THE “MODERN DOCTOR” IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE:

DR. IBRAHIM OF THE HAMIDIYE ETFAL HOSPITAL

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

The “Modern Doctor” in the Late Ottoman Empire:

Dr. İbrahim of the Hamidiye Etfal Hospital

This thesis investigates Dr. İbrahim Bey (1861-1923?), the founding chief physician of the Hamidiye Etfal Hospital and a private physician of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909; d.1918), a prominent figure often overlooked in Ottoman medical history. The thesis focuses on Dr. İbrahim Bey’s previously untranslated diaries (up-to 1910), articles in journals and the relevant archival documents to illustrate his career trajectory, which includes periods of challenge and opportunity. There are three main aims of this research. Firstly, it explores the strategies used by a professional doctor to secure his position in the medical market and influence the medical and political authorities. Dr. İbrahim Bey achieves positions in his career by advertising his expertise, publications, and medical reports. Secondly, it aims to illustrate Dr. İbrahim Bey’s articles on history of medicine and how these articles further influenced the writing history of medicine in Turkey. Thirdly, by investigating the era’s intellectual mindsets and Dr. İbrahim Bey’s case, this research explores what was the concept of “modern doctor” in the late Ottoman Empire.

ÖZET

Geç Osmanlı Döneminde "Modern Doktor:"

Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi'nin Kurucusu Dr. İbrahim Bey

Bu tez, Osmanlı tıp tarihinin genellikle göz ardı edilen önemli bir şahsiyeti, Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi'nin kurucu başhekimi ve Sultan Abdülhamid II'nin özel doktorlarından olan Dr. İbrahim Bey'i (1861-1923?) araştırmaktadır. Tez, Dr. İbrahim Bey'in daha önce çevirilmemiş günlüklerine (1910'a kadar), dergi ve gazete yazılarına ve ilgili arşiv belgelerine odaklanarak kariyerindeki krizleri nasıl kendi lehine çevirip fırsatları değerlendirdiğini ve bunun için uyguladığı stratejileri inceler. Bu araştırmanın üç ana amacı vardır. İlk olarak, profesyonel bir doktorun tıp dünyasındaki ve piyasasındaki konumunu sağlamlaştırmak için kullandığı taktikleri araştırır. Dr. İbrahim Bey, aldığı eğitimini ve yazdığı makale ve raporlarını halka ve otoritelere göstermeyi başararak kariyerinde yükseliş elde eder. İkinci olarak bu tez, Dr. İbrahim Bey'in tıp tarihiyle ilgili makalelerini inceler ve bu makalelerin modern Türkiye'nin tıp tarihi yazımını nasıl etkilediğini gösterir. Üçüncüsü, dönemin düşünce yapılarına ve Dr. İbrahim Bey'e odaklanarak bu araştırma, 19. yüzyıl sonu 20. yüzyıl başlarında yavaş yavaş şekillenmekte olan "modern doktor" kavramının ne olduğunu inceler.

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I believe in fate, luck, or whatever words you want to use to decipher the events you encounter in your daily life. I met Dr. İbrahim Bey by chance. When I was looking for some documents in the Atatürk Library of İstanbul, I came across his diaries. So, first of all, I would like to thank my *kısmet*. I would also like to thank the librarian Zeki Arslan, and the Atatürk Library for their support in granting permission to use the diaries.

My advisor, Yaşar Tolga Cora, has been incredibly supportive of my research and writing. The courses I took with him from my undergraduate years until now always made me ask new questions and be curious. He always encouraged me to go further and push my limits, but at the same time he was realistic and showed me the real picture, both in my thesis and in life, which I find valuable. He never left me with unanswered questions or refused my requests. I could not ask for more from an advisor in my life. It was a pleasure to meet and work with him.

My co-advisor Akif Ercihan Yerlioğlu also inspired me during my graduate years in Boğaziçi. His course on the history of medicine completely changed my perspective on the subject and became the basis for my thesis. His comments and feedback were extremely helpful and he approached my thesis with an editor's eye. I just wish I had the opportunity to meet him earlier and take more of his classes.

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photographs. Professor Rasimoğlu's works made me interested in the field of medical sociology. She always responded immediately to my questions and requests. I am deeply grateful to her and all the other professors for their interest in my work. I want to thank Boğaziçi University and Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ) for my undergraduate-graduate education and working experience. But especially I would like to thank Professor Hale Eroğlu for her continuous support and engaging lectures since my undergraduate years. I thank to Professor Selim Deringil for being an inspirational figure to me and again I am deeply grateful for the courses I took from him.

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I thank my family, my father, mother, sister, grandmother and aunt. They all supported me during my thesis. I hope that my maternal grandfather, *Avrupalı* Ahmet Koçoğlu, who passed away in the last year of my studies, can see from somewhere how his grandson has completed his thesis. Biologist Professor Nasuh Öder, my paternal grandfather who had passed away before I was born, would probably be proud of me if he could have seen these days. Alas.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. İbrahim Bey for writing these diaries. My goal was to ensure he was not relegated to a mere footnote in an academic paper or book. I wanted to bring him to life as a real person, with his own thoughts and experiences. I hope I have achieved this goal.

But most of all I thank my beautiful, beloved Özge. The ringing of her laughter is like a melody to me. From our high school days to this day, we have never been apart. We have been always in each other's hearts and minds. She is one of the main reasons I became interested in history. Without her encouragement and support, I could not complete this thesis. Without her love I could not live my days in this world. She is the love of my life and deserves every dedication to be made.

To the love of my life, Özge

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Dr. İbrahim Bey (1861-1923?),[1] the founding chief physician of the *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi* (Hamidiye Children's Hospital), a hospital established in memory of Sultan Abdülhamid II's daughter Hatice Sultan, is a pivotal but neglected figure in Ottoman medical history. Although well-respected in his time, details of his life and career remain obscure. This thesis is an effort to make a contribution to the biography of Dr. İbrahim Bey.

Dr. İbrahim Bey graduated from the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* (Imperial Civil School of Medicine) in 1888 and unlike most of the graduates of the sister institution, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Imperial Military School of Medicine), known for their alignment with the constitutionalist and anti-Hamidian *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress, CUP), Dr. İbrahim Bey remained unaffiliated with the opposition movement. Firstly, by focusing on a non-CUP aligned figure, this thesis aims to shed light on the professional strategies employed by a professional medical practitioner during the Hamidian and post-Hamidian Era. The analysis will explore how Dr. İbrahim Bey "constructed" himself as a professional doctor and how he navigated his career through various crises, such as the times when diseases like cholera and syphilis were at their peak, resignations, and changes in government, and turned them into opportunities.

[1] In the literature, Dr. İbrahim Bey was generally mentioned as "Dr. İbrahim Paşa" or "İbrahim Paşa," because of the ranks he gained over the time. To encompass a wider time span, I do not use his high ranking title of "paşa" but only "bey."

Secondly, this thesis examines Dr. İbrahim Bey's medical publications in order to analyze his claims as a medical authority for his attempt to construct an Ottoman/Turkish/Muslim history of medicine. It explores the influence of his writings on subsequent early republican medical historiography, which received criticism because of the authenticity of the information in Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles. Through a close analysis and comparison of the literature, the study aims to reveal a common interest in the role of religion in concepts of progress, civilization, and humanity, even among those professionals who hold different political views. I argue that the professional doctors in the late Ottoman Empire exhibited a wide spectrum of political and world views, encompassing not only materialism and opposition to the Hamidian regime, but also conservatism and sympathy towards Sultan Abdülhamid II.

This introduction part consists a brief biography of Dr. İbrahim Bey with a literature review. It also presents the literature on the professionalism and examines several theoretical approaches to professional formation.

In the second chapter I am investigating the different professionalism trajectories in the world, such as how they dealt with the licensing issue and the issue of introducing "modern medicine." While the Ottoman professionalisation of medicine will be more deeply analysed, it will be understood that in nowhere of the world none of the countries achieved an ideal-professionalism, that eliminated the unlicensed practicers or their "old medicine." The professionalism trajectory is mostly patchy and includes the diverse paths in itself.

The third chapter looks at Dr. İbrahim Bey's early life, before his tenure at *Hamidiye Etfal*. Based on his diaries, state archives and articles on *Sabah* newspaper, I will demonstrate how Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to attract the attention of the medical

community and the state authorities. His continuous efforts to make himself heard in the medical market, coupled with some lucky contingencies paved the way for his duty at *Hamidiye Etfal*.

The fourth chapter examines Dr. İbrahim Bey's duty at *Hamidiye Etfal* until June 1909. During his duty as a chief physician, Dr. İbrahim Bey tried to show especially to the international medical community how the hospital was organized and well-run thanks to thanks to the Sultan Abdülhamid. Via *İstatistik* journals, which were the official medical bulletin of the hospital, Dr. İbrahim Bey and his team shows the modernity and the good-government of the hospital. While the Young Turk Revolution in 23 July 1908 embarked a stricter economic control over *Hamidiye Etfal*. Dr. İbrahim Bey continued his duty until June 1909, however, straining the patient capacity of the hospital because of the symbolism of the hospital it carries (Sultan Abdülhamid II as patrimonial father), the change of the cadres because of the new medical reforms, budgetary problems led Dr. İbrahim Bey not to continue his duty anymore. The chapter also looks at the articles of Dr. İbrahim Bey on history of medicine articles as they were symbols of claiming a medical authority of the time. His writings, further propelled a new discussion, whether Dr. İbrahim Bey's claims on the past Muslim physicians' role in the progress of medicine were right or wrong.

The fifth chapter examines how Dr. İbrahim Bey recovered resignation from *Hamidiye Etfal*. He was still a private physician of the Abdülhamid II's family. Hence, he needed to show he is only dedicated to his profession. Thus, he used his both local and international network and credentials to gain again a position in the medical market. He went to Europe and acquired a newly invented drug that is made to cure syphilis. He also compiled a report on the issue though he was not holding a position officially. By all of his efforts, in the end, he got public position in the

Muhacirin Hastahanesi in 1912. He was again in the market, thanks to his efforts to convince the public and the state.

This thesis aims to construct a biography of Dr. İbrahim Bey. While constructing his biography, the goal is to look at his deliberate efforts to create himself as a professional doctor and a medical authority. Therefore, his diaries, articles, *İstatistik* journals and related state archival documents were inspected through the lens of how a professional find ways to progress in one's career.

1.2 Historical background

The Ottoman Empire experienced reform periods from the 18th century onwards. While Selim III's (r. 1789-1807) reforms more limited to the military, his predecessor Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) able to implement a more centralized, broader in terms of opening of new westernized institutions, and affecting social life of the subjects, and more successful reform program. Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-1861), by the help of Mustafa Reşid Paşa enacted the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (*Gülhane* Edict or simply, "regulations") in 1839, who was one of the reform-minded statemen of the Mahmud II. The edict a detailed reform for the empire: protecting the subject's life, a new and fair tax and conscription system.[2] The following *Islahat Fermanı* (The Reform Rescript) which the pro-reformist Âli and Fuad Paşas helped the form the edict in 1856 made all subjects of the Empire as equal, at least on the paper, regardless of their religions.[3] But military defeats and financial crises continued in the 19th century. Hence, as Lewis argues, these reform movements led some questions among the men

[2] Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, 60.
[3] Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey* 116.

of letters of the Ottoman Empire. Question was not whether to accept the "westernized reforms" but to expanding bureaucracy and the autocratic rule of the sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876).[4] This led the emergence of an opposition group called *Yeni Osmanlılar* (Young Ottomans), who were pro-constitutionalist, Ottomanist and against the autocratic tones of the reforms. Some of these figures of this important intelligentsia were men of letters like İbrahim Şinasi (1824-1871) Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and Ali Suavi (1839-1878).[5] The dethronement of the Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876) for the enactment of a constitution led the ascension of Murad V for the throne, but his uncle Sultan Abdülaziz's suspicious death made him not continue as a sultan more than 93 days because of mental health issues. Therefore, the new sultan of the Ottoman Empire became the brother of Murad V, Abdülhamid II by promising the enaction of a constitution.

The reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) marked the heyday of Ottoman reforms in the social, economic, military, and educational fields of the empire, which had been undergoing reforms since the late 18th century. He was not too sympathetic towards the liberal ideas and freedom movements. He also suspended the constitution a few months after ascending to the throne, due to the war with Russia. Yet, he was still in favor of reforms to augment his position in the throne. Hence, in the reign of Abdülhamid II, the press was heavily censored but at the same time new educational[6] and legal institutions with an Islamist discourse were formed and the infrastructure of the empire was tried to be improved. However, these modern

[4] Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 135.
[5] Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 128-133. Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 136-146.
[6] For a detailed work that examines the education in the reign of Abdülhamid II see, Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

initiatives turned backed to Abdülhamid II with an opposition called *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks) which found its base in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* in 1889, which resemble the pro-reformists *Yeni Osmanlılar* of the 1860s. The members of this society found a base in Paris and continued to criticize Abdülhamid II's autocratic rule while some of its member were in the exile.[7] The Young Turk Revolution of July 24, 1908 led to the reopening of the Ottoman Parliament and the re-enactment of the constitution that had been annulled when Sultan Abdülhamid II came to the throne. Abdülhamid II remained on the throne until April 1909, but his power was not the same as before.

Hamidian rule embraced the importance of symbolism in imperial government. Selim Deringil rightly argues that the Hamidian regime legitimized itself through the representation of the Sultan's image through symbols. In order to maintain the regime, it used religion (Islam), state ceremonies, press, medals, decorations and badges as supporting materials to legitimize the rule of Abdülhamid II.[8] These details will be important for us because Dr. İbrahim Bey started his career in the Hamidian regime and *Hamidiye Etfal* was a hospital that bears the name of the Sultan. For Dr. İbrahim Bey, symbolism and the representation of the sultan was vital while managing the hospital.

1.3 Methodology and sources

This thesis is an attempt to both create a biography for Dr. İbrahim Bey and to show how he moved in his professional career. Therefore, the sources related to the life of İbrahim Bey were examined by focusing on how he navigated in his career, with ups

[7] Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey,* 196-198.
[8] Selim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909.*

and downs, and how he managed to control the crises. This research will examine his management of Hamidiye Etfal as well as his professional standing with the authorities and the public through his credentials, certificates, medical articles and achievements.

Except for the state archives, there are some sources to illuminate Dr. İbrahim Bey's professional life: one is the *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi* (*Hamidiye Etfal* Statistics Yearbooks, or *İstatistik*),[9] his diaries, and a controversial memoir edited and published in a newspaper by historian Cemal Kutay in 1978.[10] We should also mention the interview with Dr. İbrahim Bey's granddaughter for a further insight of Dr. İbrahim Bey's personality.[11]

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[9] The journal's name changes over time, but *İstatistik* remains the head title over the years. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi İstatistik Risalesi,* Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1318 [1900]. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi,* Dersaadet Matbaa-i Osmaniye, İkinci Sene, Sene-i Hicriye 1319, Sene-i Maliye 19 Ağustos 1317 [31 Ağustos 1901]. In the third year, journal's name changes to *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniye), Üçüncü Sene, Sene-i Hicriye 1320, Sene-i Maliye 19 Ağustos 1318 [31 Ağustos 1902]. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*. Ba-irade-i Seniye Hazret-i Padişahî Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi Sertabibinin Nazarında Olarak Hastahane-i Âli etıbbası tarafından tertib kılınmışdır.

[10] Cemal Kutay, "Bahriyeli İbrahim Paşa'nın Hatıraları: Yıldız Sarayında 11 Sene," *Son Havadis.*

[11] Suat Efe made the interview with Güher Güney, the granddaughter of Dr. İbrahim Bey, who was born in 1924. She went to Vienna with her family in 1926 and returned to İstanbul in 1933. According to this interview, Dr. İbrahim Bey married three times, with Ayşe Hanım, Mebruke Hanım and lastly İhsan Zeliha Hanım. His eldest son, Mehmed Kemal Güney completed his education at the St. Cyr Military College and served as an intelligence officer for the French armies during the National Struggle era and sent those information *Kuva-yı Milliye* (Turkish National Struggle Forces). After the foundation of the republic, Mehmed Kemal was sent to Vienna as a military attaché. It was known that just as his father did, he kept diaries since the age of 17, but we do not know where those diaries are. Güher Güney said that she had never seen her grandfather (Dr. İbrahim Bey) in her life. According to her hearings from her mother, Halise Hanım, Dr. İbrahim Bey's one of the sons had drown while he was sailing in a boat in one of his trip to the United States. His another son committed suicide in Germany while he was busy with chemistry education. We understand that the individual committed to suicide here was Ahmed Süreyya. Dr. Selçuk Alsan, another grandson of Dr. İbrahim Bey, says that his mother depicted İbrahim Bey as: "honest, brave, respectful, hardworking, skilled at

Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi was the official bulletin of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. It contained numerous medical articles, pictures of the hospital, statistics of successful treatments, records and pictures of the patients, and comments of the visitors to the *Hamidiye Etfal*. The first journal was published only in Ottoman Turkish, but in later years, the journal was published both in Turkish and French as a bilingual journal. The journal's third issue provides a small biography of every physician who worked that year in the hospital, and İbrahim Bey was in the first place. This biography includes İbrahim Bey's family history, his education, previous work experiences and the successes and medals he got.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles on the history of medicine are also published in *İstatistik* yearbooks. These articles are important because they were part of his claim to be a medical authority and to shape the future writing of the history of medicine in Turkish historiography. Therefore, his articles in this journal as well as his other related articles will be examined separately in the following chapters.

The second source for illuminating İbrahim Bey's life is his personal diaries. The Atatürk Library holds eight diaries spanning the years 1894-1895,[12] 1905, 1910, and 1914-1918. However, a crucial limitation of this source material is the incomplete nature of the diary collection. Former chief of internal medicine at *Şişli Etfal* Hospital, Professor Dr. Suat Efe, suggests that historian Cemal Kutay has possessed 19 "private notebooks" belonging to İbrahim Bey.[13] Unfortunately, we do

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publicizing his services, tidy, bound to the rules of hygiene, curios about history of medicine, open to medical and technological developments." He was also very afraid of microbes and when he came home, he had the habit to change his clothes immediately. See, Suat Efe, "Şişli Etfal Hastanesinin Kurucusu Dr. İbrahim Bey'nın Hizmetleri, Biyografisi ve Ailesi Hakkında," 353-367.

[12] These diaries are titled as "1894-1895 yıllarında Almanya'da Tıp tahsili yapan birine ait günlük defter" in the library catalogue.

[13] Suat Efe, "Şişli Etfal Hastanesinin Tarihçesi Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler," 27.

not have the remaining diaries of İbrahim Bey that cover the gap between years.[14] In this thesis I am using his diaries up to the year 1910.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries chronicle his daily life and professional experiences, but in order to focus on Dr. İbrahim Bey's professional life, I had to omit the diary entries that were not related to his professional life. Much of his diaries detail his travels to Europe to acquire new medical knowledge and techniques, his notes about the diplomas and certificates he got, which was an embodiment of his hard-work and competency. These journeys also included encounters with European colleagues. Notably, the diaries kept during his stay in Bonn, Germany (1894-1895) offer valuable insights. They reveal his deep admiration for German medical advancements and his dedication to learning from this experience. One problem for the researchers is that we only have his 1905 diary that can illuminate his management at *Hamidiye Etfal*. Yet, this diary does not include much details on the details or experiences at *Hamidiye Etfal*, but his trip for chronic rheumatism to Baden-Baden baths with his son chemist Ahmed Süreyya.

In his diaries, one may wonder whether Dr. İbrahim Bey said anything about politics. Until 1914, Dr. İbrahim Bey does not reveal much his opinions politics, probably his connections with the palace (he served in *Hamidiye Etfal* from 1899 until 1909) and sees these diaries as more private. Therefore, what makes his diaries before 1914 remarkable and exciting is the relatively lack of politics,[15] so we can

[14] In one online auction, a diary belonging to 1901 was sold on 30 January 2022, but we do not know where it is now.

[15] I do not argue that Dr. İbrahim Bey's previous diaries like 1894-1895 were free of politics. İbrahim Bey mentions an "Armenian attack on Bab-ı Ali" in his diaries in 1895 with curses directed at the Armenian perpetrators. But the events in those diaries are more helpful to illuminate the professional life of Dr. İbrahim Bey. Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 30 September, 1895. "Bugün Ermenilerden bir cism-i gafir Kumkapıdan çıkıp etrafa saldırmış ve Bab-ı Aliye hücum eylemek niyetiyle Cağaloğluna doğru gelmişler ve rast geldikleri mahalde polislere revolverler ve

focus on his efforts to create himself as a professional doctor, his relationships with other doctors, and his reactions to medical advancement worldwide.

The third source to reveal the life of our doctor is Cemal Kutay's controversial newspaper series based on İbrahim Bey's "memoir" or called "*Bahriyeli İbrahim Paşa'nın Hatıraları: Yıldız Sarayında 11 Sene*" (Memoirs of Admiral İbrahim Pasha: 11 Years in the Yıldız Palace) in *Son Havadis*. The series starts on 16 October 1978 and ends on 27 November 1978. The article continued for forty days, and Kutay concluded the last article as "the end of chapter one." On the last day of the series, Kutay states that he plans to prepare the second and the third chapters of the memoirs of İbrahim Bey. However, Kutay never completed the remaining chapters.[16] Interestingly, İbrahim Bey's memoirs never caught attention as much as Dr. Tevfik Sağlam's and famous surgeon Dr. Cemil Topuzlu's in the previous literature. For example, another private doctor of the Sultan, Atıf Hüseyin

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kamalarla hücum eylemiş iseler de polis ve jandarmalar ve ahalinin dahi yardımıyla cemaatleri perişan edilmiş ve birçok Ermenilerin canları cehenneme irsal olunmuşdur." Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries of 1914-1915 are edited and published. In these diaries, we can see Dr. İbrahim Bey clearly wrote his entries to an audience, namely for the "future generations" to tell the Great War. İbrahim Paşa, *İstanbul'da Savaş Günleri*, ed. Bahtiyar İstekli (İstanbul:Yeditepe Yayınları, 2016), 46. "Âlemde benzeri görülmemiş olacak olan böyle bir muharebeyi, daha doğrusu milletler arasında çıkacak bir savaşı gelecek nesillere bir yadigâr olmak üzere akıl ve idrakimin yettiği kadar kısa ve gayet muhakemeli olarak bu hatırata kaydetmek tasavvurunda olduğum gibi, böyle bir sırada Devlet-i Aliyye'mizin alacağı vaziyet dahi tarafsız ve milli menfaatimiz noktasından, vicdanımla ve son derece vatanseverlikle düşünerek yazılacaktır." 26 July, 1914. Dr. İbrahim Bey was against the CUP regime of the time. But at the same time, though he was still a private physican of the Sultan's family at that time, he did not hesitate the criticise the Abdülhamid regime: "İstanbul'da hükümetin yüzlerce casus ve hafiye istihdam eylediği kaviyyen rivayet olunuyor! Gerçi Sultan Hamid de otuz üç sene bu şekilde hüküm sürmüş ise de neticede kendisi partiyi kaybetti. Hafiye usulü bir hükümetin aczini gösterir!" [23 November, 1914.] "Demek ki mevcud hükümet de Abdülhamid gibi evham politikasına yattı!" [1 May, 1915.]

[16] Cemal Kutay, "*Bahriyeli İbrahim Paşa'nın Hatıraları: Yıldız Sarayında 11 Sene,*" *Son Havadis,* 27 November, 1978.

Bey's memoirs were edited and published.[17] However, İbrahim Bey's memoirs in *Son Havadis* only caught a glimpse in the medical literature, and it was used mainly for the foundation story of *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi*.[18]

1.4 Brief biography of Dr. İbrahim Bey

İbrahim Bey was born on 11 January, 1861 in Küçükayasofya, Fatih, Istanbul; as the child of the head of the comb and spoon-makers guild[19] named Ali in Mahmudpaşa (in Grand Bazaar). His grandfather, Hacı Halil Aga, was in the Janissary Corps under the reign of Mahmud II, serving as the *turnacıbaşı* and ultimately becoming the head of the *turnacıbaşı*s.[20] Dr. İbrahim Bey spent his early years at primary school in the

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[17] Metin Hülagu, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı*, (İstanbul Pan Yayıncılık: 2003).

[18] We should be cautious about the memoir Cemal Kutay published. Firstly, there is factual errors in Dr. İbrahim Bey's life. İbrahim Bey was born in 11 January, 1861 according to *İstatistik* journal, not in 15 January as Kutay notes in the series. His date of death is also noted as 1938, but according to an interview with Dr. İbrahim Bey's granddaughter, he was not alive in 1926. We do not have any record that İbrahim Bey graduated at the top of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, nor did he serve as a lecturer in the same school. Kutay does not provide proof to support these details of İbrahim Bey's life. Cemal Kutay's article raises concern regarding its adherence to the conventions of autobiography. Because in Kutay's work, the distinction between his editorial voice, that of Dr. Ömer Paşa (one of the sultan's private physicians), and Dr. İbrahim Bey is often blurred. This is particularly evident in his narration of events like the First Constitutional Movement and the Greco-Ottoman War. An argument can be made that Kutay strategically employs Dr. Ömer Paşa's voice to construct a narrative that portrays Sultan Abdülhamid II in a favorable light, while assigning blame to his advisors. This narrative suggests that the Sultan's harsh espionage network stemmed from incidents experienced by the Sultan's predecessors. Last but not least, Ayşegül Yılmaz clearly depicts how Cemal Kutay manipulates primary sources in other works, especially when it comes to memoirs. See, Ayşegül Yılmaz, "Tarihsel Hatıratların Suistimaline Bir Örnek: Cemal Kutay, 'Süleyman Tevfik'in 31 Mart Günlükleri," *Tarihyazımı* Vol. 4 No.1 (2022): 41-66.

[19] Although Suat Efe says the father of İbrahim was *yazmacı*, in reality, he was an *esnaf kethüdası* (guild overseer) and Ali Efendi carries his father Haci Halil Aga's title of *esnaf kethüdası*. See, *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi İstatistik Risalesi*, No.3 (1902): 83-84 [French part of the journal]. Cemal Kutay also emphasizes that the father of İbrahim was *Kaşıkçılar ve Tarakçılar Kethüdası Ali Efendi*.

[20] *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi İstatistik Risalesi*, No.3 (1902): 83 [French part of the journal]. *Turnacıbaşı* was a high-ranking military officer in the Janissary

Nahilbend, Fatih and Beylerbeyi, Üsküdar districts. He then enrolled in *Soğukçeşme Askeri Rüşdiyesi* (Soğukçeşme Military High School) and entered the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* in 1881, which was located in Ahırkapı. He graduated in 1888 at the age of 27.[21] From 1888 to 1893, İbrahim Bey was a naval doctor in the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* (Imperial Naval Central Hospital). At that time, he also served in a dreadnought called "Suudlu" and sailed the Atlantic. In May 1893,[22] he was sent to Berlin, Germany, by an imperial decree to further his medical studies on bacteriology. After working in Charite Hospital with Dr. von Leiden[23] he went to Bonn University's Hygenic institute (today Rhenish Friedrich-Wilhelms University of Bonn) to work in the clinics of Dr. Dittmar Finkler, Dr. Friedrich Schültze and Dr. Adolf Baginsky.[24] Then, he went to Dr. Koch's institute in Berlin and received medical certificates, which he boasted in his diaries. It is also important to note that there was an ongoing severe cholera pandemic in the Ottoman Empire, especially in

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Corps. He was mainly responsible for the regiment he was assigned to and the recruitment of Janissary candidates in Rumelia and Anatolia. Symbolically, *turnacıbaşı* accompanied the Ottoman Sultan on hunting parties. He was also responsible for taking care of the Sultan's cranes, herons and partridges. See, Abdülkadir Özcan, "Turnacıbaşı," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/turnacibasi, accessed 17 May 2024.

[21] In the 1901 *İstatistik,* page 101, an article written in German which introduces the *Hamidiye Etfal* on 31 January 1901 says that Dr. İbrahim graduated from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Military Medical School). However, in the third issue of the *İstatistik* journal, Dr. İbrahim Bey's biography in Turkish says the opposite. Since the one belongs to 1902 might have polished mistakes about Dr. İbrahim Bey's biography, and the other journals (like 1904, page 54) show he graduated from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye,* we can safely say Dr. İbrahim Bey was a graduate of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*. Unat and Samastı's book also shows that Dr. İbrahim Bey was graduated from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*.

[22] On 2 May, 1894, he noted in his diaries that he had been sent to Germany on 2 May, 1893.

[23] The biography in the *İstatistik* journal mentions Dr. İbrahim Bey working in a place called "Dyden". However, this is likely a typographical error, as there is no known location named "Dyden". Dr. İbrahim Bey was sent to Berlin to work with Ernst von Leyden in Charite Hospital. Look at, *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi İstatistik Risalesi*, No. 3 (1902): 101.

[24] *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi İstatistik Risalesi,* No. 3 (1902): 84.

Istanbul, in 1893. Because of this reason, *Bakteriyolojihane-i Şahane* (Imperial Bacteriology Institute) was found to learn and apply the newly emerging bacteriology field in medicine.[25]

After returning to İstanbul in 1895, Dr. İbrahim Bey worked at the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* until his assignment to the *Hamidiye Etfal* in 1899 and as one of the private physicians of the Sultan Abdülhamid II. He worked in *Hamidiye Etfal* for ten years and resigned from the hospital in June 1909. He worked again in *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* until December 1909 and retired from his position. Between 1909-1912 he served as one of the private physicians of the daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid, Ayşe Sultan. In 1913, he became the chief physician of the *Muharicin Hastahanesi* (Immigrants' Hospital) of *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent). In 1914, he was a member of the international society against tuberculosis in that was based in Berlin and continued to treat patients in the pharmacy of Ali Haydar Bey, in Fatih, Bab-ı Ali street.[26] During the first years of Great War, Dr. İbrahim Bey was made the chief physician of the Çengelköy *Büyük İmdad-i Sıhhi Merkezi* (Çengelköy Aid Center). While in those days he was planning to form a scientific society called *İslam Coğrafya Cemiyeti* (Islamic Geographical Society), he later changed his mind since he thought it would cause some troubles during the days of war even though the

[25] Understanding the newly emerging bacteriology field in the Ottoman Empire, Sinan Çakır's thesis is valuable. Sinan Çakır, "Bakteriyolojihane-i Şahane'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri," MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi (2006). Nuran Yıldırım and Hakan Ertın, "1893-1895 İstanbul Kolera Salgınında Avrupalı Uzmanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde Sağlık Modernizasyonuna Katkıları," 85-101. After returning to İstanbul, Dr. İbrahim Bey also met with the director of the *Bakteriyolojihane-i Şahane,* Dr. Maurice Nicolle. Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, "Bugün Gülhanedeki Bakteriyoloi Laboratuvarına Süleyman Nuri Bey'le gidip gezdim. Süleyman Nuri Bey beni Doktor Mösyö Nikole takdim eylemiş ve doktor mumaileyh bir miktar Almanca tekallüme muktedir olmağla bizimle Almanca mükaleme cerayan etmişdir." 12 August, 1895.

[26] See the appendix 1 and 3 in *İstanbul'da Savaş Günleri*, 383.

society aimed not to deal with any politics.[27] Dr. İbrahim Bey, along with Professor Dürck, was appointed chief physician and inspector of the newly opened German Red Cross Hospital in 17 June, 1915. The hospital was the Saint Pulcherie School in Beyoğlu, Parmakkapı and it was re-named as *Şehit Muhtar Bey Hastahanesi* during the war years.[28] At least until 1918, he continued to be the private physician of Ayşe Sultan.

After his service in *Şehit Muhtar Bey Hastahanesi*, Dr. İbrahim Bey again became the chief physician of the Hamidiye Etfal in 1919.[29] In the last days of 1922, he was working as the statistics director at the *Sıhhiye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi* (General Directorate of Health). Although it was required to be get retired since he passed his sixty, the Ministry of Health gave a permission to continue his duty in the office, his experience in *Hamidiye Etfal*, and visiting the European hospitals to see their developments, was valuable for to benefit from his experiences.[30] These are the verified biographical information about Dr. İbrahim Bey's life we can reach via the documents we have.

Cemal Kutay, the owner of the disputable memoir of Dr. İbrahim Bey, claims that after the proclamation of the republic Dr. İbrahim Bey was suffering from poverty at that time like the other palace-aligned people. Therefore, Dr. İbrahim Bey asked for a job from the minister of Health, Dr. Refik Saydam. In return, he got a job at a local dispenser in Silivri, a remote vicinity of İstanbul in 1926.[31] However, we have already argued that he already set his position in the medical market therefore it

[27] Ibid., 137. [10 January, 1915]
[28] Ibid., 237. [17 June, 1915]
[29] BOA. DH.KMS. 51-14. 7 Receb 1337.
[30] BOA. BEO. 4717-353736. 6 *Zilhicce* 1340.
[31] Efe, "Şişli Etfal Hastanesinin Kurucusu Dr. İbrahim Bey'nın Hizmetleri, Biyografisi ve Ailesi Hakkında," 358.

is highly unlikely him to be impoverished because of his relationship with the ex-sultan. Also, he probably passed away before 1923 as his granddaughter born in 1923 said she never saw her grandfather in her life.

We do not know when Dr. İbrahim Bey passed away. While Cemal Kutay says that Dr. İbrahim Bey died at the age of 77 in 1938, Güher Güney, the granddaughter of Dr. İbrahim Bey notes that she had never seen her grandfather in her life. Hence, he must have died between 1923-1924. According to Güney, his father Mehmed Kemal Güney was too sad and disappointed after Dr. İbrahim Bey married Mebruke Hanım just two months after his wife Ayşe Hanım passed away and never spoke to his father again. Because of this reason, he also did not visit his father's grave in Nakkaştepe.[32] However, as we can see in Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries, Mehmed Kemal and Dr. İbrahim Bey met and talked with each other during Dr. İbrahim Bey's visit to Paris. They also communicated with letters. Therefore, it can be claimed that their relationship was not too detoriated after the new marriage of Dr. İbrahim Bey.

About the grave of Dr. İbrahim Bey, we are again in dispute. Cemal Kutay mentions Dr. İbrahim Bey might be in the Yahya Efendi Türbesi, with other buried palace-aligned people of the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Suat Efe argues that he did not find a grave named Dr. İbrahim Bey or Dr. İbrahim Paşa in that cemetery. It is said that Dr. İbrahim Bey might also be in Nakkaşbaba cemetery in Beylerbeyi according to the interview with his granddaughter. Nevertheless, when Efe visited the Nakkaşbaba cemetery with Güher Güney, they could not find the gravestone of Dr. İbrahim Bey.[33] I also covered the cemetery of Nakkaşbaba. However, many of the

[32] Efe, 362.
[33] Efe, 359.

old gravestones were thrown away around the grass field or were in bad-shape. There was also a pedestrian walkway to facilitate walking in the cemetery, as Suat Efe mentions in his book chapter, which probably led to the destruction of some of the tombstones in the area. Hence, I also could not find the gravestone of Dr. İbrahim Bey. Yet, there might be another place to search for Dr. İbrahim Bey's grave. In his 1910 diaries, Dr. İbrahim Bey says that he buried his son Ahmed Süreyya to his mother's side in Eyüp (Pierre Loti) cemetery.[34] It might be worth to search this cemetery to find the grave of Dr. İbrahim Bey.

1.5 The literature review: Competing perspectives on professionalization

On the issue of professionality, there are prominent works of Darina Martykanova on formation of an engineering profession[35] and Ceren Rasimoğlu's work on the professional doctors in the late Ottoman Empire.[36] Both are well-researched studies that focus on the relationship between the professions and the state. Elyasa Koytak's works also explains in a broader sense the processes of formation of professions that are focusing on lawyers and doctors.[37] The literature steadily grows and this thesis is an effort to this growing area in the Ottoman and Turkish studies.

To understand how a professional creates oneself, firstly we should look at the different approaches to the nature of professions and their evolutions in history.

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[34] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 7 January, 1910. "Kemal bugün şimendiferle saat sekizde gelmiş ve ciğerparem Süreyya'nın naaşını da beraber getirüp Eyüp'de validesinin yanına defin etmişdir."

[35] Darina Martykánová, *Reconstructing Ottoman Engineers: Archaeology of a Profession (1789-1914)*. Plus Pisa University Press, 2010.

[36] Ceren Gülser. İlikan Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth-century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)."

[37] Muhammet Elyasa Koytak, "Mesleğin Dönüşümü: Hekimler ve Avukatlar," PhD. diss., Medeniyet Üniversitesi, 2022. "Meslek Sosyolojisinde Teorik Yaklaşımlar," *Journal of Economic Culture and Society* Supp (1) (2020): 1-27.

For this reason, we need to define the word "profession." Professions, in the most basic sense, are occupations with a special power and prestige and society gives these privileges since they have a specialised knowledge to serve the benefit of society.[38] A doctor, for example, thanks to his/her "technical competence" can establish authority over a patient's body and health, and the patient is aware of the doctor's expert knowledge of medicine to make the patient feel better. However, this description and example remain short of answering how an occupation turns into a profession. For instance, is the professional doctor's special knowledge enough to gain the rank of the "regular" in the view of the state and the patient's trust? What is "regular" and what is not? Does society and the state give professional doctors the privilege to perform, or the professional doctors make an effort to gain these "privileges?" Once we think again about how an occupation turns into a profession, these points need to be answered to understand the professionalisation of an occupation.

Social scientists have long debated the issue of how occupations turned into professions. Their different approaches have advantages and disadvantages in showing and understanding the processes of change of occupations. I will show the strengths and limitations of these approaches in explaining the historical transformation of medicine into a profession. I aim to assess the extent to which these theoretical approaches can contribute to our understanding of the professionalization trajectory of doctors within the Ottoman Empire in the following chapters.

[38] Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: Monopolies of Competence and Sheltered Markets*, Xi.

Famous sociologist Talcott Parsons took the lead in the debates on functionalism's role in shaping professions. According to the functionalist approach, some occupations, like medicine, establish their authority over people through the rise of applied science and technical competence they have. Parsons expresses that even though there is no punishment for not obeying the [professional] doctor's advice, the patient follows the doctor's orders thanks to the doctor's technical knowledge.[39] As Saks and Adams argued, the taxonomic approach followed the gradual transformation of occupation to the profession thanks to the expert knowledge and "… in exchange for socio-economic privileges…" Notably, this system of professional privilege was believed to be supported by the state as part of a broader social agreement.[40]

Nevertheless, the revisionists attacked the functionalist approach as this approach could not show the dynamic process and changes from an occupation to a profession. More importantly, the agency of the professional group was significantly diminished in favour of the claims of the professional groups regarding altruism.[41] Parsons already explains that it would be misleading to explain a profession's motives only by egoistic or altruistic stimulus and one needs to look at the rationality, functionality and universalism motives of the profession.[42] However, these universalism and functionalism claims can also be a tool for a professional to legitimize his or her actions.

[39] Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," 460.
[40] Mike Saks and Tracy Adams, "Neo Weberianism, Professional Formation and the State: Inside the Black Box," 1.
[41] Saks and Adams, "Neo Weberianism, Professional Formation and the State: Inside the Black Box," 2.
[42] Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," 467.

Drawing on the works of Marx and Foucault, sociologist Magali Sarfatti Larson examines the interplay between various medical markets (patient-doctor and doctor-pharmaceutical industry) in constructing professional authority within the 19th-century medical field. Larson argues that multiple medical markets during this period reflect a fiercely competitive landscape among medical practitioners. She highlights the fragmented state of the medical profession, where established doctors faced challenges in achieving a dominant position (market monopoly) against "irregular" competitors. Larson identifies two key factors that facilitated the professionalization of medicine and the consolidation of authority by established doctors: epidemics (which prompted government intervention and support) and the perceived superior expertise of these practitioners.[43]

The Foucauldian perspective emphasizes the "governmentality" dimension of the medical profession. This framework posits a more intimate interplay between the professional doctor and the state within the medical landscape, arguing that the individual agency does not solely determine the doctor's actions. In his seminal work, *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault underscores how 18th century France's epidemics necessitated "multiple gazes" to govern such "collective phenomena," differing markedly from the earlier "medicine of classes."[44] Governing an epidemic necessitates many tools – quarantine inspectors, medical professionals, police forces, and an overarching institutional framework. The doctor, therefore, serves as one cog within this broader governance apparatus.

On the contrary, Frank Collyer challenges Michel Foucault's interpretation of the historical emergence of clinics and prisons. Collyer argues that Foucault's

[43] Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*: *Monopolies of Competence and Sheltered Markets,* 19-40.
[44] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic,* 29-30.

emphasis on epistemic shifts, from a focus on categorical diseases to pathological medicine, overlooks the role of human agency in this process. Specifically, Collyer critiques Foucault's neglect of the "actors, actions, and struggles" that shaped these transformations in medical knowledge and institutional practices.[45]

Having technical competence was important but was not the sole determinator for a professional gain a position in the market. Because of its dubious efficiency and practicality, not all "expertise" can benefit patient health or "enhance the status of physicians," as Shortt argues.[46] The new inventions and drugs have yet to offer immediate answers to cure diseases. For instance, in the 19th century, tuberculosis treatment primarily relied on sanatoriums, with "new" medication playing a less prominent role. In the absence of antibiotics, sanatoriums offered a vital treatment option for tuberculosis patients. These facilities focused on a regimen of fresh air, good nutrition, and isolation, drawing on principles established by the ancient physician Galen.[47] For another example, in 1910, the anti-syphilis drug *Salvarsan 606* received critical comments from the British medical area regarding its efficiency.[48] As one of the researchers of this new drug, Dr. Paul Ehrlich's desire to patent *Salvarsan 606* was received as unethical by some medical authorities, as

[45] Fran Collyer, "Max Weber, Historiography, Medical Knowledge, and the Formation of Medicine," 6

[46] Samuel Edward Dole Shortt, "Medical Professionalization: Pitfalls and Promise in the Historiography," 212-213. Samuel Edward Dole Shortt, "Physicians, Science, and Status: Issues in the Professionalization of Anglo-American Medicine in the Nineteenth Century," 54-55.

