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PORTRAITS OF ITALIANS IN HEALTH AFFAIRS IN 19TH CENTURY ISTANBUL: DR. CASTALDI, PHARMACIST A. CALLEJA, MIDWIFE MESSANI*

Turkish-Italian Relations through history up to the 19th century

The first European language heard by Turks settling in Anatolia after 1071 was the Italian of Genoese and Venetian merchants.[1] While borrowing many words from each other, the cross-cultural relationships of the two communities in commerce, maritime, politics, history and medicine continued for ages. Actually Galata, then mostly a Genoese colony, and the liveliest trade centre in Constantinople of the pre-modern era, had existed for years in the capital city as an autonomous administrative unit independent from the Paleologos dynasty during the late Byzantine Empire.[2] Galata was one of the oldest and most powerful colonies of the Italian city-states. When Constantinople was conquered by the Sultan Mehmed II in 1453, Italian city-states were enjoying the heyday of their influence and power in the East. Sultan Mehmed II (the Conqueror, 1451-1481) neither laid siege to or invaded the region, nor did he hesitate to recognize the rights and privileges of Galata's inhabitants.[3] As a matter of fact, the Ottoman State, as the main successor of Eastern Roman Empire, continued all its relations with the Italian city-states, both in political and commercial transactions as well as cultural and scientific exchanges.[4] This action was quite compatible with the Ottoman style of expansion in recognizing the rights of conquered local communities by allowing them freedom in their private and social lives, commercial activities, and religious worship while protecting them with

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1 – O. Karakartal, "Türk kültüründe Italyancaya bir bakis", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 152 (August 1996), p. 44.

2 – R. Mantran, *17.yy.in ikinci yarisinda Istanbul*, vol. 2, Ankara, 1990, p. 117.

3 – Mantran, vol. 1, p. 71-72.

4 – O. Kologlu, *Italian contributions to Ottoman medicine and pharmacology*, in *Proceedings of 38th international congress on history of medicine*, ed. N. Sari, A. H. Bayat, Y. I. Ulman, vol. 3, Ankara, TTK yay., 2006, p. 1013-1014.

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imperial power. But the communities were required to pay regular taxes in return. This was a totally different way of expansion from the Western type of colonialism which was characterized by maintaining the integrating both local communities and newcomers without changing the type of local culture and civilization, or without forcing them into religious conversion.[5] War and peace periods contributed in their own fashion to these relations between the two countries[6] to which the *bailos*[7] and Ottoman ambassadors to Venice tinged a colourful and distinctive character.[8] As the Ottoman officials gleaned a considerable profit from the trade, merchandise, and customs at Galata, they even encouraged and promoted the growth of Italian (and other foreign) settlements in Galata and Pera.[9] Foreign influences increased in variety over the course of time, particularly in Pera where foreign legations and residences emerged, and a European and elegant way of living flourished. Until the 19th century, it seems that Italian influence had gradually waned especially compared with French presence in the intellectual and cultural centres of Constantinople. Similarly French became the most preferred language in the press and scientific publications.

Italians in Ottoman health affairs up to 19th century

Medical relationships steadily increased over the centuries, which formed firm ties between Italy and Turkey. During the Renaissance, Avicenna's works (such as his *Canon*, and *Chifa*) were published by Italian printers in Arabic to be sold in the East. These incunabula could still be found in the college and private collections of the wealthy in Istanbul in the twentieth century. Medicaments, such as simple and combined drugs were favourite Italian import for Turks who sold raw materials (such as paper) in exchange for them.[10] A newly found document dating 17th century proves this fact very well. An advertisement sheet of *Andromaque theriaca* (triaca) produced in Venice by pharmacist Gian Battista Silves-

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5 – See: "Privilege granted to the Genoese colony of Galata by Mehmed the Conqueror, (30 Cemaziula 857) (*Ahidname* dating 8-6-1453)" cited by E. Eldem and C. Pestana, "Mechanism of Empire", in: *Workshop on Ottoman and Atlantic Empires in the Early Modern World*, Istanbul, October 19-20, 2005.

6 – See: H. Theunissen, "Cairo Revisited (I): Four documents pertinent to the Ottoman-Venetian Treaty of 1551", *EJOS (Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies)* Vol. 2, 7 (1999). This article is the corrected electronic version of: H. Theunissen, "Four Ottoman Documents pertinent to the Ottoman-Venetian Treaty of 1517", in: *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus Commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati* (= Utrecht Turcological Series III), Utrecht, 1992, p. 79-104.

