

THE PROMINENT HEALTH INSTITUTIONS (DARÜ'Ş-ŞİFAS) and
THEIR FUNCTIONS IN ANATOLIA FROM THE TURKIC
CONQUEST THROUGH the OTTOMAN ERA

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara

September 2013

To my dearest mother Suna Yılmaz

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Science

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ABSTRACT

THE PROMINENT HEALTH INSTITUTIONS (DARÜ'Ş-ŞİFAS) and THEIR FUNCTIONS IN ANATOLIA FROM THE TURKIC CONQUEST THROUGH the OTTOMAN ERA

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Following the Turkic conquest of Anatolia by the end of the 11th century, some of the health institutes that were built are still extant. Almost nothing is known about their actual functions in the Pre-Ottoman era. However, at least for some of them, we encounter some information in the Ottoman documents. The oldest of these institutes is the *Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi* in Mardin which is said to be founded by Artukids in the first quarter of the 12th century. The second health institute following the bîmârhâne in Mardin is the one founded in Kayseri in the beginning of the 13th century by Selcukids. After them, many others appear to be erected in various cities during the remainder of 13th century. Some pioneer researches dealing with these institutions that were done in the 1940's with relatively inadequate material support, and the information quoted from these works continues to be referred to, without adding much to the existing knowledge. Herein, the existing information is re-evaluated while the Ottoman documents relating to these institutions are

investigated. This study is restricted to the four health institutes, which were the earliest ones chronologically. These are *Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi* in Mardin, *Gevher Nesibe Mâristan* in Kayseri, *Keykavus Darü'sıhhası* in Sivas and *Turan Melek Darü'ş-şifâsı* in Divriği. These were the first four health institutions, which were founded in Anatolia after the year 1071. Although the main objective of this study is to investigate the existence and the functions of these health institutes in the Ottoman era, the available information about the pre-Ottoman era is re-evaluated. Owing to the integrity of the subject, the information about the other darü'ş-şifâs (Çankırı, Kastamonu, Tokat, Konya and Amasya) was summarized using the secondary sources.

Keywords: Bîmârhâne, Bîmâristan, Darü'ş-şifâ, Darü's-sıha, Hospital, Selcukid, Eminüddin, Gevher Nesibe.

ÖZET

ANADOLU’NUN FETHİNDEN OSMANLI DÖNEMİNE ANADOLU’DA KURULMUŞ OLAN ÖNDE GELEN SAĞLIK KURULUŞLARI (DÂRÜ’Ş-ŞİFÂLAR)

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Anadolu’nun 11. Yüzyılda Türkler tarafından fethini takiben kurulmuş olan sağlık kurumlarından bazıları hala bütün görkemleri ile ayaktaadır. Ancak, bunların Osmanlı dönemi öncesindeki işlevlerine ilişkin elimizde herhangi bir bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Bununla birlikte bu kurumların bazıları ile ilgili bilgilere Osman arşivlerinde rastlıyoruz. Bu kurumların en eskisi 12. Yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Mardinde Artuklular tarafından kurulduğu kabul edilen Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesidir. Mardindeki Bîmârhâneyi takiben kurulmuş olan ikinci sağlık kurumu 13. Yüzyıl başlarında Kayseride Anadolu Selçukluları tarafından kurulmuştur. Bunu takip eden dönemde 13. Yüzyılda çok sayıda sağlık kurumu inşa edilmiştir. Bu sağlık kurumlarına ilişkin, 1940’lı yıllarda yeterince sağlam verilere dayanmamakla birlikte öncü diyebileceğimiz bazı araştırmalar yapılmış, bu çalışmalardan elde edilmiş olan

bilgiler, üzerine fazla bir şey eklenmeden sonraki yıllarda bol miktarda alıntılanmıştır. Bu çalışmada eldeki mevcut bilgiler eleştirel bir gözle yeniden değerlendirmeye tabi tutulmuş, ek olarak konu ile ilgili Osmanlı belgeleri araştırılmıştır. Çalışma Anadolu'da 1071 sonrası kurulan ilk dört sağlık kurumu ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Bunlar: Mardindeki Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi, Kayserideki Gevher Nesibe Mâristanı, Sivastaki Keykavus Darü's-sıhası ve Divriğideki Turan Melek Darü'ş-şifâsıdır. Çalışmanın ana hedefi bu kurumların Osmanlı dönemindeki faaliyetleri olmakla birlikte Osmanlı öncesi döneme ait mevcut bilgiler de gözden geçirilmiştir. Konu bütünlüğünü bozmamak adına Selçuklu döneminde kurulan diğer sağlık kurumlarına ait bilgiler ikincil kaynakların yardımı ile özetlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bîmârhâne, Bîmâristan, Darü'ş-şifâ, Darü's-sıha, Selçuklu, Eminüddin, Gevher Nesibe.

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University, Prof. Dr. Serdar Gültan and Prof. Dr. Zeki Can from Ankara University, Prof. Dr. İlyas Dökmetaş, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Şencan, Prof. Dr. Gökhan Köylüoğlu, Prof. Dr. Ali Rıza Erçöçen, Prof. Dr. Faruk Kocacık, Prof. Dr. Ayhan Öztürk, Doç. Dr. Fatih Dervişoğlu, Doç. Dr. Nazım Gümüş from Sivas Cumhuriyet University, they all made considerable efforts for providing the favorable conditions for my MA study. My dear brother Tamer Yılmaz, my dear friends Nazım Arda Çağdaş and Prof. Dr. Ece Kaptanoğlu were so close to me in my MA work that, they had to learn almost all the details almost every detail relating to my work. I learned so much from the some people outside the University such as Ekrem Sırma, Meryem Beyazal and Müjgan Üçer of Sivas, who wrote extensively on History of Medicine and Folklore.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. MKT. MHM: Sadaret, Mühimme Kalem Evrakı

BEO: Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

C.EV: Cevdet Evkaf Tasnifi

C. SH: Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi

C.MF: Cevdet Maarif Tasnifi

EV.d: Evkaf defterleri

EV.MH: Evkaf Muhasebe

EV.MKT: Evkaf Mektubi Kalemi

İE.SH: İbnülemin Sıhhiye tasnifi

PMOA: Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive

TT: Tapu Tahrir

MAD: Maliyeden müdevver

VGM: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü

VGMA: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi

KKA: Kuyûd-ı Kadime Arşivi

TKGM: Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

After the Turkic conquest of Anatolia we know that a number of health institutes were established in various cities during the 12th and 13th centuries. I would like to focus on the four health institutions which may be considered as the oldest ones. The first one is said to be built in the beginning of 12th century by Artukids in Mardin. The second and third were built in Kayseri and Sivas in the beginning of 13th century under Selcukids. The fourth one is built by the daughter of a Mengücek bey in the first half of the 13th century. We still have the ruins of the monuments in Kayseri and Sivas, which has been restored recently. The monument in Divriği is still extant. We do not have any remnants from Mardin, but the building of the Bîmârhâne, was seen by many travellers in the 19th century. These health institutes appear to have been called by various names such as *mâristan*, *bîmâristan*, *bîmârhâne*, *tmârhâne*, *darü's-siha* and *darü'ş-şifâ*. *Bîmâr* means sick in Persian. The terms *bîmârhâne* and *bîmâristân* means place of sick

person, hospital and lunatic asylum.¹ The term *mâristan* is considered as a deformed form of *bîmâristân*² Additionally *mâr* means snake in Persian and snake is an ancient symbol of medicine.³ *Dâr* means house in Arabic⁴ and the terms *darü 'ş-şifâ* and *darussîha* means house of health.⁵ *Timâr* means care in Persian and *timârhâne* means either a madhouse or a hospital.⁶ We encounter these names in various documents and it seems that these terms were used interchangeably.

In this study the first step was to revise all the available information about the aforementioned health institutions, which had been built during the Anatolian Selcukid period. Inscriptions and waqf endowment deeds are evaluated on the basis of availability as well as narratives about these institutes and some travel-books of various voyagers were investigated. Court register documents, imperial edicts, waqf documents, which has been published up to date are analyzed. Besides analyzing the first four health institutions, for the integrity of the subject, the information about the other health institutes, which were built in the Pre-Ottoman period, was summarized.

¹ *Turkish and English Lexicon*, editor, Sir James W. Redhouse, İstanbul: Çağrı yayınları, 2011, 4th edition, p. 425.

² *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat*, editör, Ferit Develioglu, Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi, 23rd edition, 2006, p. 581.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

⁴ *Turkish and English Lexicon*, editor, Sir James W. Redhouse, p. 880.

⁵ *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat*, editör, Ferit Develioglu, p. 168.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1110.

CHAPTER II

SOME THEORIES ABOUT MEDICAL INSTITUTES IN THE ANATOLIAN SELCUKID PERIOD

Dealing with the details of the medicine in the Anatolian Selcukid period is beyond the scope of this study, however, it is helpful to address some of the leading studies on this subject before going into the details of medical institutions of that period. The first and still the most important study about medicine in the Anatolian Selcukid period belongs to Süheyl Ünver which was published in 1940.⁷ In the preface of this book the author states that the task of writing a history of Selcukid medicine was given to him by Turkish Historical Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu) in 1932, and he was able to finish this task in the same year. Following an initial edition that was published in a small quantity, a revision is decided in the light of the discussions and criticisms that emerged. It is the second edition which was published in 1940.⁸ In the beginning of this edition the author states that it was quite a difficult task because of a lack of basic background information of that era. He admitted that it was only an initial to write down a monography about Selcukid

⁷ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1940.

⁸ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. XIII.

Medicine, so that it could be developed by further studies.⁹ Following this short preface, two scholars, Adnan Adıvar and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç comments on this work and state that it is only a preliminary study that should be improved.¹⁰ Ünver's study comprises all of the Selcukid period as well as the Anatolian counterpart and he draws a brilliant picture of the period in terms of medical sciences in which a number of hospitals equipped with educational facilities and able physicians. According to Ünver, the Ottoman medicine is a continuation of this tradition and the medical institutions founded in this period continued to function as hospitals.¹¹ Adnan Adıvar (1943), another outstanding scholar prefers not to deal with this issue and begins his study with the early times of the Ottoman State while making a statement that it is difficult to make interpretations about the scientific climate of a relatively long time period utilizing very limited amount of brief inscriptions, tombstones or ruins of the medical institutions.¹² Osman Sevki Uludağ, also opts to state that there were very few documents to make definitive conclusions about the period.¹³ Bedii Şehsuvaroğlu mentions the medical institutions briefly and claims that these institutions kept on giving healthcare into the Ottoman times.¹⁴ Recently, Ali Haydar Bayat, in his published bibliography on the medical institutions of the Selcukid period in Anatolia and concentrates on many issues which he thought to be problematic.¹⁵ He remarks that he is suspicious about the existence of a medical school in the Gevher Nesibe Medrese of Kayseri because of a lack of documents,

⁹ Süheyl Ünver, p. XIV.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. XV-XVII.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

¹² A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970, p.12.

¹³ Osman Şevki Uludağ, *Osmanlılar Devrinde Türk Hekimliği*, ed. Esin Kahya, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010, p.1; *Beşbuçuk Asırlık Türk Tababeti Tarihi*, Ed. İter Uzel, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991, pp. 20-25.

¹⁴ Bedii N. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Anadolu'da Dokuz Asırlık Türk Tıp Tarihi*, İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1957, p. 2.

¹⁵ Ali Haydar Bayat, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Darü's-şifâları Üzerine Toplu Değerlendirme", *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, no.11, eds. H. Hatemi, A. Kazancıgil, 2002, pp. 25-44.

although this fact has been generally accepted among the scholars. He also states that he is not sure about the existence of the so-called pipe drains within the walls of some medical institutions, which enable the heating of these buildings with hot water. Although much speculation is evident about the functions of the Selcukid medical institutions and their activities in the Ottoman period, a comprehensive study is yet to be performed on the issue. In the following section I will attempt to address the four prominent medical institutions founded in the Anatolian Selcukid period based on the existing data about them. Then, I will try to trace their existence in the Ottoman documents till the end of the empire. While doing this, I will refer to the study of Ünver, *Selçuklu Tababeti*, frequently; because this study appears to have been referred many times by subsequent authors generally without referring the primary sources.

CHAPTER III

MEDICAL INSTITUTES IN ANATOLIA FROM THE TURKIC CONQUEST THROUGH the OTTOMAN PERIOD

3.1 Bîmârhâne of Eminüddin in Mardin

Artukid Period

Ünver refers to two narratives in which he claims to provide information about this bîmârhâne.¹⁶ First is the narrative of Katip Ferdi, written in 1537 titled *Mardin Artuklu Emirleri Tarihi*¹⁷. The narrative is about the lives of the Emirs of the Artukid Principality, and is discovered by Ali Emiri during a visit to Mardin in 1875. The second source is the *Ümmü'l-İber* written by Abdüsselam bin Ömer el-Mardini (1789-1843) in Arabic narrating the world history from the beginning.¹⁸ The last section of the book is about Mardin, translated into Turkish recently by Hüseyin Haşimi Güneş. Ünver basically used these two sources, but he mentioned a lot that can not be concluded from these sources. Referring to Abdüsselam efendi

¹⁶ Süheyl Ünver, Selcuk Tababeti, p. 16.

¹⁷ Katip Ferdi: *Mardin Artuklu Melikleri Tarihi*, eds. Ali Emiri, İbrahim Özcoşar, Hüseyin H. Güneş, İstanbul: Mardin İhtisas Kütüphânesi, 2006.

¹⁸ Abdüsselam Efendi'nin Mardin Tarihi, transl.. Hüseyin Haşimi Güneş, İstanbul, Mardin İhtisas Kütüphânesi, 2007, p.1.

Ünver states that construction of a campus containing mosque, bath, madrasah and hospital was begun by Eminüddin, brother of Necmeddin İlgazi, founder of the Artuklu Principality; however this complex appears to be completed by Necmeddin İlgazi upon death of his brother.¹⁹ Surprisingly, there is no mention of a hospital in this chronical. The word “Bîmâristan” appears only twice in the text, but it does not points out a health institute. First mention is as the name of a water source, which was believed to have some healing features²⁰, and second is the name of the mosque of Eminüddin. Abdüsselam Efendi tells that while Necmeddin was erecting a mosque and a madrasah, his brother was erecting another madrasah just beside them. However, it appears that Eminüddin had died before the completion and his brother Necmeddin took over the task of finishing it. Abdüsselam efendi adds that the mosque of Eminüddin was known as bîmâristan.²¹ Although bîmâristan means health institution or hospital literally, there is no mention of them in the text, interestingly this word is used here in a very different context. There is an even more problematic issue in the Ünver’s handling of the second source. He remarks that Katip Ferdi mentions the hospital was ruined by 1537; but, madrasah, mosque and bath were in good condition.²² However, there is no mention about a health institution in the original text of Katip Ferdi. Ali Emiri who edited the text of Katip Ferdi introduced some footnotes to the original text and Ali Emiri himself stated that the hospital was ruined despite the other elements of the campus were in good condition, hence, these are not the words of Katip Ferdi.²³ Briefly, neither Katip Ferdi, nor Abdüsselam Efendi mentioned about a health institution. Katip Ferdi did

¹⁹ Süheyl Ünver, p. 16.

²⁰ Abdüsselam Efendi’nin Mardin Tarihi, p. 5.

²¹ Abdüsselam Efendi’nin Mardin Tarihi, p. 44.

²² Süheyl Ünver: Selçuk Tababeti, p. 17.

²³ Katip Ferdi: *Mardin Artuklu Melikleri Tarihi*, pp. 8-9.

not even used the word Bîmârîstan or Mârîstan-Ali Emiri, the editor used- and Abdüsselam Efendi did not used the word Bîmârîstan in the context of a health institute or an hospital. Also nothing was ruined at 1537, but in 1875 a building which Ali Emiri described as a hospital. Ünver also states that the hospital gained much popularity that a number patient came even from Musul and they made the hospital crowded but he did not give any reference to this information.

None of the travel books written by travellers who visited Mardin mentioned Eminüddin bîmârhânesi; however, one of them, Josaphat Barbaro, a Venetian merchant and envoy who visited Mardin in 1474 while going to Uzun Hasan, the Akkoyunlu Sultan, mentioned a hospital in which he stayed for a couple of days.²⁴ This place was a zaviye built by Cihangir bey, the brother of Uzun Hasan and Barbaro wrote that food was given to the sick people and valuable carpets were given to the distinguished guests. This important observation gives us the information that the care of ill was not confined to certain institutes.

It is obvious that we do not have a clear mention of a hospital in the documents analyzed above, however this does not mean that a health institute in Mardin did not exist; we knew that there was a health institute there, because of the existence of many Ottoman documents referring to it.

Ottoman Period

Although we do not have a concrete document about Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi in the pre-Ottoman period, we have various Ottoman documents beginning by the 16th century. Albeit, Ali Emiri gave the information that

²⁴ Josaphat Barbaro, *Anadolu'ya ve İran'a Seyahat*, translation and edition, Tufan Gündüz, Yeditepe Yayinevi, İstanbul, second edition, 2009, p.53.

bîmârhâne had been built by Eminüddin, the brother Artukid Emir Necmeddin İlğazi, the expression “Şeyh” is a little bit confusing. Is it a simply name similarity, or was Şeyh Eminüddin the same person as Eminudddin the brother of Necmeddin İlğazi? We know that some of military dynasty members enter into tariqah orders because of their interests in Sufism, but it is not usual for them to be called as “Şeyh” a title, which refers to an important degree in tariqah order.

In this research, I tried to investigate the function of the Bîmâristan using Tahrir Registers, Waqf documents including Kadı court registers and other archival documents. Some of the archival documents we used, were also used by Ünver previously, and the ones mentioned by him were specified in the text. Eleven of the Kadı Court Registers which were published either as MA thesis or within the project “Mardin İhtisas Kütüphânesi”, and 8 defters which were not published previously were investigated: the total number being 19.²⁵ Especially, almost all of the early Court registers of Mardin were chosen. During this research, many records related to Eminüddin Bîmâristan was seen, and majority of them were about the appointment of staff other than health issues with only a few of them were about physicians (tabîb). A record in a Kadı Register defter with the number 195 contained important information about the budget of the institution in 1762 also mentioned in detail below.

For the ease of classification of documents and following the chronologic order, it may be useful to divide the topic under centuries.

²⁵ Şeriye Sicileri (court Registers) published as MA thesis and the ones which was published within the Project “Mardin İhtisas Kutuphânesi”; 179 (1891-1893), 183 (1889-1891), 193 (1865-1867), 194 (1863-64), 195 (1760-1766), 201 (1844-1846), 208 (1896-1897), 235 (1858-1860), 242 (1841-1844), 248(1689-1690; 1727,1729, 1746, 1747, 1588), 252 (1725-1728; 1747-1748). Unpublished Court Registers; 203 (1722-1744), 227 (1751-1854), 237 (1706-1861), 241 (1774-1782) , 247 (1756-1760), 251 (1714-1718), 259 (1598-1601), 264 (1688-1689).

16th Century

The majority of the information about the Eminüddin Bîmâristan in the 16th century comes from the Tahrir Registers. First Ottoman documents referring to Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi belonged to 16th century and the earliest records were Tahrir Registers belonging to the time period shortly after the conquest of Mardin and its surrounding environments. It was an Ottoman tradition to record the conquered territories for tax collecting purposes and military organization. The tahrir register of Mardin and its surroundings was completed in 1518 and this defter was recorded as MAD 100 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in the section of “Maliyeden Müdevver”.²⁶ In the leaf number 15 of this defter, the expression “Mahsulât-ı Evkâf-ı Bîmâristan Vâkıf Şeyh Eminüddin” was evident and this was the oldest document related to this institution, as far as we know.²⁷ This defter was reserved only to waqfs (charity institutions) and to our chance another detailed tahrir defter which belongs to same time period was available and this defter also contains information about Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmâristan.²⁸ According to these records, the annual income of the Bîmâristan was 10.000 akce from the Turkish bath rent, 260 akce from the rent of 5 stores, 240 akce from the rent of a garden, 2000 akce from malikane income of the village of Amude, and 5500 akce from the village of Zevenc (?) being 18.000 akces in total.²⁹ Expenditures of the Eminüddin Waqf were a little bit confusing. A daily expenditure of 50 akces seemed to be reserved with the expression “Cihet-i kazâ-i vilâyet-i Mardin ber-mûceb-i aded-i

²⁶ Alpay Bizbirlik, *16. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Diyarbekir Beylerbeyliğinde Vakıflar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002, p.7.