[47] Michele Riva, "From Milk to Rifampicin and Back Again: History of Failures and Successes in the Treatment for Tuberculosis," 661-665, and see Mariano Martini et al, "The History of Tuberculosis: The Social Role of Sanatoria for the Treatment of Tuberculosis in Italy Between the End of the 19th Century and the Middle of the 20th," *Journal of Preventive Medicine and Hygiene* Vol. 59, No.4 (2018): 323-327. doi:10.15167/2421-4248/jpmh2018.59.4.1103

[48] J.E. Ross and S.M.Tomkins, "The British Reception of Salvarsan," 405.

Tomkins argues.[49] Therefore, the rise of "science" is vital for the rise of the professional doctor in the medical field, but it was not the sole determinator.

Furthermore, Saks and Adams challenge Marxist and Foucauldian interpretations of medical professionalization through British 1858 Medical Act on the practice of medicine. They argue that the Act was not solely driven by class interests or state control. Examining parliamentary debates, they propose that the Act emerged from a collaboration between medical professionals, the state and other actors with diverse concerns: public health, standardization, and practicalities within a developing democracy.[50]

The Neo-Weberian approach emphasizes the agency of the doctor in gaining of a market monopoly and formation of a profession. Sociologists, including Eliott Friedson, show that the professional doctor (i.e., university-educated with a "regularized" set of expert knowledge) did not hold a monopoly over the medical market until the mid-20th century. His competitors were many, like folk medicine practitioners. Freidson emphasizes that with public confidence, the [professional] physician could establish a monopoly on medicine. As Friedson argues, university-educated physicians formed only a small elite group in the medieval ages, whose client was similarly a tiny elite and noble circle. This situation was a barrier to the "professional doctors" of the time, who were trying to gain the public's trust in practising medicine.[51] It is also important to note that in some countries like England before the 19th century, being a "doctor" meant holding a "status profession" rather than a group serving people's benefit.[52] This situation limited the professional

[49] Ross and Tomkins, "The British Reception of Salvarsan," 406.
[50] Saks and Adams, 3-7.
[51] Eliot Friedson, *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge,* 19-20.
[52] Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine,* 38.

doctor's authority over the medical market to advertise his medical expertise. The neo-Weberian approach argues that professions establish a monopoly over their field by employing a three-pronged strategy. First, they limit competition through restrictions on who can enter the profession. Second, they demonstrate and promote their technical expertise to both the public and the state. Finally, they persuade the public and state that their autonomy in practice is essential for effective service delivery.[53] While doing this, Tracy Adams and Mike Saks state that a single cause cannot explain professional groups' interests. These groups may seek a better market position while also serving the common good without compromising their professionalism.[54] Though the Neo-Weberian approach is criticised even by its followers for diminishing the state's role in the formation of professions,[55] it nevertheless stands as a beneficial approach since it gave agency to professionals.

This sub-chapter examines various theoretical frameworks that illuminate the professionalization of occupations. Functionalist and Foucauldian perspectives focus on the social function of professions, highlighting their service to the public and their role within mechanisms of governmentality. In contrast, the neo-Weberian approach presents a more nuanced understanding. It emphasizes the agency of practitioners,

[53] Saks, "Analyzing the Professions: The Case for the Neo-Weberian Approach," 893. George Ritzer, "Professionalization, Bureaucratisation and Rationalisation: The Views of Max Weber," 630. Raymond Murphy, "Weberian Closure Theory: A Contribution to the Ongoing Assesment," *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 37 No. 1 (1986): 21- 41.
[54] Adams and Saks, "Neo-Weberianism and Changing State-Profession Relations: The Case of Canadian Health Care," 66.
[55] Saks and Adams, "Neo Weberianism, Professional Formation and the State: Inside the Black Box," 3. Mike Saks' article on the different perspectives on sociology of professions deeply analyzes these approaches and the ones we did not mention, like Marxist approach on the formation of professions. See, Mike Saks, "A Review of Theories of Professions, Organizations and Society: The Case for Neo-Weberianism, Neo-Institutionalism and Eclecticism," 170-187.

analyzing the deliberate efforts undertaken by occupational groups to establish themselves as professionals.

1.6 The Ottoman professional doctors of the late 19th Century

As we will see in the second chapter, the Ottoman medical profession consisted of different groups. These groups competed with each other and had different agendas. Their intellectual worlds were also complex, from the materialists and opponents of Sultan Abdülhamid II to the more conservative and supporters of the Hamidian regime. Historian Şükrü Hanioğlu mentions Charles Macfarlane's comments on *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*'*s* library, which was full of materialist books of the time.[56] In his seminal work *Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi,* Şükrü Hanioğlu argues that the reason why the most of the opposition movement and protests took shape in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* was the positivist books which were brought from France. According to Hanioğlu, thanks to this biological materialist and positivist education in the school, it is not surprising to see figures like Dr. Abdullah Cevdet (who was one of the founders of the CUP), Beşir Fuad (materialist essayist) and Rıza Tevfik (philosopher and poet) graduated from the same school. For Hanioğlu, even a devoted religious person can embrace biogical materalism because of this education in *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*.[57]

Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane was also the school known for its opposition movements against the Hamidian regime. It is worth mentioning that the ones who

[56] Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists On Science, Religion, and Art," 33.
[57] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 9-10.

founded the CUP in 1889 were the students of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*.[58] In his memoirs, Dr. İbrahim Temo (who was one of the founders CUP) notes how they read and distributed the works of Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa, and opposition writings to the Hamidian regime in his high school education and continued to debate politics and literature with his friends like Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, Dr. Necmeddin Arif and Şerafeddin Mağmumi, for the sake of motherland (*vatan*).[59] For another instance to the opposition of the graduates to the regime, Cemil Topuzlu expresses that *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* students always carried liberal ideas against the palace rule:

> I was a student in the eighth grade of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, the youngest in my class. At that time, the ideas of Young Turks and Liberty had just begun to spread in our country. All my friends in the class, even the whole school, were supporters of liberty, equality, and justice, taking inspiration from the French Revolution, and were strongly against the despotism of Sultan Abdülhamid II.[60]

Additionally, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* was known with its strong unity of graduates. Tevfik Sağlam's comments on *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* notes the school administration as terror makers but liked the school professors as they carried the *tıbbiyeli ruhu* (the *spirit* of medical student). Even though there were some people whose families were aligned with Abdülhamid II, each of the students carried this spirit, and they were also the face of "modernization." According to Sağlam:

> In the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, a "medical student spirit' prevailed that encompassed both the professor and the student. The foundations of this spirit were deep. The School of Medicine, where our professors were trained, was established in 1827 by Sultan Mahmud II as a complete Western institution. Medicine was taught in French for years there. This school was the first window opened by the Ottoman Empire to the Western world. The face of the

[58] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 145
[59] İbrahim Temo, *İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları,* ed. Bülent Demirbaş, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1987), 12-13.
[60] Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat-Meşrutiyet-Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım* (İstanbul, Topuzlu Yayınları, 2002), 35. Also see the page 39.

> medical student studying there had turned towards the West. The medical student was someone who knew the difference between the West and the East and felt the deep pain of our backwardness. For this reason, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* became a nest for patriotism, the love of freedom, liberation from Eastern backwardness, progress, and the endeavour to catch up with countries that had already reached a high level of civilization as soon as possible.[61]

However, we should remember that a professional group cannot be formed by unified professionals. Alper Yalçınkaya's work on the debate on science among the Ottoman "men of science" shows that religion and loyalty to the state intermingle with all scientific debates in the late Ottoman Empire. Thus, one can be involved in supporting science without just promoting science in one's articles on the journals and newspapers, but blending science with the terms like morality, and identity.[62] As a result, one can be a supporter of the regime and also can support the positivism which does not create a dichotomy that conflicts with each other.

For example, Dr. Tevfik Sağlam states in his memoirs that they were students of medicine in *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* whose families were connected to the palace, but they did not show their sympathy for the Hamidian regime because they were afraid of being ostracized by their friends.[63] Dr. İbrahim Temo's memoirs show that there were students in the Military Preparatory School of the Medical School (*Kuleli Askeri Tıbbıye-i İdadisi*) who were devout to their religion and they argued with these students with his friends.[64] The third chapter will examine how terms like civilization and religion affected the intellectual world of the time. Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles on history of medicine were written in such an environment that all of these

[61] Tevfik Sağlam, *Nasıl Okudum,* 40.
[62] Mehmet Alper Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots: Debating Science, State and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire*.
[63] Sağlam, *Nasıl Okudum*, 41.
[64] Temo, *İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları,* 9.

terms, materialism, positivism, religion, conservatism, loyalty to the sultan were intermingled with each other.

In my work, I primarily aim to show that diverse identities that can be found in a professional group. Dr. İbrahim Bey is a perfect example for this reason. He is neither a supporter of the CUP nor a die-hard materialist. But at the same time, his understanding of positivism does not challenge with his religion. While promoting Western medical techniques, he also defended the role of Islamic civilization in advancing these medical techniques. But more importantly, he was not alone in this picture. Figures like Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey, a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, who will be examined in the fifth chapter will show us how politically opposite figures share almost the same mindset amid political struggles. This will show the wide spectrum of the graduates of an institution, and focus on the different agencies of the graduates.

1.7 Formal rationality and bureaucracy

Talcott Parsons argues that Weber defines an action as rational if it is directed towards a clear goal and the methods to achieve it are up to the most excellent knowledge.[65] However, Weber's definition of rationality is multifaceted and has ambiguous meanings. When we say rational, one can understand "modern," "logical," and "disrupted from the tradition or old practices." However, Weber gives us different types of rationalism: Practical rationality, theoretical rationality, substantive rationality, and formal (instrumental) rationality.

[65] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, 16.

Practical rationality is the worldly activities of humans that solve problems most practically and pragmatically.[66] To explain theoretical rationality, we can look at the sorcerer's attempts to understand and influence natural phenomena. Observing the perceived failure of Gods to protect against malevolent spirits, the sorcerer employs theoretical rationality. They infer, quite rationally within their belief system, that this might stem from divine anger. Based on this reasoning, they propose solutions like offerings or appeasements. These actions, in turn, can lead to new rituals and specialized clergy (priests) who systematize practices like worship, prayer, and tribute collection.[67] However, what is lacking in the sorcerer's actions is his/her lack of calculability and certainty of the goal, that is, formal rationality.[68] Substantive (value) rationality, on the other hand is that "… provisioning is shaped under some criterion of values, whether this is ethical, political, utilitarian, hedonistic, feudal, egalitarian, or whatever."[69]

This example highlights the pervasiveness of rational thought, even amongst figures like sorcerers who operate outside scientific frameworks. Their actions demonstrate the application of various forms of Weberian rationality, albeit grounded in assumptions different from modern scientific thought. A blood-letter or the follower of humour theory can be considered rational, as he/she acts on the experience and changes his/her method when the patient is still sick. What is lacking in the sorcerer is a set of the universal curriculum and uncertain consequences of the actions, i.e. formal rationality. Formal rationality is defined by Max Weber as

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[66] Stephen Kalberg, "Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes," 1151.
[67] Kalberg, "Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes," 1152-1154.
[68] Arnold Eisen, "The Meanings and Confusions of Weberian 'Rationality,'" 58-59.
[69] Eisen, "The Meanings and Confusions of Weberian 'Rationality,'" 64.

"…quantitative calculation or accounting which is technically possible and which is actually applied."[70] Formal rationality can be achieved through implementing a modern curriculum, clear regulations, and standardized procedures. These elements promote efficiency and consistency in decision-making and processes. According to Weber, formal rationality is the type of rationality that led to rise of capitalism in the West.[71] For a hospital, we can count patient records, keeping statistics, building new *modern* pavilions for the incoming patients as examples of the formal rationality.

Anthony Giddens explains the "rational organization of labour" as "routinized, calculated administration within continuously functioning enterprises."[72] According to Weber, this "rational organization" is best achieved through bureaucratization. Max Weber defines bureaucracy as follows: regulations and rules, a system of hierarchy, office management that is based upon written documents, specialized office management, and officials who have the special technical expertise to manage the office.[73] However, to illustrate this issue, bureaucratization can also limit one's ability to act in bureaucratic procedures, translated as an "iron cage" by Talcott Parson.[74] As will be discussed in the third chapter, thanks to the uneven Yıldız bureaucracy that highlights the Sultan's prestige in the actions, the bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire would serve to the benefit of Dr. İbrahim Bey when dealing with hospital's problems.

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[70] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 85. William Cockerham, "Max Weber: Bureaucracy, Formal Rationality and Hospital," 127.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, IX.
[73] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 956-958.
[74] Cockerham, 124.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter attempts to reconstruct Dr. İbrahim Bey's fragmented biography. Also, some of the theoretical approaches in the formation of profession was discussed. Functionalist, Foucaldian and Neo-weberian perspectives were inspected in order to understand how a profession is formed. These approaches are important to understand the tactics used by a professional such as Dr. İbrahim Bey in his professional career, especially when he faced crises such as resignation and governmental changes. Lastly, formal rationality and bureaucracy is explained briefly to understand the management of Dr. İbrahim Bey of the *Hamidiye Etfal* in the later chapters. His aim was to show the modernity and order of the *Hamidiye Etfal* is akin to the medical institutions in Europe and to achieve this, Dr. İbrahim Bey uses *İstatistik* journals, the official medical bulletin of the hospital.

CHAPTER 2

NON-LINEAR PROFESSIONALIZATIONS IN THE 19TH-CENTURY WORLD

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the diverse paths of medical professionalization across the globe. In the later parts of this section, we will look at the Ottoman medical system, highlighting its non-linear development, similar to other historical trajectories. The professionalization of medicine in the 19th century was not a linear process towards a monopoly of the professional doctors. Instead, it involved ongoing struggles by medical professionals to establish themselves within a complex medical marketplace with diverse practitioners. When we look at the professionalization stories of different areas of the world, we will see how the process is patchy and contains exemptions for the "non-professionals." The reasons for this heterogeneity may vary from country to country, from the "…laissez-faire environment of the Anglo-American world" for Britain and North America versus France and German statist interventionism to the medical area.[75] The 19th-century medical world was marked by an uneven professionalization process, with the state and lay healers playing complex roles.

One of the most crucial elements of the professionality of a practitioner of medicine is the licensing issue. A diploma would show the technical competence of a professional doctor and was proof of his legality. However, even the licensing issue was not fixed in the 19th-century world. For example, would there be a regulation on medical practice or not? Or, for another instance, who or which institution will be

[75] Thomas Neville Bonner, *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany and the United States, 1750-1945,* 31.

responsible for granting a diploma? In the English example, the İmperial College of Physicians of London gave two types of licenses: the fellowship license only for the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge and the *license* to the other universities' graduates. In the 19th century, the lowest strata of physicians in Britain, apothecaries gained the Apothecaries Act to be legally renounced as "professional men" in 1815.[76] Nevertheless, only with the 1858 Medical Act was it finally settled who would practise medicine in England.[77] The situation was similar in Europe. In the 1830s, there were three degree-granting schools in France: Paris, Strasbourg, and Montpellier. In contrast, there were 24 German universities that gave medical licenses to their graduates in the 19th century.[78] In this century, the old apprenticeship system for training physicians continued in the medical schools of the United States.[79] This picture shows no unified license-dispensing system for medical practitioners in Europe and North America.

The patchy trajectories of professionalization of medicine picture are similar in the Near East and the Far East. In Iran, the proposal for formal examinations for doctors only emerged in the 1850s. However, alternative avenues for practicing medicine persisted, with individuals obtaining permission from established Iranian or European doctors within the country.[80] This suggests the continued relevance of the traditional apprenticeship system. Conversely, Russia adopted a state-sponsored approach to medical education and licensing, mirroring a trend not seen in the United

[76] John Beard, "To What Extent Did the 1858 Medical Act Bring Unity to the British Medical Profession?" 95-96.
[77] Ibid, 97.
[78] Bonner, *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany and the United States, 1750*-1945, 164.
[79] Bonner, 176.
[80] Hormoz Ebrahimnejad, *Medicine, Public Health and the Qajar State: Patterns of Medical Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran,* 56.

States. As a result, Nancy Frieden advocates that the doctors of Russia intrinsically became state officials, which distorted their autonomy.[81]

China, in the amidst the professionalization struggle of the 19th century merits a broader examination. Because China had its own medical tradition, it was a fight place for the western and Chinese practice of medicine. In China, where traditional medicine still prevailed, the modern professional doctor found it hard to make it into the scene. English missionary doctor Harold Balme advocates the role of ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) and Peter Parker, a medical missionary doctor, as the leading figure of Western medicine's introduction in China. According to Balme, because of his success in the practice, "Dr. Parker opened the gates of China with a lancet when European cannon could not have a single bar."[82] The ABCFM missionaries saw Chinese medicine and the Chinese health system as a failure. According to Balme, the Chinese educated class saw the causes of diseases as "evil spirits"; they had no knowledge of chemistry, anatomy, or physiology. There were neither educated medical assistants such as nurses nor doctors with a diploma in medicine. Hence, the Western missionary doctor faced a dire situation: no medical equipment, no medical assistant and "ignorant masses and suspicious masses."[83] The only possible way to gain the people's hearts and minds was to show Western medicine's success in treating diseases and achieving the support of the gentry. For this reason, the medical missionaries tried to establish a relationship with the gentry, like having an honorary tablet from the wealthy classes

[81] Nancy Frieden, "The Russian Cholera Epidemic, 1892-93, and Medical Professionalization," 539.
[82] Harold Balme, *China and Modern Medicine: A Study in Medical Missionary Development*, 44.
[83] Balme, *China and Modern Medicine,* 61-64.

put at the entrance of the missionary hospital as a sign of the patient's gratitude.[84] ABCFM, though the number of its clinics did not exceed 350,[85] was an essential figure in the introduction of Western medicine in China.

However, it is not only the modernizing attempts made by missionary doctors in the Far East. Bridie Andrews and Sean Hsian-Lin Lei's works show the other factors in Western medicine's opening to China, namely the Japanese medicine competition with the Chinese one and the medical students who went to Europe or the United States. While Lei notes that Chinese authorities lacked interest in Western medicine during the Self-Strengthening period (1860s-1895),[86] Japanese medicine has already encountered Western medicine thanks to the Dutch traders and the Dutch East India Company. During the Meiji Restoration, physicians were required to have a diploma based on an examination evaluating their Western medicine knowledge.[87] After the Japanese victory against Russia in 1905, Andrews notes that many Chinese students went to learn Western Medicine as they saw the success of Japanese modernity.[88]

Professionalism and Western medicine's rise in China occurred due to professional doctors' efforts to show their abilities in the medical area. There were

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[84] Ibid., 67.
[85] Ibid., 77
[86] Sean Hsian-Lin Lei, *Neither Donkey nor Horse: Medicine in the Struggle Over China's Modernity*, 48. The Self-Strengthening Movement was a set of reforms initiated by the Qing dynasty in China, aimed to strengthen the country after the devastating Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). This movement focused on opening new institutions, maintaining social order, and improving the economy with a limited Westernisation. However, its success was limited, and China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895 marked the end of the Self-Strengthening Movement. See, Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, Second Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 244-246. John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol.11, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
[87] Bridie Andrews, *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850-1960*, 76.
[88] Andrews, *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850-1960*, 70.

figures like Cambridge-graduated Dr. Wu Liande, who managed to control the Manchurian plague by successfully diagnosing it as a pneumonic plague and preventing it from spreading.[89] When the Manchurian plague occurred, authorities (including foreign doctors and authorities) could not understand whether it was contagious. However, by showing the plague as an airborne contagious disease (rather than the bubonic plague transmitting with rat fleas), Dr. Wu became one of the pioneers of Western medicine since traditional practitioners could not treat the patients.[90] Dr. Wu convinced the authorities that Western medicine had to be taken into consideration with its preventive methods, like masks and quarantine, and the plan was successful. Dr. Wu's success in diagnosing and preventing the plague caught the attention of the authorities. Liang Qichao, one of the late Qing China's most influential intellectuals, even said that Dr. Wu became the sole figure of China to "face the world as a scholar" in the "importation of science."[91]

The Manchurian plague changed the fate of Western medicine practitioners in the area of medicine. Lei takes the Manchurian plague as a game-changer and presents it as an opportunity for Western medicine in China to find a public space and state support. After the plague, Chinese practitioners of Western medicine were organized under the name of the National Medical Association of China (*Zhonghua Yixuehui*) in 1915 and their official journal. These doctors criticized China's health system since it contained quackery, no sanitation and superstition.[92] The formation of a Western medical association was an open attack on Chinese medicine since Chinese medicine lacked preventive methods and had no diplomas. According to the

[89] Balme mentions Wu as an exceptional figure in China. Balme, 118.
[90] Lei, *Neither Donkey nor Horse*, 32.
[91] Ibid., 42.
[92] Ibid., 52.

author, missionaries could not introduce terms like “public health” since they had no state authority backing them.[93] However, Chinese practitioners of Western medicine tried to take the support of the state authority to have a place in the medical market of China.

India, like China, had its already unique medical *Ecole*, *Unani* medicine, which led to a similar contest between Western-style doctors and traditional practitioners. The British Government had different opinions on whether to support or block the practice of the *Unani* practitioners,[94] and to what degree they would allow the “Indianisation” of the medical service.[95]

In conclusion, the professionalization and monopolization of medicine by professional physicians was not achieved until the 20th century, regardless of the country, whether Western or non-Western. In their race against irregulars, quacks, and the state, professional physicians used their bargaining power. This power came from their organizational strength and medical expertise, especially during epidemics or pandemics. The neo-Weberian concept of gaining a monopoly by convincing the public and the state through these organizations and expert knowledge is one of the possible ways to explain how an occupation becomes a profession through the efforts of professionals.

2.2 Medical education in the early modern Ottoman Empire

In the medieval and early modern Islamic world, as Gary Leiser points out, there were several ways to become a physician. These were often intertwined. One option

[93] Ibid., 47.
[94] Deepak Kumar, “Medical Encounters in British India, 1820-1920,” 166-170.
[95] Saurav Kumar Rai, “Indianization of the Indian Medical Service, c. 1890s-1930s,” 828.

was to learn within the family, a tradition exemplified by Al-Nadr al-Harath, a relative of Muhammad.[96] Alternatively, self-study of medical texts offered a route for the highly motivated, as demonstrated by Ibn Rıdvan and Ibn Sina. Finally, hospitals associated with *medrese*s could provide another avenue for medical training. However, Leiser acknowledges the scarcity of references to madrasa at-tıb (medical schools) in medieval sources.[97] On the other hand, Sonja Brentjes presents a contrasting view, citing the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansir Billah's establishment of a teaching position for physicians in his 13th-century madrasa. Additionally, some Ayyubid doctors endowed properties to create medical madrasas with a strong focus on medicine.[98]

Within the Ottoman context, medical education and hospital practice were not merely separate entities but rather closely intertwined with each other. This symbiotic relationship was exemplified by the presence of *şakird-i tabip* (medical apprentices) assisting physicians in renowned hospitals such as Fatih *Darüşşifası* (İstanbul), Yıldırım *Darüşşifası* (Bursa), and Bayezid II *Darüşşifası* (Edirne).

Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi (Süleymaniye Medical Medrese) (built around 1553-1559) stands as a prime example of this integration. Established as a specialized medrese dedicated to the education of medical students, its formation was outlined in the *vakf* deed. According to the deed, there were eight *danişmends* (medical students) who would transition into the role of *şakird-i tabip* (medical apprentice) upon successful completion of their studies. The *müderris* was the head

[96] Gary Leiser, "Medical Education in Islamic Lands from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Century," 49.
[97] Leiser, "Medical Education in Islamic Lands from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Century," 58.
[98] Sonja Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamicate Societies (800-1700)*, 92.

lecturer and expected to be a person who "… must be known for the strength of his virtue, understanding, intuition, and senses; possess sound judgment and intelligence; have healthy sensory organs; be knowledgeable in the intricacies of logic; and be thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of the science of the body, down to its most minute details. He should be considered the Plato of their time, the Aristotle of their era, a healer with the breath of Jesus, distinguished among physicians, and a leader among those who hold the rank of Galen."[99]

The *Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi's* medical education included theoretical and practical instruction. Two days of practical training followed each day of theoretical education.[100] This hands-on approach ensured that graduates were not only well-versed in medical theory but also equipped with the practical skills necessary to excel in clinical settings.

Beyond the realm of medicine, the *Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi's* curriculum encompassed a broader range of subjects, including Islamic law and philosophy. This holistic education prepared graduates for a diverse range of career paths, extending beyond the confines of medicine. Graduates could pursue positions as *qadi* (judge), *müderris* (lecturer), or even venture into other professions that required a strong foundation in Islamic law and philosophy.[101]

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[99] Nil Sarı, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi," 372.
[100] Tuncay Zorlu, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi II," 81-82.
[101] For further information about the education in *Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi*, see Nil Sarı, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi," *in Uluslararası Osmanlı Medreseleri (Eğitim, Yönetim, Finans),* ed. Fuat Aydın, Mahmut Zengin, Kübra Cevherli, Yunus Kaymaz, (İstanbul: Mahya Yayınları, 2019), 367-385. Tuncay Zorlu, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi II," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* Vol. 4 No. 1 (2002): 65-98. Zorlu, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi I," *Osmanlı bilimi Araştırmaları* Vol. 3 No. 2 (2002): 79-124. Nil Sarı "Educating the Ottoman Physician," *Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation* (2005): 7.

Apart from the medrese education, Ottoman physicians also got their *icazet*s (diplomas and certificates) from their masters through the master-pupil apprentice method, like famous physicians Nidai or Siyahi Larendevi (16th century).[102] Particularly, graduates from the renowned *Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi* consistently supplied the Sultan with his chief physicians. This established a long-standing tradition of the *Süleymaniye* as the premier institution training palace medical leadership.[103]

From a Weberian perspective, the pre-modern medical training systems in the Ottoman Empire – education within the family, medreses (religious schools), and the master-apprenticeship system – exhibited limitations in fostering a formally rational medical profession. Family-based education and apprenticeships often lacked a standardized curriculum, and the skillset acquired by a *şakird-i tabip* (medical apprentice) could lead to various occupations beyond medicine, such as *qadi* (Islamic judge), *müderris* (lecturer) and even *kazasker* (military chief judge).[104] Similarly, the education provided by medreses varied significantly, lacking a unified curriculum for medical training. Yet, as will be discussed in the following parts, the first cadres of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* was formed by medrese-educated or self-cultivated physicians. Seeing these cadres or the previous institutions as "irrational" would be a big mistake as they were the ones who formed and ran the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*.

The establishment of *Tıbhane-i Amire* (the precursor of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) by the efforts of the imperial physician Mustafa Behçet Efendi in 1827 marked a turning point for the modernisation of the medical education in the

[102] Sarı, "Educating the Ottoman Physician,"13.
[103] Sinem Serin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hekimbaşılık Müessesesi," 35-36.
[104] Sarı, "Educating the Ottoman Physician," 7.

Ottoman Empire. This institution implemented a standardized curriculum, signifying a shift towards a more formally rational medical system. This change aligned with the need for a professionalized medical workforce equipped with the systematic knowledge and expertise necessary for effective medical practice.

2.3 The opening of Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane

To understand the actors in behind the changes in the Ottoman health system, we should look at the imperial chief physician of the Sultan. We will see that he was not only responsible for the health of the Sultan and the imperial family. Sinem Serin rightly emphasizes that the imperial chief physician had a vital role in governing medicine in the Empire. The imperial chief physician, who mainly was selected from the *Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi*, was in charge of the supervision of the *Darüşşifa tabibs* (hospital doctors) both in the capital and the provinces, the military physicians, and also the examination and giving licenses to physicians in the capital. Out of İstanbul, the supervision and licensure of the physicians were provided by the hospital doctors in the vicinity, who were under the surveillance of *esnaf muhtesibs* (overseers of artisans). The practising of foreign physicians is also bound to the permit of the imperial chief physician.[105] Hence, we can say that before the formation of *Tıbhane-i Amire*, as a medical expert, the imperial chief physician held the power of making politics and shaping the medical profession by deciding who would practise and who would not.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that the first modernization (forming of a formal-rational institution) attempts at medicine in the Ottoman Empire came from the imperial chief physician, Mustafa Behçet Efendi. Behçet Efendi became the chief

[105] Serin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hekimbaşilik Müessesesi," 165-200.

physician of the imperial family during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II. His medical education is unknown, yet Mustafa Behçet Efendi's maternal family belonged to Imperial physicians. It is assumed that he completed his medical education in Süleymaniye *Tıp Medresesi*, he was sent to Venice thanks to his grandfather, ex-imperial chief physician Hayrullah Efendi, in his early twenties. Still, we do not know whether he got any "Western" medical education there.[106] He first attempted to open medical schools *Kuruçeşme Rum Tıbbiyesi* (Rum Medical School) in 1805 and *Tersane Tıbbiyesi* (Navy Medical School) in 1806, but after the murder of Selim III, he was dismissed from the imperial chief physician position. However, he became *Hekimbaşı* once more in 1817, was dismissed again and lastly, held the post again in 1823.[107]

Mustafa Behçet Efendi, lauded as a pioneer of medical modernization in the Ottoman Empire proposed a novel approach. He envisioned a military medical school (which will take the name of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) fostering Muslim doctors for the army. This school would encompass both "old" and "new" medicine, emphasizing the mastering of foreign languages to comprehend the latter.[108] This highlights the interplay of rationality (integrating new medical knowledge) and tradition (preserving established practices) in shaping the Ottoman medical landscape. The agency for medical modernization was not solely with the Sublime

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[106] Ayten Altıntaş, "Feridun Nafiz Uzluk ve Mustafa Behçet Efendi," 59. In this article, Altıntaş gives wide information about medical historian Feridun Nafiz Uzluk's works on Mustafa Behçet Efendi, which is valuable to inspect deeply. Also look at, Altıntaş, "Tıbhane-i Amire'ye Adım Adım," *Tarih Ve Toplum* Vol. 29, No.171 (1998): 132-137. Rıza Tahsin, *Tıp Fakültesi Tarihçesi: Mir'ât-ı Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye*, ed. Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1991).

[107] Nil Sarı, Mustafa Behçet Efendi," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/behcet-mustafa-efendi (accessed 26 March, 2024)

[108] Ayten Altıntaş, "Ülkemizde Tıp Eğitiminin Başlangıcı, Gelişimi ve 14 Mart Tıp Bayramı'nın Anlamı," 47

Porte (central government) but also with physicians like Mustafa Behçet Efendi within the imperial bureaucracy, demonstrating a power dynamic beyond the state authority.

The establishment of the *Tıbhane-i Amire* (1827) and its successor, the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane* (1839) (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) during this period of medical change is an example of this coexistence.[109] The graduates of the "traditional" Süleymaniye *Tıp Medresesi* and those from prominent "medical" families found themselves open to European advancements and medical regulation within the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. The *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, initially led by Josephinum Academy graduate Karl Ambros Bernard, fostered a collaborative environment. Figures like Hekimbaşı Abdülhak Efendi (facilitating autopsies) and Cerrah İsmail Paşa (introducing smallpox vaccination) illustrate this rational openness.[110]

2.4 The formation of the Superior Council of Health

We should remember that the 19th century witnessed severe pandemics like cholera and the need for an empire-wide, or even an international quarantine system.[111] In 1831, Mahmud II formed the *Karantina Meclisi* (Council of Quarantine) with the

[109] For the history of the opening of a "modern medical institution" process see, Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 334-353. Ayten Altıntaş, "Tıbhane-i Amire ve 14 Mart Tıp Bayramı," 45-56.
[110] Yeşim Işıl Ülman, *Galatasaray Tıbbiyesi: Tıbbiye'de Modernleşmenin Başlangıcı* 130-135. For other prominent Ottoman physicians of the period please see Esin Kahya, "On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tıp Eğitimi ve Kalburüstü Hekimlerimiz," 685-710.
[111] Mesut Ayar's work's introduction part on cholera pandemic is valuable to see how an epidemic affect the world globally, the preventions and cautions that were taken by the international actors. Mesut Ayar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kolera Salgını: İstanbul Örneği (1892-1895), 1-17. His work was published as a book with the same name in 2007.

help of the *Şeyhülislam* Mekkizade Asım Efendi, stating that quarantine does not go against the *sharia*.[112] *Karantina Meclisi* determined the lift or enactment quarantines in some places, how long the quarantine should be, and how the news should be conveyed to the public.[113] At times, the quarantine measures were detrimental to the economic activities of the shopkeepers and to the reaction of the population. For example, the quarantine doctors examined the bodies of men and women, exposing their private parts, and buried the dead with calcifications, which caused great tension between the doctors and the population.[114] The doctors in these quarantine houses (*tebhirhane*), became the face of the state. A Muslim director and mostly a foreign physician worked in these quarantine houses.[115]

In 1837, the imperial chief physician Ahmed Necib wrote a memorandum that reports the *Tıbhane-i Amire* needs new buildings. In this memorandum Ahmed Necib notes that there should be a building with four or five large dormitory rooms, a lecture hall with a raised podium, a library, kitchen, laundry room, and spaces dedicated for depictions (*temasil*), paintings (*tesavir*), and anatomy (*teşrihiye*). It also mentions a secure storage room for equipment for chemical procedures, one or two

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[112] Nuran Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar: Karantina İstemezük." 19.
[113] BOA.MB.İ. 82-183, 20 *Zilkade* 1298, (14 October, 1881), and BOA.Y.A.HUS. 315-22, (11 December, 1894). *Karantina Meclisi* (later on *Sıhhiye Meclisi*) included European doctors and the representatives of the ambassadors of European countries. Hence, the council needs to examined in an international context. For the futher studies on formation of *Karantina Meclisi*, see, Osman Şevki Uludağ, "Son Kapitülasyonlardan Biri: Karantina." 445-68. Gülden Sarıyıldız. "Karantina Meclisi'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri." 329-376. Nuran Yıldırım "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar: Karantina İstemezük." 18-27.
[114] Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar," 20-23.
[115] Ibid., 20.

warehouses, and a fountain. Additionally, the text requests a large hospital to be built near this building.[116]

Two years later, *Tıbhane-i Amire* took the shape of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* in 1839 when it merged with *Cerrahhane* (School of Surgeons) and moved to Galatasaray vicinity. Yeşim Ülman especially highlights the importance of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* of Galatasaray in modernizing medicine in the Ottoman Empire. Its professors consisted of European doctors, the professors of the *Tıbhane-i Amire* and non-Muslim doctors who were the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The language of education became French, and the school also accepted non-Muslim students contrary to *Tıbhane-i Amire*. Later on, several Muslim students became doctors in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*.[117]

One of the new features of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* was the establishment of the *Meclis-i Umur-ı Tıbbiye* (The Superior Council of Health). In 1840 by the report of the director of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* imperial chief physician Abdülhak Molla*,* the council was formed. The council was the continuation of the *Karantina Meclisi*, and acted as a ministry of Health. The head of the assembly was the imperial chief physician. Its members were the renowned physicians of the capital (both Muslim and non-Muslim) and the professors of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. The responsibility of the assembly was similar to the duties of the imperial chief physician, like giving permission to the practitioners of medicine if they were "competent" enough, regulating the medicine and drugs given to the people, regulating the doctors' offices (*hekim dükkanları*) and the education in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. The decisions of the assembly would be published through the

[116]Altıntaş, "Osmanlılarda Modern Anlamda Tıp Eğitiminin Başlaması: Tıbhane-i Amire," 539.
[117] Ülman, *Galarasaray Tıbbiyesi: Tıbbiye'de Modernleşmenin Başlangıcı*, 31.

newly established *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the official gazette of the Ottoman Empire, to inform the public. In 1850, the imperial chief physician position was abolished since the council took the responsibilities of the imperial chief physician.[118] These developments show that the cadres of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* had a voice in shaping the health policy of the empire.

2.5 The professional doctors of the late Ottoman medical system

Professional doctors who operated in the late 19th century Ottoman Empire included Ottoman subjects and European doctors. The first medical organization in the Ottoman Empire was the *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Imperial Medical Society), founded by European doctors who came to Istanbul during the Crimean War (1853-1856). The society aimed to form a medical society just like the ones in Europe and only to share doctors' views on the medicine and health with the public.[119] Though European doctors founded *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, some of its members, like Antoine Fauvel or Zoeros Paşa, were the professors of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. The medical journal of the *Cemiyet-i Tıbbıye-i Şahane* was *Gazette Medicale d'Orient*, and the writers of it were the same people, i.e. the doctors of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. In the articles, they complained about the low number of graduates and raised their voices when the Sublime Porte wanted to depose some medical school professors. For example, Serviçen Efendi (professor of forensic science of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* in 1867)[120] wrote that the cadre of the *Mekteb-i*

[118] Altıntaş, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hekimbaşılık Müessesesinin Yetkilerini Üzerine Alan Meclis: Meclis-i Umur-ı Tıbbiye," 203-218. Yıldırım, *Tıphane-i Amire ve Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'den İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi'ne,* 81-85.
[119] "… cemiyet-i mezkurenin emeli yalnız fünun-ı tıbbiyeye dair mesail ile meşgul olarak fenn-i tıbba dair etıbbanın mütaalatını halka takdim ve tefhimden ibaret bulunduğunu anlamış olacakları derkardır…" BOA.İ.HR. 130-6661 (10 May, 1856).
[120] Yasemin Öztuna Şirin, "Osmanlı Salnamelerinde 1908'e Kadar Tıp Eğitimi," 22.

