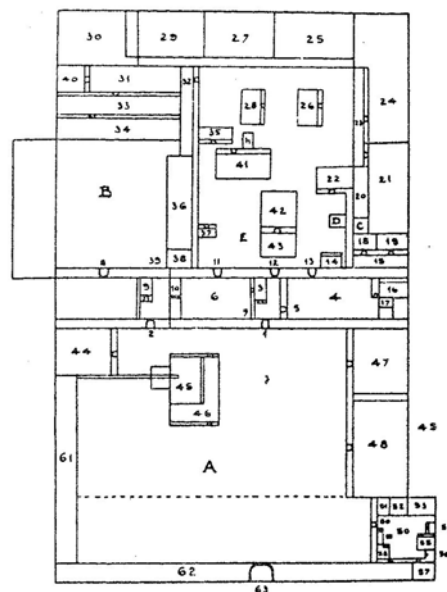


Figure 9. The plan of Topkapi palace before 1665, as drawn by Albert Bobovi.

Those who proved to be failures in learning or performing the craft or those who were more talented in another art or trade were transferred to the organizations of those occupations in which they were talented, on the note of the head of the palace private treasury (Ser hazîn-i enderûnî).

¹⁸ One fifth of the Christian prisoners of war was chosen for military service and called "pencik" lads.

¹⁹ Enderûn-i Humâyûn Hazînedârbaşisi: The one who is in charge of the Sultan's Treasury in the inner palace.

²⁰ Ra'is al-kuttab: The head of the Sultan's council's secretariat, until the seventeenth century. It is equivalent to today's foreign minister.

²¹ Kapikulu: an organization formed of foot soldiers and cavalymen of the regular army paid by the government.

Surgeons and ophthalmologists were considered as a separate community amongst the craftsmen's organization. After having completed their propaedeutic courses (Mukaddemât-i ulûm), which they had started while a member of the Palace School Organization (Enderûn-i Humâyûn Muteferrika Cemaati), they were trained in practical education and applied courses, for the duties they were going to undertake in the inner (Enderûn) and the outer palace (Birûn) during war and peace. They used to note down what they learned from their masters and they referred to their notebooks whenever necessary. Specialized surgeons and ophthalmologists improved their knowledge by experience as well as reading books concerning their profession. The rank of the royal chief surgeon was usually conferred to the most able²²."

Those Trained as Apprentices become skilled Physicians

There was another form of education besides the madrasa, the hospital, and the palace. It was also possible to be trained by a qualified physician in his office or in a special class by the master-apprentice method and get a certificate for practicing medicine. In this case, what was the relation between the craftsmen's guild (ahî teskilati) and the physicians, surgeons and ophthalmologists who practiced independently? Not much research has been made in this respect²³.



Figure 10. Infirmary in Topkapi Palace and ambulance cart in the lower right corner.

Many experienced physicians trained students in private courses, even in their private classrooms. Especially in the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, with the deterioration of the

²² See 21 (No. 1/16): pp. 34-36.

²³ See 6: pp. 66-67.

"madrasas" and the appearance of the ignorant ones amongst real scholars led to the increase of the practice of private education outside hospitals²⁴.

There were some famous physicians amongst those educated through the master apprentice method outside the hospitals. Nida'i, the writer of a very popular medical book titled *Menāfi' al-nās* (Treatise on common welfare, 1566), describes his medical education and his receiving an "ijāzat" (diploma) in the following way:

"I, your humble servant, came across a venerable man over a hundred years of age, who taught me this science of medicine, handed over to me all these experimented drugs and gave me a diploma. Later that venerable old man past away. God bless his soul."

While teaching, if I was neglectful, he would say: 'O man, don't linger, go on writing, because I was sent here for you. He taught me this science rigorously. May God bless his soul'²⁵.

Siyahî Lârendevî, also, notes in his medical manuscript dated 1615, that he was educated by an Egyptian master and received an "ijāzat" from him:

"I lived in Egypt for many years, learning medicine there... There was an excellent master living in Egypt, who originally was from Baghdad. He was one of the highest rank of the Muslim saints and was called Molla Muhammad."

He found me, this humble servant, naturally gifted and wished to teach me this science. He was so kind as to initiate me, apprenticing me as a trained man. Having trained and instructed me, he awarded an ijāzat. And I, also, did my best."²⁶

In the seventeenth century when the number of physicians and surgeons at the palace was about 40-45, Evliya Celebi writes that the number of physicians practicing medicine outside the palace was 1000 and that of the members of the profession of surgery was 700. From this we conclude there were personal offices of great number and the master-apprentice method of training was a common practice²⁷.