7 – Venetian ambassadors to Constantinople.

8 – U. Tucci, "Istanbul'da Venedik Elcileri" (Venetian ambassadors in Constantinople), summarised from *Venice and Turks*, by F. M. Cosar, *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 1, 4 (April 1996), p. 32-35.

9 – U. Tucci, "Venedik ile Osmanli arasindaki bag: Tuccarlar" (The contact between Venice and Ottomans: merchants), summarised from *Venice and Turks*, by F. M. Cosar, *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1996), p. 17.

10 – S. Unver, "Sur les relations médicales entre la Turquie et l'Italie dans l'histoire de la medicine", *I.U. Tip Fakultesi. Mecmuasi*, vol. 18, 2 (1955), p. 519-527.

trini whose shop was known by its trademark *Testa d'Oro* (Golden Head, near the Rialto), shows that this Venetian panacea was widely sold in Constantinople at that time.[11]

Italian physicians, dentists or pharmacists who settled in the Ottoman lands were an interesting component of relationships between the two countries. The doctors who were called *"Firenk hekim"* (Frankish physician) were mostly Italians.[12] There were various types among them. Some of them were unmasked as adventurers or charlatans desiring to be rich in the East. But others who were educated professionally in their fields, occupied posts of considerable importance in the state and in the army. Some of them converted to Islam and became high ranking officials. Actually, Renaissance medicine was brought to Turkey by physicians educated in European medical schools. For instance, Dr. Giacomo di Gaeta (15th century), a graduate from Padua, started to work in the Ottoman Palace during reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451), the father of Mehmed II. Mehmed II liked him very much and appointed him as his private physician, renaming him *Hekim Yakup*. Yakup played an important role in the transfer of the contemporary European medical knowledge to the Ottomans.[13] This trend continued in following centuries. These doctors introduced Latin and Italian medical books to local doctors and encouraged their translation into Turkish. For instance, Salih bin Nasrullah (chief physician in 17th century) who was renowned for introducing western medicine in his works *(Gayet'ul-Beyan, Gayetu'l Itkân)*, made use of the books of the Italian doctor Nicolaus of Salerno. Another Ottoman Chief Physician Ali Munsi Efendi (18th century), translated two books from Italian on *Ipecac* and *Cinchona*.[14]

Medical Modernization in 19th century Istanbul

The 19th century marked great step in modernization of all fields of the Ottoman society. A decline basing on the isolated way of living during the preceding centuries gave way to a commitment to adopt modern sciences and techniques from the West. Modernization was regarded as a state project in order to keep up with the contemporary leading societies in all ways. Although the Empire was burdened by unending wars, massive immigrations due to military defeats, as well as poor living conditions among its subjects; a great of steps to take the society forward paradoxically occurred during the last century of the Ottoman State. This process culminated with the proclamation of *Tanzimat* Bill of Reforms in 1839. The same trend manifested itself in the field of medical education. Reformation of the medical education and training system, reorganization

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11 – E. Eldem, "Bir ilaç reklami üzerine: Venedik'ten ithal Altinbas Tiryaki", *Toplumsal Tarih*, 2 (Febr. 1994), p. 13-16; and Eldem, "Bir belge üzerine çesitlemeler", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Kaf Daginin Ötesinde, in honor of Gunay Kut, ed. S. Tekin and G. A. Tekin, vol. 27/11 (2003), p. 63-78.

12 – Unver, cit., p. 526.

13 – E. Ihsanoglu, *Büyük cihaddan Frenk fodulluguna*, Istanbul, 1996, p. 213-214.

14 – A. H. Bayat, *Tip Tarihi*, Izmir, 2003, p. 275-276.

of the institutions in accordance with the prerequisites of a modern medical thinking and understanding became main concerns of the health system for the rest of the 19th century and beyond.

