

THE DOCTORS OF THE SICK MAN: THE ROLE OF THE
IMPERIAL MEDICAL SOCIETY (CEMİYET-İ TIBBİYE-İ ŞÂHÂNE)
IN MEDICAL MODERNIZATION AND SANITARY COOPERATION
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1856-1866)

by
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ABSTRACT

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professionalization, standardization

This thesis examines the establishment and principal endeavors of the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople, also known as the *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, in the first decade after its foundation. Founded by the physicians of the allied armies during the Crimean War, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople pioneered the transmission of modern medical knowledge to both Ottoman and European audience. As the first professional association in the Ottoman Empire, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople attracted notable physicians and epidemiologists from Europe and hosted the Ottoman physicians of Istanbul as a member. The physicians of the association published the medical and sanitary conditions of the empire through their media organ, *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, which became an essential platform for the dissemination of novel medical knowledge. Through the medical expertise it had and the medical counseling it offered to the Ottoman policymakers, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* has made a significant contribution to the institutionalization of modern medicine, professionalization of physicians and standardization of medical and sanitary practices in the Ottoman Empire.

ÖZET

HASTA ADAMIN DOKTORLARI: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNDA TIBBİ MODERNLEŞME VE SIHHİ İŞBİRLİĞİNDE CEMİYET-İ TIBBİYE-İ ŞÂHÂNE'NİN ROLÜ (1856-1866)

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne, tıp cemiyetleri, kurumsallaşma, profesyonelleşme, standardizasyon

Bu tez, Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'nin kuruluşunu kuruluşundan sonraki ilk on yıldaki temel çalışmalarını incelemektedir. Kırım Savaşı sırasında müttefik orduların hekimleri tarafından kurulan Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne, modern tıp bilgisinin hem Osmanlı hem de Avrupalı kitlelere aktarılmasına öncülük etmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ilk meslek birliği olan cemiyet, Avrupa'dan önemli hekimleri ve epidemiyologları çekmiş ve İstanbul'daki Osmanlı hekimlerini üye olarak ağırlamıştır. Cemiyetin hekimleri, imparatorluğun tıbbi ve sıhhi koşullarını, yeni tıbbi bilgilerin yayılması için önemli bir platform haline gelen yayın organları Gazette Médicale d'Orient aracılığıyla yayınlamışlardır. Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne, sahip olduğu tıbbi uzmanlık ve Osmanlı politika yapıcılarına sunduğu tıbbi danışmanlık sayesinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda modern tıbbın kurumsallaşmasına, hekimlerin profesyonelleşmesine ve tıbbi ve sıhhi uygulamaların standartlaşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

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To Reyyan

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople (*Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*): A Pioneer Medical Association in the Era of Sanitary Modernization in the Ottoman Empire

The Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople, or *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, was one of the pioneers for both the professionalization of physicians as an innovative social group and institutionalization of the scientific knowledge in medicine during an active period of medical modernization and sanitary reformation in the Ottoman Empire. Society's endeavors and activities contributed to the dissemination of a modern type of medical knowledge among both Ottoman and European audiences. The association also built wider networks with the other learned societies in Europe by exchanging their periodicals, engaging in scientific debates, and organizing scientific conferences in the field of medicine. The efforts of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* contributed to the institutionalization of modern medicine by establishing new medical standards, ethical values, and a new medical language and also accelerated the Ottoman Empire's engagement in the global medical milieu through the network they built.

The process of medical modernization in the Ottoman Empire was either studied as a consequence of the close intervention or hegemony of the great powers of Europe or as a proto nationalist/subaltern response by putting a strong emphasis on the agency of the Muslim/Turkish scholars and associations. In this thesis, I aim to examine *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* as an "Ottoman" association, which was a conglomeration of medical professionals from different medical écoles and geographies, including the ones in the Ottoman Empire. The plurality of actors and agents in this process (medical inspectors, physicians, and epidemiologists from Europe, the Levantine and Ottoman physicians in the association, and finally, the Ottoman government and the Ottoman public) is another aspect I try to emphasize. In this

study, I also aim to depict the association’s counseling to the Ottoman government on medical and sanitary matters without having an overt hegemonic power but having a close relationship with the Ottoman bureaucratic sphere. All in all, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*’s research and publishing activities constituted a scientific background and also became a role model and example for later medical associations such as *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmâniye*.

In this thesis, I offer a three-layered process for the early decades of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*: 1) institutionalization (2) professionalization (3) knowledge dissemination. Through this process, the association reached a point where it could counsel the Ottoman municipality and government during medical issues. I aim to contextualize the association during and after the Crimean War. The flux of physicians towards the Ottoman Empire, the saturation of physicians in Istanbul, and their need and urgency to establish an association will be discussed. Furthermore, the “voluntary” nature of this association will also be analyzed, and the possible effects of their publishing activities on civil society (in the Ottoman Empire) and public opinion (in both Ottoman and broader audiences) will also be discussed.

In the “institutionalization” part, I will discuss how the association produced and circulated the new medical language. How did they bring the recent debates in epidemiology and medicine to Ottoman medicine? How did they combat the continuous pandemics of the nineteenth century? How did they produce their *modus operandi*, their set of rules, and ethical values in the field of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire? How did these experiences contribute to the institutionalization of the language and practice of the Ottoman Empire’s medical environment? In this part, I also aim to delve into the association’s objectives for medical education in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* and the severe concerns addressing the sanitary problems in Istanbul. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* filled a necessary gap between 1856 and 1876 by starting publishing activities in the field of medicine, by counseling the Ottoman government in medical and sanitary matters, and by constituting a scientific background for the latter generations of physicians and medical associations.

In the parts that I discuss “professionalization”, I aim to continue to discuss the association’s media organ, the *Gazette Médicale d’Orient*¹, and how physicians represented themselves in the columns of their medical gazette. In this part, I make a dichotomy between “science as a discourse” and “science as a practice.” I aim to discuss to what extent the association reconciled these two. In this part, I argue that “modern” physicians, as a social cohort, aimed to raise the dignity of their

¹The name of the gazette will be used interchangeably with the GMO as the short version throughout the thesis.

profession and elevated their social status and reputation through their occupation. I also argue that the studies and endeavors of the association also contributed to the standardization and unity of medical practice in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Ottoman government supported the association since *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* helped the Ottoman government with their centralizing and standardization efforts in health affairs, contributed to the government's population policies, and also gave the Ottoman Empire a new type of "medical gaze" to have a surveillance over its public.

In the parts I discuss "knowledge dissemination," I will examine the importance of the *Gazette Médicale Orient* in the transmission of modern medical knowledge. The original articles written by notable physicians and epidemiologists, memoirs of the medical inspectors, and translations from eminent foreign medical journals accelerated the appropriation of medical knowledge into Ottoman medicine. This newspaper became a scientific forum for some of the major medical discussions of the studied era through the contributions of the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

Voluntarily founded by the physicians of the allied armies of the Crimean War, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* actively engaged in the medical issues and sanitary deficiencies in both the Ottoman military and the public. In *Nevsâl-i Âfiyet*, Besim Ömer, one of the medical historians of the late Ottoman and early republican periods, signals the urgency and need for physicians to consult and discuss with each other recent developments and ongoing issues.² In another account on *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, Osman Ergin also repeats the need for doctors to form a unified body against the issues of the Crimean War.³ Both sources emphasize the effect of the Crimean War on physicians to initiate a corporate body as an occupational cohort in Istanbul, where they contingently came together. Istanbul certainly became a medical hub⁴, as Uğurgül Tunç defines, where different medical écoles came together and cooperated. In the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, several articles and speeches during the annual ceremonies address the importance of the Crimean War (it was stated as the "Eastern War")⁵ including the process how they came together

²Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i Âfiyet*, vol I, ed. and transcribed by Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, (Istanbul: Sağlık Bilimleri Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yayını, 2020), 157. "Haftada bir defa in'ikâd eylemek ve müzâkerât-ı tıbbiye ve mübâhasât-ı fenniye, mülâhazât-ı şahsiye ve müşâhedât-ı yevmiyede bulunmak ve asâkir-i muhtelif e'tebbâsı beyninde mu'ârefe ve münâsebet e vesîle olmak üzere bir cem'iyet te'sisine karar verilmiştir."

³Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Tıp Mektepleri, Enstitüleri ve Cemiyetleri* (Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1940), 76.

⁴Uğurgül Tunç, "Lessons from the Crimean War: How Hospitals Were Transformed by Florence Nightingale and Others," *Infectious Diseases and Clinical Microbiology* 1, no. 2 (2019), 110.

⁵*Gazette Médicale d'Orient* (GMO), March 1861, no:12, 201.

and formed an association. These columns in the GMO will also be analyzed to reach a detailed synthesis.

In *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, Fatma Müge Göçek signals the importance of voluntary societies and their publishing activities to participate in civil society, certainly a subject that needs to be touched upon.⁶ Similarly, Mehmet Ö. Alkan counts *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, as one of the early contributors of the civil society in the Ottoman Empire.⁷ In *The Emergence of Public Opinion: State and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Murat Şiviloğlu also mentions *the Gazette Médicale d'Orient*.⁸ Şiviloğlu exemplifies the writings of the GMO on the issue of public health and states how the gazette disseminates the concept of “public hygiene” or “*hıfz-ı sıhhat-i amme*” to the public.⁹ A synthesis of these studies can show us how far *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* participated in civil society in the Ottoman Empire and to what extent they formed public opinion for the Ottoman audience (for possibly Ottoman physicians, Ottoman pupils of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*) and broader audience (other learned societies and medical associations in Europe).

1.2 Historical Background: Cholera, Sanitary Modernization and the Crimean War

In this section, the historical context behind the establishment of the Imperial Medical Society will be discussed. The intertwined developments that led to or accelerated the establishment of the society also need to be analyzed. The first of these is the cholera epidemic that started in 1831 and hit Eurasia in the form of mass pandemics. These epidemics reoccurred and seriously affected the Ottoman Empire in 1848, 1854, and 1865. While consecutive cholera pandemics made a critical impact on the social and political structure of Europe,¹⁰ the Ottoman Empire also took se-

⁶Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 127-129.

⁷Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler Çağı," *Tarih ve Toplum Dergisi* 40, no. 238 (2003), 4.

⁸Murat Şiviloğlu, *The Emergence of Public Opinion: State and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 156-157.

⁹Şiviloğlu, *The Emergence of Public Opinion*, 157.

¹⁰See Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); for the severe effects of cholera on European social, economic, and political spheres see Richard J Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years* (Penguin, 2005).

rious measures and reforms against these pandemics.¹¹ The quarantine directorates were the first examples of the institutionalization of modern medicine in the first half of the 19th century. These quarantine directorates that employed foreign doctors were instrumental in the introduction of modern medical knowledge from Europe as well as these doctors who were equipped with this knowledge. Some of these doctors would later be among the founders of the Imperial Society of Medicine.¹²

The consecutive cholera outbreaks in the nineteenth century forced many empires to take preventive measures and to improve public health. These successive pandemics also awakened the idea of a "contagious East" because of the sources, routes, and diffusion of diseases.¹³ Thus, European states pioneered the establishment of sanitary councils in some cities, such as Alexandria/ İskenderiye (1835), Istanbul (1838), and Tehran (1866). In this context, the Ottoman Empire also carried out a rigorous medical modernization and health reform, benefiting from the Austrian Empire's and France's transnational medical expertise.¹⁴ Because of the pandemic nature of cholera, sanitary cooperations gradually evolved from a macro-regional level to a more global level and from partnerships between two neighbor states to multinational networks.

Valeska Huber correlates cholera outbreaks with rapid urbanization and industrialization happening in the nineteenth century.¹⁵ According to her, cholera epidemics were a massive problem for the urban population in the 19th century and required local governments to produce modern public health policies. Jurgen Osterhammel also indicates that physicians had to collect medical knowledge, and governments had to produce new policies in order to fight with the pandemics. In Osterhammel's own words: "The nineteenth century was the first epoch in which worldwide campaigns were systematically waged against medical scourges. In order to be suc-

¹¹Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisi'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri," *Bellekten* 58, no. 222 (1994): 329-76.

¹²Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisi'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri", 371. Among these physicians, Dr. Marchand, Dr. Leval, and Dr. Mac Carthy will later be the founding members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

¹³For further information on pilgrimage and trade in the Ottoman Hejaz region and the development of the bias of "contagious East," see Birsen Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) and Gülden Sarıyıldız and Oya Dağlar Macar, "Cholera, Pilgrimage, and International Politics of Sanitation: The Quarantine Station on the Island of Kamara," in *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, ed. Nükhet Varlık (Kalamazoo, MI: Arc Humanities Press, 2017), 243-274.

¹⁴Marcel Chahrour, "A Civilizing Mission? Austrian Medicine and the Reform of Medical Structures in the Ottoman Empire, 1838-1850," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38, no. 4 (2007): 687-705. Chahrour focuses on the trans-imperial medical relations between the Ottoman and Austrian Empires in this study. He argues that early European medical doctors and inspectors employed by the Ottoman Empire had a sort of "civilizing mission" that determined their endeavors on Ottoman geography.

¹⁵Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease? The International Sanitary Conferences on Cholera, 1851-1894," *Historical Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 454; as cited in Ceren İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Cholera Epidemics in the Late Ottoman Istanbul, Healthcare and the French Catholic Sisters of Charity," *Asclepio-Revista De Historia De La Medicina Y De La Ciencia* 74, no. 1 (2022), 5.

cessful, they had to combine adequate biomedical knowledge with the idea of a public health policy.¹⁶ Over time, these problems (especially inequality in access to health services, lack of availability of adequate and good quality drinking water, etc.) became too complex for local governments to deal with, making international sanitary cooperation necessary. Furthermore, Tom Koch explains the nature of nineteenth-century pandemics. He primarily argues that these pandemics were “supranational” and “peripatetic,” which means they were going across the borders in a very fast and mobile way.¹⁷ Thus, he believes that international sanitary cooperation became compulsory when the pandemics severely and consecutively hit the empires. Similarly, according to Fatih Artvinli who studies the development of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire, cholera was one of the hallmark epidemics of the nineteenth century and paved the way for the institutionalization of health care.¹⁸

France fulfilled this vacuum in international sanitary cooperation. From 1851 onwards, it organized international health conferences and paved the way for discussing measures to be taken against cholera at the international level.¹⁹ It accelerated the process that could be defined as sanitary cooperation²⁰ between European states and the Ottoman Empire in this case.

As stated before, the international sanitary conferences initiated by France had started a diplomatic initiative "to contemplate cooperation in sanitary matters"²¹ and led to the first attempts at sanitary standardization at the international level to combat infectious diseases.²² The Ottoman Empire was an active participant in these international conferences.²³ While the first two conferences took place in

¹⁶Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World, a Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Patrick Camiller (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 180.

¹⁷Tom Koch, "1831: The Map That Launched the Idea of Global Health," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 43, no. 4 (2014): 1014.

¹⁸Fatih Artvinli, "A Physician's Encounter with Epidemics: Courage Vis-À-Vis Ignorance," *Infectious Diseases and Clinical Microbiology* 2, no. 2 (2020): 109.

¹⁹Francisco Javier Martinez, "International or French? The Early International Sanitary Conferences and France's Struggle for Hegemony in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Mediterranean," *French History* 30, no. 1 (2016): 77-98. In this study, Martinez elaborates on the dominance and agenda of France in this multinational sanitary cooperation.

²⁰For a broader conceptual framework see "The Great Game of Pandemics: Sanitary Internationalism in the Middle East and North Africa, 1792-1942", which remains outside the confines of this thesis.

²¹William F. Bynum, "Policing Hearts Of Darkness: Aspects Of The International Sanitary Conferences." *History And Philosophy Of The Life Sciences* (1993): 422. In his study, Bynum opens up a discussion on preventive health and a common goal to build a standardized and unified medical structure that goes beyond the national boundaries over time. In his study, he also highlights that physicians have their own goals and agendas in the national levels.

²²Mark Harrison, "Disease, Diplomacy and International Commerce: The Origins of International Sanitary Regulation in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 2 (2006): 197.

²³For the Ottoman view on international sanitary conferences see Nermin Ersoy, Yüksel Güngör, and Aslıhan Akpınar, "International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman Perspective (1851-1938)," *Hygiea Inter-*

Paris; the third and the most widely attended one was organized in Istanbul in 1865.²⁴ Dr. Bartoletti Bey, one of the founding members of the Imperial Medical Society, actively took part in these conferences as an Ottoman delegate.²⁵

Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne, founded in 1856 in Istanbul, arguably did not have an overt hegemonic power. It was an organization of Ottoman and European doctors who came together in a sufficient environment to produce scientific knowledge and provide consultancy services in the field of medicine to the rule makers, i.e. the Ottoman government. Their work was not hindered by the Ottoman government, on the contrary, it was supported. It was ensured that doctors came together in a free working environment to conduct research in the field of medicine, produce scientific knowledge and bring solutions for public health. Beyond the diplomatic sphere (which were hegemonic over the Ottoman Empire in favor of the Great Powers of Europe), *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* provided a scientific background for local and global reforms and regulations in the field of health.

Medical education constitutes an essential pillar of medical institutionalization. *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, founded in 1839 in the same year as the quarantine directorate, became one of the pioneering institutions in the medical area. It can be argued that medical modernization in the Ottoman Empire was an essential extension of Mahmut II's policies of the *Tanzimat* period.²⁶ Again, some of the professors of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* appear as members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* in the future.²⁷ This situation exemplifies the relationship and transitivity between the three essential institutions in the field of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire: the Directorate of Quarantine, the Imperial Medical School, and *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

It is necessary to have a brief look at the Imperial Medical School to visualize the developments happening in the late Ottoman Empire in the area of medical history. *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* was a military school founded in Istanbul in 1827 to

nationalis 10, no. 1 (2011): 53-79.

²⁴See Coşkun Bakar, "Avrupa'da Dolaşan Koleranın Gölgesinde, İstanbul Uluslararası Sağlık Konferansı, 1866," *Turkish Journal of Public Health* 18, no. 1 (2020): 68-82; for an account of the international sanitary convention held in Istanbul in 1866.

²⁵Emine Melek Atabek, *1851'de Paris'te Toplanan I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı ve Türkler* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1974).

²⁶See Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Yeni Notlar* (Maarif Matbaası, 1940); for an attempt to reconcile between the *Tanzimat* philosophy and medical advancements and medical modernization.

²⁷Ebru Aykut, "Avusturyalı Bir Hekimin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'ye Mirası: Graziadio Friedrich Vallon (1819-1859) Ve Kütüphanesi," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 23, no. 1 (2022): 11. Ebru Aykut traces that, Dr. Antoine Fauvel, one of the co-founders of the Imperial Medical Society, was also appointed to *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, as cardiology professor and worked there.

provide modern medical education. The language of instruction at the school was French.²⁸ By Muslim-Turkish physicians, serious efforts were made to change the language of education to Turkish. Medical education in the Turkish language started in the Military Medical School from the first grade onwards, only in 1870. Medical newspapers, magazines, and many medical books in Turkish were published after Turkish education was introduced. The number of Turkish and Muslim teachers and students at the school increased by this regulation.²⁹ The argument concerning the language of medical education will be addressed throughout the thesis.

Why foreign doctors came to Istanbul in the first place is also a vital research question. Beforehand, it is necessary to talk about their employability in Istanbul. They could get a job at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, *Meclis-i Tahaffuz*, or the society. Since there were many diseases in the Ottoman Empire at that time, this created a career opportunity for ambitious, young, novice European doctors who got their education and graduated from reputable universities of Europe. They aimed to build a career in the Ottoman Empire. During the 1848 revolutions, there was an influx of doctors into Ottoman territories. In the same cases, doctors came to the Ottoman Empire as political opponents and left their country due to current political conditions.³⁰ The Imperial Medical School acted as an institution that made colloquium exams and accredited these doctors accordingly. This sort of human capital flight flowing to the empire led to internal movements and reforms in the long run.

