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Edited by  
Ali Çaksu

Preface by  
Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu

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## THE MEDICAL *MEDRESE* OF SÜLEYMANIYE

Tuncay Zorlu

Over the last couple of decades academic circles in Turkey have witnessed the publication of a considerable amount of literature and reference works on the Ottoman history of science, thanks to the long-lasting, sincerely devoted and very well-organized studies, especially in the fields of medicine, astronomy, mathematics and geography, led by IRCICA, Turkish Society of History of Science and History of Science Department at the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University. This work is also intended to be a step in contributing to the elaboration of above-mentioned general reference works.

### Background

Before the Ottoman State, Islamic institutions in which medical education and treatment were carried out together, had been named under various titles such as “*dar al-tib*”, “*dar al-shifa*”, “*dar al-sihha*”, “*dar al-marda*”, “*dar al-afiya*”, “*mâristân*”, “*bîmâristân*”, “*shifâhâne*”, “*bîmârhâne*”, “*îmarhâne*”.<sup>1</sup> Despite the existence of these institutions, there were no medical institutions dedicated solely to the medical education.

The *Medrese* of Mustansiriyya built by Abbasid caliph Mustansir Billah in 631/1237 in Baghdad, can be considered to be a very early pattern on which the Süleymaniye were modelled. This *medrese*, apart from its separate *eyvans* dedicated to four Islamic sects (*mazhabs*), had a “*dar al-hadith*”, a “*bîmâristân*” (hospital) and an *eyvan* devoted to medical education with its ten students and one doctor called “*tabîb-i Mustansiriyya*”.<sup>2</sup> In terms of the units and the functions, Mustansiriyya seems comparable to Süleymaniye Complex which had similar parts such as *evvel*, *sâni*, *sâlis* and *rabi medreses* as well as *dâru'l hadis*, *dâru'l-kurrâ*, medical *medrese*, *dâruşşifa* and *dârul-akâkîr* (drugstore). This similarity between the medical *eyvan* of Mustansiriyya and medical *medrese* of

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<sup>1</sup> D. M. Dunlop, “Bîmâristan”, *EP*; Arslan Terzioğlu, “Bîmâristân”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1992, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Husayn Amin, *al-Madrasat al-Mustansiriyya*, Baghdad 1960, pp. 55-58; Noorollah Kassai, *The Nizamiyyah Schools and Their Scientific and Social Effects*, Tehran 1374/1953, pp. 213-215.

Süleymaniye brings to mind the fact that the latter might have been constructed taking the former as a model or planned as the continuation of Mustansiriyya tradition.<sup>3</sup>

### Foundation of the Medical *Medrese* of Süleymaniye

Ottoman medicine acquired a formal teaching institution with the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye which was built by Mimar Sinan as a component of a great building complex (*külliyeye*) in 1556, during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. The construction of this *medrese* is considered to be the beginning of a new stage in the history of Ottoman medical institutions. Unlike the institutions of the previous hospital traditions having medical education within themselves, Süleymaniye was the first “medical *medrese*” in the Ottoman state to have a deed of trust mentioning its *medrese* character.<sup>4</sup>

So what were the conditions paving the way for the construction of this *medrese*? First of all, we should mention the insufficient number of doctors in Ottoman cities. We know that Bursa Yıldırım Bayezid Hospital, which was the first Ottoman hospital known, demanded a doctor from Memlukids for the post of *hekimbaşı* (chief-physician). Additionally, in the later years Mehmed the Conqueror’s appointment of the Persian vizier, Kutbuddin and Yakup Paşa (a Muslim convert) as his consultant physicians, Süleyman the Magnificent’s employment of Musa b. Hamun in his palace as his private physician as well as later demands for physicians from other lands and their employment in high posts, give the impression that there was not a sufficient number of physicians in Ottoman medical institutions at least up to the construction of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Sultans’ imperial edicts (*firmans*) preventing incapable and unqualified physicians from medicine and medical practices show the insufficiency of competent medical cadres.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> E. İhsanoğlu, “Ottoman Medreses Between Image and Historical Realities” (unpublished proceeding), 21-25 Sept.13<sup>th</sup> CIEPO Symposium, Vienna 1998, pp. 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> “İlm-i tıp için bina olunan medrese-i tayyibe”. *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı*, pp. 62-64; *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı*, pp. 8; *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1725)*, pp. 28-30, 37, 106-107, 214-215.

<sup>6</sup> II. Selim, after Hekimbaşı Garsüddinzâde Muhiddin Efendi’s warnings about the situation, issued the following imperial edict dated 8 C 981 /1573. “...bazı kimesneler cerrah ve tabip ve kehhâl adına gezûb hengâme ve dükkanlarda oturub mücerred celb ve ahiz için Müslümanlara tıbbâ mugayir ve hikmete muhalif katil şerbetler ve zehirnak müşhiller verip veâdet-i âleme muhalif yâreler açub ve gözlere dahî üslubsuz yapışub muhalif otlar koyub, Müslümanların mallarına ve canlarına zarar irişdirüb...” See Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 62.

If we have a look at the contemporary writers and historians' views about the foundation of the medical *medrese* we come across some different approaches. To exemplify, Küçük Hasan-Beyzâde Ahmed Paşa (d. 1636), in his *Tarih*, puts forward its medical educational character.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Ottoman geographer and cosmographer Aşık Mehmed (d. after 1006/1598) draws also attention to its educational function in his *Menâziru'l Avâlim*.<sup>8</sup> These views all seem to be in harmony with the explanation "...ve ilm-i tıbb için bina olunan medrese-i tayyibe..." in Süleymaniye trust deed<sup>9</sup> while some historians such as Ahmed Cevdet Paşa highlights the *medrese*'s military character rather than general medical education.<sup>10</sup>

Tayyip Gökbilgin, a 20<sup>th</sup> century-historian, agrees with Cevdet Paşa and suggests that Ottoman armies fighting in distant places far from their own lands needed doctors, so Süleymaniye medical *medrese* was founded to meet this need.<sup>11</sup> Osman Şevki (1889-1964) too shares the same approach.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, Süheyl Ünver who considers this medical *medrese* to be second university complex and the pioneer of Turkish medical faculties, states that this *medrese* perpetuated its function of educating civilian doctors even when Military Tıbhane and Cerrahane were opened in 1827. We also have some archival documents showing that this *medrese* has supported both military and civilian institutions through its educated doctors.<sup>13</sup> Therefore it can be said that the from time to time changing focus on military or civilian-learned institutions stemmed from needs caused by political and social circumstances of the period.

### A Glance at Its Architecture

As for the architectural features of the medical *medrese*, first of all, we can say that it was planned as a component of Süleymaniye Complex like other components such as mosque, *medreses* dedicated to Islamic sciences,

<sup>7</sup> "Ulema-yı etubba, ilm-i tubba sa'y eylemek için bir tabib medresesi bina ettirmişlerdir". Küçük Hasan Beyzâde, Ahmed Paşa, *Tarih*, TSMK, Emanet Hazinesi, nr. 1434, vrk. 345a.