Inadequacy of the traditional teaching system, that was mainly based on the master-apprentice method of *madrassas* was noted by the reports of Chief Physician Mustafa Behçet Effendi (d. 1834) to the reformist Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). Behçet visited and stayed in Venice with his brother Abdulhak Molla (later chief physician) to learn Italian and become acquainted with the intellectual trends. His translations from Italian of Giuseppe Marshall's book on smallpox and a treatise on physiology were used as coursebooks at the first modern medical school (*Tıphane-i Amire,* founded in 1827).[15] Another scholar and an Ottoman intellectual, Sanizade Ataullah Effendi (1771?-1826) who learned Italian and French at the Ottoman School of Engineering *(Muhendishane)*, observed the archaic quality of Avicenna's works and compiled medical books by translations of Italian works *(Miyarü'l Etibba, Hamse-i Sanizade)*. Sanizade also noted the French effect on Italian publications at that era and recommended to consult the original texts in French.[16]

In the meantime, first modern medical school did not succeed as expected[17] and had to be totally reorganized into the Imperial Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i jâhâne*, founded in 1839).[18] Many reforms were carried out at this School which was located at Galatasaray (Galata-Sérai) in Pera. Non-muslim students (Christians, Jews, Armenians, Greeks and many other nationalities) were permitted to study there for the first time. The whole medical education was modelled on the examples from the West, so French was made the language of medicine and surgery. Lectures on all branches of medicine were included in the curriculum and the teaching staff performed at clinics where patients were treated based on the latest medical knowledge available. The teaching staff was joined by graduates from Western medical schools, such as K.A. Bernard (1808-1844) (who became dean), S. Spitzer (1813-1895) and L. Rigler (1815-1862) from Austria; Dr. A. Fauvel from France; Antoine Calleja, F. Dellasudda from Italy (actually Italian natives of Pera); as well as non-Muslim subjects such as E. Carathéodory, C. Carathéodory, S. Archigènes, G. Sinapian. A modern course

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15 – School of Surgery *Cerrahhane-i Mamure* joined to *Tıphane* in 1832. These two schools have been united in 1836. S. Unver, *Cerrahhane-i Amire*, Istanbul, 1931, p. 5; B. N. Sehsuvaroğlu, "Osmanli Cerrahhanesi", *Turk Cerrahi Mecmuasi*, XIV, 2-4 (1962), outprint, Istanbul, 1963, p. 56. For a research dealing with the Galatasaray Medical School in Istanbul between 1842-1848.

16 – Unver, cit., p. 526.

17 – E. Dölen, N. Yildirim, *Darülfünun'dan günümüze üniversite yayinciligi ve yasami*, ed. F. Aral, Istanbul, 2003, p. 5.

18 – Regarding its location at Galatasaray (Pera-Beyoglu), the School was mentioned in foreign sources as "École Impérial de Médecine de Galata-Sérai(l)" or "Medical College of Galata-Serai". See: *Journal de Constantinople et des Intérêts Orientaux (JCIO)*, Constantinople, Turquie, Bousquet-Deschamps-Imp. du Journal, 16 Sept. 1844.

in pharmacy and a class in midwifery for female practitioners were also opened for the first time at the Medical School.[19]

Although the French effect was dominant among all foreign influences in the Empire, numerous Italians were also prominent in the administrative, cultural, and medical affairs of the State. Dr. Pezzoni was the first Italian delegate to the Ottoman Quarantine Organization (*Conseil Supérieur de Santé*, founded in 1837). Even the term "quarantine" *(karantina)* is of Italian origin. Dr. Bartoletti, son of Sultan Selim III's physician, born in Istanbul (1808), and graduate of Naples Medical School, was in Ottoman official service for many years as the General Inspector of Health. He represented the Ottoman State at the first European Sanitary Congress in 1851.[20] The proclamation of Italian unification (1861), caused Istanbul Italian community to flourish. Therefore Italian Hospital (*Ospedale Italiano*, founded in 1810's),[21] began to work more actively. Many physicians such as Drs. Lago, Salvatoris, Zeri, Seni, Tassi, worked there. Drs. Capoleone, Vuccino, Mongeri, Violi, and pharmacists such as Dellasudda father and son, Ottoni, Canzuch brothers, and Madellas lived and served as elements of the multicultural, multireligious, and multinational composition of the Ottomans. The people chosen for this study constitute key figures of this greater picture: Pharmacist Antonius Calleja (or Calligas), Midwife Mme Messani, and Doctor Castaldi.

Pharmacist and Professeur of pharmacology, Antoine Calleja (1806-1893)

Antonius (Antoine) Calleja (Calligas)[22] was born in Istanbul in 1806 as a member of an Italian family. The Calleja family had immigrated from Malta to Constantinople many years before (presumably in the 18th century)[23] and they worked as pharmacists for generations in the capital city. The father P.Calleja opened a pharmacy at Bahcekapi (around the Seraglio point) in 1810 which would later be run by his son. He studied chemistry in Paris, was chosen to

19 – For a research dealing with the Galatasaray Medical School in Istanbul between 1842-1848, see: Y. I. Ulman, *Journal de Constantinople'a göre Mekteb-i Tibbiye'nin Galatasaray Dönemi* (Imperial School of Medicine in Galatasaray in view of its reports issued at *Journal de Constantinople (1842-1848)*, MSc, Istanbul, 1994, 148 p.