The Crimean War also acted as an accelerator for the arrival of these doctors and so that their encounters with the Ottoman world in the mid-19th century. The newspaper describes Istanbul as a special city that needs to be analyzed. This will be addressed in more detail in the chapter about the publication organ of the society. The doctors of the Imperial Medical Society argued that Istanbul was worth investigating from a medical point of view. They thought Istanbul should be a research subject and thus, they attempted to study Istanbul from a medical gaze. Hereby, Istanbul became a research field for them.

The time of the Crimean War is an transformative period that should be approached in terms of the history of medicine.³¹ Between 1853 and 1856, in addition to the

²⁸Nil Sarı, "Mekteb-i Tıbbiye, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mekteb-i-tıbbiyye> (23.07.2024).

²⁹Nuran Yıldırım, "Türk Hekimlerinin Seçkinleşme Sürecinde Tıp Bilgisinin Transferi," *I. Uluslararası Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi, 10. Ulusal Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı* C. I: 20-24.

³⁰Karl Eduard Hammerschmidt, who then converted and became Dr. Abdullah Bey, was one of them. He then will become one of the founding members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* and *Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*.

³¹For an example in medical history during the Crimean War, see Fuat İnce and Oğuz Kalafat, *Kırım*

allied army (asakir-i müttefika) consisting of British, French and Italian soldiers, a large number of civilian and military doctors from the allied states also stayed in Istanbul which turned Istanbul into a medical hub.³² In her study, Tunç depicts not only famous figures such as Florence Nightingale but also introduces the founders and promoters of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.³³ Many doctors from diverse countries and members of medical schools had the chance to meet, hold scientific meetings, and exchange ideas through these encounters. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, founded toward the end of the war, is the most concrete example of this encounter. The activities of the society, which was composed of qualified doctors and epidemiologists from Europe and the Ottoman Empire, were not limited to the period of war; after the war, members of the society used their expertise to produce scientific publications in areas such as public health and medical education. Via the close relations they established with the Ottoman government and the patronage they received from Sultan Abdülmecid, they continued their activities with more self-confidence and used their expertise in modern medicine to provide medical consultancy to the Ottoman government and simply the Municipality of Beyoğlu, the Sixth Municipal District, or *altıncı daire-i belediyye*.

During the war, The Dutch physician Peter Pincoffs had service as a civilian doctor in the British fleet. He was in Istanbul during the Crimean War and was remarkably the promoter of the society. Before the foundation of the society, he worked to draw a medical topography³⁴ of Istanbul, sketch the health institutions, and examine Istanbul from a medical point of view. According to him, Istanbul was a city where required to be examined from a medical point of view due to its unique characteristics.³⁵ In his book, Pincoffs also includes the society and the statements of its first president, Antoine Fauvel.³⁶ Although Pincoffs was the founder of the society, he was not its first president, but later, upon invitation from the society, he relocated

Harbinde İngiliz Sağlık Hizmetleri (Ankara: Akademisyen Kitabevi, 2022).

³²Uğurgül Tunç, "Lessons from the Crimean War: How Hospitals Were Transformed by Florence Nightingale and Others," *Infectious Diseases and Clinical Microbiology* 1, no. 2 (2019): 113.

³³Tunç, "Lessons from the Crimean War," 111-114.

³⁴"In geography, medical topography is the systematic surveying, mapping, charting, and description of specific geographical sites, with reference to the physical features that were presumed to influence health and disease. Often associated with Hippocrates, the process became a significant part of public health investigation and epidemiological methodology, particularly between the 17th and 19th centuries." <https://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Medical-topography>. Accessed 17 August 2024.

³⁵Peter Pincoffs, *Experiences of a Civilian in Eastern Military Hospitals: With Observations on the English, French, and Other Medical Departments, and the Organization of Military Medical Schools and Hospitals* (Williams and Norgate, 1857), 185-199. In this outstanding book, Pincoffs, the promoter of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, started to examine medical and climatic characteristics of Istanbul from a civilian physician's gaze.

³⁶Pincoffs, *Experiences of a Civilian in Eastern Military Hospitals*, 199-200.

in Istanbul and served as the fourth president of the society in 1859.³⁷

The Crimean War has two main points for the history of Ottoman medicine. Initially, it led to an excessive flow of migration of foreign doctors into the Ottoman Empire. This, in a sense, could be regarded as a brain drain towards the Ottoman Empire. These doctors had the opportunity to experiment and observe within the empire. To the extent possible, they were employed by the Ottoman government or continued their research voluntarily within the *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. The second consequence of the Crimean War is that innovations and developments in the military sphere diffused into the civilian sphere (public health, urban hygiene, etc.) after the war.³⁸ *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* provided a case study in which the members utilized their experience and expertise in the field of military health in a way that extended to the civilian sphere. This ultimately confirms the opinion of Ülman and Moulin written in the introduction part of the aforementioned book.

1.3 Literature Review

Historians have debated whether the history of medicine is a subfield of the history of science or the social-cultural history. George Sarton, the founder of the field of history of science, argued that the history of medicine is a branch of the history of science. However, especially after the 1980s, medical history has commenced to be studied by social and cultural historians with a different perspective.³⁹ In European medical history, primary sources expanded to doctors' ego documents, patient record books, and legal reflections of the problems between them and patients. Similar to the Annales school, an understanding that we can identify as "medical history from below" emerged in medical history.⁴⁰ In light of all these, it can be assumed that

³⁷Hüsrev Hatemi, "Türk Tıp Derneği (Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne) Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (1856-1986)," In *Türk Tıp Eğitiminin Önemli Adımları*, ed. by Hüsrev Hatemi and Ayten Altıntaş, 210-16, (Istanbul: CSA Publishing, 2006), 214.

³⁸Anne Marie Moulin and Yeşim Işıl Ülman, "Introduction: The Particular Place Of Medicine in The Debate On Modernity and Modernization In The Middle-East In the 19th And The 20th Centuries," in *Perilous Modernity: History of Medicine in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East from the 19th Century Onwards*, ed. by Yeşim Işıl and Anne Marie Moulin Ülman (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2010), 7-23.

³⁹Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Tıp Tarihyazımı: Karşıtlıklar, Etkileşimler," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 21, no. 2 (2019): 357. For detailed works on the trends and debates on medical history, see Gert Brieger, "The Historiography Of Medicine," In *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 50-70, (Routledge, 2013); and Keir Waddington, "Problems of progress: Modernity And Writing The Social History Of Medicine," *Social History of Medicine* 34, no. 4 (2021): 1053-1067.

⁴⁰Roy Porter, "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below," *Theory and Society* 14 (1985): 175-98; as cited in Rüya Kılıç, "Toplumsal Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları: Lİteratür-Yaklaşım-Değerlendirme," in *Toplumsal Tıp Tarihi*, 6.

the history of medicine is located at the intersection of the history of science and social/cultural history.

Ottoman medical historiography gained momentum after the university reform of 1933 in the newly founded Turkish Republic, especially with the contributions of medical historians such as Süheyl Ünver and Bedi Şehsuvaroğlu.⁴¹ In the last decades, historians have carried out studies adopting the "medical history from below" perspective in medical historiography.⁴² The last COVID-19 pandemic also accelerated the interest in medical history studies. With the COVID-19 pandemic, the question of what it means for historians to look at past epidemics and public health measures has come to the table. In other words, medical historiography has taken on new dimensions.⁴³ When we look at the recent postgraduate theses in the field of medical history in Turkish academia, theses have been apparently produced in line with this understanding.⁴⁴ Some historians, on the other hand, have commented on the potential drawbacks of bringing medical history closer to social history.⁴⁵ In the works of social historians who do not have a formation in the field of medicine, there may be deficiencies in the expression of medical knowledge, the professional jargon of doctors, and some medical terms. Nonetheless, some doctors have also written works in history without having a history formation.

One of the most visible drawbacks in the historiography of Ottoman medicine is that medical societies have not been adequately addressed as professional and scientific societies. Şeref Etker has meticulously studied the medical societies founded in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 and after, filling a significant gap in the history of medicine in the Second Constitutional Era.⁴⁶ The earlier established medical societies, in the second half of the nineteenth century, seemed to be neglected by historians. The contributions of medical societies to the institutionalization of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire, including the professionalization of the medical profession, and the transfer of medical knowledge have not been sufficiently researched as well. The

⁴¹For some of the examples of these works, see Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Yeni Notlar* (Maarif Matbaası, 1940); and Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Tarihi Kolera Salgınları ve Osmanlı Türkleri," *Istanbul Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17, no. 2 (1954): 282-306.

⁴²Among the examples which perceived the understanding of "medical history from below," Nuran Yıldırım, "Karantina İstemeziük: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar," *Toplumsal Tarih* 150 (June 2006): 18-27; and Rüya Kılıç, *Hasta, Doktor ve Devlet: Osmanlı Modern Tıbbında Hastalıkla Mücadelenin Bitmemiş Hikâyeleri* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2020); can be the examples.

⁴³For instance, see Nükhet Varlık, "The Plague That Never Left: Restoring the Second Pandemic to Ottoman and Turkish History in the Time of COVID-19." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 63 (2020): 176-189.

⁴⁴See, for example, Sevda Ağır, "Osmanlıda Karantina Uygulama Süreçleri ve Tepkiler (1865-1914)," Master's thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2020.

⁴⁵Leonard Wilson, "Medical History without Medicine," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 35 (1980): 5-7.

⁴⁶Şeref Etker, *İkinci Meşrutiyetin Tabip Örgütleri* (Istanbul: Libra Yayınevi, 2017).

first examples of medical societies were briefly mentioned in encyclopedic studies, but afterward, they were not adequately addressed due to insufficient resources or the lack of interest of the historians of medicine. This thesis aims to fill a gap in this field by addressing the first medical society established in the Ottoman Empire, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, in terms of its contributions to the institutionalization of modern medicine, the professionalization of the medical profession, and the adoption of modern medical knowledge.

1.3.1 Scholarship on Institutionalization and Professionalization of Ottoman Medicine

One of the most comprehensive works on the institutionalization of Ottoman medicine is Nuran Yıldırım's *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*. In this book, she has carefully studied the health organizations in the Ottoman center and provinces, the institutional struggle against epidemics, especially cholera, and the adoption of preventive medicine by Ottoman medical institutions based on archival sources.⁴⁷

Particularly, a concrete example of the institutionalization of medicine in the Ottoman Empire is the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. Yeşim Işıl Ülman presents the first ten years of the medical school in her study titled *Galatasaray Tıbbiyesi: Tıbbiye'de Modernleşmenin Başlangıcı*, based on the school's annual reports, the testimonies of foreign observers and sources from the Ottoman archives. The development of the school in a short period of time, the first graduates of the school, the debates on the language and method of medical education, and the school's contributions to public health are among the topics Ülman deals with.⁴⁸

Another important study that analyzes the first known statute (*nizamname*) of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* and includes the criticisms and opinions of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* about the school is Feza Günergün and Nuran Yıldırım's study, named "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'nin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler."⁴⁹ In terms of its methodology, this article resembles the discussion on the rivalry between the Paris Medical Society and the Paris Medical School in Michael Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic*.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in İstanbul* (Istanbul: Düzey Yayıncılık, 2010).

⁴⁸Yeşim Işıl Ülman, *Galatasaray Tıbbiyesi: Tıbbiye'de Modernleşmenin Başlangıcı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017).

⁴⁹Feza Günergün and Nuran Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'nin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 3, no. 1 (2001): 19-62.

⁵⁰Michel Foucault, *Kliniğin Doğuşu: Tıbbi Algının Arkeolojisi*, trans. by Şule Ünsaldı (Ankara: Epos Yayın-

In their article, Günergun and Yıldırım analyzed several issues of the *Gazette Médical d'Orient* and analyzed the newspaper articles containing the opinions and suggestions of the society members about the education and organization of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. The low number and quality of the school's graduates and the proposed solutions are among the most critical issues discussed.⁵¹ The desire to transfer Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne to its old location in the Galatasaray district, as in the period shown in Ülman's study, was also one of the frequent suggestions made by the members of the society.⁵² The school's lack of a specific statute and the fact that it changed its policies and implementations according to the placement of ministers of health were regarded as factors that prevented institutionalization. Günergun and Yıldırım conclude that the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* criticized the institutional structure of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* through the GMO, but also offered constructive criticisms and reform proposals.

Some historians of medicine have sought answers to the questions of what the indicators of modernization in medicine are and what modernization in medicine means. *Perilous Modernity* is a pioneering work in this respect.⁵³ In the introduction part, Moulin and Ülman discuss the place and importance of medicine in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. The book contains essays on the circulation of medical knowledge between East and West, the diversity of actors in medical modernization, and the elusive nature of modernization, with contributions from many important historians. Likewise, Ceren İlikan Rasimoğlu discusses the entry of the modern doctor into Ottoman medicine and his attempts in Ottoman medicine in her article "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire."⁵⁴ In this article, she describes how a new type of doctor, armed with modern medical knowledge, appropriated this knowledge into domestic society, developed discourses that would open up new career paths for himself through modern medical knowledge, and thus gained an advantage for their reputation. Another significance of this article is that it puts forward the argument that doctors with the same goals came together and formed a public opinion by developing a discourse of modern medicine through the medical societies they established. As Rasimoğlu points out, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i*

ları, 2002), 49-51.

⁵¹Feza Günergun and Nuran Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'nin Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler," 30-31.

⁵²Ibid, 28.

⁵³Anne Marie Moulin and Yeşim Işıl Ülman, eds., *Perilous Modernity: History of Medicine in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East from the 19th Century Onwards* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2010).

⁵⁴Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," *Dynamis* 41, no. 2 (2021): 473-502.

Şâhâne appears as a society that embraces these goals and constitutes a distinctive example in terms of disseminating medical knowledge, forming public opinion, and, as a result of all these, reaching a power and maturity to advise decision-making government mechanisms.⁵⁵

A comprehensive examination of the professional group of doctors, encompassing their objectives, evolution, and impact on modernization, is a crucial undertaking in both world history and Ottoman historiography. In her doctoral dissertation, Rasimoğlu described the development of physicians in the Ottoman Empire from the *Tanzimat* Period to the Second Constitutional Era and the gradual construction of a group of doctors. This study discusses the process of professionalization of Ottoman doctors and their contribution to the standardization of medicine. It still provides inspiring evidence and explanations for the aims, discourses, demands, and fundamental activities of the "modern doctor" armed with modern knowledge.⁵⁶

1.3.2 Scholarship on *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*

One of the first detailed compilations available to us on Ottoman medical history, which also includes *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, is Besim Ömer Akalın's *Nevsâl-i Afîyet*. Besim Ömer briefly describes the founding of the society, its main members, publishing activities, library, relationship with the Ottoman government, aims, principles, and finally, main activities. Although Besim Ömer mentions the contributions of foreign doctors to the establishment and continuation of the society, he emphasizes that the society had an "Ottoman" identity and character.⁵⁷

Another important source of information about the society is Osman Ergin's book titled *İstanbul Tıp Mektepleri Enstitüleri ve Cemiyetleri*. In this work, Osman Ergin primarily utilized the narrative in Besim Ömer's *Nevsâl-i Afîyet*. He mainly repeated Besim Ömer's narrative and made no different interpretation or analysis.⁵⁸ Overall, the work is a useful reference book as it presents the institutionalization of medicine in Istanbul.

⁵⁵Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," 488-489.

⁵⁶Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)," Doctoral thesis, (Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2012).

⁵⁷Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i Afîyet*, vol I, 157-158.

⁵⁸Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Tıp Mektepleri, Enstitüleri ve Cemiyetleri* (Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1940), 76-78.

In the centenary year (1956) and the one-hundred-thirtieth anniversary (1986) of the founding of the society, conferences were organized, and publications were made introducing *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* by the contributions of Süheyl Ünver and Bedi Şehsuvaroğlu. The Turkish Medical Society (Association), founded after 1925, after the activities of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* ceased, it adopted the legacy of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. Ünver and Şehsuvaroğlu, after briefly describing the foundation of the society during the Crimean War, emphasized the government support for the society and the patronage of Sultan Abdülmecid, and preferred to focus on the activities of the society after 1925 (the Turkish Medical Society).⁵⁹ Thirty years later, Ünver and Hatemi repeated the study of 1956 to a larger extent but did not present any new research or findings.⁶⁰ These two studies have common descriptive and encyclopedic characteristics and do not contain sufficient analysis.

The most comprehensive and multi-dimensional study on *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* is Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu's *Osmanlı İlmî ve Mesleki Cemiyetleri*.⁶¹ This piece analyzed the leading medical societies in the Ottoman Empire (including *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*) through the methods and perspectives of the history of science, medicine and technology, cultural history, and legal history. His introductory article presents an overview of scientific and professional societies in the Ottoman Empire in the process of modernization. İhsanoğlu draws a broad perspective on the professional societies in the Ottoman Empire, from their legal character to their founding philosophy and their similarities with their European counterparts.⁶² Here, İhsanoğlu introduces *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* and claims that the association had both a scientific and professional identity.⁶³ Ekrem Kadri Unat introduces *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* as the first medical society established in Istanbul in his article about the medical societies in the Ottoman state in this compilation. However, he argues that this society was influenced by foreign doctors and did not carry an Ottoman identity.⁶⁴ He assumed proto-nationalist features in those associations

⁵⁹ Ahmet Süheyl Ünver and Bedi Nuri Şehsuvaroğlu, *Türk Tıp Cemiyeti "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne"* (Istanbul: Türk Tıp Cemiyeti Yayını, 1956).

⁶⁰ Ahmet Süheyl Ünver and Hüsrev Hatemi, *Türk Tıp Derneği (Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne) 1856-1986* (Istanbul: Türk Tıp Cemiyeti Yayını, 1986).

⁶¹ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı İlmî ve Mesleki Cemiyetleri [1. Milli Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3-5 Nisan 1987]*, ed. by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987).

⁶² Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Modernleşme Süreci İçinde Osmanlı Devletinde İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleşme Hareketlerine Bir Bakış," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu (3-5 Nisan 1987)*, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1987).

⁶³ İhsanoğlu, "Modernleşme Süreci İçinde Osmanlı Devletinde İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleşme Hareketlerine Bir Bakış," 10.

⁶⁴ Ekrem Kadri Unat, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tıp Cemiyetleri," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu (3-5 Nisan 1987)*, 85-110, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1987), 87.

established in the nineteenth century. Unat makes an incorrect historical analysis by evaluating the society from the perspective of early Republican historians, attributing a proto nationalism to the time of the society's establishment and excluding the contributions of Ottoman citizen physicians from minorities such as Dr. Mavroyeni, Dr. Serviçen and Dr. Zoeros who were members of the society.⁶⁵

Among the Ottoman scientific and professional societies, the most detailed study of the society based on primary sources was written by Hüsrev Hatemi and Aykut Kazancıgil.⁶⁶ Hatemi and Kazancıgil emphasize the quality of the society's publishing activities. They argue that the establishment of the society was the embodiment of the desire to organize scientific meetings and produce science collectively in Ottoman society. They translated parts of the society's regulations from French into Turkish. They analyzed the contributions of the association to medical education, the institutionalization of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire, and the professionalization of the medical profession in detail.⁶⁷ The work of the association in the field of medical topography is mentioned and the scientific competitions organized by the society in this field are introduced.⁶⁸

Unlike Ekrem Kadri Unat, Hatemi and Kazancıgil underline the necessity of French as the language of medical education and publication as well as the cooperation of European and Ottoman minority physicians within the identity of an Ottoman society and the conditions that enabled the society to continue successfully. In their article, Hatemi and Kazancıgil introduce the newspaper and the society by analyzing the first issues of the newspaper published in 1857.⁶⁹ Although the formal features of the newspaper give an idea about its titles and the topics it covered, they could not reach a satisfying conclusion since they analyzed a small number of examples. In this respect, this appears to be a very introductory study.