Another important item from the point of the history of medical education is that decrees were issued from time to time as a result of the appearance of quacks requiring physicians, surgeons, ophthalmologists and herbalists to be examined and those found efficient were to be given a certificate, but the failures were forbidden to practice. It was decreed that those who practiced therapy were to be examined in their field by the head-physician of the day and those who were successful given a certificate, sealed by the head-physician, enabling them to practice and those who had not studied medical science with a great master and the ignorant who practiced medicine without learning the medical art from skilful physicians were forbidden from practice and punished. We see that in this way those ignorant of medical knowledge and

²⁴ Famous physicians such as Bursalı Ali Efendi (d. 1733), Omer Sifai (d. 1742), Abbās Vesim (d. 1759), and Gevrekzâde Hasan Efendi (d. 1801) were said to have private classes and favoured training by master-apprentice method. See: (32): pp. 147-149; No. 1 (16): p. 32.

²⁵ Nida'i: *Menāfi' al-nās*. Cerrahpasa History of Medicine Library. No. 84, chapter 60, pp. 260-261.

²⁶ Siyahî Lârendevî: *Mecmuâ-i Tibb-i Siyâhî*. Cerrahpasa Library of the History of Medicine. No. 478, leaf: 2.

²⁷ See 15: Vol. I. pp. 530-533. Also see 32: p. 147: Special classes were organized and students were educated.

practice, which started an office as a favour on request and beseech were checked and prevented from practice²⁸.

The decrees prove that the existing medical education failed to meet the needs and the head physician was closely interested in the problem. The decrees declared repeatedly in the course of years showed that this problem could not be solved. Consequently, some new attempts were made.

On Founding of the New Schools of Medicine

Attempts towards a new type of medical education on European lines, alongside with traditional medical education began in early nineteenth century. We have documents referring to the founding of two different medical schools in 1805-1806.



Figure 11. Certificate noting protection of the non-Muslim subjects, views on Medical education and the appointment of Dimitrashko for founding a medical school (1850)

Of these two documents the one belonging to the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1907) and dated 1805, is in the prime ministry archive, recorded at No. 304, Cevdet classification dealing in health. The problem, of medical education is dealt with in this document, following the advice on the protection of Greek and Armenian paupers and restoration of their hospitals. The text concisely is as follows:

First of all, able physicians are needed for organizing hospitals. Although physicians educated in famous schools come to our country, they have been found to make mistakes in various respects, because of different temperaments, change of climate, and their different background in a foreign country and

²⁸ See (2: p. 89); (5: pp. 62-64); (3: pp. 37, 106-107, 214-215; Also see: pp. 28-30. The names of the physicians and surgeons who had taken the examinations successfully and were given certificates enabling them to practice are recorded (1699) Also see: (4: pp. 8-9); (36: p. 364).

consequently it is believed that medical science should be learned and practiced locally. Therefore, it is noted that hospitals and schools, for training physicians should be established everywhere and increase the number of the qualified men, so that Moslem soldiers, and everybody could be served and benefited. The existing medical madrasas being recorded to be inefficient in comparison with European hospitals and in surgery and anatomy, it is noted that the Greek people have been allowed to organize a medical school and Dimitrasko Meroz, one of the leading figures of the Greek people, has been appointed to head it. We don't know whether this school started education or not. Even though the school might have been started, Dimitrasko having been proved to be a traitor in 1812, the school is supposed to have been closed²⁹. This document is noteworthy with respect to the privileges allowed to the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, as well as with the views set forth about medical education.



Figure 12. Document about the opening of a medical school (tabibhâne) and hospital at the state arsenal (Tersâne-i Âmiri). Prime Ministry Archive; Cevdet-Sihhiye, nr. 1575.

From the other document dated 9 January 1806, which is in prime ministry archive, registered at number 1575, Cevdet classification dealing in subjects on health, we learn that a medical school was opened near the wooden hospital (Ispitalya), which used to stand at the site of the naval hospital today³⁰. In fact there

²⁹ See (34) and (13), (14).