<sup>8</sup> "Tahsil-i fehm-i tıp için darüşşifa hizasında bir medrese-i fevkani". Mehmed b. Ömer el-Aşk, *Menâziru'l-Avâlim*, Süleymaniye Ktp., y. 328b.

<sup>9</sup> *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 32.

<sup>10</sup> "Sultan Süleyman Hân-ı evvel asrında ordu-yı hümâyunlarca ziyade tabib ve cerraha ihtiyaç görülüp icâb-ı vakit ve hâle göre mühendislerin dahî ehemmiyeti olduğundan Süleymaniye Câmî-i Şerifi yanında ayrıca bir Tıp Medresesi yapılab etubba sınıfı ayrıldı. Ve civarında bir de dârüşşifâ yapıldı. O zaman Avrupa'da henüz dârüşşifâ yapmak eskârî yok idi..." Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet*, v. I, Dersaadet (Istanbul) 1309, p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Süleyman I", *İA*, v. 5, Istanbul 1967, pp. 152-153.

<sup>12</sup> Uludağ, pp. 111-112.

<sup>13</sup> Süheyl Ünver, *Tıp Tarihi Yılığ* II

caravanserai, bath, hospital, drugstore etc. So it should be examined within the system of a multi-functional building complex. The medical *medrese* having a perpendicular plan is composed of 12 domed-cells lined up on the shops at the Tiryakiler street which is located in the southwestern part of the Süleymaniye Mosque.<sup>14</sup>

The medical *medrese* seems to have a direct interaction with such components as *dâru's-şifâ* (hospital), *dâru'l-akâkîr* (drugstore), *tabhâne* (the place where patients stay during their convalescence period) and *imarethâne* (kitchen). A kind of division of labor shows itself with respect to these components. The students having medical education in *medrese* slept in the cells there, ate foods cooked in the kitchen of *imaret* without paying any money, use *dâru's-şifâ* for practicing the theoretical lessons they learned in the medical *medrese*, get their medicine from *dâru'l-akâkîr*, and after being cured in the hospital stay in *tabhâne* for the period of convalescence.

After the Second Constitutional Period (II. Meşrutiyet), the medical *medrese* was included in the body of "Dâru'l Hilafeti'l Âliyye Medresesi" which was planned to assemble all the *medreses* of Istanbul under one roof. It is understood that the medical *medrese* was out of use and needed restoration during the year 1330/1914. It also seems that on 21 Kanûn-ı Evvel 1334/1918 the *medrese* was used by people who lost their homes during a fire.<sup>15</sup> It is known that İstanbul Vilayeti Daimi Encümeni put the 15 rooms of the medical *medrese* on auction for rent.<sup>16</sup> The building was restored when Dr. Lütfi Kırdar was in the post of governor and later mayor in 1944-45 and it has been used as "Süleymaniye Doğum ve Çocuk Bakımevi" (Maternity Clinic) since 1946.<sup>17</sup>

### Its Personnel

The medical *medrese* had academic personnel which consisted of one *müderris*, one *mu'id*, eight *danişmends* and service personnel composed of one *noktacı*, one *bevvab* and one *ferraş*. Now let's have a look at them one by one.

<sup>14</sup> Mürşide Baykal, "Süleymaniye Külliyesi" (unpublished graduation thesis), University of Istanbul, Istanbul 1952, pp. 43-44.

<sup>15</sup> "Harik-zedegân tarafından işgâl olunmuşdur, fi 21 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 1334/1918". See Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Dârü'l-Hilafeti'l-'Aliyye Medresesi ve Kuruluşu Arefesinde İstanbul Medreseleri", *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, İ.Ü. Ed. Fak. Yay., İstanbul 1978, pp. 18 and 62.

<sup>16</sup> Nuran Yıldırım, "Süleymaniye Darüşşifası", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1994, pp. 96.

<sup>17</sup> Mebrure Değer, "Süleymaniye Darüşşifası ve Tıp Medresesinin Bugünkü Durumu", *I. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, İstanbul, 17-19 February 1988, pp. 189-192; Doğan Kuban, "Süleymaniye Külliyesi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, v. 7, İstanbul 1994, p.102.

### a) *Müderri*s

In Süleymaniye deed of trust *müderri*s is mentioned as follows:

...*Ve ilm-i tbb için binâ olunan medrese-i tayyibede fazîlet il kiyâset ve kuvvet-i hads u ihsâs ile ma'rûf ve basîret ve zekâ ve selâmet-i havâss ile mevstîf dekâyık-i ilm-i mîzâna ârif ve külliyyat il cîtz'ıyyat-ı ilm-i ebdâna vâkıf Eflâtun-ı zamân ve Aristo-yı evân etıbbâ-yı İsâ-dem mâbeyninde müntâz hilkenâ-yı Calîmus-kadem ortasında ser-efrâz olan kimesne müderri olup talebe-i ilm-i tıpta kanûn-ı hilkenâ-yı sâbıkada mütez ve yâdigâr olan kavâidi tahsîl bâbında ikdâm ve mühimmât-ı şifâda müntehab u sedîd olan zevâbiti teshîl emrinde ihtimâm edip derslerine müdâvim ve sâir mâlezimede mülâzım olacak vazîfe-i yevniyesi yirmi akçe ola.*<sup>18</sup>

It is understood from this passage that *müderri*s is required to be famous for his virtue, awareness and sharpness of his senses, be qualified with his sagacity and healthy five senses, be conscious of all the details of the science of logic and medicine, and also be Platon of the time, Aristoteles of the age, be distinguished among doctors having the breath of the Prophet Jesus and lead doctors having the rank of Galen. After mentioning the qualifications of *müderri*s, the passage enumerates his rights and duties of *müderri*s. It states that *müderri*s will try hard to teach students the compiled rules and methods of healing of the previous physicians, attend his courses regularly and help with necessary works in return for 20 *akçes* per day.

Although the trust deed determines the *müderri*s' income as 20 *akçes*,<sup>19</sup> Peçevi (d. 1061/1651) writes in his *Târîh* that the first *müderri*s appointed to the medical *medrese* is Ahmed Çelebi from among the palace physicians (son of the physician İsa of Iznik) with an income of 60 *akçes* per day.<sup>20</sup> Ahmet Çelebi's income of 60 *akçes* seems contradictory with the amount stated in the trust deed. But it is understood that the difference of 40 *akçes* most probably stems from the special offering of the Sultan to Ahmet Çelebi or from vast amount of *waqf* revenues to encourage a well-operating institution. In the following years this exceptional case seems to change and *müderri*s receive a wage of 20 *akçes* per day as it is mentioned in the deed. To give an example, an archival document dated 18 R 1004/21 December 1595 mentions the same amount as the one in the deed.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp. 32-33.

<sup>19</sup> *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>20</sup> *Peçevi Tarihi*, v. I, p. 462.