²⁷ BOA MAD., no. 100, p. 15.

²⁸ BOA TT 64, p. 283.

²⁹ BOA, MAD., no.100, p. 15.

hâne”.³⁰ This expression may be interpreted as the income of the waqf had been reserved for the wage of the Kadı of Mardin. However, there was another item in the expenditure indicating an additional 18.000 akçes annually or 50 akçes daily, without providing any details. Nothing was mentioned about the content of this expense. Finally, the sum of these two expenditure items was expressed as 100 akces Daily. This is confusing because the expenditure of the waqf obviously doubles the income. This inequality needs to be interpreted. According to my interpretation, the income of the waqf was reserved for the wage of Kadı of Mardin and the second item was the expenditure of longstanding functions of the waqf, which has been recorded for implication of the situation for possible prospective arrangements. In fact, this interpretation was partly verified in the other tahrir record, which belongs to the same date. This is a more detailed register and in this register the Eminüddin Bîmâristan appears among the timars of Kadı of Mardin.³¹ In this register the village of Zevenc (?) was recorded in detail with an annual income of 5500 akçes and additionally, all the income items of Eminüddin Bîmâristan including the malikane of the Village of Amude were written and the expression “ be cihet-i kazâ ilhâk şude” basically means that this income had been seized by Kadı of Mardin.³² The same peculiarity as the previous document was evident in this record; the income was recorded as 18,000 akces annually and 50 akces Daily, and the wage of Kadı was also recorded as 50 akces, then the total is written as 100 akces daily that is to say the writer of the defter add the income and expenditure. It is pretty difficult to make a comment on this, perhaps it might be a result of a mistake. Regardless of what the actual meaning of this record, it is

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ BOA, TT 64, p. 283.

³² Ibid.

obvious that all the income of the bîmârîstan was spared for Kadî's wage, probably leaving the waqf functionless. A second document, which may prove this opinion, is an Ottoman official dating to 1522. This document was mentioned by Ünver without giving a reference.³³ However; the original document was introduced by Muallim M. Cevdet, who retained it in his own archive.³⁴ This document mentions a müderris named Ahmed of another madrasah -Kasım Bey medresesi- who was taking a part of his wage from the waqf of Mardin Timarhânesi. Ahmed's daily income was 90 akces and he was taking 40 akces of his wage from Eminüddin Bîmârîstan. We understand from this document that this part has begun to be retained by the waqf for unknown reasons and the missing 40 akçes of müderris Ahmed had been obtained from somewhere else. So, four years after the tahrir register, we see that a major amount of the income of Eminüddin Bîmârîstan seems to be spared for a teacher in another madrasah.³⁵ It is possible to speculate that the waqf was functionless at that date. However, a tahrir register, which belongs to year 1523 demonstrates a completely different scene³⁶. In this register the name of the institution was stated as Bîmârîstan and its annual income was recorded as 15971 akces. This income came from the revenues of 7 shops, a bathhouse, 2 orchards and the quarter of the grain tax of a village. Daily expenditure was 41 akces and the details of this expenditure were as follows: tevliyet 4, nezaret 1.5, kitabet 1, imamet ve muezzin 2, ferraş 2.5, rakabe 5, darü'ş-şifâ 5, eşrîbe-i bîmâri 20.³⁷ In fact, this is the first mention of a health institution in this charity organization, and the daily expenditure for darussifa probably corresponds to the daily income of a physician as

³³ Süheyl Ünver, pp. 18-19.

³⁴ Osman Ergin, *Muallim M. Cevdet'in Hayatı Eserleri ve Kütüphânesi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2005, p. 666.

³⁵ Osman Ergin, *Muallim M. Cevdet'in Hayatı Eserleri ve Kütüphânesi*, p. 666.

³⁶ BOA TT 998, p.30.

³⁷ Ibid.

we will see later in various documents. It was a relatively low fee when compared with the income of an instructor in the wealthiest madrasah of Mardin, the Kasımiye Madrasah who earned 90 akces daily.³⁸ The term eşrîbe-i bîmâri probably means the drugs which were prepared in the Bîmârîstan and the expenditure about it -20 akces daily- constitutes nearly half of all the expenditures.³⁹ According to this register we encounter a health institute/hospital with a physician working in it, and there was also a drug production. In the following register in 1540, the expenditure items were same as the 1523's register. The total daily expenditure was 41 akces, the expression "cihet-i darü'ş-şifâ" changed to "cihet-i hekim" with a daily wage of 5 akces, and eşrîbe-i bîmâri 20 akces daily.⁴⁰ In another page of 1540 tahrir register, we encounter the name of a physician who was working in the darü'ş-şifâ.⁴¹ He was Vehib b Hekim and was inhabited in the Babü'l Hammara district in Mardin. There were some changes in the incomes of the Waqf in this register. The income of the village of Zevenc (?) was not among the income items of the waqf, however there were new items such as new shops and orchards. The incomes of the bathhouse and the malikane of Amude village was present in the register. As a result there was a slight increase in the total income and it became 17.035 akces annually. The total expenditure was 14.260 akces and the waqf demonstrated a positive balance for 2275 akces.⁴² To our knowledge the last tahrir register of Mardin was performed in 1564. In this register the income increased to 21.613 akces⁴³, and the expenditure increased to 15.300 akces. Cihet-i hekim (5 akces daily) and Eşrîbe-i bîmâri (20

³⁸ Osman Ergin, p. 666.

³⁹ TT 998, p.30.

⁴⁰ BOA TT 200, p.798.

⁴¹ BOA, TT 200, s. 498; Nejat Göyünç, *16. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996, p.116.

⁴² TT 200, p.798.

⁴³ In the original document, sum of the income was written as 18.905 akces, however, bizbirlik noted that this calculation was wrong and the actual income was 21.613 akces. Bizbirlik: *16. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Diyarbekir Beylerbeyliğinde Vakıflar*, pp. 310-12; TKGM, KKA, TT 552, p. 59.

akces daily) were present, and additionally we encounter a second physician with a daily income of 2 akces and an architect as well.⁴⁴ It is possible to claim that, within 40 years the institution evolved from a functionless waqf to a hospital with two physicians working in. Additionally, approximately half of the income had been spared for drug production.

There are two more waqf defters which contain information about Eminüddin Bîmârîstan and they probably belonged to the last quarter of the 16th century. Unfortunately, they were not detailed as the tahrir registers, they include only the expenditures and the number of the staff working in the waqf. According to the first record, the annual expenditure was 13320 akces, and the daily expenditure was 37 akces with a staff number eleven.⁴⁵ In the second defter only daily and semi annual expenditure was noted, being 36.5 and 6570 akces respectively.⁴⁶ A slight decrease in the expenditure was evident, but we do not have adequate data to make a proper comment.

17th Century

Unfortunately, we do not have adequate sources to obtain detailed information about Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârîstan in the 17th and 18th centuries due to a lack of systematic tahrir registers. Especially the data available for the 17th century is very limited. The first document is a petition to Sultan in 1679, for the request of a vacant physician position which was presented by Ünver previously.⁴⁷ Ünver did not give the archival number of the document, he only remarked that he

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ BOA, MAD 4540, p. 9.

⁴⁶ BOA, MAD 7457, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Süheyl Ünver: *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 19.

found it in a special folder in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive. Owing to its importance the transcription of the document was given below:⁴⁸

S'âdetlü ve merhametlü Sultânım hazretleri sağ olsun.
Kâsaba-i Mardinde vâki' Şeyh Emînüddin Bimârhânesinde yevmî beş akçe vazîfeye ile tabîb olan Mehmed fevt olmağla tabâbeti bu d'aîlerine tevcîh ve mâliye tarafından berât-ı şerîf verilmekle merhametlü Sultânımdan mercûdur ki elimde olan mâliye berâtı mücebince tabâbet-i mezbûre bu d'aîlerine zabt etdirilüb divânî ve 'askerî tarafından m'uzırlar olur ise müdâhale olunmaya diyü Diyarbekir Beylerbeyi ve Kâdısına zabtı için emr-i âlî rica olunur. Bâkî fermân Sultânımıdır.
Ed-d'âi el fakîr Seyyid Hüseyin Müftîzâde
Evasıt-ı Receb sene (10)90

Despite the fact that over a hundred years have passed, the wage of the physician was still 5 akces. I will focus on this wage problem later. As seen above, Seyyid Hüseyin Müftizade requests an order from the Sultan to the Beylerbeyi and Kadı of Diyarbakır for securing his position of physician (tababet) which was granted to him after the death of Mehmet who was a physician with a daily income of 5 akces.⁴⁹ We understand that there were many people who were striving for this position. Actually, Seyyid Huseyin appears to have been rightfully anxious about the position because 9 years later (1688) in a Court Register record, we see that the same position being occupied by Ebubekir.⁵⁰ We learn from the same record that Seyyid Hüseyin submitted a petition for this unjust occupation to Sultan, and after an investigation in the Ruus-ı Humayun records in the Capital, this position was returned to him. The title of Seyyid Huseyin was “*mevlana*”, a title which was used for “*ilmiyye*” circle. We understand that a member of “*ilmiyye*” was appointed as physician as well and tabîbs also use this title. Thanks to the available records, we are able trace this event from another group of documents which were presented

⁴⁸ BOA, İE.SH. , 41.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mardin Kadı Court Register, No. 264, p. 82.

previously by Ünver.⁵¹ These documents were classified under the “*Cevdet Sıhhiye Tasnifi*” file with the number of 848 in the Ottoman Archive. They consisted of a petition and two berat. Although Ünver stated that majority of these documents were in a bad condition because of decay, most them were still legible. The earlier record dating 1103 Hicri (1691) is a berat for appointing Ebubekir for a clerk position in the waqf. Most probably, Ebubekir and Seyyid Hüseyin were both the members of the waqf family, which was generally referred to as “*evlâd-ı vâkıf*” in the documents. The second record’s date is 1106 H- (1695), and it is a berat. We understand from this document that Ebubekir submitted a petition for renewing his berat related to his physician position. So, it is reasonable to speculate that he had already occupied this position previously in some date between 1688 and 1695. The third document belongs to date 1123 Hicri (1712); and it was a petition by Ebubekir. He requests that the positions of physician and clerk, which he occupied be given to his son because of his senility.⁵²

In the end of the 17th century we encounter the name of the Waqf in a couple of records in Hurufat Defters, however information here are limited and superficial. In a Hurufat Defter which belongs to 1692-3, there are records about appointment of imam, şarabdar and architect for 2 two akces daily, and imam for one akce daily.⁵³

⁵¹ BOA, C.SH., 848.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ VGM, 1098, p.221.

18th Century

In 18th century we frequently encounter the existence of Eminüddin waqf in the Hurufat Defters. It is noteworthy that the waqf was called with various names in these records such as; “Şeyh Eminüddin Mescidi, Bîmâristan Mescidi, Tîmârhâne Mescidi, Şeyh Eminüddin Tîmârhânesi Camii, Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi”. In these records there were information about either the renewing of the berats of the staff or granting of the positions which became vacant because of the death of the staff. The positions mentioned in these records were mütevellî, ferraş, cabî, nazır, müezzîn, cüzhan, bevvab and bîmârhâneci. Among them bîmârhâneci worths mention, he had a daily income of one akçe daily. Because of the low daily income compared to a physician, this position may be an auxiliary health care provider.⁵⁴ In a record in 1784, the name of the waqf was recorded as Seyh Eminüddin Zaviyesi and there were records of many staff other than health care providers⁵⁵. In 1795 the waqf was recorded as Eminüddin Zaviyesi Evkafî and there was a mention of bîmârhâneci along with the other staff.⁵⁶ So, we see that bîmâristan was also used as a zaviye, a refuge for travellers and patients.

Another group of documents which belong to 1792 were about assignment of a physician and clerk to Eminüddin Bîmâristan.⁵⁷ These consisted of two petitions and they were mentioned by Ünver previously.⁵⁸ Upon death of Feyzullah Halife, the positions of physician and clerk which became vacant was granted to Esseyid Mehmed who was defined as “erbâb-ı ve evlâd-ı vâkîf”. The daily income

⁵⁴ VGM, 1157, pp.152-157.

⁵⁵ VGM, 1151, p.15.

⁵⁶ VGM, 562, p.54-58.

⁵⁷ BOA, C.SH. , 772, 1317.

⁵⁸ Süheyl Ünver: *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 19-20.

of the physician was 5 akces. In the margin notes on these petitions we find information about the previous appointment of Feyzullah halife. According to this information, Feyzullah halife was appointed physician upon cession of Seyid Mustafa in 1744.⁵⁹ The same Feyzullah Halife was appointed as clerk of the waqf in 1782 after El Hac Hüseyin Efendi. In the margin note of the same document we learn that Feyzullah Halife was the mütevelli (trustee, director) of the waqf as well. It is noteworthy that the physician position was generally granted either to the son of the previous physician mütevelli of the waqf, or to the mütevelli, or to someone who was a member of “evlâd-ı vâkîf”. The emphasis on the fact that Feyzullah Halife died without a children in both of the documents indicates that such duties were traditionally granted to the children of the staff; if children did not exist then the position was granted to the member of the family of “vâkîf” the founder of the waqf.

In a Court Register record in 1762, we encountered a record of the budget accounting of Eminüddin Bîmârîhânesi.⁶⁰ With this record, we seized the chance to glance at the accounts of Eminüddin Bîmârîstan after approximately 200 years. The income of the waqf was 180 kurus; 90 kurus from the Bîmârîstan bath and 90 kurus from the one fourth of the Amude village’s crop revenue. The staff of the Bîmârîstan was divided into two groups, the first one was “*vezâifü’l usûl*” and they consisted of müderris, imam, müezzin, türbedar, ferraş and nazır. The second group was named as “*vezâifü’l firû’ min rütbeti’l sâniye*”, the first and second physician were among this group. The daily income of the first physician was 2 akces; we could not specify the Daily income of the second physician because he also owned

⁵⁹ BOA, C.SH., 772, 1317.

⁶⁰ Mardin Kadi Court Register No. 195, p. 1.

the duty of cibayet as well, being the total daily income akces.⁶¹ There should be a fault here, because the daily income of the first physician was lower than previous ones. However, the important finding is the presence of two physicians in the institute towards the end of the 18th century.

19th Century

In a Waqf accounting defter, which belongs to Diyarbekir, I detected the records of Eminüddin waqf's staff more or less in continuity between 1742-1854 (1155-1271 H).⁶² Although this document is partly illegible, it is obvious that it was a traditional manner to grant the position to the child of the previous holder of the position. If this can not be achieved because of the lack of children of the holder of the position, the expression "bilâ veled fevt olmagla" (died without children) was added routinely. Positions mentioned in this document were müteveli, katip, imam, ferraş, müezzin and mimar; there was no mention of physician. In hurufat defters and accounting defters, there were only brief information of the positions and the wages, there no information about the income and the expenditure of the waqf which may give us a detailed information about the function of the institute.

In 19th century we know that Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi was annexed to the Evkaf Nezareti (Ministry of Waqfs) but we do not know the exact date. This means that Evkaf Nezareti which was founded in 1826, has the right to control the incomes and expenditures of the waqfs and has the authority of appointing people according to the rules of the original waqf endowment deed. Additionally, Evkaf Nezareti was taking a considerable amount of the income of the waqfs, herein one fifth of the

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² VGM, 491-2, Diyarbakır Muhasebe, p. 242.

total income. Ünver stated that the income of the waqf was considerably high at the time of annexation, but he did not give a reference for this comment.⁶³ In a Waqf Defter which belongs to 1850s, the revenues and expenditures of Eminüddin Waqf was recorded in detail (years between 1270-1278H, except the year 1276).⁶⁴ Indeed, the revenue sources of the waqf seems to be increased considerably. There were four villages, which their one fourth of their taxes was spared to Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi. One of these villages was Amude village, which we know from the documents in 16th century and tax revenue of three additional villages was added. The income of the public bath was also recorded. The revenue of the waqf increased considerably, but we do not know when this happened. Was the Waqf became wealthier before the annexation, or was it became wealthier after the annexation possibly incorporation of other waqf's revenues which ceased to be active? The income of the waqf in 1270 Hicri, was 1764 kurus from the villages and 60 kurus from the public bath being 1824 kurus in total.⁶⁵ It is interesting to see that the expenditure was very limited being only 626 kurus and there was a surplus of 1198 kurus. The details of the wages of staff in the budget of 1270H was given below:

- Vazife-i müfettişlik	15 kuruş (yevmiye 5 akçe)
- Vazife-i tevliyet	12 kuruş (yevmiye 4 akçe)
- Vazife-i muallim-i sıbyan	18 kuruş (yevmiye 6 akçe)
- Vazife-i ders-i 'âmm	45 kuruş (yevmiye 15 akçe)
- Vazife-i nezaret, hitabet ve imamet	25.5 kuruş (yevmiye 8.5 akçe)

According to this record, the sum of the wages of the staff was 115.5 kurus annually and 38.5 akces daily.⁶⁶ It is clear now, that this can not be the real wages

⁶³ Süheyl Ünver: *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ BOA, Ev.d. , 13011, pp. 34, 66, 94, 136, 137, 144, 154, 155.

⁶⁵ BOA, Ev.d., 13011, p. 66.

⁶⁶ BOA, Ev.d., 13011, p. 66.

and extra payment was given to the staff from the surplus. It is possible to conclude that the bîmârhâne function of the waqf was ceased by the date 1270 Hicri. In the record of the year 1275 Hicri, we encounter again a physician; but whose name is Ahmed bin Sehmus. He was appointed as clerk and physician with a daily income of 7 akces, but after this date the physician position disappears and we never see it again.⁶⁷ Although we see the name Ahmed in the following records in the same defter, the positions he held were katib and hatip.⁶⁸ They may be the same person but he was not holding the physician position anymore. After these years the health service function of the waqf seems to be ceased. The other expenditures of the waqf were as follows:

Expenditures for Mosque	207,5 kuruş
Treasury share	303 kuruş
For the Treasury share a margin note was added. ⁶⁹	

Masârifât-i sahîha-i vakf ba‘de'l-ihrac ber-muceb-i lâyiha-i seniyye binde iki yüz maâş-ı muharrer ve harc-ı muhâsebe	
	303 guruş
	242.5 maaş
	060.5 harc

Although in the expression, the Treasury share was stated as 200 in 1000, the amount was greater (30 %) in this account. Another noteworthy fact was the rent income of the Public Bath. The annual revenue of it was 10.000 akces in 1518, and after 350 years, its revenue was still 60 kuruş (equals to 60x120 akces being 7200 akces). This may either be due to a unserviceable bath, or the revenue intentionally written lower. For five years the revenue from bath unchanged for seven years. However, the revenues from villages increased considerably during the

⁶⁷ BOA, Ev.d., 13011, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁸ BOA, Ev.d., 17171, p. 6; Ev.d., 17509, p. 7.

⁶⁹ BOA, Ev.d. , 13011, p. 66.

same period. The revenue of Amude village was 934 kurus in 1270 H, 1509 kurus in 1273 H, and 3894 kurus in 1275 H. In other words there was a four fold increase in five years. There was also three to four fold increase of revenue in the other villages. In 1275 Hicri we learn that the local Mardin assembly (Mardin Meclisi) requested a *memleket tabibi* from the Mekteb-i Tibbiye (Medical school) and Prime Ministry (Sadaret) approved this request provided that the salary of the physician be paid by the public.⁷⁰ In these years, we know that there were physicians called “*memleket tabibi*” who were appointed by the central government in order to deal with the health issues of the public.⁷¹ In the years 1277 and 1278 H, the most striking difference in the revenues of the waqf was the fact that three of four villages did not make any contribution to the waqf and Amude village contributed only 100 kurus.⁷² We learn from the margin note that the territories were suffered from a severe grasshoppers attack. For this reason the revenues which were 6678.5 kurus in 1275, fell to 160 kurus, and there was a deficit of 350 kurus.