³⁰ See (17), (33), (34): We don't know whether the fact that the opening of the medical school of the state Dockyard, shortly followed the assignment of the medical school to the Greeks bore a special significance. We know that the medical school of the state dockyard was active in 1807, though our knowledge of the following years is incomplete.

were students in the hospital before this date, yet students were educated in the hospital, not in a separate school of medicine.³¹ The text of the document, dated 9 January 1806 is as follows:

Before this, an edict being issued to the effect that a medical school was to be opened in the state arsenal (Tersâne-i Âmire) so as the science of medicine should be taught and the art of medicine spread in the Ottoman domain, two buildings, a school of medicine (tibhâne) and a hospital (Ispitalya), were suggested to be built and a chief-physician and a chief-surgeon, with a monthly half purse of "akcas" and ten physicians and ten surgeons with a salary of forty piasters were appointed as their suit. Because of some flaws in practice and difficulty of supervision, however, it was directed that another chief-physician and another chief-surgeon were to be appointed and two experienced aids (ustad yamak), that is assistants were to be assigned and enough salary allowed to them and a private room in the state dockyard was to be given and when the navy sailed out, a physician and a surgeon were to be accompanied and material and equipment needed for the practice of their profession should be bought and kept ready in the storeroom. Too much money was being wasted before, measures were advised to be taken to regulate the selection of physicians and surgeons and to prevent the appointments of the unskilled and unqualified through request and favour and provide for rightful appointments of the citizens of the Ottoman State. In the meantime, the chief physician named Masaroki and the chief surgeon named Arbili were dismissed.³²

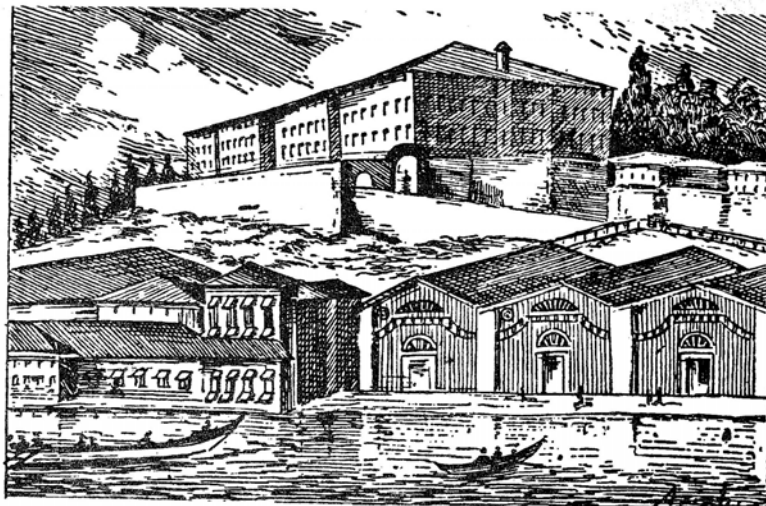


Figure 13. The admiral's mansion that was built at the site of the Naval Hospital standing there today, where the State arsenal hospital and medical school was founded.

With a regulation dated 5 January 1807, "the sciences of medicine and surgery, and other problems" were completely brought under discipline and very important articles about the education of medicine and surgery were devised. We don't know anything about the state of the medical school of the state dockyard in the later years. Yet, we think that it came to be impossible to operate as a result of 1808 political disturbances and it is known that it was burned down in Kasimpasa fire in 1822.³³

³¹ See (17).

³² See (17) and (34).

³³ See (17).

The opening of the school of medicine (tibhane) and surgery (cerrahhane) in 14 March 1827, is regarded as the beginning of today's medical faculties³⁴. This assumption is based on the fact that the medical education at the madrasa and hospital, as it were, was no longer in favour and a medical education on the European lines was started in this new school. However, the medical madrasa at Suleymaniye complex also continued. We don't know, for certain, how long the education at Suleymaniye was continued. However, the existence of a document noting that Sakip Efendi gave courses there during the years of 1852-53, proves that Suleymaniye was still active then.³⁵