<sup>21</sup> BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defter, No: 5761, p 25.

In the Ottoman State, *hekimbaşı* (chief physician) was responsible for the medical personnel all over the state. Therefore it was he who appointed the *müderris* of the medical *medrese*<sup>22</sup> as we understand also from Seyyid Lokman's (alive in 1601) *Hünernâme* of 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, Küçük Hasan-Beyzâde Ahmed Paşa (d. 1636) states in his *Târîh* that "*medrese-i merkûme müderrisi ol medreseden reisü'l-etibbâ olagelmışlerdir*".<sup>24</sup> His explanation shows that it was a usual practice to appoint chief physicians from among the *müderrises* of the medical *medrese*. Also, according to Nevîzâde Atâf, Bakkalzâde Mehmed Efendi, who became *hekimbaşı*<sup>25</sup> after Şemseddin Efendi of Üskülüp, died on 18 Rebiülahir 1004/ 21 December 1595 while he was the *müderris* of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye. Following his death Şemseddin Efendi became *müderris* and was later appointed to the post of *hekimbaşı*.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, another archival document dated 11 Safer 1117/1705 gives clues for the appointment of *müderris*:

*Sultan Süleyman Han hazretlerinin bina buyurdukları Tıb Medresesinin müderrisi Ahmed fevt olub Medrese-i mezbur mahlul olmağın Mehmed Efendi daileri ehl-i ilim ve sahib-i fazilet ve hibr ve haml-i mahal ve müstehak olmağla medrese-i mezbur bendelerine tevcih olunmak ricasına paye-i serir-i a'laya arz ve i'lam olundu.*<sup>27</sup>

From this document we understand that a *müderris* who is promoted to an equal or higher rank or dies and therefore leaves his post empty is replaced by another one. This is the most common way of appointing a *müderris*. *Müderris* is chosen with *hekimbaşı*'s reference and Vizierate's or Palace's approval, from among the possible candidates who are *ehl-i ilm* (learned man), *sahib-i fazilet* (man of virtue), *sahib-i hibr* (expert of his profession), *haml-i mahal* (equipped with required knowledge of administrating in order to carry out the necessities of his profession), and naturally people deserving the post most. On the other hand,

<sup>22</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara 1984, pp. 364-368.

<sup>23</sup> "...altıncısı ki dâru'l-tıbbîdir ol dahî hidemât-ı hümayunda reisü'l-etibbâ olan hekimbaşılari tasarrufunda on hücreyi şâmil cümle muvazzaf olub kelimatının ma sadakına el-'ilmü ilmân el-'ilmü'l-ebdan ve'l-edyan muvafakat ihtiyâr kılınmıştır." Seyyid Lokman, *Hünernâme*, TSMK, Hazine, no. 1524, p. 286b.

<sup>24</sup> Küçük Hasan Beyzâde Ahmed Paşa, *Târîh*, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> Selânikî mentions that Şemseddin Efendi is from among *Asitâne-i saâdet* (the Palace) physicians and replaced Bakkalzâde's post of *hekimbaşı* in the medical *medrese* after serving as a palace physician. Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Târîh-i Selânikî*, ed. Mehmet İpsirli, Istanbul 1989, II, 547; Nevîzâde Atâf, *Hadâik el-Hakâik fî Tekmilleti 'ş-Şakâik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Çağrı pub., Istanbul 1989, II, 403.

<sup>26</sup> BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri*, No:5761, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> BOA, *Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi*, nr. 1283.

failing to attend the courses and renting out several cells of the *medrese*, lack of professional knowledge, incapability of teaching, quarreling with students, complains of board of trustee or former *müderriis* about the *müderriis* are some causes and pretexts to fire the *müderriis*.<sup>28</sup>

Peçevi mentions the physicians of the time of Süleyman the Magnificent as follows:<sup>29</sup> Reisületibbâ Mevlânâ Hekîm Sinân (d. 951), Mevlânâ Hekîm İsâ (father of Ahmed Çelebi who is the first *müderriis* of the medical *medrese*), Mevlânâ Hekîm Osmân, Mevlânâ Hekîm İshâk (embraced Islam after leaving Christianity), Hekîm Bedreddîn Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Şehîr bi-Kaysûnî (came to Istanbul from Egypt and has served 30 years, and passed away in 1564, two years before the Selim II's ascendance to throne). In this text only Ahmed Çelebi's post is mentioned. But we learn that he died of addiction to opium and opium syrup (*afyon* and *berş*) in the same year.<sup>30</sup> We could find out from archival documents, biographical works as well as some other secondary sources the names of the following *müderriises* who taught or served in the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye: Hekim İsâ Oğlu Ahmed Çelebi (25 C 985/1557), Mehmed Bakkalzâde (d. R 1004/22 Aralık 1595), Mehmed Efendi (served during 988/1580-81), Sinan Efendi (appointed *müderriis* on 988/1580-81), Üsküplü Şemseddin Efendi (served on Ca 1005/1596), Tabib Muhyiddin Efendi (appointed *müderriis* in Ca 1005/1596), Hekimbaşı Hayâtîzâde Büyük Mustafa Feyzi Efendi (?-1692), Ebu'l Es'ad Ahmed Efendi (left teaching on 5 C 1106/1692), Ahmed Efendi (served as *müderriis* on 5 C 1106/1692), Hekim Ayaşlı Şâban Şifâî (?-1705), Mehmed Efendi (served as *müderriis* on 11 S 1117/1705), Hekimbaşı Ömer Efendi (1668-1723), Mehmed b. İbrahim (d. 1179/1765), Kâtipzâde Mehmed Refî Efendi (1093/1682- 1183/1769), Tabib Mehmed Arif Efendi (appointed *müderriis* on 1181/1767), Esseyid Mehmed Sâlih Efendi (served as *müderriis* on 21 S 1187/1773), Mehmed Efendîzâde (served as *müderriis* on 21 S 1187/1773), Hekimbaşı Gevrekzâde Hafız Hasan Efendi (?-1801), Sâkip Efendi (d.1269/ 1852-53).<sup>31</sup>

#### b) *Mu'id*

As for *mu'id* who was regarded as the future candidate for being a *müderriis*, he was in charge of repeating and explaining difficult points of the

<sup>28</sup> İpşirli, "Anadolu Kadaskeri Sinan Efendi Hakkında Yapılan Tahkikat ve Bunun İlmiye Teşkilatı Bakımından Önemi", *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi*, VIII, İstanbul 1984, pp. 215-216.

<sup>29</sup> *Peçevi Tarihi*, v. I, pp. 460-462.

<sup>30</sup> Cahit Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, İstanbul 1976, p. 615.