Tıbbiye-i Şahane should be responsible for the "weeding" of the education cadre of the school if it is indispensable, not the Sublime Porte.[121]

There were also debates on the opening of a *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* (Civil Medical School) and the need for a diploma system in the journal *Gazzette Medicale D'orient*. Dr. Fauvel discussed the importance of opening a *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* to raise doctors with a diploma in medicine. According to Fauvel, all regulations will be void unless enough doctors have a diploma.[122] In 1857, Cemalettin Efendi, the imperial chief physician and director of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, formed a special class to translate the non-Turkish medical books, introduce new terms into the literature and show that medical education could be taught in Turkish as well as French. Although the class was dissolved after Hayrullah Efendi's appointment as director in 1859, some of the students such as Kırımlı Aziz Bey, Hüseyin Remzi and Mehmet Nazif continued their work. In the end, these students formed an unofficial society in 1862.[123] *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye* (The Ottoman Society of Medicine) was officially founded in 1866, mainly by Turkish students (except a certain Hristo Efendi) and the head of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and the imperial chief physician Salih Efendi. Its aim was to translate some of the medical works into Turkish and to publish a medical journal. The "religious matters" and politics would not be talked about during the gatherings (*mesail-i dinîye ve politikadan asla bahsolunmayacaktır*).[124] The organization also promoted Turkish

[121] Feza Günergun and Nuran Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'nin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler (1857-1867)," 30.
[122] Günergun and Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'nin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler (1857-1867)," 32.
[123] Yıldırım, *Tıphane-i Amire ve Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'den İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi'ne*, 104.
[124] BOA. İ.MVL. 567-25500, (2 March, 1867).

language education in medical school.[125] *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye* insistence was that classes in *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* can be taught in Turkish, and one of the aims of the society was to translate foreign medical books to the service of the medical education of the students.[126]

Hence, in 1867, both as a result of the efforts *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye* and the opinions of the professors in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* (Imperial Civil Medical School) was founded. This school offered medical education in Turkish, a significant shift from previous institutions.[127] Its primary purpose was to train physicians who hold a diploma from the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* to serve the needs of the people in the provinces, as opposed to solely focusing on military medical needs.[128] According to regulation of the school, it accepted students between the age of 16-25, both Muslim and non-Muslim. The students will return their home after completing the school day,[129] contrary to the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. The school was firstly built inside of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, but as the number of its students increased, it was separated physically from the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and moved to Ahırkapı with a clinic in 1874. Though the two school is separated from each other, professors taught at both schools and *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* was under the scientific supervision of

[125] Öztuna, "Osmanlı Salnamelerinde 1908'e Kadar Tıp Eğitimi," 21.
[126] Hüsrev Hatemi and Ayten Altıntaş, "Dünden Bugüne Türkiye Tıp Akademisi," 14-16.
[127] Three years later in 1870, the education language in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* also turned toTurkish.
[128] Ekrem Kadri Unat and Mustafa Samastı, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye (Sivil Tıp Mektebi) 1867-1909*, 1-10.
[129] "Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye Nizamnamesi," *Düstur* Vol.2, 807-813. Also see, Yıldırım, *Tıphane-i Amire ve Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'den İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi'ne*, 105-120.

the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*,[130] but it is important to note that the former was a civilian school giving civilian education. Rasimoğlu argues that while *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* attracted middle-class Muslim Ottoman families' sons as it offered a prestigious, life-long post and a military rank that would enable a social mobility, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* attracted mostly non-Muslim Ottoman candidates.[131]

2.6 The medical market of the late Ottoman Empire

In the 19th century Ottoman Empire, lay healers or folk medicine was always more reachable to the public.[132] To illustrate these claims, we can look at the book that Abdülaziz Bey[133] wrote in the first decade of the 20th century about the folk culture of Ottomans. In that book, Abdülaziz Bey emphasizes that the "old medicine" in his time still defined the diagnoses of diseases and drug preparations. [134] He also says that "old medicine" had "reliable techniques,"[135] which can be interpreted as people

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[130] Unat and Samastı, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, 14-15. Also see, Nil Sarı, "Mekteb-i Tıbbiye (1827-1909)," 19.
[131] Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group," 151.
[132] The article of Ceren Rasimoğlu is a well-researched piece of work that looks at tension between the professional doctor and laymen healers. Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate On Medical Professionalism in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire," 473-501. My sub-chapter is a contribution to this work and looks at the tensions within the professional doctors.
[133] Abdülaziz Bey was a bureaucrat of the time. For the biography of Abdülaziz Bey, see, Ümran Ay, "Abdülaziz Bey," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abdulaziz-bey accessed 12 June 2024.
[134] "Old medicine" in the Ottoman context is a term that combines the humoral theory, (which was based on the balance of four elements in the human body, black bile, yellow bile, blood and phlegm) prophetic medicine, (Prophet Muhammed's practices and teachings in medicine, which were recorded by religious scholars) and folk medicine in the Ottoman Empire. Miri Shefer-Mossensohn describes these elements of medicine are not separate from each other, and blended together when it comes to the treatment of a patient. See, Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, 21-61. New medicine (*tıbb-ı cedid*) will be mentioned in the chapter four as a part of the history of medicine discussions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
[135] Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, 348.

of the time trusted the lay healers. As a contribution to Abdülaziz Bey's claims, a graduate of the American College in Beirut, Dr. Avedis Nakkashian's memoirs well represent how the medical monopoly was in the hands of lay healers in the 1860s and 1870s Anteb. However, his tone towards the lay healers was not positive. Nakkashian tells that:

> In those days, the art of healing was entirely in the hands of laymen, especially barbers. The barber shaved his customers, and if they had some physical complaints, he took care of these as well- with a pill, a solution or a powder. They diagnosed every ailment by simply holding the pulse, and they were referred to as *hakims*, which means doctors.[136]

In his memoirs, Cemil Topuzlu criticizes prominent doctors of the day for consulting with bone-setters, whom he considered as ignorant and charlatans:

> Despite being treated for days by the bone setters (at that time, all fractures and dislocations were treated by these charlatan and ignorant individuals, and even doctors would send their patients to them. In fact, Dr. Hasip Paşa, despite being a renowned doctor, was also being treated by these men), Paşa's [Dr. Hasip Paşa's] family, witnessing his continuous suffering and intense pain, finally decided to send for me.[137]

We have mentioned that social closure that is setting boundaries to prevent laymen to enter the profession is an important element of professionalism. Medical societies and diplomas are some of the tools for social closure. With medical societies and a diploma system, the professional doctor can compete with the irregulars and with each other in the medical market.

When we look at previous examples, the doctors in the Ottoman Empire moved with different agendas in their professionalization path. While non-Muslim doctors advocated the autonomy of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and the need for a

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[136] Avedis Nakkashian, *A Man Who Found a Country*, 20.
[137] Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 57. "Charlatan" is a common word for the non-regulated and non-formally educated health practitioners. Especially pronatalist doctors wanted to see regulated care-takers, midwives and nurses in the field. See, Gülhan Balsoy's work, *The Politics of Reproduction*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye, which can be interpreted as a specialization of medicine, Turkish Muslim doctors advocated the Turkish language education, with a sense to promote Turkish as an acceptable scientific language worldwide. Thus, the definition of professional doctors in the Ottoman Empire was not always a unified entity. While graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* or the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* were accepted as professional doctors by the state thanks to their diploma, individuals with medical diplomas obtained from outside of the Ottoman Empire could also be accepted through an exam administered by the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. In addition, lay healers who had been practicing medicine for a long time would continue their work if they passed the examination of the committee of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* doctors. This means that there were many different medical practitioners in the Ottoman Empire whose number could not be estimated, besides a smaller group of graduates of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* or *Mülkiye* like Dr. İbrahim Bey. Many doctors competed with each other within these groups.

As it can be examined in *Memalik-i Mahrusa-i Şahane'de Tababet-i Belediyye İcrasına Dair Nizamname* (Regulation on the Practice of Municipal Medicine in the Sublime Ottoman Dominions) of 1861, the professional doctors was one of decision makers on deciding who will practise. At first sight, it may seem that the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* dominated the profession of medicine. However, if we look closely the at the regulation we will encounter a more diverse medical landscape.

Article 1 of this regulation prohibited the practice of medicine under the title of "doctor" without a diploma from the *Mektebi-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* or a recognized foreign institution. Article 3 of the regulation urged that the foreign doctors who wanted to practice medicine in the Ottoman Empire needed to pass the qualification

exams of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. Furthermore, Article 4 mandated the registration of all existing medical and surgical practitioners with the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, suggesting a pre-existing pool of qualified, yet non-standardized, medical providers. Article 9 allowed practising physicians in provincial hospitals to continue their work upon registration, highlighting the need for medical personnel in outlying areas.[138]

The establishment of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* in 1867 specifically addressed the demand for doctors in the provinces. This development, coupled with the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Tıbbiye Nizamnamesi* (General Administration of Medicine Regulations) of 1871, led to the emergence of a new category of state-sanctioned provincial doctors – the "memleket tabibi" or "belediye tabibi" (municipal doctors) As Ceren Rasimoğlu argues, these positions formalized the existing role of provincial medical providers, ensuring a baseline level of qualification while placing them under state control.[139] Municipal physicians were paid by the city municipalities. They served the local population in various ways; they went to the patient's home when the patient was too sick, they had to report any signs of disease spreading in the region, and if necessary they had to make a report for the murder

[138] BOA. A.}DVN.MKL. 75-17. "Fenn-i tababetde yahud sanat-ı cerrahiyede doktor olub taşralarda icra-yı tababet veyahud icra-yı sanat-ı cerrahiye eden mecmu' doktoran mekteb-i şahaneye getirib kayd etdiriceklerdir." All doctors who are practicing medicine or surgery in the provinces must come to the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and register. This includes doctors of medicine and surgery."İşbu nizamnamenin neşr ü ilanında sonra bilad-ı ecnebiyeden vürud eden doktorat Memalik-i Mahruse-i Şahanede icra-yı tababete mezun olmaları için evvela yedlerinde olan diplomalarını Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahaneye getürüb kayd etdireceklerdir. Fakat matbuları olan devletin Dersaadetde mukim konsoloshanelerine de pasaportlarını tasdik ve imza etdirerek ibraz etmedikce kayd olunamayacaklardır Saniyen fenn-i tababetde bazı mesail-i sualiye ... imtihan olunacakdır."

[139] Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Taşrayı İyileştirmek: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Memleket Hekimleri," 2.

cases..[140] According to the 1888 regulation, the graduates of the all municipal doctors should be the subject of the Ottoman Empire.

Alongside the "Ottoman" medical schools, we should also remember that there were missionary medical schools like American colleges established in Anteb and Beirut, where the students had to take the exams of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* to practice medicine in the Ottoman Empire. In the 1890s, Dr. Avedis Nakkashian, who was a graduate of Beirut American Medical College tells how the examination board of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* was unfriendly against American institutions.[141]

Therefore, if we categorize the practitioners of medicine according to the *Memalik-i Mahrusa-i Şahane'de Tababet-i Belediyye İcrasına Dair Nizamname* (Regulation on the Practice of Municipal Medicine in the Ottoman Empire) in 1861 and *İdare-i Umumiye-i Tıbbiye Nizamiyes*i (General Administration of Medicine Regulations) in 1871, and look at the actual process of the practice of medicine in the Ottoman Empire, we can say that the Ottoman medical system had a variety of practitioners. Licensed European doctors from outside the empire were allowed to practice, while unlicensed missionary doctors also operated but were subject to legal restrictions. In addition, the Ottoman population had access to lay healers who were officially licensed to practice. There were also professors from the prestigious medical school, the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*. Moreover, state-appointed physicians served in provincial hospitals and municipalities, while unlicensed healers continued to practice outside the official system.

[140] Erdem Aydın, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sağlık Teşkilatlanması," 195-199.
[141] Avedis Nakkashian, *A Man Who Found a Country*, 90-92.

The picture of the late 19th century Ottoman Empire cannot be explained by putting all these different health actors (not mentioning the midwives, surgeons, and pharmacists yet) into one pot. Each of these different groups had different interests and concerns. For example, in 1888, the provincial doctor Derviş Efendi of Bursa complained about the laziness of Dr. Savayadis Efendi of Bursa *Gureba Hastahanesi* (Bursa Charity Hospital). At the end of the inspection, the health inspector says that Dr. Savayadis is a diligent doctor. It was understood that the petition given by Dr. Derviş Efendi resulted from his competition with Dr. Savayadis.[142] The low salary issue is also an essential problem for the provincial doctors, and the archive is abundant in complaints of them. For instance, a certain Dr. Markopolo Efendi complained about being impoverished because he still had not received his salary from the Adalar Municipality.[143]

One exciting example of competition between doctors and the importance of having the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* diploma comes from Anteb. Anteb *memleket tabibi* Mustafa bin Mehmed tried to hold onto his medical knowledge and his diploma's monopoly regarding the public health of Anteb. In the petition, Dr. Mustafa notes that although it was forbidden to practise medicine without a diploma according to regulations, there were still some people who practised medicine in the vicinity without a diploma or a certificate in such a dire time [1893-1895 were times of cholera epidemic in the Ottoman Empire].[144] Interestingly, he was complaining about the missionary doctors in Anteb. Dr. Mustafa explains and complains about how the missionary doctors do not have a diploma and harm the people by giving

[142] BOA. DH.MKT. 1564-26. (13 May, 1888).
[143] BOA. DH.MKT. 1824-98. (2 April, 1891).
[144] BOA, DH.MKT, 332-58, (15 January, 1895).

false medications.[145] Not having the monopolization item, i.e. the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* diploma, caused tension between a diplomalı *memleket tabibi* and the "uncertificated" missionary doctors.

2.7 Conclusion

To conclude, while unlicensed practitioners remained a concern, the professional medical field in the late 19th century Ottoman Empire presented a more nuanced picture than a single, unified group. The professional doctors competed against each other while competing against the unlicensed practitioners. From the professors of the highest medical institution in the empire (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) to the provincial doctors in the cities, each group had its unique interest, such as offering health policies and have medical authority, getting more salary, or having the monopolization and competence item, that is a diploma. Thus, we may offer that the only competing figure against professionals was not only the "quacks" but also the actors within the same professional group. In this competition, a professional doctor had to use "opportunities" like epidemics and further education to make his voice out to be heard to the medical and political authorities.

[145] Rasimoğlu also examines this case study, see, Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group," 111.

CHAPTER 3

DR. IBRAHIM BEY'S EARLY LIFE, BEFORE HAMIDIYE ETFAL (1861-1899)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine Dr. İbrahim Bey's professional career before his tenure at *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital. This will provide insight into Dr. İbrahim Bey's professional life, his positioning within the medical field, and his priorities as a professional doctor. What makes Dr. İbrahim Bey intriguing is his continuous and deliberate efforts to find a place in the medical market from the beginning of his career as can be seen from his diary entries and state archival materials. Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to establish himself in the medical field by openly presenting his medical work to the public and the state, through his diplomas and certificates, by compiling medical reports to the ministries and newspaper articles on public health. His efforts, choices and tactics in his professional life, along with a combination of fortunate events, led to his appointment as chief physician of *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital. This cannot be interpreted as the appointment of an unknown doctor as the head of a new hospital, but rather as a proof of the talent and determination of a professional doctor.

3.2 Dr. İbrahim Bey's education and early career

It is noteworthy that İbrahim Bey did not attend the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane,* although he attended a military high school as a young student. We may find the possible causes of why Dr. İbrahim Bey enrolled in the Navy. As discussed before, the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*'s first aim was primarily to raise doctors who would

serve in the provinces for the *hıfz-ı sıhha-i umumiye* (protection of public health).[146] A graduate of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* could serve in the provinces, with salaries paid by the municipalities, and was exempt from military service. Though there was job security for the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, the low salary issue was an essential point for the professional doctor, and the archive is abundant of complaints on the salary of provincial doctors. For instance, the request for a municipal physician in the province of Mamüretü'l Aziz (Kharput) was answered with the explanation that doctors do not want to work in these areas for reasons such as their salaries paid by the municipalities not being satisfactory.[147]

Hence, his entrance to *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* opened the way for creating a network with higher echelons of army and bureaucracy. His colleagues in the *Hamidiye Etfal* were mainly doctors from the Navy. If he had stayed as the graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, he would probably not have created such a network since the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* were scattered throughout the empire because of the mandatory duty.

We do not know the exact reasons Dr. İbrahim Bey's acceptance to serve in *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi*. His family's social position might have played a role for his acceptance to the Navy. In the meantime, he seems to use an opportunity that was given by a regulation. According to *İdare-i Tıbbiye-i Bahriye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of the Naval Medical Administration) of 1871, if there is a lack of physicians in the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi*, the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* can also apply for the positions. This way, they would be a part of

[146] BOA. İ.MMS. 33-1363, *24 Şaban* 1283, (1 January, 1867). Ekrem Kadri Unat, Samastı *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye (Sivil Tıp Mektebi) 1868-1909*, 8.
[147] BOA. DH.MKT. 2049-85. 19 *Recep* 1310, (6 February, 1893).

the *Asakir-i Bahriye-i Şahane* (navy soldiers).[148] The doctors who passed the exams of the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* should serve for a year after they were accepted to the institution.[149] Hence, Dr. İbrahim Bey's enrolment in the Navy must be a result of the entrance exam for the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye Şahane*, which Nuran Yıldırım notes, though Dr. İbrahim Bey was not a graduate of this school.[150] Yet, this does not mean İbrahim Bey did not interact with military doctors in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane.* He also graduated from *Soğukçeşme Askeri İdadisi* (Soğukçeşme Military Highschool), which was a military prep school, which also Dr. İbrahim Temo and Dr. Tevfik Sağlam graduated.[151] Hence, even though Dr. İbrahim Bey was not a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, we cannot assume he was isolated from the graduates of this school.

As a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye,* Dr. İbrahim had the opportunity to be exempt from military service. However, he deliberately took the entrance exam to the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi.* Being a soldier created new opportunities that were not available to most of the professional doctors of the time, such as social status, further education in Europe, and a collegial network. The graduates of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* also had the opportunity to go to Europe for their education, as we find many examples in the state archives. However, since they

[148] Serpil Hikmetumut, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bahriye Merkez Hastanesi," 106.
[149] Ibid, 63-64.
[150] Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul,* 190.
[151] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 1 January, 1895. İbrahim Bey stays in touch with some members of this school in the later period. "Bu akşam Dersaadetden Almanyaya irsal olup Berlinde dört mah kadar ikametinden sonra Almanyanın Bonn şehrinde bulunan süvari hussarı alayına memur bulunan Yüzbaşı Kuruçeşmeli Mehmed Şevket Bey Bonn şehrinde ikamet ettiğim (Heer)Strasse 29 numeroya gelip fakiri ziyaret eyledi. Bu zatı görür görmez tanıdım zira Soğukçeşme Askeri Rüşdiyesinde benden bir sınıf aşağı Emirganlı Sabit Beyin sınıfında idi Sabit Bey bu zata enişte olmuş. Şevket Bey Berlinden İmam Efendiden ve Küçük Refik Beyden pek çok selamlar getirmişdir."

were expected to serve in the provinces for public health, the graduates of Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye sometimes faced difficulties in going to Europe for their advanced education. For example, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* graduate Mayer Efendi's request was turned down as he was appointed the *belediye tabibliği* (municipality doctor) of Bor.[152] The graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* can also get promotions and badges, but this would require their "distinguished services" to the public.[153]

Hence, Dr. İbrahim Bey's entrance to *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* opened the way for creating a network with higher echelons of army and bureaucracy. His colleagues in the *Hamidiye Etfal* were mainly doctors from the Navy. If he had stayed as the graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, he would probably not have created such a network since the graduates of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* were scattered throughout the empire because of the mandatory duty.

3.3 Dr. İbrahim Bey's Germany years, 1893-1895

Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries offer a window into his private life, revealing experiences not captured elsewhere. While working in the Navy, an imperial edict on 2 May 1893 announced that he would be sent to Berlin for medical studies. This information was found in Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries.[154] After at least seven months in Berlin, İbrahim Bey goes to Bonn to study with Dittmar Finkler and Walther Kruse.[155] When we look

[152] BOA. DH.MKT. 2132-60. 27 *Cemaziyelahir* 1316, (12 November 1898).
[153] For instance Dr. Ali İbrahim Bey, a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, was awarded the rank civil rank of *rütbe-i salise* for his success in combating the disease that emerged in Marmara. Additionally, the Kırkağaç municipal physician Kapril Kazancıyan was also honored with the same rank. BOA. DH.MKT. 1566-23, 15 *Rabiülevvel* 1306, (19 November 1888).
[154] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 1894, (2 May 1894). "Bugün Berline azimetim hakkındaki irade-i seniyyenin tam bir sene nihayetidir."
[155] He must be in Berlin until 4 October, 1893. One document states that İbrahim Bey was in Berlin at that time. BOA. DH.MKT. 140-43. 23 Rabiülevvel, 1311.

at the diaries, we can see İbrahim Bey's journey starts on 3 March, 1894, with a short entry for taking the fifth class. Although he did not write in his diaries what kind of lesson he had, it is our understanding that in the following days he had German lessons with Fraulein Pelo. Fraulein Pelo was not the only teacher that Dr. İbrahim Bey had. Fraulein Becker in Berlin, Fraulein Mauer for Latin lessons, Fraulein Baker, Fraulein Emilie in Bonn, an old German lady and his colleague Hakkı Bey (Hakkı Şinasi Erel) gave countless German lessons to İbrahim Bey when he was in Germany.

By the time İbrahim Bey arrives in Bonn, his level of German is not advanced despite he spent time in Berlin. He was still practising with the basic verbs such as *werden* (to become) or *haben* (to have). Nevertheless, he is enthusiastic about learning German quickly and buys an atlas about bacteriology (microbiology) and Meyers Konversations-Lexicon, a bulky lexicon with pictures and maps.[156] He also follows German newspapers like *General Anzeiger* and *Bonner Volks Zeitung*, alongside Turkish journals *Sabah, Tarik* and *Servet-i Fünun*.

As a doctor who gained the Sultan's approval to study abroad,[157] Dr. İbrahim also received the German doctors' attention and acceptance in the earlier days. Dr. İbrahim states that Dr. Finkler warmly welcomed and invited them (with Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey) to the hospital (Friedrich Wilhelm Stift Protestant Hospital) to work.[158] He

[156] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 14 June 1894.
[157] Although Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries mention a decree issued on May 2, 1893 for him to study abroad, we could not find this document in the archives. However, the reason he went to Berlin instead of Paris was both Germany's progress in the field of bacteriology and the Young Turk movement in Paris at that time, and according to the state, those who went there "would be corrupted morally." See Nuran Yıldırım, "Türk Hekimlerinin Seçkinleşme Sürecinde Tıp Bilgisinin Transferi," 116-117. İ.HUS. 12-93, 4 *Zilkade* 1310. (20 May 1893).
[158] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 12 April 1894.

also attended some classes there, and much impressed by the advancement of the German medical system:

> Today, at half past three, I went to the Bonn University Hospital, which is amazingly magnificent and extraordinarily well-organized, and attended the lecture of Dr. Pelman, one of the famous professors of the Bonn University. He brought two lunatics to the lecture hall and showed them to the students. They were women. One was manic and the other was melancholic. The manic woman could not stop laughing. The melancholic woman was always afraid and very sad. There was a theater for the insane on one side of this lecture hall. It was truly an extraordinary building beyond imagination. Here, this magnificent building, is a living witness of Bonn University's advancement in medicine. God willing, from today on, I will continue to attend the class every Wednesday.[159]

He also noted down when he diagnosed a patient correctly:

> I went to the clinic this morning. Dr. Kuster performed an autopsy on a woman. This woman had come to the internal medicine clinic and was suffering from an infectious disease. Dr. Pfeiffer and I examined her. My opinion was typhoid. Dr. Pfeiffer diagnosed it as miliary fever. However, the autopsy revealed that it was typhoid.[160]

There, along with Dr. Finkler's assistant, Dr. Kruse, he spent countless days studying bacteriology, mainly on the bacteria of tuberculosis, cholera, and influenza bacillus in the laboratories. He also works in the medical wards along with Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey[161] Besides the laboratory and clinic activities, he also bought several German medical books, which he remarkably admitted. He even started to translate a German medicine book on bacteriology to Turkish with his colleague Ömer Fuad Bey, which

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[159] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 11 July, 1894.
[160] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 25 August, 1894.
[161] Dr. Ömer Fuad was a naval doctor and a bacteriologist at 25 years old when he was in Germany. He further served in the *Hamidiye Etfal* and was one of the best friends of Dr. İbrahim Bey. For the biography of Dr. Ömer Fuad [Keskin] "La Capitaine de Corvette, Dr. Eumer Fuad Bey," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No. 3 (1902): 89. Dr. Feridun Frik also published a short article on Dr. Ömer Fuad's interaction with Nobel-prize winner Dr. Emil von Behring. Dr. Feridun Frik, "Emekli Amiral Dr. Ömer Fuat Keskin'in E. v. Behring'e Ait Hatıraları," *Dirim* No. 1-2 (1941): 74-76. For the works of von Behring, see Florian Winau and Rolf Winau, "Emil von Behring and Serum Therapy," *Microbes and Infection* Vol. 4 No. 2 (2002): 185-188.

was one of the aims of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye,* as we noted in the first chapter. Although we do not know whether Dr. İbrahim Bey is a member of the *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye*, being a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*, an institution that prioritizes Turkish medical education, and considering other translation activities of the period, it would not be far-fetched to say that he acted with this purpose in mind.

As a result of this hard work, in 17 January, 1895, he notes that he discovered a bacillus similar to influenza in the air of the laboratory garden.[162] He informs the chief secretary of Ottoman Berlin Embassy, Sami Bey and *Sabah*'s director, Mihran about this discovery. On March 15, 1895, the *Sabah* newspaper reported that Dr. İbrahim and his colleague, Dr. Ömer Fuad, had discovered two new microbes.[163]

To make his hard work and success tangible, Dr. İbrahim Bey uses some "tactics," such as noting every success he achieved or the certificate he got. Since his early days in Germany, Dr. İbrahim Bey stays in connection with Ottoman ambassador Tevfik Paşa to promote his success[164] and he has made significant efforts to impress German professors and promote his endeavours. His available diaries, newspaper articles, and state archives are enough to show his enthusiasm for making his voice heard by the state authorities and the public. One example is his careful

[162] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 17 January, 1895. Ekrem Kadri Unat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Mikrobiyoloji Tarihçesi Üzerine Bir Deneme," 159-175. In that article, Unat also mentions the two microbes discovered by Dr. İbrahim Bey and Dr. Ömer Fuad. İbrahim Bey was pleased to see their efforts was seen valuable by Dr. Kruse. Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 13 April, 1895. "Bu sabah Doktor Kruze bizim tercümesiyle meşgul olduğumuz kitap içün (forvort) yazmış ve keşf ettiğimiz basillerin mühim olduğundan bahsetmişdir."

[163] "Etıbba-yı Osmaniye ve Bir Keşf-i Cedid," *Sabah,* 3 May 1895.

[164] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 19 August, 1894. "Bugün Berlin Sefiri Tevfik Paşa Fuad Beyle benim tahsilimde gayretimizden bahisle terfimizi Bahriye Nazırına yazmışdır."

notetaking about the certificates he got from Dr. Kruse[165] and Dr. Finkler in his diaries. These diplomas and certificates symbolized his competence in the field of medicine. They were part of his endeavors to gain a position in the market. For this reason, he announced to public with *Sabah* journal that he received a diploma in the field bacteriology from Dr. Nissen and Dr. Finkler.[166]

But sometimes, even a brilliant certificate was not enough to get the attention of a prominent doctor such as Robert Koch. Dr. İbrahim Bey, after getting his diploma from Dr. Finkler at Bonn University, wanted to work in Dr. Robert Koch's institute in Berlin. Despite the Ottoman Berlin ambassador's recommendation letter, Koch did not accept Dr. İbrahim Bey to the institute. Dr. İbrahim Bey once more presented himself to the ambassador and stated that he was not accepted to the institute of Dr. Koch. After a few days of thinking, Dr. Robert Koch accepted Dr. İbrahim Bey to the institute "for the sake of the ambassador [Tevfik] Paşa."[167]

3.4 Dr. İbrahim Bey's early thoughts on medical advancements in Europe

In the 19th century, Ottoman intellectuals frequently discussed topics such as civilization, science, and progress in their articles and books. The rise of science-focused articles that employed a didactic approach to "enlighten" the reader was particularly evident in Ottoman periodicals like *Mecmua-i Fünun*, published by the

[165] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 2 August, 1894. "Bugün muallim-i meşhur Doktor Kruzeden şehadetname aldık. Şehadetnameleri Berlin sefareti müsteşarına gönderdik."
[166] "Etıbba-yı Osmaniye," *Sabah*, 20 May, 1895.
[167] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 29 April, 1895. "Bugün Doktor Koch sefaret-i seniyye tercümanı (Herr Botmer)e sefir paşa hazretlerinin hatrı içün beni kabul eyleyeceğini beyan etmişdir."

Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye (Ottoman Society of Sciences) founded in 1862.[168] These articles explored the nature of civilization, how to achieve progress, and the contributions of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic countries to civilization. In the journal, civilization represented both material and spiritual progress. This progress coud only be achieved by improving knowledge and social collaboration.[169] As Cemil Aydın argues, writers like Münif Paşa, equated being Muslim with being civilized. As a result, they almost interpreted becoming civilized as a religious obligation.[170]

This understanding of progress not separated from the religion i.e. Islam was one of the prevailing mindsets of the late 19th century. Namık Kemal, who was one of the first figures of Young Ottomans (the predecessor and a model for the Young Turks in the l890s) fervently advocated Islam against French academician Ernest Renan by favouring Islam was not an obstacle to science.[16] As an opposition, in his famous *Renan Müdafaanamesi*, (Refutation of Renan's Allegations Against Islam) Namık Kemal argues that Islam and the followers of Islam always favoured nature and mathematical sciences. Even the Quran has scientific passages proving the authenticity of scientific knowledge, such as the sun revolving or rain falling.[171] Another example of Islam's emphasis on science was that two influential Muslim philosophers, Avicenna (Ibn Sina) and Averroes (Ibn Rüşd), held positions in the

[168] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri,* reprinted, X *Tıp Kongresi* Vol.5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1994), 2168-2189.
[169] Cemil Aydın, "Mecmua-i Fünun ve Mecmua-i Ulum Dergilerinin Medeniyet ve Bilim Anlayışı," 49. For example, high population was seen as a criteria of civilisation by the author Münif Efendi Ibid., 50-52.
[170] Aydın, "Mecmua-i Fünun ve Mecmua-i Ulum Dergilerinin Medeniyet ve Bilim Anlayışı," 62.
[171] Namık Kemal, *Renan* Müdafaanamesi, 21.

state government.[172] Were these figures not the signs of the philosophy's and philosopher's importance in Islamic lands, Namık Kemal asks.[173] For Namık Kemal, Islam is not an obstacle; rather it serves as the fuel of progress, with the "scientific" roots and the importance attached to science and philosophy in Islam.[174]

Yalçınkaya shows that the students of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* did not think differently on the issue of science, religion and morality. For example, in 1881 some of the student of the school sent a letter to *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 1881 stating that science should be studied in order to understand the world, and one should not only study for the "other world." The students said that preachers in mosques discourage people from studying science, but they argued that the ideal preacher should show people that science is not in contradiction with Sharia. By studying science, it will be proven that wisdom is in fact Islam itself.[175] For another example, Hüseyin Remzi, who was a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and one of three men to learn rabies vaccine from Louis Pasteur, states in his *İlmihal-i Tıbbi* (Medical Catechism) that "…truth, humanity, civilization, Islam are one and the same thing."[176]

The role of religion and traditional values was also common among the opposition movement, CUP. Even a materialist figure of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i*

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[172] Pro-westerner writer İbrahim Şinasi also wrote the same lines in an article in 1863, stating that Ibn Sina became a grand vizier "at the zenith of Islamic learning." See, Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots*, 75.
[173] Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaanamesi*, 41.
[174] For an examination of Namık Kemal's text see, Aydın, "Mecmua-i Fünun ve Mecmua-i Ulum Dergilerinin Medeniyet ve Bilim Anlayışı," 129-136. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu in *Studies of Ottoman Science and Culture* recommends Dücane Cündioğlu's article on the claims of Renan and its resonance among intellectuals. Dücane Cündioğlu, "Ernest Renan ve 'Reddiyeler' Bağlamında İslam-Bilim Tartışmalarına Bibliyografik Bir Katkı," *Dîvân* No.2 (1996): 1–94.
[175] Yalçınkaya, 185.
[176] Ibid., 186.

Şahane and a CUP member Dr. Abdullah Cevdet expressed the necessity of translation of the works of Eastern figures like Ömer Hayyam, Firdevsi and Saadi alongside the works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller and Byron.[177] In the fourth chapter, we will examine the views of Dr. Necmeddin Arif, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), on the role of religion in progress and civilization. We will see that his views closely align with those of Dr. İbrahim Bey.

As a result of this intellectual environment, the late 19th-century Ottoman press saw an increase in popular articles with a scientific focus, often using a didactic approach to "enlighten" readers. *Servet-i Fünun* and *Mecmua-i Ebuzziya* were some of these journals. These articles frequently presented a positivist outlook, but this positivism also drew inspiration from the heritage of Islamic knowledge. For instance, an article in *Mecmua-i Ebuzziya* argued that the concept of a "scientific institute" was a copy of the traditional Islamic *medrese*. This perspective highlighted a perception that Europeans had merely built upon the knowledge produced by Islamic scholars and the Turks.[178] Christoph Neumann argues that this was a strategy to integrate modern science into Islamic and Turkish achievements.[179]

The late 19th century Ottoman Empire also witnessed a significant redefinition of medicine itself. Epidemics and the rise of medicine and science led the focus of medicine towards a preventative approach, marked by the introduction of patient records, the rise of microbiology (the study of microorganisms and their

[177] Hanioğlu, *Dr. Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi,* 185. Şerif Mardin gives a wide exploration of the intellectual mindset of the late 19th century, the sources the intellectuals were inspired of and their works. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).
[178] Christoph K. Neumann, "Making the Universal One's Own: The Diffusion Of Modern Science Through Ottoman Journals Addressing a General Readership," 64-65.
[179] Ibid, 65.

role in disease), and the establishment of modern hospitals. These advancements collectively contributed to the emergence of a new type of physician in the 19th century – one equipped with scientific knowledge to address public health challenges.[180]

During his time in Germany, Dr. İbrahim Bey wrote two relatively long medical articles on *Sabah* journal. One is about the latest developments in the treatments of diseases like diphtheria with the title of "Makale-i Tıbbiye" the byline *Beylerbeyli Bahriyeli Kolağası İbrahim* with his friend Dr. Ömer Fuad.[181] Another one is about cholera (Kolera Mikroblarının Yumurta İçinde Seyahati!).[182] In "Makale-i Tıbbiye" Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to promote Islamic scholars' role in the advancement of science. In doing so, he does not deny the progress of the European civilizations in the fields of medicine and other sciences. By inventing new devices, they shook the science of medicine at its root:

> If we consider, the European nations, along with other sciences and arts, have advanced medicine in this nineteenth century and have developed anatomy and surgery. They have also recently created a new science called bacteriology, which has shaken the foundations of medicine and brought about changes.[183]

But in the following of the article, according to İbrahim Bey, the roots of the knowledge were already in Islam, and Europe followed Islam just like a student

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[180] Ceren Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire," 49-52.

[181] Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Kolağası Beylerbeyli İbrahim and Etıbba-yı Bahriyeden Kolağası Fuad, "Makale-i Tıbbiye," Sabah, 28 November, 1894.

[182] Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Beylerbeyli İbrahim, "Kolera Mikroblarının Yumurta İçinde Seyahati!" *Sabah*, March 16, 1895.

[183] Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Kolağası Beylerbeyli İbrahim and Etıbba-yı Bahriyeden Kolağası Fuad, "Makale-i Tıbbiye," "Düşünülecek olursa Avrupa akvamı şu on dokuzuncu asırda sair ulum ve fünunla beraber tebabeti dahi ileriye götürerek ensice ve teşrih-i hurdebini tedvin eylemiş ve yakınlarda fenn-i bakteriyoloji namıyla bir fenn-i bedî ... meydana getirmiş ve bununla alem-i tebabet esasından sarsılarak tebeddülat husule gelmişdir."

followed one's teacher. Nevertheless, as the student follows the teacher and improves himself, this does not damage the teacher's honour since the knowledge the student gets is already in the teacher. Hence, Islam is the teacher of Europe, paving the way for Europe's progress.[184] Then, he gave an example from a "famous priest Kana" about this teacher-student relationship. Kana was a famous priest whose fame spread into Germany and Austrian lands (... *şöhreti Almanya ve Avusturyanın kurra ve kasabatını istila eden*) with his "so-called" discovery in his book against the diseases (such as typhoid) by clearing the mouth and nose with cold water. However, this method was already discovered by the blessed Muslim physicians thirteen centuries ago. Hence, Dr. İbrahim asks his audience: does a Muslim exercise Islam's tasks five times a day [performing ablution for daily prayers] need this priest's advice and warning?

In the second article about cholera, Dr. İbrahim Bey acknowledges the great threat of cholera in the Ottoman Empire and states that it was both a religious and a humanitary duty (*her aklı ferdin vezaif-i dinniye ve vacaib-i insaniyesi iktizasındanır*) to obey the decisions of the Sultan regarding the public health. Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that the personal hygiene and cleanliness of the food was ordered also by the hadiths and by the words of Qur'an. According to Dr. İbrahim Bey, one should eat little and consume fresh. In the next part of his article, Dr. İbrahim Bey gives specific examples about the egg, as it is one of the foods that can be a carrier of infectious

[184] Ibid, "Ancak şakird ne kadar kesb-i terakki ederse etsin mualliminin şerefi tenakus etmeyip bilakis o nisbetde tezayüd edeceği tabiidir. İşte bu nokta-i nazardan mütalaa olunursa Avrupanın terakkiyat-ı tıbbiyesine İslamiyet ile etıbba ve hükema-yı salife-i İslamiyenin duhül-i küllisi olduğu nazarlara tecessüm eder." (However, it is natural that as much as the student progresses, the honor of the teacher does not decrease, but rather increases in that proportion. When this point is considered, it becomes clear that Islam and the Islamic physicians and scholars of the past have made a full contribution to the medical progress of Europe.)

diseases. While an unspoiled but slightly stale egg is generally safe, it is important to be cautious during outbreaks of diseases like cholera. Dr. İbrahim Bey cites Dr. Wilhem's research from the Bonn University Bacteriology laboratories, demonstrating that cholera microbes can penetrate egg shells. He therefore warns readers to thoroughly cook eggs by boiling them to eliminate any potential contamination.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles in the Sabah newspaper are an expression of his sensitivity and his sense of duty with regard to public health and also as an intellectual. Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that the Islamic civilization has not lagged behind the developments and that it may even have been the pioneer of these developments. His writings on this matter, particularly in the *İstatistik* journals of *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital, will become more pronounced. This focus may position him as critical in igniting discussions about the perceived disparity between the "East" and the "West" in scientific progress. Nevertheless, his thoughts on the origin of scientific knowledge neither distorted his relationship with his foreign colleagues nor provoked any resentments toward them, as they were serving the profession of medicine.

3.5 After Germany

After completing his further education on bacteriology, Dr. İbrahim Bey returned to İstanbul on 19 July 1895.[185] From that time, he served in *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* until the death of Sultan Abdulhamid II's daughter, Hatice Sultan. According to the diaries of İbrahim Bey, on 26 September 1895, he became "Umum-

[185] In 24th of July, 1895, Dr. İbrahim Bey notes that he informed the Naval Ministry that he has come back from Germany. "Bugün Bahriye Nazırının yalısına gidip kendisini gördüm ve Almanya'dan geldiğimi söyledim."

ı Bahriye Dizenfektörü" (Navy disinfector) and was responsible for the disinfection duty of the Port Authority building.[186] There, İbrahim Bey checks the general sanitation of dreadnoughts like Asar-ı Tevfik, Mesudiye, Osmaniye, Avnullah, and Feth-i Bülend with his friend Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey.[187]

While working as a disinfector, Dr. İbrahim Bey writes a petition about the diphtheria hospital, which would be opening soon in Istanbul. He informs the Ministry of Naval and Istanbul *Şehremaneti* that since he worked with doctors such as Dr. Koch and Dr. Finkler, he can share his medical knowledge (*usûl-i cedîde üzere kuşpalazının maslü'd-dem ile tedavisi*) and a hospital plan through a report. Dr. İbrahim Bey signs his name as "Naval physician *kolağası İbrahim kulları*, who went to Germany by the decree of the Sultan to further his education."[188] Yet, the answer

[186] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 26 September, 1895.
[187] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 5 October, 1895.
[188] BOA. BEO 677-50760. 14 *Rabiülevvel* 1313. BOA.BEO. 693-51918. 21 *Safer* 1313.
"Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri
Usül-i cedide üzere maslü'ddem ile kuşpalazı hastalığının tedavisine mahsus bu kere Dersadette mükemmel bir hastane inşası hususuna irade-i merahimade-i hazret-i padişahi şerefpaş … sudur buyurulduğu bugünkü gazetelerde resmen ilan edilmiş ve hakka ki işbu lütf u inayet merahimgayet hazret-i cihanbaniye cümlenin yeniden minnetdar kalacakları derkar bulunmuş ve hususiyle kollar gibi … nimet hazreti veliülnimet azami ile şerefyab olarak Almanya bilad-ı muhtelifesi hastahanelerinde bilhassa Berlinde kuşpalazı illetine mahsus nev usül hastahanelerde devam ederek ahiren avdet etmiş ve fenn-i bakteriyolojiyi Muallim Esserich Doktor Koch ve Profesör Finkler gibi zevatın yanında bulunub tahsil etmiş bulunan bir acizi bu babda fikren olsun muavenete sevk eylemiş olmağla inşasına irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahi şerefmüteallik buyurulan mezkur hastahane hakkında ol babda teşkil edecek fenn-i komisyona arzu buyurulursa lazım gelen nazariyat ve mütalaatı fikren dermiyan edeceğimi fikren icab edecek muavenetle beraber iktiza ederse bir de layiha ve plan takdim edebileceğimi arz ederim.
Ba-irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahi ikmal-i tahsil ile Almanyadan avdet eden Etıbba-yı bahriyeden Kolağası İbrahim Kulları
1 Ağustos 1311 (Rumi) 13 August 1895.
This was the date İbrahim Bey sent his petition. In the petition, he says the opening of a diphteria hospital in İstanbul was announced on the newspapers. He received the final negative response on 15 October 1895, and he noted in his diaries that he wanted the plans of the diphtheria hospitals [in Germany] from the *Sefir Paşa*.

from the municipality and the Navy was not positive. In response, it was stated that the hospital was already in construction, and Dr. İbrahim Bey needed to consult the hospital's commission. However, even though the authorities' response was not positive, he still requested the plans and drawings of the diphtheria hospitals from Ottoman Berlin Ambassador Tevfik Paşa.[189] This example shows even though Dr. İbrahim Bey was not more than an ordinary doctor in the hospital (i.e. not having a high rank), he wanted to offer his expertise to the authorities.

While in the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi*, he did not hesitate to get into arguments with his colleagues, even with his superiors, when he felt a threat towards the medical knowledge he had. While working as a disinfector, he argued with the chief physician of the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi Mirliva* Dr. Kuzma Paşa.[190] Dr. İbrahim Bey questioned the chiefphysician when a soldier from sand carrier ship whether he had cholera or not, and how he dared to report it as cholera to the the minister of Navy.[191]

Dr. İbrahim Bey continued his authorship in *Sabah*, he and his friend Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey wrote an article titled "Alem-i İnsaniyet'e Bir Müjde! Kolera İlleti'nin Tedavisi" (Good news for humanity! A Cure for Cholera Has Been Found!). In that article, they announced a new cure that was based on serum for cholera was

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In page 70 of her thesis Hikmetumut argues that Dr. İbrahim Bey [*Kolağası İbrahim*] was assigned for a report for the dyphteria hospitals in Germany. However, none of the documents indicate such an assignment for Dr. İbrahim Bey. Dr. İbrahim Bey compiles a report by his own initiative.