Ünver’s latest document, a berat with the tughra of Mahmut the second which belongs to 1825, and he said that he found this document in the archive and this was the latest document he achieved related to Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi.⁷³ This berat was about tevliyyet (administration) and Ünver did not give any reference about this document. We found information about the existence of Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi Vakfı in a Kadı Court record which belongs to 1892.⁷⁴ The record is about Fettullah Sami Efendi, the trustee of the Bîmârhâne Vakfı, asking for the

⁷⁰ BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 21, 36.

⁷¹ C, G, İlikan-Rasimoğlu, Taşrayı İyileştirmek: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Memleket Hekimleri, Lokman Hekim Journal, 2013, 3(1); pp. 1-6.

⁷² BOA, Ev.d., 17509, p. 7.

⁷³ Ünver, p. 19.

⁷⁴ 183 no’lu Mardin Şerhiye Sicili Belge Özetleri ve Mardin: Eds. A. Kankal, İ Özcoçar, H.H. Güneş, V. Gürhan. İstanbul:Mardin Tarihi İhtisas Kütüphânesi projesi, 2007, p. 77.

previous incomes of the Waqf (30.570 kurus, 20 para) during the period 1873-1888 from Hacı Ahmed Efendi who collected these revenues. It is possible to find a couple of records in the Kadi Court Registers about Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi, however, they were about appointments to the positions unrelated to health services.

20th Century

We have information about the existence of Eminüddin waqf in the first 20th century. There were some information about granting the positions of hitabet, imamet and muallim-i sibyan to certain people, in a waqf defter which belongs to dates 1908-1911.⁷⁵ Finally, in an official report, which has been prepared for the Evkaf-i Humayun Nezareti regarding the budget of the ministry in 1912, it was stated that the waqf has no staff or beneficiary and no income and expenditure was recorded.⁷⁶

General Overview

Despite the fact that Eminüddin Bîmâristan has been addressed as a Artukid institute, there were no documents about its existence in pre-Ottoman times. In the manuscripts of Abdusselam Efendi and Katip Ferdi there was no mention of a health institute in contrast to what Ünver stated. Abdusselam Efendi only mentioned about a madrasah and a mosque which Eminüddin erected. The first person who mentioned about a health institute (darü'ş-şifâ) with the name of Eminüddin in a chronicle was Ali Emiri in the beginning of 20th century, when he edited the manuscript of Katip Ferdi with his own footnotes. Nevertheless, the existence of a

⁷⁵ VGM, 159, Diyarbakır 12/1, 176-1426.

⁷⁶ The official record of Evkâf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti for the year 1327 H budget, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1327, p. 293.

bîmârîstan with the name of Eminüddin in the pre-Ottoman times was evident indirectly from the first tahrir registers of the Ottoman state. Presumably, the institute, which was in the form of a waqf, was not functioning between 1518 and 1522. With the tahrir, which was performed in 1523, we see the existence of a physician and a drug production activity in the Bîmârîstan. Moreover, in the tahrir of 1564 we encounter a second physician and the continuing drug production. This means that a functionless institute at the beginning of the Ottoman conquest became a health institution after the first quarter of the 16th century. Unfortunately, because of the lack of systematic tahrirs after 16th century in Mardin territory, we are unable to trace the activities of Eminüddin Bîmârîstan in 17th and 18th centuries. In a limited number of documents we see that there were physicians among the staff of the waqf, but we do not have an information about the drug production. In the 19th century, the waqf seems to be partially annexed by the Evkaf Nezareti, however, there was at least a document which mentions physician. After the mid 19th century we do not see a physician among the staff of the waqf. The existence of the waqf continued to the first quarter of the 20th century. It is evident that this institute functioned as a kind of health institute beginning from the 16th century. Probably, it should have functioned as a health institute in the pre-Ottoman period, but we do not have any tangible information about it. Its function might have continued to 1850s, and afterwards its medical function seems to be ceased. We do not have any information about the details of the healthcare provided by the Eminüddin Bîmârîstan as well, because we do not encounter any item in the budgets about presentation of meal (cihet-i taam). The documents, though not clear, reveal the existence of a hospital.

The unchanged wages of the waqf staff for centuries pose a problem that should be discussed. Although centuries has passed after 1523 the date of the first tahrir register in which the daily income of the physician was 5 akces, the income was still 5 akces. Is this a real wage, or is this a symbol of the hierarchy which we encounter in the ilmiye order? In another record which belongs to a later date, 1820, Seyyid Mehmed, a member of *hassa etibba* (court physician) had a daily income of 10 akces which was very low at that time.⁷⁷ Indeed, it is possible to see in most of the similar documents that daily incomes did not change in waqfs for centuries. Perhaps, the wages were unchanged because of the fact that these were the predetermined wages that was written in the waqf deeds. It is probable that the real wages were different than the ones specified in the official documents, however, up to now, no documents explaining the relationship between the daily akçe income and the actual salary were presented, as far as I know. I encounter such a document while investigating the documents about the *Divriği Darü'ş-şifâ*. This document dating 1869-70 demonstrates the financial condition of the waqf.⁷⁸ The wages were written both in terms of *kuruş* annually and *akçe* daily. After analyzing these, it became evident that the daily *akçe* income does not show the actual income and rather it shows the portion of the total income. For example, 3 *akçe* daily income for the position of *imamet* means that, the owner of this position should get 3 portions from the total money that has been spared for the waqf staff. This issue is discussed in the *Darü'ş-şifâ* of *Divriği* section.

Ünver's "Selcuk Tababeti" was the first and unique comprehensive article about the *bîmâristan* in Mardin. Despite the fact that over 70 years have passed

⁷⁷ BOA, C. SH. 466.

⁷⁸ BOA, EV.MH. no. 1621, p. 226. This document is obtained from VGM.

almost nothing has been added to his work. Moreover, some writers even more exaggerated the function of the bîmârhâne beyond the statements of Ünver. A typical example is the “Eminüddin Külliyesi” article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* of Diyanet Vakfı.⁷⁹ In this article it was stated that Eminüddin Bîmâristan was among the examples of earliest medical school and hospital and it is probable that it is an educational institution in which theoretical knowledge was given in the madrasah and practical exercises were done in the Turkish Bath. This is an exaggerated comment which was based solely on Ünver’s writings. With this manner, a baseless comment about Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi entered into the literature via a distinguished encyclopedia. Another example is an oral presentation which was presented by Keskinbora in the International Mardin History Symposium, and this presentation was published in the book of the symposium.⁸⁰ In this presentation Keskinbora repeated the statements of Ünver, almost always without changing the structure of the sentences and naturally made the same mistakes as Ünver did. The only source he added was a reference from “16. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı” of Nejat Göyünç, and the items he quoted was not about the Bîmârhâne, but about the Eminüddin district. Keskinbora also overlooked the fact that there was the name of a physician who worked in Darüssifa in page 116 in this book. While Keskinbora does not mention Vehib bin Hekim who was the first known physician of Eminüddin Bîmâristan, he mentioned a number of physicians under the subtitle of “Mardin Eminüddin Mâristanı ve diğerk Artuk Darü’s-şifâlarında Çalışmış Hekimler” without giving references. There is no information about his claims, and Ünver never wrote something about it. Keskinbora wrote all the physicians who

⁷⁹ Ara Altun: *Eminüddin Külliyesi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995, vol. 11, p. 119.

⁸⁰ Hıdır Kadırcan Keskinbora, “Mardin’de Eminüddin Mâristanı ve O Dönemdeki Darü’s-şifâlar”, *I. Uluslararası Mardin Tarihi Sempozyumu*, 2006, pp. 211-220.

lived in the territories near Mardin and showed as if they all worked in Eminüddin Bîmâristan. The last example is a two volume book which was published by Sanovel with the topic “Darü’ş-şifâlar”.⁸¹ In this book there is a short section with the title “Emineddin-Necmeddin İlğazi Darü’ş-şifâsı” and there is no bibliography. It was stated that the erection of this külliye (campus) began in the time of Necmeddin İlğazi and it was completed by Eminüddin after Necmeddin’s death. As explained before, this was not true and the situation was just the opposite. Furthermore, the name of the Bîmâristan was Eminüddin Bîmâristan or Bîmârhâne, Necmeddin’s name was never seen in the documents as the name of the bîmâristan.

3.2 Mâristan of Gevher Nesibe in Kayseri

Gevher Nesibe Mâristan seems to be the first health institute founded in the Anatolian Selcukid State. Like Seyh Eminüddin Bîmâristan and the other health institutes investigated in this thesis, the first compact information about the Mâristan in Kayseri was given by Ünver’s *Selçuklu Tababeti*.⁸² The title of the section he reserved for Gevher Nesibe Mâristan is “Kayseri’de Gıyasüddin Tıp Mektebi ve Gevher Nesibe Hastanesi”, referring to a medical school and an hospital separately. Ünver stated that this building which was located in Yenice Hacı İkiz district in Kayseri was erected by Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev and it was called as Çifteler madrasah (double madrasahs) or Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs by the public. He also remarked that the reason the “Çifteler” name which means double,

⁸¹ Ahmet Eryüksel, “Mardin Emineddin-Necmeddin İlğazi Darü’ş-şifâsı”, *Tarihi Sağlık Kurumlarımız Darü’ş-şifâlar*, Editor: Prof. Dr. Nil Sarı, (İstanbul: Sanovel, 2010), Vol. 1, pp. 131-2.

⁸² Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1940, p. 52.

was the fact that both madrasah and hospital being in the same location.⁸³ These statements widely accepted in the following years, and the name of Gevher Nesibe was given to a hospital which belongs to Erciyes University and to the Institute of History of Medicine. In spite of this, there was no serious investigation about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan afterwards.

Pre-Ottoman Period

The inscription on the main portal

The only concrete evidence of the existence of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan is the inscription, which was placed on one of the portals of the buildings. The first one who mentioned about this madrasah and its inscription was Ahmet Nazif Efendi. He wrote a manuscript named *Mirat-ı Kayseriyye* but he could not publish it and died in 1914.⁸⁴ His manuscript was published in 1987 by Kayseri Municipality, and it comprises the history of the city from the early beginnings to 1835. In this manuscript, he mentioned briefly about Şifâhiye Medresesi that has been located in Yenice İkiz district, which has been erected during the reign of Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev. He also mentioned the inscription on the portal of Şifâhiye Medresesi and gave the Latin transcription of the Arabic text.⁸⁵ The text is as follows:

“Eyyam is Sultan il Muazzam Gıyas ud dünya v’eddin
Keyhüsrev bin Kılıcarslan Damet Takvahu bena Haza
El mâristan vasiyyeten an il-meliketi ismet üd dünya v’eddin
Gevher Nesibe ibneti kılıcarslan rıza en lillah senetü isneyn ve sitte mie”

⁸³ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, s. 53.

⁸⁴ Ahmet Nazif, *Mir’at-ı Kayseriyye (Kayseri Tarihi)*, Edition, transcription and simplification by Mehmet Palamutoğlu, Kayseri:Kayseri Özel İdaresi ve Kayseri Belediyesi Birliği Yayınları, 1987, p. VIII. Ahmet Nazif was born in 1860 and died in 1914. He was a well educated Ottoman bureaucrat and intellectual who was granted by sultan Abdülhamit the second.

⁸⁵ Ahmet Nazif, *Mir’at-ı Kayseriyye*, p. 66.

The concise meaning of the text is “this Mâristan was erected as the testament of Gevher Nesibe who is the daughter of Kılıcarslan during the reign of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev in 602 Hicri (1205)”. Although I will concentrate on this text thereafter, I would like to remark that the word “takvahu” which Ahmet Nazif read is incorrect. The correct reading should be “ittafaka”. Because of the fact that the word “ittafaka” poses some problems grammatically and semantically, this word might have been read as “takvahu” by Ahmet Nazif. It will be seen in the following pages that the same word was read as “vakfuhu” by another investigator probably because of the same problematic. Palamutoglu who edited the manuscript of Ahmet Nazif stated as footnote that this building has been constructed as a hospital, however it was converted to a madrasah afterwards and for this reason it was called as Şifâhiye Medresesi. Shortly after the manuscript of Ahmet Nazif, Edhem Eldem mentioned about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan in his book named Kayseri Şehri. This book was published by *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* in 1918 and it was republished with the edition and simplification of Kemal Göde in 1982.⁸⁶ There was a photograph showing the upper parts of the portal and the inscription.⁸⁷ It is known that this building had an extensive refurbishment afterwards, but the condition of the upper parts of the portal and the inscription were almost the same as 1918, and we may say that there was no deformation in them during the last 95 years. Halil Edhem wrote that this building was located in the Yenice Hacı İkiz district and despite the fact that it became a ruin, its front façade was still erect. He commented

⁸⁶ Halil Edhem, *Kayseri Şehri*, ed. Kemal Göde, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982.

⁸⁷ Halil Edhem, *Kayseri Şehri*, 1982, p. 159. I suspected that this photograph might not belong to 1918 at first, however, there is no mention of an editorial addition note, so I accepted that this photograph belongs to 1918.

that this building was among the most beautiful architectural designs.⁸⁸ He also made an interesting comment about the inscription and remarked that above the arch of the portal there was a marble inscription lacking its lower border frame giving the impression that it was placed afterwards. Halil Edhem was the only one who pointed out the peculiarity of the inscription, but he did not make any further comments on that issue. I will discuss this later on. Halil Edhem gave the translation of the inscription quite right and read the word “ittafaka” in the right way.⁸⁹ Probably because of the peculiarity of the Arabic verb “ittafaka” Edhem preferred to give its meaning in the parenthesis as “inşa etti” (constructed).⁹⁰ His further comments about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan were as follows: “ We understand that this building was an hospital from the beginning. The “Çifteler” nickname for this building is that the hospital and the madrasah were both located in the same complex. The word *mâristan* in the inscription makes it clear that this building was a hospital. We are unable to find any information about Gevher Nesibe neither in Ibni Bibi nor in other sources.⁹¹ After mentioning these two earlier sources, we may turn to Ünver’s section about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan in detail. Ünver gave the original Arabic script of the inscription in his book.⁹²

ايام السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين كيخسرو بن قلع ارسلان دامت اتفق هذا

المارستان

وصية عن الملكة عصمة الدنيا و الدين كوهر نسيبة ابنة قلع ارسلان ارضالكم الله سنة

اثنين و ستمائة

⁸⁸ Halil Edhem, Kayseri Şehri, p. 57.

⁸⁹ Halil Edhem, p. 58.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Halil Edhem, pp. 58-59.

⁹² Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 52.

Herein, it would be appropriate to focus on this inscription. It is surprising to see that there were many wrong readings of this inscription, which was very well known for at least 95 years. By the way, it should be kept in mind that, to our knowledge, the existence of such an inscription has not been notified before Ahmed Nazif's manuscript. The first obvious problem is the wrong readings of the word "اتفق". This word was read as "takvahu" by Ahmed Nazif; Gönül Cantay read it as "vakfuhu" with the help of Aptullah Köşe.⁹³ However, when we closely analyse the inscription, we easily see an obvious elif letter after the word "دامت". In fact there was a grammatical inconsistency in the first sentence because the Arabic verbs "دامت" and "اتفق" were used one after another. In Arabic two past tenses is not used together. Probably, this semantic and grammatical inconsistency might have led to some misreadings. The word "دامت" means "to enhance" literally, and the word "اتفق" means "to ally to". It is probable that the verb "اتفق" was used in a different context in this inscription, with the meaning "decided". In my opinion if the word "دامت" is placed in the beginning of the first sentence and the sentence is finished with the word "Kılıcarslan" the semantic and grammatical context will be appropriate.

دامت ايام السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان

Thus, the translation of this sentence is like "Let (God) enhance the days of reign of Sultan Keyhüsrev the helper of the world and religion". We may say that only a

⁹³ Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü'ş-şifâları*, Ankara: Atatürk Dil Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1992, p. 41.

word was placed inappropriately in the first sentence of the inscription. The second sentence begins with the word ”اتفق“. Another problem arises here because the word ”اتفق“ following ”بنا“ was missed both by Ünver and Cantay. The expression in the beginning of the second sentence was as follows: ”اتفق بنا هذا“ and it means ”(Keyhüsrev the Sultan) approved the construction the hospital. Here, the Arabic verb ”ittafaka” was used in a different context than its original use. In many of the inscriptions and waqf deeds written in Arabic language it is possible to see such grammatical inconsistencies⁹⁴ If we take completely the second sentence we have no grammatical problem, only a semantic peculiarity with the use of the Word ”ittafaka”.

اتفق بنا هذا المارستان وصية عن الملكة عصمة الدنيا و الدين كوهر
نسيبة ابنة قلع ارسلان لرضا الله سنة اثنين و ستمائة

Another important problem is about the name of Gevher Nesibe. In the original inscription in the word كوهر there is a very clear ”damme”⁹⁵ above the arabic letter vav. For this reason, although it was written as Gevher by everybody up to now, it would rather be wise to read it as ”Güher”. The translation of the second sentence should be as follows: ” For the sake of God, (Keyhüsrev) approved the construction of the hospital upon testament of Gevher Nesibe, the year 602.” There is another problem reading the expression ”for the sake of God”. Ahmet Nazif read

⁹⁴ Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in 877/1472 Tarihli Vakfiyesi, Translation and edition: Ahmet Beyatlı, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu (in press).

⁹⁵ A vowel mark in Arabic which makes consonant to be pronounced as ”u”.

it as “en rıza lillah” erroneously.⁹⁶ Halil Edhem, did not give the transcription but translation of it as “Allah sizin için onu razı kılsın”.⁹⁷ It was a wrong translation as well. Ünver’s copy of it was also wrong| “ارضالكم”.⁹⁸ He did not give the translation of this expression. The right transcription was given above as “li rızaillah” and it was correctly written by Cantay.⁹⁹ However, it should be noted that there is an excess letter ﺝ letter in the same expression. Although this detailed analysis does not add much to our knowledge, the necessity of a detailed analysis of the inscription which is the only concrete evidence of the existence of this mâristan, is obvious.

The placement of the inscription also poses a problem and, this was mentioned by Halil Edhem previously, as well. Although he did not make a further comment on that issue, he wrote that it should be placed there afterwards. Indeed, a careful eye will notice the discrepancy between the inscription and the portal. However, before going into further comments, it would be wise to consider some features of the medieval Turkish architecture. Doğan and Yazar wrote an article about the widespread use of antique material¹⁰⁰ in the medieval Turkish architecture and gave examples of various kinds of antique material used.¹⁰¹ They also gave an example of using an antique inscription. This inscription originally belongs to mescid which was built by Orhan in 1337, and, it is now located on the East portal

⁹⁶ Ahmet Nazif, *Mir’at-ı Kayseriyye*, p. 66.

⁹⁷ Halil Edhem, p. 58.

⁹⁸ Süheyl Ünver, p. 53.