<sup>31</sup> For the lives and works of people who worked in the capacity of *müderriises* and those who received education in the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye, see Tuncay Zorlu, "Süleymaniye Tıp Medresesi" (unpublished M.A. thesis), University of İstanbul, İstanbul 1998.

lessons following *müderriş*' lecture.<sup>32</sup> Beside this, he also dealt with students' acts and behaviors. In the deed there is no certain amount of income for *mu'ids*. However, it is understood from documents that they received on average 2.5-6 *akçes* per day. This range could change with respect to *mu'id*'s individual success, capacity and busy work hours. It is also known that *mu'ids* were given a share of salaries of palace physicians whose posts were emptied (*mahlul*) as a result of death or something else. A document dated 2 Ra 1169 and having Ser-etibba Mustafa's signature shows this situation:

*Yevmi onbeş akçe vazifeyle hassa tabibi olan Mehmed Emin Efendi İbn Hüseyin fevt olup mahlûlünden yevmi beş akçesi Süleymaniye tıp medresesinde müdimiz olan Ahmed Halife İbn İbrahim daileri fenni tıbbı müntesib ve mahal ve müstehak olmağla...*<sup>33</sup>

*Mu'ids* were chosen by *müderriş* from among the most capable and educated *danişmend*s. This method caused competition among students and encouraged them to study. The document dated 1209/1794 by Ser-etibba Mehmed Sadık mentions that "*medrese-i tıbbiye-i Süleymaniye'de danişmend olan İbrahim Halife'ye mezkûr medrese müdliğı tevcih edildi*".<sup>34</sup>

Moving from the archival documents, we witness *mu'ids*' occasional appointments to Dârüşşifa and Palace as physicians. The following document dated 1184/1770 exemplifies this:

*Yevmi altı akçe vazife ile tabib-i hassa esamisine mutasarrıfiken vefat eden İsmail Halifenin yerine medrese-i tıbbiye-i Süleymaniye'de müid olan İshak Halife'ye tevcih ve etebbâi hassa zümresine ilhak ile yedine berat itası.*<sup>35</sup>

### c) *Danişmend*

There were also eight *danişmend*s in the medical *medrese*. *Danişmend*, a Persian word whose literal meaning is a person who has knowledge,<sup>36</sup> referred to a student having a statue of a physician, studying medicine under the supervision of the *müderriş*, having a daily salary of 2 *akçes* from the *waqf* revenues and dwelling in one of the rooms of the medical *medrese*, which was allocated to himself. *Danişmend*s

<sup>32</sup> Al-Subkî, *Mu'id en-Ni'am wa Mubid al-Nikam*, Leiden 1986, p. 150.

<sup>33</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 699; BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 1400 and 633.

<sup>34</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 798; Maarif Tasnifi, nr. 5189.

<sup>35</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 124.

<sup>36</sup> Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, v. II, p. 573.

should be eager to learn causes of diseases and healing, be devoted Muslims and good-mannered.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately, we have no exact source explaining the origins of *danişmends* studying medicine in the medical *medrese*. However, O. Nuri Ergin states that these eight *danişmends* were the students of medical *medrese*, who finished their *medrese* education and chose to study medicine for specialization.<sup>38</sup> He also states that students completed “high school education” in Fatih or other *medreses* attended to the medical and hadith *medreses* and to the courses offered by *müderreses* of these *medreses*.<sup>39</sup> Ünver agrees with Ergin and states that *danişmends* were “probationers” chosen for specialization after completing their *medrese* education.<sup>40</sup> Uludağ, on the other hand, says that if the students who were taught in *ibtidâ-i haric* and *dahil medreses*, want to study exact sciences such as medicine, physics or mathematics they would go to *tetimme*<sup>41</sup> of Süleymaniye. He goes on saying that the graduates were called *mülâzım* and were registered to *Ceride-i Devlet* and *Sâlnâme*. After completing their apprenticeship they were given “*memhûr-ı temessük*” and carried out their applied lessons in *dârüşşifa*.<sup>42</sup>

If the question “why is the number of students so low?” is asked, it can be thought that it might be intended to have a conducive class with a limited number of students at the beginning. What is striking here is the stipulation envisaging that students has to be Muslim in order to be accepted to the medical *medrese*, while there is no such condition for physicians. So it might stem from the shortage of Muslim physicians in the country at that time.

Hekim Ayaşlı Şaban Şifâî Efendi, while he was *müderres* in the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye, prepared lists of his *danişmends*, candidates for *müderres* or judge (kadî) waiting for their turn as well as medical *şakirds*.<sup>43</sup> The lists are as follows:

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<sup>37</sup> “*Ve sekiz nefer tâlib-i hikmet ve râgıb-ı illet-i sıhhat mü'min-i zâhiru's-salâh ve mütedeyyin kâsıdu'l islâh kimesneler medrese-i mezbûrede dânişmend olup ilm-i tıbbın şuğlünde sa'y-i belîğ ve fenn-i hikmetin tahsilinde hadd-i bîdirîğ ederlerse vazife-i yevmiyyeleri ikişer akçe ola.*” Süleymaniye Vakfıyesi, pp. 32-33.

<sup>38</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul 1977, p. 145.

<sup>39</sup> Ergin, p. 100.

<sup>40</sup> Ünver, *Tıp Tarihi Yıllığı*, II, İstanbul 1983, p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> School preparing for higher *medrese* education [ed.].

<sup>42</sup> Uludağ, p. 114.

<sup>43</sup> İ.Ü. Kütüphanesi AY, nr. 6161, pp. 185-187.

**Tıb medresemizde mevcut bulunan dânişmendân bunlardır ki zikr olunur:**

|   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| Mustafa Halife (Şâkirdân-ı etubbâdan İmam Ahmed Efendi fevt olup yerine şâkird oldu)  | yevmî 8 -6            |
| İsmail Halife (muzâf) (Yine zümre-i mezbûreden Hüseyin Efendi hassa olup mezbûr İsmail Halife şâkird oldu)                          | yevmî 5               |
| Üsküdârî Muhammed Efendi (Etubbâ-i hassa-i şehriyârî zümresine mülhâk oldu)   | yevmî 8               |
| Dâmad Mustafa Efendi (Jâde buna teveccüh eylendi)   | yevmî 6               |
| Muhammed Halife (Vekil-i harç)  | yevmî 4               |
| Ömer Halife   | yevmî 4               |
| Ali Halife Esdârî? (Evliyâ-yı niâm etbandan bazı dostân iltimasıyla vazifesi dört oldu)   | yevmî2 +2=4           |
| Ahmed Efendi  | yevmî 2               |
| Bevvâb-ı Medrese  | yevmî 8               |
| Hafiz Çelebi (dânişmentlikte çırağımı sene semâniye (?) ve mie ve elf Şâbani'l muazzam gurra-i Ramazan dânişmend idi muzâf eyledim) | yevmî 2               |
| Seyyid Mustafa Çelebi (Kendi çırağımıdır, dânişmend eyledim)  | yevmî 2               |
| Sandalî Muhammed Çelebi (Kendi çırağımıdır, dânişmend eyledim)  | yevmî 2               |
| Bu ikisi (Seyyid Mustafa Çelebi ve Sandalî Mustafa Çelebi) bu günde dâhil-i hücre oldular. fi 12 Ca sene 1109/1698                  | cem'an<br>32960 kuruş |

Nâbî fermâyed

Ne sendendir ne bendendir ne çerh-i kinâverdendir

Bu derd-i ser-humâr neşve-i câm-ı kaderdendir

Arfî fermâyed

Ger be-dil-hoş

1 kuruş=20 akçe

As it is seen in the above mentioned list, Şaban Şifâî, when he mentions *dânişmends* Seyyid Mustafa Çelebi and Sandalî (?) Muhammed Çelebi, says that "he is my apprentice, I made him *dânişmend*". So from this statement we understand that a student may become a *dânişmend* following the apprenticeship. So it can be said that being a *dânişmend* is a higher level than being an apprentice.