In his article, "Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler Çağı," Mehmet Ö. Alkan further includes the Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne as one of the early examples of professional societies. He examined how the first examples of the concepts of civil society and public

⁶⁵Unat, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tıp Cemiyetleri," 85-110. Ottoman non-muslim (generally Greek and Armenian) and Levantine physicians constituted a larger part of the membership of the association.

⁶⁶Hüsrev Hatemi and Aykut Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne ve Tıbbın Gelişimine Katkıları," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu (3-5 Nisan 1987)*, ed. by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 111-119, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1987).

⁶⁷Hatemi and Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne," 117-118.

⁶⁸Ibid, 118.

⁶⁹Hüsrev Hatemi and Aykut Kazancıgil, "Gazette Medical d'Orient'in İlk Sayıları," in *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, no:15, (2007): 33-38.

opinion emerged.⁷⁰ According to his study, Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne can be read as a result of urbanization, increased professional knowledge and specialization, and complex societal relations.⁷¹ Fatma Müge Göçek's book, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, is among the works that should be mentioned in terms of providing a theoretical framework based on sociology on the contribution of voluntary professional associations to knowledge production, knowledge transfer, and civil society in the Ottoman Empire.⁷²

1.4 Research Questions and Aims of the Thesis

What are the contributions of the society to the production and dissemination of medical knowledge? How did the society help the institutionalization of modern medicine in the Ottoman Empire? The critical subjects in this thesis are how it has existed and continued as a society, its members, the relationships it has established, and the networks it has been able to reach. The conditions that allow its establishment and continuation will also be discussed along with the question of how did it lead to the professionalization of medicine? I explore how the society and its newspaper have gained an international identity by providing a scientific flow of information.

In this thesis, I emphasize the diversity of the actors of medical modernization by discussing what ways and by what means the society has provided the initiative that responds to the conditions and needs of the Ottoman Empire through the scientific application of modern medical knowledge and contributed to the institutionalization of medicine in the Ottoman Empire.

Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne accelerated the professionalization of physicians starting from the second half of the nineteenth century. It leads us to the questions such what are the aspects of professionalization in terms of the early medical associations in the Ottoman Empire? How and in what ways did the member physicians distinguish themselves from other and previous ones? What were the new values, set of knowledge, set of practices, and set of moral values they brought? These questions will be the guidelines of this thesis entirely.

⁷⁰Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler Çağı," *Tarih ve Toplum Dergisi* 40, no. 238 (2003): 4-12.

⁷¹Alkan, "Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler Çağı," 5.

⁷²Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*.

1.5 Sources

The main primary sources for tracing *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* are the Ottoman State Archives and the association's medical gazette, the *Gazette Medicale d'Orient*. In the Ottoman State Archives, one may encounter the association in various names such as *Cemiyet-i Ettibba*, *Etibba Cemiyeti*, *Cemiyet-i Etibba-yı Şâhâne* or *Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyesi*. One can also search through the names of the association's members, remembering that the names of the physicians can be misspelt in Ottoman Turkish documents. The document about the association's gaining the "imperial" title from Sultan Abdülmeçid and the statute (*nizamname*) of the association are essential primary sources found in the Ottoman State Archives. Self-perception of physicians⁷³ is an important angle of this thesis, and this cannot be seen from Ottoman state archives. This thesis utilizes newspaper articles and the anniversary book of the association to reach the self-perception of doctors. The fact that the archival documents mostly issue problematic situations, there is a limited number of documents about this association.

The *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, the media organ of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, also contains medical case studies, progress reports of the association, and articles on the sanitary condition of Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire. It is important to stress that the use of the gazette as a primary source in Ottoman medical historiography is quite limited. The fact that the sources have been digitized recently may be one of the explanations of this. For this thesis, the issues of the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* were derived from the *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek*. The issues between 1857 and 1866 were selected to limit the time period. This helped me to focus on the first decade of the association and their gazette.

In this digital library, the issues are organized year by year; each year contains twelve issues. The selected issues were scanned with the program OCR and translated into English. In the English translation, a group of keywords were used for research, including "Ottoman," "medicine," "medical," "sanitary," "sanitation," "hygiene," "scientific," "knowledge," and "professional," and the like.

Another important primary source which gives details about *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* is *Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)* (*Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhânenin Ellinci Sene-i Devriyesi*). This book was located in the reference section of IRCICA Library, in Sirkeci, Istanbul.

⁷³In her dissertation, Rasimoğlu İlikan also pointed out the importance of self-perception of the doctors. See İlikan Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)," 3.

bul. This book was written on the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the society and dedicated to Sultan Abdülhamid II. By this book, the members of the society commemorated the early years of the society and highlighted the primary endeavors and success in these fifty years.

The medical associations in the Ottoman Empire for the earlier periods tended to be neglected either due to the scarcity of historical sources or the lack of attention of the historians. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* was one of these examples, especially the first association with scientific and professional characteristics. Another exceptional primary source was the anniversary book about the society, which was written in the fiftieth year of the foundation of the society. This book, *Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhânenin Ellinci Sene-i Devriyesi*, includes the major enterprises and achievements of the association and how far they were dedicated to their founding principles. Despite the abundance of the sources written in French, the Ottoman documents about the association are scant. In most cases, the association is only visible in the Ottoman State Archives through financial matters such as donating yearly allowance or awards and promotions of the physicians who were members of the association. In rare documents, which are located in *Hariciye Tercüme Odası (hr. to)*, we may encounter some petitions or letters written by the members of the association to the Ottoman medical administration. And finally, in some cases, the foreign medical newspapers written in English convey the activities of the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople to their audience. Considering all these, the variety of sources from different angles will reconstruct the history of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

1.6 Chapter Overview

This thesis attempts to issue the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* and the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople, which revolves mainly around terms such as modernization, professionalization, standardization, public opinion, and the globalizing health concerns in the 19th century. The first chapter, the introduction of the thesis, gives a brief historiography of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* among other medical societies of the Ottoman Empire, introduces the society, and offers the concepts of knowledge dissemination, institutionalization, and professionalization of medicine.

The central theme of the second chapter will be the primary endeavors and activities of the society. One of the discussion points will be the process and contributions of the society to the professionalization of medicine and doctorship in the Ottoman

Empire and its capital, Istanbul, where the society was established. Furthermore, the institutionalization of the society will play a central role in analyzing its founding principles, which are reported in the *nizamname* of the association. This chapter will portray the activities of the society as a collective teamwork by a group of doctors in which a social body is formed through time. This chapter will indicate the functions of the society in terms of standardization of medical and sanitary practices in the Ottoman Empire by working as an advisory and scholarly body and constituting a scientific background for medical modernization.

The third chapter will provide general information and the content of the GMO along with the transfer of ideas and knowledge through this newspaper. This chapter deals with the making of the GMO, its relations, and networks with other international journals and their members. Besides, this chapter discusses the nature of knowledge conveyed in the writings of GMO, in other words, what the doctors aimed to publicize, announce, and teach the readers. This chapter will treat the GMO as a periodical that opened a channel for scientific discussions. This chapter lays out the ideas and priorities of the doctors of the society and, finally, their effects on the ongoing Ottoman medical modernization and medical developments of the time.

2. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MEDICINE THROUGH PROFESSIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION

How did a professional association as such impact the general modernization and/or institutionalization of medicine in the late Ottoman Empire? What were the dimensions of institutionalization? In what ways did *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* contribute to institutionalization, professionalization, and standardization of the medical and sanitary measures in the Ottoman Empire?

This chapter revolves around this thesis's three main discussions: institutionalization, professionalization, and standardization. By discussing the society in terms of these terms, we can trace the internal and external relations of the association within and with the Ottoman Empire. In this chapter, I will try to conceptualize and contextualize the association within the Ottoman medical modernization happening in the late 19th century period. Reading the association as an institution will require looking at the formation, aims, and social and scientific body of the association, as well as its official statute (*nizamname*). The following parts will try to demonstrate the position of the association in the professionalization of medical occupations through the accumulation of knowledge and the practice of professional ethics. Additionally, the society followed the modernizing reforms of the Ottoman Empire, in which the doctors aimed to bring standardized methods and make efforts to centralize medical practice.

2.1 Contributions of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* to the Institutionalization of Medicine

The following document found in the Ottoman State Archives explains the background of the establishment of the association. It emphasizes the need for the founding of a scientific society in the Ottoman Empire for the good of the public:

Your Highness,

The translation of the statement given by the members of the society describing the composition of this society with the request for the imperial permission to organize a society of medicine in Istanbul for the acquisition and dissemination of information on the science of medicine, as is the case in all parts of Europe, has been presented and submitted for the approval of the honorable sultan. Since the formation of this society is for the benefit of the general public and is intended to serve humanity and the sciences, it is one of the contemporary favors of the Sultanate. Regarding the granting of the requested name and title to the society in order to be under the protection of the sultanate, and the awarding of a number of decrees in this regard to be a cause of pride. The order and decree issued by the divine highness and honor necessarily will be carried out. 5 Ramadan 72.⁷⁴

The document above is remarkable for this thesis. It signals that there were similar examples of professional associations in Europe. So, the source of inspiration for establishing such an association was Europe. It also underlines that this association was founded for the benefit of the public.

As an Ottoman professional institution which received an official recognition from the government, the association's relation with the government is of importance. I highlighted the cooperation between the state and the association. Mainly, governmental support demonstrated in a number of occasions. Receiving the title imperial is one of them including the support of statesmen such as Hayrullah Efendi. Another aspect of official assistance was the financial one in which the society received yearly monetary aid of 60.000 *guruş* from the government.⁷⁵ There have been a few documents related to the leasing of a suitable building for the association and its library. In fact, what reflected to the Ottoman archive about the association is mainly the problems of their housing and its rental money.⁷⁶ These documents reflect the sponsorship of the Ottoman Empire and its financial support for the association.

A document found in the Ottoman archives written by the Armenian doctor Serviçen

⁷⁴BOA, İ.HR. 130.6661 (5 Ramazan 1272/ 10 May 1856) : "Avrupanın her tarafında olduğu misillü fenn-i tababete dair malumatın iktisab ve intişarı zımnında Dersaadetde dahi bir cemiyet-i tıbbiye teşkiline müsaade-i seniyye erzan buyurulması istidasıyla işbu cemiyetin suret-i terkihini mübeyyen cemiyet-i mezkure azası tarafından verilen layihanın tercümesi manzur-ı şevket-mevfur-ı hazret-i padişahi buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. İşbu cemiyetin teşkili menâfi ve fevâ'id-i umumiye müstelzim olmayla ve insaniyete ve ulûma bir hizmet maksadına mebni bulunmasıyla muhsinat-ı asriye-i cenab-ı şehinşahiden bulunduğundan cemiyet-i mezkureye zîr-i himayet-i saltanat-ı seniyyede bulunmak üzere istida olunan nam ve unvanın itası ve medar-ı iftihar olmak üzere olbabda bir kıta berat-ı alışan tastir kılınması hakkında her ne vechle emr ü ferman cenab-ı mülukane ve şeref-sudur buyrulur ise mukteza-yı alisi icra kılınacağı beyanıyla tezkere-i senaveri terkim olundu efendim. Fi 5 Ramazan 72".

⁷⁵BOA, HR.MKT. 173.89 (22 Cemaziyelevvel 1273/ 18 January 1857).

⁷⁶BOA, HR.TO. 429-51 (31 August 1858) ; A.MKT.MHM. 143-51 (15 Rabiulevvel 1275/ 23 October 1858) ; HR.MKT. 356-30 (3 Cemaziyelevvel 1277/ 17 November 1860).

Efendi dated 1858. In this letter, he requested from sultanate to buy a field of 600 *arşın* including a 200.000 *guruş* as a blessing because the place they reside cannot be permanent and suitable for their association.⁷⁷ However, it seemed to me that the problem about their place cannot be resolved. In the following year, Dr. Sarell also sent a letter to the government about the problem with their building. This letter contains a proposal to vacate the place where the doctors' association resides in a short time or a request for the payment of the rent by the Imperial Sultanate. According to this letter, the association, which hopes to meet in a place close to Galatasaray, cannot reside for a long time in a place that lacks the comfort, location, hours and security necessary for the preservation of the library, which has already been found and rented in the Beyoğlu Casino. Therefore, the association requests permission to assign a more suitable place in Beyoğlu and to issue the necessary orders to get rid of the difficult situation in which it has encountered by the request of Monsieur Sarell.⁷⁸

An article on the GMO reveals that the members of the association also diffused into the several important positions in the Ottoman medical administration. Consequently, the members of the association also had the chance to contribute to the institutionalization of Ottoman medicine with their different bureaucratic titles beyond being members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. The quotation below portrays the complex structure of the Ottoman medical administration and the contributions of the association's members in the Ottoman bureaucratic sphere:

Let us not forget either that many members of the society sit at the same time on the different bodies which have to deal with everything relating to public health, that it has members in the highest administration, the medical council, health administration, municipality, and thus the voice of the society is continually heard within these different administrations, whose work it is always ready to help with its writings and words.⁷⁹

⁷⁷BOA, HR.TO. 429-19 (19 March 1858): "Cemiyet-i mezkurenin bu kere dahi dördüncü defa olarak belki bundan sonra bir münasib hane tedarikine değin birkaç defa daha tebdil-i mekana mecbur olacağına ve cemiyet-i mezkure için münasib bir mahalın intihabı müsellemler olan efkar-ı aliye-i cenab-ı tac-dariye tevafuk edeceğine mebni tepebaşı nam mahalde vaki beyoğlu kabristanı kurbunda bulunan arazi-i haliyeden altı yüz arşun mikdarı bir arsanın itasıyla beraber iki yüz bin guruş atıyye-i seniyye ihsan buyrulması hususuna müsaade-i aliyye-i sadaretpenahilerinin bi-dirig ve seza-var buyurulması cemiyet-i mezkure tarafından niyaz olunmaktadır."

⁷⁸BOA, HR.TO. 432-14. 2 (5 March 1859).

⁷⁹"Bulletin," GMO, February 1859, no:11, 202.

The institutionalization of Ottoman medicine started in the *Tanzimat* Era, with the establishment of the Quarantine Directorate (*Meclis-i Tahaffuz*), as Aude Aylin de Tapia argues.⁸⁰ According to de Tapia, the advent of modern medicine led to a novel conceptualization and institutionalization of the role of the state in health affairs.⁸¹ As stated earlier in the subchapter while writing about the background information of the society, the establishment of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* was another crucial step toward the institutionalization of Ottoman medicine. The embodiment of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* to the realm of Ottoman medicine opened a new chapter and opportunities in this process while the society itself became an institution in the Ottoman civil societies as well.

2.1.1 An Outlook on *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*

To readdress the aspects of institutionalism in the character of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, we should summarize the main aims and initiatives of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* before starting to a new sub-chapter. Firstly, the conditions that helped society with its maintenance can be mentioned. The “imperial” title given by the Ottoman Sultanate, the yearly allowance, and the rental aid provided by the government undoubtedly helped the association to solve financial issues. The need in society was another possible reason for the long lifespan of the association, from the late Ottoman Empire to the Early Republican Turkey. With modern medical knowledge and expertise, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* gained both the sympathy of the society and the recognition of the Ottoman authorities. In 1907, the association members wrote an anniversary book on the history of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. We can read this as an attempt for them to preserve their legacy. All in all, as a heterogeneous and multicultural association, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* contributed to the materialization of modern medical knowledge through its gazette and library, promotion of experimental and research-based studies through the scientific culture they brought and institutionalization of Ottoman medicine through the mutual connection with the medical administration.

It is necessary to have a brief look at the foundational era of the society in order to understand its aims and principles. Several studies pinpoint that the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople was first promoted during the Crimean War by

⁸⁰Aude Aylin de Tapia, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamu Sağlığı Anlayışına Doğru (16.-18. Yüzyıl) Tıbbî Hatalar, Şarlatanlık ve Devlet Denetimi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 237 (2013): 23.

⁸¹de Tapia, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamu Sağlığı Anlayışına Doğru," 23.

Dr. Peter Pincoffs, a notable Dutch (Flemenk) doctor in the British Navy.⁸² More broadly, the association was established voluntarily with the agency of doctors who were the participants of their armies in the Crimean War. Historians also discuss in greater detail the reasons and motivations behind the establishment of the association. According to Ekrem Kadri Unat, the main reason was the need for physicians to communicate and collaborate during the ongoing Crimean War.⁸³ Similarly, Aykut Kazancıgil and Hüsrev Hatemi argue that the association was founded due to the need of British and French physicians to engage in scientific meetings among themselves.⁸⁴ Süheyl Ünver, in a similar way, asserts that the association was not a state-pioneered or pre-planned association; it has emerged during the contingent atmosphere of the Crimean War. According to Ünver, the main reasons for the association's establishment were "to meet once a week to prepare reports on medical and scientific matters, to [consult] on daily observations and to make acquaintances between doctors of allied armies."⁸⁵

The founding purpose of the society was described in a cursory manner by İhsanoğlu as if it was established only in the context of the Crimean War and limited to it, and only for the communication, discussion and solidarity of doctors treating war wounded.⁸⁶ Although the starting points of the society met within the framework of the problems necessitated by the Crimean War and around daily issues, after the war, more scientific production and information gathering activities were initiated. Its establishment is likely not limited only to the developments of the Crimean War, since many varying purposes caused to this initiation demonstrated in the sources produced by the society itself. Although the literature described in a more limited way, the society's own sources reveal more diversified aims.

The society contingently established during the Crimean War but later on, it persisted. At the end of the war, The Treaty of Paris recognized the Ottoman Empire

⁸²Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Tıp Mektepleri, Enstitüleri ve Cemiyetleri* (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1940), 76-78; Hüsrev Hatemi, "Türk Tıp Derneği (Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane) Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (1856-1986)," 211; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Genesis of Learned Societies and Professional Associations in Ottoman Turkey," *Science, Technology, and Learning in the Ottoman Empire* (1995): 171; Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i Âfiyet*, vol. I , 157-59; Ekrem Kadri Unat, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tıp Cemiyetleri," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu (3-5 Nisan 1987)* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1987), 86; Ahmet Süheyl Ünver and Bedi Nuri Şehsuvaroğlu, *Türk Tıp Cemiyeti "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahâne"* (İstanbul: Türk Tıp Cemiyeti Yayını, 1986), 7.

⁸³Unat, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tıp Cemiyetleri," 86. Unat simply asserts that the main reason for the establishment of Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahâne was the need of doctors for consultation for the medical issues they faced during the Crimean War.

⁸⁴Hüsrev Hatemi and Aykut Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane ve Tıbbın Gelişmesine Katkıları," 111.

⁸⁵Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Türk Tıp Derneği (Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahâne) 1856-1986*, 2-3.

⁸⁶Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi Ve Teşkilatlanmanın Başlaması," *Erdem* 9, no. 25 (1996): 275.

as a European state. In a sense, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople was a result of this in the medical world. The relatively liberal environment of the government also created favorable conditions. Doctors did not face pressure and censorship in their working environment and had autonomy in their activities. Scientific developments and publications can be seen as a result of economic support and a free working environment. İhsanoğlu makes a distinction between professional and scientific societies.⁸⁷ In this definition, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* can be considered both a scientific society and a professional society. In other words, it does not fall into only one of the two categories but both. Since only doctors and those working in the health sector could be members of the society, it can be seen as a professional society. It was also a scientific society because it engaged in scientific practices and engages in the knowledge-production initiatives. Although he claimed that, unlike Western societies, Ottoman societies established as "scientific societies" did not aim to study nature and humans and generally began and ended as short-lived cultural movements with limited activities.⁸⁸ *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* disproved his conclusion.