⁹⁹ Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü’ş-şifâları*, 1992, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ Devşirme malzeme

¹⁰¹ Nermin Şaman Doğan, Turgay Yazar, “Orta Çağ Türk Mimarisinde Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı”, *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 24:1, 2007, pp. 209-230.

of the Şehadet Camii in Bursa.¹⁰² We will see that there were many documents about Gevher Nesibe institute in the Ottoman archives beginning from 16th century. However, we have nothing other than this inscription, about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan in the pre-Ottoman times. So, it should be reasonable to question the origin of this inscription. Was this inscription placed there at the very time the building erected? Or was it reconstructed after the disruption of the original one? Or was it transferred from another ruined building? Today we are unable to answer these questions because of lack of additional evidence. However, it is widely accepted that this inscription was the original inscription of this building

The building

Ahmet Nazif and Halil Edhem did not give the architectural details of the building. Ünver described the inner architecture of the building referring the writings of Gabriel.¹⁰³ Alfred Gabriel visited Kayseri in 1927 and he wrote a book named “Monuments Turcs D’anatolie” in which he gave the architectural details of the double madrasahs.¹⁰⁴ The buildings were ruined at the time of his visit. He drew the architectural design of the monuments and admitted that this design was somewhat hypothetical. He was the one who wrote that there was a passage between the two buildings. Referring Gabriel Ünver wrote that, this building was structurally composed of two separate buildings with a gateway placed between them. After giving the internal details of the buildings Ünver stated that the door close to the west border was for visitors and the other door was for physicians and

¹⁰² Heath W. Lowry, *Erken Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yapısı*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, second edition, transl: Kıvanç Tanrıyar, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰³ Süheyl Ünver, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ Albert Gabriel, *Monuments Turcs D’anatolie*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları (there is no date in the book, original book was published in 1930), p. 60-62.

the hospital staff. He also added that the large inner rooms were for surgical operations and seminars. He did not give any sources about those claims. He may have made some comparisons between the hospital architectures of the older Middle East, but he did not mention it. According to Ünver this building was consisted of a hospital and a medical school and this constitutes the beginning of Turkish Medical History. While Ünver was writing these, another contemporary scholar who used to write about the same issues, Adnan Adıvar, expressed his thoughts in his book *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, published at the same times as Ünver's book. Adıvar began to discuss the Turkish Medical History from the Ottoman times and he explained the reason of it briefly: "In some writings, there are very assertive judgements drawn about the scientific circumstances of the period by using evidence only from a short inscription, a ruin of a darü'ş-şifâ or a tombstone; hence, it is not possible to describe these writings as scientific."¹⁰⁵ Obviously, Adıvar was criticizing the thoughts of Ünver. As mentioned previously in this text, he also wrote a brief comment in the beginning of Ünver's *Selcuk Tababeti*, but he preferred to write in a rather mild and encouraging manner there. Afet İnan, another contemporary scholar, was also interested in Gevher Nesibe Mâristan and she admitted that there were no written documents about this mâristan.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, she pointed out another document, the letters of Sadreddin Konevi, and she remarked the possibility that Konevi might have worked in the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan.¹⁰⁷ She said that Konevi was the chief physician in the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan and he was appointed to Alaeddin Darü'ş-şifâ afterwards. She did not give

¹⁰⁵ Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Afet İnan, "Kayseri'de Gevher Nesibe Şifâiyesi", *Malazgirt Armağanı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993, p.1.

¹⁰⁷ Afet İnan, "Kayseri'nin 749 Yıllık Şifâiye Tıp Medresesi", *Belleten*, 20:78, 1995, pp. 219-220.

any further information about this new document, and now, it is important to analyse this source in detail

Letters of Sadreddin Konevi

The manuscript containing the letters of Konevi, “*Ravzat al-Kuttab ve Hadikat al-Albab*” was edited and published by Ali Sevim.¹⁰⁸ Ali Sevim briefly wrote his views about the medical aspect of Konevi:

Konevi uses the title “mütetabbib” but he did not give any explanation about the reason why he had chosen this title in his letters. However, in his fourth letter, which he wrote to the famous Selcukid physician Ekmeluddin, because he used term “çaker” (apprentice) we understand that he got some sort of medical training from him. Nevertheless, neither in this letter, nor in the others we do not encounter any information about his training. Moreover, we do not obtain additional information whether he practiced medicine. In the meantime, we know from some anecdotes in these letters that he was quite familiar with medicinal applications. For example he made a laxative for the Emir of Karahisar-ı Devle, and he performed a medical intervention for his own son Abdürrahim. He also tried to prove that a man claiming to be a physician was lying and he wrote a medical conversation between brain and heart. In his letters he sometimes used medical vocabulary as well. We can say that even if he did not perform a medical profession after his training, he was closely interested in medicine. So the title “mütetabbib” which he used for himself, might be used as his modesty.”¹⁰⁹

We understand that although it is highly possible that Konevi had a kind of medical training from Ekmeluddin, there is no evidence that he practiced a medical profession. However, depending on these letters, İnan wrote that Konevi was the official physician of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. After İnan, these views were frequently repeated and the letters of Konevi has been shown as the evidences of these views. Some of these problematic comments arise from the misevaluations of

¹⁰⁸ Abu Bakr İbn Al-Zaki, *Ravzat al-Kuttab ve Hadikat al-Albab*, transl. and ed. Ali Sevim; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Abu Bakr İbn Al-Zaki, *Ravzat al-Kuttab ve Hadikat al-Albab*, 2011, p. 3.

these letters. For example, Konevi's 30th letter written to Ekmeluddin was sent from Kayseri¹¹⁰ and this was shown as the proof of his working in Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. Similarly, in his 40th letter, Konevi wrote that he was writing this letter from a room in a madrasah out of Konya.¹¹¹ This information was also shown as an evidence of his being in Kayseri and working for Gevher Nesibe Mâristan.¹¹²

Staff

Despite a lack of reliable and direct evidences, similar efforts continued to collect information about the staff of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. While giving information about the private physician of Kılıcarslan the second, Hubeş bin İbrahim, Mikail Bayram remarked that Kılıcarslan's son Keyhüsrev may have appointed him to the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan.¹¹³ Another contemporary physician who was claimed to have worked in the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan was Kutbu'd-din Şirazi without relying to any evidence.¹¹⁴ Uzluk, referring to a poem of Sultan Veled stated that Şirazi may have worked in the Mâristan.¹¹⁵ Refet Yinanç relying on the writings of Safedi, a 15th century scholar, claimed that a man named Muzaffer Kurşi worked in the Mâristan. However, Safedi only mentioned that a

¹¹⁰ Abu Bakr İbn Al-Zaki, *Ravzat al-Kuttab ve Hadikat al-Albab*, 2011, p. 48.

¹¹¹ Abu Bakr İbn Al-Zaki. *Ravzat al-Kuttab ve Hadikat al-Albab*, 2011, p. 55.

¹¹² Ahmet Hulusi Köker: "Gevher Nesibe Tıbbiyesinde Çalışan Hekim ve Müderrisler" *Selçuklu Gevher Nesibe Sultan Tıp Fakültesi*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1991, pp. 52-53.

¹¹³ Dilber İlimli Usul, *Selçuklular zamanında Kayseri'de ilmi ve kültürel faaliyetler*, MA thesis, Selcuk University Social Sciences Institute, advisor. Mikail Bayram, Konya, 2007, p. 89.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 91-92; *Fihrist maktutat el-tıbb el-Islami fi mektebat Turkiya*, eds. Ramazan Şeşen, Cemil Akpınar, Cevad İzgi, İstanbul 1984, pp.69-71.

¹¹⁵ Dilber İlimli Usul, *Selçuklular zamanında Kayseri'de ilmi ve kültürel faaliyetler*, 2007, p. 92. Usul referred to the book of Uzluk named *Kayseri Şehri için Hatıralar* 1966, p.5, however I could not find such a claim in this book.

physician named Kurşî have worked in a hospital in 1210's.¹¹⁶ As is seen, we may talk about some possibilities, but there is no documental evidence in our hands about the staff of the Mârîstan. In a monography about Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan, Köker wrote an article named "The physicians and professors worked in Gevher Nesibe Medical School".¹¹⁷ He listed a number of physicians including Sadreddin Konevi, Muzaffer Kurşî, Kutbeddin Şirazi, Hekim Gazanfer, Hekim Ali Sivasi and many contemporary scholars. Köker even remarked that Ekmelüddin worked for some time in Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan as the chief physician. He gave the biographies of the physicians he listed, and added to all of them that they worked for the Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan. He also made peculiar claims, for example he stated that Kutbeddin Şirazi discovered the posterior chamber of eyeball in Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan, whereas there was not even a single note about working of Şirazi in this hospital. All of the physicians mentioned were people of 13th century. It is obvious that all the contemporary physicians at that time were shown as the staff of the Mârîstan without any scientific proof. As we have evaluated above, these claims are totally groundless. Moreover, there were no proper quotation numbers, and references within the article of Köker, only the sources given at the end of the text. In the same book Köker had another article with the title "Education and Training in Gevher Nesibe Medical School".¹¹⁸ The manuscripts of the scholars' were listed, which he showed as if they worked in Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan; he constituted a curriculum based on the Canon of Avicenna assuming that this system had been used in Gevher Nesibe medical school and he compared this curriculum with the

¹¹⁶ Refet Yinanç: "Kayseri ve Sivas Darü'ş-şifâlarının Vakıfları", *Belleten*, 48:189-190, 1985, s. 299. Safedi remarked that Muzaffer Kurşî worked in a bîmârîstan in Anatolia for two years beginning from 608H (1211). Yinanç commented that this bîmârîstan should be the Gevher Nesibe Mârîstan.

¹¹⁷ Ahmet Hulusî Köker: "Gevher Nesibe Tıbbiyesinde Çalışan Hekim ve Müderrisler", *Selçuklu Gevher Nesibe Sultan Tıp Fakültesi*, ed. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Hulusî Köker, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1991, pp. 49-56

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.

curriculum of the medical faculties which was approved in 1982. Köker also claimed that Zahravi's *et tasrif* was taught by Sadreddin Konevi the chief physician and surgeon. There were no references for these claims and it is clear that these are only presumptions. Unfortunately, many articles and booklets which were published in the later years, repeated similar claims giving reference to Köker. One of them was written by Halil Tekiner in 2006.¹¹⁹ Although a number of documents were given in this book, none of them were about the medical aspect of the institution and he used abundant secondary sources which themselves did not use adequate documents that support their ideas. In Tekiner's book a serious effort is noticeable to form a stable ground for the medical and educational function of Gevher nesibe Mâristan; however, because of the fact that he did not criticize the previous articles on that issue and because he only referred them as strong evidences, he finally contributed to the distribution of the erroneous information.

As known, a number of travellers have been in Kayseri in various centuries. Not one of them mentioned a health institute and a medical school in Kayseri. Nevertheless, it is useful to mention one of them; Kadi Abdü'z-zair. Kadi Abdü'z-zair was a scholar who came to Anatolia with the army of Memluk Sultan Baybars.¹²⁰ Baybars stayed for 6 days in Kayseri and Kadi Abdü'z-zair wrote about Kayseri in detail. He did not mention about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan, however, he mentioned about a bîmâristan within the Karatay kervansaray 45 kilometers to Kayseri in which they spent the night. Osman Turan, mentioned this bîmâristan in

¹¹⁹ Halil Tekiner, *Gevher Nesibe Darü'ş-şifâsı: Orta Çağda Öncü Bir Tıp Kurumu*, Kayseri:2006.

¹²⁰ *Yabanlu Pazarı: Selçuklular Devrinde Milletlerarası Büyük Bir Fuar*, edition and translation: Faruk Sümer, İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1985, pp. 56-95.

his article about the Karatay waqfs, however there is no mention of physicians or other health staff.¹²¹

Ottoman Period

Previous Studies

Despite the lack of documentary evidence other than the existence of the inscription of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan in the pre-Ottoman period, we encounter many documents in Ottoman archives about this institute not with the name of mâristan, bîmârhâne, bîmâristan, darü'ş-şifâ but with the name of *Medrese-i Darü'ş-şifâ* or *Şifâhiye Medresesi*. There was no information about the madrasah part of the complex, *Giyâsiye Medresesi* in the pre-Ottoman times, however we see that *Şifâhiye medresesi* and *Giyâsiye medresesi* were generally recorded together in the Ottoman documents. We have many records both in Tahrir Registers and Kadı court registers in the Ottoman period. Before analyzing these documents, I want to address some of the previous studies, which shared similar documents. Ünver mentioned two documents related to Gevher Nesibe Mâristan in the Ottoman period. The first document was quoted from Muallim Cevdet without giving a page number and it was a tahrir register which belongs to year 1500 (906H).¹²² In this record, it was stated that “Ekkere village was the malikane of medrese-i darü'ş-şifâ”. Ünver mentioned a second document, which belongs to 1856 containing an expression about the appointment of a müderrris to Giyâsiye abd Şifâhiye madrasahs.¹²³ He did not give any information about the nature of this document.

¹²¹ Osman Turan, “Selçuk Devri Vakfiyeleri III: Celaleddin Karatay Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri”, *Bellekten*, vol. 12, no. 45, 1948, pp. 17-158.

¹²² Süheyl Ünver, pp. 54-55; Osman Ergin, *Muallim M. Cevdet'in Hayatı, Eserleri ve Kütüphânesi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2005, second edition (first edition 1937); p.636.

¹²³ Ünver, p.55.

Refet Yinanç wrote an article titled “Kayseri ve Sivas Darü’ş-şifâlarının Vakıfları” and he presented the records belonging to years 1500 and 1584.¹²⁴ He wrote that the madrasahs were recorded as Medrese-i Gıyâsiye and Medrese-i Darü’ş-şifâ. He said he found these records in Konya Waqf Defters number 565 and 584. In the record of 1584 the incomes, expenditures and the waqf staff were recorded.¹²⁵ I will focus on this document later, however briefly the income was consisted of the taxes of three villages, two hamlets (mezra), a public bath and two lands (arsa); the total income was 43.643 akces. Both madrasahs have one müderris with daily income of 20 akces, a cabi, and students. Yinanç mentioned another record as well, a mufassal defter of liva-i Kayseriyye number 136, but he did not give any detail neither about this defter, nor the Konya Waqf defter number 565. There were no serious works on this issue following Ünver and Yinanç. Tekiner referred mostly to these scholars about the documental evidence, however he also added a few documents. These are about appointments of müderris to the madrasah and a manuscript of Gühahi named Pendname.¹²⁶ Tekiner remarked that in a copy of Pendname, which was copied in 1651, there was a note about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan with the marginal note “Şehr-i Kayseriyye’de olan binaların tarihini beyan eder”.¹²⁷ Tekiner wrote that there was an expression “medrese-i darü’ş-şifâ”, and the erection date of it was given as 602 Hicri (1205). Tekiner put a photograph of the manuscript in his book, in this photo the expression “Şehr-i Kayseriyye’de olan binaların tarihini beyan eder” was clear

¹²⁴ Refet Yinanç: “Kayseri ve Sivas Darü’ş-şifâsının Vakıfları”, *Belleten*, 48/189-190, 1985, pp. 299-307.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Halil Tekiner, Gevher Nesibe Darü’ş-şifâsı: Orta Çağda Öncü Bir Tıp Kurumu, pp. 60-61.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.61.

but the expression about the darü'ş-şifâ did not exist. This copy was said to be in the personal library of Rasim Deniz.¹²⁸

Tahrir Registers

First systematic tahrir register of Kayseri was performed in 1476, however this defter was not found until now. It is known that records of waqfs and properties were performed from time to time. One of these defters with the date 1476 was published by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk.¹²⁹ The title of the book is “Fatih Devrinde Karaman Eyaleti Vakıfları Fihristi” but waqfs of Kayseri was not included. The first detailed tahrir register covering Kayseri liva belongs to 1484, but the beginning pages of this defter was missing so we do not have any information about the city center.¹³⁰ This defter was classified in the Tapu Tahrir Defterleri section with the number 38 in the PMOA. Because of missing of the city center section in this defter, we can not learn something about the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan directly. When we investigate the villages which were among the revenues of Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye Madrasahs in the following years, we saw that the villages Talas, Erkilet were under the timâr holders.¹³¹ This means that these villages were not among the malikanes of aforesaid madrasahs in 1484. While investigating this defter we encountered another interesting note, not about Gevher Nesibe Mâristan but, Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ. The transcription of this note is as follows:

Malikâne-i karye-i Efkere kadîmü'l eyyâmdan Sivasda olan darü'ş-şifâya vakf imiş. Darü'ş-şifâ harâb olduktan sonra ulemâyâ ve sülehâyâ sadaka olunub merhûm mağfûr Sultân Mehmed –tabe serahu- vefâtına

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Mehmet İnbaşı, 1484 tarihli (Hicri 888) Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir belediyesi, 2009, p. xiii.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. xiv.

¹³¹ Mehmet İnbaşı, 1484 tarihli (Hicri 888) Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri, pp. 11,36, 41.

değın vakfıyyet tariki ile tasarruf olunurmuş. Sonra Karaman Beylerbeyisi Ali Bey bakiyye-i vakf münhedim olmuştur deyü tımâra virmiş. Köhne defterde dahi vakf yazılmıştır. Berât-ı tımâr. Hasıl: 6020.¹³²

From this record we learn very important information about the darü'ş-şifâ in Sivas, it was ruined in 1484, and the village Efkere had been the malikane of Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ from the very old times.

Following this defter we have two defters which belong to the year 1500. The first one is classified in the MAD (Maliyeden Müdevver) section of the PMOA with number 20. It contains 99 pages.¹³³ In this defter Kayseri waqfs were not listed, however some of them were mentioned as being the malikanes of various villages. For example, the village Efkere, which was converted to a tımâr according to the register of 1484, was again recorded as the malikane of Sivas darü'ş-şifâ in this defter.¹³⁴ The second defter was in the Tapu Kadastro Archive with the number of 565.¹³⁵ This defter contains the waqfs of Konya Sancağı, however, there were also records of waqfs of Kayseri as well. These were the earliest records of some of the Kayseri waqfs. The transcription of title of the record is given below:

“Vakf-ı medrese ve dârü'ş-şifâ der-tasarruf-ı Mevlânâ Saadeddin ve medrese-i Gıyâsiyye der tasarruf-ı Mevlânâ Hasan mütevellî Pehlivan Ahmed nâm-ı diğer Tokmak”¹³⁶

This is the first record about the Mâristan in the Ottoman period. The revenues of the waqf were as follows:

¹³² Mehmet İnbaşı, *1484 tarihli (Hicri 888) Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, pp. 53, 78.

¹³³ Mehmet İnbaşı, *1500 (Hicri 906) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009, p. xiii.

¹³⁴ Mehmet İnbaşı, *1500 (Hicri 906) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009, p. 30-32.

¹³⁵ Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, no. 565.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Talas village	8102 akces
Erkilet village	12.149 akces
Rent of Sultan Bath	6.120 akces
Acıkuyu hamlet	360 akces
Village of Yorgat	1944 akces
Total	29.123 akces ¹³⁷

There is no information about the expenditures, the number of the staff and their wages in this record. The name of mâristan was recorded as “vakf-ı medrese ve darü’ş-şifâ” and “medrese-i darü’ş-şifâ”, and it is under the possession of an ulema. Although both medrese-i darü’ş-şifâ and medrese-i Gıyasiyye were under a unique record, they were under the possessions of different persons. However, when we compared this record with the defter MAD 20, which belongs to the same year, we detected some inconsistencies. While villages of Talas, Erkilet and Yorgat which were recorded as the malikanes of the waqf in the defter numbered 565, they were recorded as timars in the defter numbered 20.¹³⁸ If we remember that these villages were recorded as timars in the tahrir of 1484, we may speculate that these villages became malikanes of the two madrasahs around the years of 1500. In the defter with the number 565 there is a record about the Efkere village as well. This record reveals that Efkere village was malikane of Sivas darü’ş-şifâ from the old times, then it was converted to timar and now it became the malikane of Sivas darü’ş-şifâ, which later became a madrasah.¹³⁹ From these three tahrir defters, in which one of them belongs to the year 1484 and two of them belong to the year 1500, we understand that the villages, which were the revenues of the waqfs, were taken from the waqfs and granted to timâr holders initially, and later they were returned to waqfs. This statement is quite obvious for Sivas darü’ş-şifâ and it is highly probable

¹³⁷ There was a mistake in sum, it should be 28.675 akces.

¹³⁸ Mehmet İnbaşı, *1500 (Hicri 906) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, pp. 51-52, 60, 68-69.

¹³⁹ Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, no. 565, p. 213.

for Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. We know that some of the waqfs were annexed during the reign of Mehmet the second and this brought a serious social discomfort. Following the death of Mehmet, his son Bayezid gave back most of the waqfs to their former holders. İncalcık, remarked that Mehmet the second brought some twenty thousand villages and farms previously held as waqf or emlak under state control and distributed them as timars.¹⁴⁰ This measure caused widespread discontent especially among old and influential families, ulemas, şeyhs and dervishes. After death of Mehmet, Bayezid the second was forced to renounce his father's policies and waqfs and mülks which were converted to timars, were restituted.¹⁴¹ Similar circumstances took place in the eyalet of Karaman as well. According to a research which investigated the situation between 1476 and 1483, 37 waqfs out of 420 in Karaman were converted to timars and among them was a darü'ş-şifâ in Konya.¹⁴² It seems that most of them were restituted as waqfs by 1484. We do not know the exact situation in Kayseri because of the lack of waqf tahrirs before the year 1500, nevertheless from to records which we investigated above, we may say that similar state operations had been performed in Kayseri province as well.