#### **Mülâzimân-ı Dânişmendân -ı Medrese**

Durmuş Halife (dânişmendlikten âbâ eyledi)

Molla Ali

Dedeoğlu (bi-emrillah fevt oldu)

Hâce-i Ağâyân Osman Halife

Esseyyid İbrahim (... vîran olmağla mutarrah oldu)

?-zâde İsmail

Abdullah b. Muhammed

Diğer Abdullah (kendi çırağımıdır ve Kemerci Mehmed Ağannın oğludur)

Seyyid Mustafa (kendi çırağımıdır dânişmend eyledim)

..... Çelebi (kendi ırađımdır dâniřmend eyledim)  
Üsküdârî Çelebi  
Nerbed/ Serbed (?) Efendi

### řâkirdân-ı Tıb

Abdullah Çelebi b. Cuma Muhammed Efendi  
Sahni(?) -zâde Mehmed Efendi  
Kazdâđı Mehmed Efendi  
...zâde Efendi Üsküdârî  
Hâfiz Ahmed Efendi... (Hac yolunda vefat eyledi, yerine muîdimiz Mustafa Efendi řâkird oldu)  
Hüseyin Efendi (Esîrî ırađı) (Hassa tabibi olub yerine muzâfımız İsmail Efendi řâkird oldu)  
Seyyid Mustafa

Regarding the academic personnel of the medical *medrese*, there are *müderrişes*, *mu'ids*, *řakirds* and *daniřmends*. The following document dated 14 řaban 1131/1718 and signed by reisületibba Ömer shows the hierarchy among them:

*Medrese-i Tibbiye řâkirdlerinden es-Seyyid Mehmed Halife fevt olup řâkirdliđi mahlûl olmađla muktezâ-yı tarık üzere tib medresesinde muîd olan Mehmed Emin dâileri mahall ve müstehak olmađın merkûm řâkirdlik vazife-i muayyenesiyle mezkûr dâilerine tevcîh ve ihsân buyrulmak...<sup>44</sup>*

Here we see the existence of a traditional way of promotion from *mu'id* to *řakird*. This promotion was made in consistence with *muktezâ-yı tarık* (required way). Therefore one can talk about a hierarchy. According to this hierarchy *řakird* should be on a higher level than *mu'id*.

Another document dated 14 Recep 1180/1767 and signed by *ser-etibba-i řehriyari* Mehmed Arif draws attention to the same issue:

*...Sultan Mehmed Hân Dâru 'ş-řifâları 'nda yevmi yirmi akçe vazifeyle tabîb-i Sâni olan es-Seyyid Hafız Mehmed Halife Dâru 'ş-řifâ-yı merkûmun tabîb-i evveli olup yeri hâli kalmađın bundan akdem Medrese-i Tibbiyye-i Süleymaniye dâniřmendlerinden olup yevmi iki buçuk akçe vazifeyle Dâru 'ş-řifâ-yı mezkûrede řakird tayin olunanların akdem ve erředi iř bu râfi rikâ-i ubûdiyyet İsmail*

<sup>44</sup> BOA, İ. Emin Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 168.

*Halife'ye vazife-yi mersûmesi ile tabîb-i sânilik tevcih ve yedine berât-ı şerif-i âlişân inâyet ve ihsân buyrulmak.*<sup>45</sup>

Considering the appointments, hierarchy and salaries of the academic personnel of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye, following extractions will be illuminating:

- a. One can become a *şakird* in the Süleymaniye medical *medrese* and a palace physician at the same time.<sup>46</sup>
- b. One can become a *danişmend* in the Süleymaniye medical *medrese* and a palace physician at the same time.<sup>47</sup>
- c. One can become a *mu'id* in the Süleymaniye medical *medrese* and a palace physician at the same time.<sup>48</sup>
- d. One can become a *danişmend* in the Süleymaniye medical *medrese* and a secretary of the chief physician (*reisületibba mukayyidi*) at the same time.<sup>49</sup>
- e. We think that the word “*şakird*” which is used in the documents pertaining to the appointments from the medical *medrese* to the Palace and darüşşifas, has a meaning different from its most common meaning of “student”. Taking the hierarchy of appointments into consideration, it is understood that this word sometimes means a fresh physician or corresponds to a rank between *mu'id* and *müderris* in the medical *medrese*, or frequently means a physician working as practitioner and having a rank above *danişmend* and *mu'id*. Additionally, the fact that physicians proving their skill and thus having the right to open a shop and employ one or two *şakirds* shows the application aspect of being a *şakird*.<sup>50</sup>
- f. One does not see a considerable amount of appointments from *dârüşşifas* and the Palace to the medical *medrese*. *Müderris*es appointed are usually chosen from among palace physicians. *Mu'id*s are mostly chosen from among the

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<sup>45</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 1436; Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 798; Cevdet Ma'rif Tasnifi, nr. 5189.

<sup>46</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 1084.

<sup>47</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 632.

<sup>48</sup> BOA, Cevdet Saray Tasnifi, nr. 442.

<sup>49</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 442.

<sup>50</sup> Halil Sahillioğlu, “1700 Yılında İstanbul'da Muayene Açma İzni Olan Tabip ve Cerrahlar”, *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, April 1998, pp. 10-14.

most successful *danişmends* in the medical *medrese*. We sometimes see that physicians who left their post in the Palace worked as *mu'ids* in the medical *medrese*. The medical *medrese* was an institution for medical education. Therefore, it trained physicians for other medical institutions on almost every level, but did accept students from every level. Because, in other medical institutions there were no staff to offer medical education on all levels. So, for instance, appointment of a *mu'id* from the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye to Fatih hospital as a second physician can be regarded as a promotion with respect to his status. Having seen these appointments as a promotion with respect to the salary does not necessarily mean that Fatih hospital is more qualified than the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye with regard to medical education or vice versa. We can only talk about a division of labor between the two institutions.

In the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye, apart from academic personnel there were also service personnel composed of one *noktacı* (responsible for observing that education and teaching were carried out orderly and had 3 *akçes* daily), 2 *bevvals* (doorkeeper having 2 *akçes* daily) and 2 *ferraşes* (responsible for cleaning and furnishing the medical *medrese* and had 2 *akçes* daily).