Despite the Westernist ideas, perspective and predominantly European members of the society, it does not exclude its Ottoman identity. The society was acknowledged and supported officially by the Ottoman state. The association was initiated and flourished in the capital of the Ottoman Empire; assisted its medical modernization and institutionalization and further contributed to the professional societies emerging in the empire as a pioneer. Although the members were dominantly non-Muslim and Levantines, there was still a small number of Muslims. The fact that there were low number of members of the association of Turkish/Islamic origin might have been a consequence of the insufficient Turkish/Muslim graduates of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

This society, which has continued its life to the present day with some changes under the name of the Turkish Medical Society, has been effective in introducing new concepts and approaches to Ottoman society. The fact that there was no Turkish-origin member of the society, except for a few high-ranking statesmen who were granted honorary membership, led to the emergence of similar associational movements among Turkish intellectuals in the following years.⁸⁹ However, there were some members who were Muslim converts, such as Dr. Abdullah Bey (Karl Hammerschmidt) and Faik Pasha (Francesco Della Suda).

⁸⁷İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi," 266.

⁸⁸Ibid, 286.

⁸⁹Ibid, 276.

Another important aspect of the association is that it gained “imperial” recognition from Sultan Abdülmecid. After being founded unofficially and voluntarily in Istanbul by the physicians of the allied armies (*asâkir-i müttefika*) of the Crimean War, the association also received an “imperial” recognition from Sultan Abdülmecid Han on February 15th, 1856, which is also accepted as the association’s foundation date.⁹⁰

However, it did not receive this title by the time it was founded. Kazancıgil and Hatemi assert that the first version of the name of the society was *Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyesi*.⁹¹ One year after its voluntary foundation, Dr. Serviçen Efendi, Dr. Konstantin Karatodori Pasha, and Dr. Fauvel⁹² applied to Sultan Abdülmecid and gained both an imperial title and an annual grant for the association. This situation shows the collaboration of the Ottoman non-Muslim physicians with the foreign physicians who promoted the association. One possible reason for this application to the Ottoman government is that the association was seeking some legitimacy to launch its endeavors. Yearly grants were also vital for such sort of associations to be long-term and sustainably continue their endeavors. Another question is whether the founders, again, borrowed or appropriated the “names” of European scientific associations such as the Royal Medical Society of France. In any case, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople was the first association to have the “imperial” title in its name, as in its examples in Europe. In this way, the society gained official recognition from the Ottoman government and also acquired a yearly allowance. In a document from the Ottoman State Archives, it is also stated that the early rents of the association were paid from the state treasury (*hazine-i celile*).⁹³ This was surely another motivating factor for the association.

Unfortunately, for the association, Abdülhamid II cut its yearly allowance of from 600 *liras* to 280 *liras*.⁹⁴ Sultan Abdülhamid II’s behavior can be read through

⁹⁰BOA, İ.HR. 130-6661 (5 Ramazan 1272/ 10 May 1856).

⁹¹Hatemi and Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane ve Tıbbın Gelişmesine Katkıları," 111.

⁹²See Daniel Panzac, "Vingt ans au service de la médecine turque: le Dr Fauvel à Istanbul (1847-1867)," *MOM Éditions* 1, no. 1 (1995) for a detailed biography of Antoine Fauvel and his contributions to Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople and also the international sanitary cooperations; for early endeavors of Antoine Fauvel as the French delagate of Sanitary Board (*Meclis-i Tahaffuz*) see Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "Fransız Epidemiyolog Antoine Fauvel’ye Göre 1849’da Karadeniz Karantinaları," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 13, no. 26 (2019); See Özgür Yılmaz, "Fransız Epidemiyolog Antoine Fauvel’in Osmanlı Devleti’ndeki Çalışmaları (1847-1867)," *Uluslararası Katılımlı Osmanlı Bilim ve Düşünce Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı* (2014, 8-10 May).for another sufficient study to see the contributions of doctor Antoine Fauvel.

⁹³BOA, A. MKT.MHM. 143-51 (15 Rabiulevvel 1275/ 23 October 1858).

⁹⁴Hatemi and Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane ve Tıbbın Gelişmesine Katkıları," 111.

the greater context of aiming to promote a Muslim physician class rather than the emerging privileged social cohort, which consists of European and Ottoman non-Muslim physicians and health officials. Despite these challenges, the society managed to find new financial sources (such as membership fees and emergency funds) and continued its activities and services to the Ottoman public. Sultan Abdülhamid II's policy shift reflected a change from Ottomanism to Islamism.

The fact that Istanbul was a hub for medical science with the establishment of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, hosting leading doctors and epidemiologists and conducting medical research was a source of prestige for the Ottoman government. As of the second year of its foundation, with the mediation and initiatives of the Grand Vizier Fuat Pasha and Hayrullah Efendi, the Minister of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, in addition to receiving the title of 'imperial,' it also started to receive annual allowances and rental assistance from the government. The Ottoman government's aims in supporting the society were to provide consultancy on public health in the Ottoman Empire, to contribute to the Ottoman state's centralization efforts in the field of medicine, and to advertise the Ottoman state's regulations and reforms in the field of health in its newspapers. The members of the society were sensitive to the problems and irregularities of the society in which they lived, in a kind of civic consciousness, and developed solutions in line with their expertise and in line with the demands of the Ottoman government and the Istanbul Municipality.

One of the most important indicators of the association is the importance they attach to science both in discourse and practice. They adopted scientific language as a common language; thus, despite being from very different nations and medical traditions, they were able to meet at a common denominator. As a characteristic of the second half of the 19th century, scientific studies began to be carried out not by individual scientists but collectively by a group of researchers orientated towards the same goal. This society is an example of this new understanding of scientific research. With the sub-groups and commissions they formed, they looked at society through the eyes of doctors, collected the necessary data, transformed them into medically meaningful information, and shared this information through media organs. As the carriers of modern medical knowledge in Istanbul, they were also regarded as a respected institution by legislators, and their expertise was consulted when necessary.

The association's contributions to modern medical knowledge have reached an international character through the networks they have established. Thanks to their correspondent members, they were able to receive the latest medical developments from both Europe and Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt and Iran. While

conveying the medical situation of the Ottoman Empire to the international readers (medical associations in Europe that requested membership to the GMO), the society also conveyed the latest developments abroad to its local readers.

2.1.2 The Discussion on the Legal Identity of the Association

What made of a civil scientific institution in the nineteenth century in the context of the Ottoman Empire? How were they legally formed? Why did they need regulations, and how did they apply them? These are a set of research questions this subchapter attempts to ask.

This section discusses the association's legal identity and regulations document (*nizamnâme*). *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* was considered the first association in the Ottoman Empire to have both scientific (*ilmî*) and occupational (*meslekî*) characteristics. For various reasons, such as being founded voluntarily and having the "imperial" title from the Ottoman Sultan, this association also distinguishes itself from the early scientific (proto) associations such as *Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyyesi* or contemporary scientific associations such as *Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye*.⁹⁵

One of the significant issues discussed by scholars about the society is indeed its legal identity. İhsanoğlu asserts that scientific associations founded in the *Tanzimat* Era borrowed (or appropriated) a kind of "legal frame" from Western examples of scientific associations.⁹⁶ İhsanoğlu also expresses that the "legal statutes of the scientific and occupational societies of the *Tanzimat* Period" were blurred and hard to determine precisely.⁹⁷ He also emphasizes the Western influence on the legal character of the earliest scientific and occupational societies. In İhsanoğlu's own words: "The legal regulations that formed the basis for the establishment of "societies," that is, legal entities in the legal sense, emerged based on the "society" movement that was actually formed under Western influence and developed with the modernization of Ottoman society."⁹⁸ The legal practices of the European professional and scientific societies were started to be adopted through the first Ottoman examples of these societies.

⁹⁵İhsanoğlu, "Modernleşme Süreci İçinde Osmanlı Devletinde İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleşme Hareketlerine Bir Bakış," 4.

⁹⁶Ibid, 3.

⁹⁷Ibid, 3.

⁹⁸Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür Ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi ve Teşkilatlanmanın Başlaması," 267.

The statute of the society was published in the GMO under the title “*Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople*.”⁹⁹ The earliest version translated from French to Ottoman Turkish is found in the Ottoman State Archives.¹⁰⁰

Since the *Gazette Médicale d’Orient*, the media organ of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, also contains a regulated version of the association’s statute, this version reflects the seriousness and official character of the society. They could aim to have legitimacy while demonstrating their official regulations accepted by the government. The statute of the association published on the GMO gives a very detailed picture of the association, such as the membership details and requirements, the interval of the scientific meetings, and the conditions to be honorary and corresponding members.

Since the *Gazette Médicale d’Orient*, the media organ of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, also contains a regulated version of the association’s charter, this version reflects the seriousness and official character of the society. They could aim to have legitimacy while demonstrating their official regulations accepted by the government. The statute of the association published on the GMO gives a very detailed picture of the association, such as the membership details and requirements, the interval of the scientific meetings, and the conditions to be honorary and corresponding members.

The statute of the society lays down the rules and functioning of the society as an institution. In this respect, we see that voluntary professional associations, like state institutions, operate within the framework of a specific set of rules. While it has the characteristics of a professional society in the sense that only health professionals can be members, it also has the characteristics of a scientific society since it conducts scientific research and produces scientific publications. The sixth article of the statute expressed the tasks of the members, which was to produce scientific work.¹⁰¹ Members had to fulfill conditions such as proving their scientific competence, presenting their diplomas, attending the meetings of the society except for excused absences, residing in Istanbul, and participating in the work of the sub-commissions they were assigned to. While the number of permanent members and correspondent members of the society is not limited, the number of honorary members is limited to fifty. Permanent members residing in Istanbul were also allowed to become correspondent members of their city if they moved outside Istanbul.

Significantly, the GMO volume listed the permanent, honorary, and correspondent members in its first volume. Accordingly, the society had thirty-nine founding mem-

⁹⁹“Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople,” GMO, November 1861, No:8, 121-122.

¹⁰⁰BOA, İ.HR. 130-6661 (5 Ramazan 1272/ 10 May 1856).

¹⁰¹“Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople,” GMO, 121.

bers. Since it was necessary to reside in Istanbul as it was written in the statute of the association, full membership was not permanent, but a dynamic and changeable matter. These names could be updated as correspondent or honorary members. The society had particularly prestigious and internationally recognized members. This shows the strength of the networks it has established.¹⁰² In general, this might indicate that medical newspapers have had a large web of correspondents and networks. The gazette contributed to the officiality of the society in a way that left written material and a legacy. In addition, as a social organization that prioritized solidarity, it produced sources of income such as emergency aid funds, as will be discussed in more detail later. The organization's executive board consisted of a president, two vice presidents, a private secretary, and a treasurer. The projection of a typical meeting of the association is described as follows: "The agenda for each ordinary meeting includes successively: 1. Reading and adoption of the minutes; 2. Correspondence; 3 Reports of the Commissions; 4 Oral or written communications on facts having a Current interest. 5. Oral or written communications on scientific questions made following the order of registration or by express decision of the society."¹⁰³

The statute stipulated that regular meetings would be held every fifteen days under normal circumstances and that the society would convene if extraordinary circumstances required it. Since the society was based on volunteerism, it needed to generate some sources of income. Members of the society paid membership fees as well as registration fees when joining the society.¹⁰⁴ All in all, the statute was the document that set the necessary rules for the continuation and sufficiency of the society based on its aims to produce scientific work and disseminate it.

2.1.3 *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* as a Collective and Social Body

The earlier parts of this chapter covered the foundation, aims, and the legal institution of the society. Here, the social aspect will be taken into account to see the differing layers of the society and its gazette. How was it formed as a social and scientific body? How did the meetings form not only scientific but also social bonds between the various members? Obituaries taken from the gazette will especially help us to visualize the human connections between the doctors.

¹⁰²Unat, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tıp Cemiyetleri," 87.

¹⁰³"Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople," GMO, 122.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, 122.

In the history of Ottoman science, as well as in the history of medicine, the social relations and solidarity methods of the societies should be taken into consideration in addition to their scientific outputs. Some columns in the newspaper shed light on these relations. A society is, first and foremost, a social organization. On the anniversaries of the founding of the society, doctors came together to socialize and discuss the medical developments of the previous year. Within this structure, doctors developed not only professional but also social relations and influenced each other. Although it was anticipated that a heterogeneous structure with many different cultures and the lack of language unity might cause problems, the members of the society were able to overcome these problems. And this heterogeneous structure turned into an advantage rather than a disadvantage. The heterogeneous structure of the society led to a livelier discussion environment, more productive work, and a longer life span for the society. In their philosophy, criticism and different opinions are welcomed. An article on GMO emphasized the openness to diversity in the association:

The practice of dogmatism is becoming less prevalent, and whereas previously there was a complete opposition between schools of thought, there is now a greater acceptance of differences. However, these nuances persist, as evidenced by the ongoing divergence of opinions within our society. In this regard, the Society of Medicine of Constantinople, due to its heterogeneous composition, presented a distinctive physiognomy that is unique among similar institutions.¹⁰⁵

The problem of linguistic unity was overcome by adopting French as the common language of science, common spoken language, and common correspondence. Nevertheless, it was observed that a considerable number of the members of the society had difficulties due to the fact that their mother tongue was not French. In the first issue of the newspaper, the spokesperson of the society stated that French was not the mother tongue of many doctors and apologized to the readers in advance for any mistakes they would make in this language.¹⁰⁶

The spokesman of the society stressed that any difference in political or religious matters or any divergence in personal interests should not be a problem among the members of the association.¹⁰⁷ In his own statement, he emphasized the insignifi-

¹⁰⁵GMO, April 1857, no:1, 2.

¹⁰⁶Ibid, 2.

¹⁰⁷GMO, February 1859, no:11, 201-205.

cance of the differences between the physicians; and focus on the shared characters in their social cohort. He even claimed that the physicians themselves (sort of) constitute a nation. In his own words: “There, we constitute only one nation, we admit only one policy, we are all citizens of the same republic, republic in the noblest literal sense.”¹⁰⁸ He (the spokesmen of the society) basically try to express that they (physicians) are a crucial social cohort in the society, which have their own shared values, interests, and habitus. In another oration in the meeting of the society, Dr. Leval signals some values which the physicians should have embraced. He stressed the importance of independence of the opinions (which were necessary for new ideas to flourish), objectivity in the science which they dealt with, the importance of criticism for their studies, and professional merit (*liyakat*).¹⁰⁹

One of the most important pieces of evidence that exemplifies the solidarity among the members of the society is the establishment of a kind of emergency aid fund. This fund aimed to solve the financial difficulties that members and their families might experience in the future. This shows that society was a social organization that emphasized solidarity in addition to its scientific nature. The society also organized competitions with prize money to promote science, and the doctors who participated in these competitions had the chance to compete with each other in a positive environment through their scientific work and to win prize money. Another aspect that increased the recognition of the society abroad was the competitions they organized in the field of medical topography. These competitions were also instrumental in the exchange of information with doctors participating from abroad. An announcement of the competition is as follows:

This flourishing body, under whose auspices is published by the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, offers a prize of 5000 piastres for the best essay on the medical topography of any locality or district in the Ottoman Empire. It must indicate the physico-geographical, geological, meteorological, and hygienic condition of the locality and the causes of its insalubrity; refer to its botany and mineral waters; make a methodical examination of the popular remedies of the country; specify the various maladies, particularly epidemics; and, finally, propose the most suitable measures for curing those maladies, and for diminishing the causes of insalubrity.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Ibid, 204.

¹⁰⁹GMO, April 1857, No:1, 13.

¹¹⁰“Prize Proposed by the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople,” *The North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*, 1861 May, (5)3. 572.

The obituaries of the members that appear in the columns of the society are unique historical sources for accessing the biographical information of the doctors. These sources also show the importance the society attached to social relations. Obituaries of doctors who were members of the society are longer and more detailed. Their lives before they became members of the society and their contributions to society (as in the case of Dr Baudens and Dr Leval, two of the founders of the society) are shown. In this way, a commemorative ceremony is also organized. For example, in the obituary of Dr. Baudens¹¹¹, his work in the French expedition to Algeria, his high level of medical training in France, and finally, his contribution to the association.¹¹² In the obituary of Dr. Leval, Dr. Fauvel gave an emotional speech in memory of his colleague.¹¹³ In this speech, he emphasized Dr. Leval's efforts and dedication. Dr Fauvel concluded his eulogy as follows:

And now, tell me, Gentlemen, if such a man is not entitled to our respect and our admiration? Tell me if his name should not occupy a place of honor in the memories of our society? Tell me if it would not be the case to take advantage of the great lesson, he offers us and if, by proposing him as a model to all, the Imperial Society of Medicine would not pay the tribute more pleasant to his memory? ¹¹⁴

Due to the shared norms and values, the members formed a social body among each other through their meetings and the exchange of information. They put emphasis on solidarity and cooperation among their colleagues. It not only made the society a professional and rigidly formal organization but also a place that doctors with similar interests and missions could gather and socialize.

¹¹¹GMO, May 1858, no:2, 39. "Dr. Baudens, honorary member and one of the founders of this society, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the 2nd class, commander of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor, medical inspector and member of the Council of health of the armed forces of France, died in the last days of 1857, in Paris, in his fifty-fourth year."

¹¹²GMO, May 1858, no:2, 38-40.

¹¹³GMO, March 1861, no:12, 194-196.

¹¹⁴GMO, March 1861, no:12, 196.

2.2 Contributions of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* on Professionalization of Physicians

The previous pages addressed the institutional character of the association in the issues that are at the intersection of government and medicine. The professionalization of physicians in the 19th century was determined by their education, scientific knowledge, and the technological know-how they possessed.¹¹⁵ In the case of the society, what is professional or what is not was decided by the collective thinking of members of the association. They set the rules for professional understanding of the medical profession. According to Rasimoğlu, qualified physicians set certain boundaries between them and the rest of the medical practitioners.¹¹⁶ The qualified physicians embraced a discourse that they were the true possessors of novel scientific knowledge; in this way, they aimed to gain prestige in society.

The overall purpose of modern physicians who were equipped with modern medical knowledge was to elevate their professional reputation and to elevate their social ranking through their profession which in return gave them power and autonomy through knowledge. To reach this purpose, the doctors also combat pseudo-physicians in society, who detriment the efforts to institutionalize medicine in the empire. The institutionalization of medicine in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century was accelerated through the efforts of the physicians who aimed to cultivate the standards of their occupation.

Acclimatization of the modern medicine in the Ottoman territories was a slow and gradual process. While “modern” physicians were gaining appreciation and admiration in the eyes of the society, at the same time they obtained credibility and accountability in the eyes of the medical authorities; the overall aim of institutionalization of medicine was also reached through a cautious progress. During this process, the modern examples of medical professionals faced many challenges. In the GMO, physicians demonstrated the challenges they encountered. As an idealist and progressivist group, they seemed to demand sudden change in mentalities and practices in the society where they worked, and they seemed to expect radical developments on the medical realm of the “Orient”.

In January 1859, the main challenges for physicians were depicted by the members

¹¹⁵Ibid, 473.