Another waqf register which can be dated around the first quarter of 16th century, was found in the Bulgarian Ottoman Archive. This is a defter containing the registers of waqfs of the Karaman vilayet and it was published by Seyit Ali

¹⁴⁰ Halil İncalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London: Phoenix Press, 1973, third edition, 2003, p. 30.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Doğan Yörük, *Karaman Eyaletinde Tımâra dönüştürülen Vakıf ve Mülkler: 1476-1483*, pp. 65-66.

Kahraman.¹⁴³ In this record, the incomes and the expenditures along with the staff were written. The incomes were: from Talas village 7845 akces¹⁴⁴, from Erkilet village 6000 akces, from Sultan bath 8.280 akces and and from Acıkuyu hamlet 500 akces.¹⁴⁵ The sum is 24.875 akces. The expenditure items were confusing and it is as follows:

El masraf	
be-Cihet-i medrese-i Gıyasiyye, der tasarruf-ı	
Mevlana Nimetullah el-Müderris	12.437
be-Cihet-i medrese-i Darü'ş-şifâ Mevlana	
Ramazan el-Müderris	12.437
Cihet-i müderris, sülûsan	7.688
Cihet-i talebe, sülûs	7.749
Cihet-i müderris sülûsan	7.688
Cihet-i talebe sülûs	7.744
Cihet-i tevliyet, fî yevm 5	1.800

The sum is problematic here as well, because the total income is only 24.875; when we add all these items in the expenditure the sum will be 57.544. If we consider that the first two items were the total money spared for the expenditure of madrasahs, and the other items were the details of expenditure there is still problem because the sum of the items other than first two items makes 32.669 which is still much higher than the income. One of the items especially “cihet-i talabe-i sülûs might be written in excess, if we omit one of these items the result will be 24.925 which is more reasonable.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Seyit Ali Kahraman, *XVI Yüzyıl Başlarında Karaman Vilayeti Vakıfları*, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009.

¹⁴⁴ There may be a mistake in this sum. In the transcription of Kahraman the income of Talas village was as follows: el galle 4500, bagat 800, meyve 1600, bostan 700, kovan 150, ceviz 50, asiyab 45. When we control these items with the previous and subsequent registers the total sum here seems quite lesser. I found that the item bagat is quite lesser than the other records, here being 800 akces, being 2500, 2700, and 3800 in the other. When I refer to the original record, it seemed to me that the actual value should be 3000 akces. If we calculate in this way the sum will be 24.825, very close to the sum given. If we calculate the numbers given in transcribed record the sum will be 2265. Original record is in Seyit Ali Kahraman, *XVI Yüzyıl Başlarında Karaman Vilayeti Vakıfları Tıpkıbasım*, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009, p. 69.

¹⁴⁵ Seyit Ali Kahraman, *XVI Yüzyıl Başlarında Karaman Vilayeti Vakıfları*, pp. 221-222.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

We have another register which was performed very close to the previous one, and this tahrir was done around the year 1530.¹⁴⁷ Only the income of our waqf was recorded in this tahrir, and the name was expressed as “medrese-i Giyasiye ve Darü’ş-şifâ”. The recorded income was as follows:

Talas village	8.160 akces
Erkilet village	11.300 akces
Acıkuyu hamlet	360 akces
Sultan bath	6.120 akces
Yozgat village	555 akces
Total	26.490 akces ¹⁴⁸

There was a slight increase in the income of the two madrasahs when compared with the previous tahrir. Another tahrir register belongs to 1570, but this register did not include the waqfs.¹⁴⁹ The only information we obtain from this register is the records about the villages demonstrating the continuing relationship of them with the waqf. The village Erkilet was recorded as the malikane of the double madrasahs and the malikane share was 8387 akces.¹⁵⁰ The village Talas was recorded as the malikane of the double madrasahs and the malikane share was 8065 akces.¹⁵¹ Finally, the village Yozgat had a malikane share of 1600 akces.¹⁵² We do not have any data about the other incomes of the waqf in this register.

¹⁴⁷ 387 Numaralı Vilayet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri (937/1530) I: Eds. Ahmet Özkılınç, Ali Coşkun, Gülşen Ergun, Mustafa Karazeybek, Abdullah Sivridağ, Murat Yüzbaşıoğlu, Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996.

¹⁴⁸ 387 Numaralı Vilayet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri (937/1530) I: Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996, p. 218. The total of the sum should be 26.495 akces.

¹⁴⁹ Mehmet İnbaşı, 1570 (Hicri 976) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.70.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 87.

The last detailed register related to our investigation was a waqf tahrir and it belongs to the year 1584. In this register the name of the waqf was expressed as “medrese-i Gıyâsiyye ve medrese-i Dâru'ş-şifâ”. Both the incomes and the expenditures along with the staff of madrasahs were recorded in this register:

Karye-i Talas	10.080 akces
Karye-i Erkilet	8.310 akces
Karye-i Yozgat	533 akces
Hammâm-ı Sultân	8.520 akces
Arz-ı hammâm nezd-i Dâru'ş-şifâ	50 akces
Zemîn-i sebze nezd-i medrese	30 akces
Mezra‘a-i Acikuyu	290 akces
Karye-i Efkere tâbi‘-i Kayseriyye vakf-ı Sultân Gıyaseddin Keykavus nezd-i Dâru'ş-şifâ-i Sivas	8980 akces
Hâsıl Mâlikâne	
Zemînhâ-i vakf-ı Dâru'ş-şifâ-i Sivas an-mahsûl-i karye-i Efkere	6950 akces
Karye-i Saslu tâbi‘-i Kayseriyye	
Hâsıl Mâlikâne	490 akces
Total	43.633 akces ¹⁵³

The most important difference in this record when compared with the previous registers is the increased income of the waqf. The two important income items, which belonged two Sivas darussifa previously, were added to the account of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. This document was published by Refet Yinanç previously.¹⁵⁴ Yinanç gave the facsimile of the original record, however, he did not address the incomes of the Efkere village as the income of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan, when giving the list of incomes. The expenditure was as follows:

¹⁵³ Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, no.584, p. 87. The sum in the document was wrong, it should be 44.233 akces.

¹⁵⁴ Refet Yinanç, “Kayseri ve Sivas Darü’ş-şifâlarının Vakıfları”, Belleten. Vol. 48, no. 189-190, 1984, pp. 299-307.

Vazîfe-i müderris-i medrese-i Gıyâsiyye fî yevm	20 akces
Vazife-i müderris-i medrese-i Dârü'ş-şifâ fî yevm	20 akces
Cihet-i talebe-i ... tadrîsiyye fî yevm	8 akces
Cihet-i cibâyet be-şart-ı ... kitâbet-i hâcât-ı evliyâ fî yevm	2 akces

Each of the madrasahs had one instructor whose incomes were 20 akces daily. The instructor was called as “müderris” and this term was a general term in the religious order. However we know that the term müderris was also used for the medical instructors in the Süleymaniye Medical Madrasah in the Ottoman State, and the daily income of the medical instructors (tıp müderrisi) was 20 akces.¹⁵⁵ We know that the Süleymaniye Medical Madrasah was active beginning from the second half of the 16th century, and also we know that the income of the medical instructors in this madrasah was quite lower than a müderris working in other madrasahs. In this context, we may speculate that the instructors in Şifâiye and Gıyâsiye Madrasahs might be medical instructors. However, it should be kept in mind that this is quite an indirect evidence and there was no mention of a physician in these madrasahs in the documents. Additionally, students were mentioned in the expenditure account with the daily income of 8 akces daily. Yinanc calculated that there were approximately 10 students in the Gevher Nesibe Complex.¹⁵⁶

Court Registers and Other Archive Documents

There were many registers about Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs in the Kadi Court Registers of Kayseri. However, there was no mention of a physician or a medical student in these registers which has been studied up to now. Moreover, we

¹⁵⁵ Salim Ayduz, Süleymaniye Medical Madrasa and Its Importance in the History of Ottoman Medicine, *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine*, Vol. 8-9, No. 15-16-17-18, 2007, pp. 31-37.

¹⁵⁶ The daily expenditure of the waqf should be about 120 akces daily and there was about 78 akces daily reserved were students, so there should be about 9-10 students in the madrasahs.

did not encounter any registers regarding a patient who consulted to hospital or was treated within the hospital. All the registers were about the appointments of various staff other than physicians like mütevellî, müderrîs, and cabî. In a register which belongs to the beginning of 17th century, there was a mention of the mütevellî of Şifâhiye Madrasah with a daily income of 50 akces.¹⁵⁷ In the same defter there was a mention of a dissension among the müderrîses of Şifâhiye Madrasah because of a debt case.¹⁵⁸ It is also noteworthy that a mention of another Şifâhâne named “Melik Mehmet Gazi Şifâhânesi” in the same defter. This şifâhâne was listed among the waqfs of Kayseri and it was listed as madrasah in other registers as well.¹⁵⁹ In another register which belongs to 1653-54, there was mention of a renewing of a berat about the tevliyet of the Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs.¹⁶⁰ In the same defter there was a record of a grant for cibayet dealing with the Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs.¹⁶¹ In a recent investigation about the historical monuments of Kayseri, the Kadi Court Registers were analyzed thoroughly.¹⁶² In this investigation there were a number of records about Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs, however none of these records were about physicians, medical students or any other medical issues. It is obvious that these institutes were active in 17th and 18th centuries¹⁶³, but their actual functions yet to be clarified. It should also be kept in mind that not all of the Kadı Court Registers has been transcribed and indexed up to now. Prospective

¹⁵⁷ Mustafa Ertürk, *Kayseri'nin 13 numaralı Şerîye Sicili*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kayseri, 1994, register number 139.

¹⁵⁸ Mustafa Ertürk, *Kayseri'nin 13 numaralı Şerîye Sicili*, register number 462.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, register number 16,17, p. 202.

¹⁶⁰ Ayla Akgün, 63/2 Numaralı Kayseri Şerîyye Sicili (H. 1063-1064, M. 1653-1654), *Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kayseri, 2009, p. 121.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶² Sevinç Fidan Özgen, *Kayseri Şerîyye Sicillerinde Adı Geçen Yapılar (Günümüze Ulaşan ve Ulaşamayan Yapılar)*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kayseri, 2007.

¹⁶³ Sevinç Fidan Özgen, *Kayseri Şerîyye Sicillerinde Adı Geçen Yapılar*, pp. 45-48.

investigations may reveal the medical function of Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye Madrasahs. On the other hand, we know that religious sciences were closely related with medical issues and some medical information was probably given to the madrasah students as an integral part of their education. In fact, there were many records in court registers about the investigation of the medical condition of an individual who was the victim of an insult or suffering from an illness, performed by ulema. In a court register defter, which belongs to 1667, the health condition of Bedros who was a victim of an insult with a knife from his right leg, was investigated by Katip Mevlana Mustafa Efendi, Cukadar Ömer Beşe along with subaşı Ömer ağa and a number of people from the muslim community upon the request of his brother, Minnet.¹⁶⁴ Katip Mevlana Mustafa Efendi and Cukadar Ömer Beşe were assigned by Kadi and they were described as being from *canib-i şer'* which means that they were from ulema (Islamic clergy). Subaşı Ömer ağa was assigned by Osman Ağa the mütesellim of Kayseri, along with some members of the muslim community whose names were written within the assignment document. A physician was not included in this committee which was constituted to explore the health condition of the victim wounded by knife. In fact, it is possible to encounter abundant number of similar registers, in which a physician did not take place in such committees. The following register in the same defter was about the same case; this time, brother of the victim requested financial aid for the treatment of Bedros and the Kadı approved the payment of 10 akces daily for the treatment including the physician's fee.¹⁶⁵ As it is seen, people from ulema were equipped with adequate medical knowledge for

¹⁶⁴ Hilal Şahin, 77/1 Numaralı Kayseri Şerhiyye Sicili (H. 1078, M. 1667) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kayseri, 2006, p. 186.

¹⁶⁵ Hilal Şahin, 77/1 Numaralı Kayseri Şerhiyye Sicili (H. 1078, M. 1667) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme, p. 187.

judging about the medical issues. They were probably learning some medical knowledge as an integral part of their madrasah education, but it is difficult to assess this kind of learning as a standard medical education. At the same time there were many records about physicians, generally for the preparations of informed consents in the presence of Kadı. Surgical treatment of urinary bladder stones were among the most classical examples of such informed consents. In a register defter which belongs to the years 1655-1656, there was an informed consent about a surgical intervention for the extraction of a bladder stone.¹⁶⁶ The father of 15 years old child expressed that his son had a bladder stone and none of the remedies he used made any relief. He accepted the treatment of “Üstad Seyyid Mustafa” who was a master in this craft, and he also promised not to sue Seyyid Mustafa if his son dies during the treatment. In this record Seyyid Mustafa was described as a member of “tabîb ve cerrâh zümresi”. No payment to the physician for the treatment was mentioned in this record. However, generally the payment was also recorded in the consent. In another record, for the treatment of leprosy, Üstad Ali Bin Abdullah was requested for the treatment in return for 20 kuruş for the physician and 30 kuruş for the remedies.¹⁶⁷ It is obvious that there was a community of physicians and surgeons in Kayseri in 17th and 18th centuries, but we did not encounter a direct evidence for the medical activity of Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye Madrasahs.

There are many other documents in the Ottoman archives related to 19th century, they contain similar information as the court registers of previous centuries. Between 1776-1780 and 1832-1837 there were documents about

¹⁶⁶ Ali Özdemir, *64/2 Numaralı Kayseri Şerhiye Sicili : Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme*(H.1066, M. 1655-1656) , Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kayseri, 2009, pp. 105-106.

¹⁶⁷ Musa Sezer, *78/2 Kayseri Şerhiye Sicili: Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme* (H. 1078-1079, M. 1668), Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Kayseri, 2008, p. 83.

appointment of müderris and mütevellî to Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs.¹⁶⁸ In 1856, there was a record about the appointment of a müderris to the Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye Madrasahs.¹⁶⁹ In 1886, a petition to Sultan revealed that these madrasahs were ruined. In the document, it is apparent that an investigation was performed in order to explore the amount of financial need to repair the buildings.¹⁷⁰ In 1910, there were some records in the waqf defters revealing that the madrasahs are in good condition and the education was continuing properly.¹⁷¹ There were also records about the appointment of müderris between 1912 and 1916.¹⁷² We can say that the education function of these madrasahs continued until the first quarter of 20th century, although they were ruined and repaired from time to time.

General Overview

According to the inscription of the monument which was called as double madrasahs a health institute was found in 1205 by Keyhüsrev the Selcukid Sultan upon the testament of his sister. This a concrete evidence of the existence of a “mâristan” in Kayseri. In spite of this it is not possible to detect the function of this institute until Ottoman times. There was no mention of it neither in chronicals nor in the travel books of the voyagers. We detect the existence of this institute as a waqf and madrasah in the very beginning of 16th century. The name of the institute was recorded as Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs in most of the registers. Sometimes Şifâhiye madrasah was called as Şifâ Hatun Madrasah as well. As far as we understand from the tahrir register, which gave us detailed information about the

¹⁶⁸ VGM, defter no. 260, p. 147; VGM, defter no. 284, p. 36.

¹⁶⁹ BOA, C..MF., 8512.

¹⁷⁰ BOA, I.ŞD, no. 80, p. 472.

¹⁷¹ VGM, defter no. 3089, pp. 15, 177.

¹⁷² VGM, defter no. 312, p. 101a.

staff and their wages, there were two instructors (müderri), students and a tax collector (cabi). The daily income of the instructors was 20 akces daily. These madrasahs seem to be active until the first quarter of 20th century, though time to time they were ruined and repaired. There are abundant record about these madrasahs both in Court Registers, Waqf defters and other archival documents, but most of them were about assignments of various staff, financial problems and etc. There is no mention of medicine, medical issues, physicians or medical education. As explained above many authors extracted too much from this data and depicted a quite different scene. Although it is highly probable that these madrasahs functioned as health institutions for some time, we do not have documentary evidence about their medical function. On the other hand it is well known that the Islamic clergy was equipped with some medical knowledge and this knowledge might be taught as a part of standard madrasah education. There may have been a kind of such medical education in Şifâhiye Madrasah but it is difficult to address this as a medical school unless it has been proven by documentary evidence.

3.3 Darü's-siha of Keykavus in Sivas

Pre-Ottoman Period

The first investigation about the Sivas Darü's-siha is presented in a study accomplished by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı and Rıdvan Nafiz in 1928.¹⁷³ The authors give both the transcription and translation of the inscriptions that were found in the monument. They stated that the building was erected by Alaeddin Keykavus bin Keyhüsrev as a hospital in the year of 1217. Within the monument,

¹⁷³ İsmail Hakkı, Rıdvan Nafiz, *Sivas Şehri*, Ed. Recep Toparlı, Sivas: Seyran Yayınları, 2005, pp. 114-116.

there is the tomb of Sultan Keykavus who was buried there after his death. The authors state that the building was converted to a madrasah in 1868, and functioned as a madrasah until 1913-1914 and later as an armory in the First World War. However they do not provide a reference as to their source of information. The portal of the monument is still erect today being subjected of many restorations recently. The inscription is located above the portal within a niche, that begins from the right side of the portal, travelling over the portal and ending in the left side of the portal symmetrically. The inscription is written in Arabic and it is as follows:

امر بعمارة هذه الدار الصحه لرضاء الله تعالى السلطان الغالب بامر الله عز الدنيا و الدين
ركن الاسلام و المسلمين سلطان البر و البحر تاج آل سلجوق ابو الفتح كيكافوس بن كيكسرو
برهان امير المؤمنين فى تاريخ سنة اربعة عشر و ستمائة

In summary, it is written in the inscription that Keykavus the Sultan, by the order of God, ordered the construction of this hospital in the year 614 (M. 1217). Here the institute was named as “darü’s-sihha”, with dar meaning house and sıhha meaning health in Arabic, hence the “health house”. So, it appears that the darü’ş-şifâ in Sivas was named as darü’s-siha while the darü’ş-şifâs in Mardin and Kayseri were named as bîmâristan and mâristan respectively. There is, yet another inscription in the entrance of the tomb of Keykavus written in Arabic as well. This inscription is generally attributed to Keykavus himself and the translation in brief is as follows: “We were taken out of the large palaces to be placed in these narrow graves. My prosperity did not help in this death issue, my sultanate deteriorated. The death occurred in the year 617” (1220).

The inscription explained above is the concrete evidence of the erection of a darü'ş-şifâ in Sivas in 1217. We have a second important document about the Sivas darü'ş-şifâ, the waqf deed.¹⁷⁴ This is the only waqf deed which is available about the Selcukid darü'ş-şifâs, therefore, it has a very important place in the history of Selcukid Medicine. A copy of this deed discovered by Muallim Naci and Süheyl Ünver, independently and unaware of another, is kept in the archives of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. A part of this deed was published by Muallim Naci in 1938.¹⁷⁵ The publication of the translation of complete deed is credited to Ali Haydar Bayat in 1991.¹⁷⁶ The original deed, which belongs to the year 1218, has a copy in a waqf defter recorded in 1870 upon the order of Mehmet Hurşit Paşa, the Evkaf Minister.¹⁷⁷ Owing to its uniqueness, this document deserves a closer attention. The first part of the deed consists of sentences praising God and his prophet Muhammed's family. In the second part, the request of Sultan Keykavus to found a waqf is expressed, as well as containing philosophical sentences of the Sultan himself about the transience and illusiveness of the wordly life. The third part contains the list of properties devoted to the waqf. The list is very long especially when compared to the properties of Mardin Eminüddin Bîmâristan and Kayseri Gevher Nesibe Mâristan. Therefore, it makes sense to give a brief summary of the list:

¹⁷⁴ A waqf deed is the written foundation document of a waqf. In this document the aim of the waqf, the beneficiaries of the foundation was adressed.

¹⁷⁵ M. Cevdet, "Sivas Darü'ş-şifâsı Vakfiyesi ve Tercümesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1, 1938, pp. 35-38.