The table below shows the number of the personnel and their total daily and annual salaries in the medical *medrese* in comparison with the other *medreses* of the Süleymaniye Complex<sup>51</sup>:

| <u>Be-cihet-i:</u>      | <u>neferen</u> | <u>fî yevm</u> | <u>fî 12 eşhür</u> |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| a) Medrese-i evvel      | 21             | 253            | 91.080             |
| b) Medrese-i sâniye     | 21             | 103            | 37.080             |
| c) Medrese-i sâlise     | 21             | 103            | 37.080             |
| ç) Medrese-i râbia      | 21             | 103            | 37.080             |
| d) Medrese-i hâmise     | 21             | 103            | 37.080             |
| e) <b>Medrese-i tıb</b> | <b>11</b>      | <b>40</b>      | <b>14.400</b>      |
| f) Medrese-i sũhtegân   | 1              | 15             | 5.400              |
| Total                   | 117            | 720            | 259.200            |

### Medical Education

Although we have no sources fully explaining the teaching and education methods followed in the medical *medrese*, it is understood from the foundation

<sup>51</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, " Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaretı Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu, 993/994 (1585/1586)", *VD*, no. IX, 1971, p. 127.

deed, *ilmiye kanunnameleri* and primary sources belonging to the classical period (1300-1600) that former methods were followed.<sup>52</sup>

In the deed we cannot see a clear statement about the course schedule. But, we know in general, that Süleyman the Magnificent stipulated to teach five courses a day on four weekdays of that time.<sup>53</sup> Regarding the holidays, it seems that pre-Ottoman practices were followed and Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and festival days were holidays and the rest was for teaching.<sup>54</sup> But these holidays could be lessened accordingly.<sup>55</sup>

Italian Abbé Toderini who lived in Istanbul between 1781-1786 gives information about the teaching method of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye in a chapter of his famous book *De La Littérature des Turcs*.<sup>56</sup> He says that Turkish teachers taught courses in general pathology and surgery in Süleymaniye. It was possible, for those who wished, to follow the courses, beside Turkish students. There was not any obstacle for Franks to follow the courses. For instance, Ubezio, who was a medical scholar, said that he followed the courses many times as a listener. The method that was followed was reading medical books, researching diseases and medicines through clinical observations and benefitting from physicians' experience in curing the illnesses.

The textbooks taught in the medical *medrese* are mentioned generally in the deed and other sources. Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa (d. 1636) in his *Târîh* says that "*tabîb danişmendleri kütüb-i tıbdan ol medresede ders okurlar*".<sup>57</sup> But he does not mention the names of the textbooks. On the other hand, judging from the quotation "*dekâyik-i ilm-i mîzâna ârif ve külliyât ü ciüz'ıyyât-ı ilm-i ebdân...*" found in the deed it is understood that courses on logic (*ilm-i mîzân*) and medicine (*ilm-i ebdân*) were taught in the medical *medrese*.

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<sup>52</sup> "Muhassılinden tullâb-ı ilim...âdet-i kadîme üzre kütüb-i mu'tebere ne vechile okına geldiye gerü ol vech üzre okıyalar." (*Kânûn-i Örfiye-i Osmânî*, 48a); "*Müderrişin... sâlif-i eyyâm ve sevâbık-ı avâmdan her pâyede okına gelen kitapları tâlib-i ilimlere temâm-ı müstevfâ okutup*" (*Kânûnnâme-i Sultan Süleyman Han*, Veliyyüddin Ef. Ktp. nr.1970, 122b).

<sup>53</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, TTK., Ankara 1975, p. 642; "Haftanın dört gününde müderisler beşer ders vermek şart eylemiştir". Küçük Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa, *Tarih*, Topkapı Sarayı Emanet Hazinesi, nr. 1434, 345b.

<sup>54</sup> "Bir *müderriş-i bâri*' tayin oluna. Tâ ki, zümre-i şerîfe-i *müderrişin-i fihâm* beyninde terk ü tatil, mutad-ı eslaf-ı kirâm olan eyyâmın gayrında külle yevmin medresesine varub..." (*Fatih Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri*, p. 263).

<sup>55</sup> Baltacı, p. 43.

<sup>56</sup> Abbé G.B. Toderini, *De la Littérature des Turcs*, trans., M. Abbé de Courmand, v. I, Paris 1789. p. 125.

<sup>57</sup> Küçük Hasan Bey-zade Ahmed Paşa, vrk. 345a.

The term *ilm-i mîzân* refers to an important point. Rosenthal, takes up and examines it under the title “logics, the science of knowledge” and qualifies it as “*ilm al-mizan*”<sup>58</sup> with the terminology he took from Taşköprülüzade’s (1495-1561) classification. Rosenthal, makes a connection between “*ilm al-mizan*” and “*i’yar al-muaddil*” (equalizing standard by which objects of knowledge are scaled). Therefore we can conclude that the quotation “*dekâyik-i ilm-i mîzâna ârif ve külliyyât ü cüz’iyyât-ı ilm-i ebdân...*” refers to people who know the details of logic.<sup>59</sup>

In the deed, following qualities regarding *müderris* give clues about education in the medical *medrese*: “*Kânûn-i hükemâ-yi sâbıkada müceze ve yâdigâr olan kavâidi tahsîl bâbında ikdâm ve mühimmât-ı şifâda müntahab ü sedîd olan zavâbıtı teshîl emrinde ihtimâm edüp derslerine müdâvim ve sâyir mâ-lezîmede mülâzim olıcak*”. On the other hand, students are called as *talib-i hikmet* and mentioned to study *fenn-i hikmet*.

In above-mentioned quotation, there are some terms to be examined carefully. First of all, let’s take the statement “*kânûn-i hükemâ-yi sâbıkada müceze ve yâdigâr olan kavâidi tahsîl bâbında ikdâm ...*” into consideration. Here *kanûn-ı hükemâ-yi sâbika* is most likely intended to mean the medical methods and rules determined and established by famous physicians led especially by Galen and Ibn Sina. The word “*hükemâ*”, plural form of “*hakim*” or “*hekim*”, goes beyond the meaning of “*tabip*” (doctor). It is a word used to describe the physicians of the classical period, who are both a scholar (*âlim*) and a philosopher (*filozof*).<sup>60</sup> To exemplify, Ibn Sina, a well-known physician, was also famous for his book *Şifa* which was a philosophy book rather than a medical one. In this regard he can be considered to be a “*hakim*”. However, above-mentioned “*müceze ve yâdigâr olan kavâid*” means medical rules and methods whose soundness had been proven by former physicians and whose application had come to be a tradition up to that time. And the word *tahsil* (study) clearly shows that medical education and teaching were the aim of the *medrese*. Yet the statement does not end with the word *tahsil* (study), but goes on as *tahsil babında ikdam*. Here the word *ikdam* means advancing through perseverance (*sebat*), determination and hard-work. But if the word *ikdam* meaning “to advance” is considered to be limited by the statement “*Kânûn-i hükemâ-yi sâbıkada müceze ve yâdigâr olan kavâid*”, it is understood that the word *ikdam* means advancing

<sup>58</sup> Taşköprülüzade, *Miftah es-Saade*, v. I, p. 243.