20 – Unver, cit., p. 527.

21 – See: N. Yildirim, «Italyan Hastanesi», *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, Istanbul, Tarih Vakfi yay., 1994, p. 303-304.

22 – His names was written as *Calleja, Calleya, Master Kalya* or as *Callega, Calligas*, in various local documents such as *Indicateur Constantinopolitain, Guide commercial 1868-69*, publié par R. Cervati et N.C. Sargolago, Constantinople, p. 30. The version, "Calleja" might remind the Maltese origin of the family, but Antonius was born, baptized, lived and died in Italian community in Constantinople. He was, most of the time, referred as «Antoine Calleja».

23 – I am thankful to Reverend Lorenzo Piretto for his help at the St. Pierre and St. Paul church archives in Istanbul. Birth and death records date back to the second half of the 18th century. Callegas were a large family lived for generations in 18th-19th century Istanbul.

teach at the Imperial School of Medicine in Galatasaray.[24] In 1840 Register Book of the Medical School, he was designated as the professor of chemistry, salaried with 1200 piastres.[25] He lectured on medical chemistry, pharmaceutical chemistry and pharmacology to the second year students (later the first year group) at the Medical School.[26]

During those years, pharmaceutical education was offered as an independent, two-year class on the Medical School premises.[27] Calleja taught chemistry for the first year, and pharmacy for the second year of that course.[28] Students of medicine and pharmacy profited the same chemistry laboratory together[29] where pharmacological experiments were also done under Calleja's supervision.

One chemical experiment at the Medical School was very important and memorable in the medical history of Turkey. At that time, the annual graduation examination used to be organized as a ceremony in the presence of the Sultan, to symbolize imperial support for reforms in the Empire, and some physical, chemical or medical demonstrations were arranged to please guests who were state dignitaries, and delegates of foreign missions. During the 1848 graduation ceremony, soon after the examination of young physicians, the professor of chemistry Antoine Calleja called a 5th year student[30] "Yusuf" to describe the chemical composition of chloroform. Yusuf related the anesthetic effects of chloroform on animal metabolism through demonstrations and also gave information on the surgical use of chloroform in operations carried out at the School clinic by Dr. Serviçen during the 1847-48 academic year.[31] Prof. Calleja was satisfied with Yusuf's presentation and experiments. After that, Calleja used chloroform on Yusuf himself to show the chemical effect of this anesthetic material! Yusuf fainted, and some procedures were done on him to prove anesthesia on his body

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24 – R. Tahsin, *Mirat-ı Mekteb-i Tibbiye*, vol. 1, Istanbul, (1328) 1912, p. 25. At another source it is suggested that he might have studied at Pisa, Italy: T. Baytop, *Turk Eczacilik Tarihi Arastirmalari*, Istanbul, 2000, p. 60.

25 – N. Baylav, *Eczacilik Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1968, p. 209.

26 – Y.I Ulman, "Muallim Antoine Calleja ve Eczanesi, Bazı Katkılar", in: *Eczacılık Tarihi Araştırmaları*, Istanbul, ed. Afife Mat, 2003, p. 195-206.

27 – During the 1846-1847 academic year, the performance of pharmacy was stipulated by an enactment to be graduated from the Class of Pharmacy within the Medical School. See: Y. I. Ulman, "1846-1847 academic year report of the Imperial School of Medicine", *Yeni Tip Tarihi Araştirmalari*, No. 4 (1998), Istanbul, ed. N. Sari, p. 119, 127.

28 – "Rapport sur les travaux de l'École de Médecine de Galata-Sérail, pendant l'année scolaire 1258-1259 (1842-1843)", *Journal de Constantinople et des Intérêts Orientaux*, 52 (26 Septembre 1843) Bousquet-Deschamps-Imp. du Journal; "Rapport sur les travaux de l'École de Médecine de Galata-Sérail, pendant l'année scolaire 1259-1260 (1843-1844) présenté à Sa Hautesse le 26 Şaban 1260 (10 Septembre 1844)", *JC IO*, 122 (16 Septembre 1844).

29 – Y. I. Ulman, *Mekteb-i Tibbiye'nin...*, p. 43.

30 – That is the first year of medical and surgical classes after preparatory classes.