[189] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 15 October, 1895.

[190] For Mirliva Kuzma Paşa, see Serpil Hikmetumut, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bahriye Merkez Hastanesi," 81.

[191] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 26 September, 1895. "Bugün Kuzma Paşa ile büyük bir kavga eyledim. Kum dubasından gelip vefat eden askerin kolera olduğunu ne vasıta ile isabet edeceği ve nasıl oluyor da Nazır Paşaya kolera diye raport vermeğe cesaret etdiğini sual etdim."

found by Dr. Frederick Parlett Fisher Ransom.[192] According to Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries, in the very last days of 1895, he became the *muharrir-i tabip* (medical-writer) of *Sabah* by the invitation of the director of *Sabah*.[193]

In the year 1898, just before or slightly after his entrance to the palace as a physician (15 February, 1898), İbrahim Bey was working in *Eczahane-i Türkiye*'s bacteriology laboratory as a child and internal diseases specialist with Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey, Dr. Hakkı Şinasi, Dr. Raşid Tahsin [Tuğsavul], who were his friends during his days in Germany (1894-1895). They ate, travelled and stayed in touch all the time.[194] These doctors were part of the Navy, and apart from Dr. İbrahim Bey, they were the graduates of the Military Medical School. Their companionship continued in the *Hamidiye Etfal* as colleagues. The pharmacy advertisement stated that Dr. İbrahim Bey was available for patients in the afternoon at the pharmacy except on Fridays and Sundays. He was curing his patients with "diphtheria serum," and accepted patients in his home in Beylerbeyi.[195] İbrahim Bey had the chance to practise his knowledge in the bacteriology laboratory and see the patients, and in return, the pharmacy profited from the patients. Though it is debatable how ethical such a relationship was and criticized by Dr. Joseph Nouridjan (Nurican Efendi) of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, his symbiotic relationship with the pharmacy was a common activity for the late 19th century doctors. Many advertisements in the newspapers

[192] "Dr. F. P. F. Ransom." *Nature* No. 139, (1937): 618. https://doi.org/10.1038/139618b0

[193] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 7 December 1895. In 13 December 1895, Dr. İbrahim notes that he wrote a medical article named "İcmal-i Tıb" on *Sabah* journal. Sabahın Muharrir-i Tıbbisi Doktor Beylerbeyli İbrahim, "İcmal-i Tıbbî," *Sabah,* 13 December 1895.

[194] Nuran Yıldırım, "İstanbul Eczanelerinde Hasta Muayenesi ve Tıbbi Tahlil Laboratuvarları," 77.

[195] Nuran Yıldırım, "İstanbul Eczanelerinde Hasta Muayenesi ve Tıbbi Tahlil Laboratuvarları," 76.

were published by the doctors to attract the patients in the medical market. Even the professors of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* like Lofçalı Derviş Bey were working at the pharmacies.[196] Nurican Efendi stated that this kind of behavior is not ethical for a faculty member.[197] This close relationship with the pharmacist could be beneficial for the doctor, but it also raises ethical concerns.

3.6 Conclusion: The foundation story of Hamidiye Etfal

The story of Dr. İbrahim Bey's rise to the position of chief physician at the Hamidiye Etfal Hospital is often told as a tale of success, good fortune, and meritocracy. According to this story 1898, when Sultan Abdulhamid's daughter, Hatice Sultan, fell ill with diphtheria, Dr. İbrahim Bey came to the Sultan's attention due to his works on the illness. Upon being summoned to the palace, Dr. İbrahim Bey examined the little girl and delivered the prognosis that she had little time left. After Hatice Sultan's passing, a grieving Abdülhamid II sought guidance on how to honor her memory. Dr. İbrahim Bey proposed the establishment of a children's hospital to serve the destitute children of the empire. The Sultan, impressed by the idea of a modern hospital bearing his daughter's name, appointed Dr. İbrahim Bey as one of his personal physicians and as the chief physician of the forthcoming *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital.[198] However, Nuran Yıldırım's argument, drawing from the experiences of Cemil Topuzlu and Sultan's other daughter, Ayşe Sultan (Dr. İbrahim Bey was the

[196] Ibid., 81.
[197] Nuran Yıldırım, "Nurican Efendi'nin Yeni Bulunan Deontoloji Kitabı," 164.
[198] Dr. İbrahim Bey joined the ranks of palace physicians on 15 February 1898, and his rank was elevated from the position of 'kolağalığı' to the rank of "binbaşı". İ.TAL. 130-35, 23 *Ramazan* 1315. Faruk İlker, *Şişli Çocuk Hastanesi* 8. Faruk İlker's and Cemal Kutay's account can be counted as one of the examples of this narrative.

family doctor of her in the 1910s), warns against the risks of singling out Dr. İbrahim Bey in the opening of *Hamidiye Etfal*.[199]

On the basis of our findings, in Dr. İbrahim Bey's early career, we can say that several factors probably contributed to the selection of Hatice Sultan for treatment and becoming the chief physician of *Hamidiye Etfal*. His education and workings in bacteriology was undoubtedly important factors. Yet, there were also some lucky contingencies. For example, as recounted in the memoirs of journalist Ahmet Semih Mümtaz, Dr. İbrahim Bey's successful treatment of a relative of a court dignitary at *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* led to his recommendation to the palace,[200] rather than the education of Dr. İbrahim Bey on bacteriology. My claim is that his active engagement in the medical field, as evidenced by his publications, professional works, and consistent promotion of his credentials, certificates and diplomas may have distinguished him from other private physicians of the Sultan Abdülhamid

This chapter examined Dr. İbrahim Bey's life before his service in Hamidiye Etfal. It examined his career advancement by joining the navy and his educational pursuits in Germany. It analyzed his activities during these periods. In order to establish his credibility with the authorities, Dr. İbrahim Bey highlighted acquired certificates and diplomas from the prominent doctors of the time.

In addition, the chapter emphasized his efforts to educate the public through medical writings in which he presented a progressive view that religion did not impede medical advancement or progress in general, a prevalent view at the time. The chapter concluded by asserting that not only his education, but also his efforts to

[199] Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı*, 31.
[200] Ahmet Semih Mümtaz, *Tarihimizde Hayal Olmuş Hakikatler,* 127-128.

establish himself in the medical market via his publications, contributed to his appointment to *Hamidiye Etfal* and his position as one of the Sultan's private physicians.

CHAPTER 4

DR. IBRAHIM BEY'S HAMIDIYE ETFAL YEARS (1899-1909)

4.1 Introduction

The Ottoman bureaucracy of the late 19th century, under Sultan Abdülhamid II, diverged from the formal rationality outlined by Weber. Rather than operating solely on principles of efficiency and objectivity, Yıldız bureaucracy embraced paternalistic tendencies and occasionally strayed from formal procedures. This deviation aimed to preserve a system that prioritized prosperity within the framework established by Sultan Abdülhamid II.[201] According to Carter Findley, fully understanding Sultan Abdülhamid II's impact on the Ottoman bureaucracy requires acknowledging its significant deviation from Weberian ideals**.** This divergence, similar to the Tanzimat period, reflected a "disconsonance of practice and principle."[202] While the Tanzimat employed bureaucratization to empower an unregulated oligarchy, under Abdülhamid II, the entire bureaucracy became subservient to a centralized palace system. Though similar processes were used, their impact on even high-ranking officials was more direct and restrictive. Ultimately, the spirit of legislation during this period bore no resemblance to Weberian rational legalism, echoing the Tanzimat's departure from these ideals.[203] The system will be based on maintaining the Sultan's prestige and paternalistic figure over the poor and the needy. This deviation from the formal rationality and the Sultan's centralist-paternalist approach to the Ottoman health and

[201] Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet,* 32.
[202] Carter Vaughn Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 228. Findley's other book on the Ottoman bureaucracy and officialdom focuses on the individual stories of the civil servants of the empire. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989).
[203] Ibid.

welfare system created an opportunity for Dr. İbrahim Bey in his professional career.[204]

As Nadir Özbek argues, late 19th-century developments in pediatrics and bacteriology and Sultan Abdulhamid II's paternalistic approach and power strategy over the poor and needy created space for young doctors like Dr. İbrahim Bey to advance their careers based on positivist discourse.[205] The palace's plans were in line with the professional aspirations of the doctors. This allowed Dr. İbrahim Bey to use the palace bureaucracy to develop the hospital while advancing his career. Özbek argues that the symbolic meaning of *Hamidiye Etfal* for the Sultan's image for caring the poor and the needy was even greater than the *Darülaceze* (The Imperial Poorhouse), which was another welfare institution of the time, with the aim of showing it was designed by the latest scientific methods.[206]

In this chapter, we will examine Dr. İbrahim Bey's management of *Hamidiye Etfal*. His management as the hospital's chief physician involved many different considerations: his own career advancement, the progress of the hospital, and the prestige of the Sultan. With the combination of the Yıldız bureaucracy of the time, Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to show the hospital as up-to-date as possible and used the *İstatistik* yearbooks to publicize the hospital's achievements. He also used these

[204] For a detailed analysis of philanthropy in the late Ottoman Empire, which was based on a paternalistic approach by the Sultan, aiming to bridge the gap between ruler and ruled, and focuses on the domestic social and political legitimacy crisis, see Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Welfare: Philanthropy, Voluntarism and Legitimacy in The Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914," PhD Diss., (Binghamton University, 2001). For a study examines the experiences of destitute children in the Ottoman Empire through the lens of philanthropy, the welfare system, and a bottom-up approach, see, Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014).
[205] Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, 227-228.
[206] Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of the Poor Relief In the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909," 18.

journals to write articles on the history of medicine, which were also part of his claims as a medical authority.

4.2 The opening of the Hamidiye Etfal

The sultan's decree for establishing the *Hamidiye Etfal* hospital was issued on 16 February 1898. The hospital was built as a carbon copy of the Kaiser und Kaiserin Friedrich Kinderkrankenhaus in Berlin, opened in 1889, where Dr. İbrahim Bey worked for a while.[207] He brought the hospital's plans to the construction site. The land chosen for the hospital was the Sultan's private property, and it was then surrounded by very little housing development, but it had excellent air quality. After one and half years of construction, the hospital was opened on 5 June 1899, with a total amount of 13.000 Ottoman Gold from the Sultan's treasury. The opening followed the circumcision ceremony of dozens of children, including the Sultan's son, Prince Abdürrahim Efendi.[208]

Dr. İbrahim Bey was mainly responsible for the critical decisions regarding the hospital as the chief physician, although there was a director of the hospital, Mehmed Faik Bey. The purchase of new medical devices, who will be treated or not in the hospital, the administration and advertisement of "Karahisar Maden Suları" (Karahisar Mineral Waters) of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, to speak on behalf of the doctors at the hospital was up to Dr. İbrahim Bey as the "chief physician." Therefore, between 1899 and 1909, Dr. İbrahim Bey played a dual role. He served both as a

[207] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaires, 8 July, 1895. "Bugün Kayzer Friedrich und Kayzerin Frederik Vilhelm Hastahanesine gidip Muallim Baginski ile görüştüm ve koğuşları birlikte vizite yaptık."
[208] Nuran Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 34-35.

doctor[209] and as the hospital's administrator. In the career of Dr. İbrahim Bey, *Hamidiye Etfal* was an opportunity to show himself, with generous funding of the Sultan's private treasury, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*.

4.3 Hamidiye Etfal management of Dr. İbrahim Bey (I)

The hospital's *İstatistik* journal was the main source understand the Dr. İbrahim Bey's management of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. The *İstatistik* served as a comprehensive source of information showcasing the hospital's advanced infrastructure, the range of medical treatments and surgeries performed, detailed patient records, statistics, medical articles, and Sultan Abdülhamid II's contributions to the hospital and the field of medicine. The journal also featured high-quality photographs of the hospital, including images of patients before and after surgery, effectively demonstrating the hospital's modernity, alignment with Western standards, and adherence to a high degree of order and organization, epitomizing the concept of formal rationality. It is important to exercise caution when utilizing *İstatistik* journal as a historical source for the *Hamidiye Etfal*. Yet, we should remember that the journal was also a mouthpiece for maintaining Sultan Abdülhamid II's prestige. Thus, we should be critical to its content. Despite these potential troubles, the journal still offers valuable insights into how Dr. İbrahim Bey, with his team and the Sultan's backing, sought to portray the hospital to both the public and the international medical community.

The order in the *Hamidiye Etfal* shows İbrahim Bey's management of *Hamidiye Etfal* and is primarily visible through the visitor comments in the journal.

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[209] My review of the *İstatistik* reveals no record of Dr. İbrahim Bey working in the *Hamidiye Etfal* policlinics. This suggests he may have been more occupied with individual research, hospital administration, travelling abroad and welcoming distinguished guests. See, Nuran Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı,* 45.

The journal includes comments from prominent European, English, and American doctors, ambassadors, and other visitors on *Hamidiye Etfal*'s modernity. For example, the British diplomat Sir Nicholas O'Conor was "struck by the order and cleanliness prevailing in the whole establishment."[210] *Hamidiye Etfal'*s similarities with European hospitals were so remarkable that Dr. Nicholas Senn from Chicago, in an article published also in the journal *İstatistik*, said:

> If it not were the red fez a visit to this hospital would leave the impression that the visitor had passed through one of the most modern and scientific hospitals in Germany.[211]

He continues as:

> … İbrahim Pacha is the soul of Hamidie Hospital. He takes great pride in its marvellous success. He is a competent bacteriologist, a thorough and earnest student of the German medical literature, and passionately devoted to the advancement of science in its broadest sense.[212]

Even the journal's name (*İstatistik*) reflects the rationale behind Dr. İbrahim Bey's administrative style and shows parallel details to the bureaucratic change that the Ottoman Empire underwent. The rise of statistics in the Ottoman science during the *Tanzimat* period with *salnames* (yearbooks) reached its peak in the 1880s in the Abdülhamid II era by the opening of *Sicill-i Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi Müdüriyeti* (General Directorate of Civil Registration). As Karpat quotes from the memo of Said Paşa, the statistics regarding population were necessary for a good government to maintain order, law, and financial stability as the European governments use these

[210] Sir Nicholas O'Conor, *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, [French part] No.3 (1902): 116.
[211] Nicholas Senn, M.D., "Constantinople as a Medical Center," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi Alisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.4 (1903): 169. (He says that he found that 33% of the patients were Protestants)
[212] Ibid.

numbers.[213] Therefore, the critical point of a good government is the use of patient records and use them for representing the modernity of an institution.

For example, Dr. İbrahim Bey acknowledged the lack of comprehensive mortality statistics for tuberculosis in the Ottoman Empire compared to European countries. Despite this limitation, he advocated establishing sanatoriums as a valuable tool to combat the disease.[214] However, Dr. İbrahim Bey's emphasis on statistics extended beyond patient mortality. He recognized the value of utilizing and publishing patient data from the *Hamidiye Etfal*. This approach served two essential purposes: firstly, it demonstrated the hospital's modernity to European observers. Secondly, it provided an efficient hospital management method.

To illustrate the issue, on page 40 of *İstatistik* (1901), it can be seen how many patients were admitted to the hospital or on the following page, the reader can see how many patients were under treatment.[215] In the 1903 issue, one can see which patients died from which disease with the patient records in March.[216] Each issue includes detailed patient records. However, *Hamidiye Etfal*'s *İstatistik* does not only include patient records. It includes every minute detail of the hospital laboratories and their surroundings: the type of trees in the garden of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, the total number of urine analyses made in the laboratories, the kind of meals given to patients, etc.[217] Each of these hospital statistics gives information about *Hamidiye*

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[213] Kemal Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 138.
[214] Doktor İbrahim, "Verem İlletinin Avrupa Memalikindeki Telefatı ve Sanatoryumların Fevaidi," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi*, No.2 (1901): 206-208.
[215] *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi,* No. 2 (1901): 40-41.
[216] *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi,* No. 4 (1903): 165.
[217] Nuran Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 55.

Etfal and shows Dr. İbrahim Bey's desire to show how *Hamidiye Etfal* is a modern-westernized hospital with its compeers in Europe. We know that *İstatistik* journals were sent to European hospitals' libraries and medical congresses worldwide.[218] The reader's comments in the journal show how the medical community in Europe and the United States were impressed by *Hamidiye Etfal*'s modern equipment, administration and order.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's meticulous attention to detail is evident in his writings, particularly regarding time management, calculations, and even recording seemingly mundane details like train speeds. This meticulousness does not equate with ratioanality but it exhibits parallelism with the hospital management style of him and the changing mindsets in the 19th century. Wishnitzer argues that a shift in the Ottoman understanding of time occurred in the late 18th century. The cyclical view, dictated by daily prayer calls, gave way to a more linear perception driven by the development of bureaucracy, modern education systems, and new transportation networks. As Wishnitzer emphasizes, time, governed by the clock, began to exert greater control over individual lives. To arrive punctually for work, one might need to catch a train that connects them to a ferry, each requiring adherence to a specific schedule.[219] Hence, Dr. İbrahim Bey, like many of his compeers, is an example of the 19th-century rationalizing time management and calculation. He carefully notes in his diaries when the train arrived at a city when he travelled or at which speed the train

[218] BOA. HR.İD. 2066-6, 22 *Muharrem* 1321. 20 April, 1903.
[219] Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015). Being "precisely" indicates a mentality change; even in the late mid-19th century, the uncertainty of time was visible; terms like *saat sekiz raddelerinde* (around eight o'clock) for meetings would not surprise a person. See, Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca*, 54.

reached.[220] He rigorously marks how much money he got from his father,[221] or what he spent on his purchase of coats.[222]

4.4 Hamidiye Etfal management of Dr. İbrahim Bey (II)

While in *Hamidiye Etfal*, Dr. İbrahim Bey was quickly promoted in the ranks, as he was still in the Navy organization. As soon as he became the chief physician of Hamidiye Etfal, he was promoted to the rank of *binbaşı*; then he received the title *kaimmakam* in 1900,[223] *mirliva* in 1901[224] and *ferik* in 1904.[225] He also got several *nişans* and medals. His sons Mehmed Kemal and Ahmed Süreyya enrolled at *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi* (Galatasaray High School) without paying a fee.[226] His elder son, Mehmed Kemal, was accepted into the sergeancy of the palace,[227] and his other son, Ahmed Süreyya, went to Bonn by the imperial decree to study

[220] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 31 May, 1905. "Şimdi şu dakikada Haydelbergden Darmştada müteveccihen şimendifer saatde seksen kilometro süratle hareket etmekde ve Darmştad vadisini bize seyr etdirmektedir. İşbu vadi hakikaten fevkalede bir manzarayı haiz ve latif idi." (Exactly at this moment, we are moving from Heidelberg to Darmstadt by train at a speed of eighty kilometers per hour, and we are traversing the Darmstadt valley. This valley indeed possesses an extraordinary and delicate scenery.)
[221] Dr. İbrahim Bey Diaries, 8 July, 1894.
[222] Dr. İbrahim Bey Diaries, 11 January, 1895.
[223] BOA. İ.TAL. 204-65. 14 *Zilkade* 1317, (16 March 1900).
[224] BOA. İ.TAL. 249-86. 18 *Muharrem* 1319, (7 May, 1901).
[225] BOA. İ.TAL. 326-2. 20 *Zilhicce* 1321, (8 March, 1904).
[226] BOA. MF.MKT. 472-19. 12 *Cemaziyelahir* 1317, (18 October, 1899).
[227] BOA. MF.MKT. 689-79. 11 *Zilhicce* 1320, (11 March, 1903).

chemistry.[228] His wife, Ayşe,[229] received *şefkat nişanı* (order of compassion); though the details of the reason behind this decoration are not depicted in the document, this medal was given to women who served the state and the nation during times of war, earthquakes, fires, and floods, and it would consist of three grades.[230]

One of the most significant advantages of the *Hamidiye Etfal* was being a "institute of prestige" directly linked to the sultan's treasury [Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti] and bearing the Sultan's name. Nadir Özbek argues that Abdülhamid II saw modern social welfare and health institutions such as *Darülaceze, Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi* and *Darülhayr-ı Ali* as a means to legitimize his rule. He achieved this legitimization by blending the welfare state, paternalism and science.[231] The *Hamidiye Etfa*l was perhaps the most prominent of such institutions.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the management structure of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, it is essential to examine the composition of its administrative bodies

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[228] Ahmed Süreyya was sent by the Ottoman government to Bonn to study chemistry in 1904. The Ottoman government also covered his expenses. When Dr. İbrahim Bey went to Germany for his rheumatism in 1905, he met his son Ahmet Süreyya (he was in Berlin for his studies at this time) in Vienna and then went to Baden-Baden. Thanks to his connection with the doctor Henry Gilbert, who was one of the visitors of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, Dr. İbrahim Bey had the chance to get treatment for his rheumatism with the latest technology of its time, which impressed him very much. Ahmed Süreyya's studies in Bonn lasted five years, and the Ottoman embassy in Berlin had contacted him investigating when his education would end.
Though we do not know the details about Ahmed Süreyya's life in Germany, there are articles of him about chemistry *İstatistik* in 1906 and 1907 while he was there. See, BOA. İ.HUS. 121-12. 4 *Receb* 1322, (14 September 1904). BOA. İ.HUS. 123-29. 3 *Ramazan* 1322, (11 November 1904). Ahmed Süreyya's studies in Bonn lasted five years, and the Ottoman embassy in Berlin had contacted him investigating when his education would end. See, BOA. DH.MKT. 2733-45. 16 *Muharrem* 1327, (7 February 1909).

[229] Cemal Kutay notes that Dr. İbrahim Bey's first wife, Ayşe Hanım, was a teacher at a local school. After Ayşe Hanım passed away, Dr. İbrahim Bey married with Mebruke Hanım, probably in the years between 1908-1909.

[230] İbrahim Artuk, "Nişan," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/nisan--madalya, accessed 27 March 2024.

[231] Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, 199.

and medical staff. The hospital employed a two-tiered staffing system consisting of permanent (*muvazzaf*) and honorary (*fahri*) medical personnel. While permanent ones worked full-time daily, honorary doctors worked only some days of the week and received travel expenses.[232] The hospital's director was *Kaymakam* Faik Bey, the brother-in-law of Dr İbrahim Bey.[233] A significant portion of the medical staff at the *Hamidiye Etfal*, including Muhyiddin, Raşit Tahsin, Hakkı Şinasi, Ömer Fuad, and Dr. İbrahim Bey, shared a prior professional connection established in Germany, according to Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries. These connections even might date back to their *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* days. These individuals commenced their careers at the hospital with relatively low military ranks. Over time, they progressed through the ranks together, accumulating experience and recognition. This shared history of service and camaraderie, forged in their earlier years, fostered the development of a young and successful medical team at the *Hamidiye Etfal*.

A hospital directly linked to Sultan's private treasury means that a doctor-manager's dreams come true: an abundant amount of money that can be spent generously for the institution's benefit. According to *Medical Journale*, a total amount of 75.000 Ottoman Gold were paid from the Sultan's treasury for the hospital's yearly expenditures.[234] This amount included not only the costs of caring for patients[235] but also heating the hospital buildings, purchasing the most up-to-date

[232] Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 70.
[233] Faruk İlker, *Şişli Çocuk Hastanesi (Hamidiye Etfal) Tarihi*, 37. For the biography of Faik Bey, look at *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, No. 4 (1903): 113.
[234] BOA. Y.PRK. AZJ. 49-69, 30 *Muharrem* 1322. 16 April, 1904.
[235] Such as buying the ingredients for the meals BOA. ML.EEM. 346-8, (17 July, 1900).

equipment for *Hamidiye Etfal*, and hiring educated German nurses.[236] Thanks to the private treasury of the Sultan, *Hamidiye Etfal* became one of the most well-equipped and *modern* hospitals in the Ottoman Empire, as Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted.

Dr. İbrahim Bey as can be seen in the *İstatistik* and the state archive, always followed the international medical news and tried to connect *Hamidiye Etfal* to the global medical world. Probably in the years 1905-1906, Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to form a tuberculosis commission that is under the supervision of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. In his report[237] Dr. İbrahim states that a few years ago an international commission was founded in Berlin named "Central Medical Council on Tuberculosis"[238] According to Dr. İbrahim Bey, in order to work together "not only from one side of humanity but from every point of the civilized world," the governments of other European and American countries also established commissions on measures against

[236] Such as buying an X-ray machine from Germany. BOA. ML.EEM. 416-44. BOA. ML.EEM. 463-2. 20 *Zilkade* 1321, (7 February, 1904). German nurses thanked for renewal of their contracts to the Sultan. BOA. Y.PRK.KOM. 14-38.

[237] "Bundan çend sene makdem Berlin'de (Verem İlleti Hakkında Merkez Meclis-i Tıbbiyesi) namıyla bir meclis-i tıbbi teşkil kılnmış ve insaniyete yalnız bir tarafdan olmayıp alem-i medeniyetin her noktasından müştereken çalışmak üzere Avrupa ve Amerika memalikindeki hükumat-ı saire dahikendi memleketlerinde illet-i mezlure hakkında tedabir komisyonları teşkil etmişler ve bu komisyonları her memkeketin hükümdarı himayeleri altına almışlardır. Bu defa Amerika sefaretleriyle Berlindeki merkez komisyonu tarafından devlet-i aliye-i Osmaniyede dahi böyle bir komisyon teşkili resmen taleb olunmuşdur. Binaenaleyh şeref… buyurulduğum irade-i seniyye-i mülukanaleri muktezayyı mucebince taraf-ı ubudanemden kaleme alınıp leffen arz atebe-i ulya-yı şehriyar-i azamaleri kılınan nizamname suretinden muhat-alem şahaneleri buyurulucağı üzere taht-ı himaye-i merahim gaye-i hazret-i hilafetpenahlerinde bulunmağla mübahi olan işbu komisyona memur buyuruluacak azanın esamisi hakipa-yı akdes mülukanelerine arz olunmuşdur."

[238] Eva Eylers, "Planning the Nation: The Sanatorium Movement in Germany," 671. The "Central-Komite zur Errichtung von Heilstätten für Lungen Kranke" (German Central Committee for the Establishment of Sanatoria for Patients with Lung Diseases) was found in 1895. Later, its name was changed to Deutsches Zentral-Komitee zur Bekämpfungder Tuberkulose (DZK). In 1902, an international congress on tuberculosis was held in Berlin, as a result of the earlier international congresses of the tuberculosis. F.W.T. "The Berlin Tuberculosis Congress," *Nature* Vol. 67 No. 1723 (1902): 10.

tuberculosis in their own countries. As Dr. İbrahim Bey argues, these commissions were taken under the patronage of the ruler of each country. This time, the establishment of such a commission in the Ottoman State was officially requested by the American embassies and the Central Commission in Berlin. Hence, Dr. İbrahim Bey prepared a regulation for the commission of tuberculosis.

As outlined in the regulations drafted by Dr. İbrahim Bey, a six-member tuberculosis commission will be formed, with a designated chair and vice-chair. The commission will convene bi-weekly to discuss and propose measures for combating tuberculosis. When necessary, it will gather relevant information from various institutions, including the Ministry of Health (Nezaret-i Umur-ı Sıhhiye), the *Mekteb-i Şahane*, the Municipal authority (Şehremaneti), health inspectors from surrounding districts, and municipal physicians (belediye tabipleri). Additionally, the commission will collect annual death statistics related to tuberculosis from these sources. Driven by a mission of "serving the needs of humanity" (*sarf-ı insaniyete hizmet etmek üzere*), the commission will actively solicit data and investigation reports on tuberculosis from military, civilian, and private doctors. These collated statistics will then be presented for the Sultan's review and subsequently published in the *İstatistik* journals of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. Furthermore, the commission will establish written communication with the Central Medical Council on Tuberculosis in Berlin to foster international collaboration.[239]

For another example of Dr. İbrahim Bey's offering health policies, we can look at his report on building a hospital ship. The British hospital ship "Maine," under the leadership of Sir Charles Charter Drury, visited the shores of Istanbul.[240]

[239] BOA. Y.PRK.KOM. 16-63.
[240] Dr. İbrahim Bey's report was signed by himself as the title *birinci ferik.* The exact day of the ship's arrival cannot be determined because of a typo in the original

Impressed by the ship's orderliness and exceptional medical facilities, Dr. İbrahim Bey, with the Sultan's permission, toured the vessel and prepared a detailed report. Advocating the critical need for a similar capability within the Ottoman Navy, Dr. İbrahim Bey proposed the conversion of the vessel "İzmid" into a hospital ship. He advocated for a collaborative effort between medical professionals and naval engineers to oversee the transformation, expressing confidence that the resulting vessel would surpass the "Maine" in functionality.[241]

Concurrently, as a prestigious and modern hospital bearing the Sultan's name to the medical world, Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to show the prestige of *Hamidiye Etfal* both to the medical world and the diplomatic world. Henceforth, Dr. İbrahim has many requests other than the medical upgrades of the hospital. For instance, he requested "immediately" an amount of 1000 *guruş* from *Hazine-i Hassa* to welcome the Iran shah, Muzaffereddin.[242] For another example, when Dr. İbrahim Bey welcomed his colleague, Professor Dr. Wasserman in 1901 (he will be in touch with him still in the 1910s) the hospital administration did not only pay for the meal cost (2891 *guruş*) thanks to the imperial treasury but also the meal's plates, bowls, and spoons.[243] Probably following his visit, Professor Dr. Wassermann expressed his

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document. 1 *Safer* 1309 equals 6 September 1891, but Dr. İbrahim Bey was *birinci ferik* only after 1904. Hence, the arrival of *Maine* should be between 1904-1907. http://www.dreadnoughtproject.org/tfs/index.php/Charles_Carter_Drury

[241] BOA. Y.PRK.ASK. 75-55. [Date is unclear]

[242] BOA. ML.EEM. 350-23. 6 *Cemaziyelahir* 1318, (1 October, 1900). Muzaffereddin Shah's arrival to İstanbul symbolized the restabilizing relationships between the Ottoman Empire and Iran. After the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, who resided at İstanbul, was assumed to be the instigator of the assassination. As a result, the relationship between the two countries deteriorated, but after the death of Efgani, the situation turned to normal. Azmi Özcan, "Muzafferüddin Şah," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/muzafferuddin-sah. accessed 28 March 2024.

[243] BOA. ML.EEM. 367-65. 17 *Muharrem* 1319, (6 May, 1901). The menu was quite rich, from *caviar* to gravier.

admiration for the hospital, Dr. İbrahim Bey, and his colleagues. He also thanked them for the *üçüncü dereceden mecidî* decoration.[244] For another instance, Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to change the carpets of his office and the dining hall for the special guests since the carpets of these rooms did not suit the sultan's honour when the guests came to visit.[245] The imperial treasury again covered the transportation costs of Dr. İbrahim Bey to the hospital and back.[246] *Hazine-i Hassa* seems generous regarding a hospital that bears his name, at least until the deposition of Abdülhamid II.

Just as Dr. İbrahim Bey did for his family,[247] he managed to get his own team promoted, some of whom were long friends, at least from their time in Germany. He wrote a petition to promote Dr. Ziya Nuri, Dr. Ömer Fuad and Dr. Hakkı Şinasi Bey. He especially notes that Dr. Ziya Nuri Bey treated the Sultan's son and, "studied in Germany for six years" and "has the knowledge as much as the physicians in Europe."[248] For another example, Dr. İbrahim Bey conveyed a petition to the

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[244] BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ. 36-23. Wassermann wrote that: "Şevketlü kerametlü kudretlü mehabetlü Sultan Abdülhamid Han-ı Sani hazretlerine, lütfen erzan buyurulan irade-i seniyye-i şehriyarileri mucebince Hamidiye Etfal Hastane-i Şahanelerinde hakkımda ibzal buyurulan hüsn-i kabulden dolayı teşekkürat-ı acizanemin takdimine ictisar ediyorum. Hastahane-i âlînin üzerimde husule getirdiği tesirat fevkaladeyi tarizden acizim[,] mevki-i taksimat dahiliye ve laboratuvarlarının techizatı ve bahusus icabat-ı hıfzısıhhaya tamamı tevafıkı cihetiyle numune ittihazına şayandır. Mükerreren müşahadesine muvafık olduğum hidmet-i tıbbiye ise sertabib İbrahim Bey ve etıbba arkadaşları tarafından tamamıyla fenne tatbik edilmekde olduğundan merzâ saye-i şahanelerinde iade-i sıhhat içün her nev' şerait tahtında bulunmakdadırlar[.] Memleketime avdetimde numune ittihazına şayeste olan bu darülhayr hakkında nazar-ı dikkati cümleye say' edeceğim gibi ufak bir hidmetinde bulunmak şerefine nail olur isem kendimi müctebar add edeceğim[.] … olmak üzere uhde-i kemterime tevcih buyurulan üçüncü rütbeden bir kıt'a nişan-ı Osmaniden dolayı hasıl olan teşekkürat-ı … hakipa-yı şahanelerine takdimine ictisar ederim ol babda…"
[245] BOA. ML.EEM. 537-58. 23 *Zilhicce* 1323. 18 February, 1906.
[246] BOA. ML.EEM. 323-46. 4 *Recep* 1317. 8 November, 1899.
[247] He requested that his father be honored due to his thirty-five years of service as the head of comb-makers and spoon-makers guild. BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ. 55-2. (No date)
[248] BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ. 41-79.

authorities that mentions his chemist colleague *Yüzbaşı* Fehmi Bey's "moral compass" when *Yüzbaşı* Fehmi Bey rejected the bribe offer from the butter trader at *Hazine-i Hassa*.[249]

While managing the hospital, Dr. İbrahim Bey also held the position of director at *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlîsi Maden Suları Kumpanyası* (Hamidiye Etfal Hospital Mineral Water Company). The hospital had been granted the concession for Karahisar mineral water.[250] This meant that Dr. İbrahim Bey had also become an executive of a company. He engaged in domestic and international correspondence to market this mineral water. Even during his trip to Germany in 1905, he advertises Karahisar mineral waters by comparing Bonn mineral waters as "not soft and tasty as Karahisar mineral waters" in *İstatistik* journal.[251] Considering that the journal contained numerous advertisements for Karahisar Mineral Waters and was distributed to many medical institutions and libraries worldwide, it would not be entirely inaccurate to say that Dr. İbrahim Bey was acting also as a chief executive of a company.

Karahisar mineral waters were sold at many points in İstanbul, such as Eminönü, Kasımpaşa and Bayezid pharmacies and other stores.[252] Dr. İbrahim Temo from Köstence in his letter to Hamidiye Etfal expressed that the mineral water would be highly beneficial for treating diseases and stated that its arrival in Romania would generate significant revenue for the hospital. As a result, he requested a supply of this mineral water.[253] That means, an opposition figure against regime can communicate

[249] BOA. Y.PRK.KOM. 14-68. 19 *Cemaziyelahir* 1323, (22 July, 1905).
[250] Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 105.
[251] *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.6 (1905): 199.
[252] BOA. ML.EEM. 489-1.
[253] BOA. ML.EEM. 450-44.

with a government-aligned institution when it comes to an issue regarding the public health. This is important to understand that professionality can sometimes give way for professionals to continue their communication with the government.

4.5 Hamidiye Etfal's medical capacity under strain

Hamidiye Etfal accepted children between 0-16 and women regardless of their religion or ethnicity, whether poor or rich. However, as we see in the state archives, *Hamidiye Etfal* accepted not only the children but a wide range of patients, from the bureaucrats to the soldiers, from poor to rich—the acceptance of the adults was maintained through imperial decrees.[254] The state archive is abundant for showing the families' petitions for their children to be accepted to the *Hamidiye Etfal.* However, accepting other than the children shows two dimensions of the *Etfal* Hospital. One is the high medical capacity with its brand-new technology and competent physicians and patient care of the hospital in terms of technology. The second is the bureaucracy's desire to present the "Sultan's Hospital" to the public as a charity institution.

However, the hospital's applicants were not only the "poor" but also the people who could be regarded as middle-high class or the "notables." For example, Tripoli High School headteacher Süleyman Efendi petitioned for admission to Hamidiye Etfal for his broken leg since it was not healed for three months.[255] Another example is the surgeon Mehmed of the Third *Nişancı* Battalion of Edirne states that since his family's treatment cannot be carried out in Edirne, he requested

[254] Nuran Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 83.
[255] BOA. MF.MKT. 869-45. 10 *Cemaziyelevvel* 1323, (13 July, 1905)

them to be treated in *Hamidiye Etfal*.[256] Yakova governor requests an imperial decree for the head of the Berishe clan and the retired gendarmerie captain Yahya Efendi for his treatment in *Hamidiye Etfal*.[257] Sofular governor wants his wife to be treated in *Hamidiye Etfal* since it could not be treated in their town.[258] In 1905, Dr. İbrahim Bey states in his diaries that the director of Liverpool Muslim Institute, Abdullah Quilliam *Efendi*, recovered from influenza and left *Hamidiye Etfal*.[259] We can say that the reputation of *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital in the field of medicine was widely known. Hence, the patients were not only the poor but also the notables who knew the medical capacity of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. These patients were using the bureaucratic procedures to reach out the best treatment available.

The increasing number of patients led Dr. İbrahim Bey to write a report in 1906 on the need for a new administration commission of *Hamidiye Etfal*. According to this report, Doctor İbrahim Bey states that *Hamidiye Etfal* is growing daily and accepts not only child patients but also military personnel, officers, dignitaries, and many other male and female patients. This situation has caused the hospital capacity to reach 150 people and expenses to increase year by year. Though the imperial estate covers expenses, he says he does not want to burden the treasury excessively.[260] Though Dr. İbrahim Bey seems not to be pleased by the overcrowding of the hospital, he wanted to solve this issue through the division of hospital administration and communication with bureaucracy. Nevertheless, it is evident that

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[256] BOA. BEO. 3119-233853. 27 *Cemaziyelahir* 1325, (7 August, 1907)
[257] BOA. TFR.I.KV. 141-14021. 2 *Şaban* 1324, (21 September, 1906)
[258] BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ. 53-32. 9 *Ramazan* 1325, (16 October, 1907.
[259] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 7 January, 1905.
[260] …[v]e zaten levazımat ve mekulat-ı mezkurenin mübayası ve tedariki ve hesabat-ı katiyesinin rakkiyet ve tesviyesi Emlak-ı Hümayunları İdare-i Aliyesinden ifa olunduğu halde gitdikçe artmakda bulunan mesarifatdan dolayı bir guna muvahaze ve itiraza meydan kalmamak…" BOA. Y.PRK.KOM. 14-87. 26 *Zilkade* 1323, (22 January, 1906.)

the hospital was facing difficulties in treating such a high number of patients over the years.

When it comes to the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era on 23 July 1908 acted as a measure to curtail the power of Sultan Abdulhamid II. The Young Turk Revolution aimed to end the Sultan Abdülhamid II's autocratic rule and brought measures to decrease the Sultan's symbols. Nadir Özbek emphasizes that the social welfare understanding of the new *Meşrutiyet* regime would not carry the image of the Sultan but would be a symbol of a modern state.[261] Therefore, Hamidiye Etfal was now under more scrutiny from *Hazine-i Hassa*. As Nadir Özbek highlights, the Hamidiye Etfal hospital was financially connected to the Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti, the Sultan's private treasury.[262] Carter Findley argues that this organization ran well despite the state's poor resources.[263] As discussed in Chapter Three, this arrangement provided the hospital with a significant funding source. However, *Hazine-i Hassa's* budget faced a growing deficit due to acquisitions of new estates, administrative costs, and personal salaries. Some of Sultan Abdülhamid II's estates were transferred to the Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance) to address this shortfall in September 1908.[264] Though the reshuffling of the bureaucracy did not officially begin until 1909 (the 31st March Incident was a turning point for the purge),[265] it is clear from the documents that from early 1908, the hospital faced economic difficulties.