¹¹⁶İlkan Raimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism", 475.

of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.¹¹⁷ The great distance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, the difficulties in the verbal communication between the members of the association (since French was not the mother tongue for most of them), daily fatigue due to the patient care, the lack of libraries and other scientific resources in Istanbul are hardly favorable conditions for a physician to work in this society.¹¹⁸ In this column, they also state that they must fight against the traditions, habits and prejudices in the society which can only be “uprooted gradually and over time”.¹¹⁹ They continue to add that, despite all challenges, their sessions attract at least forty physicians every time. The special committees worked with zeal and dedication, and all the members of the association continued to engage their scientific research topics.¹²⁰

In the case of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, the heterogeneous composition of the association was both advantages and disadvantages. The first basic disadvantage was that the French language was not the mother language for most of the members. In the written language, the physicians might have solved this problem through careful study and applying dictionaries, but in the verbal language, communicating in a foreign language could be an obstacle for some cases. In the same issue, the newspaper also argues on the advantages of being heterogeneous; the triumph of “united efforts” over the “individual efforts.” This quotation below illustrates how this heterogeneity and the diversity of personal interests helped to form an association and help to maintain it:

Contributing to the goal that the individual sets for himself are the origin of every people, of every nation. In addition to the interests common to all, each individual has special interests which he shares with a certain number of his fellow citizens, which presided over the formation of all associations of religion and caste, over the organization of all professional or industrial corporations. Every profession, every industry presents a diversity of interests which, to make the exercise satisfactory and beneficial, must simultaneously animate those who apply themselves to it.¹²¹

¹¹⁷GMO, February 1859, no:11, 203.

¹¹⁸Ibid, 203.

¹¹⁹Ibid, 203.

¹²⁰Ibid, 203.

¹²¹Ibid, 201.

The discussion above presents the personal and collective interests of modern physicians. In a society where the modern medicine just started to be flourished, the physicians aimed to determine the boundaries of professionalism and to exclude any people or any applications which did not suit into this definition of professionalization. During this process, the GMO illustrates the ongoing challenges of “modern physicians” against traditionalism or biases of public. In the case of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, the member physicians overcame these challenges because of the solidarity among them and dedication to their profession and ideals.

2.2.1 “True Masters” of the Modern Medical Knowledge: Distinguishing Themselves from Others and Promotion of Medical Ethics

Professionalization of doctors required certain occupational standards, description and ethical boundaries. All these requirements could be acquired by modern education and a certificate that resulted after years of learning the profession. A medical diploma signified a professional person with certain knowledge and competence. In this case, the principles of the association put forward the necessity of a diploma of medicine to be able to join the association. Other than submitting an official diploma, the candidates should also demonstrate a sample scientific work and two references.¹²² The conditions for affiliation with the association beforehand implies a professional and serious attitude. Hence, the overall characteristics on of the members further indicates their critical views about the non-professionals.

The first issue of the GMO started with an assertive manifestation against illegal practitioners of medicine, namely charlatans, empiricists, or pseudo-physicians. In this first issue, the author demonstrates the invasion of the medical field through unqualified people such as barbers, midwives, and unauthorized pharmacists.¹²³ Ceren İlikan Rasimoğlu also points out that the physicians who carried modern medical knowledge had to set certain boundaries to distinguish themselves from the applicators of popular medicine.¹²⁴ She mainly stresses that there was a confrontation between modern medical professionals and the illegal practitioners of medicine.¹²⁵ Even vaccination, which was a practice that professional health officials should apply, was carried out by unauthorized people, according to the GMO. The quotation

¹²²“Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople,” GMO, November 1861, No:8, 121.

¹²³GMO, April 1857, no:1, 1-1.

¹²⁴İlikan Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)," 26.

¹²⁵Ibid, 26.

below delineates how the practice of vaccination was applied in the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s:

Let us begin by saying that no supervision is exercised by the authorities, and that the choice of the vaccinator, the quality of the vaccine and the time of vaccination is left to the arbiter of families. There is no law, no provision relating to this important subject, and it is only chance which regulates the good or bad practice of vaccination. Here is a vaccinator who wants it, the empiricists, the charlatans, the barbers there is not even, we believe, even the druggist boy who does not get involved a little in vaccination.¹²⁶

In this quotation, the members of the association clearly complain about the lack of surveillance on the illegal medical practices that invade all parts of society.

On the other hand, medical empiricism and charlatanism did not always have the same meaning. Medical empiricism, in a way, refers to the traditional medicine in a society, which was an accumulation of popular versions of medical knowledge transmitted from the ancestors to the younger generations. On June 1864, GMO made a dichotomy between charlatanism and empiricism in medicine.¹²⁷ It was stated that:

...Medical empiricism was practiced in good faith; it has its own pathology, specialties, and artistic precepts. All this is undoubtedly very crude, very dangerous in practice; and when the artist is not very experienced, this often results in unfortunate mistakes for the patients. However, let us not forget that at a time, which does not go back very far, this medical practice was almost the only one in honor in the country; that it enjoyed universal confidence there. Is it therefore very surprising that at present, among the poorly enlightened mass of the population, it is still in favor?"¹²⁸

The quotation above evidently emphasizes that medical empiricism filled a necessary gap in pre-modern times, even though its potential dangers were due to the late arrival of modern, research-based, and scientific applications of medicine.

¹²⁶GMO, June 1864, no:3, 34.

¹²⁷GMO, August 1864, no:5, 67.

¹²⁸Ibid, 67.

One of the most stressed aims of the physicians of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* was to protect the solemnity of the profession and also to raise its standards and reputation. Here, it can be argued that this was a discursive claim for the association. Starting from the establishment, the words such as “dignity,” and “honor” (of profession) were repeated many times, in the columns of the GMO.¹²⁹ To protect the solemnity of their profession, physicians were dedicated to the discourse they created through the columns of GMO. Positivist approach (as there exists in the character of our century the most decided positivism, and, consequently, the necessity of adopting in the sciences a precision of language almost mathematical...)¹³⁰ was the approach the modern physicians of the second half of the nineteenth century embraced, as Rasimoğlu also signals the role of positivism for physicians, in her study.¹³¹

Medical ethics is another vital subject to which the association is attributed great importance. Furthermore, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* was the first organization to promote medical ethics in the Ottoman Empire. The association embraced a set of ethical codes and applied them just as they set the rules of medical professionalism. According to *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, homeopathy (the acclimatization of a person to low doses of poison) was such an illicit practice that threatened medical ethics and should be immediately abandoned among modern medical professionals. In an announcement in July 1859, it was stated that: "Any member of the society designated as a homeopath, or announcing himself as such, who does not protest not publicly and in writing against this qualification, will be considered as having resigned."¹³² Through this announcement, the association restates its dedication to medical ethics.

The association also upgraded its statute and added an article about the practice of homeopathy to the statute. The twenty-third article of the statute of the association declares that: “Any member whose good repute is compromised will be excluded from the society, on the report of a commission; exclusion can only be pronounced by two thirds of the voting members. Homeopaths will never be able to be part of the Imperial Medical Society.”¹³³ The quotation exemplifies that the association always

¹²⁹See for example, GMO, April 1857, no:1, 12. “There is a third object, no less capital for her and towards which she must also and with no less constancy direct her efforts, that of raising the dignity of the profession,” and GMO, February 1859, no:11, 202. “Through its journal the Society has always endeavored to defend the privileges of the doctor; by its vote it has, on more than one occasion, repelled odious attacks or ill-founded accusations against the honor or professional respectability of one of its members.”

¹³⁰GMO, May 1866, no:2, 21.

¹³¹İlkan Rasimoğlu, "The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)," 154

¹³²GMO, August 1859, no:5, 103.

¹³³“Statuts de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople,” GMO, November 1861, no:8, 122.

controlled its members and tried to control the overall reputation of the association among the society.

In her study, İlikan Rasimoğlu also touches upon the subject of medical ethics. She points out how modern medical professionals handled and cultivated the ethical conducts in medicine. The concept of responsibility was embraced by modern physicians, and this constituted the main difference between qualified and unqualified physicians.¹³⁴ She also counts other duties of the physicians to keep the dignity of the profession, including “avoiding cynical attitudes and behaviors that would put the faculty in shame, respect towards more experienced physicians, work to promote science, a behavior befitting the reputation of the profession, not to benefit from advertisements, not to promise treatment to incurable diseases, not to behave in a way that would harm the respect of a patient to another physician.”¹³⁵ These occupational duties of modern physicians, more or less, also valid for the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, as an association which is deeply devoted to the concepts such as collegial responsibility and solemnity, which were essential dimensions of medical ethics.

Towards a conclusion in this subchapter, the concept of medical professionalization should be elaborated more. Firstly, it can be read as the result of knowledge accumulation and the emergence of specialization(s) related to this accumulation. İhsanoğlu emphasizes “the need for a certain accumulation of knowledge in the fields of expertise in which they work for the success of institutions established within the increasingly complex structure of modern societies.”¹³⁶ In such a conjuncture, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* introduced itself as the confirmed or true keeper of modern medical knowledge. Their expertise and the discourse they disseminated helped them be recognized by the state and respected by the public. According to the members of the association, the field of medicine has the unique privilege of “being a science, art, profession, and industry at the same time.”¹³⁷ The physicians of the nineteenth century, as well as being specialized in specific fields, but also being a polymath-like figures. Their knowledge in fields such as chemistry, and natural sciences is visible, as it is observed in several articles in the GMO. Their curiosity and interest in fields such as law and history were also visible. The association’s dedication to medical ethics and its devotion to the principles of modern medicine

¹³⁴İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," 474.

¹³⁵Ibid, 491.

¹³⁶İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi ve Teşkilatlanmanın Başlaması," 266.

¹³⁷GMO, March 1860, no:12, 231.

made it a distinguished and prestigious social cohort in the public.

2.2.2 Accumulation of Knowledge in the Subject of Medical Topography

As the European examples, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople was vital to constructing both discourse and practice of modern medicine, disseminating modern medical knowledge, and being a model or early example for later established medical societies. According to Kazancıgil and Hatemi, the society was important to exclude the pseudo-physicians and to promote modern and qualified physicians in the Ottoman medical milieu.¹³⁸ Another significant contribution was that it established the principles of scientific publishing through its medical gazette. Another major development that the society brought was the field of medical topography.¹³⁹ Starting from the second year of its establishment, the society launched a prize for scientific studies on the medical topography of the empire. All the climatographic elements (such as temperature and wind) were collected to reach meaningful conclusions in later searches on epidemiology. Way before the Bacteriological Revolution by Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch at the end of the nineteenth century, this endeavor of the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople was ahead of its time. Another important primary source, *Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhânenin Ellinci Sene-i Devriyesi*, also counts the contributions of the association to the field of medical topography.¹⁴⁰

It may be helpful here to explain why medical topography was so vital and why it was gaining attention from physicians. Medical topography was a very important part of new governmentalities because the second half of the nineteenth century was a period in which epidemics were spreading, but the possibilities to cope with them were also increasing, and the states that promoted medical topography would move up in the international hierarchy. At the same time, it could provide a military advantage for empires.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸Hatemi and Kazancıgil, "Türk Tıp Cemiyeti (Derneği) Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane ve Tıbbın Gelişmesine Katkıları," 117.

¹³⁹Ibid, 118.

¹⁴⁰*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, [*Dersaadet Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhânenin Ellinci Sene-i Devriyesi*], 19, 31.

¹⁴¹See Benjamin Goff, "Medicalizing Topography: The French Army and Mediterranean Climates, 1760–1860," *Canadian Journal of Health History* 41, no. 1 (2024): 37-66.

The Imperial Medical Society's main objective was to produce and distribute medical and sanitary knowledge. During consecutive cholera and other epidemics, the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* were chosen as medical inspectors and sent to different regions where the epidemics broke out. Prophylaxis is one of the most-repeated terms in the articles in the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*. It simply refers to the preventive measures against pandemics. They assisted in transferring sanitary knowledge and collaborative combat against epidemics.

The reciprocal relationship between the Ottoman policymakers and the association was stressed in several subchapters of this thesis. There was a direct correlation between professionalization and centralization. The efforts of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* for the professionalization in medicine also contributed to the centralization efforts of the Ottoman government. In İlikan Rasimoğlu's own words: "Medical professionalization in the late Ottoman context was part of the process of centralization of the Empire via modern techniques of governing the population, mainly bureaucratization and institutionalization, which enabled the central authorities to extend their rule into the provinces."¹⁴² In other words, these two processes were hand in hand and inseparable. These efforts toward centralization and standardization in medicine that started in Istanbul diffused gradually to the countryside. While medical professionals who embraced the discourses and practices of modernity were gaining a higher degree of social status and reputation, the Ottoman government gained a new type of surveillance over the public through the gaze of medicine.

2.3 Contributions of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* to Medical and Sanitary Standardization

In this sub-chapter, I argue that society contributed to the coordination efforts of the Ottoman government, Beyoğlu municipality, and *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* on medical and sanitary practices according to modern medical knowledge. Here, I portray a picture of the society in which the members made valuable efforts to counsel Ottoman policymakers due to medical or sanitary problems, especially in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. Additionally, the discussion on medical publishing in the next chapter will be elaborated more in this chapter.

In this section, I further demonstrate the association's contributions to ameliorating the standards of public hygiene and raising the standards of pharmacy in Istanbul

¹⁴²İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," 501.

due to the demands of the Ottoman policymakers. The evidence presented in this section suggests that *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* and Ottoman policymakers collaborated in the modernization and standardization project on Ottoman medical and sanitary affairs. Due to the expertise of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* on medicine, it reached the maturity to start giving counseling to Ottoman policymakers in a relatively short time.

2.3.1 Medical Counselling for Ottoman Policymakers: Ottoman Government and the Sixth Municipal District of Beyoğlu

In the introduction of this thesis, the good relations between the society and the Ottoman legislators were briefly mentioned. It was claimed that the association and the Ottoman government had a mutual and reciprocal relationship. Although it was founded without state support, it later received state support. Here, however, the discussion will focus more on the demands of the municipality on medical issues.

The Sixth Municipal District of Beyoğlu demanded medical counseling from the association's members through letters. In a way, the physicians acted like medical experts. They also held meetings with the municipalities and published these as news in their newspapers. In the issues analyzed in this thesis, the demands for medical counseling of Ottoman policymakers were encountered many times, but only a few cases will be discussed here. In the newspaper articles, it is noticeable that the doctors who were members of the society were very ambitious in solving these problems. They repeat that they have a lot of work to do. Some of their efforts yielded results, but they repeatedly mention the difficulties they faced.

In the 19th century, improving public health emerged as one of the primary duties of the states. From the 1830s onwards, the Ottoman Empire had begun to adapt to this global change. Having doctors write cholera pamphlets and distributing them to the public was one of the Ottoman government's first attempts at modern public health.¹⁴³ Increasing urbanization created even bigger problems. The Ottoman government began to seek medical advice on issues it could not solve itself. Hygiene assemblies were organized by the government where the society was also invited. As the case demonstrated, the association had prestige and credibility with the Ottoman legislators, so it was given the initiative in matters concerning public health.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³de Tapia, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamu Sağlığı Anlayışına Doğru (16.-18. Yüzyıl) Tıbbî Hatalar, Şarlatanlık ve Devlet Denetimi," 22.

¹⁴⁴GMO, October 1862, no:7, 104.

On November 1858, the GMO announced that the Ottoman government invited Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople to demand information and suggestions about the various public hygiene measures, the adoption of which it considered useful to the country. The association has responded to this call by appointing a health commission to deal with this subject. The association also adds that they “express the hope that the goodwill of the authority will still be manifested by the appointment of a commission responsible for carrying out the prescribed measures.”¹⁴⁵ In this column, it is also stated that this commission would also be responsible for the inspection and expertise of food substances. This would involve ensuring that “food materials do not suffer deterioration and are of healthy quality.”¹⁴⁶

The problems that were most discussed in the newspaper and on which the society could act an expert were issues that deeply affected public health, such as Istanbul’s water resources and the condition of slaughterhouses. Especially during the cholera epidemics, the hygiene of water sources and their transportation to Istanbul was critical. Again, during the cholera epidemics, the proximity of slaughterhouses to crowded places caused significant problems in terms of hygiene and drew the reaction of medical experts.

On his column on May 1863, Dr. Pardo shared an analysis of the quality of the drinking water of Istanbul.¹⁴⁷ His findings reveal that Istanbul’s main water supply was sufficient overall. He states that the water has a fresh flavor, and soap can dissolve easily for washing purposes.¹⁴⁸ He also shares the quantity of minerals and oxygen and the degree of temperature that chemists collected. Consequently, it is evident that the accumulation of knowledge in the field of chemistry helped to measure the quality of the waters, and the members of the association pioneered these experiments. On the other hand, another Commission of doctors, which experiments on the quality of the drinking water of Istanbul, depicts a more nuanced picture. This Commission collected examples from seven different water wells (*çeşmeler*) in Beyoğlu and analyzed them accordingly. They conclude that “the water from wells in Constantinople is generally saline and cannot be used for washing or cooking vegetables.”¹⁴⁹ The scarcity of water was a serious problem, especially in summer, for

¹⁴⁵GMO, January 1859, no:10, 183.

¹⁴⁶Ibid, 184.

¹⁴⁷GMO, May 1863, no:2, 17.

¹⁴⁸Ibid, 17.

¹⁴⁹GMO, October 1857, no:7, 121.

the populous parts of Pera, the commission stated.¹⁵⁰ The water wells were also described in detail and classified according to their quality. These water wells analyzed were: “1) Mr. Galibert’s well, at the old Balıkpazarı, 2) Mr. Ottoni’s well, opposite the Russian Palace, 3) Of the Armenian Church, near the theater, 4) Galata pump, Perşembepazarı, 5) From the farrier’s pump in Tophane, 6) Of Mesochori, near the church of Tatavla, 7) From the Chignoti pharmacy in Yenişehir.”

As stated earlier, the large slaughterhouses (*mezbahalar*) in Istanbul city center were serious threats to public hygiene. Doctor Hubsch, who studies public hygiene in society, advocated that these slaughterhouses should be moved out of the city to less crowded parts.¹⁵¹ During the great cholera epidemic of 1865, severe measures were taken against slaughterhouses. In the light of this evidence, it can be argued that the association raised an awareness about infectious disease and their prevention.

Through the issues of the GMO, unqualified and unauthorized medical practitioners were largely criticized by the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*. For instance, in his oration about scientific progress on the East, Dr. Fauvel expresses the association’s discomfort about the misapplication of regulations that work to prevent illegal applications of medicine and pharmacy in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵² Dr. Fauvel complained about the widespread falsifications in the field of pharmacy, through his column.¹⁵³ He also suggests the “regeneration of the medical art”¹⁵⁴ by the efforts of the association, in such a degenerated medical environment invaded by frauds and empiricists.

In the Ottoman Empire, which was determinedly pursuing a project of medical modernization, pharmacy played an important role in both military and public health. The ongoing abuses and exploitations in this field seriously threatened both military and public health. The centralization and standardization of the pharmacy profession, which had continued with the *gedik* system before modernization, was one of the leading objectives of the Ottoman state in this field. For this purpose, the knowledge and expertise of the society was demanded.

In the practice of pharmacy, the question has two sides: “commerce and art; one

¹⁵⁰Ibid, 121.

¹⁵¹GMO, December 1865, no:9, 132.

¹⁵²GMO, August 1864, no:5, 65.

¹⁵³Ibid, 65.