<sup>59</sup> Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands 1970, p. 204.

<sup>60</sup> Toderini, p. 119.

to exceed the stages within the framework of this limited area. In other words what is intended is a study of the works and the methods of former physicians.

In the following part of the deed teaching method is held:

“...ve mühimmât-ı şifâda müntahab ü sedîd olan zavâbıtı teshîl emrinde ihtimâm edüp derslerine müdâvim ve sâyir mâ-lezimedede mülâzım olıcak...” Here requirements for healing and selected true rules and methods are required of the *müdderris* to teach students in an easy way.

Besides, a document dated 1182/1768 also gives useful information about the medical education in the medical *medrese*. It goes on as follows:

*Cerrâhîn-i hassadan Elhac Ebubekir Halife arzuhal sunup sefer vâki oldukta Ordu-yı Hümayûn asâkir-i İslâm için Cerrahbaşî istihdam olunmak bâbında istidây-ı inâyet, sâhib-i arzuhal, Cerrahbaşılığa şâyeste ve fenninde maharet ve hazâkati cümle cerrahîn indinde müsellemler olduğu takarrur eylediğinden maada Medrese-i Tibbiye-i Süleyman Han'da ilm-i teşrihe ittîlâ için derse hâzır ve hizmet-i mezbûreye şâyeste olduğunu Seretibbâ-i Hassa Ahmed Efendi ilâm etmekle ilâmı mucibince Ordu-yı Hümayun Cerrahbaşılığî mûmâileyhe tevcîh olunmak...*<sup>61</sup>

This document shows that taking anatomy (*teşrih*) lessons from the medical *medrese* was an important factor for the promotion and academic career of a palace surgeon (*hassa cerrahi*). It also indicates that the medical *medrese* offered a high level of education in the field of anatomy. Ünver states that the graduates of the medical *medrese* has a document showing their knowledge of anatomy.<sup>62</sup>

Regarding anatomy, there is another important document dated Zilhicce 1222/1807-1808 and having the signature of Hekimbaşı Abdülkadir Efendi. This document tells us about the transfer of some medical books and instruments from Üsküdar Kışlası to one of the rooms in the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye. Among these instruments and books there are one anatomy book written in a Western language, 24 medical books written in Western languages, two model human skeletons (*insan kadidi*), one microscope (*hurdebin*), one saw, one knife, various herbs (for preparing medicine), 3 *üstuç*, *kolan*, 3 *neşter mengenesi*.<sup>63</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> BOA, Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi, nr. 759.

<sup>62</sup> Ünver, *Tıp Tarihi Yıllığı II*, p. 22; “Süleymaniye darüşşifasında fenn-i teşrihi tahsil eden cerrahlardan biri hakkında” *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arşivi*, v. 5, no. 19-20, İstanbul 1942, pp. 37-38.

<sup>63</sup> Ünver, “Süleymaniye Külliyesi”, *VD*, II, pp. 205-206.

existence of these instruments and books gives us the impression that there might be clinical as well as theoretical observations on human cadaver. However, unfortunately, we are deprived of the knowledge indicating the time they began to be used and the aim they were used for. On the other hand this transfer may also show the attempts of the medical *medrese* to renew itself with respect to technical equipment.

As for the textbooks used in the medical education, we have only a list given to Hekimbaşı Molla Kasım from the Treasury (*İç Hazine*) in 983/1575 and later to İsa Çelebi in 988/1580. The list contains the names, writers, commentators and volume numbers of the books. There are 65 books composed of 66 volumes in the list. The list seems to contain the medical literature of the time. It is as follows:

| NAME of the BOOKS  | WRITERS   |
|--|---|
| Adâbu'd-Tabîb<br>Akraba'dîn Kûhûn  | İshak b. Ali er-Ruhavî<br>Not: Mezkur kitâb padişah hazretlerine teslim<br>(edilmiştir)<br>İbn Hümâm<br>İbn Nefis<br>İbn Nefis  |
| Cild-i Sâni min İbn Hümâm<br>Cüz'ü's-Sâlis min Şerhu'l- Kitâbu'r-Rabi min el-Kânûn<br>El-cüz'u'l-evvel min Şerhi'l-Kitâbu'l-Evvel min Kitabi'l-<br>Kânûn<br>El-Cüz'ü's-Sâni min Şerhi'l-Kitâbu'l-Evvel min el-Kânûn<br>El-Müfredat fi' -tüb<br>Esbâbu'l-Alâmât<br>Ettefih<br>Et-Tezkira fi'l-Hey'e<br>Kitâb fi'l-Et'ime<br>Kitâb Mâ lâ Yese'u't-Tabîb Cehlühü<br>Kitâb min İhtiyârâtî'l-Hâvî<br>Kitâb-ı Şerh-i Mu'cez<br>Kitâb-ı Şerhi'l-Kânûn fi't-Tıb<br>Kitâbu İbn Reşid<br>Kitâbu Künnâş<br>Kitâbu Şerh-i Teşrih<br>Kitâbu Teşrih Erbaa Makâlât<br>Kitâbu Umdetu'l-Eubbâ fi Ma'rifeti'd-Da' ve'd-Devâ<br>Kitâbu'l Mesihî fi'l-Muâlecât fi't-Tıb<br>Kitâbu'l-Câmiu'l-İftirâk ve'l-İttifâk li's-Sinâati'l-Devriya<br>Kitâbu'l-Filâha<br>Kitâbu'l-Hâvî li'l-Üstazi'l-allâme<br>Kitâbu'l-Hayâtu'l-Hayvân<br>Kitâbu'l-Kânûn-ı cild-i sâni<br>Kitâbu'l-Mağni<br>Kitâbu'l-Mağni<br>Kitâbu'l-Mansûri<br>Kitâbu'l-mehzeb fi sinâati'l-kuhl<br>Kitâbu'l-Mûzecz | İbn Nefis<br>İbn Baytar<br>Semerkandî<br>Zerkeşi<br>Nasîruddîn et-Tûsî<br><br>İbnü'l Kebîr<br><br>Nefisî<br>Yakub b. İshâk es- Sâmirî<br><br>Yuhanna b. Sezafyon?<br><br><br><br>Demûrî<br><br>İbni Hişam<br>İbn Baytar<br>Râzî |