The revolution also fostered a political and social reform period. The medical profession was no exception, with doctors harboring significant expectations from

[261] Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, 278.
[262] Ibid, 218.
[263] Findley, 237.
[264] Arzu Terzi, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*, 139-141.
[265] Findley, 296.

the new regime. As Cem Hakan Başaran argues, these expectations diverged. Three distinct groups emerged: (1) those advocating immediate retribution against the old regime and a complete overhaul of the health sector, (2) those seeking a more moderate approach, and (3) those loyal to Sultan Abdülhamid II and resistant to change.[266]

The first group, particularly critical of the pre-constitutional era, held the old regime responsible for the dilapidated state of the Ottoman health system, the poor conditions of the hospitals and the poor economic conditions of the *belediye tabipleri*. This group also had expectations from the new order. Hospitals, such as the prestigious *Hamidiye [Osmanlı] Etfal Hastahanesi,* were allegedly in a deplorable condition, prompting calls for a complete restructuring. Dissatisfaction further escalated when, according to newspaper articles, the *Hamidiye Etfal*'s budget and bed capacity were reduced after January 1909. This budgetary and capacity reduction prompted suggestions for alternative funding mechanisms. One proposal entailed allowing the once-illustrious hospital (*o müessese-i azime*) to accept patients who are willing to pay, a significant shift from its prior commitment to serving the public free of charge. This suggestion emerged as a potential solution if the municipal budget proved insufficient or, failing that, as a last resort if the hospital could not be managed otherwise.[267]

Following the declaration of the Second Constitutional Period, Dr. Wieting Paşa, director of *Gülhane Seririyat Hastahanesi* (Gülhane Military Clinical Instruction Hospital), proposed a new reform for medical education. This reform

[266] Cem Hakan Başaran, "Tanıdık Bir Hikaye: Müessesat-ı Hayriye-i Sıhhiye Müdiriyeti," 434.
[267] Başaran, "Tanıdık Bir Hikaye: Müessesat-ı Hayriye-i Sıhhiye Müdiriyeti," 437-438.

aimed to eliminate the need for separate civil and military medical schools. Under the new system, military students could receive further training in war surgery at Gülhane. Figures like Cemil Topuzlu, Ziya Nuri Birgi, Asaf Derviş, and Süleyman Numan Maşa played a key role in the implementation of this reform**.** The *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* was separated from the Mekteb-i Tıbbiye Şahane Nezareti (Ministry of the Imperial School of Medicine) and attached to the Ministry of Education.This marked the unofficial founding of the *Darülfünun-ı Osmani Tıp Fakültesi* (Faculty of Medicine of the Ottoman University) on December 6th, 1908. The official founding date, however, is recognized as September 14th, 1909.[268]

During this period of reform, *Hamidiye Etfal* faced economic and institutional struggles. The *İstatistik* journals were now under the threat of not being printed in July-August 1908. It is stated in the documents that the *İstatistik* journals were published on the day of enthroment (31 August) of Sultan Abdülhamid II. For the 9th issue of the journal, Dr. İbrahim Bey explains the printing details of the new issue of the *İstatistik*. In return, *Hazine-i Hassa* requested that the *İstatistik* be printed without incurring unnecessary expenses.[269] Nevertheless, the 9th issue of the *İstatistik* journal was never printed, and the last issue of the journal was printed in 1907.

The inspection of the expenditures of the *Hamidiye Etfal* was stricter after the revolution. In September 1908, Dr. İbrahim Bey prepared a report on the hospital's expenditure and patient capacity. In that report, it is seen that some of the hospital's doctors had resigned since it is required according to the latest regulations (*tensikat-ı ahire*). This document shows that thanks to the resignations of these doctors and

[268] Nuran Yıldırım, *Tıphane-i Amire ve Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'den İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi'ne,* 121-122.
[269] BOA. ML.EEM. 691-72. 29 *Cemaziyelahir 1*326, (29 July 1908). BOA. ML.EEM. 697-28. 22 *Şaban* 1326, (20 August 1908).

officials, an annual savings of 824 lira 72 kuruş has been made from the budget of Hamidiye Etfal. Dr. İbrahim Bey also states that 116 children and 50 women patients were in the hospital, and taking care of more than this number would not be permissible from a medical standpoint.[270] Dr. İbrahim Bey's reply makes us think that there could be pressure from the *Hazine-i Hassa* to make savings for the *Hamidiye Etfal's* budget. Twenty days later, it is stated that the expenditures of the hospital will be funded by the *Hazine-i Hassa* and a new commission for the hospital administration, including the hospital director, Dr. İbrahim Bey, Müşir Dr. Cemil [Topuzlu], and Dr. Nafiz was formed on how to operate the hospital.[271]

Concurrently, Dr. İbrahim Bey was trying to find a balance between the medical capacity of the *Hamidiye Etfal,* the requests of bureaucracy's and patients. For example, the patient named Miralay Rıfat Bey expresses his desire to be treated

[270] BOA. ML.EEM. 699-77. 5 *Şaban* 1326, (2 September, 1908). "Lüzümundan fazla olmasına mebni tensikat-ı ahire mucebince hidmetlerinden afvı lazım gelüb işbu büdcede maaşları tasarruf edilen etıbba ve memurinin esamisi.
Emraz-ı Üzniye ve Hançereviye mütehassısı Ferik Ziya Nuri Paşa (cihet-i askeriyedeki vezaifinin tekessürü ifadesiyle istifa etmişdir.) 400 Guruş.
Emraz-ı Üzniye ve Hançereviye mütehassısı Miralay Muhyiddin Bey (Şehremaneti Meclisine âzâ intihab ve tayin edildiğinden istifa etmişdir.) 486 Guruş.
Emraz-ı Dahiliye mütehassısı Kaimmakam Fehmi Bey. 400 Guruş.
Serkimyager Kaimmakam Vasil [Naum] Bey. 800 Guruş.
Operatör Binbaşı Rasih Efendi. 500 Guruş.
Emraz-ı Dahiliye tabibi Kolağası Rıdvan Efendi (fahri). 486 Guruş.
Dişci Leon Zeryan Efendi (icra-yı ibkası hakkında irade-i seniyye şerefsadır buyurulmuşdur.
… Binbaşı Hüseyin Rıza Efendi. 750 Guruş.
Mütercim Mösyö Bareille [the translator of the *Hamidiye Etfal* journal]. 750 Guruş.
Eczacı kalfası Corci Efendi. 400 Guruş.
Eczacı kalfası Nikolaki Efendi. 400 Guruş.
Tabib Yüzbaşı Hüsnü Efendi. 300 Guruş.
Sertabebetine mahiye araba parası olarak verilen [para]. 500 Guruş.
Mahiye verilen maaş yekunu. 7422 Guruş.
Hidmetinden afvı lazım gelen etıbba ve memurinin maaşından senevi sekiz yüz yirmi dört Lira-yı Osmanî iki guruş tasarruf hasıl olmuşdur." In the document it also says that salaries of some of the staff were cut down by 5%.

[271] BOA. ML.EEM. 704-105. 27 *Şaban* 1326, (24 September, 1908).

in *Hamidiye Etfal* by writing about his long-term service to the army (for forty years) and losing his fingers during duty. Though Rıfat Bey was accepted to the hospital in the same room as Mirliva Agah Bey, Dr. İbrahim Bey states that Rıfat Bey did not want to stay there unless he was treated in a private room and consequently left the hospital. In defence of his decision as a report, Dr. İbrahim Bey says:

> If a separate room were provided for each incoming patient, we would have to expand the hospital three times its current size, leading to a significant increase in expenses. This approach neither aligns with medical science nor practicality, so no hospital in the world is designed this way. Rıfat Bey was offered a room with Agah Bey due to the services he provided [for the army], but he declined our offer, though we do not know why.[272]

An example of conflicts of Dr. İbrahim Bey with bureaucracy regarding budget deficit can be seen in the following example: Dr. İbrahim Bey explicitly stated that due to the failure to make the necessary payment to the pharmaceutical merchant Kasabian Efendi, the hospital had run out of necessary medical equipment such as chloroform. Therefore, surgeries could not be performed after that. He also clarified that the hospital would not accept any responsibility regarding this situation.[273]

In late 1908, *Hamidiye Etfal*'s status changed. The hospital became a *seririyat hastahanesi* (a hospital where clinical instruction is practised) for the newly founded *Darülfünun Tıp Fakültesi*'s students led by Dr. Cemil [Topuzlu] Paşa, alongside hospitals like *Gülhane, Tıbbiye-i Askeriye, Gureba-i Müslimin*, *Hamidiye Nisa ve Daire-i Sadise* hospitals.[274]. However, it would be fitting to assume the workload of

[272] BOA. ML.EEM. 716-53. 18 Zilkade 1326. 12 December 1908
[273] BOA. ML.EEM. 708-69. 23 Ramazan 1326. 19 October, 1908.
[274] BOA. MF.MKT. 1084-32. 12 Zilkade 1326. 6 December, 1908. ML.EEM. 716-4. 15 *Zilkade* 1326. 9 December, 1908. For the history of *Tıp Fakültesi,* see Arslan Terzioğlu, "İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi Tarihçesi," *Journal of Istanbul Faculty of Medicine* Vol.63, No.2 (July 2014): 1-30.

the hospital staff increased with this decree.[275] With more workload and a strict budget, Dr. İbrahim Bey found himself in a position to protect the hospital's efficiency.

Dr. İbrahim Bey adapted his language in the documents to the changing era's expectations. The report[276] of Dr. İbrahim Bey compiled on 22 November 1908 is essential to show how Dr. İbrahim Bey wanted to protect the cadres, i.e. his colleagues. Dr. İbrahim Bey explained *Hamidiye Etfal*'s service to the Ottoman people, army and general public in this report. Dr. İbrahim stated that the hospital has treated around 100.000 patients from various *millet*s from its opening (5 May 1899) to this date (May 1908). According to this report, Dr. İbrahim Bey was not too dissatisfied with becoming a *seririyat* hospital. He expresses that the hospital's equipment and facilities are superior to all foreign and local hospitals in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it is certain that in the future, in addition to continuing to serve the public, young doctors graduating from the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* and the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* will benefit more from one year of surgical procedures and practices here than from other hospitals. In this way, the *Hamidiye Etfal* can provide an essential service to the medical professionals emerging from the Ottoman Empire.

However, it is evident from the document that Dr. İbrahim Bey fervently opposes the change of the physician cadres of the hospital, because he thought that it would be an indication of Muslims' incapacity to manage a hospital. The doctors of

[275] For another example, the hospital administration had already expressed that their workload was too much, so they wanted to put *Karahisar Maden Suları* management to tender. BOA. ML.EEM. 708-75. 24 *Ramazan* 1326. 20 October 1908.
[276] BOA. Y.EE.KP. 31-3097. 27 *Şevval* 1326. 22 November, 1908. For the translation of this document see Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı: Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi*, 115.

Hamidiye Etfal Hospital were intended to be transferred to the service of the Ottoman army or military hospitals. Dr. İbrahim Bey expressed that the retrieval of medical staff from institutions such as *Hamidiye Etfal*, which was one of the most developed charity institutions in the Ottoman Empire compared to foreign medical establishments in Istanbul and other Ottoman territories, would indicate the acknowledgement of the Muslims' incapacity in managing a hospital. Dr. İbrahim Bey expresses that in this era of the blessings of freedom *(elhamdülillah nail olduğumuz şu devr-i dilâra-yı hürriyette)*, the extent to which such treatment will be compatible with public opinion and interests requires contemplation.[277]

In the last days of 1908, Dr. İbrahim Bey stated that, due to budgetary restrictions, some dentists and hospital officials, apart from the doctors approved by the order, were deemed unnecessary to continue their work.[278] In March 1909, Dr. İbrahim Bey awrote a furious letter to the *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti* stating that the hospital personnel did not get their February salaries, and they informed Dr. İbrahim Bey that they would quit their work if their salaries would not be paid.[279] Day by day, the budgetary problem of the *Hamidiye Etfal* increased. In April 1909, Dr. İbrahim

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[277] Ibid. "Rabian: Dersaadet'de ve bilâd-ı saire-i Osmaniye'de mevcut emâkin-i sıhhiye-i ecnebiyeye ve daha vâzıh tabir ile yâr u ağyâra karşı Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi gibi memleketimize göre elyevm ekmel bulunan bir müessese-i hayriyenin istikbalini ve terakkiyatını gösterebilecek surette etıbbasının geri alınması İslâmların bir hastahaneyi idareden aczini itiraf demek olacaktır ki elhamdülillah nail olduğumuz şu devr-i dilâra-yı hürriyette böyle bir muamelenin efkâr ve menâi-i âmmeye de ne derecelere kadar muvafık olacağı mülahazaya muhtaç kalır."
[278] BOA. ML.EEM. 721-6. 20 *Zilhicce* 1326. 22 December, 1908.
[279] BOA. ML.EEM. 736-22. 15 *Safer* 1327. 8 March 1909. "Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi müstahdeminin şehr-i Kanun-ı Sani maaşı henüz tesviye kılınmamasına ve esasen hastahaneden almakda oldukları iki yüz guruş maaşla ailesinin maişetini temine çalışan hizmetgan böyle müddet-i medide parasız geçinemeyeceklerinden bahisle şayed maaş heman ve badema işleyecek maaşlar da muntazaman tesviye buyurulmayacak olur ise umumen terk-i vazife edeceklerini suret-i katiyede acizlerine ifade ve beyan eylediklerinden bir gûna ahval-i na-maraziye meydan kalmamak lüzumu işar ve maaş-ı mezkur sür'at-i tesviyesi temenni kılınur ol babda emr ü irade hazret-i men lehül emrindir."

Bey's salary was not given by the Ministry of Navy.[280] Around the same time, Abdülhamid II was deposed from the throne (27 April 1909), and all of the remaining estates, fields and properties were transferred to the *Maliye Hazinesi*.[281]

4.6 The resignation of Dr. İbrahim Bey

After the 31 March (13 April) incident in 1909, Abdülhamid II was deposed from the throne. As we noted, most of the Sultan's properties and assets were transferred to the *Maliye Nezareti*. As one of the Sultan's properties, *Hamidiye Etfal*'s financial administration was also transferred to *Maliye Nezareti*.[282] *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti* was still in operation, but its capacity was reduced. In May 1909, Dr. İbrahim Bey expressed that though the hospital was not attached to the *Hazine-i Hassa* anymore, the ministry still owed a 12-day payment for the hospital's needs. Dr. İbrahim Bey signed this document as "Şişli'de kâin *Osmanlı Etfal Hastahanesi* Sertabibi, Birinci Ferik İbrahim."[283] As it is seen, the hospital's name was also changed during the turmoilous times of the Second Constitutional Period. In the last days of May 1909, the hospital received a 5000 *guruş* payment from the *Hazine-i Hassa* for its urgent needs.[284]

In June 1909, Dr İbrahim Bey left the hospital where he had worked for years. In his resignation paper, Dr. İbrahim Bey stated that he has been suffering from an illness[285] for the past four to five years, and the illness has worsened in the

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[280] BEO. 3532-264898. 19 *Rabiülevvel* 1327. 10 April 1909.
[281] Terzi, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti,* 151.
[282] DH.MKT. 2810-10. 21 *Rabiülahir* 1327. 12 May 1909.
[283] BOA. ML.EEM. 746-21. 26 *Rabiülahir* 1327. 17 May 1909.
[284] BOA. ML.EEM. 746-22. 8 *Cemaziyelelevvel* 1327, (28 May, 1909).
[285] In 1905 issue of *İstatistik,* Dr. İbrahim Bey explains that he went to Baden-Baden in that year because of his rheumatism. In 1910, this time he goes to the baths of Evian. In 1919, Dr. İbrahim Bey in a newspaper says that he only resigned two times from Hamidiye Etfal, one because of his rheumatism in 1909. However, it was

last three and four months, making it impossible for him to fulfill his duties. He, therefore, requested to be pardoned from his position.[286] However, this illness may only be a pretext for Dr. İbrahim Bey to resign, as he later served as chief physician in various hospitals (including *Hamidiye Etfal*) before, during and after World War I. Therefore, the reasons for Dr. İbrahim's resignation are not solely due to his illness but rather the staff changes that the hospital underwent after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era, Dr. İbrahim's inability to resist these changes, and the hospital's financial problems. The hospital's close ties to the Sultan were among the most important reasons for its modern equipments and medical capacity. However, this situation turned to the hospital's disadvantage in the changing political climate.

After Dr. İbrahim Bey's duty at the hospital, Dr. Şevket Bey becomes the new chief physician of the hospital. The new cadre of the hospital was almost completely formed by the civilian physicians.[287] While the *Hamidiye Etfal* was initially under the supervision of the *Maliye Nezareti*, then it was transferred to the administration of the *Şehremaneti* (city administration). In October 1909, like other charitable institutions that were transferred to the *Şehremaneti*, the *Hamidiye Etfal* was transferred to the *Müessasat-ı Hayriye-i Sıhhiye Müdüriyeti* (Directorate of Charitable Health Institutions) which established as a new organization to manage the hospitals and charity institutions in İstanbul. As a result of this, the hospital staff was almost completely replaced.[288] Under the supervision of *Müessasat-ı Hayriye-i*

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evident that his rheumatism cannot be the sole reason for his resignation as we argued. *İkdam* 8090, 18 August, 1919.

[286] BOA. DH.MKT. 2836-25. 18 *Cemaziyelevvel* 1327. (8 June, 1909).

[287] Nuran Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı*, 110.

[288] İlker, *Şişli Çocuk Hastanesi Tarihi*, 98. For the works of the directorate see, Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, 276. Cem Hakan Başaran's article on the directorate is a well-researched and insightful piece of work that warrants further examination.

Sıhhiye Müdüriyeti, the hospital was renovated and new medical equipments were purchased. The hospital continued to its service in the Balkan and the Great War.[289]

4.7 Dr. İbrahim Bey's writings on history of medicine and its impact

As demonstrated by many examples in the second chapter, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a growing interest emerged in scientific and medical progress within the Ottoman Empire. This focus is an attempt to demonstrate the civilized nature of Ottoman society and highlight its historical contributions to the advancement of scientific knowledge. Dr. İbrahim Bey, while serving as the chief physician of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, continued writing articles on these issues, which he had begun to write in the 1890s at least. His unwavering commitment to portraying Islamic civilization as 'modern,' evident in his 1894 articles from various places including Bonn and Istanbul, persisted throughout his duty at the *Hamidiye Etfal*. This consistency suggests a longstanding perspective on issues such as the origins of medical knowledge, civilization, and modernity that is unlikely to change significantly in the future, as the following chapter will show. In this part, we will look at Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles he wrote in the field of history of medicine in *İstatistik* and its impact.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's writings on history of medicine ignited a further debate on to what degree past Muslim physicians and Islamic civilization served to the benefit to "modern medicine" and to the progress of humanity. After the proclamation of Republic, in 1925, Dr. Osman Şevki (Uludağ) published a rebuttal to the misconception that "Turks are enemies of knowledge and science." His book, *Beş Buçuk Asırlık Türk Tababeti Tarihi* (History of Five and a Half Centuries of Turkish

[289] Yıldırım, *Hastane Tarihimizde Bir Kutup Yıldızı*, 111-112.

Medicine), aimed to demonstrate a rich Turkish medical tradition.[290] Osman Şevki's objective is to demonstrate that Turkish medicine is not merely comprised of folk remedies. According to him, physicians like Ömer Şifai (d. 1742)[291] and Hacı Abbas Vesim (d. 1761-1762)[292] were the ones who found that diseases like syphilis and tuberculosis were contagious, and these diseases stemmed from microbes.[293] These physicians were the followers of the *tıbb-ı cedid* (new medicine). *Tıbb-ı cedîd* was based on the Paracelsian iatro-chemistry, based on the treatment of sicknesses by chemical elements like sulphur, salt and mercury in the 18th century Ottoman world. In parallel, Akif Yerlioğlu argues that *tıbb-ı cedid* was not only about these methods of treatment, but was also a search for a new type of medical understanding that would place eighteenth-century physicians as challengers to the ideas of the former medical authorities. When we come to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historian-physicians (who were mostly graduated from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) found it difficult to apply *tıbb-ı cedid* arguments and physicians to the times they lived. The question was to what extent the arguments put forward by the followers of *tıbb-ı cedid* were "scientific", and therefore "modern" enough to be implemented in the history of medicine in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.[294]

Dr. Osman Şevki's book is interesting because most of the information about these physicians comes from the articles Dr. İbrahim Bey wrote in the *İstatistik* journals. The writings of Dr. Osman Şevki exhibit a remarkable similarity to those of

[290] Osman Şevki [Uludağ], *Beş Buçuk Asırlık Türk Tababeti Tarihi* ed. İlter Uzel (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991).
[291] Esin Kahya, "Ömer Şifai," 171-195.
[292] Cahit Baltacı, "Abbas Vesim Efendi," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abbas-vesim-efendi, 2 April 2024.
[293] Uludağ 52-82. In the original work of Dr. Osman Şevki that belongs to 1925, this part starts from page 41.
[294] Akif Ercihan Yerlioğlu, "Geçmişin Hekimleri Tarih Olurken," 383-407.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. This extends beyond just broad themes; specific details like the names and mannerisms of physicians (including Johan Fabricius) and discussions of specific diseases (particularly syphilis) appear strikingly similar across their works. According to both works, the microbe theory, and by extension, the emphasis on modernity and rationality that emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries, had roots in the practices of early Islamic and Turkish physicians.

For example, in 1901, Dr. İbrahim Bey wrote a long article titled "Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye Yahud İslamların ve Bilhassa Türk Millet-i Necibesinin Tababate Etdikleri Hizmetler" (The Medical Achievements of the Ottomans: The Services of Muslims and Especially the Noble Turkish Nation to Medicine) and published in *İstatistik* journal of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. In this article, parallel to the ones he wrote in 1894 and 1895 in *Sabah* journal, Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that Muslim scholars like İbn-i Sina, al-Farabi, Muhammed İbn Zakariya al-Razi and Ulug Bey were originally from Turkish lineage and they contributed to the advancement of Islamic knowledge and the establishment of the *modern* civilization. Though these scholars were trained in the Arab *medrese*s, Dr. İbrahim Bey claims that they were of Turkish origin; because the Ottoman Empire supported and patronaged these scholars and intellectuals, and consequently, they contributed to the flourishing of knowledge and science. In his article, Dr. İbrahim Bey focuses on physicians like Seyyid Muhammed Emir Çelebi, (ex-imperial chief physician, d. 1638)[295] İbnü'l Şerif and Hacı Abbas Vesim Efendi. The article's main argument is

[295] Ayşegül Demirhan Erdemir, "Emîr Çelebi," *Tdv İslâm Ansiklopedisi* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/emir-celebi, 2 April 2024.

that these doctors had insights very similar to modern medical knowledge of the late 19th century in their time period.[296]

In his 1902 article, he mentions that while new alcohol prohibition societies were emerging in Europe, Islam had already commanded this long before, thus indicating that this knowledge was somewhat inherent within Islam. In that article, he again put forward his priest example of his 1894 article on *Sabah*, about his treatment with cold water for diseases, which Muslim physicians already knew about.[297]

In 1903, Dr. İbrahim Bey used Turkolog Arminius Vambery's words to promote Turks and Turkish language in the civilization's progress:

> In order to study the special conditions and experiences of the ancient Turks in Central Asia, he [Vambery] went there himself and faced countless difficulties and hardships, but eventually achieved his goal. On the fifth page of his book Das Türken Folk, which was written in German and published in 1885 by Monsieur (Vamberi), a professor of oriental languages at the University of Budapest, under the heading "The Achievements of Ancient Turkish Civilization", the following words are written:
> When one wants to examine the share of civilization of a nation in a fair and balanced way, it is necessary first to examine the basis of that nation. When I started working in this way, I got to know the Turks properly. That is, I came to the firm conclusion that the Turks, who have a very extensive language and perfect literature, are a very civilized and great people from their existing works. Yes! The Turkish language is very rich and extensive; it is a beautiful and eloquent language that encompasses all virtues. But in order to have a complete idea of this matter, it is necessary to walk step by step on the land that has spread over 900 years of geography, to examine the Turks who live in that area, and most importantly, to learn the language that the Turks speak in different styles.
> Even from this sincere statement of Monsieur (Vamberi), it is clear that the noble Turkish nation has reached the highest level of civilization since ancient times.

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[296] Dr. İbrahim [Bey], "Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye Yahud İslamların ve Bilhassa Türklerin Millet-i Necibesinin Tababate Etdikleri Hizmetler," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi,* No. 2 (1901): 29-35. See the Appendix A.
[297] Dr. İbrahim [Bey], "Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i İslamiye," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi,* No. 3 (1902): 56.

Moreover, Dr. İbrahim Bey adds that Turks raised many great physicians and contributed to the progress of medicine:

> Regarding the noble science of medicine, there is no doubt that the Turks have produced many scholars and physicians. It is widely accepted among experts that the progress of the noble science of medicine in the Middle Ages was primarily due to the contributions of Muslims, and especially Turks. From the earliest times, there have been many Turkish masters of medicine, including Farabi, Ibn Sina, Muhammed bin Zekeriyaü'l Razi, Hoca Fahreddin bin Uhdi-i Sebzevari, Bedreddin bin Behram el-Kalansi Semerkandî, Ebu İbrahim Gürgani, Ebu Zeyd Belahi, Ebu'l Abbas Ahmed bin Tayyib bin Muhammed Serhaşi, and Şerifi-i Belahi.
> However, it should not be thought that the only Turkish physicians who have made a name for themselves are those whose names we have listed here. On the contrary, many other scholars and physicians from this noble nation have graced the world of civilization. However, extensive research and investigation are required to find and record their names, and we do not have the time to do so now. Therefore, we are forced to be content with this brief mention.

In the remaining of his article, Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that these Ottoman physicians found the treatments for the diseases even though they did not have the modern equipment and knowledge:

> Indeed, medicine has advanced to a great extent today. However, it was not undeveloped in the time of the Ottoman ancestors of physicians. I have respectfully quoted some parts of their works in my article entitled "The Glories of Ottoman Medicine-The Services of Muslims, Especially the Noble Turkish Nation, to Medicine" in the *İstatistik* journal of 1317-1319. If His Excellency Hacı Abbas Vesim and his contemporaries, the masters of wisdom and medicine, had the instruments like bacteriology and microscope and X-ray, what would they have done?.. On the other hand, it is considered a clear fact that the aforementioned gentlemen, who found the treatment method mentioned in the aforementioned article without any tools in their hands, would have brought forth things that would make humanity thank them many times over in the present time.[298]

In a 1904 article, Dr. İbrahim Bey promotes Hacı Abbas Vesim as one of the early founders of the microbe theory, claiming that he mentioned the "madde-i sârîye" of

[298] Ibid.

dysentery, which means the "contagious matter," 140 years before the discoverers of dysentery microbe, Dr. [Walther] Kruse and Dr. [Kiyoshi] Shiga.[299]

In 1939, Dr. Adnan Adıvar wrote his famous *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Science in Ottoman Turks) as a seminal book on science in the Ottoman Empire. The book can be considered a response to Dr. Osman Şevki's arguments. In this book, Adıvar argues that:

> Readers of this work will see that in Ottoman Turkey, the positive sciences until the 19th century were only a partial and sometimes even incorrect, continuation of the science in Arabic and Persian languages. They will also see that neither in terms of content nor method did they differ from the form that the "Greek miracle" took when it passed to the East. However, the rare periods in which these sciences took a step towards innovation by adopting Western ideas and methods have been emphasized.[300]

Adıvar's book contains some critics about doctors like Hacı Abbas Vesim, whom Dr. İbrahim Bey wrote in *İstatistik* journals. Adıvar accuses Abbas Vesim [and indirectly criticizes Dr. Osman Şevki] as a "money-grubbing" physician and compiled his *Düstur-ül-Vesim fi tıbb-ül-cedid ve'l-kadim* (The Canon of Vesim on Ancient and Modern Medicine) based on the books of European physicians which probably he never read.[301] Adıvar accuses Dr. İbrahim Bey as being a "court-physician" and for the fame of Abbas Vesim in the further history of medicine writings:

> The attention to this Abbas Vesim Efendi was drawn 40 years ago by Dr. İbrahim Paşa, the chief physician of the *Hamidiye Etfal* Hospital (Şişli Children's Hospital), in an article he wrote for the *İkdam* newspaper in 1901 (No. 2601) under the title "The Services of Muslims and Especially the Turkish Noble Nation to Medicine." Dr. İbrahim Paşa obtained Emir Çelebi's *Enmuzec-üt-tibb* and Vesim Efendi's *Düstur*, and taking some parts from them, published them in the above article in 1903 = 1321, and wrote another

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[299] Dr. İbrahim, "Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i İslamiyemizden: 1100 Tarih-i Hicrisinde Osmanlılarda Tababet," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.5 (1904):19.

[300] Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, introduction.

[301] For the debate of "new-medicine," iatro-chemist elements in the works of Ottoman physicians see Akif Ercihan Yerlioğu, "May Those who Understand What I Wrote Remember This Humble One," *Yıllık: Annual of Istanbul Studies* No. 2 (2020): 35-51.

> long article on Vesim's treatment of tuberculosis in the yearbook *İstatistik*, which was also reprinted in its entirety in the 4040th issue of the *İkdam* newspaper. In fact, these articles were so exaggerated in praising this doctor [Abbas Vesim] that it was even written that he discovered disease microbes 300 years before the Europeans, and that his ideas on the treatment of tuberculosis and syphilis could not be better even at the beginning of the 20th century, and that it was absurd to wait for everything from Europe when we had such doctors in our history. *These articles are a sample of the products of the sycophantic and at the same time obscurantist circles of the Abdülhamit II era*. The information that has been passed on to medical history and presented at medical history congresses about the physician Vesim is based on and even copied from the writings of this court doctor.[302]

In 1951, doctor and medical historian Feridun Nafiz Uzluk[303] grieved in his article since Turkish medical history was not based on solid foundations, and authors like Dr. Osman Şevki simply could not create this field. Interestingly, Uzluk, who explored Turkish medical history through his works on figures like Ibn al-Baytar (d.

[302] Adıvar, 195-196. "Bu Abbas Vesim Efendi hakkında 40 yıl önce dikkati, Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi (Şişli Çocuk Hastanesi) Başhekimi İbrahim Paşa, İkdam gazetesine 1901 yılında (No. 2601) İslamların ve bilhassa Türk millet-i necibesinin tababete ettikleri hizmetler başlığıyle yazdığı makaleyle çekmiştir. Doktor İbrahim Paşa, yukarıda adı geçen Emir Çelebinin Enmuzec-üt-tibb'ıyle Vesim Efendinin Düstur'unu ele geçirmiş ve bunlardan bazı yerleri alarak, yukarıki makaleyle 1903 = 1321 yılında yayınlamış, Etfal hastanesi istatistiği adındaki salnameye yine Vesim'in verem tedavisi hakkında uzun bir başka makale yazmıştır ki, bu son makale de İkdam gazetesinin 4040 numaralı nüshasına aynen geçmiştir. İşte, bu makalelerde bu hekimi övmekte o kadar mübalağa olunmuştur ki, hastalık mikroplarım Avrupalılardan 300 yıl önce keşfettiği ve hele verem ve frengi, hastalıklarının tedavisi hakkmdaki düşüncelerinin XX. yüzyıl başında bile,daha iyi olamayacağı ve böyle eski hekimlerimiz varken, her şeyi Avrupa'dan beklemek abes olduğu bile yazılmıştır. Bu makaleler, Abdülhamit II. devrinin dalkavuk ve aynı zamanda obscurantiste çevresinin mahsullerinden bir numunedir". İşte sonradan, hekim Vesim'e dair tıp tarihlerine geçen ve tıp tarihi kongrelerinde tebliğ edilen bilgiler, bu saray doktorunun yazılarından mülhem ve hatta aynen alınmış bilgilerden ibarettir."

[303] Feridun Nafiz Uzluk (1902-1974) stayed in a *Mevlevi* lodge during his medical education in Istanbul, Haydarpaşa. He knew Ottoman Turkish very well and translated books of prominent Ottoman physicians like Şanizade Ataullah. He completed his further education in Münich in 1934 on bacteriology and he was also one of the founders of the *Türk Tıp Tarihi Derneği* (Turkish Medical History Association) in 1938. See, Ayten Altıntaş, "Feridun Nafiz Uzluk ve Tıp Tarihi," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* No.9 (2018): 282-287, see, Ahmet Acıduman, "Prof. Dr. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk'un Tıp Tarihi Yöntembilgisi Üzerine Düşünceleri," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* No.9 (2018): 59-71.

1248), Şanizade Ataullah (d. 1826), Ömer Şifai, and Abbas Vesim, opposed to Dr. Osman Şevki's claims and indirectly, Dr. İbrahim Bey's claims, as Dr. Osman Şevki copied from Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles. Despite a shared goal of establishing a common Ottoman/Muslim medical history, Uzluk's emphasis on documentation clashed with Dr. Osman Şevki's approach and hence, Dr. İbrahim Bey. Even though he respects the efforts of Dr. İbrahim Bey, Uzluk finds Dr. Osman Şevki's claims on physicians like Hacı Abbas Vesim (knowing Turkish, Farsi, Arabic, Latin; gathering many foreign physicians to his shop in Süleymaniye, İstanbul) too weak to be found valid.[304] It is understood that Dr. Osman Şevki copied this paragraph from the article of Dr. İbrahim Bey.[305] Nafiz Uzluk criticizes Dr. Osman Şevki as Dr. İbrahim Bey influences him too much. Uzluk argues that Dr. İbrahim Paşa's efforts to document the history of Turkish medicine, including highlighting physicians like Abbas Vesim and his work on tuberculosis, failed to attract the attention of Turkish physicians.[306]

One may argue that Dr. İbrahim Bey's strong advocacy for past Ottoman physicians contributions to medicine might stem from his connection to the palace, as Adıvar also mentioned. Nevertheless, a close examination of the articles written by İbrahim Bey since the 1890s clearly reveals that his views on the contributions of Ottoman physicians to medical science remained constant. While he saw the Sultan as one of the causes of medical progress, it would be inaccurate to say that his relationship with Abdulhamid II led him to write such articles, as he had been explicitly disseminating his ideas on these issues since at least the 1890s.

[304] Uzluk, Feridun Nafiz. "Ölümünden 9 Yıl Sonra Ordu Hekimbaşısı Yapılan Bir Tabibimiz," 511-512.
[305] Dr. İbrahim, "Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i İslamiyemizden: 1100 Tarih-i Hicrisinde Osmanlılarda Tababet," 15.
[306] Uzluk, "Ölümünden 9 Yıl Sonra Ordu Hekimbaşısı Yapılan Bir Tabibimiz," 510.

For example, his article called “Bakteriyoloji Fenninin Ehemmiyet-i Azimesi” (The Great Importance of the Science of Bacteriology) talks much about the bacteriology field’s development and its benefit on the protection of public health, surgery, the emergence of disinfection, the ability to know the causes of diseases. While ten-twelve years ago it was not even known even the name of the “bacteriology,” thanks to the Sultan, now the Ottoman has institutes like the ones in the world such as in Denmark and Belgium. Then, Dr. İbrahim Bey praises *Hamidiye Etfa*l’s bacteriology laboratory and bacteriologist Dr. Ömer Fuad Bey for his work.[307] In this article, Dr. İbrahim Bey does not mention figures like Hacı Abbas Vesim or Ömer Şifai as the flag-bearers of the medical progress. Instead, he explains how many bacteriology laboratories were opened in Europe, and in another article dated 1904, he explicitly says that the tuberculosis microbe was found by Dr. Robert Koch in 1882.[308]

It remains unclear whether Dr. İbrahim Bey directly engaged in conversation with European doctors regarding the contributions of Muslim physicians to medical progress. However, evidence suggests his efforts to raise awareness on this topic. The distribution of the *İstatistik* journal across European hospitals served as a potential platform for such dissemination. In *İstatistik* journal, his article named “Medizinische Verdienste Der Mohamedaner und Insberonde Der Türken” was actually a German translation of his 1901 article, which promoted the role of Muslim

[307] Dr. İbrahim, “Bakteriyoloji Fenninin Ehemmiyet-i Azimesi ve Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi Bakteriyoloji Laboratuvarının Faaliyeti,” *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.4 (1903): 128-131.
[308] Dr. İbrahim, “Verem İlletinin Avupada İntişarı ve Tevsii ve Sanatoryumlara İhtiyacın Tezayidi,” *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.5 (1904): 263.

and Turkish physicians in medical developments.[309] That means doctors around Europe should be aware of Dr. İbrahim Bey's claims.[310] Nevertheless, it seems that Uzluk's arguments on Dr. İbrahim Bey's failure to catch the attention of his Ottoman colleagues must have happened for his European colleagues, too, as the focus of the visitors in the journal was almost mostly on how *Hamidiye Etfal* was modern and similar to a German hospital.

This sub-chapter does not seek to challenge the veracity of İbrahim Bey's claims regarding Ottoman medicine. Instead, the focus lies on understanding Dr. İbrahim Bey's rationale and his efforts to construct a historical narrative of Ottoman medicine. An analysis of his writings reveals a tendency to accept modern medical discoveries, such as microbial theory, as absolute truths and retrospectively apply them to the past to elevate Islamic scholar's contribution to the civilization. He aims to demonstrate that Ottoman physicians were not only on par with their contemporaries but even ahead of their time.

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[309] Dr. İbrahim, "Medizinische Verdienste Der Mohamedaner und Insberonde Der Türken," *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* No.7 (1906): 26-37.

[310] In the 1903 issue of *İstatistik,* Robert Koch's letter to Dr. İbrahim Bey says that:
"Muhterem meslekdaşım arkadaşım,
Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlîsinin bu seneki *İstatistik* risalesinden bir nüshasının irsalinden dolayı teşekkürat-ı mahsusamı beyan ile kesb-i fahr ederim. Münderecatımı kemal-i ehemmiyetle mütalaa eyledim. Atiyen dahi hastahanedeki mesainizi netayic-i matlube ile tezyin eylemesi temenniyatıyla arz-ı ihtiramat-ı faika eylerim. Fi 12 Eylül sene 1902. Doktor Robert Koch." (Dear esteemed colleague and friend, I express my sincere gratitude for sending me a copy of this year's *İstatistik* journal of the Hamidiye Etfal Hospital. I have studied its contents with great interest. I wish you continued success in your work at the hospital in the future.
With highest regards,
Dr. Robert Koch
September 12, 1902)

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined Dr. İbrahim Bey's hospital administration and his history of medicine articles published in the *İstatistik*. As the chief physician of a sultan-affiliated charity institution, Dr. İbrahim Bey found himself in an enviable position, one that would be a dream come true for both an administrator and a doctor. He skilfully utilized this opportunity to not only advance his own career but also to enhance the hospital's (and the sultan's) standing. However, a combination of rising hospital expenses, perhaps excessive patient intake, shifting political dynamics, and an indirectly related medical reform rendered it challenging for Dr. İbrahim Bey to manage the hospital in the same manner as he had previously. This led to his inability to push his agenda through the bureaucracy. As a result, Dr. İbrahim Bey was forced to step down from *Hamidiye Etfal*, an institution that almost become synonymous with his name. As will be discussed in the next chapter, he would now need to navigate the changing political climate within the medical market. Dr. İbrahim Pasha would have to advocate for his vision of healthcare practices and policies without the backing of *Hamidiye Etfal* (and the Sultan). He would achieve this by his collegial network and reminding the new administration of his expertise in the healthcare field through his writings and reports.

Regarding his writings on medical history, Dr. İbrahim Bey shifted his focus from local Ottoman newspapers such as *Sabah*, as he had done in Bonn, to the internationally-oriented *İstatistik*. Dr. İbrahim Bey also published them in German and French., yet at what extent these articles garnered attention from his European colleagues remains unclear. Although their impact was not immediate within in the Ottoman Empire, these writings inspired figures like Dr. Osman Şevki Uludağ after the foundation of the republic of Turkey. In a sense, Dr. İbrahim Bey found himself

posthumously immersed in debates surrounding the creation of a national medical history. While individuals like Feridun Nafiz Uzluk commended Dr. İbrahim Bey's efforts, they also expressed reservations about the accuracy of the information presented. Nevertheless, it is more appropriate to evaluate Dr. İbrahim Bey's writings within the context of their era, thereby we will not fall into the pitfall of the "true-false" dichotomy that often surrounds such discussions.

CHAPTER 5

THE POST-HAMIDIYE ETFAL YEARS OF DR. IBRAHIM BEY (1909-1914)

5.1 Introduction

After resigning from Hamidiye Etfal, Dr. İbrahim Bey returned to his previous hospital, *Bahriye Merkez Hastanesi*. However, his rank was downgraded from *birinci feriklik* to *kaimmakam* due to the Tenzil-i Rütbe decision of the new government, which the new regime applied to purge the army and bureaucracy. His title of 'paşa' was also removed, and he was referred to as 'bey'. He spent six months at *Bahriye Merkez Hastanesi*. In December 1909, Dr. İbrahim Bey retired from the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* with a monthly pension of 1500 kuruş.[311] In those days, Dr. İbrahim Bey faced a challenging situation. As one of the Sultan's personal physicians and the ex-chief physician of *Hamidiye Etfal*, an institution directly supported by the Sultan, he became a symbol of the old regime, probably making it difficult to practice medicine in a public institution under the new regime. In this situation, the only thing he could do for was utilize his personal connections and technical competence.

In the same month, Dr. İbrahim Bey published an article in the journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (The True Path),[312] that is titled "İşret ve Müskirâtın Vücuda Tesiri" (The

[311] BOA. BEO. 3677-275742. 2 *Zilhicce* 1327, (15 December 1909).
[312] Ahmet Seyhun argues that while traditional Islamist (who were mostly members of the *ulema*) gathered around *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye* (Society of Islamic Scholars) with the journal *Beyanü'l Hak, Sırat-ı Müstakim* (which was followed by *Sebilürreşad*) was a voice for the modernist Islamists of the Second Constitutional Period. See, Ahmet Seyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire,* 11. Also see, Andrew Hammond, *Late Ottoman Origins of Modern Islamist Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

Harmful Effects of Alcohol and Intoxicants on the Body).[313] In this article, Dr. İbrahim Bey sees alcohol as a harmful intoxicant and advocates that Islam, by forbidding alcohol, saved the Muslims from this calamity. Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that the use of alcohol was increasing in Ottoman youth. Therefore, from primary school to upper education, teachers should strive to explain the dangers of alcohol clearly and concisely. In addition to these precautions, conferences about the harms of alcohol should be given.