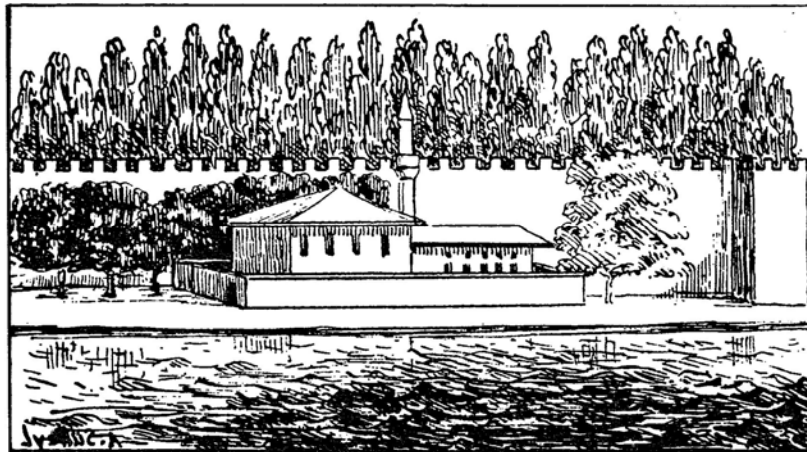


Figure 14. The building next to the small mosque, which is pointed to as the "infirmary" on shores of Topkapi Palace grounds.

It was possible to practice medicine for many years later without being graduated from the new school of medicine. As we learn from a document dated 1840, the school of medicine (mekteb-i tibbiyye) used to give an examination to physicians and surgeons who hadn't got a diploma and those found inefficient were prohibited from practice. Cupping, administration of an enema, applying leeches, although considered as the practice of the profession on the lowest level, was still continued.³⁶

More extensive researches need to be made in the Ottoman history of medicine and the conclusions to be arrived at are sure to shed light on our problems today and enable us to understand them better. This will be possible, by the classification, study, and publication of all the documents and manuscripts relating to the field that exist in archives and libraries.

³⁴ Sultan Mahmud II founded the school of medicine (tibhâne) and surgery (cerrahhâne) at Sehzadebasi in 1827). He made his famous speech in the opening of the medical school that was moved to Galatasaray in 1839. This occasion was believed to be the beginning of a real progress in the development of medical education. See for more information: 13, 38, 41, 49, 12, 14.

³⁵ See 45: p. 204.

³⁶ See Prime Minister Archive, Cevdet classification dealing with health. No. 263.



Figure 15. A physician's office in the seventeenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akdeniz Sari, Nil: "Osmanlılarda Tiphânenin Kuruluşuna Kadar Tıp Eğitimi". *Türk Dünyası Arastirmalari*, No.22. 1983. p. 152-182.
- Adivar, Adnan: *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, İstanbul 1943.
- Ahmet Refik: *Onuncu Asr-i Hicri'de İstanbul Hayati*, İstanbul 1333.
- Ahmet Refik: *Hicri On ikinci Asirda İstanbul Hayati*, Devlet Matbaasi, İstanbul 1930.
- Ahmet Refik: *Hicri On birinci Asirda İstanbul Hayati*, Devlet Matbaasi, İstanbul 1931.
- Ahmet Refik: *On Altinci Asirda İstanbul Hayati*, Devlet Matbaasi, İstanbul 1935.
- Akdeniz, S. Nil: *Osmanlılarda Hekim ve Deontolojisi*, İstanbul 1979.
- Barkan, L. O.: *Suleymaniye Cami ve Imareti Insaati (1550-1557)*. v. I. Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ank. 1972.
- Cantay, G. Gonul: "Türklerde ve Türkiye'de Tıp Eğitimi Tarihi" *İstanbul Tıp Kurultayı 25-30 Eylül 1977*, İstanbul Tıp Fak. Yay.
- Cevdet, Muallim: "Sivas Darussifasi Vakfiyesi ve Tercumesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Sayı: I, s.35-38, Ank. 1938.
- Cetintas,, Sedat: *Bursa Darussifasi*, İstanbul Tıp Fak. Tıp Tarihi Enst. Yay. No. 46, İstanbul 1952.
- Daglioglu, T. Hikmet: "Tababet Tarihimize Ait Vesikalar", *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arsivi*, v. 4, No: 13, 1939.