¹⁵⁴Ibid, 65.

is trafficking, the other is science.”¹⁵⁵ In this regard, the pharmacists were both part of the artisanal class (*esnaf*) and medical professionals. The lack of a clear definition of the profession of pharmacists, the fact that they are forced to engage in activities outside their area of expertise, the lack of regular state supervision over the pharmacists, are the main problems which were discussed through the columns of the GMO, especially written by Dr. Fauvel.¹⁵⁶

On April 1860, the GMO announced that quinine sulfate, which is an active substance treatment to cure malaria disease is taken in certain pharmacies, due to its lack of success, has recently been accused of being impure. Under these circumstances, Hayrullah Efendi, the minister of health affairs, ordered that, in the shortest possible time, the different samples of quinine sulfate should be taken from the different pharmacies and hospitals to be tested for their purity. Faik Pasha¹⁵⁷, The director of the Central Pharmacy of Constantinople, collected these specimens from twenty-six different places and asked *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* to examine them. The association immediately formed a commission that consisted of Dr. Pincoffs, Dr. Barozzi, Marc Picipio (more commonly known as Marko Pasha), and chemist Calleja to analyze these samples. After careful examination, the association presented a report to Hayrullah Efendi. On the same issue, it is announced that, since the sample requested from Hasköy Pharmacy was impure, this pharmacy store should be closed by the order of the minister of health affairs.¹⁵⁸

The examples above illustrate the efforts to reach a high standard in pharmacology in the Ottoman Empire. There was a close connection and collaboration between the Ottoman government and the association to exclude non-qualified practitioners in the field of pharmacy. As stated, members such as Dr. Fauvel are dedicated to pointing out the deficiencies of pharmacology and raising the standard of it through this collaboration. With these efforts, pharmacology, which is industry and science at the same time, renovated and reached to contemporary standards.

Overall, the physicians of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* embraced a discourse and followed this discourse strictly. According to their discourse, they were the real keepers of modern medical knowledge. Through the discourse they created, they both gained the recognition, financial help, and trust of Ottoman authorities during

¹⁵⁵GMO, November 1860, no:8, 126.

¹⁵⁶Ibid, 126.

¹⁵⁷Dr. Della Suda, or Faik Pasha, as known in the Ottoman bureaucratic sphere, was the pioneer of modern pharmacology in the Ottoman Empire. He was also one of the founding members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.

¹⁵⁸GMO, April 1860, no:1, 1.

medical issues. They also defined the principles of professionalism, set the basic rules for it, and followed them. Since the association also used science practically for the good of the public, they also gained the respect and trust of the public. Since *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* had good relations with Ottoman bureaucrats (i.e., Hayrullah Efendi), they probably had more chances to give medical counseling to the Ottoman government and Beyoğlu municipality. Through medical and technical expertise and knowledge, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* contributed to the standardization and modernization efforts on Ottoman medicine.

3. PUBLISHING *GAZETTE MÉDICALE D'ORIENT*: PRODUCTION AND DISSEMINATION OF MODERN MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE THROUGH A MEDICAL GAZETTE

What were the means for medical knowledge transmission in the nineteenth century? How and in what ways was the medical knowledge transferred and perceived? Who were the contributors in the process of knowledge dissemination in the medical area for a period when the first initiatives were commenced for institutionalization? How did medical newspapers function for the circulation of knowledge, the creation of an audience, and a web of networks for medical professionals?

This chapter aims to examine the functions of the *Gazette Médical d'Orient* (GMO) in the promulgation of modern medical knowledge, the formation of civil society and public opinion, and the creation of a platform for scientific production. The columns of the newspaper give insights into the main aims, endeavors, and projects of the association in the studied period. The studies of the association, such as proposing the collection of medical data and statistics and public hygiene in society, also reconcile with the modernization project of the Ottoman medical administration.

This chapter also touches upon a newly emerging mission of modern physicians, which was collecting data and using them for medical (mainly prophylactic) purposes. For this purpose, the members of the association collect various data on the geography (climatology, topography, and demography) from a “scientific and local point of view”¹⁵⁹ and publish them for a wider audience.

¹⁵⁹GMO, April 1857, no:1, 12.

3.1 The Foundation of the GMO: Characteristics, Aims, and the Content

Although the gazette was among of the most critical and influential medical journals in the Ottoman context, it was not the first medical newspaper in the Ottoman Empire. In 1849, *Journal Medical de Constantinople* and *Vekayi-i Tıbbiye* was published in French and Turkish.¹⁶⁰ Gülten Dinç studied periodicals in the field of medicine published in the late Ottoman and early republican periods in her doctoral thesis.¹⁶¹ *Journal de Constantinople* and *Vekayi-i Tıbbiye* both lived short and even ceased their publication within two years.¹⁶² According to a document from the Ottoman State Archives¹⁶³, it was decided to re-launch *Vekayi-i Tıbbiye* in 1857, we are not able to detect a published source to show the realization of this decision.

Although the gazette was not the first medical newspaper published in the Ottoman Empire, it followed an uninterrupted course of publication from the end of the Crimean War to the early Republican period, starting in 1857 and lasting almost 70 years. Until *Gazette des Hôpitaux Civils et Militaires de L'empire Ottoman/Ceride-i Emâkinü's-Sıhha*, which started to be published in 1887 in French, it continued to be the only example in the field of medical newspapers.¹⁶⁴

The *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* was undoubtedly the official media organ of the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople. It was founded on the first anniversary of the association, on February 15, 1857.¹⁶⁵ The fiftieth-year anniversary book of the society also emphasizes the importance of their newspaper. In other words, the newspaper was considered essential by the society during its time. Thanks to the newspaper, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople could share its opinions and research findings with not only to Ottoman public but also a broader European audience. According to the society spokesman, the history of the society

¹⁶⁰Yeşim Işıl Ülman, "Gazette Medicale de Constantinople'un Tıp Tarihimizdeki Önemi," (Istanbul University, doctoral thesis, 1999).

¹⁶¹Gülten Dinç, "Arap Harfleri ile Türkçe Basılmış Tıbbi Süreli Yayınların İncelenmesi ve İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tıbbi Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu (1849-1928)," (Istanbul University, unpublished master's thesis, 1989).

¹⁶²Ülman, "Gazette Medicale de Constantinople'un Tıp Tarihimizdeki Önemi", 13-20; and Dinç, "Arap Harfleri ile Türkçe Basılmış Tıbbi Süreli Yayınların İncelenmesi ve İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tıbbi Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu (1849-1928)," 165-167.

¹⁶³BOA, A.MKT.MVL. 97-26 (21 Şaban 1274/ 6 April 1858).

¹⁶⁴Cem Hakan Başaran, "Gazette Des Hôpitaux Civils Et Militaires De L'empire Ottoman/Ceride-i Emâkinü's-Sıhha [1887-1897]: Yeni Bulunan Sayılar ve Yeniden Değerlendirme," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 24, no. 1 (2022): 67-103.

¹⁶⁵*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 42.

and the history of the newspaper are inseparable: “*To tell, Gentlemen, the history of the gazette is to tell the history of the society.*”¹⁶⁶ In other words, GMO was the association’s most significant endeavor and thus, the substantial source for us historians to trace society’s service in the medical domain in the Ottoman Empire. The following quotation highlights the value of the gazette for the association:

In short, Gentlemen, our gazette writes the history of our society and the development of medical sciences in the East. It forms around fifty precious volumes in which the man of science can draw historical and scientific knowledge from a considerable interest. Hundreds of doctors collaborated; On this solemn day, the society must express all its gratitude to those who are still among us and honor the memory of those who are no longer.¹⁶⁷

The gazette was the essential component of the society to which the doctors had attributed an exceptional importance. It is possible to see that in their writings the editors commemorated the founding of the gazette and praised its operation from their offices in Istanbul to distant places. In April 1858, Dr. Sarell, the secretary of the society, gave his speech on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the society:

This year we have achieved real progress; we possess a new attribute of life, speech; through the organ of the gazette, our society makes its voice heard outside the narrow space of the meeting room; the whole world is invited to take part in our debates; the legitimate ambition to gain a name among the doctors of the world, hitherto closed to the modest practitioners of the East, will act as a powerful stimulant to emulation; and, as a vast field, hitherto unexplored, is open to whoever wishes to harvest it, there will be no shortage of workers in the harvest. Our gazette is our most precious treasure, let us watch over it with all our solicitude; its reputation is to be made and ours depends on his; let us try never to let ourselves be influenced by passing impressions in everything that concerns her; our honor and our future are at stake.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶Ibid, 42.

¹⁶⁷Ibid, 43.

¹⁶⁸GMO, April 1858, No:1, 11.

Moreover, encouragement and funding by the Ottoman government was vital for such newfound autonomous organizations given their high ideals. In addition to the receiving the title “imperial” and the annual allowance granted by Sultan Abdülmeçid, statesmen who were also doctors, such as Fuad Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and Hayrullah Efendi, the Minister of *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*, made a notable financial and moral contribution to the society. As it was discussed in the previous chapter, there was a mutual relationship between the society and the government. While the government did not withhold its support, it also made some demands from the society. For instance, the government asked from the society to publish the laws and regulations related to medicine after their implementation. Hayrullah Efendi recommended that the gazette should make public announcements about the news regarding medical issues.¹⁶⁹ The anniversary book stated that “On September 22, 1859, Hayrullah Efendi, the Director of the Imperial School of Medicine, requested the society, by letter, to open the columns of its newspaper to the publication of official acts concerning the medical administration of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, Hayrullah Efendi also expressed his intention to act effectively to legalize the practice of medicine and pharmacy in the empire.”¹⁷⁰

As a result of this request, the gazette turned itself into an announcement spot for state activities about the medical area and its issues. In addition to these, the newspaper published the names of doctors awarded by the state and receiving the orders of *mecidiye* and *iftihâr*. Thereby, the announcements part of the gazette involved promotions, awards, crucial developments, regulations, and reforms in general. To give an example, the regulation of pharmacy is among the announcements that have been published. In this respect, the gazette resembles *Takvim-i Vekayi* for making public announcements about official news. It also reminds *Le Moniteur*, a French-language newspaper that announced the news about the Ottoman Empire directing to the European audience. The GMO can also be considered similar to *Le Moniteur* in the specific subjects of health and medicine. The editors of the gazette also emphasized their aim to reach a European audience: “The Imperial Society of Medicine of Constantinople, from its foundation, had in mind the creation of a journal which would report on its work and be, at the same time, the scientific echo of the East.”¹⁷¹

For the Ottoman government, the gazette served as a tool for prestige by offering GMO to announce the medical acts and regulations of the empire. Through these

¹⁶⁹ *Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 32.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 32.

¹⁷¹ GMO, April 1857, no:1, 1.

announcements, a medium was provided to communicate and advertise to the world about the promising developments and reforms in the Ottoman Empire in the field of medicine. Eventually, it implied that the state was capable of providing health services and make modernizing reforms. For this reason, one can claim that there was a reciprocal relationship between the Ottoman state and the Imperial Medical Society. The gazette was the face and the only mediator of the medical developments of the Ottoman Empire reflected in Europe. Indeed, the society and the gazette contributed to the Ottoman Empire's integration into the international medical milieu.

When looking at the cover of the gazette as a material, one can easily see the identical features of the font size, layout, and typographic features with the *Gazette Medical de Paris*. It displays continuation with the European medical journals and that the society took an inspiration from them. We can take the gazette a part of a larger collection of the medical journals throughout the world.

The first issue of the journal displayed the adopted plan and layout, with the exception of any modifications that may be required as a result of experience. It was stated that the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* would continue to be published on a monthly basis until the association reached a further decision. Each issue was comprised of a minimum of two sheets printed in two columns. The GMO highlighted that it was expected of it to promote all doctrines of scientists as the society was composed of belonging to different schools and nationalities. Varying doctrines would be represented in the gazette as the media organ of the society. The gazette was to present these diverse perspectives, fostering an inclusive discourse on the "state of science in the East."¹⁷²

The society attached great importance to its newspaper, and thus, the editorial committee was stated to be "always chosen from among the most informed members, was able to give the society's organ remarkable momentum."¹⁷³ The *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* was published by a special committee comprising members of the society, appointed by the society itself. This committee was made up of ten members elected for six months and was accountable for all publications made in the newspaper by securing full editorial control.¹⁷⁴

The gazette not only contained the works of the members of the society but also "original works by the most competent pens, works of recognized scientific impor-

¹⁷²Ibid, 2.

¹⁷³*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 42.

¹⁷⁴GMO, April 1857, no:1, 2.

tance.”¹⁷⁵ The serials of physicians such as Naranzi, Pardo, Mavroyéni were among the main serials. The articles from the European press also were published in the gazette. Other than these, the meteorological bulletins, completed the volumes and made it a useful as well as enjoyable to read.¹⁷⁶ Some of the articles were published as feuilleton (*tefrika*), and some as individual pieces. In addition to ‘serious’ scientific studies, humorous pieces were also published in the newspaper. For example, a series of letters were published that were written from a stray dog named Itoglou from Istanbul to a French house dog, Modor, introducing Istanbul.¹⁷⁷ In these letters, the sanitary situation of Istanbul was described in a humorous and critical way. This may have been an attempt to reach a semi-academic or popular audience.

One of the most important aspects of the newspaper is that it is one of the very first examples of scientific publishing that would flourish in the Ottoman Empire in later years. Besides, it established the principles of scientific publishing. For the first time, we see that writing pieces such as professional memoirs and medical case studies by doctors were produced in serials or as single parts. The publication of scientific translations from foreign press and recent medical news are also substantial developments. In these columns, doctors both drew general and detailed portraits of the medical conditions of the Ottoman Empire and presented their views and suggestions on the professionalization and institutionalization of medicine.

In fact, the publication of the newspaper falls within the scope of one of the aims of the society, since this newspaper was a solid result of one of the purposes of the society which was to make publications as discussed earlier. The gazette, which consisted of texts written by people whose main objective and/or profession was not journalism. The doctors should be evaluated within the framework of a mission. Indeed, publications were only one part of their larger goal, that was, producing information. However, this newspaper is the only publication produced by the society that is accessible to us.

It might be helpful to look at the repeated topics and agenda of the newspaper. These will not only give us information about the mission and aims of the newspaper and the society, but also show that the members operated the newspaper as a means of exchange of knowledge. Especially the first volume of the newspaper offers many insights about the newspaper, such as its aims, content, relationship with other European newspapers and scientific societies, and with its readers. A typical issue

¹⁷⁵ *Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 42.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 42.

¹⁷⁷ *GMO*, October 1857, no:6, 126.

included a review of the medical press, the practice of medicine in Istanbul, and reports of their practices. The gazette wanted to publicize the modern sciences and their outputs not only among themselves but also throughout the country. Other than that, the society aimed to communicate Europe the diseases of the East to prevent their spread.¹⁷⁸

The gazette was published once a month, and each issue consisted of two sheets comprising thirty-two columns.¹⁷⁹ The gazette included the reports on the sessions of the Imperial Society of Medicine and contained a review of foreign publications, books, and newspapers. It promised to keep its readers up to date with all the news of interest to public health and all news that affects the professional interests of the medical profession.

The first volume of the GMO indicated that the gazette would address all matters on science, art, and their profession. It considered questions of pathology, therapeutics, and hygiene, including those related to the fundamental sciences of medicine.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, it preferred works based on observations made in the East that offer particular insight. The publication included memoirs addressed or read to the society deemed suitable for inclusion by the editorial board. The gazette announced that it will provide a comprehensive account of the proceedings of the Imperial Society of Medicine of Constantinople, a review of the foreign medical press, and a report on new works submitted to the society for consideration.¹⁸¹

Each issue of the journal was divided into four main parts. The first part was devoted to original articles and memoirs. Articles entitled "Bulletin" highlighted the questions on the agenda, either within the society or in the medical world, and summarized the most important events that have taken place since the previous issue prepared by the editorial board. The second was original memoirs or interesting observations that corresponded to the society.¹⁸²

The third part contained a press review and foreign books. "Medical Press Review" consisted of the insertion, either in whole or in extracts, or an analysis of the articles and memoirs that the editorial committee was keen to have on record to keep the readers up to date with the scientific movement in and around them. According to

¹⁷⁸"Original Memoires," GMO, October 1860, no:10, 176. In this issue, Dr. Barozzi wrote his memoirs about his medical mission in Benghazi region during the plague epidemic of 1859.

¹⁷⁹GMO, April 1857, no:1, 1.

¹⁸⁰Ibid, 3.

¹⁸¹Ibid, 1.

¹⁸²Ibid, 1.

their view, this review should have been as concise as possible and done with great discernment. It might have aimed to introduce as much significant source as possible in a short time and space. The gazette not only introduced or analyzed written works but also regarded bibliographic information. The fourth part was entitled "Varieties". It was devoted to the news concerning public health, particularly those relating to Istanbul and the entire "Orient." It announced official appointments and transfers, published notices of interest to the society, and mentioned notable news related to the medical profession. The publication commission was aware of their inexperience and indicated that modifications can always be made.

Besim Ömer made the following remarks about this newspaper. He identifies the gazette as a unique example for its distinctive features. This usage is the only translation of the name of the newspaper to Ottoman Turkish ever used by historians. He states that the gazette was written and managed by a select committee and published compelling and functional volumes at various times. He further underlined its professional concentration as it published articles on medicine and public health by avoiding any arguments related to politics.¹⁸³

As I already mentioned in the introduction, Istanbul was undoubtedly the central theme of research for the organization and the gazette. They presented Istanbul as the subject of study since it "must present the most varied elements and subjects of study, the most curious, the most interesting."¹⁸⁴ We can infer that the gazette turned to the medical database of Istanbul.

Cultivating the science and improving the professional dignity of the physicians are among the society's other primary aims as expressed earlier:

To awaken, to encourage, through the benefits of honorable renown, the taste for observation and work not only among its members but among the doctors scattered throughout Turkey, to become the participants of regeneration of science in these beautiful countries; raising professional dignity, such was the goal that the society set out to achieve.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³"Cem'iyetin Fransızca neşredilmekde ve bir hey'et-i müntehabe tarafından tahrir ve idare olunmakda olan gazetesi Ceride-i Tıbbiye-i Şarkiyeye muhtelif zamanlarda gâyet mühim ve şâyân-ı istifade neşriyatda bulunmuşdur. İş bu ceride-i tıbbiye mukaddemâ beş günde bir neşredilmekde olduğu halde şimdi ayda bir defa intişâr etmekte ve mebâhisi sırf tabâbet ile sıhhat-i umûmiyeye münhasır bulunmaktadır. Her türlü mesâil-i siyasiye cem'iyetin müzakerâtıyla gazetesi muhteviyâtına kat'iyen dâhil olamaz." In Besim Ömer, *Nevsal-i Afîyet*, 158-159. Although Akalın claimed that the newspaper was published every five days, this was apparently false.

¹⁸⁴GMO, April 1857, no:1, 2.

¹⁸⁵Ibid, 2.

The aims of the society were attempted to be achieved mainly by their publishing organ, namely the the GMO. Thus, the purposes of the gazette implied a synonymous meaning with that of the society's. Printed works became instrumental in the earlier discussed processes of professionalization, standardization, and institutionalization.

3.2 Discussions on Civil Society and Public Opinion in the Area of Medicine

An official and professional organization as such presumably played a certain role in civil society. It is also worth mentioning here when discussing their gazette since the newspaper have a direct effect on public opinion. Why did the doctors establish such a society? What were the underlying causes and promoters of the coming together of doctors with common goals?

Mehmet Ö. Alkan also emphasizes the urban and civil nature of societies.¹⁸⁶ In a metropolis like Istanbul, the elite, educated, foreign language-speaking, and prestigious professions of the period, such as medicine, formed a cohort due to urbanization and class stratification. Their emergence as a social group with specific aims and demands naturally paved the way for them to establish a professional association. This can be considered as one of the precursors of civil society. In a way, the division of labor, specialization, and complex structures brought about by urban life accelerated the emergence of new institutions, organizational relations, and public structures.¹⁸⁷

Murat Şiviloğlu, who has extensively analyzed the subject of public opinion, also discusses the newspaper's contributions to civil society. He asserts that the newspaper played a pivotal role in shaping public opinion, particularly regarding public health issues.¹⁸⁸

It is necessary to look at the functions of newspapers in the context of the Ottoman Empire in which western ideas were introduced through them in two ways: epistemological and political.¹⁸⁹ As a unique medical newspaper, the GMO exemplifies the first aspect of this flow of knowledge. The Ottoman media encountered modern

¹⁸⁶Alkan, "Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler Çağı," 5.