Furthermore, Dr. İbrahim Bey gives examples from Europe and America, stating that pictures are hung in clubs, societies, and other crowded places showing the harms of alcohol consumption. He even says that nothing can do more harm to human society than alcohol consumption. It is even worse than contagious diseases like cholera and plague. Dr. İbrahim Bey says that according to the statistics, there are thousands of deaths due to alcohol consumption in countries such as England, Russia, France, and the United States of America. In the later parts of his article, Dr. İbrahim Bey mentions the work of a certain doctor called Dr. Arnold, who explained the harms of alcohol. Lastly, Dr. İbrahim Bey argues that Islam had already warned the humans and draw lessons from its warnings:

> O people of justice, think!
> Contemplate the greatness of the sublime religion of Muhammad. What a lofty religion this is! Thirteen hundred years later, even those who are newly born in Europe and are not believers in Islam are forced to acknowledge its sublime rulings!
> Is it not Islam that forbids even a drop of wine? Is it not possible for a Muslim, after reading these words of a Frankish doctor like Arnold, who is outside of Islam, who makes people happy in every respect and safe from all kinds of dangers, not to bind his heart to such a high-ranking religion with all his feelings and organs of his body a hundred times more?
> Arnold's words are as follows:

[313] Beylerbeyli İbrahim, "İşret ve Müskirâtın Vücuda Tesiri," *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* Vol.3 No. 67 (1909): 231.
Beylerbeyli İbrahim, "İşret ve Müskirâtın Vücuda Tesiri," *Sırat-ı Müstakîm* Vol.3 No. 68 (1909): 249.

> ‘Alcohol provokes anger, lust, anger and rage in the mind and brain of drinkers. This leads to crimes, fights and family problems. Drinkers drag themselves and their families into disaster. Alcohol destroys the human body and soul. It leads to many diseases. Drinking alcohol weakens the human mind and will. It drags people into immorality and sin.’
> After reading these words, a Muslim understands better that wine is forbidden and that drinking it is a great sin. He strives more to stay away from wine and to obey the command of Allah. Islam is a religion sent to protect people from all kinds of evil and harm. The prohibition of wine is also for this reason. O Muslims! Let us try to understand the greatness and wisdom of Islam. Let us obey the commands of Allah and stay away from sins.

Dr. İbrahim Bey, akin to his efforts during the cholera epidemic of the 1890s, sought to warn the public as a medical authority. However, in his later work, the focus shifted from a specific contagious disease to the potential dangers of alcohol addiction. Dr. İbrahim Bey argued that Islamic teachings demonstrated remarkable foresight and wisdom in advocating preventative measures against both diseases and addictive substances. While promoting Islam’s positive and preventive role on these issues, Dr. İbrahim Bey looked at the Western medical developments and precautions that can be a role model for the Ottoman Empire.

5.2 May 1910: Voyage to Europe

Dr. İbrahim’s 1910 voyage to Europe serves as a microcosm of his multifaceted life. Motivated likely by his chronic rheumatism, the trip began in May with the intention of a visit to the spa town of Evian-les-Bains, accompanied by Dr. Salih Bey and his brother Sami Bey. Then they went to Paris and Dr. İbrahim Bey met his eldest son, Mehmed Kemal, enrolled at the prestigious St. Cyr military academy. Notably, Dr. İbrahim Bey also went to several museums during this trip to Paris, as evidenced by his visits to the Louvre and Grand Palais museums with joy.[314]

[314] Dr. İbrahim Bey’s Diaries, 15 June 1910. “Bugün Parisde Grand Palais müzesini Salih ve Sami Beylerle gezdim duhuliye adam başına bir Frank idi. Pek mükemmel resimler tablolar ve alt katı hayakil-i … ile memlü idi.” “Bugün akşam ta’amını

The professional dimension of the trip manifested in a meeting with an Ottoman commission attended by Dr. İbrahim and Dr. Salih Bey.[315] Following this engagement, Dr. İbrahim left Paris and sought medical treatment in Evian under the care of Dr. Pob, who earned his praise for kindness.[316] The journey also includes a a visit to Geneva, where Dr. İbrahim, alongside dentist Anstapor Kapamacıyan, exploring newly inaugurated hospitals. Additionally, efforts were made to locate ambassador Haydar Bey.[317] The social and political aspects of the trip came to the fore in Divonne, where Dr. İbrahim enjoyed a meal hosted by *Hariciye Müsteşarı* (undersecretary of Foreign Affairs) Bedros Kuyumcuyan Efendi, who was also seeking medical treatment there.[318] Finally, the journey culminated in Vienna with a meeting with Professor Theodor Escherich, a renowned figure in paediatrics and bacteriology.[319]

Kemal ben Salih ve Sami Beylerle beraber Otel Terminusun karşısındaki lokantada yedik. Ta'am fiyatı üç Frank idi bir çorba bir et bir sebze peynir meyve bira) bira dahildir. Ben bira içmeyip Sen Galye[?] maden suyu içdim ki bu da üç Franka dahildir. Kemal alafranga 9'da mektebe gitdi."

[315] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 18 June 1910. "Kemal geldi akşam ta'amını Otel Terminusda edip Lunaparka gitdik. Bizim heyet orada idi Hazim Beyi vesaireyi gördük Salih Beyin tabiyeti limoni olduğu için bizim heyeti Lunaparkda görünce hemen otele kaçdı."

[316] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 20 June 1910. Bu sabah […] Salih Beyle beraber gitdik Doktor Pob ile görüşdük mumaileyh hem Alman hem Fransız lisanına aşina olup gayet nazik bir zatdır bize banyo yaptırtdı. Ben ilk defa olarak banyo ve masaj yaptırdım. Mebrukeye [his second wife after the death of his first wife Ayşe] mektup gönderdim.

[317] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 27 June 1910. "Bu sabah Cenevrede diş tabibi Anstapor Kapamacıyan Efendiyle beraber Maternite ve Kantonli hastahanesini gezdik Maternite iki sene evvel inşa olunmuş olub fevkalade ve son tertibata göre yapılmış idi."

[318] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 29 June 1910. "Orada beray tedavi İstanbuldan dört gün evvel gelmiş Hariciye müsteşarı Kuyumcuyan Bedros Efendiyle görüşdük Efendi-i müşarülileyh bize öğle ta'amı ziyafeti keşide etdi. Akşama Cenevreye döndük. Bu akşam Salih Bey Kapamacıyan Efendi ve ben Korsele [Carousel] gitdik."

[319] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 7 July 1910. "Bu sabah ayağıma bir Boting pantoffle [slippers] aldım. Bugün öğleden sonra saat üçde Profesör Eşerihe gidip 28 Alter Strasse hanesinde görüşdüm. Bu akşam Filiposyan Efendiyle buluşduk."

Dr. İbrahim's European travels highlights a network that operated independently of his association with Sultan Abdülhamid II and his non-governmental position. This network encompassed colleagues within the medical field (Dr. Salih Bey, Dr. Pob, and Professor Escherich) and government officials (Ambassador Haydar Bey and Bedros Kuyumcuyan Efendi). His extensive network surpassed the limitations of his position outside the formal government and his ties to Sultan Abdülhamid II. This is demonstrably evident in the breadth and nature of his interactions across Europe.

5.3 August 1910: A new cure for syphilis

The emergence of syphilis in the late 19th century posed a significant threat to the Ottoman Empire. This horrific disease not only afflicted adults but also jeopardized the health of unborn children. Furthermore, its sexual transmission added a moral dimension to the public health crisis, as it was perceived as a threat to the very fabric of Ottoman society for figures like Dr. Besim Ömer Paşa.[320]

The Crimean War (1853-1856) marked a turning point, with a perceived rise in syphilis cases. In response, the *6. Daire-i Belediye* (6th Municipal Department, Beyoğlu) actively addressed the issue of prostitution. A commission, including Dr.

For the life of Theodor Escherich, see: Stanford T. Shulman, Herbert C. Friedmann, Ronald H. Sims, "Theodor Escherich: The First Pediatric Infectious Diseases Physician?," Clinical Infectious Diseases Vol. 45 No. 8, 15 October 2007, Pages 1025–1029, https://doi.org/10.1086/521946.

[320] Ebru Boyar, 'An Inconsequential Boil" or a 'Terrible Disease'?," 102. For a more detailed social history of syphilis, see, Burcu Belli, "Registered Female Prostitution in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876- 1909)," PhD diss., (Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 2020). Though we do not know the relationship between Besim Ömer Paşa and Dr. İbrahim Bey, we know Besim Ömer wrote lengthy positive articles on *Hamidiye Etfal* in his *Nevsal-i Afiyet* (*Journal of Health)*.

Serviçen Efendi, was formed to investigate and report on the problem.[321] These initial efforts highlight the early recognition of the threat posed by syphilis. During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, German advisor Von der Goltz Pasha invited Dr. Von During, a venereal disease specialist, to assess the situation. Dr. Von During's report attributed the decline of Anatolia's population to the spread of syphilis, underlining the disease's devastating impact.[322] Recognizing the urgency of the situation, Besim Ömer Paşa, head of the *Meclis-i Tıbbiye-i Umumiye* (General Medical Council) and *Sıhhiye-i Umumiye* (General Directorate of Health) of the new regime, issued a warning to the Ministry of Interior in December 1909. He emphasized the need for immediate action to prevent the further spread of syphilis in Istanbul.[323]

In 1909 Dr. Paul Ehrlich, who was one of the acquaintance of Dr. İbrahim Bey and also one of the visitors of the *Hamidiye Etfal*, found a new treatment for syphilis. This breakthrough medication, based on arsphenamine, was marketed under the name of *Salvarsan 606* in 1910.[324] News of this development spurred Dr. İbrahim Bey to contact Dr. Paul Ehrlich. In August 1910, he wrote directly to Dr. Ehrlich, expressing his interest in testing the new treatment. Dr. Ehrlich's positive response marked a new trip to Germany for Dr. İbrahim Bey.[325] Dr. İbrahim Bey begins his journey from İstanbul with his wife Mebruke, but they did not directly go

[321] Nuran Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları," 1329.
[322] Boyar, 103.
[323] Ibid. For the cautions and work of Besim Ömer regarding the diseases like cholera, syphilis during his duty at these directories, see, Sabahattin Ödemiş, "Besim Ömer Paşa, (1862-1940), Master's Thesis, (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2013).
[324] Başak Ocak, "Frenginin Tedavisinde Salvarsan ile Neosalvarsan'ın Keşfi ve Bazı Osmanlı Hekimlerinin Bu İlaçlar Hakkındaki Değerlendirmeleri," 302.
[325] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 18 August, 1910. "Bugün Muallim Erlihden (Frankfurtdan) mektubuma cevap geldi son derece nezaketle yazmış ve sizi göreceğim için pek memnunum demiştir."

to Frankfurt, the town Dr. Paul Ehrlich resided. Firstly, they went to Paris by ferry with Pest consul Muhtar Bey and his family. Dr. İbrahim Bey's route was unclear and ambiguous in his diaries, but eventually he arrived in Frankfurt with his wife. Once they bought colognes and got two letters that their son Mehmed Kemal sent, İbrahim Bey went to the institute of Dr. Paul Ehrlich, where Dr. Ehrlich assigned Professor Dr. Sachs to teach Dr. İbrahim Bey the Wassermann method for identifying the syphilis virus.[326]

On the same day, Dr. İbrahim Bey noted that there were no other doctors on the visitor list coming from İstanbul, making him think Dr. Necmeddin Arif did not meet with Dr. Paul Ehrlich, who was one of the first appliers of the new syphilis drug in İstanbul.[327] Around these times, other Ottoman doctors such as Dr. Ancelo Margulis of *Emraz-ı Zühreviye Hastahanesi* (Venereal Diseases Hospital) of İzmir and Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey of the *Beyoğlu Nisa Hastahanesi* (Beyoğlu Women's Hospital) were also the ones who observed the discovery.[328] Dr. İbrahim Bey mentioning in a Greek doctor from İzmir was probably Dr. Margulis, who also observed the new discovery by going to Dr. Ehrlich and applying *Salvarsan 606* to the patients in İzmir.[329] Hence, mentioning these two doctors in his diaries, especially

[326] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 16 September 1910. "Bu sabah Frankfurt şehrinde gezdik kolonyalar aldık postahaneye gitdik Kemalin gönderdiği iki mektubu aldık. saat dörtde muallim-i eşahir Erlihin enstitüsüne gitdik görüşdüm muallim Saks[']ı (Prof. Sachs) bana reaksiyon Vassermann öğretmekle memur eyledi (zuvar listesinde 1320nci ben idim)."

[327] Ibid. "Bu gece Bahnof kurbunda kain varyete tiyatrosuna gitdik (zuvar defterinde İstanbuldan gelmiş hiçbir doktorun ismi yok idi demek ki Necmeddin Arif Ehrlich ile görüşmemiş)."

[328] Ocak, "Frenginin Tedavisinde Salvarsan ile Neosalvarsan'ın Keşfi ve Bazı Osmanlı Hekimlerinin Bu İlaçlar Hakkındaki Değerlendirmeleri," 303.

[329] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 30 September 1910. "Bu sabah Frankfurt şehrinde saat yediyi yirmi geçe yatakdan kalkdım. Saat dokuzda […] Kranken Hauzea gitdim. Orada İsmirden [İzmir] gelme bir Yunanlı tabip gördüm Türkçe biliyordu.."

Dr. Necmeddin Arif, means that Dr. İbrahim Bey was in a competition against his colleagues in acquiring the new medicine.

5.4 Dr. Necmeddin Arif and his Paris'te Tahsil

A specialist of the venereal diseases, Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey(d. 1926) was born in 1871 and was an active supporter of the Young Turk movement.[330] His father was Mehmed Arif Bey, former chief clerk of the Extraordinary Commissariat of Egypt. He graduated from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* on 16 July 1894 and became an assistant physician (*muavin tabip*) at *Haydarpaşa* Hospital the same year. He also served in the military as a surgeon in the 9th Mobile Hospital near the Greek border. In 1899, while assigned to medical duties in Mersin during his military service, Dr. Necmeddin Arif deserted the army to pursue further education in Paris.[331] Interestingly, the Ottoman government pardoned his desertion and even provided him with financial support for his studies.[332] After completing his education, he moved to Cairo in 1901[333] and opened a private medical clinic.

During his time in Cairo, Dr. Necmeddin Arif helped to publishing of the newspaper *Osmanlı*.[334] This publication was a vocal critic of the Hamidian regime and a mouthpiece for the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Founded in 1897 in Geneva by figures like Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sukuti, and Tunalı Hilmi, *Osmanlı* was moved to London in 1900 and later to Folkestone before settling in

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[330] İbrahim Temo notes that while he was in *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, he gave a bunch of political newspapers and journals to his trusted friends, and Dr. Necmeddin Arif was one of them. See, Temo, *İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları,* 12-13.
[331] BOA. DH.MKT. 2184-80. 21 *Zilkade* 1316, (2 April 1899).
[332] BOA. DH.MKT. 2189-5. 29 *Zilkade* 1316, (10 April 1899). Dr. İbrahim Bey's expenditure in Germany was covered by the Ottoman government and his father.
[333] BOA. A.}. MTZ. (05) 16-43. 25 *Şaban* 1321, (16 November 1903).
[334] Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution*: *The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 53.

Cairo, Egypt, in 1903. The newspaper championed ideas of constitutionalism, Ottomanism, Turkism, and Islamism.[335] *Osmanlı*'s articles and the ideas its authors supported led to the Ottoman government banning the newspaper's entry into Istanbul, deeming it detrimental (*muzır*), which also raised eyebrow for the actions of Dr. Necmeddin Arif.[336] In the same years, Necmeddin Arif was one of the publishers of a new journal called *Türk,* which the cadre of the journal championed, and accepted Turkish nationalism not only as a "…distinct committee policy but also as an ideology."[337] This episode confirms Dr. Necmeddin Arif's role as an opponent of the authoritarian regime with solid links to the CUP.

The proclamation of the Ottoman constitution on 23 July 1908 marked a turning point in Dr. Necmeddin Arif's destiny. While the exact date remains unknown, his biography mentions opening a private clinic in Istanbul after returning from Cairo. After the revolution, he joined the staff of Beyoğlu Nisa Hospital as a surgeon specializing in venereal diseases (*emraz-ı efrenciye*) on 3 October 1910,. He rose to become the chief physician of the same hospital in 1911.

Dr. Necmeddin Arif published books and translated them from French to Turkish. His biography states that he translated medical books from French, such as *Frengi İlletinin Tedavisi* (Treatment of Syphilis) and *Verem Kabil-i Tedavidir* (Tuberculosis is Curable), and also published a book called *Paris'de Tahsil*, which was a guide to students who went to Europe for their education. In addition to this, he and his brother Celaleddin Arif published the work of their father Mehmed Arif Bey's *Binbir Hadis* (One Thousand and One Hadith), which advocates that the

[335] Gülser Oğuz, "İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Yayın Organı Osmanlı Gazetesi," 135-156.
[336] BOA. DH.MKT. 762-65. 17 *Cemaziyelahir* 1321, (10 September, 1903).
[337] Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution,* 65-66.

Western culture's figures like Montesquieu and Russo are too exaggerated and Islamic scholars did not fall behind these scholars, which was a similar argument that Dr. İbrahim Bey articulated in his articles.[338] His father's other book, *Başımıza Gelenler*, examines the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878.[339]

In Paris, Dr. Necmettin Arif completed his *Paris'te Tahsil* and published it in Cairo. In his book, Necmeddin Arif argues that Muslims must pursue knowledge everywhere and sees this journey as a religious duty.[340] He explains that in the past, Arabs gained knowledge by going where it was located and translating many books from Latin and Greek. By following the sacred commands such as "seek knowledge, even in China," and "seek knowledge from cradle to grave," Islamic civilization was founded. Hence, the same method should be followed today to achieve a new Islamic civilization.[341]

This sub-chapter demonstrate that two politically distinct figures can share a similar mindset in the late Ottoman Empire. While Dr. İbrahim Bey served at one of the most prestigious hospitals of the Ottoman Empire and was one of the private doctors of the Sultan's family, Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey was in exile. After the abdication of the Sultan Abdülhamid II, Dr. İbrahim Bey lost his position at *Hamidiye Etfal*, Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey became the head of the *Beyoğlu Nisa Hastahanesi*. Nevertheless, these two politically opposite figures had a similar world

[338] Dr. İbrahim Bey, "Bugün medeniyet-i hazıranın müessisi olmak iddiasıyla garbda peyda eden Avrupalılar şarkın fezail-i bi nihayesi huzurunda hiçbir vakit …[?] etmeğe muktedir olamaz. (El fazlü'l müteakaddim) kaidesine göre medeniyet-i hazıranın banileri ve veletleri Montesküler, Russolar olmayub şarkın hususuyla Türklerin medarı iftiharı olan İbn-i Sinalar gibi Türk ulemaları İbn-i Rüşdler gibi Endülüs dâhileri ve İbn-i Haldun gibi erbab-ı siyasetdir. Bütün cihan bilmelidir ki şarkın fezail-i maarifeti hiçbir vakit tenakus etmemişdir."
[339] Ali Akyıldız, "Mehmed Ârif Bey,", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, https://islamansiklopedisi.Org.Tr/Mehmed-Arif-Bey, 29 March 2024.
[340] Leyla von Mende, "Necmeddin Arif: Studying in Paris (Egypt, 1904/1905)," 163.
[341] Von Mende, "Necmeddin Arif: Studying in Paris (Egypt, 1904/1905)," 171.

of thought. While Dr. İbrahim Bey was trying to build a history of Ottoman/Muslim Medicine to show how the roots of the civilization were in the Islamic lands, Dr. Necmeddin Arif Bey, who was opposing the Hamidian Regime, was in a call for going to Europe to revive and rebuild the Islamic civilization.

5.5 Acquiring Salvarsan 606

Dr. İbrahim Bey visits Dr. Paul Ehrlich in his house on Saturday (4 September 1910) and starts his work on Monday (6 September 1910). For a few days, Dr. İbrahim struggles to learn the Reaction Wassermann, the test to detect the syphilis virus. After learning the test, Dr. İbrahim Bey successfully determines whether the patient had syphilis or not and notes that every doctor applauded him. Dr. İbrahim Bey showed his success to Professor Ehrlich, and in return, Dr. Ehrlich wrote a recommendation letter (*tavsiyename*) for him and stated that he would send 20 bottles of medicine to Berlin.[342] After spending some time in Ehrlich's institute, Dr. İbrahim Bey practices the Wassermann method in a hospital and mentions how the other doctors tried to acquire this new medicine (Salvarsan 606). However, Dr. Ehrlich did not give them any, even though they made Dr. İbrahim Bey an intermediary.[343] Later, Dr. İbrahim Bey went to Berlin to see Professor Wassermann, who also visited the *Hamidiye Etfal* hospitals in recent years. He and his wife welcomed him very much, and

[342] Dr. İbrahim Bey's Diaries, 27 September 1910. "Dün enstitüde ikinci defa yapdığım Vassermann reaksiyonu fevkalade mükemmel oldu gördüm yukarı ilk harenin sol tarafındaki dört şırıngadan üçü tamamiyle gayr-i münhal bembeyaz su renginde olduğu görüldü ki bunun tamamiyle efrengi tanısı olduğu pozituv (müsbet) bulunduğu anlaşıldı. Bütün etıbba beni alkışladı."

[343] Ibid. "Bir de Madrid şehri etıbbasından Fernando Castelo isminde bir tabib ile görüşdüm ve daha birçok Fransız Belçikalı etıbba var idi. Erlih bunların hiçbirisine ilaçlardan zerre kadar bile vermemiş bunların birçoğu benim vasıtama müracaat etdiler ben kabul etmedim. Hastahanede birçok kadın frengi hastası gördüm bunlara 65 şırınga yapılmış idi. Yapılan bir kadın 23 gün sonra kaffe-i curhaları ve … merküzleri gaib olmuşdu hasılı on hasta gördük."

according to Dr. İbrahim Bey, Professor Wassermann accepted Dr. İbrahim Bey to his institute and said he would teach everything.[344] Then, Professor Wassermann informs Dr. Lesser and Dr. Ekselmann in the Charite Hospital, and Dr. İbrahim Bey gives the recommendation letter of Dr. Ehrlich to Dr. Lesser. In this hospital, Dr. İbrahim Bey observes this new medicine on syphilis patients with his foreign colleagues.[345] A couple of days later, venereal diseases specialist captain Osman Efendi from the *Bahriye Merkez Hastanesi* comes to the Lesser's clinics, and Dr. İbrahim Bey introduces him to Dr. Lesser. Before leaving for Vienna, Dr. İbrahim Bey went to the Ottoman embassy in Berlin, met with *müsteşar* (undersecretary) Fahreddin Bey, and got a certificate from Dr. Wassermann that night.[346] In Vienna, he met Professor Esserich at St. Anna Hospital and observed the effects of medicine on new-born children.[347]

After he came to İstanbul, Dr. İbrahim Bey again went on a trip, this time for Pesth and alongside his Pesth consulate Muhtar Bey, *Cemiyet-i İttihadi* member

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[344] Bu sabah Savoy (Savoy) otelinden çıkıp Postdamer sokağında Pension Frau Leutnant Hotel Sheridan Potsdamer St. 28 üçüncü katında büyük bir odaya nakl etdik. Bu akşam saat dokuz Vassermannın …Rauch Strasse 7deki hanesine otomobil ile gitdik Vassermann ve madamesi fevkalade ikram eylediler. Vassermann Pazartesi gününden sabahleyin on bir buçukda enstitüye gelmekliğimi bütün kuvvetiyle bana her şeyi öğreteceğini ve Ekzelmana ve Lessere söyleyeceğini beyan eyledi.

[345] "Bu sabah Lesserin kliniğine Şartiye [Charite] Hastahanesine gitdim. Beş aded hastaya Erlih Hata Şırıngası yapıldı."

[346] "Bu sabah Schifbauerdamda Medisine Diyanostik Enstitüsüne gidip Doktor Klopaştorfdan tifüs reaksiyonu öğrendim. Ba'de sefarethaneye gidip müsteşar Fahreddin Bey ile görüşdüm.
Vilhelm Eşstrasse 128de üçüncü katda Laboratoir Dr. Kirstein gidip ekstrat mübayaa etdim bir şişesi 3 Mark. 3 Mark mübayaa etdim İstanbula gönderecek 29 Teşrin-i Evvelde. Gece Vassermannın evine gitdik bana resmini ve şehadetname verdi."

[347] 24 October 1910. "Bu sabah alafranga onda Viyanaya (Sent Anna) Etfal Hastahanesine girdik Direktör Muallim Eşerihle görüşdüm dört aded anasından frengili doğmuş çocukda (Erlih Hata) ilacının tesirini gördüm."

Hakkı Bey and a certain Abdi Bey. They went to the sanatoriums, hospitals, and various cities in Hungary. At the end of their trip, they welcomed and listened to the *Cemiyet-i İttihadi* members' talks, in which a Magyar deputy gave a speech on the brotherhood of Ottomans and Magyars.

5.6 Dr. İbrahim Bey's syphilis report to the Ottoman Parliament

After completing his studies in Hungary, and while not working for a public institution, Dr. İbrahim Bey prepared a detailed report on the precautions that could be taken in the Ottoman Empire against syphilis. In that report, Dr. İbrahim Bey states that the Ottoman Empire had the lowest population among the European countries due to many contagious diseases and syphilis microbes poisoning the "glorious blood of the Ottoman nation." Necessary precautions should be taken, and Dr. İbrahim Bey presented a report for this reason:

> Anatolia, which is a gift of the generous power of creation and which has the potential to be the wealthiest country in the world thanks to its geographical location and the efforts of its inhabitants, is, unfortunately, becoming poorer and poorer day by day due to various contagious diseases. The population, which is already small, is decreasing even further, and the country's wealth is being destroyed and wasted at the same rate. It is time to end this sad situation, which makes all patriots (*erbab-ı hamiyyet*) cry.
> Is it not a pity that the noble nation that once displayed its power and glory in the most prestigious position of the European, Asian and African continents and made the Ottoman flag waving triumphantly in the Mediterranean and Black Seas and the Indian Ocean, the noble nation whose veins have been flowing with the blood of heroism for centuries, is today poisoned by syphilis microbes and its body, whose physical proportions and strength of courage were legendary, is afflicted with fear and anxiety instead of courage, and its physical proportions are subject to change of form!

Dr. İbrahim Bey, knowing the political situation has changed, uses the proper language of the time, promoting liberty and constitutionalism:

> I strongly hope that our esteemed deputies (*muhterem mebusanımızın*) and our legitimate government (*hükümet-i meşrutamızın*) will take the necessary

> measures to save our homeland from this terrible disaster. With this hope, I would like to present some points for your consideration.[348]

Dr. İbrahim Bey notes that Dr. Ehrlich is one of the notable physicians of the age, and he had connections with him. What is remarkable is that Dr. İbrahim Bey says that as an Ottoman who only dealt with his profession in his life, once he learnt that Dr. Ehrlich discovered a new method for the cure of syphilis, he states that he immediately went to Dr. Ehrlich's institute:

> As an Ottoman dedicated to his profession, I declare that as soon as I learned about this vital discovery [Ehrlich-Hata medicine, Salvarsan 606], I corresponded with my old acquaintance, Professor Ehrlich. From the answer I received, I understood that I would be able to receive all kinds of facilities.

As noted in his diaries, in his report, Dr. İbrahim Bey explains where he worked with whom, naming the hospitals and professors he worked with. Dr. İbrahim Bey notes that he observed the medicine's application to the patients and saw the positive results of it:

> ...I observed and examined the application of the [Salvarsan 606, Ehrlich-Hata] drug on hundreds of syphilitic patients with these distinguished gentlemen [the professors he worked with].
> With the conscientious conviction that these investigations and observations have given me, I can declare that this drug (*Salvarsan 606*) invented by Professor Ehrlich is a genuine cure for syphilis. Let me also add that this conviction is not unique to me. During the trial of this drug, British, French, Russian, Italian, Spanish and other doctors who came to the most prestigious medical institutions such as Frankfurt, Berlin, Braslav, Magdeburg, Vienna and Budapest to gain knowledge and conduct research were amazed by the rapid and positive effects of (*Salvarsan 606*) on the most severe syphilitic patients. Even many of the most sceptical French doctors, at a congress held in Königsberg, Germany, in September 1910, with the participation of doctors from all civilized nations, declared and confessed the effects of the 606 drug based on their conscientious convictions and applauded Dr. Ehrlich, who was present.

[348] For the transcription of Dr. İbrahim Bey's report, see Başak Ocak, "Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi'nin Kurucusu İbrahim Paşa'nın Frengi Hakkındaki Layihası," 12.

Dr. İbrahim Bey offers his solutions and precautions for syphilis. He even offers to open a syphilis hospital in İstanbul for the treatment of the patients:

> First, to prevent the entry of infected prostitutes (*sermaye*) that bring this disease from abroad.
>
> Second, to establish a state-of-the-art syphilis hospital in Istanbul with a capacity of 150 beds and to treat patients there (it is estimated that such a hospital can be built for 15,000 liras in the style of the new one built by Professor Havas in Budapest).
>
> Third, to send medical teams of three to the syphilis-infected areas of Anatolia and Rumelia, to build one or two pavilions dedicated to syphilis treatment in the appropriate locations, and to apply the 606 drug there.
>
> Fourth, to establish a permanent and independent syphilis commission in Istanbul, composed of doctors who deal with syphilis, to discuss the eradication of syphilis in the Ottoman Empire and to prepare the necessary measures and regulations.
>
> For the syphilis hospital to be established in the Ottoman capital, one head doctor, one assistant doctor, and one *belediye tabibi* will be sufficient. However, this place should be adopted as a school for syphilis treatment, and at least ten municipal doctors should be kept there to gain six months of experience. Every six months, ten other doctors should be appointed.
>
> I believe that if my humble proposals are accepted by our esteemed parliament and implemented without delay, our beloved homeland will be saved from this terrible disease as soon as possible**.**
>
> There is a reason why I propose the construction of a well-equipped hospital in Istanbul and regular pavilions in the provinces, as well as the dispatch of teams of three doctors to these places. Although this drug is truly effective in curing syphilis, its use requires technical experience. After its application, patients must be kept at rest and under medical observation for a while.

Dr. İbrahim Bey emphasizes the need for a hospital (as it is in the "civilized countries") for the application of the medicine:

> Therefore, in civilized countries, most of the time, treatment is carried out in hospitals. For example, a physician treating a syphilitic patient in their home cannot find everything readily available in a well-equipped hospital. They cannot monitor the patient's condition day by day, minute by minute, nor can they administer treatment immediately based on the patient's temperature and the effectiveness of the medicine. In such a situation, according to both scientific and rational reasoning, if a physician appears with a vial of *606* in one hand and a single syringe in the other to treat syphilitic patients, would

not the patient's condition require serious consideration?

In response to the proposals outlined by Dr. İbrahim Bey, the *Meclis-i Umur-ı Tıbbiye* (headed by Dr. Besim Ömer) presented a detailed explanation of their existing syphilis control measures to the Dahiliye Nezareti (Ministry of Internal Affairs). Their response, dated June 1910, focused primarily on Kastamonu, a province heavily affected by the disease. They outlined plans to establish new regional health commissions, prioritizing mobile healthcare teams and dedicated syphilis commissions within Anatolian provinces rather than constructing specialized hospitals.

As an answer to the Dr. İbrahim Bey's suggestions, the *Meclis-i Umur-ı Tıbbiye* acknowledged the challenges associated with preventing the entry of foreign prostitutes. Yet, medical examinations and repatriation of these women were deemed impractical. Additionally, they argued against the creation of a dedicated "syphilis hospital" due to the potential social stigma associated with the disease. A separate syphilis commission within the capital was also deemed unnecessary, potentially leading to administrative disruptions within the existing healthcare structure.

Finally, the *Meclis-i Umur-ı Tıbbiye* expressed reservations regarding adopting *Salvarsan 606* because of the reported side effects, including high fever and irregular heartbeat. The response emphasized the Council's ongoing fight against syphilis since the establishment of the constitutional government. However, they highlighted financial constraints as a significant impediment to their efforts and requested additional funding from the government to implement necessary control measures effectively.[349]

[349] Ocak, "Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi'nin Kurucusu İbrahim Paşa'nın Frengi Hakkındaki Layihası," 16-20.

The signature of Dr. İbrahim Bey's signature "Former Chief Physician of the *Etfal Hastahanesi*, retired Naval Physician İbrahim of Beylerbeyi," suggests that he may not have held a current managerial position in a public institution at the time. Despite this, his initiative in seeking out Dr. Paul Ehrlich to observe the newly discovered *Salvarsan 606* demonstrates two possible outcomes for Dr. İbrahim Bey's career. His motivation to champion the new medicine stemmed from both his dedication to his field and a desire to distinguish himself from his peers, to make him more recognisable in the medical market.

Regarding the cure of the syphilis, Dr. Necmeddin Arif also published an article. In his article in *Şehbal*, Dr. Necmeddin Arif, despite being one first practitioner of the *Salvarsan 606*, showed his hesitation against the medicine due to its recent discovery and highlighted that the medicine's effect is much greater in the first phases of syphilis.[350] As a response to Dr. Necmeddin Arif's hesitations about the *Salvarsan 606*, Dr. İbrahim Bey published the same report which he sent to *Meclis-i Mebusan* as an article in *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, advocating the use of *Salvarsan 606* for the syphilis patients.[351] A competition between Dr. İbrahim Bey and Dr. Necmeddin Arif was evident since they almost published their articles one after the other.

Around the same years, the anti-syphilis drug *Salvarsan 606* received critical comments from the British medical community regarding its efficiency and side

[350] Dr. Necmeddin Arif, "İlimlerle Fenler: Profesör Erlih 606," *Şehbal* No. 40 (28 May 1911): 307. Başak Ocak, "Frenginin Tedavisinde Salvarsan ile Neosalvarsan'ın Keşfi ve Bazı Osmanlı Hekimlerinin Bu İlaçlar Hakkındaki Değerlendirmeleri,"
[351] Dr. İbrahim Bey, "Memâlik-i Osmâniyye'de Hüküm-Fermâ Olan Frengi İllet-i Müdhişesinin Çâre-i İndifâina Dâir Meclis-İ Meb'ûsân-İ Osmânî Riyâset-İ Celîlesi'ne Takdîm Olunup Makâm-İ Sadâret'e Havâle Buyurulan Lâyihadır," *Sırat-ı Müstakim* Vol. 6 No. 145 (1911): 234.

effects.[352] Furthermore, Dr. Paul Ehrlich's desire to patent *Salvarsan 606* was received as unethical by some medical authorities, as Tomkins argues.[353] Because of the side effects of *Salvarsan 606*, a new drug called *Neo-Salvarsan* was introduced in 1912. It had fewer side effects but also less effective.[354]

5.7 Dr. İbrahim Bey's return to public health care

Özbek argues that the new regime aimed to dismantle the old regime's control over social welfare policies. The Sultan's personal authority, was replaced with a civil, bureaucratic, and secular system. This shift facilitated the establishment of numerous philanthropic associations, independent of sole government control.[355] The outbreak of the Balkan Wars in October 1912 posed a significant challenge for the Ottoman Empire. The ensuing conflict resulted in a massive displacement of people, with wounded soldiers and refugees flooding across the borders. In response to this humanitarian crisis, the Ottoman Red Crescent, known as the *Hilal-i Ahmer*, was vital in establishing numerous field hospitals throughout the region.

One such crucial medical facility for the public relief of *Hilal-i Ahmer* was the *Muhacirin Hastahanesi* (Immigrants' Hospital) that opened in Beyoğlu in February 1913.[356] This hospital specifically catered to the needs of the displaced populations suffering from Balkan Wars. Here, Dr. İbrahim Bey finally secured a

[352] J.E. Ross and S.M.Tomkins, "The British Reception of Salvarsan," *J Hist Med Allied Sci.* Vol. 52 No. 4 (1997): 405.
[353] Ross and Tomkins, "The British Reception of Salvarsan," 406.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, 275-278.
[356] For the works of *Muharicin Komisyonu* for the public relief during the period under the supervision of *Hilal-i Ahmer* see, Ahmet Zeki İzgöer and Ramazan Tuğ, eds., *Padişahın Himayesinde Osmanlı Kızılay Cemiyeti 1911-1913 Yıllığı*, 152-163.

prominent position as the chief physician of the *Muhacirin Hastahanesi*.[357] Historical records from the *Hilal-i Ahmer* document a donation of one Ottoman Lira from Dr. İbrahim Bey's wife, Mebruke Hanım, highlighting the couple's commitment to the relief effort.[358]

İbrahim Bey's appointment to the hospital probably should have connection with the petition he sent in those times. In September 1912, it is understood that Dr. İbrahim Bey submitted a petition to the *Şehremaneti* (Istanbul Municipality). The petition emphasized his responsibility for opening the *Hamidiye Etfal* and his extensive record of service. However, a recent demotion from the rank of *birinci feriklik* (first brigade general) to *kaimmakamlık* has resulted in a pension that is calculated according to the latter position. Consequently, Dr. İbrahim Bey requested a suitable position or employment from the *Şehremaneti.* The petition acknowledged Dr. İbrahim Bey's distinguished service and disapproved of his impoverishment. The document concluded by stating that the *Şehremaneti* would take the necessary actions.[359] As a result of this petition, Dr. İbrahim Bey was appointed as the chief physician to newly-opened *Muhacirin Hastahanesi* in February 1913.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's appointment as chief physician is particularly noteworthy when considering the context of the Balkan Wars and his long service as a chief physician in the *Hamidiye Etfal*. This conflict marked an early example of "total war," characterized by its devastating impact on civilian populations. The vast influx of wounded soldiers and refugees placed immense strain on medical resources. Dr.

[357] Suat Efe, "Şişli Etfal Hastanesinin Tarihçesi Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler," 30. For the record, see, İzgöer and Tuğ *Padişahın Himayesinde Osmanlı Kızılay Cemiyeti 1911-1913 Yıllığı*, 102 and for the photograph of Dr. İbrahim Bey, see the page 509.
[358] İzgöer and Tuğ, *Padişahın Himayesinde Osmanlı Kızılay Cemiyeti 1911-1913 Yıllığı*, 253.
[359] BOA. ŞD. 3108-21. 29 *Ramazan* 1330, (11 September, 1912).

İbrahim Bey's hospital management experience likely proved invaluable service to the *Hilal-i Ahmer* in this critical moment. Even though he was related to the Sultan, Dr. İbrahim Bey's persistent petitions and memorandums kept his name in mind with the medical authorities, ultimately leading to his appointment.

Dr. İbrahim Bey persisted in disseminating his work on the Ottoman/Muslim history of medicine by publishing in the journal *Sebilürreşad*. This publication succeeded the modernist-Islamist journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. Notably, Dr. İbrahim's article in *Sebilürreşad* exhibited a high degree of similarity to his previous writings on *Sabah* and *İstatistik* journals.[360] As he did in *Sabah* journal in the 1890s, a preference for promoting his ideas on medical and scientific history to a broader audience continued.

5.8 Conclusion

After his resignation from *Hamidiye Etfal*, Dr. İbrahim Bey retired from his public position in *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi*. The downgrading of his rank, his retirement and his connection with the Sultan was a time of crisis for him. However, thanks to his international network of colleagues, he obtained a new medicine on syphilis and even wrote a medical report on the imperial-wide use of this medicine, although he had no official position. He also continued to write on public health issues and act as a medical authority. In this way, he was able to show that he deserved a public position in a hospital. His strategies for promoting himself in the medical market were successful.

[360] Beylerbeyili İbrahim, "Makalat: Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i İslamiye-i I" *Sebirrürreşad* Vol.9 No. 215 (1912): 134. The second part of the article was not published.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined Dr. İbrahim Bey of the *Hamidiye Etfal Hospital* and attempted to construct a biography of himself. By investigating his diaries, articles, and the state archives, I aimed to reveal how he navigated in the medical landscape of the late 19th century Ottoman Empire. Through this analysis, I sought to answer the following questions: What was the "modern doctor" in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? How did someone graduating from a "modern" institution think and act? How did a professional physician establish himself in the medical market and what were his strategies?

As it was shown in the second chapter, the Ottoman medical market in the 19th century consisted of various group of doctors. These groups of doctors were competing each other in the medical market. There were also lay healers who were always more reachable for the public. Hence, a professional doctor, who was graduated from the medical school, needed to convince the state and the public that he is an expert in his profession to strengthen his position in the medical market.

Amidst the professional competition, Dr. İbrahim Bey's career exemplifies how a professional create himself. He emphasized the education he had, advertized his certificates and hard work and claiming being a medical authority. His efforts, as it was examined in the third chapter, started from early times of his career. Thus, his appointment to the chief physician position of the *Hamidiye Etfal* and as one of the Sultan Abdülhamid II's private physicians was not only because of his education in the bacteriology field, but his ability to show his works both to the public and to the state.