|  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Kitābu'l-Müdāvātu'l-Emrâz  | Abdüsselam es-Sikilî               |
| Kitābu'l-Tasrîh bi'l-Meknûn fi Tefîhi'l-Kânûn                            |                                    |
| Kitābu'l-Urme fi'l-Cerrâh  | İbn el- Kîf                        |
| Kitābu'ş-Şâmil   | Surî                               |
| Kitābu'ş-Şeyhu'l-Allâme Muhyiddin  |                                    |
| Kitābu'ş-Şifa fi't-Tib   |                                    |
| Kitābu't-Tasrîr fi't-Tib   |                                    |
| Kitābu't-Te'sisu's-Sıhhati bi Şerhi'l-Iemhati                            |                                    |
| Kitābu't-Teâlim fi't-Tib   |                                    |
| Kitābu't-Temûm ve'l-Akrabadin  | Şeyhu'r-Reis Ebi Ali Hasan b. Sina |
| Kitābu't-Tezkira fi İlmi't-Tib   |                                    |
| Mecmû'un fihi cem'u'l-fevâyidi'l-müntehibe                               |                                    |
| Ravzatu'l-Itr  | Şirvânî                            |
| Şerhi Ürcûze   | İbn Sina                           |
| Şerhi Sedîdi Mücezz  | Sedîdüddîn el-Kazerûnî             |
| Şerhi'l-Karşiyî'l-Kânûn min Muâlecât                                     |                                    |
| Şerhu Fusûli Bukrat  | Üstad Muhammed b. Abdusselam       |
| Şerhu İlâkî  | Şeyh Muhammed b. Mahmudu'l-Amilî   |
| Şerhu Külliyyât-ı Kânûn  |                                    |
| Şerhu Külliyyâti'l-Kânûn fi't-Tib  |                                    |
| Şerhu Külliyyâti'l-Kânûn ile'n-nabz                                      | Şeyhu'r-Reis İsmail                |
| Şerhu'l-Fusûl  |                                    |
| Şerhu'l-Gurşeti li'l-Kânûn min evvelihî ilâ teşrihi'l-Ağzâ'i'l-Müfredede |                                    |
| Şerhu'l-Gurşeti'l-Kânûn min evveli'l-edviyeti ila ahir                   |                                    |
| Şerhu'l-Kânûn Ercuze Tib   | İbn Danyal                         |
| Şerhu'l-Karşi li'l-Kânûn min Emrâzi'l-Kebed ilâ Ağdiyeti'l-Müstehvilîn   |                                    |
| Şerhu'l-Karşi li'l-Kânûn min Emrâzi'r-Re's                               |                                    |
| Şerhu'l-Kitâb  | Kutbu'l-Misri                      |
| Şerhu'l-Kitâbu'l-Esbâbu'l-Alâmât   | Semerkandiyye                      |
| Şerhu'l-Kitâbu'l-İlâki   | Muzaffer b. Emir Hac               |
| Şerhu'l-Marazu'l-Vafid-i Bokrat  | İbn Nefis                          |
| Şifâu'l-Âlâm fi Tibbî Ehli'l-İslâm                                       | Cemâlüddîn es-Sürremeî             |
| Şifâu'l-Eskâm  | Hacı Paşa                          |
| Te'lifü Ebu'ş-Şükr min Mevâlid   |                                    |

Although it is difficult to suggest that these books were actually taught in the medical *medrese*, the closeness between the dates of the document (1575) and the foundation of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye (1556) as well as the hierarchical relation of appointment between the *hekimbaşı* and the *müderriş* of the medical *medrese* can well indicate that at least some of the books in the list must have been thought in the medical *medrese*. Şaban Şifâî, during his teaching in the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye wrote down a list of his students on some blank pages of the book *Mu'cez'ul Kanun*. Since in the list above we see some commentaries of this book, we can deduce that this book or at least its commentaries were taught in the *medrese*.

In the list we also see some titles about other fields such as semantics, *usul-i tefsir* (methodology of exegesis), *fikh* (Islamic jurisprudence), astronomy and agriculture. This means that medical administrators were expected to have knowledge of some other fields as well.

Some scholars have criticized the educational method and the machinery of the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye. Şehsüvaroğlu argues that despite its name “medical *medrese*”, the education offered there could not go beyond the boundaries of master-apprentice relations due to the fact that their diplomas were given by *müderriş* himself in the form of *icazet* (a document showing the competency of a student to teach the mentioned course as well as the source and the owner of the knowledge) rather than by school as modern diplomas.<sup>64</sup> Considering the time of the *medrese* Şehsüvaroğlu’s approach seems retrospective, because modern diplomas began to be given in modern times. But here our focus is on classical period and its extension. On the other hand, to compare the quality of classical *icazet* given by *müderriş* himself and that of modern diplomas given by school administration is also something in vain. It is difficult to claim one’s superiority over other, as they might well be good indicators for a good education in their times. What is important here is the professional competency that students have.

Şerafettin Yaltkaya, in his article issued in the journal *Hikmet*, draws attention to a different point and contends that if the medical *medrese* had not been operated in the same understanding as in the *ilmiyye* class and had been treated as a technical institution and tried hard to improve under the supervision of *hekimbaşı*, our physicians would have reached many great achievements thanks to their immense experiences and observations.<sup>65</sup>

Some other scholars such as Galip Ata<sup>66</sup> and Naşid Baylav<sup>67</sup> also criticize the medical *medrese* of not following the new developments in the West. On the other hand Osman Şevki, after complaining about scholars’ ignorance and negligence of pre-Ottoman medicine and medical institutions, states that the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye is nothing new, but a kind of an auxiliary institution to Fatih *medreses*.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Şehsüvaroğlu, p. 23.

<sup>65</sup> Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, p. 146.

<sup>66</sup> Galip Ata, *Neuvième Congrès International d’Histoire de la Médecine*, Romania 10-18 Septembre 1932, pp. 112-117.

<sup>67</sup> Naşid Baylav, *Eczacılık Tarihi*, Istanbul 1698, p. 133.

<sup>68</sup> Uludağ, p. 111.

## Conclusion

Up to the present we have not come across any sound evidence yet to change our claim that the medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye is the first and unique medical *medrese* in the Ottoman State. The foundation of this *medrese* did not put an end to the tradition of classical medical education carried out in terms of master-apprentice relationships, as the essence of the Islamic educational system still depended largely upon this method. This *medrese* offered medical education for about three centuries. Here the medical books of former philosopher-doctors were used as textbooks. Instruction in general pathology and anatomy was given both in theory and practice. The *medrese* building was used for theoretical education, and the hospital for practice. Anatomy lessons were taught using the models of human skeletons. In addition, medical books were read, and clinical observations and experiments on medical drugs and some diseases were carried out under the guidance of Ottoman teachers. The külliye, including the medical school, had large *waqf* revenues to support its operation. It can be said that the medical *medrese* had a vivid structure characterized by appointments and removals. The *medrese* functioned as an infrastructure institution providing doctors for almost all the medical institutions in Istanbul and mostly for Fatih Hospital. As a result, with its graduates, it created its own alternative. Among the founders of the modern medical school in 1827 were several graduates of the traditional medical *medrese* of Süleymaniye such as Osman Saib Efendi, Abdulhak Molla and Mustafa Behçet Efendi. Their role in the transformation of the modern medical school shows how the classical *medrese* education turned out to be a driving force in the process of modernization.

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