¹⁸⁷Ibid, 5.

¹⁸⁸Şiviloğlu, *The Emergence of Public Opinion*, 157.

¹⁸⁹Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 127.

medical knowledge, language and epistemology through the GMO. The newspaper did not get involved in political events but only in the niche field of medicine, which included scientific publications, doctors' memoirs, and medical developments. The diffusion of Western medicine through the GMO was a result of selection and elimination. What to take and what not to take was determined by variables such as the conditions and needs of the Ottoman Empire itself. For example, the need for serious reform in the field of public health was emphasized in many articles in the the GMO, and the Public Health Act of 1848 in England is suggested as a model.¹⁹⁰ It can be stated that the exchange of information was the result of cultural processes rather than transmission or transfer and that it was more appropriate to define this process as "scientific appropriation," as Kostas Gavroglu suggested.¹⁹¹ Doctors advised the transfers of laws and reforms related to public hygiene and public health by considering the specific conditions and needs of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, there is another approach called "scientific nativism" for the transfer of knowledge, suggested by Ceren İlikan Rasimoğlu, in which she remarked that "scientific nativism" in the Ottoman Empire moderated the "naturalized medical science."¹⁹² She concludes that "Muslim medical professionals understood and presented modern medicine not as Western, but as result of an organic evolution of universal scientific knowledge to which the Muslims had contributed greatly and would do so again."¹⁹³ To reach a synthesis, there are different opinions on how scientific knowledge diffused from one culture to another. Medical professionals adopted modern medical knowledge either through scientific appropriation or perceiving this knowledge as a product of scientific nativism.

I have already mentioned that the writings of the gazette targeted the European audience for which the editorial board wanted to be the voice of the East in the field of medicine. Their audience in Europe is the medical societies they exchanged with and their members. Yet, more broadly, the primary audience of the GMO was the French-reading doctors or professionals working in the healthcare industry of the Ottoman Empire. Since the *lingua franca* of the period and medical publications were in French, doctors, health workers, veterinarians, and pharmacists in Istanbul were the first and most substantial audience. Apart from this, students of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* may have also been among the possible readers. It

¹⁹⁰"Le Nouvel Acte Medical d'Angleterre," GMO, October 1858, no:7, 138.

¹⁹¹Kostas Gavroglu, "Some Methodological Issues Concerning The Sciences At The European Periphery," in *Perilous Modernity: History of Medicine in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East from the 19th Century Onwards*, ed. by Anne Marie Moulin and Yeşim Işıl Ülman, (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2010), 23-24.

¹⁹²İlikan Rasimoğlu, "Introduction of the Modern Physician and the Debate on Medical Professionalism in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," 484.

¹⁹³Ibid, 484.

also appealed to the French-speaking urban elite and those who were interested in scientific publications especially of the medical kind.

The semi-academic articles that are easier to understand were addressed to a popular audience by the society rather than the doctors. By doing so, these articles may have contributed to the popularization of the gazette. The articles written by Dr. Abdullah Bey about the medical history and published in serials can be given as examples of this.¹⁹⁴ In any case, to whom the gazette was reached is an aspect that is hard to answer. The information at hand implies that the gazette might reach out to a niche audience with a mere number.

3.2.1 Gazette as a Forum for Scientific Discussions

The gazette was not only an announcement tool for the members of the society but also a platform that doctors whether being members or not, could engage in scientific debates. For example, the debate of “contagionism against anti-contagionism” remained to be central disputes in 19th century medicine. This debate entered the Ottoman media with the association and their gazette in which doctors defended different positions. The GMO functioned as a forum for these debates by creating a medium for scientific debate. Doctors defended their own positions independent of the policies of the states and created a scientific background for this debate. In this case, the gazette became the stage for the discussions between the Italian doctor Mr. Bo, not a member of the society, and the British doctor Dr. Marchand, a member of the society, positioned himself as a defender of contagionism in the separate columns of the GMO. They defended their opinions through the gazette.¹⁹⁵

Contagionist physicians paid attention to public hygiene, keeping cities and drinking water clean, improving the sewerage system and also argued that slaughterhouses should be taken out of the city. It is evident that newspaper respects the freedom of scientific ideas and does not hesitate to publish them. This debate shows how the gazette served as a scientific forum for the doctors to express their knowledge in this field.

In the articles of the GMO, doctors presented studies using modern scientific meth-

¹⁹⁴Karl Eduard Hammerschmidt, or Dr. Abdullah Bey (Macarlı), came to Istanbul during the 1848 Revolutions as a political refugee. He then became the founding member of *Cemiyet-i Tbbiye-i Şahane* (1856) and *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* (1868). For a short bibliography and a list of writings of Dr. Abdullah Bey on the *Gazette Médical d'Orient*, see Ekrem Kadri Unat, “Dr. Abdullah Bey,” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tıp Zooloji ve Parazitoloji*, (Istanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1970), 14-18.

¹⁹⁵*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople*, 19.

ods such as experimentation and observation. It was necessary to adapt to the scientific rules and jargon in these articles. For example, in the article about the analysis of Istanbul's water wells, drinking water from seven different places in Beyoğlu was analyzed and classified according to its quality by the hygiene commission.¹⁹⁶ This was a collective work written by a sub-commission of public hygiene. The commission described in detail how they measured the quality of the water. Another example could be the article on climatology in the Bosphorus, in which Dr. Verollot studied the winds affecting Istanbul and their effects on the climate of Istanbul.¹⁹⁷ These studies exemplified the society's emphasis on experimentation and observation-oriented studies in terms of medical topography.

Medical topography emerged as a promising subfield, especially for the field of epidemiology. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* became the pioneer for the development of medical geography. By organizing scientific prizes, the association promoted scientific works in the field of medical topography.¹⁹⁸ However, these competitions did not attract enough attention in the later years, or no qualified works applied, as the spokesman of the association expressed. Yet, these efforts were precious to start an initiative and to settle the mentality of prophylaxis in the society.

3.3 Exchange of Knowledge as a Means of the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*

Exchange of knowledge required a certain group of readers to be in communication throughout the publication of the gazette for years. The process of building an audience began as early as the publishing of the very first issue, in which the editors addressed the readers of the journal directly. After explaining the journal's mission, general presentation, intentions, material conditions, and scientific path, they expected the readers' sympathy. They were happy to be forgiven for their mistakes in French, claiming that for most of them, French was not their mother tongue. They also claimed that all sorts of difficulties they encountered could lead to weaknesses. What they addressed to the reader was, above all, the substance of their thought.

¹⁹⁶ GMO, August 1857, no:11, 11.

¹⁹⁷ GMO, May 1858, no:2, 28.

¹⁹⁸ *Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 19, 31.

With a certain self-confidence, they affirmed that they had a duty to fulfill.¹⁹⁹

The knowledge was utilized in line with the specific needs and conditions of the empire as the society was, first and foremost, an Ottoman society. The zeitgeist of the second half of the 19th century already accelerated the establishment of societies with the rapid spread of information through the telegraph and printing press, as well as modernization. These societies quickly put their publications into circulation thanks to the developing technology. Hence, the information had an identity that transcended borders. İhsanoğlu also asserts that this was due to the need to accumulate knowledge in certain areas of specialization within the complex structures of modern societies.²⁰⁰

The exchange of knowledge through printed publications stood out in the course of the mid-19th century. The gazette came into contact with several journals in Europe. From the beginning of the gazette, the doctors aimed to connect with the other scientific communities and to make links or networks with them by publishing the journal. It was stated that:

The *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* was offered to the Academies and learned associations of Europe who wished to honor the society by sending their publications. It was also provided to the prominent medical journals of all countries in exchange for their paper. The society was aware that it offered much less in return than it demanded; however, it counted on the support of its wealthier colleagues and hoped that their support would not fail it²⁰¹

What's more, foreign doctors, who were not a member of the society, within the Ottoman Empire also contributed to the society. The members of the society have informed that these doctors have come more than once to attend their sessions and contributed to the society. The gazette published their memoirs which offered interesting and various subjects.²⁰² At first, the community had difficulties in creating collective work. Their main aim was to produce collective works rather than working individually.

The editors have spoken of the networks established by the journal and presented

¹⁹⁹GMO, April 1857, no:1, 3.

²⁰⁰İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Kültür ve Bilim Hayatında Tüzel Kişiliğin Gelişmesi ve Teşkilatlanmanın Başlaması," 266.

²⁰¹GMO, April 1857, no:1, 2.

²⁰²GMO, April 1858, no:1, 10.

it as a source of pride. The newspaper was welcomed in the medical world since it exchanged information with many German, English, Spanish, Greek, Italian, and French medical journals. Via these exchanges, several articles could be produced.²⁰³ The appendix illustrates the variety of medical journals that demanded copies of the GMO.²⁰⁴ From these instances, a wide network of information was created so that information multiplied and spread in a short time. Thus, medical knowledge crossed state borders and gained an international and transnational character. In addition to the abundance of publications, the information produced has been distributed and reached different parts of the world. Jurgen Osterhammel stresses the velocity of the exchange of medical knowledge and asserts that the “spread of medical and hygienic knowledge (and advancements) was a transnational process with a great speed.”²⁰⁵

According to the doctors of the GMO, the gazette constituted a bridge between doctors from the East and the West by serving a media that brought them together in a scientific environment. “It was the intermediary who put the scientists of the East in direct communication with those of the West.”²⁰⁶ This led to the establishment of scientific relations and an exchange of knowledge. Instead of a one-way transfer of information, there was a mutual exchange where both sides influenced each other. It was a publication that informed Europe about the Ottoman health situation. The European reader was as crucial as the Ottoman reader. As already cited earlier in this chapter, the members of the society aimed to be “the scientific echo of the East.”²⁰⁷ It delivers the idea that they also targeted the European reader.

3.4 Physicians as Collectors of Medical Data and Statistics

At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned that the profession of doctors evolved into data collectors who recorded a lot of medical information for later use. The objective of the journal was to disseminate information pertaining to public health and other matters of significance to the medical profession. The information included weather conditions, wind, temperature, and rainfalls. Other than that, the

²⁰³Ibid, 10.

²⁰⁴See Appendix C.

²⁰⁵Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 176.

²⁰⁶*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 42.

²⁰⁷GMO, April 1857, no:1, 1.

topography, rivers, forests, and mountains also were recorded. In addition, ethnographic features of populations were examined and recorded. It led to a novel research collection about the relationship between humans and the environment. Knowing the environment and its various elements would make people active agents in the surrounding environment. This was the context in which they promoted “prophylaxis”²⁰⁸, in other words, preventive medicine, was to be prepared when the pandemics hit. In particular, the gathered knowledge plays a preventive role in the case of epidemics. The main data can be categorized in two parts. The first of them is the records of deaths, while the other is the information regarding medical geography. Besides the demographic data, the *Gazette Médicale d’Orient* emphasized using climatic and topographic data for medical purposes.

The association contributed to collecting medical data and statistics in the Ottoman Empire through the GMO. Another significant feature of the newspaper is that it published medical data and statistical information on the Ottoman Empire. When we historicize it, it is a part of the process of the publicization of knowledge production and in which, doctors acted as “register officers” of medical data in the case of the Ottoman Empire as well.²⁰⁹

The GMO contains a lot of statistical information. Among these, birth and death records collected by society are analyzed in terms of religious communities. However, the authors of this information do not reveal their sources. The information is probably driven from church records and Jewish rabbis. The 50th-anniversary book also mentioned that the information was taken from the personal recordings of doctors.

Finally, it was the first to deal with medical statistics in the East. Dr. Tien in 1857, recalled the importance of statistics, and suggests that practitioners provide statements on their private clientele. The doctors’ notes deposited at the society’s office would be used at the end of each year to draw up statistical tables on mortality in Constantinople.

Dr. Millingen was the first to contribute to the statistics by submitting the results of his civilian practice for three years.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸“Prophylaxis,” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/prophylaxis>, accessed date 12-07-2024. Prophylaxis is defined as “treatment or actions to prevent a disease.” In the case of nineteenth-century pandemics, the understanding of preventive medicine was vital, proposed preparedness, and being active agents in the environment rather than only being victims of epidemics.

²⁰⁹Foucault, *Kliniğin Doğuşu: Tıbbi Algının Arkeolojisi*, 52; as cited in Murat Arpacı, "Foucault, Biyopolitika Ve Biyotarih: Tarihsel Çalışma Alanları Olarak Tıp, Beden ve Nüfus," *Vira Verita E-Dergi*, no. 3 (2016): 88.

²¹⁰*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 42.

As a result, one of the aims of the society, the collection and publication of statistical information, is being fulfilled. Gündoğdu and Balsoy demonstrate that death registers reveal the relationship between the processes of producing, accumulating, and recording information about illnesses, death, and the search for surveillance and prevention of diseases in the Ottoman Empire.²¹¹ Death registers began with the *Tanzimat* period. However, regular and systematic registers were initially kept during the first cholera epidemic in 1831 at the time of Mahmud II. They were kept in line with the governmental demand to know, monitor, and control the population.²¹² With a regulation published in 1838, the state requested neighborhood imams to regularly report death cases to the quarantine council. By doing so, it was aimed to ensure that death statistics were kept regularly without getting lost.²¹³ It seems that this method continued later as the gazette also collected data for the same purposes. However, the society kept them in more detail with gender and religious distinctions.

The first mortality bulletin prepared in Turkey, entitled “Obituary table, including the four months of the cold season Constantinople between the years of the Hegira 1266 and 1274,” appeared in the second year of the gazette.²¹⁴ On another issue, another obituary table, which was more detailed, indicated the religion and sex of the deceased for the first time in the Ottoman history.²¹⁵ We learn from the gazette that only much later the central authority began to provide them the official mortality bulletins.²¹⁶ This can be a case of cooperation between the state and the society in terms of sharing data.

The members of the society acknowledged the difficulty to determine the medical conditions of a country in regular times while there is no prevailing epidemic. The society underlined the necessity of statistics produced methodically and based on agreed principles. However, it recognized medical science to be “rebellious”²¹⁷ to statistics, even in the most orderly countries. Taking statistics was a novel practice in modern medicine but the association promoted this new practice in Istanbul. For

²¹¹Gülhan Balsoy and Cihangir Gündoğdu, “Vefeyat Defterleri ve Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ölüm ve Ölümün Kaydı,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no: 318, June 2020, 24.

²¹²Balsoy and Gündoğdu, “Vefeyat Defterleri ve Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ölüm ve Ölümün Kaydı,” 26.

²¹³Ibid, 26.

²¹⁴*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 43.

²¹⁵See, Appendix D.

²¹⁶*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 43.

²¹⁷GMO, April 1858, no:1, 21.

this purpose, the association demanded any medical statistics from the hospitals in Constantinople. Only Balıklı Rum Hospital responded and shared its statistics with *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*.²¹⁸ This example demonstrates that the association did not have a normative power in the Ottoman medical administration but only had a counseling character.

In another column published in April 1858, the physicians emphasized the challenges of collecting medical data in Istanbul. According to GMO, “In Constantinople, the majority of patients, those who do not belong to the wealthy class, escape medical observation, for the reason that civil hospitals are only established there on a very small scale.”²¹⁹ Mainly, information about Istanbul’s vast number of the population was limited since they could not reach a medical observation because of the scarcity of civil hospitals in the city.

In one of the meeting sessions of the association, Dr. Davout read a report that proposes to establish a sub commission to be charged in collection of medical data by all possible means. In his own words:

Considering then that the statistics, which we had in mind, could only have the aim of providing the necessary elements for the knowledge of the reigning illnesses and the drafting of the Gazette bulletin, the Hygiene Committee proposes that each quarter the Society appoints a Commission composed of a certain number of doctors, who would be responsible for collecting, from colleagues and by all means they deem useful, information on the dominant diseases, on the frequency and particular characteristics of these diseases, on their course, their complications, their endings and on the therapeutic means employed either with success or without advantage.²²⁰

Why was collecting data so vital in the nineteenth century? For what purposes was this data used? What was the role of the physicians in this data collection, organization, and publication? Firstly, it should be noted that the primary motivation for this was prophylaxis, which simply means preventive medicine. Prophylaxis was one of the essential concepts that *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* promoted to society in an educational way.²²¹ One of the first benefits of prophylaxis, first to come

²¹⁸Ibid, 22.

²¹⁹Ibid, 21.

²²⁰GMO, August 1858, no:1, 93.

²²¹*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 33. “...The society felt the right to raise its voice, to indicate the measures to be taken. More conducive to safeguarding public

to mind, is reducing mortality in the public. One of the indicators of the modern state is “reduced” mortality. One way to contribute to the demographic policies of the Ottoman government was to help reduce mortality. Reducing attempts towards mortality was challenging.²²² Moulin and Ülman state that there was not enough evidence (records, statistics) to measure the mortality rates with accuracy.²²³

3.5 The Library of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*

Since the society was involved in exchanges with other learned societies, periodicals from Europe were kept in this library. Pincoffs, the founder of the society, donated his entire private library to the society before leaving Istanbul. In another instance, when Dr. Marchand, who was a member of the society, died, his son donated his entire private library to the society upon his will in 1879.²²⁴ The library worked on a lending system and grew with contributions. It was scientifically cataloged in 1879. The editors touched upon the founding of their library: “Periodical publications, reports from learned societies, scientific congresses, classic works, purchased or tributes from their authors, have enriched our library so that we currently have 1160 theses and brochures and 2745 volumes forming 1703 works, a total of 3905 pieces, very useful to our colleagues who engage in scientific studies.”²²⁵ According to Besim Ömer, the society had a library containing about a thousand volumes of scientific books, which was purchased and established with the donations of its founders and some writers and partly with the savings made from the budget of the society.²²⁶

In the first issue of the newspaper, they informed the reader that they were waiting for donations of old (classical-reference) books on Greek and Arabic medical science.²²⁷ “As for scholarly works on ancient Greek or Arab medicine, if the gazette

hygiene; in the meantime it addressed the general public to teach them about prophylaxis.”

²²²Moulin and Ülman, “Introduction: The Particular Place Of Medicine in The Debate On Modernity and Modernization In The Middle-East In the 19th And The 20th Centuries,” 8.

²²³Ibid, 8.

²²⁴*Cinquantenaire de la Societe Imperiale de Medecine de Constantinople (1856-1906)*, 44.

²²⁵Ibid, 45.

²²⁶“Cem’iyetin bin cild kadar fennî kitabı hâvî bir kütübhânesi vardır ki, cem’iyet müessislerinin ve bazı müellifinin teberru’âtıyla ve kısmen de cem’iyet muhassasâtından icra edilen tasarruf ile bi’l-iştirâ meydana gelmiştir.” In Besim Ömer (Akalm), *Nevsâl-i Âfiyet*, 159.