¹⁷⁶ Ali Haydar Bayat, Anadolu Selçuklu Hastahâne Vakfiyelerinin Tek Örneği Olarak Sivas Darü'ş-şifâsı Vakfiyesi, *Türk Kültürü*, vol. 29, no. 333, 1991, pp. 5-19.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Properties devoted to Keykavus Darü'ş-şifâ:

- a vegetable garden in Konya
- a water mill and barn and stud farm near the mill
- thirty shops in the Türkmenler Çarşısı in the outer district of Ereğli
- all of the income of Rumiye village
- Efkere village which was in Kayseri
- some lands of Mançusun village and Efkere village
- Saman Village in Malatya
- Ebigöl village in Tokat
- Horhun village in Sivas
- Kömür village in Sivas
- seventy eight shops in Sivas

At the end of this list, it is written that all these properties belonging to Sultan, were devoted to the darü'ş-şifâ and the darü'ş-şifâ was to be erected at the outer district of Sivas at the beginning of Tokat street. The borders of the darü'ş-şifâ is described as well. In the fourth part, the universality of the waqf is emphasized and the religious rules are reminded. In the fifth part, the personnel, consisting of a staff of three, is presented. The administrator (mütevelli) of the waqf is identified by name: Ferruh bin Abdullah. It is stated that all the authority was given to him, and that he was free to choose the staff and determine the wages. He appears to be the responsible party for determining the wages of highly skilled, experienced physicians, valuable oculists (kehhal) and charitable surgeons, as well as, supplying the necessary drugs and plant roots. The context nature of the two remaining words

used for staff positions is open to speculation. These positions are called “müstahdem” and “mülazim”. Müstahdem means civil servant, literally. Mülazim means either an auxiliary person or a trainee. According to some authors, this word suggest, at the very least, an intent of a planning of a medical education goal in the deed.

The successor administrators would be held responsible for increasing the income of the waqf, and repairing the destroyed parts of the buildings. The administrator is to take 4000 silver dirhem and 1000 müd¹⁷⁸ crop for himself. According to the calculations of Bayat, this is a very high salary for the 13th century. The last part of the deed is about damnation of the people who destroys the waqf and prevents its charitable functions. Both in the beginning and the end of the document there are confirmations of the kadıs and witnesses. As it may be seen, all the authority and responsibility were given to the administrator of the waqf. Although the main function of the waqf as a health institute is specified no other details are written about the daily maintenance of the darü’ş-şifâ. Two points in this deed are worth focusing our attention. First one is the abundant number of properties devoted to the waqf when compared to the previously mentioned darü’ş-şifâs. Second is a lack of detailed predetermined organization chart in such a huge institute. When we compare the waqf endowment deed with other Selcukid waqf deeds, for example with the deeds of Karatay waqfs, we see that Karatay’s waqf deeds are more detailed and descriptive.¹⁷⁹ For this reason one can not deduce further information from this deed about the medical function of the darü’ş-şifâ.

¹⁷⁸ Müd is a weight measure for crops roughly corresponds to 513 kilograms.

¹⁷⁹ Osman Turan, “Selçuk Devri Vakfiyeleri III: Celaleddin Karatay Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri”, *Belleten*, vol. 12, no. 45, 1948, pp. 17-158.

Nevertheless, we learn that there was a specialization among the doctors at the time, the surgeons (cerrâh), the physicians (tabîb) and the oculists (kehhâl).

There are many supporters of the opinion that the Sivas Darü's-siha was a medical madrasah as well. The foremost defenders of this opinion are Süheyl Ünver and Sedat Çetintaş. Çetintaş was an architect and he was the second who wrote something about the darü's-şifâ of Sivas after the monograph of İsmail Hakkı and Rıdvan Nafiz.¹⁸⁰ Çetintaş seems to be government appointed for the task of investigating the old monuments of Sivas in 1937. His interest about this monument appears to have begun previously, when he saw the book of Alfred Gabriel about the monuments of Anatolia.¹⁸¹ Then he goes to Sivas, investigates the monument and write a comprehensive report about the current situation. In his report he claims that the current monument is only one section of a larger building, which consisted of a madrasah and a hospital. He remarks the unity of madrasah and hospital complex in Selcukid tradition as seen in Kayseri Gıyâsiye and Şifâhiye madrasahs. He concludes that the madrasah portion of the monument must have been destroyed and disappeared, thus leaving only the darü's-şifâ part of the monument erect. He proposed that an excavation should be performed to expose the base of the disappeared madrasah, however he failed to carry out this task because of financial problems.¹⁸² According to him the disappeared part of the monument should have been a medical madrasah like the one in Kayseri in which both theoretical and clinical education were given to the medical students, and it was the second medical

¹⁸⁰ İsmail Hakkı, Rıdvan Nafiz, *Sivas Şehri*. In fact there were two other investigators who wrote about Sivas Keykavus Darü's-şifâ previously. I did not mention them in the bibliography, because I was not able to find their books. These gentlemen were Clement Huart and Max Van Berchem. The name of their books was given by Sedat Çetintaş in his book *Sivas Darü's-şifâsı* in page 105 as *Inscription de l'Asie Mineur* and *Corpus Inscriptionum* respectively.

¹⁸¹ Sedat Çetintaş, *Sivas Darü's-şifâsı*, İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1953, pp. 48-49.

¹⁸² Sinan Çetintaş, *Sivas Darü's-şifâsı*, pp. 51-71.

school in the medical history of Turkey.¹⁸³ Ünver mentions the views of Çetintaş in his monograph *Selçuk Tababeti* and claims that there was a madrasah along with the darü'ş-şifâ within the monument complex.¹⁸⁴ Ünver referred to Çetintaş as a personel communication because Çetintaş had not written his book yet at the time. About thirty five years later after the first excavation performed by Çetintaş, another architect Orhan Cezmi Tuncer performed a comprehensive excavation with the sponsorship of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, and he put forward a different plan than Çetintaş, refuting the existence of a double madrasah.¹⁸⁵ He also refuted the idea that the monument had been heated with pipe drains within the walls which the hot water came from outside. Some authors still maintain that the waqf deed contains information about the presence of medical education in Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ.¹⁸⁶ On the contrary, there is no overt mention of medical education in the waqf deed. There is, however, a mention of the word “mülazim” in the waqf deed, probably this word may have been interpreted as “medical student”. Although this word may describe a medical trainee, also it may refer to auxiliary medical personnel as well. Furthermore, even though this word may refer to a medical trainee, it does not prove the existence of standart medical training in a madrasah format. Therefore, the existing evidence does not justify the claim that the waqf deed contains information about a formal medical education or training. Taking into account the monumental design of the building and plenty of properties and revenues devoted to the darü'ş-şifâ, there is no doubt that this waqf was planned to be very functional. In such an institute, one can not think that a kind of medical

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 126-133.

¹⁸⁴ Süheyl Ünver: *Selçuk Tababeti*, pp. 56-58.

¹⁸⁵ Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü'ş-şifâları*, Ankara: Atatürk Dil Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1992, p.p 46-47.

¹⁸⁶ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 57-59.

training was lacking. A mere absence or presence of an attached building to the darü'ş-şifâ is neither sufficient nor necessary to decide on existence of formal medical education. In my opinion it is not the architecture which will enlighten the function of these institutes. We need written documents or at least testimonies of the people. Unless we obtain such information, all the claims will be speculative or hypothetical.

We do not have any information about the function of the Darü'ş-şifâ in Selcukid period. In the Selçukname of İbni Bibi, who was a contemporary statesman of the Selcukid state, there is only a confirmatory sentence about the foundation of a darü'ş-şifâ in Sivas by Keykavus.¹⁸⁷ Another historian of that period Aksarayi does not mention the darü'ş-şifâ of Sivas.¹⁸⁸ None of the travellers mention about this darü'ş-şifâ in Sivas in the pre-Ottoman times.

Ottoman Period

Sivas was incorporated into the Ottoman state in the beginning of the 15th century. The first mention of Keykavus Darü'ş-şifâ is in a defter belonging to 1476. This defter is known to be published by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk and it is an inventory rather than a detailed register.¹⁸⁹ In this defter, Sivas Darü'ş-şifâsı is listed under waqfs of Aksaray. In this record, it is written that the waqf of Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ was ruined, not used as a darü'ş-şifâ and it was under the possession of the Kadıs of

¹⁸⁷ İbn Bibi, *Selçukname*, ed. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007, p. 69.

¹⁸⁸ Kerimüddin Mahmud-i Aksarayi, *Müsameretü'l Ahbar*, transl. Mürsel Öztürk, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000.

¹⁸⁹ Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih Devrinde Karaman Eyaleti Vakıfları Fihristi: Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü Arşivindeki Deftere Göre*, Ankara: Doğuş Limited, 1958.

Sivas¹⁹⁰ We encounter the name of Sivas Darü’ş-şifâ in the tahrir registers of Kayseri because of the mentioning of the situation of Efkere village. As noted previously in the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan section, it was written in a tahrir register which belonging to 1484 that Efkere village has been the malikane of Sivas Darü’ş-şifâ since the very old times. After its ruin, the income of appears to have been granted to “ulema”, “suhela” and “fukara” until the death of Mehmet the second. From this note we understand that beylerbeyi of Karaman converted the village Efkere to timar afterwards.¹⁹¹ However in another tahrir register which belongs to year 1500, we see that Efkere village again became the malikane of “vakf-ı medrese-i darü’ş-şifâ”. It is possible to interprete this as the darü’ş-şifâ of Kayseri because the defter is a register of Kayseri. However, if one looks at the bottom of the record, the expression “vakf-ı darü’ş-şifâ-i der Sivas” can be seen clearly.¹⁹² In the light of these documents, we understand that the Keykavus Darü’ş-şifâ in Sivas was in ruins in the second half of the 15th century from the records in 1476 and 1484. In 1500, it may have been converted to a madrasah because we come across the name as *medrese-i darü’ş-şifâ* or *şifâhiye medresesi* in the Ottoman documents. Another piece of information comes from a waqf defter which belongs to 1530. A note in this defter proves that the Darü’ş-şifâ was converted to a madrasah by the orders of the Sultan:

“Evkaf-ı Medrese-i Darü’ş-şifâ der nefis-i Sivas ki merhumü’l-mağfurleh Sultan Alaaddin’in ulu karındaşı merhum İzzeddin Galib bina eylemiştir. Sabıkan darü’ş-şifâ olub haliya emr-i Şerif ile medrese olmuştur.”¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p.59.

¹⁹¹ Mehmet İnbaşı, *1484 tarihli (Hicri 888) Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, pp. 53, 78.

¹⁹² Mehmet İnbaşı, *1500 (Hicri 906) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009, p. 30.

¹⁹³ BOA, TT 156, no. 26; Ersin Gülsoy, Mehmet Taştemir, *Vakıf ve Mülk Defteri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 35. This defter was said to be contain the waqfs and the mülks of Malatya, Gerger-Kahta and Divriği sancaks. However, two madrasahs within Sivas, the Medrese-i Darü’ş-şifâ and the Medrese-i Pervane were also included in this defter.

This information disproves the popular statement which claims that Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ was converted to madrasah in the 18th century¹⁹⁴. In fact, the accuracy of this statement was questioned previously. In a comprehensive MA thesis, Serpil Sönmez revealed that Sivas Darü'ş-şifâ was recorded as a madrasah in an Evkaf Defter belonging to the year 1572.¹⁹⁵ According to this record, the building which was a darü'ş-şifâ previously was converted to a madrasah with the order of Sultan and it had 7 students in it.¹⁹⁶ In another tahrir register of Kayseri belonging to 1570, there is a margin note near the record of Efkere village, it is as follows:

Karye-i Efkere malikane-i vakf-ı medrese-i Darü'ş-şifâ der nefis-i Sivas Sultan Gıyaseddin Keykavus bin Keyhüsrev bin Kılıçarslan es-Selçuki vakf etmiştir. Ber muceb-i vakıfname el müverrih tarih-i sene hams ve aşere ve semane mie divani örfiye timar der cizye¹⁹⁷

This record also shows that the Darü'ş-şifâ of Sivas was a madrasah in 16th century. The same defter also contains the income of the Medrese-i Darü'ş-şifâ of Sivas. Only two villages were malikane of the waqf; the village of Saman with an income of 7000 akces, and the village of Kasrik with an income of 2180 akçes, totaling a sum of 9180 akces.¹⁹⁸ When we compare these properties with the original waqf deed, it is clear that the properties which belonged to the waqf initially decreased significantly.

There is a record of yet another darü'ş-şifâ in Sivas which has not been mentioned previously. This record belongs to the years 1454-1455, and contains the

¹⁹⁴ İsmail Hakkı, Rıdvan Nafiz, *Sivas Şehri*, p. 125; the authors did not give a reference for the conversion of darü'ş-şifâ to madrasah in 18th century.

¹⁹⁵ Serpil Sönmez, *Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XV ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sivas Şehir Merkezi*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Emstitüsü, MA thesis, 2007, p. 93.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Mehmet İnbaşı, *1570 (Hicri 976) Tarihli Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, p. 108.

¹⁹⁸ BOA, TT 156, no. 26; Ersin Gülsoy, Mehmet Taştemir, *Vakıf ve Mülk Defteri*, p. 35.

expression “Darü’ş-şifâ der Ahmedek”.¹⁹⁹ The term Ahmedek is not clear, but it is thought to be an inner castle which is adjacent to the main city wall.²⁰⁰ It is not clear whether this was another darü’ş-şifâ or it was Keykavus’ Darü’ş-şifâ.

Kadı Court Registers of Sivas before 19th century is not available unfortunately. Remembering that systemic tahrir registers was very rare after the 16th century, we have only limited number of Ottoman documents from beginning from 17th to 20th centuries and they usually contain superficial information; assignment of müderris, ferraş and others.

The last information about Şifâhiye Medresesi is from the Salname (year book) of Sivas dating 1907 (1325 Hicri). When we read the section about Şifâhiye Medresesi, we understand the source of the dominant cliches among the writers about this institute:

Selâtin-i Selçûkiyeden Keykâvus-ı evvel Bin Keyhüsrev tarafından inşâ ettirilmiştir ki isminden de anlaşılacağı vechile bir müessese-i sıhhiye ve şifâiyedir. Bu bina-i azimin yalnız hastane değil hem bir mekteb-i tıbbiye, hem de seririyat hastânesi makamına kâim olmak üzere ol vakt yapılmış idüğü kapısı bâlâsındaki kitâbe-i tarihiyeden anlaşılmaktadır... Selâtin-i ‘izâm-ı Osmaniye böyle bir eser-i bihter-hayrın muattal ve günden güne müşrif ve harab olmasını tecvîz buyurmadıklarından 1182/1768 tarihli kuyûd-ı hakânîye mucibince medreseye kalb ve tahvîl edilmiştir. El-yevm bu medresede beşyüzi mütecâviz tahsîl-i ulûm ve ‘aliye ile iştigâl etmektedir.²⁰¹

This note shows the opinion of Ottoman State for the Şifâhiye Medresesi and this opinion seems to have influenced to many authors. The testimony to the

¹⁹⁹ BOA, TT 2, p. 480.

²⁰⁰ Serpil Sönmez, *Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XV ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sivas Şehir Merkezi*, pp. 54-56.

²⁰¹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas (1325/1907)*, Edition and Transcription, Ebubekir S. Yücel, Sivas: Buruciye Yayınları, 2007, pp. 177-178.

existence of 500 students at the time is a valuable information and shows that the function of the madrasah increased in the 20th century. However, as shown in a couple of records belonging to 15th and 16th centuries, the medical function of the waqf ceased long before the 18th century.

Darü'r-raha of Sivas

Darü'r-raha of Sivas which was founded in the beginning of 14th century deserves to be mentioned despite that it was not a health care providing institution directly. The aim of this institute was to assist the poor, the almsmen, the sick, the old people who were in need of help. According to its waqf deed, darü'r-raha offered housing service and food aid for the sick, the blind, the incapacitated, and the people who had leprosy.²⁰² Although it was not an hospital, it is important to see another institution looking after sick people along with the other people in need of help. Especially aiding the people with leprosy deserves attention, when we bear in mind that leprosy was seen as a frightening disease in Middle Ages. The waqf deed spared 60 dirhems annually for the patients with leprosy (mezcum).²⁰³ The vâkıf of this waqf was Kemaleddin Ahmed Bin Rahat who was an important Selcukid statesman. This family was known as "Rahatoğulları" in the history of Sivas province. They were also called as "mütevelliler" and their descendents are still living in Sivas. The name of this institution may have some relation with the name of the family as well its literal meaning "comfort".²⁰⁴ The seems very active during the sovereignty of Ottoman State. In 1673, the Kadi of Sivas wrote a petition to the

²⁰² Sadi S. Kucur, "XIV. Yüzyılda Sivas'ta Kapsamlı Bir Sosyal Dayanışma Kurumu: Darü'r-raha Vakfı ve Kuruluş Tarihi Meselesi", *Selçuklular Döneminde Sivas Sempozyumu*, Sivas, 2005, pp. 399-405.

²⁰³ Sadi S. Kucur, "XIV. Yüzyılda Sivas'ta Kapsamlı Bir Sosyal Dayanışma Kurumu, 2005.

²⁰⁴ Müjgan Üçer, "Sivas'ta Rahatoğulları Darü'r-rahası", *38. Uluslar arası Tıp Tarihi Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı*, Ankara, 2005, pp. 403-420.

Divan about the granting of the administration of the waqf.²⁰⁵ In the beginning of 20th century we see that the waqf had a mosque, a school and fountains, however because of financial problems it was requested that the repair of these building be performed by the treasury of Evkaf Nezareti.²⁰⁶

General Overview

We have more information about Sivas Darü's-sıhahha than we have on Kayseri Mâristan. The inscription in the main portal seems original and additionally we have a copy of the original waqf deed. This is the only waqf deed that we have about the darü'ş-şifâs which were founded in the pre-Ottoman period. A certain mütevellî was appointed to the waqf and all the authority was given to him. There is very little information about the function of the hospital. The staff, their wages, and the expenditure items were not described in details. The Waqf endowment deed simply instructs the mütevellî to employ physicians, surgoens and oculist with good quality, it does not specify many personnel are to be employed. In the Waqf deed it is also remarked that drugs should be produced and necessary herbs are to be provided. The amount of income devoted to the Darü's-siha is amazing in that, it is much more than the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan investigated in the previous section. Erection of such a huge monument with a remarkable amount of income strongly points out a well developed and prosperous city. Indeed, Sivas city witnessed a considerable progress in the beginning of 13th century that had never experienced in its history as far as we know. It became the center of numerous trade routes and an important center for slave market. Personal affection of Keykavus to Sivas should

²⁰⁵ BOA, İE.EV., no. 2064.

²⁰⁶ BOA, BEO, no. 198378.

be noted as an important factor as well.²⁰⁷ Although we know the devoted properties to the waqf we do not know their financial value in that date. However, it is quite clear that these properties decreased significantly by the date 1530.

Çetintaş claimed that there was a medical madrasah adjacent to the darü'ş-şifâ as a result of his excavations. However his excavations were incomplete, and later a more detailed archeological work revealed that there was no building adjacent to the monument of darü'ş-şifâ. We do not have any information about the function of the darü'ş-şifâ in the Selcukid period. Only Ibni Bibi confirms the erection of the Darü'ş-şifâ by Keykavus, but he does not give any further information and none of the travellers mentioned about this particular darü'ş-şifâ. We do not know about the longevity of functioning of the Darü'ş-şifâ accurately. However we do know that it was in a ruined condition by the last quarter of the 15th century. Numerous records from the last quarter of the 15th century and from the first quarter of the 16th century reveal that the darü'ş-şifâ was converted to a madrasah. By this time, the name of darü'ş-şifâ was written as “Şifâhiye Medresesi” in the Ottoman documents. There is no mention of physicians and other health issues in these documents. These documents are about appointment of instructors, administrator and other staff in general.

²⁰⁷ Osman Turan, “Selçuklular Zamanında Sivas Şehri”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 447-457.

3.4 Darü'ş-şifa of Turan Melek in Divriği

Pre-Ottoman Period

Divriği is now a county of Sivas province, while having been an important city of the Mengücekoğulları principality. This principality emerged at the end of 11th century over the territories of Erzincan, Kemah, Divriği and Şebinkarahisar. One branch of this group settled in Erzincan and the other branch settled in Divriği.²⁰⁸ Darü'ş-şifâ of Divriği is within a complex with Ulucami, a mosque, which can be defined as the supreme monument of the Selcukid architecture. According to Necdet Sakaoğlu, the combination of a mosque and darü'ş-şifâ is unique to Divriği.²⁰⁹ There is an inscription in the portal of the darü'ş-şifâ, the original Arabic script and its translation is as follows:

امرة بعمره هذه الدار الشفا المباركة ابتغاء لمرضاة الله الملكة العادلة المحتاجة الى
عفو الله توران ملك ابنة الملك السعيد فخر الدين بهرامشاه تقبل الله منها آمين في احد
شهور ست و عشرين و ستمائة.