Dr. İbrahim Bey's hospital management cannot be thought without the Yıldız bureaucracy of the Sultan Abdülhamid II, which put emphasis on the role of the sultan on welfare politics. As the hospital was directly tied to the Sultan's treasury, it had the opportunity to have the latest medical equipment and technology of its time. Dr. İbrahim Bey used this opportunity to show how the hospital was "modern." Visitors, which included many European doctors, bureaucrats, and statesmen noticed that how Dr. İbrahim Bey and *Hamidiye Etfal* resembled their European compeers. By the *İstatistik* journals, he and his team aimed to show how the hospital was well-run and in order, and they follow up the latest medical developments in the world. All of these were linked to the enhancing the Sultan's image in the empire and in the international area. With the backing of the Sultan Abdülhamid II, Dr. İbrahim Bey found the way to publicize himself, not only in the local but in the international area. By this way, he created an international network which would help him to revive after his resignation from the *Hamidiye Etfal*.

Having links to the sultan was both beneficial and had negative sides at the same time for Dr. İbrahim Bey and *Hamidiye Etfal*. Since *Hamidiye Etfal* was a charity hospital and a prestige institute of the Sultan, it had the latest medical equipment as I have mentioned before. As a result of this modernity, Dr. İbrahim Bey often found himself with the overcrowding of the hospital because the hospital not only accepted children, but also women, wounded soldiers, bureaucrats and people who wrote the Sultan to treat their diseases. Especially after 1905 and 1906, the hospital was facing budgetary problems that were tried to recovered by the *Hazine-i Hassa*, the private treasury of the sultan. 1908 Young Turk Revolution brought a stricter financial control on *Hazine-i Hassa* and consequently, to *Hamidiye Etfal*. These were also the times when *Hamidiye Etfal*'s cadres were tried to be

relocated to the new hospitals and to the service of the army because of the new medical reforms of the time. Dr. İbrahim Bey tried to resist these actions, but in the end, he resigned from the *Hamidiye Etfal* in June 1909, by showing his rheumatism as an excuse. Dr. İbrahim Bey's and the hospital's relations with the Sultan had certain advantages and also disadvantages as it is seen.

Dr. İbrahim Bey continued his career after retiring from the *Bahriye Merkez Hastahanesi* in December 1909. He was still a private physician of Abdülhamid II's family, which meant he was a symbol of the ancien regime. But Dr. İbrahim Bey never fell off from the medical market. Because he managed to show his expertize and the collegial network he had. He continued to remind the new regime by sending medical reports on diseases such as syphilis and acquiring new drugs from Europe to cure it, without holding an official position in a hospital. Finally, Dr. İbrahim Bey convinced the authorities that he merited a public position and became the chief physician of the *Muharicin Hastahanesi* in 1913. One of the possible reasons for his appointment to the hospital could be his years at *Hamidiye Etfal* as a chief physician. During the Great War, he served in the Çengelköy *Büyük İmdad-i Sıhhi Merkezi* and Beyoğlu *Şehid Muhtar Bey Hastahanesi*.[361] In 1919, he was re-appointed as the chief

[361] While Dr. İbrahim was directing the hospital, Dr. Avedis Nakkashian worked there as a captain-doctor with Dr. İbrahim during the Great War:
"The director of the hospital was an Old Turk, İbrahim Pasha. He had been a general during the reign of the now-deposed Sultan Abdul-hamid. The Young Turkish regime, however, had reduced him in rank to a colonel, a demotion which he sorely resented. For sixteen years this old Pasha had lived in the Sultan's Palace, even occupying a room near the apartments of the Sultan himself. In his day he had been in the habid of denying or granting favors, according to his own whim. He hated the Young Turks with a vengeance.
It did not take me long to estimate his mental and professional abilities: He was competent neither as a physician nor an administrator. I knew that we should have a "run-in" sooner or later, and the first encounter was not long in taking place: Our Pasha-commander wanted to introduce some modern methods."
This "modern method" offered by Dr. İbrahim Bey was giving the patients bath in the hospital by the women nurses. Dr. Nakkashian fervently opposed this and made

physician of the *Hamidiye Etfal*. As far as I covered, the last place he was working as the statistics director at the *Sıhhiye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi* in 1922. All of these appointments show that Dr. İbrahim Bey managed to navigate through the crises in his professional and maintained himself in the medical market of the late 19th and early 20th century.

Alongside Dr. İbrahim Bey's diplomas, certificates and education, his writings on history of medicine became a base for his claims to be as a medical authority. His articles on the role of Muslim physicians and Islamic civilization in the progress of medicine probably started at *Sabah* newspaper and continued in an international bulletin, *İstatistik*, of the *Hamidiye Etfal* and also in the journals like *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilürreşad*. While in *Hamidiye Etfal*, Dr. İbrahim Bey found a chance to disseminate his ideas on the history of medicine for his European

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these nurses went out of the bathroom. When Dr. İbrahim Bey heard this, he asked furiously to Dr. Nakkashian, why he sent out those nurses. And added when they [the Ottomans] will be civilized.
In reply, Dr. Nakkashian said:
"Whenever you wish, Your Excellency, whenever you command, Your excellency, but first allow us to begin our civilization in our homes, in families, in the streets even, but not in the bath.
'Do not the girls wash the patients in Europe' he [Dr. İbrahim Bey] blurted triumphantly. The simpleton had heard that nurses in European hospitals were used to doing such things, and he believed it to be a condition of civilization, just as modern Turks think that to wear a hat is the first requisite of civilization. I answered, 'Yes they do, but those girls in Europe do other things before they give baths to men. They talk to them, they walk with them, they even dance with them bare arms. Since these girls here do not, how do you expect them to jump to the other end of civilization immediately and wash undressed men? Then I added, 'But you are the commander of this institution. If you order the girls to perform that duty I will not disregard your order. You will, however, find me in that bath every day. If you had seen those pretty arms, stripped up to the elbow, Your Excellency, you might wish to take a bath yourself. Then who would to the work of the hospital?'
This brough smiles to his face. Old men like to hear such jokes, and he was no exception." See, Nakkashian, *A Man Who Found a Country*, 236-239.
We should remember Dr. Nakkashian's memoirs are constructed in the environment of the Great War and post-Great War environment. Nevertheless, these memoirs show that Dr. İbrahim Bey continued to be in deep thoughts on the terms like civilization.

colleagues. His articles on the history of medicine further ignited a debate in the history of medicine about the role of past Muslim physicians' knowledge and practises and their role in the advancement of the medicine. İbrahim Bey did not write these articles since he was aligned with the palace. Of course he had an agenda, but the Islamic positivist discourse already surrounded 19th century Ottoman intellectual world, as tried to be represented in the chapter three. So, when Nafiz Uzluk said Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles did not catch the attention of his colleagues, it should be better to argue that these ideas were already circulating in the intellectual debates of the time. Therefore, we should look Dr. İbrahim Bey's articles on history of medicine with a critical eye and by focusing the intellectual environment of the time.

In conclusion, Dr. İbrahim Bey's career is an example of how a professional physician can survive in the face of world changes, political upheavals, competition with his colleagues and new developments in the field of medicine. Dr. İbrahim Bey did not overcome these crises and seize opportunities just because he had more knowledge than his colleagues, but he was able to show his knowledge and competence to the public and the state. In this way, even though he did not agree politically with the political authorities after the Sultan Abdülhamid II, he became an experienced and sought-after professional figure.

APPENDIX A

THE LIST OF DR. IBRAHIM BEY'S ARTICLES UNTIL 1912

Dr. İbrahim Bey used different titles from time to time when he wrote these articles. To prevent the confusions, all his articles in *İstatistik* were presented by his title of "Dr. İbrahim Bey," not Kolağası Beylerbeyli İbrahim of 1890s or Sertabib Ferik İbrahim Paşa of the 1900s.

Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Kolağası Beylerbeyli İbrahim and Etıbba-yı Bahriyeden Kolağası Fuad. (28 November,1894). Makale-i tıbbiye. *Sabah*.

Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Beylerbeyli İbrahim. (16 March, 1895). Kolera mikroblarının yumurta içinde seyahati! *Sabah*.

Etıbba-yı Bahriye'den Kolağası Beylerbeyli İbrahim and Etıbba-yı Bahriyeden Kolağası Fuad. (31 July 1895). Alem-i insaniyet'e bir müjde! Kolera illeti'nin tedavisi. *Sabah.*

Doktor Beylerbeyli İbrahim. (13 December 1895). İcmal-i tıbbî. *Sabah*.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1901). Verem illetinin Avrupa memalikindeki telefatı ve sanatoryumların fevaidi. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi*, (2), 206-208.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1901). Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye yahud İslamların ve bilhassa Türk millet-i necibesinin tababate etdikleri hizmetler. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi İstatistik Risalesi*, (2)*,* 29-35.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1902). Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i İslamiye. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (3), 56-62.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1903). Zamanımızda teşhis ve tarz-ı tedavide sehavat. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (4), 52-53.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1903). Menafi-i umumiyeye aid makalat-ı mühimme-i tıbbiye: Türk kavm-i necibinin medeniyet ve tababete hizmetleri. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (4), 150-155.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1903). Verem illetini mahv veya menn eden bir hastalık var mıdır? *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (4), 79-83.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1903). Verem hastalığı ve sanatoryumların fevaid-i mahsusası. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (4), 201-205.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1903). Bakteriyoloji fenninin ehemmiyet-i azimesi ve Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi bakteriyoloji laboratuvarının faaliyeti. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (4), 128-131
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Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1904). Mefahir-i tıbbiye-i Osmaniyemizden: 1100 Tarih-i Hicrisinde Osmanlılarda tababet. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (5), 14-35.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1904). Sanatoryumlar. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (5), 85-94.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1904) Les celebrities de la medecine Ottomane. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (5), 79-80. [French part of the journal.]

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1904). Verem illetinin Avrupa'da intişarı ve tevsii ve sanatoryumlara ihtiyacın tezayidi. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (5), 264-267.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1905). Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (6), 1-3.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1905). Almanya ve avusturya hatıra-i seyahatinden Baden-Baden kaplıcasında tedavi ve memalik-i mezkurede bazı terakkiyat-ı tıbbiye müşehadatı. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (6), 161-201.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1906). İslamların fenn-i celil-i tababetin terfisine etdikleri hıdemat-ı fevkalade. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi* (7), 4-33.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1906). Medizinische verdienste Der Mohamedaner und insberonde Der Türken. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (7), 26-37. [French part oft he journal]

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1907). Mefahir-i tıbbiye-i Osmaniye. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (8), 62-71.

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1907). Akvam-ı gayri mütemeddinede tababet. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (8), 346-354. [translation from Dr. Max Bartel's article]

Dr. İbrahim Bey. (1907). Almanya'da verem illetine mahsus ilk sanatoryum ve Doktor Bremer. *Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisinin İstatistik Mecmua-i Tıbbiyesi*, (8), 436-439. [foreword for the article]

Beylerbeyli İbrahim. (1909). İşret ve müskirâtın vücuda tesiri (I). *Sırât-ı Müstakîm, 3*(67).

Beylerbeyli İbrahim. (1909). İşret ve müskirâtın vücuda tesiri (II). *Sırât-ı Müstakîm*, *3*(68).

İbrahim (Beylerbeyli, Sâbık Etfâl Hastahânesi Sertabîbi Bahriye etıbbâsından mütekaid). (1911). Memâlik-i Osmâniyye'de hüküm-fermâ olan frengi illet-i müdhişesinin çâre-i indifâina dâir meclis-i meb'ûsân-ı Osmânî riyâset-i celîlesi'ne takdîm olunup makâm-ı sadâret'e havâle buyurulan lâyihadır. *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, *6*(145).

Beylerbeyili İbrahim. (1912). Makalat: Mefahir-i tıbbiye-i İslamiye-i I. *Sebirrürreşad*, *9*(215).

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SOME OF THE ARTICLES OF DR. IBRAHIM BEY

"Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye Yahud İslamlarin Ve Bilhassa Türklerin Mllet-I Necibesinin Tababate Etdikleri Hizmetler" (İstatistik 1901)

Bir devlet ki mülkünde müesser meşkure-i adaleti asırlarca neşr ve muhafaza eylemiş ve ba husus milletin şecere-i hayatını ab-ı zülal ilm ve maarifetiyle erva ederek arsa-i alemin en münebbet mahallerine saye-i endaz-ı azimet olmuşdur artık öyle bir devlet öyle bir millet için sademat-ı rüzgarın bir tesiri olamaz.

Tarih-i aşinayan-ı asrın malumudur ki mensubiyetiyle müftehir bulunduğumuz Osmanlı Devleti öteden beri adalet, merhamet, mürüvvet, ahde, riayet-i hamiyet gibi her biri bir büyük devlet ve ümmetin sermaye-i iftiharı olacak mahasen ve evsaf-ı ber güzideyi cem' eylemiş hasılı bir cümle akvamın enzar-ı aliyye ve insaniye ibraz ederek ez vakit zarfında dünyanın en büyük bir devlet-i… şekimesini Osmanlı nam celili altında teşkile muvaffak olmuşdur. Azimet ve iktidarı cihana münteşir olan bu devletin terakkiyatına ancak padişahan-i Osmaniyan hazeratının himemat-ı aliyeleri sebep olmuşdur.

Ez cümle bütün cihanın tasdikinde olduğu üzere taht-ı aliü'l baht-ı Osmaniyi fart-ı zeka ve fütanet ve uluv-ı iktidarıyla şerefyab eyleyen metbu-i muazzamamız ve aliü'l nimet alem şevketlü kudretlü padişahımız <Sultan Abdülhamid Han-ı Sani> efendimiz hazretlerinin mebde saadet-i milel ve millet olan cülus-ı hümayunlarından biri memalik-i şahanelerinde ulum ve maarifet ve mektebler sevabik-i ahvale

nisbeten fevkalade terakki ve ıslah olunduğu inkara hiçbir ferd mecal bulamaz. Çünkü yüzlerce binlerce asar ve mübani-i ilmiyye bugün alemin gözleri önünde memalik-i Osmaniyeyi aksa-yı terakkiyata sevk ve isal etmektedir.

Osmanlı nam celalet unvanı altında sayeban olan millet-i muazzameyi daima müstagrik eltaf ve inayet buyurmakda olan mefahir-i selatin-i Osmaniyan-ı şehenşah mükarem unvan efendimiz hazretleri terakkiyat-ı asriyyeyi hemme an asar-ı hümayundan devr tutmayıb icaabtı asriyyeye göre her güne muhasen-i medeniyye ve ilmiyyeyi memalik-i mahruse-i padişahanelerinde tatbikini emr ü ferman buyurmakda olduklarından Osmanlılıların bugün ulüm ve fünunda memalik-i mütemeddine-i saire ile hemen bir muhazide bulundukları dide-i meserretle görülmektedir.

Hülasa millet-i necibe-i Osmaniye daima şehenşah-i muazzamları sayesinde terakki etmiş olduğu tarih-i Osmanimizin her sahifesinde tesadüf edile gelen hakikadandır.

Biz burada hakayık-ı müselleme-i mezkurenin tababete aid olan cihetlerini tedkik ederek minel kadim müessir meşkure-i medeniyye ile mütehallik olna Osmanlıların mezâyâ-yı aliyyesinden birisi de bais-i saadet akvam olan tababetin terakkiyatına etdikleri hıdemat-ı mühimme olduğu enzar-ı aleme vazı etmek üzere bulunuyoruz.

Tarih denilen fen ne zamandan ibtida eder sualine cevaben bir hekim-i meşhurun hurefatının mürürundan sonra başlar dediği gibi terakkiyat-ı sahihe-i tıbbiyede ancak edvar-ı kadimenin sürükleyib getirdiği hurefat-ı tıbbiyenin nihayet bulduğu günden itibaren terakkiye yüz tutmağa başlamışdır. Mısır ve Yunan kadim zamanlarında tıbbın gayet müterakki bulunduğu rivayat ediliyorsa da bunu isabat eyleyecek ve muceb-i kanaat-i tâmme olacak asar-ı mükemmile zayi olmuşdur.

Arab ile Türk etıbba-yı hazıkasına gelince bunların ilm-i celil-i mezkura etdikleri hıdemat ber güzide etıbba-yı müşarülileyhanın elde bulunan asarıyla müsbetdir.

İşte terakkiyat-ı sahihe-i tıbbiye nice asırlar mestur bulunduğu zılam-ı hayalatdan kurtularak şark ve Arab müderrisliği unvan-ı fahiresini ihraz eylemiş bulunan hükema ve etıbba-yı İslamiyenin yed-i kudret-i fazilanesiyle yeniden ihya olunmuşdur.

Bir zamanlar Maverra-i Bahr-i Hazar ve Maverraünnehrde asırlarca icra-yı hükumet eden Türkler mehd-i ulya-yı medeniyet olan Asya kıtasından çar aktan-cihana neşr-i envar-ı ulum etmişdi. İşte İbn Sinalar, Farabiler, Muhammed bin Ebubekr er-Razi, Ulug Beyler gibi kudret-i amiyeleri şöhretgir-i afak olan duhhat-i müellifin İslamiyeyi yetişdiren ve medeniyet-i cedidenin esasını vaziye yardım eden Türklerdir.

Her ne kadar İbn-i Sinalar ve emsali hükema-yı İslamiye medrese-i Arabın yetiştirdiği duhhatden iseler de aslen Türk olmağla bu nesl-i alîden neşet edib altı yüz seneden beri devlet ebed müddet Osmaniyenin zircenah-ı adaletinden bulunarak cihan-ı medeniyetde ibraz-ı iktidar eyeleyen ve medeniyete ve terakkiyat-ı tıbbiyeye harikulade hizmetler eden yine o fazıl-ı Türklerin evlad ve ahfadıdır.
Çünkü balada zikr olunduğu üzere mahb-ı ilim ve maarifet olmakdaki şöhretleri tanin-i endaz-ı çar-ı aktar-ı alem olan bi'l cümle-i selatin-i azam-ı Osmaniye hazeratı erbab-ı maarifi daima müstagrik-i evam ve ihsan eyleyerek teşvik ve tergibinden hali kalmadıklarından bu sayede Türklerden birçok ulema ve hükema ve etıbba yetişerek kıtaat-i arzın en mutena en mühim memalikine saye endaz-ı iclal olan hılefat-ı muazzime-i İslamiye ve saltanat-ı seniyye-i Osmaniyenin itila-yı şan u şevketine hasr-ı nefs eylemişlerdir.

Bu teşvikat-ı hüsrevanenin semeresidir ki memalik-i mahruse-i şahane hiçbir vakit ilm ve hüner ıshabından hali kalmamış ve her asırda yüzlerce erbab-ı ulum ve sanayi saye-i hilafet-i muazzamadan neşr-i envar-ı maarifet ederek ibkâ-yı nam ve asar eylemişdir. Hülasa-i kelam tarik-i Osmanimizi ne vakit araşdıracak olsal ulum ve fünun mütenevvide mütebahhir zevatın her zaman yetişmiş olduğu görünür. Ulum-ı sairede olduğu gibi ikdam-ı fünun olan tababetde dahi şübhesiz pek çok hızzak etıbba-yı Osmaniye mehd-i ara-yı şuhud olmuşdur. Bu meseleyi insaf ile tedkik edelim:

Bunca asırlardan beri rub' meskunun en mühim nukatında birçok milel ve akvama sayeste-i hüküm ferma ve bu münasabetşe harekat-ı mühimme-i … icrasında bulunmuş olan Osmanlılarda hızzat ve asar-ı bergüzidesiyle iktisab-ı şöhret etmiş hiç olmazsa birkaç yüz etıbbamızın adem-i vücuduna nasıl imkan-ı tasavvur olunabilir? Çi faide ki eslaf-ı etıbba-yı Osmaniyemizin pek çoğunun telifatı zayi olduğundan İslamları da hafıza-i enâmdan saylanmışdır.

Fakat elimize geçen birkaç eserle bir vakitler fenn-i celil-i tababetin memalik-i Osmaniyede her bir tahminin fevkinde olarak ziyadesiyle müterakki bulunduğuna kesb-i ilminen eylediğimizden asar-ı mezkureyi burada karin-i kiram hazıratın enzar-ı intibaklarına arz edeceğiz.

Bu eserlerde nazar-ı dikkatimizi celb eden bazı mesail-i mühimme-i tıbbiye esalf-ı kiramımızın zeka-yı fıtrilerine gerçekden tercüman ve fenn-i tıbdaki harikuladelerine birer şahid-i şirin beyandır.

Mesail-i mezkure sirayat-ı verem, Dussentarya [Dizanteri] Frengi illetinin esbab ve tarihçesi cereb illeti gibi asar-ı garbda henüz layıkıyla tedvin ve takrir edilebilmiş mesail-i mühimmedir ki etıbba-yı salife-i Osmaniyemizin bu misüllü mesail-i tıbbiyeyi ta o zamanlar halletmek şerefine nail olarak isbat … deha

etmişlerdir. Misal olarak verem illetini ele alalım: Malumdur ki verem illet-i müdhişesinin sirayatı hakkında minelkadim etıbba arasında mübahasat bir netice iktiran edememiş ve mesele esasen ve maddeten isabat olunamayarak keşmekeşde kalmış idi.

İşte şark maarifinden tulu ile alemi ziyasıyla müstefeyz eyleyen akvam-ı İslamiyenin yetişdirdiği duhhat-ı etıbba tecrübat-ı zatiye ve tedkikat-ı müşikafaneden neticesi olarak meselenin o zamanlar farkına varıp verem illetinin sari olduğu fehm ü derk eylemişlerdir. Öyle bir zamanda ki hurdebinin değil ismi, hayali bile zihinlerde teressüm etmemiş, garbda alem-i tababet namında ciddi bir eser meydana gelmemiş, bütün Avrupanın derya-yı cehaletinin husule getirdiği emvac-ı müdhişe içinde mahv ve nâbûd olmasına ramak kalmış idi.

İşte böyle bir zamanda şarkın baiş-i fahri alem-i İslamiyetin kurretülayn mubahatı olan Türk ve Arab uleması ve fününu ve tahsis-i tababet alemini asar-ı bergüzideleriyle tenvir eyliyorlardı.

Avrupanın el yevm vasıl olduğu mertebe-i kusuvva-yı terakkiyatın bir vakitler afak-ı şarkdan tulu etmekde bulunan afitab-ı hüner ve maarifetden muktebes olmadığını iddiaya kim cesaret edebilir?

Bugün medeniyet-i hazıranın müessisi olmak iddiasıyla garbda peyda eden Avrupalılar şarkın fezail-i bi nihayesi huzurunda hiçbir vakit … etmeğe muktedir olamaz. (El fazlü'l mütekaddim) kaidesine göre medeniyet-i hazıranın banileri ve veletleri Montesküler, Russolar olmayub şarkın hususuyla Türklerin medarı iftiharı olan İbn-i Sinalar gibi Türk ulemaları İbn-i Rüşdler gibi Endülüs dâhileri ve İbn-i Haldun gibi erbab-ı siyasetdir. Bütün cihan bilmelidir ki şarkın fezail-i maarifeti hiçbir vakit tenakus etmemişdir.

Hazain-i maarifet açılınca Avrupa kendinin zannında bulunduğu fezailin menşeini pek yakından görmüş olacakdır. Binaenaleyh hazain-i mezkure ecdad-ı ali nejadından bizlere yadigar kalmışdır ki bunlardan elimize geçen birkaçını açmak istiyoruz. Ta ki eslafımızın her hususda olduğu gibi fenn-i tıbdaki hızzakat ve maharet-i tammelerine dair bir fikr-i mükemmel hasıl olarak nam-ı alileri rahmetlerle yad edilmeğe vesile olsun!

Her birileri zamanlarında tababet aleminin mazannası bulunan etıbbamızdan fenn-i celil-i tababete dair eserler tertib edenlerden birisi tarih-i hicretin bin otuz dördünde zuhur eden tabib-i hazık <<Seyyid Muhammed Şehir Emir Çelebi>> hazretleridir ki (Enmuzec-i Tıbb) namıyla Türkçe 1034 tarihinde bizlere beş yüz sahifelik bir kitab yadigar etmişdir. Müşarülileyh zamanında gerçekden üstad-ı bi nazır olduğu eser-i telifi olan kitabın mukaddimesinin mütalaasından yek nazarda anlaşılıyor.

Seyyid Muhammed Hazretleri müddet-i medide hıtta-i Mısriyyede (Muhammed Kalavun) namıyla meşhur olan hastahanede sertabiblik vazife-i mühimmesini ifa etdiğini teliflerinin mukaddimesinde serd ü ityan etmektedir. Eser-i mezkur o zamana gçre gayet mühim olub zîrde bir numunesi arz edileceği üzere tabib müşarülileyh asr-ı hazırda bile makbul olan en mühim tedaviden bahs etmişdir.

Asar-ı eslaf-ı Osmaniyemizden manzurumuz olan ikincisi yine bin otuz dördü etıbba-yı meşhuresinden İbnü'l Şerif Efendi hazretlerinin 1034 sene-i hicrisinde (Yadigar-ı İbnü'l Şerif fi Et-tıb) namıyla Türkçeye telif etdiği bir eser-i mühimdir.

Nazar-ı dikkatimizi celb eden gencine-i maarifetin birisi de (1140) tarih-i hicriyesinde yetişdirdiği Osmanlı nitas-ı şehiri Hacı Abbas Vesim hazretlerinin telifi olan Türkçe (Kitab-ı Düstur-ı Vesim fi et-Tıb El-Cedid ve El-Kadim) namında bin

altı yüz sahifelik bir eser-i nefisdir. Gelelim asar-ı mezkureden bazı mühim parçaların nakline:

Enmuzec-i Tıb müellif-i şehiri Seyyid Muhammed hazretleri kitabının 228nci sahifesinde Frengi illetinin tedavisini şu yolda tarif ve tasvir ediyor:

<< Frenk zuhmetinin yirmi bir güne dek bu hablardan günde üç danesin yiyeler ve mağlatdan ve müfredatdan perhiz edeler her beş günde bir mülayim müshil vireler bil cümle bu habların yüz danesi ol adamı halas eder.>>

Hazret-i üstad bunu yazdıktan sonra habı tarif ediyor:

<< Zibak, sülümen, un, zibakî ve bunları mikdar-ı tıbbide alıb onlardan evvela zibakı limon suyu ile bir yerde öldürüb un ile yoğurub hablar edeler zikr olunan üzere istimal edeler. Eğer dişlere vurursa arasını iki üç gün fasıla verib yine müdavamet edeler.>>

Müşarülileyh hazretleri bu habların tamamen istiğmalinden sonra bir merhem tavsiye ediyorlar bu merhem vücuda delk edilecektir. Şöyle ki:

<<Mastaki, …, zincifre, zeyt, gül suyu, zibak, sülümen sarı keçinin böbrek yağı mikdar-ı kafi ve tıbbide alıb bu cümleyi bir yerde ol kadar dakk edeler ki mahv-ı vücud edip merhem halis ola ba'de altı bölük edib her bölüğünü bir gün yağlayıb bu yağı cemmi mafsallarına üç gün üç gece yağlıyalar ba'de hamama varıb yıkayalar bi'l külliye halas olur. Ziyade mübarektir. Bizim tecrübemiz olmuşdur.>>

Kariyin-i kiram hazretine Seyyid Muhammed hazretlerinin Frengi hakkında tavsiye etdikleri şu tedavinin ehemmiyetini anlatmak için yalnız şurasını ihtar ediyoruz ki iki yüz seksen üç sene makdem bir Türk tabibinin bu tertibini el yevm Avrupa kütüb-i tıbbiye-i cedidesinde dahi görülmektedir. Almanya, Fransa ve İngiltere gibi fenn-i tedavinin ziyadesiyle terakki etdiği memleketlerde en mühim tedavi kitablarında illet-i mezkure için istimali tavsiye edilmektedir.

Fi'l vaki cıva mürekkebatının Frengi illetinde istimali pek kadim bir zamandan beri malum olduğu aşikar ise de tabib müşarülileyh hazretlerinin mahza kendi tecrübelerine müstened olan bu tertibler yine nazar-ı insaf ile bakılacak olursa her halde zamanımızda istimal olunan merahimden daha sanatlı hususuyla lahm-ı hınzır gibi murdar bir şey yerine keçi yağı istimal etmeleri ise taharet ve nezafet-i İslamiyemiz nokta-i nazarından ne derecelere kadar şayan-ı tahsin bir hareket-i akılane ve dindarane olduğu kendi kendisine meydana çıkar.

Türklerin medar-ı fahr ve mübahati olacak derecede asar-ı bergüzidesiyle kesb-i iştihar eden meşahir etıbbamızdan Hacı Abbas Vesim hazretlerinin balada beyan olunan asar-ı latifinin bazı mübahisi asr-ı hazır-ı terakkiyat-ı tıbbiyesinde muvaffak olub hekim müşarülileyh harika nüma-yı tababet itlakına bihakkın cedir ve icra olan düstur-ı mersümlerinde bugünkü terakkiyata nisbeten yüz kırk sene makdem adeta kiramat-ı tıbbiyeden madur olacak mertebede asar-ı zeka izhar etmişlerdri ki bervech-i ati bir iki numesini kariyin-i kiram hazeratının enzar-ı hakaik cuyanelerine arz ediyoruz:

Koca allame cerb denilen uyuz illeti hakkında:

<< Bazı cerbe mübtela kimseler ihtilat etmek ve onların libasını giymek dahi esbab-ı sirayetden add olunmağa salihdir. Cerbe mübtela bir avratın üç gün nabzına yapışmak ile bende dahi cerb zuhur edeceğini hiss eyledim beray tecrübe tedafu-i kaydında olmadan fi'lvaki benim ellerimde dahi zuhur eyledi. Derakab (zibah-ı masud) hal olunmuş ma ile ellerimi birkaç defa gusl etmekle mündefi oldu.>> tarzında bir hekimin tecrübesinden hamerân-ı bahs-i makâl olmuş ve illet-i mezkurenin tedavisi için kükürdün fevaidi pek büyük olduğunu tecrübe-i zatiyesine isnaden serd-i ityan eylemişdir ki <<zibak-ı masu>> mahlulü ve kükürdün bizzat tecrübesiyle iştigal ve bu babda birçok müşahedatını beyan eylemiş ancak bu son

senelerde mevki-i tatbike konulmakda olan tedabir vasıl tababete temasıyla muvaffak olmağla bu asr-ı terakkiyat-ı hazıra nisbeten yüz kırk sene makdem böyle bir fikri meydana bazi havarikden olunmağa şayan değil midir? Hazret-i Vesimn Frengi illetinin esbabı hakkındaki: <<El-sebeb-i bu maraz bir sari marazdır. Ekseriya mecamiat ile sirayet eyler ve babadan ve anadan miras dahi olur. Bu marazın sebebi bir yaramaz zehirli keyfiyetdir ki ihlatı efsad eyler. Bazıları dahi sahib-i karha olan avratlarla münasabet bu marazın mebde ve sebe-i asli-i evvelasını tahkik eylemişdir. Veba-i Efrenciyeyi sariden semm-i lazıa-i vakihe ve müteaffine tevlid eylediği ecelden cami-i azananın rutubet-i gıdaisini efsad edince[?] olacağı ecelden araz-ı muhtelife zuhuruna sebeb-i asli olur. Evvel ecelden evac ve evnam ve kıruh-ı muhtelife ihdas eder ki her birine aliü''n neferaf başka başka mahsus ilaç olunmağa muhtaç ve muktezidir.>> ifadesindeki hakayık-ı fenniyenin uluvviyetini daü'l efrenc mütehassısı etıbbanın enzar-ı dikkatlerine arz ederiz.

Tabib-i şehir Abbas Vesim hazretlerinin Frengi illetinin menşe-i zuhur ve tarihi hakkında vermiş oldukları tefsilat bugün en mükemmel kütüb-i efrenciyesinde de olsa olsa bu kadar olur. Belki de daha noksan! Bakınız müşarülileyh Frengi illetinin vekayi-i tarihçesine nasıl başlayıb ne yolda hatim veriyorlar:
<< Elfasıl elsani fi el-… el-efrenci f-zemanın hezza cemi avam ül nas meyanında Frenk zuhmeti dimekle sayedir karibü'l ahd olub maddesi zehirnak olan emrazdandır ki yeni zuhar etmekle etıbba-i mütekaddimin kitablarında mestur değildir. Bu maraz tarih-i hicretin dokuzuna […]yakın zamanda zuhur eylemişdir. Zira ol zaman İspanya kralı Yeni Dünya semtine asker gönderib Yeni Dünyanın bazı yerlerini zabt eylediler ve ol diyarın adamlarıyla ihtilat eylediler. Bu maraz ol diyara mahsus idi. Bunlara dahi sirayet eyledi. Kendi vilayetlerine geldik de cümle Frengistana ulaşdı ve müşteher oldu. Etıbba-yı müvehhidin bu maraza <<Cüzzam-ı Cimaiye>> ve

<<Cüzzam-ı Nefsaneye>> ve <<Vebaü'l Efrenci>> ve <<Vebaü'l Efrenc>> ve <<Maraz-i Hindî>> ve <<Marazü'l Şeytan>> ve <<Marazü'l Halik>> ve <<Marazü'l Hıccale>> ve <<Maraz-ı Mürekkebe>> ve << İlletü'l Zani>> Farsice <<Zahm-ı Frenk>> ve <<Ris-i Frenk>> derler. Acem etıbbasının müteamedlerinden (Behaüddin) nam tabib-ı hazık (Hülasatü'l Tecarib) telif-i latifinde << bu maraza ziban-ı azbü'l beyan Fariside Horosan diyarında (Abile-i Frenk) denmekle şöhretşiardır. Ve … dahi tesmiye edilir. Frengistanda peyda olub ondan Rum ve Arabistana yayılub dokuz yüz dört senesinde Azerbaycan ve ba'de Irak ve Fas vesair memalike münteşir oldu. Heyatı bed olub cederiye kesretle müsahebeti olmağla ve ekser emraz-ı cederi belki bi'l cümle avarızı bu marazda mevcud olmağla cederi illetine zımm ve … envainden add edilir. Zira ziban-ı Farside (Abile) cederi manasınadır.>> demiş.

Venedik etıbbasından Batros Yohan Fabris nam tabib der ki <<Efrenc İpokrat ve Calinus ve sair cemm-i akdemin ve Acem ve Yunan ve Arab meçhulleri idi. Zira ol zamanlarda zaniler şehvetperestliğe ol mertebe haris ve mail olmayub kıllet ve itidal üzere idiler. Öyle zannederler ki bu misilli marazın mübedda ve menşe-i asliyyesi gayri değildir … mütevattiren şehveniyet ve menn-i gayr-i itidar ifrat üzere münasabet gayr-i meşrua-i nasdan neşet eder. Onun gibilerde kesret üzere muamemeleden ikabınca nice ayıb ve ilel ve afat-ı beden tevellüd eder. Zira hıtaya ve zünub-ı nas silsile ve zencir cemm-i emraz olduğu ecelden kezalik anceleyin measi ve seyyiat-ı cediden emraz-ı cedide bürûz-ı zuhura gelmek acayib değildir.>> demiş. … dahi bu maraz sükkan ve ahali-i Hindde zuhur eyledi ve onlarla musahabet edenlerle isabet eyledi. Ahali-i İspanya ol memleketden İtalya şehrine götürdüler. Zira İspanya ile Fransa Napolitanus memleketinde cenk eylediler. Mezbur cenkde muhtelif avratlarla münasebetde bulundular. Ondan cümlesi ol maraza mübtela

oldular. Ba'de Fransevilere mukabil ve malakki olub onları dahi âmm oldu. (Maraz-ı Fransa) dediler. İtalyada ve İspanyada maraz-ı Napolitanus dediler.

Tarih-i mezburdan makdem bu marazı bir müellik zihr eylemiş idi. Ondan malum oldu ki bu maraz ol zaman İtalyada zuhur eylemiş ola. Mahasıl-ı kelam her neden zuhura gelirse gelsin hakikati budur ki cenab-ı Rabbü'l alemin bizim amelimize göre ceza ve akab için bu maraz nev' beşere musallat ve atâ eyledi. Onun taziyanesidir ki şehavet-i nefsaniye ile kendiyi alûde ve tevlis edip kabahatini unutmuş gafillere isâl eylediğe mütenebbik olub nefislerini zabt ederler.>>

İşte Frengi illetinin ahval-i tarihesi hakkında hazret-i Abbasın efkar ve mütalaat ve tenkikat-ı alimaneleri aynen nakl eyledik.

Bu babda müşarülileyhin iktidar-ı zatilerinin o asırda değil bu asırda bile ne derecelere kadar büyük takdirlere şayan olmayı lazım geleceğini erbab-ı ilm ve danişin vicdanlarına terk eyleriz.

Tabib Hacı Abbas Vesim hazretleri verem illeti hakkında zamanımız nazariyatına muvaffak olarak beyan-ı efkar eyliyorlar şöyle ki:

<< Zatülcenb, zatürre ve kurhe-i külliye ve ahşâ ve kuruh-ı sadriyyeden batrikü'l intikal dahi sillürrie hadis olur.>> Müşarülileyhin veremlerdeki (humma-i dakk)ın sebebi hakkındaki ifadeleri (bu marazda 'ârız olan humma-i daimenin sebebi rie yahud aza-yı sairede vaki olan kuruhun encere-i müteeffine-i … kalb-i alil vasıl olmasıdır.) tarzında olub asrımızın en mühim nazariyatından pek de farklı olmadığını itiraf etmemek kabil olamaz.

Verem illetinin sirayeti meselesini Hacı Abbas hazretleri şu suretle beyan ediyor: (Ekser etıbba bu marazın emraz-ı saireden olduğunda ittifak edip dediler ki bu maraza mübtela hastalar ile kesret-i eleft ve ağız ağıza sohbet etmekle sirayet eder.)

Verem illetinin tedavisi hakkında müşarülileyhin tavsiye etdiği usul ve (deva)ya gelince şöyle beyan-ı efkar ediyor:

(Bu illete nebatatdan belsemiyat ve terementi efzal ve enfadır. Bizim vücudumuza belsemiyat tabi gibidir. Cemahir etıbba bu marazda süt istimalini de gayet mehd ü sena etmişlerdir. Leben-i hammar, leben-ı bakar, leben-i ganem bu hususda pek nafidir, ama leben istimal etdirmek her tabibin kârı olmayıb feylesof mücerreb kamil bir tabib-i hazıka muhtacdır ki marîz görüp eğer humması gayr-ı mevcud ise leben istimaline mübaseret etdire, ama ufunet ve humması varsa zinhar istimal etdirmeye, zira leben ufuneti imtidad etdirib hararat-ı hummayı ziyade eder böyle olacak marîzin helakına bâdi olur. Ama maü'l ceben istimalinde her ne vakit olursa gerek ibtida ve gerek intiha-yı marazda nafidir. Ziyanı yokdur zira beden alili tamir eder.)

İşte allame-i şehir Abbas hazretlerinin verem illeti hakkındaki ifadelerinden yalnız ber vech-i bala bir iki fıkra nakl olunmuş ise de müşarülileyh eserlerinde daha pek çok tedavi ve müşahadat beyan ediyorlar ki bunları makalemizin müsaadesizliğine binaen aynen buraya nakl edemedik gelelim bir üçüncü Türk tabibi hazıkına: 1037 sene-i hicriyesinin Şabanının yirmi üçünde hitama reşide etdiği eser-i alisi iktidar-ı zatilerine bürhan olan tabib-i hazıkkatmend İbn-i Şerif Efendinin kitabının taun yani veba illeti bahsinde <<taunun maddesi ki semmdir yani ağudur.>> diye beyan-ı mütalaa ediyorlar insaf buyurulsun!

Bu hastalığın bir mikrobun semminden ileri geldiği ancak pek yakın bir zamanda malum olabilmesi ile 280 sene makdem bir Türk tabibinin efkarı tatbik edilecek olursa büyük bir fark görülebilir mi? Acaba bu keyfiyetde memleketimizde vaktiyle fenn-i tıbbın her bir tahminin haricinde olarak ziyadesiyle müterakki bir halde bulunduğuna bürhan-ı celi olamaz mı?

Tabib müşarülileyh hazretleri taun hakkında mütaalalarını devam ederek <<Bunlardan başka Taun illetinin zehri devran-ı demmde ilerleyip kalb ve dimağa vasıl olarak insanın badi-i helakı olur.>> diyorlar ki merhum müşarülileyh hazretlerinin bu sözleri kendilerinin şübhesiz zamanlarına nisbeten gavamız-ı tıbbiyeye fevkalade aşina bir sahib-i deha olduklarını gösteriyor. Hazret-i İbn-i Şerif hazıkkat-ı redif emraz-ı haddeden bahs etdikleri sırada su ile tedavinin fevaidini yazıyorlar. Emraz-ı haddede hararet-ı bedenin mütezeyyid bir halde bulunması cihetle bu gibi hastalıkların su ile tedavi edilmesini kemal derece şiddetle tavsiye ediyorlar ve diyorlar ki << Bu gibi hastalıkların hamisi mahruktur. Suya sokulmalı zira ki habib-i ekrem Sallahü Teala Alisi vesselam buyurmuşlar humma cehennem narlarındandır. Onu su ile söndürünüz.>> Tabib müşarülileyh bunu yazdıktan sonra su ile tedavi aleyhinde bulunan etıbba ile hararet-i bedeniyyeyi muceb olan hastalıklarda marazayı su içmekden menn eden tabiblere şiddetle taarruz ederek şu yolda beyan-ı mütalaat ediyorlar: << Nice cahil tabib gördük ki adem-i ilminden maraz-ı haddede su içmekden menn ederler hata-i mahzdır. Hararet-i gariziye narı olursa hasta helak olur. Zinhar su içmekden men etmeyeler.>>

İşte bu fikirler öyle mühim fikirlerdir ki üç yüz sene sonra Avrupa darültedavilerinde bi'ltecrübe isbat olunarak birkaç seneden beri yeni keşf olmuş bir şey gibi alem-i tababetin enzar-ı intibahına arz olunuyor. Yazık ki biz ecdad-ı kiramımızın bu misillü hazain-i maarifetine hiç iltifat etmeyerek terakkiyat-ı tıbbiyeyi yalnız Avrupadan işitmek, öğrenmek istiyoruz.