- Erel, Muhiddin: "120 Yıllık Tıbbiyemizin Tarihine Bir Bakış." İstanbul Uni. Tıp Tarihi Enst. Yay. No: 13, 1947.
- Ergin, Osman: *İstanbul Tıp Mektepleri, Enstitüleri ve Cemiyetleri*. İstanbul Univ. Tıp Tarihi Enst. Yay. No: 17, 1940.
- Ergin, Osman: *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul 1977.
- Evliya Celebi: *Seyahatname*. C. I, s. 321.; C. 3, s. 468. Dersaadet İkdâm Matbaası (1898); Mtc. Danisman, Zihni: C. 13, s.74, İstanbul 1971.
- *Fatih Mehmet II. Vakfiyeleri*. Vakıflar Umum Mud. Türk Vakfiyeleri No: I, s. 248-251, Ank. 1938.
- Gencer, A. İhsan: "İstanbul Tersanesinde Acılan İlk Tıp Mektebi, *Tıp Fak. Mec.* 41: s. 732-747. 1978.
- Kazancıgil, Ratip: *1362-1920 Yılları Arasında Edirne İlindeki Sağlık Kurumları ve Bu Kurumlarda Çalışan Personel*. İstanbul 1981.
- Kilicoglu, Vecihe: *Cerrahiye-i İlhaniye*, Ank. Univ. Dil ve Tarih Cog. Fak. Yay. No: 97, Ank. 1956.
- Kurkcuglu, K. Edib: *Suleymaniye Vakfiyesi*. Vakıflar Umum Mud. Nesr. Ank. 1962.
- Meric, R. Melul: "Osmanlı Tababeti Tarihine Ait Vesikalar". *Tarih Vesikaları*, issue. I (16), Ağustos 1955, issue: 2 (17), Ocak 1958.
- Miller, Barnette: *The Palace School of Muhammed the Conqueror*. Harvard University Press. 1941.
- Rifat Osman: "Dört Bucuk Asirlik Bir Seririyatımız" *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arşivi*, issue: 13, S. 27-34, Eylül 1939.
- Sayili, Aydın: "Bizde Tıp Öğretimi Özerine." *Belleten*, C. XXXV, issue: 138, S. 229-234, 1971.
- Sayili, Aydın: "The Emergence of the Prototype of the Modern Hospital in Medieval Islam." *Belleten*, C.XLIV, Sayı: 174, S. 279-286, Nisan 1980.
- Sayili, Aydın: "Certain Aspects of Medical Instruction in Medieval Islam and its Influences on Europe." *Belleten*, C. XLV/2, issue: 178, s. 9-21, Nisan 1981.
- Sehsuvaroglu, Bedii: *Eczacılık Tarihi Dersleri*. Ecz. Fak. Yay. No. 10, İstanbul 1970.
- Sehsuvaroglu, Bedii: "Türk İstanbul'da Tıp Öğretiminin 500. Yıldönümü". *İstanbul Univ. Tıp Fak. Mec.* No. 34, S. 831-840, 1971.
- *Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*: 1335-1336. Fatih Devrine Ait Vesikalar, s. 3.
- Taskiran, Nimet: *Hasekinin Kitabı*. Haseki Hast. Kalkındırma Dernegi Yay. No. 6, İstanbul 1972.
- Taskiran, Nimet: "Tıp Mesleğinde Okumanın Önemi." *Haseki Tıp Bülteni*, C. XII, issue: 4, s. 369-376, 1974.
- Uludag, O. Sevki: *Besbucuk Asirlik Türk Tıp Tarihi*. İstanbul 1925.
- Uludag, O. Sevki: Tarihimizde İki Tıphâne Vardır." *Tıp Dünyası*. v. 8, s. 2987-2989, 15 Ağustos 1935.
- Uludag, O. Sevki: Yeni İlk Tıbhâne ve Rum Tıbbiye Mektebi." *Tıp Dünyası*, C. 13, s. 4365-4368, 15 Mart 1940.
- Uzuncarsili, İ. Hakki: *Kapikulu Ocakları*, v. I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ank. 1944.
- Uzuncarsili, İ. H.: *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teskilatı*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay. VIII Seri, No. 15, Ank. 1945.
- Uzuncarsili, İ. H.: *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teskilatı*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay. VIII Seri, No. 17, Ank. 1965.
- Unver, Suheyl: *Cerrahhâne-i Amire* (1832). İstanbul 1931.
- Unver, S.: *Fatih Darussıfasi*. İstanbul 1932.
- Unver, S.: "Evrağ Hazinesinde Türk Tıp Tarihine Ait Vesikalar I ve II". *Tıp Dünyası*, issue: 5, 1934.