The construction of this venerable darü'ş-şifâ was ordered by Melike Turan Melek who was just and in need to be pardoned (by God), the daughter of Melik Fahreddin Behramşah, the blessed. May God accept it. Amin. In the early months of 626 (1228)".

²⁰⁸ Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Ötügen Yayınevi, 2004, pp. 73-97.

²⁰⁹ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Türk Anadolu'da Mengücekoğulları*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004, p. 339.

There is a second inscription in the darü'ş-şifâ which commemorates the master who built this monument: “the work of Hurşad of Ahlat”.²¹⁰

عمل حورشاد اخلاطی

Behramşah, father of Turan Melik was the governor of the Erzincan and Kemah branch of Mengücek Principality. This branch of the principality was captured by Alaeddin Keykubat in 1228. According to a tale Turan Melik was wife of Ahmet Şah (also paternal cousin of her) who built Ulucami, but this was not confirmed with documentary evidence.²¹¹ Ulucami and the Darü'ş-şifâ are the two monuments which were located in the same complex; one was built by Ahmed Şah and the other was built by Turan Melik. This situation might have brought the idea that they were married. Sakaoğlu thinks that that this was only a suggestion, but the lack of credible evidence weakens the validity of this theory. It is noteworthy that the capture of the Erzincan and Kemah branch of the principality and the erection of the Divriği Darü'ş-şifâ were in the same date, 1228. Around the same dates (1228-1229) Abdülatif Bağdadi, a physician, biologist and a physiatrist, was in the territories of Mengücek Principality during the same period. It is known that Bağdadi used to visit the court of Behramşah in Erzincan. Sakaoğlu concentrates on the coincidence and establishes a connection between these two conditions, and suggests that Abdülatif Bağdadi was treating Turan Melek who was suffering from a psychiatric disorder because of the occupation of her motherland. Sakaoğlu thinks that Abdülatif Bağdadi should have given the idea of building a darü'ş-şifâ in Divriği. He also points out the possibility that the astonishing and inimitable design

²¹⁰ Müjgan Üçer, “Divriği Turan Melek Darü'ş-şifâ and Ulucamii (Mosque)”, in *Şifâhâneler: Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Şefkat Abideleri*, ed. Abdullah Kılıç, İstanbul: Medicalpark Hospitals, 2012, p. 122.

²¹¹ Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü'ş-şifâları*, p. 51.

of the portal of darü'ş-şifâ may have been accomplished with the contribution of Bağdadi. Indeed the design of the portal of the Darü'ş-şifâ can be considered among the most inventive designs in the history of architecture.²¹²

Ottoman Period

The available documents about Turan Melek Darü'ş-şifâ are found in the BOA and VGMA. We encounter a very important information about the fate of the Darü'ş-şifâ in the evkaf defters. The oldest record available is in an Atik (Köhne) Evkaf Defter belongs to 1519 (925 H).²¹³ There is an interesting explanation in this record about the fate of the darü'ş-şifâ waqf. According to this explanation, the waqf was called as “Medrese-i Kübra” and it was built by Turan Melek, the daughter of Behramşah, and it adjoined with the mosque within Divriği. In this record there is no mention of the darü'ş-şifâ and all the Ottomant documents mention it either as “medrese-i kübra” or “medrese-i kebir”. The record includes the income of the medrese; 2683 akces from Kömek village and Hevli hamlet, 501 akces from Körküsü village. There is an explanatory note in this record about the fate of the waqf in the pre-Ottoman period and it is as follows:

Asıl vakıfenin vakfettiği evkaf, Çerakise (Memluklar) zamanında bil-külliye zayı olmuş. Vakfiye dahi bulunamadı. Bu zikr olunan evkafı Tac'ül-mülk binti Melik Mehmet Bey bin Behramşah vakfeylemiş. Şerait-i vakıf, bu vech üzeredir ki zikr olunur:

Cihet-i müderris fi sene	60	müd
Cihet-i iade	30	müd
Cihet-i nezaret	30	müd
Cihet-i fukaha fi sene	48	müd
Cihet-i huffaz fi sene	40	müd
Cihet-i ferraş	12	müd
Yekun fi sene	220	müd

²¹² Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Türk Anadolu'da Mengücekoğulları*, p. 344.

²¹³ Zeki Arıkan, “Divriği Kazasının İlk Sayımı (925/1519)”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vol. XI, 1991, pp. 49-50.

Mahsul bu kismete vefa etmezse bu üslub üzre yetiştikçe kismet ederlermiş²¹⁴

As seen, the document of the original waqf endowment deed seems to have been lost during the Memluk occupation which began in 1380, and the darü's-şifâ function of the monument sinks into oblivion. Although the waqf deed is lost, it is stated that the devoter of the waqf was Tac'ül-mülk, daughter of Melik Mehmet Bey, instead of Turan Melik who built the monument. It is obvious that the darü's-şifâ was converted to a madrasah at an unknown date, and it was functioning as a madrasah at the beginning of Ottoman sovereignty. In another tahrir defter which belongs to 1530 (937 H), there is a similar record.²¹⁵ In the title of the record it is written

“ Vakf-ı Medrese-i Kübra ki Turan Melek binti Behramşah bina etmiştir. Der Batın-ı Divriği”. The villages of Kömek and Körküsü with incomes 1797 and 455 akces respectively, and the hamlet Hevli with income of 440 akces appear to be the malikanes of Medrese-i Kübra with the total annual income being 2692 akces.²¹⁶ In this record, we learn that there was a waqf deed belonging to date 1389-90 (792 H.), and a large number of muslims testify the validity of the waqf deed. This deed is now also lost. Many documents were available in the BOA about this medrese until the beginning of 20th century and they demonstrate the madrasah function of the waqf. Dated to 1814, there is a document about the granting of tevliyet and nazırlık of the Medrese-i Kübra.²¹⁷ In 1838, Esseyid Mustafa bin Esseyid Hasan who owns the half portion (nisf hisse) of his tevliyet duty in Medrese-i Kübra turns over his duty to Esseyid Ömer Halife İbn-i Hasan another member of the family of the

²¹⁴ BOA, MAD, no. 3332, pp. 16-40.

²¹⁵ BOA, TT, no.156, p. 186-187.

²¹⁶ Ersin Gülsoy, Mehmet Taştımır, *Vakıf ve Mülk Defteri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, pp. 220-221.

²¹⁷ BOA, C.SH., no.488.

waqf.²¹⁸ In 1864, upon death of the müderris of Medrese-i Kübra Esseyid Süleyman Efendi, his duty is given to Esseyid Ali Efendi untill the young boys of Süleyman Efendi became mature.²¹⁹

There is a financial record of the waqf belonging to date 1869/70. In this record, the condition of the madrasah is expressed as “medrese-i harabe”.²²⁰ The income and the expenditure are given as 8630 kuruş and 22 para, with the details were as follows:

The income

8630 kuruş Kömek and Körküsü villages and Hevni hamlet

The expenditure

1742 kuruş 21 para yevm 3 akçe, müderris

1742 kuruş 21 para yevm 3 akçe, müderris

1161 kuruş 36 para yevm 2 akçe, cüzhan

580 kuruş 39 para yevm 1 akçe fakih

580 kuruş 39 para yevm 1 akçe ferraş

580 kuruş 39 para yevm 1 akçe fakih

580 kuruş 39 para yevm 1 akçe tevliyet

580 kuruş 39 para yevm 1 akçe tevliyet

7551 kuruş 30 para sum of the wages

863 kuruş 07 para maaş-ı muharrer

215 kuruş 35 para harc-ı muhasebe

8630 kuruş 22 para sum of the total expenditure²²¹

²¹⁸ VGM, defter no. 286, p. 186.

²¹⁹ BOA, EV.MK., no. 259. This document was obtained from VGM.

²²⁰ BOA, EV.MH. no. 1621, p. 226. This document was obtained from VGM.

²²¹ Ibid.

The staff of the waqf was a classical madrasah staff, however according to this record madrasah function was ceased at that time. It was also stated in this record that the administrator did not have the waqf endowment deed. Nevertheless, following the old tradition, the income of the waqf was divided into 13 portions and distributed to the staff according to their positions which were determined according to their daily akçe income. Here the written daily akçe income was not their actual income only showing their portion related to the sum of other portions. The daily akçes of the staff were 3,3,2,1,1,1,1,1 respectively and the sum of them makes 13. After subtracting the portion of the hazine, from the total income, the remaining amount was distributed among the staff according to their portions, and this portions were called as daily akçe income. The the transcription of the expression in the record which explains this method is given below:

Beher sene vâridâtından mürettebât-ı hazîne tenzîl kılınarak kusûr fazlası ber-mûceb-i teâmül on üç sehim i'tibârıyla ehl-i vezâ'ife taksîm olunageldiği ve mütevellî yedinde vakfiyyesi olmadığı²²²

This is a very important document which demonstrating the actual meaning of the daily income that take place in all waqf financial records. It is not the wage of the staff, but it defines one's portion among the other staff. Indeed, in the following year the total income of the waqf decreased significantly from 8630 kuruş to 4195 kuruş, and the daily 3 akçe income was decreased from 1742 to 726 kuruş.²²³

In the last quarter of the 19th century there were many correspondences about the restoration of the monument consisting of both the Ulucami and the Medrese-i Kübra. In 1889, it appears that the buildings were seriously damaged and the previous financial records of the waqf were could not even be found. After a

²²² Ibid.

²²³ BOA, EV.MH. no. 1621, p. 235. This document was obtained from VGM.

number of correspondences the requested information was found in a derkenar in a record.²²⁴ In the end, a decision was made for its restoration in 1902.²²⁵

Overview

The Darü'ş-şifâ of Turan Melik was constructed in 1228 in the capital of Mengücek principality. It formed a complex unit with the Ulucami which was built during the same dates by Ahmet Şah, the Mengücek bey. The name of this institute was Darü'ş-şifâ as stated in the inscription on the portal. This was the first health institute whose name is darü'ş-şifâ. The previous ones were called with the names mâristan, bîmârhâne, darü's-siha. No document has been found as to its function during the pre-Ottoman times. In the defter that contains the earliest tahrir registers belonging to date 1519, it was noted that the waqf was ruined and even its waqf endowment deed was lost. In the following register in 1530, the name of the waqf was stated as “Medrese-i kübra” or “Medrese-i Kebir”, and it became clear that the Darü'ş-şifâ was converted to a madrasah in the beginning of the Ottoman rule in Divriği. In the beginning of 19th century, it was functioning as a madrasah, however, in the last quarter of the 19th century, it was ruined again and there was a serious effort to restore it because of its inherent artistic and architectural features. Probably as a result of these efforts the monument is still erect today and UNESCO included this monument to the World Heritage List.²²⁶

²²⁴ BOA, EV. MKT., no. 01889. This document was obtained from VGM.

²²⁵ BOA, EV.MKT., no. 2748. This document was obtained from VGM. “Divriği Kasabası'nda vâki‘ Câmi‘ -i Kebirle Medrese-i Kübrâ'nın müddet-i medîdeden beri ta‘mîr görmemesi cihetiyle müşrif-i harâb olduđu ve âsâr-ı cesîme-i İslâmiyye ve mü‘essesât-ı atîkadan olan mezkûr câmi‘ ve medresenin tarz-ı inşâ ve tertîbâtı nâdiru'l-emsâl idüğü ve bir müddet daha te’hîr-i ta‘mîri büsbütün harab olarak hey‘et-i asliyelerine ircâ‘ı muhâl hükmüne girmesine bâdî olacağı beyânıyla... zikr olunan câmi‘-i şerîf ve medresenin bir ân evvel ta‘mîr ve termîmi ehem ve elzem idüğü derkâr bulunmuş olduğundan”

²²⁶ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>, August, 4, 2013.

CHAPTER IV

THE OTHER HEALTH INSTITUTES WHICH WERE FOUNDED IN THE PRE-OTTOMAN PERIOD IN ANATOLIA

4.1 Darü'l-'afiye of Cemaledin Ferruh in Çankırı

The Darü'l-'afiye (health house) of Cemaledin Ferruh was constructed on a relatively high rocky heel in an outer district of Çankırı. Its builder was Atabey Cemaledin Ferruh, a Selcukid statesman and commander, and the construction of the monument began in 1235 (633 H.). Near this darü'l-'afiye, a darülhadis (school of hadith) was built in 1242 (640 H.). Today, only the darülhadis was erect and this building was called as “Taş Mescid” among the public. The darü'l-'afiye was ruined.²²⁷ We have the inscription of the darü'l-'afiye written in Arabic and it was said to be preserved in Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. The translation of the inscription is as follows:

Atabey Lala Cemalüddin Ferruh- may God make him successful- one of the emancipated slaves indigent to God's mercy and pauper of the liege during the prosperous days of the son of Keyhüsrev, great sultan, conqueror Alaüddin Keykubad- God make him beloved and

²²⁷ Abdullah Kılıç, “The Cemaledin Ferruh Darü'l-'afiye in Çankırı”, *The Şifâhânes of Philanthropic Monuments of the Seljuk and Ottoman Eras*, ed. Abdullah Kılıç, İstanbul: Medicalpark, 2012, p. 145.

victorious- loyal to the Abbasid Caliph, ordered this sacred darü'l-'afiye be constructed in the month of Muharram in 633.²²⁸

Atabey Cemaleddin Ferruh who built this hospital was also the administrator of the Darü's-sıha of Sivas as mentioned in the waqf endowment deed. He died in Çankırı in 1242 and his tomb was near the darü'ş-şifâ-darülhadis complex.²²⁹

We do not know anything about the function of this waqf in the Selukid era. There is a stone with a motif of snake wrapped around a trunk in the shape of a goblet, among the remains of the Darü'l-'afiye. Another piece which is lost now, is a relief of two snakes with their heads turned to each other on a stone, which is also currently used as a medical symbol. This shows that the snake motif was adopted as a health symbol by the Selcukids.²³⁰ There are a few documents in the Ottoman Archives related to the Darü'l-'afiye with the name of either "Bîmârhâne Mescidi" or "Timârhâne Mescidi". There are two documents from the last quarter of the 18th century about the assignment of imam to the Bîmârhâne Mescidi,²³¹ and three documents about Timârhâne mescidi.²³² From these documents we understand that the waqf was active in the end of 18th century, however there were no clues about its medical function, probably it was used as a mescid in the 18th century.

²²⁸ Abdullah Kılıç, "The Cemaleddin Ferruh Darü'l-'afiye in Çankırı", 2012, p. 146.

²²⁹ Süheyl Ünver, *Selcuk Tababeti*, p. 71.

²³⁰ Abdullah Kılıç, "The Cemaleddin Ferruh Darü'l-'afiye in Çankırı", p. 151.

²³¹ BOA, C.SH., no. 582, 1338.

²³² BOA, C.SH., no. 272; C.EV., no. 9055, 18007.

4.2 Mâristan of Ali bin Süleyman in Kastamonu

The Mâristan was constructed in 1272 (617) by Ali, son of Pervane Muinüddin Süleyman, grandson of Mühezzibüddin Ali, who was one of the Selcukid viziers. The building's founder Ali, served the Selcukid government as had his father and grandfather. He was the defender of Keyhüsrev III, and he was a kadi in Kayseri as well. He was captured by Baybars during his Anatolian expedition in 1277, and released in 1278.²³³ The only remaining part of this monument is the portal of the Mâristan. This building was used as a tekke of Kadiri or Halveti order. This district was known as "Yılanlıdergah" in 19th century among the public.²³⁴ There was an inscription on the portal and the portal bears all the features of the Selcukid stone decoration tradition. The Yılanlı Cami and the tomb of Abdülfettah-ı Veli, situated on the south of the darü'ş-şifâ. The inhabitant of the tomb is generally thought to be the seventh grandson of Abdülkadir Geylani. According to a rumor, Geylani was not welcomed by the public when he came to Kastamonu and the area which was infested with snakes was offered to him when he asked for place to be settled. According to the documents in the Archives of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, the duties of şeyh, imamet and hitabet was granted to the family of Pervane bin Süleyman and the waqf continued until the abolition of tekkes and zaviyes.²³⁵ The translation of the inscription in the portal of the mâristan is as follows:

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful,
And we send down of the Quran for healing and mercy of the believers.
The Prophet Muhammed said: Oh the servants of God ! let yourselves

²³³ Abdullah Kılıç, Kastamonu Ali b. Süleyman Mâristanı, *The Şifâhânes of Philanthropic Monuments of the Seljuk and Ottoman Eras*, ed. Abdullah Kılıç, İstanbul: Medicalpark, 2012, p. 175.

²³⁴ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, p. 72.

²³⁵ Abdullah Kılıç, Kastamonu Ali b. Süleyman Mâristanı, p. 176.

be treated. Undoubtly, God created a cure for every disease except death. Ali, the son of Süleyman, who is in need of God's mercy and forgiveness more than anyone else, ordered the building of this Mâristan and its İmaret. May God forgive him for his sins, accept his charities. He built this monument in the months of the year 1272 while praising God and God bless Muhammed.²³⁶

Although the main functions of the Mâristan in various periods are unknown, it seems that it was used both as tekke and darü'ş-şifâ. Its function is obscure in the pre-Ottoman period. There were very information about it in the Ottoman period as well. However, an interesting documents provides us some clues about its function in the first half of 18th century. This document belongs to 1727, and stated that many epileptic and lunatic people who came from the surrounding sancaks and villages recovered with the prays of the şeyh of the darü'ş-şifâ. Although nobody interfered to this institute since the conquest of the territory, a new institution named İbrahim Paşa Medresesi was constituted and the instructorship of this madrasah was granted to someone else. With the order of the Sultan the new madrasah was abolished and the darü'ş-şifâ was granted back to Şeyh Hafız Mustafa Efendi who was the şeyh of the Darü'ş-şifâ previously.²³⁷ In another document which belongs to the date 1773, 47 years later, we see that Şeyh Hafız Mustafa died and the same task was granted to his son Abdülaziz Halife.²³⁸ These two registers contain very important issues. It is obvious that there was a very positive public opinion about Şeyh of Darü'ş-şifâ about his treatment of epileptic and lunatic patients, who were coming to the Darü'ş-şifâ from various surrounding territories. It is not clear when this darü'ş-şifâ was converted to a tekke. Although the name of the institute was mentioned as darü'ş-şifâ in the Ottoman documents, it

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 178.

²³⁷ BOA, C.SH., no. 224; Abdullah Kılıç, Kastamonu Ali b. Süleyman Mâristanı, p. 181.

²³⁸ BOA, C.SH., no. 64.

was administrated by a şeyh, and the document reveals that it was the situation since the conquest of Kastamonu. In another document dated 1836, it was recorded that the building of Ali Bin Süleyman Mâristan was repaired by Şeyh Abdülfettah and we understand from this record that the Mâristan was connected to Abdülazizzade Hankah known as Yılanlı Tekke.²³⁹ This tekke continued to exist till the abolition of tekkes and zaviyes, functioning as an health institute treating epileptic and lunatic patients. In a room of this abandoned building, 75 books were found whose names were written in the catalogs of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.²⁴⁰

4.3 Darü’ş-şifa of Muinüddin Pervane Süleyman in Tokat

There was very little information about the existence of a Darü’ş-şifâ in the pre-Ottoman period. Only Eflaki, who lived in 14th century, mentioned a Hankah related to Pervane in Tokat, in his book “Ariflerin Menkıbeleri”.²⁴¹ It was generally accepted that this monument complex was built by Pervane Muinüddin Süleyman in 1272, but because of the fact that he was executed by the İlhanlı hakan Abaka han in 1277, the rest of the building was completed by his daughter or a relative. This complex was known as “Gökmedrese”, “Kırkkızlar”, “Bîmârhâne” or “Darü’ş-şifâ” among public and it was now used as the Tokat Museum. The inscription place on the portal is empty and the inscription was lost. The Darü’s-siha which is a part of the complex contains an inscription, and the expression written on the inscriptions points out the wife of Sultan Mesud the second, who was the Selcukid Sultane. This

²³⁹ BOA, HAT, no. 34.