Doktor İbrahim

“Menafi-i Umumiyeye Aid Makalat-ı Mühimme-i Tıbbiye: Türk Kavm-i Necibinin Medeniyet ve Tababete Hizmetleri” (İstatistik *1903*)

Bedraka-i feyz-i muvaffakiyyet-i hazret-i hilafetpenahi ile bundan evvelki senelerde cemm ü telfik edilen iki kıta mecmua-i tıbbiyemizde her halde azi bariz olan bu kalem-i naçiz millet-i muzzama-i İslamiye ve Osmaniyenin fenn-i celil-i tıbba sabık eden hıdemat-ı ber güzidesini arz ve tavsiye(buna bak) etmeye çalışmışdır.

Zal zalil yezedan, vekil-i habib cenab menan veli nimet hazretlerinin müessasat-i şefkat beyanat-i hümayunlarından birini teşkil eden (Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi)nin dördüncü seneye mahsus işbu risalesine dahi yine … kalem (Türk Kavm-i Necibinin Medeniyet ve Tababete Hizmetleri) sername-i mebahat-ı ulemasıyla şu makaleciği takdime ictira eyliyor.

Mamafih bu makale, Türk kavminin tarih-i medeniyesini mufassalen ihtiva edecek değildir. Yalnız, ulum ve fünundaki ihhata-i külliye ve fezail-i gayr-i mahdudeleriyle tarih-i medeniyet ve insaniyetin en muazzez sahaifini vücuda getiren millet-i muzzama-i İslamiye içinde (Türk) kavm-i necibinin mahsusat-i danişinden ihlafa yadigar bırakdıkları muhalledatdan, meşahirinden ali tarikül icaz hamme güzar beyan olmak fikrindeyim.

Evet! İnsaniyet ve medeniyet kendilerine ilelebet medyun-ı şükran ve minnet eylemek suretiyle hıdemat-ı celile ibraz eylemiş olan Türk kavm-i necibinin me’serisinden muhtasaran bahs edeceğim. Zira mehd-i insaniyet, merkez-i intişar-ı medeniyet, müşerrak-ı envar-ı maarifet unvanlarını Asya kıtasına bahş eyleyen Türk kavminin bütün me’seri şöyle dursun, başlıcalarını saymak içün bile ciltler

dolduracak kadar yazı yazmak lazım gelip ona ise bu acizin en iktidarı ve ne de icra-y-ı tedkikat ve tatbikata vakti müsaitdir.

Ne hacet! Sahife nisbetiyle yalnız (Türk) denildiği vakit bile nazarlarla mekarim-i ahlak-ı insaniyenin hilm, hayz, zeka, deha, cefa, seha, namus, iffet, sadakat, ieceati padişaha muhabbet, ulu'ul emre itaat, hem dinine muavenet gibi ve daha birçok fezail-i maddiye me manevisiyle mutarra insanlar tecessüm eden celilü'l neseb, azimü'l himme bir kavm-i necibin mahsusatonı tadaddad etmeyi kim kolay add edebilir?

Erbab-ı danişe hafi olmadığı üzere (İlm-i Ensal) Türk Kavm-i necibini birçok oymaklara taksim etmiş ve fakat unsuru yine bir noktada birleştirmişdir. Tarih-i süün ise bu nam-ı ba-ihtiram ile benâm insanları (fazil ve kemal ile piraste ve medeniyetin cihangiri suretinde her dürlü mezuyat-ı alayyesiyle araste) olmak üzere medh ü senada bulunmuşdur. Aliü'l hsus Türkler din-i hediyyat-ı ayin İslam ile müşerref olduktan sonra sırac-ı nevar itikad kendierlini munhac terakki ve kemallih serçeşme-i saadetine isal ve her vechle nail-i amal eylemişdir. Türklerin şeref-i İslam ile müşerref olmalarıyla medeniyet ve insaniyete ve ilm ü maarifete etdikleri hizmet akvam-ı sairenin hepsinden ezyed ve evfer olduğu Avrupanın müteahhirin-i fuzulası teslim ve tasdikte ruy-ı tereddüd göstermemişlerdir. Müsteşerifinin asar-ı müdevvenesi tedkik eyleterek Türklerin hıdemat-ı güzideleri bir averde-i lisan-ı ical ve takrir eylediği görülünce memnun olmamak kabil değildir.

Gerçi bir takım cühela, daha doğrusu fikr-i taassub ile gözlerine manevi bir nevi illet-i ammi … olarak müteamiler, Türkler hakkında bulunmuşlar ise de başka şahide ihtiyaç göstermeksizin bu mübarek kavmin hıdemat-ı celile-i insaniyet perveraneleri kendilerinin o misüllü esnadatdan muberra olduklarını isbat etmektedir.

Bununla beraber kuvva-yı müdrikeleri (garez ve nefsaneyet) dedikleri hastalığa duçar ve gözleri (setre-i taassub) ile perdedar olan erbab-ı hıkd ve hasedin yâve güyane fürrehatını hiçbir ehemmiyeti tasavvur edilemeyeceği derkâr bulunmasıyla onlara dair bu mübahasede tatvil-i kelam zaid ve belki de tenezzül add edilse yeridir.

Asyanın haver-i şarkisinden nahid-i fazilet gibi tulu ederek Avrupayı envar-ı saadet averiyle müstenir filan medeniyet-i Türkiyenin uğradığı, berk vurduğu yerlerde uyandırdığı füyuzat gayr-i kabil-i inkardır. Hele edebiyata, riyazata, tababete, sanayie, ticarete açdıkları kapular ve medeniyetin tesisü maksadıyla etdikleri mücahedeler her dürlü sitayişe söz-i avardır.

Bu necib kavmin vaktiyle Buhara, Semerkand, Beln, Hıve, Harezm ve sair bilad-i maarufede vücuda getirdikleri medreselerin, darülulum ve fünunların, kütübhanelerin ve sair müessasatı ilmiyye ve mabani-i hayriyyenin asar-ı bakiyesi bu gün bile, kadir şinasanın-ı mualliyenin mutaf istihsanı ve ziyaretgah-ı şükranı olmaktadır.

İnsaniyete sıhhat ve afiyet gibi her nefs içün alemde her şeyden muazzez ve kıymetdar olan nimet-i uzemayı temin eyleyen fenn-i celil-i tıbba nakl-i kelam olununca (Türk Kavm-i Necibi münhac tababatde atdıkları hıtveler ile pek ileri gitmişlerdir.) sözünü Avrupa hakk-i güyan müdekkini söylüyor.

Hele Türklerin (Osmanlı) unvan-ı şeref itsamiyle benâm olarak cihan-ı medeniyetde en şanlı bir devlet-i ma'delet-i sîret tesis eyledikden sonra ulum ev fününda maarifet ve sanayide ol kadar terakki etmişlerdir ki merkez-i saltanat-ı Osmaniye adeta bütün alem-i medeniyetin merkez-i ulum ve fününu mecmua-i duhhat-i fuzula ve ulemadan olmuşdur. Dünyanın neresinde fühul-i ulemadan biri var

ise Osmanlı padişahlarının erbab-ı fazl ve kemale izal buyurdukları lütfu, gösterdikleri hürmeti, neşr ve tamim ilm ve fen uğrunda himematı … eder, derbar-ı şevket karara gelir ve umduklarına ma ziyade nail ve mazhar buyuruluyordu.

Kadim Türklerin Asya-yı vustadaki ahval-i hususiye ve tecaribelerini tedkik içün bizzat oralara kadar gitmiş ve kabil-i taaddad olamayacak metabib[?] ve müşkilata göğüs gererek akıbetü'l emr maksudunu istihsal eylemiş olan Peşte Darülfununu elsine-i şerife muallim-i şehiri Mösyö (Vamberi) tarafından Alman lisanıyla kaleme alıp 1885 tarih-i miladisinde neşr edilen (Das Türken Folk) nam eserinin beşinci sahifesinde (Türk Medeniyet-i Kadimesinin Asarı) serlevhası altında şu sözler yazılmışdır:

<< Hangi bir kavmin medeniyetdeki nasibe-i irfanı sencide-i mizan tedkik edilmek istenildikde evvel ömrde o kavmin esasını gözden geçirmek lazımedendir. Ben işte bu vechle işe başladığımdan öğrenmek istediğim Türkleri layıkıyla tanıdım. Yani, gayet vasi-i lisana ve mükemmel edebiyata malik olan Türklerin asar-ı mevcudesinden son derecelerde medeni ve muazzam bir kavm-i ali olduklarına kanaat-i kâmike hasıl eyledim. Evet! Lisan-ı Türki gayet zengin ve vasi bir dildir, her meziyeti cami edebi bir lisan-ı bediü'l beyandır. Fakat bu babda fikr tam olmak içün 900 yıl coğrafya yayılan arz üzerinde hatve bi hatve yürümek ve o kadar arazide sakin olan Türkleri gözden geçirmek ve en müşkili olarak Türklerin esalib-i muhtelifede tekellüm eyledikleri lisanı layıkıyla öğrenmek icab eder.>>

Mösyö (Vamberi)nin bu vakıfane beyanatından dahi Türk kavm-i necibinin pek eskiden beri tarik-i medeniyetde aksa-yı gayeye vasıl oldukları tebeyyün ediyor.

Bundan başka tamam altı yüz darültabaiesi olması ve darülfununun fevkalade mükemmel bulunması cihetiyle ilm ü maarifet namına pek büyük bir şöhret kazanan

Almanyanın (Laypzig) şehrinde Almanya ulema-yı benamından (Mayer) isminde bir zatın her biri biner sahifelik olmak ve yirmi bir cildden müretteb bulunmak üzere bu kere neşr ettiği (Konversiyon Leksikon) unvanlı külliyatında Türklerin medeniyeti ve lisan-ı edebiyyeleri hakkında ber vech-i ati ita-yı malumat olunmuşdur:

<< Bütün Müslümanlar gibi Türkler dahi envar-ı medeniyyeden kemaliyle ifa eylemişlerdir. Türklerin lisanı edebiyatça pek müterakkidir. Edebiyat-ı Türkiyede işar-ı abdare pek çok tesadüf olunur. Türklerden binlerle şair-i mahir yetişmişdir. Hükeması pek meşhurdur. Edabası her manasıyla da edibdir. Türkler kudemayen edebiyatda Arablar ile Acemlerin mukallidi olarak asar-ı şiiriyye ve edebiyyelerini o mecrada icra ettirmişler ise de sonraları yani lisan-ı azbü'l beyan-ı Osmanî feyzyab-ı Türki olunca şiiri edebiyatı ciddiyat ve fenniyat ile tezeyyün etmek şerefini ihraz eyelmişlerdir. Lisan-ı Türkinin tasarrifatını sadiki içinde o kadar mükemmeliyet ile pirayedar ki yeryüzünde tekellüm olunan elsine-i sairenin pek çoğunda bu meziyetin bulunmadığını söylemek onun derecesini tayine kafidir.

<< Türkler, Arablardan yirmi sekiz harf almışlar ve bunlara kendilerinden beş harf ilavesiyle mecmuani otuz üçe iblağ eylemişlerdir ki bunlardan üçü Farsi ile müşterek, biri sırf kelimat-ı Farsiyeye münhasır ve biri de yalnız Türkçeye aiddir. Türkler dahi Arab ve Acemler gibi sağdan başlayıp sola gitmek üzere yazı yazarlar. Gerek tahrirde, gerek tab ve temsilde alfabeye mutlak-ı işarat muhtelif ve yazılarında fevkalade bir hasen zahirdir. Türk lisan ve edebiyatına dair Almanyada birçok kitab neşr edilmişdir. Ancak Mösyö (Gaem) tarafından tertib olunub 1877 senesinde (Raytbur) şehrinde temsil kılınan eser pek müdekıkkane, pek akifane beyanat-ı şamil bulunmasıyla kaffesine müreccahdır>>

Mösyö (Mayer)in ansiklopedisinden hülasa tarikiyle biliktibas bu kariye yazılan fikirrat-ı vecizeden de anlaşılacağı vechle Türklerin hıdemat-ı celilelerini

Avrupa kıymet-i siyasatı takdirden geri durmamaktadır. Meşhur Osmanlı tarihini yazan Almanyalı Mürih (Hammer Bugstal) dahi 1836 tarihinde neir etdiği ciltlerden birine (Osmanlı şiiri) unvanıyla derç eylediği makalede Osmanlı şiiri hakkında lisan-ı hakikat ile senâkârâne idare-i kelâmdan sonra:

<< Türklerdeki asar-ı medeniyye ve edebiyye cidden istihsane sezavar derecede zengindir. Türklerde pek çok şair ve edib gelmişdir. Fuzuli, Baki, Nefi pek büyük şairadandır. Üstaz derece-i kemaline ermiş müverrihleri de bu sıraya koyub da en meşhurlarını taaddad edere isek yekunu 2200den ziyadeye çıkarız. Türklerin hikmet ve edebiyata ilim ve fenne, sanayiye, hizmetleri cidden büyükdür…>>

Satırlarını yazmışdır. Saliffüzzikr ansikolopedi sahibi Almanyadaki Mösyö (Mayer)in şu sözleri de calib-i dikkatdir.

<< Türklerde birçok müverrih, vakanüvis vardır. Bunlar Devlet-i Aliyye-i OSmaniyenin edvar-ı muhtelife-i şevketini fevkalade mükemmel suretde sahife-i … beyana çekmişlerdir ki asar-ı mezkurenin ekseri Fransız, İngiliz, Alman, Latin lisanlarına tercüme-i nakl edilmişdir. Ez cümle (Naima) (Raşid) (Çelebizade) (Sami Şakir) (Sabahi) (Vasıf) (…) (Asım) ve en sonra (Cevdet) cidden sezavar-ı sitayiş eserler vücuda getirmişlerdir. Esamileri bâlâya yazılan zevatın kitabları Avrupa lisanlarına tercüme olunmuşdur. Memalik-i Osmaniyede (Kitab-ı Çelebi) ve Avrupada (Hacı Kalfa) namıyla müşteher zat-ı fezail-i şemat Türklerin en alem-i müverrihidir. Bu büyük adamın eserleri dünyanın her tarafına yazılmış olub bazıları 1831 Tarih-i miladisinde İngilizceye nakl ile Londrada tab ve temsil edilmişdir. Müşarülileyhin telif etdiği (Keşfüzzünun an Esamü'l Kütüb ve Fünun) unvanlı eseri 1835de Latinceye tercüme olunarak (Laypzig) şehrinde basılmışdır. Hala bu eser fevkalade bihterdir. Yine Türklerin (Hacı Evliya Çelebi)sini bu sırada unutmamalıdır. İlim ve irfanı ile müşteher olan bu zat-ı şayan hayret-i seyahat

icrasıyla da mütearefitir. Bu fazl zatın seyahatnamesini Almanyada (Hammer) iki cild üzerine İngilizceye tercüme etmiş ve kitablarından bir nüshayı 1834 ve ikincisini 1850 tarihinde Londrada tab eylemişdir. Türkler kendi sarfşaronı ğek güzel tensih eylemişlerdir. Cevet Paşanın bu babda büyük himmetleri görülmüşdür. Müşarülileyh kaleme aldığı sarf-ı Türkî 1855 senesinde Almancaya tercüme edilib (Helsinfort) şehrinde destgâh ara-yı intiba olmuşdur.>>

Mösyö (Mayer)in ansiklopedisinde Türklere ve asarına dair Türkçe daha pek çok malumat var ise de kaffesinin tercüme ve nakli münasib görülemediğinden bu kadarcığıyla iktifa olunmuşdur. Malumdur ki her kavmin fezail-i ilmiyyesi, asar-ı mevcudiyesiyle müstedildir. Binaenaleyh Türklerin malik oldukları eserlerin keseri temil edilince Türk kavm-i necibinin alemde, maarifetde, faziletde ve medeniyetin sair meziyyat-ı muhitesinde esker-i akvam-ı pek geride bırakdıkları gayr-i kabil-i itiraz suretde tayin ve tebyin edilir.

Türklerde ulum-ı riyaziyede, coğrafyada, felsefede, musikide, hendesede, dahi pek büyük zecat yetşmiş ve her biri yaşadıkları zamanın ihtisas peyda ettikleri fende feridi unvan-ı şerif bünyasını ihraz etmişlerdir ki müşarülileyhin asarı bugün terakkiden terakkiye uğrayan ulum ve fününun esasını teşkil eylemişdir. Mesela bunlardan:

555 tarihinde Haverzem şehrinde kademnihade—i alem şuhud olan (Seraceddin) ile ondan sonra gelen (Yakub Yusuf bin Ebubekr Harezmi) Türklerin eşhar edabasından ve mahsul-i haname-i beratleri olan asar-ı bedayi-i edebiyyede müsteşehadat-ı nadiredendir. 350 tarihlerinde irtihal dar-ı beka eyleyen meşhur (Ebu İbrahim Farabi) Türk edebasının seramedasından ve (Ebu Bekr Harezmi) bunun yerini tutan azamdandır. Fuhulinden (Ebü'l Kasım Belahi) asar-ı mevcudiyesiyle kendisine ebedi

bir nam-ı ba-ihtiram temin etmişdir. Filvaki müşarülileyh eserlerini Arab lisanıyla yazmışlar ise de kendilerinin Türk oğlu Türk oldukları gayr-i münkerdir.
Yine şiir ve inşada (Ali Şir Nevai)ler, (Nasr Buhari)ler ile (Esirüddin Ahteski), (Füruhi Tırmizi) gibi fevkalade muktedir zevat-ı aliyye ve Türkmen şuara-yı meşhuresinden (Mahdum Kulu) hep Türk unsurundan, Türk salbinden gelmişler ve Türklerin ma-be'l iftiharı olmuşlardır.

İlm-i … ve riyaziyede (Uluğ Bey) gibi dahi o asırda dünyanın hiçbir memleketinde bulunmuyordu.Müşarülileyhin asar-ı kaffe-i milel-i mütemeddine ve müterakkiyenin lisanına tercüme olunmuşdur. Merhum ve mağfurun (Semerkand) şehrinde tesis ve bünyad eylediği meşhur rasadhanede yetişen ve her biri fenn-i heyetde üstaı bi-nazır olan zevatın asarı bugün bile eyyid-i iclalde dairdir.
(Ahmed bin Kasir Fergani) dahi meşahir erbab-ı heyetden olub (Kitabü'l Harekatül Semaviyye) namındaki eser-i mükemmele mutebarat-ı müellifatdandır.
(Şemseddin Muhammed bin Esretü'l Hüseyni Semerkandî) nam zat fezail-i semat-ı Türk riyazevanından olub (Eskalül Tesis) namındaki kitabı ve asar-ı saire-i muteberesiyle şöhret şiardır.

İlm-i Heyet ve nucumda ve ilm-i tabakatü'l arz ve madende zamanının alem-i ulemasından ve Türk erbab-ı danişinin eşahirinden biri de (Ebu'l Reyhan Biruni-i Harezmi)dir. Müşarülileyh fenn-i celil-i tababet ile coğrafya ve ulum-ı tıbbiyede dahi haiz-i kemal olub medeniyet-i İslamiyenin terakkisine hıdemat-ı harikuladesi sebkad eden Türk ulemasının medar-ı iftiharıdır. (Ebu'l Reyhan) İbn-i Sinanın muassırasından olub müşarülieyh ile daima mücahasat-ı fenniyede bulunur idi. Pek çok asar-ı fenniyesi vardır.

Fenn-i celil-i tababatde kelam edilince Türklerde pek çok hükema ve etıbba vardır, demekde kat'a tereddüd edilmez. Erbabı nezdinde vareste-i arz ve isabat olduğu üzere kurûn-ı vasatıda fenn-i celil-i tıbbın terakkisine en ziyade hizmet İslamlar tarafından ve aliü'l husus Türkler canibinden ibraz edilmişdir.

En başdan (Farabi)ler (İbn Sina)lar (Muhammed bin Zekeriyaü'l Razi)ler bulundukları halde (Hoca Fahreddin bin Uhdi-i Sebzevari), (Bedreddin b,n Behram el-Kalansi Semerkandî) (Ebu İbrahim Gürgani) (Ebu Zeyd Belahi) (Ebu'l Abbas Ahmed bin Tayyib bin Muhammed Serhaşi), (Şerifi-i Belahi) gibi fenn-i tıbda üstad unvanıyla mümtaz zevat hep Türk oğlu Türkdür.

Mahaza Türklerden yetişen etıbba yalnız esamilerini buraya kayd ve zikr etdiğimizden ibaret sanılmamalıdır. Bilakis bu kavm-i necibde daha pek çok hükema ve etıbba alem-i medeniyete şeref-risan olmuş ise de kaffesinin esamisini bulup yazmak pek derin tahrirata ve tetebuata tevakkuf eylediğine ve bu yolda iştigale vaktimiz müsaid bulunmadığına mebni bu kadarcığıyla kanaate mecburiyet el vermişdir.

Türkler Asyadan hicret ve (Osmanlı) nâm madelet-i ittisamı ile mutarri bu muazzam devleti teşkile ihraz-ı muvaffakiyet eyledikden sonra ulum ve fünun ve tıb fevkalade terakki eylemişdir. Tarih kitablarının mütaalasından azim-i iftiharlar ile istibşar kılındığı üzere Osmanlı padişahları bilnefs hilye-i ilim ve irfan ile de tezeyyün zat u sıfat buyurduklarından eltaf-ı celilelerini ulema ve fuzalayı her vechle teşvih ve tergibe ve himemat-ı seziyyelerini neşr ve tamim-i ulum ve maarife dahi hasr eylemişlerdir.

Osmanlılarda ulum ve fünun sitada sahib yed-i tula lâyüad ve lâ yuhsa fuzala yetişmişdir. Fakat azim-i teessüfler ile beyan ederiz ki eslaf-ı etıbba-yı Osmaniyeden

birçoğunun müellifatı eydi kadrşinasesine düşdüğünden zayie uğramış ve bu sebeble o alikadr zevatın namları da perde-i nisyan arkasında meçhulat içinde kalmışdır. (Emir Çelebi), (Hacı Abbas Vesim), (Şerif Efendi) (Seyyid Mehmed Kalavun) gibi zevatın asarı elde bulunmasıyla bugün Avrupada en yeni, en harikanüma tarz-ı tedavi denilen şeylerin esası[nı? Buraya bak] bu büyük adamların kurdukları hayretlerde anlaşılıyor.

Fil hakika bugün tıb son derecelerde terakki etmişdir. Fakat eslaf-ı etıbba-yı Osmaniye zamanında da mütedenni değildi. Asarından bazı parçaları inaen iktibas suretiyle hazakat-ı hayret efzasını 1317-1319 seneleri İstatistik risalesindeki (Mefahir-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye) yahud (İslamların bilhassa Türk Millet-i Necibesinin Tababete Etdikleri Hizmetler) serlevhalı makalade arz etdiğim (Hacı Abbas Vesim) hazretleri ve emsali duhhat-ı tıbb-ı esatize-i hikmet eğer (Bakteriyoloji)nin, (mikroskob) dedikleri aletleri (Röntgen şuai)nin karşısında bulunsalar idi acaba neler yapmazlardı?.. Halbuki ellerinde hiçbir alet yok iken makale-i mezkurede bilâ taraf gösterilen usul-i tedaviyi bulan zevat-ı müşarülileyhin şimdiki zamanda insaniyeti kendilerine kat kat şükr kezâr kılacak şeyleri ortaya çıkaracakları emr-i işkar add ediliyor.

Silsile-i kelamımızın son cümlelerindeki malumat-ı asr-ı güzin-i muallayat rehin-i hazret-i hilafetpenahiye kesb-i irtibat edilince, afak-ı tıbb-ı Osmaniyede o kadar envar-ı zahirat-ı muvaffakiyat görülür ki bunlara bakan gözler aks-ı şu'adan kamaşırken vicdanlara dahi bizlere kemal-i latif ve kereminden bu nimetleri inayet ve ihsan buyuran padişahımız veliü'l nimet efendimiz hazretlerinin büyüklüklerinin hayranı kalmamak nasıl mümkün değilse, maruz-ı lükranda lisan-ı Muhammedinin

dahi leyl ü nehâr dai-i bilhayr hazret-i hilafetpenahi ile demgüzar olmaması da öylece gayr-i kabildir.

Biinayetü'llahi teala saye-i muvaffakiyat-i … hazret-i emirü'l müminin tıbb ve tababet-i Osmaniyenin mazhar olduğu tealiyenin derecatından bu mübahasede tehziz-i hamme-i şükran eylemek pek münasib ise de mefahirimizin bu faslı (Yirmi Sekiz Sene Zarfındaki Terakkiyat-ı Tıbbiyemiz) makalesinde ziver zeban minnet kılınmış olmasıyla tekrarından ictinab ile her halükarda ve kaffe-i zaman ve evkatda tertibli Müslümanlara farz olan durûd-i hayr-i endûd hazret-i halife-i seyd'ül … bu vesile ile de … icabetgah-ı rab-ı mütaala isal ve bu vechle hatm-ı makal eyliyorum.

Etıbba-yı Hazret-i Şehriyariden Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Alisi Sertabibi Mirliva İbrahim

APPENDIX C

PHOTOGRAPHS OF DR. IBRAHIM BEY AND HAMIDIYE ETFAL



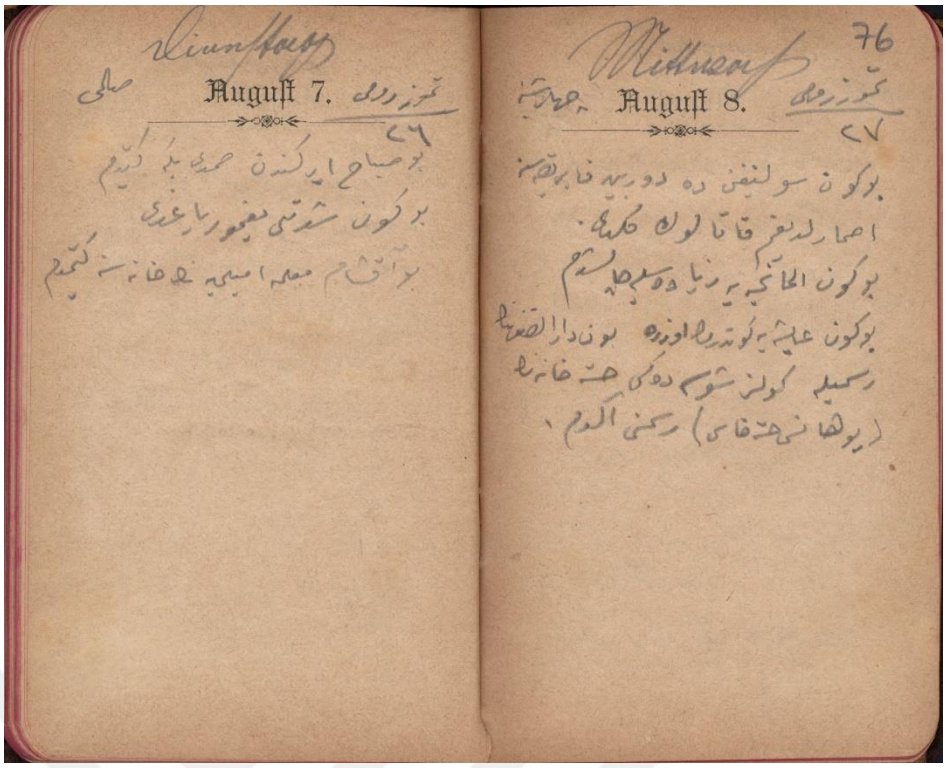
Dr. İbrahim Bey



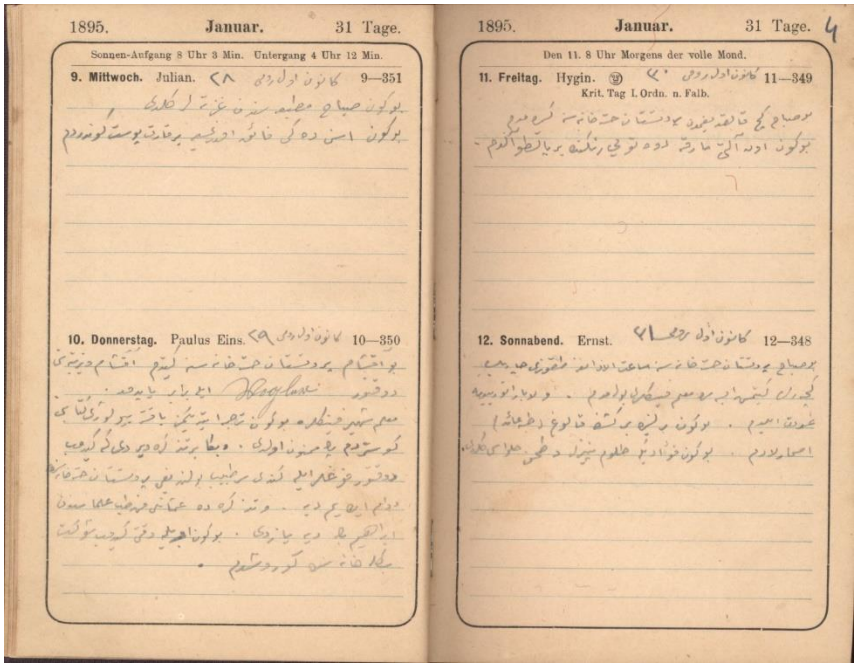
Dr. İbrahim Bey's Father, Ali Efendi-The third in the row (from the left)



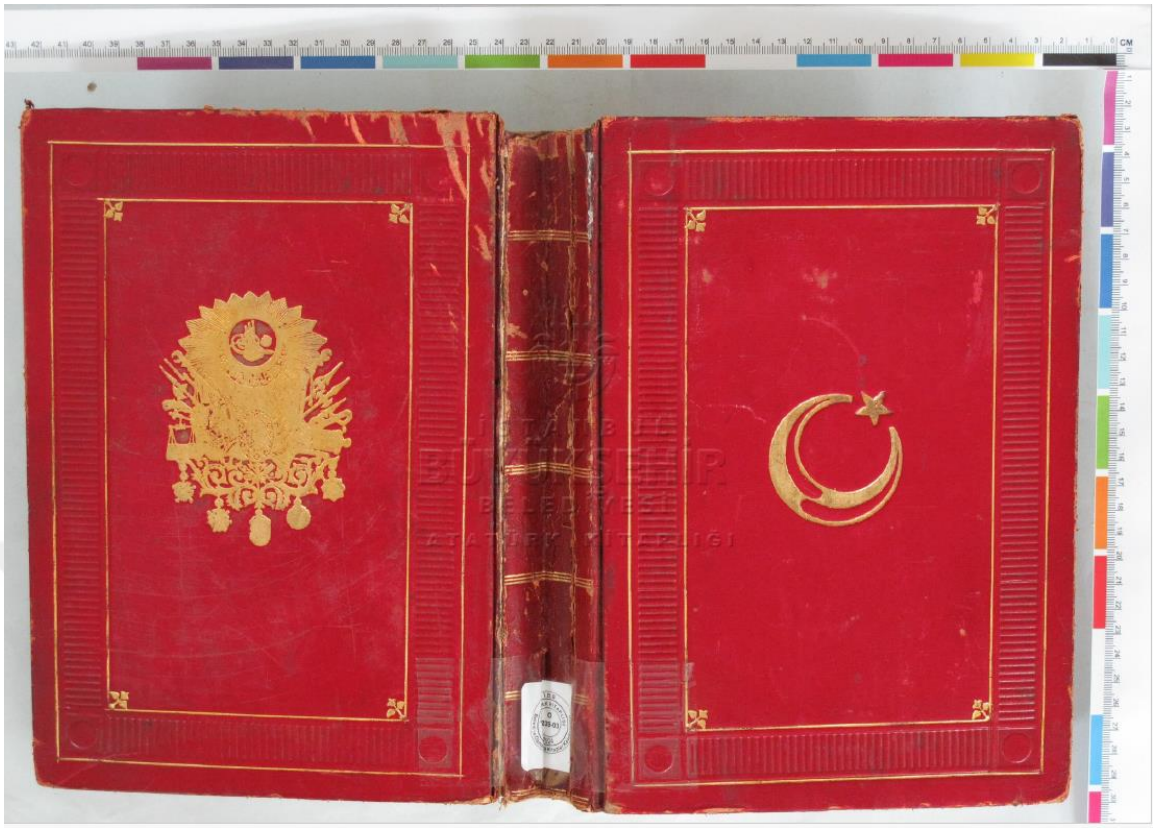
Dr. İbrahim Bey's diaries in the Atatürk Library



Dr. İbrahim Bey's 1894 diary



Dr. İbrahim Bey's 1895 diary



10 Statistique indiquant le nombre de femmes et d'enfants durant l'année 1321 (v.

MALADIES	ENFANTS									
	MUSULMANS		GRECS		ARMENIENS		JUIFS		ETRANGERS	
	Sexe mâle	Sexe Femelle	Sexe mâle	Sexe Femelle	Sexe mâle	Sexe Femelle	Sexe mâle	Sexe Femelle	Sexe mâle	Sexe Femelle
Internes	1581	1943	325	171	98	72	28	35	11	19
Externes	198	223	51	43	9	11	3	2	1	2
Nerveuses	67	84	16	9	4	2	3	1	1	
Des yeux	181	112	25	16	9	3	7	8		6
Des oreilles du nez et du larynx	190	240	35	46	7	10	13	9	2	5
Gînécologies										
Total..	2217	2608	452	285	127	96	54	55	15	32

Statistique indiquant le nombre de femmes et d'enfants traités à la de Municipalité et Province

CERCLES DE MUNICIPALITES ET PROVINCES	1er Cercle	2me	3me	4me	5me	6me	7me	8me	9me	10me	Kémer-Bourgas
Total	501	976	592	649	7	1437	845	98	46	869	25	239

11 traités à la policlinique de l'Hôpital d'Enfants «Hamidié» s.) et 1905-1906 (n s.)

FEMMES					TOTAUX
MUSULMANS	GRECQUES	ARMENIENNES	JUIVES	ETRANGÈRES	
5691	2345	681	216	146	13362
113	72	11	9	5	753
390	160	35	12	7	791
412	94	18	25	11	925
386	94	43	51	9	1146
446	199	23	10	4	682
7438	2964	811	323	182	17659

policlinique de l'Hôpital d'Enfants «Hamidié» ainsi que les Cercles desquels ils dépendent

Makri-Keuy	Fraugkos	Haki	Bey-Koy	Kamil	Tchatalja	Panderma	Trebizonde	Gaelibolí	Salonique	Kona	TOTAUX
95	18	40	32	16	8	4	10	6	4	5	17659

İstatistik yearbooks

Nom des malades	Origine	Entrées à l'Hôpital	Diagnostic	Traitements	OBSERVATIONS	Sorties de l'Hôpital
Redjeb bin Moustapha	de Monastir.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Fracture de la 2e et 3e vertèbres lombaires.	Bandage.	Chute de cheval.	*le 20 Janvier.*
Osman bin Thelebi	de Kermosti.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie par arme à feu en séton à la région brachiale droite.	Incision.	Pénétration par la partie supérieure de l'humérus, de bas en haut.	*le 20 Janvier.*
Bahaeddine bin Chakir	de Cossova.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie par arme à feu en séton au pied droit.	Pansement antiseptique.	Pénétration du haut en bas, du dedans en dehors.	*le 24 Décembre.*
Mehmed bin Moustapha	de Djouma-i-Bala.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie pénétrante du thorax par arme à feu.	Pansement antiseptique.	Pénétration transversale, 10 jours d'hémoptysie.	*le 1er Décembre.*
Moustapha bin Halid	de Djouma-i-Bala.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie par arme à feu en séton à l'extrémité intérieure de la cuisse droite.	Pansement antiseptique.	Pénétration à la partie molle antéro-postérieure.	*le 21 Novembre.*
Georghi Thomas	de Petrich.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie par arme à feu du bassin et énervisme artério-veineux de l'iliaque interne droit.	Pansement antiseptique et électrolyte.	Pénétration de la crête iliaque gauche, à 4 travers de doigts en dessous. Sortie par le gros trochanter, après avoir traversé le bassin.	
Mehmed bin Husseïn	de Djouma-i-Bala.	*le 26 Octobre.*	Plaie tranchante de la cuisse droite avec phlegmon consécutif.	Incision et curetage.	Erysipèle, puis phlegmon à Djouma-i-Bala.	*le 17 Février.*
Hafouz bin Haïroullah	de Stroumdja.	*le 8 Novembre*	Plaie par arme à feu aux deux cuisses avec fracture du fémur droit.	Résection et suture de l'os.	Radiographie. Partie supérieure du fémur brisée; Os chevauché.	



Hamidiye Etfal Hospital


2
داخلدن کورینسه



Dr. İbrahim Bey in his room at Hamidiye Etfal



Dr. İbrahim Bey with Dr. Theodor Escherich



The team of Hamidiye Etfal welcoming the corvette Moltke's staff



Child patients of the hospital



Women patients waiting for the treatment



The library of the Hamidiye Etfal



Bacteriology laboratory of the Hamidiye Etfal

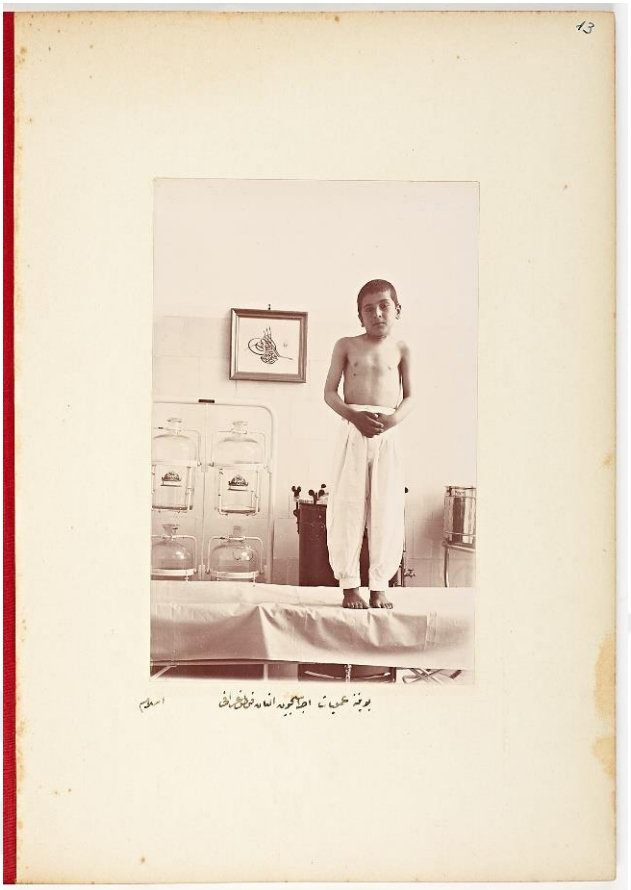


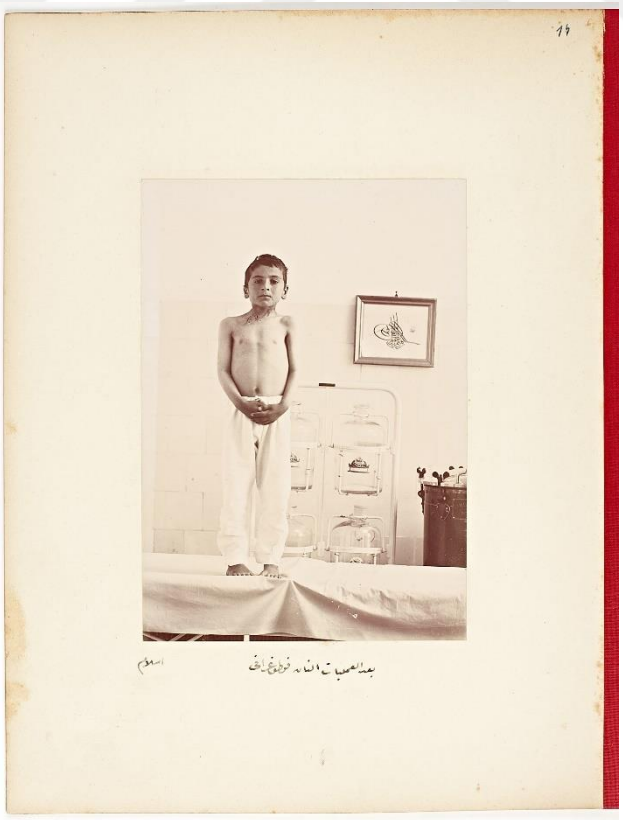


Children with German and Turkish nurses



Before the treatment, during the treatment, after the treatment. Emin Çavuş (his right hand was injured)





After the treatment

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