²²⁷GMO, April 1857, no:1, 2.

has not published anything, it is because, despite its call, none has yet come.”²²⁸ Since the foundation of the society, their idea seemed persistent for establishing a library, but they could not access sufficient resources. Lack of stability and the constant relocation of doctors were the reasons why they could not complete the library. Thus, founding of a properly categorized library was deferred.²²⁹

According to a document from the Ottoman State Archives, it is understood that one of the main motivations of the association to have a certain address was to preservation of their library.²³⁰ Moving from one place to another made the preservation of the books and medical collections very difficult. In “Examples from Archive Documents Belonging to the Ottoman Medical Librarianship in the Second Half of the 19th Century,” Fatih Rukancı also emphasized that establishing libraries was crucial for the preservation and circulation of medical knowledge among modern medical professionals. The primary documents Rukancı compiles illustrate that attention was paid especially to the development of medical libraries, and even diplomatic relations were used to provide these libraries with up-to-date information resources of the period. It is also understood from the documents that the medical literature, both in Turkey and abroad, was closely monitored and that there was a need for sources primarily for military medicine.²³¹

Overall, this chapter discussed the role of the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, the media organ of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*, in the production and circulation of a new type of medical knowledge, which is modern. The scientific works in which the members of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* engaged, this newspaper served as a platform for scientific discussion and supplied the society a medium to be read by both Ottoman and European audience. In this way, it accelerated the transfer (or appropriation) of modern medical knowledge into Ottoman society. Another important method of preserving and disseminating novel medical knowledge, which was the creation of libraries, was also addressed.

²²⁸GMO, September 1857, no:6, 119.

²²⁹GMO, April 1858, no:1, 11.

²³⁰BOA, HR.TO.432-14 (5 March 1859). “Cemiyet -i mezkure beyoğlu kazinosunda mevkiten edâ’ olunup eyitçe istirahat ve mevkice ve saat ve kuburat ve kütüphanenin hıfzına elzem bulunan emniyetden mahrum olan bir mahalde müddet-i medide ikamet edemeyeceğine ve bu cihetle Mösyö Salılanın istida-yı vakiasının karin-i isaf olmasını temenni edemeyeceğine binaen cemiyet-i mezkure beyoğlundu daha münasib bir mahal tayiniyle Mösyö salılanın istida-yı vakiasından dolayı düçar olduđu hal-i meşkukiyetden tahlisi için evamir-i mukteziyyenin ısdarına müsaade-i seniyye-i nezaretpenahileri bî-dirîğ ve seza-vâr buyurulmasını mazhar olduđu sahabet-i mahsusa-i nezaretpenahilerine istinaden istidaya mücaseret ve bu vesile ile ibraz-ı asar-ı hususuna müsaarat eylerim.”

²³¹Fatih Rukancı, "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı'da Tıp Kütüphaneciliği'ne Dair Arşiv Belgelerinden Örnekler," *Bilgi Dünyası* 15, no. 1 (2014): 192.

4. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople (*Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*), a professional association in the Ottoman Empire often overlooked in the medical history, was examined in terms of its contributions to the dissemination of modern medical knowledge, institutionalization of Ottoman medicine, and constituting a scientific and scholarly professional body in the era of medical modernization and reformation in the Ottoman Empire. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* pioneered the collection of medical data and statistics, the production of empirical research based on observation and experiment, and the circulation of them through their media organ, the *Gazette Medical d'Orient*. This medical gazette also served as a tool for the society's legitimization as the true possessor of modern medical knowledge in the Ottoman Empire with its long-lasting publication from the late Ottoman times to the Early Republican Period.

Through the columns in their newspaper, the doctors did not only share their medical cases, reports, and recent advancements in the medical field; but also embraced a discourse to distinguish themselves from unqualified physicians and other practitioners of medicine whom they mostly called as charlatans, empiricists or pseudo-physicians to raise their professional reputation as “modern physicians,” and to elevate their social status through their occupation. The association's modern methods and professional values contributed to bring the culture of scientific debates and publishing in the field of medicine, to observe the domestic society and the environment with a medical gaze, to propose public health and hygiene, and to establish medical reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Imperial Medical Society became a leading actor in the professionalization of medicine in the Ottoman Empire.

The Imperial Medical Society, by the medical expertise they had, also served as a counselor to the Ottoman policymakers in some cases; in this way, they also contributed to the amelioration of public hygiene and the standardization of medical and sanitary practices in the Ottoman Empire. In this studied period, attempts were made to modernize Ottoman medicine, combat severe epidemics, and standardize

Ottoman medical administration. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* appeared here as a unique association to contribute to all these processes in an advisory role as a scientific group. The *Gazette Medical d'Orient* includes the contemporary medical news in the Ottoman Empire and the world around it, the reports of the medical inspectors who were sent to examined regions, the translations from eminent publications of the learned societies of Europe, and the progress reports (*comptes-rendu*) which give a more vivid picture about the society's relations and functioning. The gazette presented Istanbul's atmosphere to a great extent not only in medicine but also in terms of various scientific aspects such as topography, meteorology, and hydrology.

This thesis opened a discussion on the place and significance of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* in Ottoman medical history. The association is significant as an institution with a heterogeneous composition of notable physicians from various backgrounds, cultures, and écoles. The thesis emphasizes the diversity of actors. I propose to identify the society as an Ottoman institution. It issued Istanbul's problems and had a considerable relation of sponsorship with the government since the doctors assisted the government and made various suggestions for public hygiene and medical reforms. The language of the association could be French but the title "imperial" and Constantinople suggest an Ottoman identification. As mentioned earlier, Ottoman doctors could be members as well as the foreign ones who resided in Istanbul. In my opinion, including Turkish/Muslim doctors or publishing in Ottoman Turkish are not preconditions to identify a professional institution and its printing media as Ottoman.

The association is significant in the ways in which it built relations with Ottoman policymakers. In a reciprocal connection, equipped with government aid and imperial title, *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* assisted Ottoman governance during medical conflicts, reform attempts, and standardization efforts under the umbrella of a more comprehensive modernization project in medical and sanitary issues. This thesis contributed to the historiography of Ottoman medical modernization by introducing and examining the sources that reflect the importance of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* in terms of the appropriation of modern medical knowledge into the Ottoman society, dissemination of them to their audience, and the institutionalization of the Ottoman medicine.

In conclusion, further research possibilities should also be discussed. The analyzed sources carry valuable insights into various areas in history. From the obituary announcements in the newspaper, rare bibliographical information of the notable physicians can be found. Through the relationships of the physicians, their networks can be researched, including the scientific discussions they joined in more detail. One

can even utilize the articles of the GMO to write a prosopography of the physicians working in the Ottoman Empire in order to see their contribution as a whole. This thesis can start further discussions on the history of medical societies, the notion of the modern physician, and the scientific background of the modernization project of the Ottoman medicine. The role of members of the society in the area of medical diplomacy can be further areas at the intersection of international relations and social and/or medical histories.

Besides social history, the GMO could potentially be utilized in the urban history of Istanbul for the time frame it covered since the doctors have taken the city as the center of their discussions and suggested some reforms for urban development. Their role as a doctor did not mean only to treat the patient but also to prevent epidemic diseases in the cities; thus, their suggestions for urban reforms are quite meaningful. The aforementioned topics during the thesis about public health and hygiene, the projects and studies of *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne* (on water quality of Istanbul, on slaughterhouses of Istanbul, on cemeteries and sewage systems) can be traced by urban historians. Similarly, the studies and findings of the members of the associations on medical topography (climatology, etc.) of the empire can be revisited from the perspective of environmental history.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. The List of the Members of Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane appeared in the first issue.

LISTE PAR ORDRE ALPHABÉTIQUE DES MEMBRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ IMPÉRIALE DE MÉDECINE DE CONSTANTINOPLE.			
MEMBRES		TITULAIRES.	
MM.	MM.	MM.	MM.
Algardi.	Della Sudda F.	Mavroyani.	Sarradin.
Archigènes.	Della Sudda G.	Millingen.	Servicen.
Aristobule.	Diamandopoulos.	Morris.	Skinas.
Barozzi.	Edwards.	Mozian.	Sinapian.
Bartoletti.	Fauvel.	Mungeri.	Sotto.
Bélisaire.	Fenerly.	Naranzi.	Spadaro J.
Bosi.	Footé.	Orloff.	Spadaro B.
Calleja A.	Galati.	Ottoni Ed.	Spadaro A.
Calleja P.	Gargiulo.	Panziri.	Stamatiadès.
Callucis.	Hairullah.	Pardo.	Stampa.
Canellidès.	Hérophille.	Parunag.	Stoll.
Carathéodory C.	Lacava.	Pascal.	Tian.
Chierici.	Lago.	Picipio Marc.	Verrollot.
Coidan.	Léon.	Poppovich.	Vuccino.
Cipriani.	Leoni.	Rasis.	Zennaro.
Cousovich.	Leval.	Rousignan.	Zographos.
Davoud.	Mac-Carthy.	Salvatori.	
De Castro.	Marchand.	Sarell.	
MEMBRES HONORAIRES.			
MM.	MM.		
<i>Andral</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Monlau</i> , professeur d'hygiène à l'université de Madrid.		
<i>Baudens</i> , inspecteur du service sanitaire de l'armée française.	<i>Müller</i> , professeur à l'université de Berlin.		
<i>Bouillaud</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Oppolzer</i> , professeur à l'université de Vienne.		
<i>Bright</i> , professeur de pathologie et de thérapeutique à Londres.	<i>Panizza</i> , rédacteur de la Gazette italienne de la Lombardie, à Milan.		
<i>Buffalini</i> , professeur de pathologie à Florence.	<i>Pezioni</i> , conseiller d'État de S. M. l'Empereur de Russie.		
<i>Chomel</i> , profes. honoraire de la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Pincassi</i> , promoteur de la Société Impériale de médecine de Constantinople à Dresde.		
<i>J. Clark</i> , médecin ordinaire de S. M. la Reine d'Angleterre.	<i>Puccinotti</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Pise.		
<i>J. Cloquet</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Rayer</i> , membre de l'institut de France.		
<i>Claude Bernard</i> , professeur au collège de France.	<i>Riberi</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Turin.		
<i>Comisetti</i> , médecin en chef du contingent Sarde à l'armée d'Orient.	<i>Ricord</i> , membre de l'Académie Impériale de médecine de Paris.		
<i>Craveilhier</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Ritzius</i> , professeur d'anatomie à Stokholm.		
<i>P. Dubois</i> , doyen de la faculté de médecine de Paris.	<i>Roky tansky</i> , professeur d'anatomie pathologique à Vicence.		
<i>Fuad pacha</i> , Ministre de S. M. I. le Sultan.	<i>Romberg</i> , professeur à l'université de Berlin.		
<i>Forget</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Strasbourg.	<i>Schoenlein</i> , professeur à l'université de Berlin.		
<i>Langenbech</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Berlin.	<i>Sentin</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Bruxelles.		
<i>Lanza</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Naples.	<i>Skoda</i> , professeur de pathologie à l'université de Vienne.		
<i>Laurence</i> , professeur de pathologie et de thérapeutique à Londres.	<i>Simpson</i> , professeur d'accouchement à Edimbourg.		
<i>Linton</i> , inspecteur général du service sanitaire de l'armée anglaise d'Orient.	<i>Stokes</i> , professeur de pathologie et de thérapeutique à Dublin.		
<i>Louis</i> , membre de l'Académie Impériale de médecine de Paris.	<i>Soubeiran</i> , professeur à la faculté de médecine de Paris.		
<i>Mayer</i> , en Suisse.	<i>Valentin Matt</i> , aux États-Unis d'Amérique.		
<i>Mélier</i> , inspecteur des services sanitaires de France.	<i>Velpeau</i> , professeur de la faculté de médecine de Paris.		
<i>Michel Lévy</i> , inspecteur et directeur du service sanitaire de l'armée française.	<i>Virchow</i> , professeur à l'université de Berlin.		
MEMBRES CORRESPONDANTS.			
MM.	MM.		
<i>Adami</i> , ex-médecin au service militaire turc, Turin.	<i>Cazalas</i> , médecin principal de l'armée française.		
<i>Alferieff</i> , professeur à l'université de Kieff, Russie.	<i>Cervetti</i> , médecin de bataillon de l'armée sarde.		
<i>Allatini</i> , médecin civil à Salonique.	<i>Constantin</i> , médecin aide-major de l'armée française.		
<i>Arnaud</i> , chirurgien de 1 ^{re} classe de la marine française.	<i>Dacamino</i> , médecin civil à Trieste.		
<i>Baroffio</i> , médecin militaire sarde.	<i>Désiderio</i> , médecin civil à Trieste.		
<i>Barthet</i> , médecin aide-major de l'armée française.	<i>Giacich</i> , professeur d'hygiène navale à Fiume.		
<i>Barudel</i> , médecin major de l'armée française.	<i>Goinard</i> , médecin aide-major de l'armée française.		
<i>Btina</i> , médecin divisionnaire de l'armée sarde.	<i>Grellois</i> , médecin major de l'armée française.		
<i>Brabazon</i> , médecin civil au service de l'armée anglaise d'Orient.	<i>Holl</i> , médecin militaire anglais.		
<i>Breuning</i> , médecin civil à Vienne.	<i>Howard</i> , médecin civil au service de l'armée anglaise d'Orient.		
<i>Bryce</i> , médecin civil au service de l'armée anglaise d'Orient.	<i>Jacquot</i> , médecin major de l'armée française.		
<i>Cambay</i> , médecin principal de l'armée française.	<i>Larrey</i> , sous directeur de l'École Impériale du Val-de-Grâce.		
<i>Carbonaro</i> , secrétaire de la faculté auprès du magistrat de santé de Naples.	<i>Levezart</i> , médecin de bataillon de l'armée sarde.		
	<i>Lawson</i> , sous-inspecteur général des hôpitaux anglais en Orient.		

Source: GMO, April 1857, index.

Appendix B. The Document of the Foundation of the Association. BOA, İ.HR.130.6661. (5 Ramazan 1272/ 10 May 1856).

Atufetli efendim hazretleri,

Avrupanın her tarafında olduğu misillü fenn-i tababete dair malumatın iktisab ve intişarı zımında Dersaadetde dahi bir cemiyet-i tıbbiye teşkiline müsaade-i seniyye erzan buyurulması istidasıyla işbu cemiyetin suret-i terkihini mübeyyen cemiyet-i mezkure azası tarafından verilen layihanın tercümesi manzur-ı şevket-mevfur-ı hazret-i padişahi buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. İşbu cemiyetin teşkili menâfi ve fevâ'id-i umumiye müstelzim olmayla ve insaniyete ve ulûma bir hizmet maksadına mebni bulunmasıyla muhsinat-ı asrıye-i cenab-ı şehinşahiden bulunduğundan cemiyet-i mezkureye zîr-i himayet-i saltanat-ı seniyyede bulunmak üzere istida olunan nam ve unvanın itası ve medar-ı iftihar olmak üzere olbabda bir kıta berat-ı alişan tastir kılınması hakkında her ne vechle emr ü ferman cenab-ı mülükane ve şeref-sudur buyrulur ise mukteza-yı alisi icra kılınacağı beyanıyla tezkere-i senaveri terkim olundu efendim.

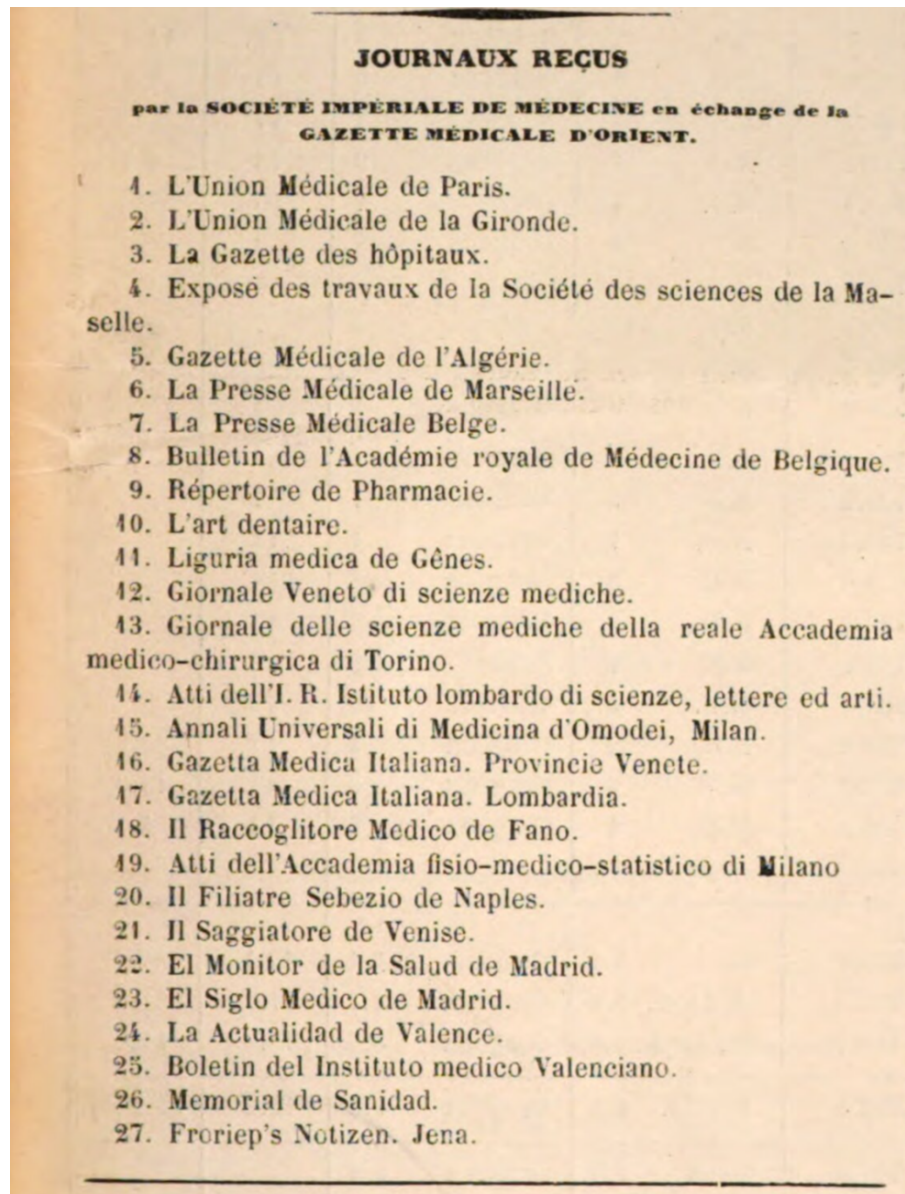
Fi 5 Ramazan 72, (10 May 1856).

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridir ki,

Reside-i esabi ical olan işbu tezkere-i samiye-i asafaneleriyle zikr olunan tercüme manzur-ı maali-mevfur hazret-i mülükane buyurulmuş ve istizan buyurulduğu vechle cemiyet-i mezkureye zîr-i himayet-i saltanat-ı seniyyede bulunmak üzere istida olunan nam ve unvan itası ve olbabda bir kıta berat-ı alişan tastir kılınması müteallık ve şeref-sudur buyurulan emr ü irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı padişahi mukteza-yı alisinden olarak mezkur tercüme yine savb-ı sâmi-i âsâfilerine iâde kılınmış olmağla olbabda emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir.

Fi 5 Ramazan 72, (10 May, 1856).

Appendix C. The List Of Newspapers Received By The Imperial Society of Medicine In Exchange For The *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*.



Source: GMO, October 1859, 103.

Appendix D. An Example of Death Records based on Religion (millet) and Gender.

MORTALITÉ DE CONSTANTINOPLE.			
Pendant le mois de Sefser.			
(du 29 Août au 26 Septembre.)			
Musulmans	{	hommes. 496 femmes 231	} 427
Chrétiens	{	hommes. 444 femmes 72	} 483
Israélites	{	hommes. 40 femmes 33	} 73
Total . . .			683
Diminution de 9 décès par rapport au mois précédent.			
Pendant le mois de Rebioul-ewel.			
(du 27 Septembre au 26 Octobre.)			
Musulmans	{	hommes. 475 femmes 493	} 368
Chrétiens	{	hommes. 409 femmes 69	} 478
Israélites	{	hommes. 47 femmes 34	} 51
Total . . .			597
Diminution de 86 décès par rapport au mois précédent.			

Source: GMO, December 1859, 174.