²⁴⁰ Abdullah Kılıç, Kastamonu Ali b. Süleyman Mâristanı, p. 182.

²⁴¹ Ali Haydar Bayat, “Tokat Muinüddin Süleyman Darü’ş-şifâsı (1255-1275 arası)”, *38th International Congress on History of Medicine: Historical Health Institutions in Turkey Through Ülker Erke’s View and Style*, ed. Nil Sarı, 2002, p. 29; Eflaki, *Arifelerin Menkıbeleri*, ed. And transl. Tahsin Yazıcı, İstanbul:Kabalıcı Yayınevi, 2006, p. 691.

woman was also the daughter of Pervane Muinüddin Süleyman. The architectural design of the complex was not clear, Cantay claims that this was a double madrasah and excavations were needed to prove this idea.²⁴²

A document in the Ottoman Archives which belongs to 1784 mentions about a mosque, a madrasah and a darü'ş-şifâ revealing that this monument was a complex consisted of three elements. Evliya Çelebi stated that Gökmedrese was turned to a tekke by the order of the Sultan and granted to man named Şeyh Vani. However, we have later documents, in 1713, 1776 and 1784 revealing a functional health institute.²⁴³ In one of these documents which belongs to 1713, there is a decree for the assignment of the second physician to the Darü'ş-şifâ of Pervane Bey.²⁴⁴ According to Ünver the Darü'ş-şifâ was active till the beginning of 19th century as an health institute.²⁴⁵

Although Ali Haydar Bayat considers the conversion of a darü'ş-şifâ into a tekke as a paradox, it may not be the situation. As we see in Kastamonu Mâristan previously, there was a şeyh in it, who was called as Şeyh of the Darü'ş-şifâ and this was a tekke as well which was famous in giving service and treatment to the lunatics and epileptics.

²⁴² Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü'ş-şifâları*, pp. 60-61.

²⁴³ Ali Haydar Bayat, "Tokat Muinüddin Süleyman Darü'ş-şifâsı", 2002, p. 29.

²⁴⁴ BOA, C.SH., no. 329.

²⁴⁵ Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti*, pp. 81-83.

4.4 Health Institutes in Konya

It is known that at least three health institutes were founded in Konya under the rule of Anatolian Selcukids. Konya can be seen as the most important city and the capital of Anatolian Selcukid State. The first health institute was Mâristan-ı Atik which was probably erected by Kılıçarslan the second in the second half of the 12th century.²⁴⁶ Depending on a waqf record in it has been claimed that Mâristan-ı Atik was built by Melikşah the Anatolian Selcukid Sultan in 1113.²⁴⁷ Despite the fact that this information was accepted by some scholars²⁴⁸, it was considered as nonscientific by others.²⁴⁹ The second health institute was built in 1221 by Alaeddin Keykubad. Küçükdağ states that this darü'ş-şifâ was built as a second health institute while Mâristan-ı Atik was functional. According to him the former was used as a bîmârhâne in which lunatic patients were treated, and the second one was built for the other patients.²⁵⁰ Altıntaş believes that the Darü'ş-şifâ of Alaeddin was not a separate hospital, rather the old one was repaired and restored and named as Alaeddin Darü'ş-şifâsı.²⁵¹ The third institute was a cüz zamhâne which was also built by Alaeddin Keykubat. The name of this place was “Sırçalı Sultan Zaviyesi”

²⁴⁶ Ali Haydar Bayat, “Konya ve Çevresindeki Darü'ş-şifâlar”, *38th International Congress on History of Medicine: Historical Health Institutions in Turkey Through Ülker Erke's View and Style*, ed. Nil Sarı, 2002, p. 19.

²⁴⁷ Ayten Altıntaş, “Konya Darü'ş-şifâsı”, *The Şifâhânes of Philanthropic Monuments of the Seljuk and Ottoman Eras*, ed. Abdullah Kılıç, İstanbul: Medicalpark, 2012, pp. 137,138; Kamil Şahin, “Konya Kadı İzzeddin Mâristan-ı Atik (Hastanesi) ve Sultan Aladdin Keykubat Darü'ş-şifâsı”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, No.30, 2007, pp. 101-116.

²⁴⁸ Ayten Altıntaş, “Konya Darü'ş-şifâsı”, 2012, pp. 137,138; Ali Haydar Bayat, “Konya ve Çevresindeki Darü'ş-şifâlar”, 2002, p. 19.

²⁴⁹ Yusuf Küçükdağ, *Konya Alaeddin Darü'ş-şifâsı*, Konya: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2008, p. 4.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ayten Altıntaş, “Selçuklular ve Osmanlılar Döneminde Konya Darü'ş-şifâsı”, *1. International Congress on the Turkish History of Medicine, 10. National Congress on the Turkish History of Medicine*, Vol.1, May 2008, pp. 56-68.

or “Misikinler Tekkesi” and the patients who were diagnosed as leprosy by the Kadi were sent to this place.²⁵²

The Darü’ş-şifâ Alaeddin among the others, is the most important health institute in Konya which deserves attention. We know the existence of this Darü’ş-şifâ primarily from documents and many narratives. For example, the famous Selcukid historian Aksarayi wrote that the vizier Tuğrai Muzafferüddin who escaped from Pervane Muinüddin Mehmet during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubat took shelter in the Alaeddin Darü’ş-şifâ.²⁵³ The building of the Alaeddin Darü’ş-şifâ was vanished and even the actual place of it was not known until the meticulous research of Küçükdağ revealed it.²⁵⁴ The exact date of the erection of the Darü’ş-şifâ was not known, however, from an inscription which was found in a place close to the assumed place of the darü’ş-şifâ has a date of 1221. Although this inscription does not contain the name of the Sultan or the name of the monument, it was thought that it was the inscription of Alaeddin Darü’ş-şifâsı.²⁵⁵ Anyway, this institute should have been built between 1220-1237, during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubat. There were few waqf documents mentioning about this datürşşifâ in the pre-Ottoman period. One of them is known as the waqf deed of Kemaleddin bin Doğuş, which belongs to date 1248 (646 H.) and the other is the waqf deed of Fatma Hatun, the daughter of Keykavus in date 1301. These deeds were written in Arabic and they demonstrates the existence of Alaeddin Darü’ş-şifâ in the pre-Ottoman period.²⁵⁶ Moreover, there were some documents showing the assignment

²⁵² Yusuf Küçükdağ, Konya Alaeddin Darü’ş-şifâsı, p. 5.

²⁵³ Ali Haydar Bayat, “Konya ve Çevresindeki Darü’ş-şifâlar”, p. 19.

²⁵⁴ Yusuf Küçükdağ, pp. 10-18.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

of physicians to this darü's-şifâ before the Ottomans.²⁵⁷ There were many documents about the function of the darü's-şifâ in the Ottoman era. These documents reveal the presence of surgeons, physician and oculists. Additionally, there were many records about drug production and treatment of patients,²⁵⁸ along with the assignment of physicians from one darü's-şifâ to the other.²⁵⁹ It is important to emphasize that the vast majority of the documents mentioned here were taken from Kadi Court Registers and this fact shows us the utmost importance of searching these registers systematically and meticulously. The Darü's-şifâ of Alaeddin was repaired and restored for several times in the 18th century and it seems to be ruined and became functionless in the second half of the 19th century.²⁶⁰

4.5 Darü's-şifâ of Amasya

Darü's-şifâ of Amasya was among the most prominent and famous health institutes of Anatolia; the building is still erect and it now serves as museum of history of Medicine. According to its inscription it was built in 1308 by Anber bin Abdullah in the reign of İlhanid ruler Olcaytu Mehmed and his wife İldus hatun.²⁶¹ For this reason this darü's-şifâ was named as “Anber bin Abdullah Darü's-şifâsı” owing to the information in the inscription.²⁶² However, this darü's-şifâ was continously referred as “Sultan Alaeddin darü's-şifâsı” in the Ottoman

²⁵⁷ Turan, Osman, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1958, pp. 50-55.

²⁵⁸ Yusuf Küçükdağ, pp. 27-32.

²⁵⁹ Ayten Altıntaş, “Selçuklular ve Osmanlılar Döneminde Konya Darü's-şifâsı”, pp. 56-68.

²⁶⁰ Yusuf Küçükdağ, pp. 35-36.

²⁶¹ Ali Haydar Bayat, “Anber bin Abdullah”, *38th International Congress on History of Medicine: Historical Health Institutions in Turkey Through Ülker Erke's View and Style*, ed. Nil Sarı, 2002, p. 33.c

²⁶² Gönül Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darü's-şifâları*, 1992, p. 67; Ahmet Eryüksel, “Amasya Anber bin Abdullah Darü's-şifâsı”, *Tarihi Sağlık Kurumlarımız Darü's-şifâlar*, editor: Prof. Dr. Nil Sarı, (İstanbul: Sanovel, 2010), Vol. 1, pp. 183-185.

documents.²⁶³ Altıntaş suggested that this darü'ş-şifâ was built by Alaeddin Keykubat previously, in the first half of the 13th century, and when İlhanids conquered Amasya in 1308, they repaired it and placed a new inscription on it.²⁶⁴ Küçükdağ also thinks that it was first built by Alaeddin Keykubat.²⁶⁵ The waqf endowment deed was written in 1312, but because it was lost afterwards, we do not know the content of it.

We do not have any information about the function of this darü'ş-şifâ in 14th century, but we have a very important information about its function in the middle of 15th century. The famous physician and surgeon Sabuncuzade Şerefeddin who wrote many medical manuscripts, wrote that he worked for 14 years in Amasya Darü'ş-şifâ:

...Şerefeddin bin Ali Bin Elhac İlyas 'afâllahu 'anhüm, bî-hürmeti'l-nebîyyi ve'l-abbas eydür: Ömrüm heştad ü penc olmışdı. Bu ömr-i kasîr ve 'ömr-i tavîl içinde mutavvel ve muhtasar kitaplara nazar idüp ondört yıl Darü'ş-şifâ-ı Amasya haresallahu anilbelliyede tabâbet itdügümden sonra cumhur-ı etibbâdan b'azı yarenler bu kemineden iltimâs itdüler kim tecrübe ettiğim terakîbi cem' idüp bir muhtasar risâle idem...²⁶⁶

This passage is from Mücerrebname which was the original work of Şerefeddin. According to the various copies of this manuscript, it was written in 1468 and Şerefeddin was 85 years old at that time.²⁶⁷ Although, we do not know the exact date of his working in the Amasya Darü'ş-şifâ, however, considering that he introduced himself as the *mütetabbîb* of Amasya Darü'ş-şifâ in the beginning of his

²⁶³ BOA, İE.EV., no. 5717, 6952; C.SH., no. 261, 1033, 1446.

²⁶⁴ Ayten Altıntaş, "Amasya Darü'ş-şifâsı", In *Şifâhâneler: Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Şefkat Abideleri*, ed. Abdullah Kılıç, İstanbul: Medicalpark Hospitals, 2012, pp. 153-154.

²⁶⁵ Yusuf Küçükdağ, p. 10.

²⁶⁶ Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu, *Mücerrebname*, eds. İlder Uzel, Kenan Süveren, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1999, p. 143 (1b).

²⁶⁷ Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu, *Mücerrebname*, 1999, pp. 137-140.

other famous work *Cerrâhiyetü'l Hâniyye* which he wrote in 1465, it may be speculated that he was working in the Amasya Darü's-şifâ when he wrote this manuscript:

...Şereddin bin Ali Bin el-Hac İlyâs, 'afâllahu 'anhüm, bî-hürmeti'n-nebhiyyi ve'l-abbas el mülakkab bî-Sabuncı-oglı el mütetabbib fi-Dari's-şifâyı Amasiyye...²⁶⁸

In 1530, in a muhasebe defter, we encounter the name of the darü's-şifâ two times owing to its malikane villages. In one of them the record was “vakf-ı medrese-i darü's-şifâ” and in the other “vakf-ı darü's-şifâ”.²⁶⁹ In 1574, with the order of Hekimbaşı, Hasan who was working in Darü's-şifâ of Amasya for 15 akces daily income was assigned to Darü's-şifâ of Konya; however, because of being an inborn citizen of Amasya, Hasan did not want to go Konya. Then Alaeddin who was assigned to Amasya in lieu of Hasan was sent to Darü's-şifâ of Konya.²⁷⁰ Evliya Çelebi who visited Amasya in 1650's saw the Darü's-şifâ and described it as: “Timârhâne-i azim-i abadan, evkaf-ı kadimdir”. Another document from 1752 was about the appointment of a physician because of the death of the previous one. In 1804 a petition requested the position of tabib and zincirci upon death of Mustafa Halife who possessed these duties.²⁷¹

Darü's-şifâ of Amasya seems to be quite active in 15th century, and its function continued to the first half of the 19th century, probably in a declining fashion.

²⁶⁸ Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu, *Cerrâhiyetü'l-Haniyye*, ed. İlter Uzel, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, p. 127.

²⁶⁹ 387 Numaralı *Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri (937/1530)II*: Eds. Ahmet Özkılınc, Ali Coşkun, Gülşen Ergun, Mustafa Karazeybek, Abdullah Sivridağ, Murat Yüzbaşıoğlu, Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996, pp. 383-385.

²⁷⁰ Ayten Altıntaş, “Belgeler Işığında Amasya Darü's-şifâsı”, Amasya Uluslararası Anadolu-Türk Darü's-şifâları ve Sabuncuoğlu Kongresi, Amasya, 2008, p. 19; *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, Arşiv Belgeleri, eds. Coşkun Yılmaz, Necdet Yılmaz, İstanbul, 2006, Vol. II, p.69; BOA, MD, 25/248/2291.

²⁷¹ Ayten Altıntaş, “Belgeler Işığında Amasya Darü's-şifâsı”, pp. 21-27.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Much has been written about the health institutes built in the Anatolian Selcukid period up to now. The majority of the buildings of these institutes were monumental and they were all built during the 13th century. The most prominent ones also the subject of this study, were built in the first half of the 13th century. This period comprised the most brilliant period of Anatolian Selcukid State. The rule of the Selcukid State became widespread in the larger part of Anatolia, the trade routes were merged in these territories and as a result of this, great prosperity emerged primarily in the cities such as Kayseri, Sivas, Konya, etc.. This period is characterized by the building of remarkable monuments some of which are still erect today. These monuments consisted of mosques, madrasahs and many health institutes known by various names: Gevher Nesibe Mâristan, Keykavus Darussihha and Turan Melik darü's-şifâ. The monumental architecture of these buildings impressed both the investigators and visitors for centuries. The availability of the inscriptions along with the memories that existed among the public contributed to their reputation as health care providing institutions. As a result of this, many of the researchers investigating the history of the period deduced too much from the

existing insufficient information. They claimed that these institutes provided inpatient health service for centuries through the Ottoman era, while providing medical education for students and comprising the medical base of the Ottoman Empire. The current study investigated the status of these institutes before and during the Ottoman era. Especially the available information in the pre-Ottoman period was so minimal that I want to mention them briefly:

-There is no document, no inscription, no waqf endowment deed or any other written material available about the Şeyh Eminüddin Bîmârhânesi in Mardin. The building had not survived to date.

- Only the inscription of the Gevher Nesibe Mâristan and the portal of the monument are erect. There is no document, no waqf endowment deed or any other written material.

-The inscription, waqf endowment deed of the Keykavus Darü's-siha are available. The main portal and a part of the building are erect today. Only İbni Bibi mentioned the existence of this monument in a sentence. There is no other written material about this monument.

-The inscription of Turan Melik Darü'ş-şifâ is still erect. We do not have the waqf endowment deed. There is no other written material.

These are all we have about their status at the pre-Ottoman era. Though we know their erection for health service purposes and their existence during the pre-Ottoman era, we have no data in our hands about how they functioned. In other words, the available sources do not permit us to comment much about this period. We have some data about the medical issues in the Anatolian Selcukid period of course, but none of these data are related to the aforementioned health institutes.

There are two official documents which was published by Osman Turan. One is about the appointment of physician Burhâneddin Ebubekir to Darü'ş-şifâ of Konya and the other is the appointment of Şereffeddin Yakub as the private physician of the Sultan. We also know that the sick people were treated in Bîmârhâne of Karatay Kervansaray. Darü'ş-şifâ of Aksaray was mentioned in Aksarayı and in Bezm-ü Rezm. Eflaki gave the names of many famous physicians of the time.²⁷² Another interesting information comes from a waqf deed of Yakup Bey the ruler of the Germiyanogulları principality. He devoted an imaret and ordered that a physician should be called for sick people and the fee of the physician and drugs should be paid by the waqf.²⁷³ It is obvious that there was a vivid atmosphere in terms of health care issues, however; it seems that these activities were not confined to certain health institutes. Unfortunately, we are far from writing a satisfactory medical history of the period because of a serious lack of new sources and documentary evidence. This is the problem of the discipline of Selcukid history, and the acceleration which was brought by the prominent investigators of the first half of the 20th century seems to have come to a halt recently.

For the Ottoman times, we have some documental evidence adequate to make some conclusions. The tahrir registers demonstrated a functional health institute in Mardin in the 16th century. There were two physicians in this Bîmârhâne and drug production is evident. We can trace the waqf until the begininng of 20th century. However its medical function seems to have ceased in the middle of 19th century. We encounter the name of Gevher Nesibe Mâristan beginning by the 1500s. After this date, it appears to have been registered as Medrese-i Darü'ş-şifâ or

²⁷² Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1958, pp. 50-55.

²⁷³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya Şehri*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1932, p. 84.

Medrese-i Şifâiye in the defters and Kadı Registers. There is no clue about its medical function in the Ottoman times. The situation is more transparent for the Darüsihha of Keykavus in Sivas. In a couple documents belonging to the end of 15th century and, the beginning of the 16th century, it appears that the darü'ş-şifâ was ruined and turned to a madrasah.²⁷⁴ Afterwards it functioned as a madrasah until the beginning of the 20th century. A similar situation is also valid for Divriği. In the beginning of the Ottoman Rule in Divriği the waqf is said to be destroyed and its waqf deed is lost under the Memluk rule. The name of the waqf was recorded as Medrese-i Kübra or Medrese-i Kebir in the Ottoman documents.²⁷⁵ The existence of the waqf continued to the beginning of the 20th century.

The main subject of this study was the investigation of the first four darü'ş-şifâs built in Anatolia. The information about other darü'ş-şifâs, to a large extent comes from the secondary sources. The Mâristan of Kastamonu deserves attention, as well. Founded as a mâristan by Ali bin Pervane in 1271, it was under the administration of a tariqah şeyh in the beginning of Ottoman rule. However, this place was famous for giving service and aid to lunatic and epileptic people and the şeyh was called as Darü'ş-şifâ Şeyhi in the 18th century. The Amasya Darü'ş-şifâ which was founded in the beginning of the 14th century was famous with Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu, an outstanding physician of the time who wrote many books. Şereddin wrote that he worked for 14 years in this darü'ş-şifâ. Konya darü'ş-şifâ which was absent today seems to be active during the 17th and 18th centuries. There

²⁷⁴ Feridun Nafiz Uzluç, *Fatih Devrinde Karaman Eyaleti Vakıfları Fihristi (1476): Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü Arşivindeki Deftere Göre*, 1958; Mehmet İnaş, *1484 tarihli (Hicri 888) Kayseri Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, pp. 53, 78; BOA, TT 156, no. 26; Ersin Gülsoy, Mehmet Taştemir, *Vakıf ve Mülk Defteri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 35; Serpil Sönmez, *Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XV ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sivas Şehir Merkezi*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, MA thesis, 2007, p. 93.

²⁷⁵ BOA, MM, no. 3332, pp. 16-40; Zeki Arıkan, "Divriği Kazasının İlk Sayımı (925/1519)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vol. XI, 1991, pp. 49-50.

were some documents about Konya, Amasya and Tokat darü'ş-şifâs in the archives, but none of them was as functional as the ones which was founded in the Ottoman era. The real flourishing of the medicine was after the conquest of İstanbul. As shown by İnalçık, the most prominent Ottoman historian of all times, by the words of Bernard Lewis, Ottoman State became a centralized empire after the conquest of İstanbul. Indeed, when we take a glance at the Ottoman archives, the vast majority of the documents about medicine were about the institutes founded after the 15th century.

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