- Unver, S.: "İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi 1827-1934: 107 Yılda Gecirdiği Cigırlar", *Dirim*, issue: 1-2, Subat 1934.
- Unver, S.: "Orta Zamanda Türkçe Takrir Uzerine Kısa Bir Mulahaza." *II. Turk Tarih Kongresi Tebligi*, 25 Eylül 1937.
- Unver, S.: "Fatih Kulliyesine Aid Diger Muhim Bir Vakfiye." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Sayı: I, s. 39-45, 1938.
- Unver, S.: "Fatih Kulliyesinin İlk Vakfiyesine Gore Fatih Darussifasi;" *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arsivi*, v. 5, No. 17, s. 17, 1940.
- Unver, S.: "Suleymaniye Kulliyesinde Darussifa, Tıp Madrasasi ve Darulakakire Dair." *Vakıflar Dergisi*. C. 2, S. 195-207, Ank. 1942.
- Unver, S.: "Fatih Zamani Cerrahlari Hakkinda." *Dirim*, No. 9, S. 3, 1949.
- Unver, S.: "Fatih Darussifasi." *Dunyada Tıp*, C. 2, issue: 5, Mayıs 1953.
- Unver, S.: "749 Sene Once Kayseri'de Acilan İlk Tıp Mektebi ve Klinigi." *Dirim*, No. 3, Mart 1955.
- Unver, S.: "1838'de Dr. Bernard'in Memleketimize Gelisi." *İstanbul Univ. Tıp Fak. Mec.* No. 3-4, s. 494-510, 1956.
- Unver, S.: "Selcukluların Bir Sifa Yurdu: Sivas Tıp Sitesi." *Abbotempo* III. 1965.
- Unver, S.: *Kayseri Tıp Sitemiz 760 Yasında*. Türkiye Ulusal Verem Savas Der. Yay., İstanbul 1966.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Kayseri Hospital (Shifahāna) built by Lady Gevher Nesibe Sultan . Drawn by Suheyl Unver.

Figure 2. Yıldırım Hospital in Bursa: A view of the lecture Hall.

Figure 3. Site plan of Bayezid II Complex in Edirne. The Madrasa (school of medicine, right lower corner); connected to it is the Dār al-shifa (hospital).

Figure 4. The site plan of the school of medicine in the Suleymaniye Complex.

Figure 5. The paragraph referring to the beautiful school of medicine (madrasa-i tayyiba) and the instructor (mudarris) in Suleymaniye trust of deed.

Figure 6. Ceremonial initiation of the Medical School reopened and renamed as "Royal School of Medicine" (Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Adliye-i Shāhāne), by Sultan Mahmūd II. The visit of him in 1838 to the reopened Imperial Medical School in Galatasaray (Prof. Dr. T. Baytop Collection).

Figure 7. Chief physician. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Album no. III, A. 3690, picture 7. Picture copied by the permission of Nil Sari and Ulker Erke from: *38th International Congress on History of Medicine, Turkish Medical History Through Miniature Pictures Exhibition* (Drawn by U. Erke, Organizer and Editor Nil Sari), İstanbul 2002.

Figure 8. A list of books, which chief physicians must read for instruction. These books were stored in the inner treasury of the Palace. (Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D. 8228).

Figure 9. The plan of Topkapı palace before 1665, as drawn by Albert Bobovi. The hospital of the palace school (Enderûn) and its departments is situated in the right lower corner, (50-61),

Figure 10. Infirmary in Topkapi Palace and ambulance cart in the lower right corner. (See; Hunernâme, Topkapi Palace Museum Library, Ahmed III, no. 1524.).

Figure 11. Certificate noting protection of non-Muslim subjects, views on Medical education and the appointment of Dimitrashko for founding a medical school (1850). The Prime Ministry Archive in Istanbul, Cevdet-Sihhiye, nr. 304.

Figure 12. Document about the opening of a medical school (tabibhâne) and hospital at the state arsenal (Tersâne-i Âmire). Prime Ministry Archive; Cevdet-Sihhiye, nr. 1575.

Figure 13. The admiral's mansion that was built at the site of the Naval Hospital standing there today, where the State arsenal hospital and medical school was founded. Istanbul University Library, Album department, nr. 90398.

Figure 14. The building next to the small mosque, which is pointed to as the "infirmary" on shores of Topkapi Palace grounds. (See. M. Melling, "Vue Generale de Constantinople". S. Unver notes that this building was used as the school of surgery (Cerrahhâne), between the years 1831-1838.

Figure 15. A physician's office in the seventeenth century, drawn by Prof. Dr.Suheyl Unver.