31 – This is the earliest use of chloroform in Turkey as it was discovered so recently in the West in 1847 and administered surgically by James Y. Simpson in Britain Y. I. Ulman, "Les premiers pas de l'anesthésie au chloroforme en Turquie dans l'Empire Ottoman", *Annales Françaises d'Anesthésie et de Réanimation*, Nantes-France, vol. 24, 4 (2005), p. 378-379.

to the surprise of the prestigious guests at the meeting! Later on the student recovered his senses. Teaching staff was congratulated by the Sultan for their success in the end of ceremony.[32]

Likewise, Prof. Calleja, led a chemistry demonstration at the general examination in 1850. Young graduate Jean Cosmopoulos was questioned by him on medical chemistry and produced a copper residuum in liquid through a series of chemical experiments in front of the honorable guests.[33]

During his 45 years of teaching, Prof. Calleja played a prominent role over the enactment of laws regulating pharmaceutical practices throughout the Empire. After a great fire that devastated the pharmacies in Beyoglu (Pera) (1831), he requested from the Chief Physician Mustafa Behçet Effendi that the number of pharmacies be limited to 25 in the region to increase the quality of service. This was confirmed and realised by an imperial *firman* in the same year.[34] Calleja served on several medical and pharmaceutical commissions on health affairs, such as the commission to supervise health service in military hospitals where he served together with the Chief of Staff, Riza Pasha, Chief Physician Abdülhak Molla, and Dr. Rigler. This commission provided the Empire with new rules regulating health services at those hospitals in 1850.[35] He led the committee on pharmaceuticals (Comité Pharmaceutique – *Meclis-i Ispençiyari*) to require civilian pharmacists activate in the country to attend and get diplomas from the Pharmacy Class at the Medical School, according to a law enacted in 1853 *(Nizamname-i Eczaciyan)*.[36] Calleja contributed to the drafting of the "Regulation for the Practice of Civilian Pharmacy in the Ottoman Empire" (Règlement sur l'exercise de la pharmacie civile) dated February 2nd, 1861.[37] For his services to the Ottoman State, he was awarded orders of the *Medjidiye*,[38] and promoted to the highest civilian rank of the state *(ula)*.[39]

His French lectures were translated into Turkish by his assistant Dr. Vasil Naum (1855-19159), and compiled in a book of inorganic chemistry[40] that was regarded as a modern coursebook of the time.[41] He retired in 1888, but contin-

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32 – *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, 106 (29 Juillet 1848).

33 – "Les Examens Généraux...", *Gazette Médicale de Constantinople*, 2e année, 2 (Juin 1850).

34 – P. Apery, "Nécrologie (d'Antoine Calleya)", *Revue Médico-Pharmaceutique*, Sixième Année, 4 (30 Avril 1893), p. 63-64. This restriction has proved to be a handicap for the opening of new pharmacies at that region of Constantinople in later decades of the 19th century.

35 – *GMO*, 2e année, 2 (Juin 1850).

36 – *JCEO*, 13e année, 966 (8 Décembre 1858).

37 – *Beledi ispençiyarlik sanatinin icrasina dair nizamname*, Règlement sur l'exercise de la pharmacie civile. T. Baytop, cit., p. 282.

38 – *JCEO*, 12e année, 827 (29 Juillet 1857); BOA (Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivleri: Ottoman Archival Documents), I.DH.101418, 16 Ra1272/26 November 1855; BOA.A.DVN.MHM. 15/34, C.S.1272/October 1855.

39 – P. Apery, cit., p. 64

40 – E. Ihsanoğlu, *Turk Kimya Eserleri Bibliyografyasi*, Istanbul, 1985, s. 66.

41 – E. Dolen, "1870 yilinda Mekteb-i Tibbiye kimya laboratuarinda yapilan analiz ve incelemeler", in: *II. Türk Tip tarihi Kongresi bildirileri*, 20-21 Eylül 1990, s. 72.

ued to fulfill his duties at the Council of Health Affairs *(Meclis-i Tibbiye-i Mülkiye ve Sihhiye- Umumiye)*.[42]

Besides his teaching career, he ran two pharmacies in the capital. He opened the first one, at Pera-Beyoglu near the lodge *(tekke)* of the order of whirling dervishes. Afterwards, he took over his father's pharmacy at Bahcekapi that used the fish symbol *(balikli dükkan)*. At the shops he not only sold a variety of drugs and imported medicaments (pills, pastils, creams, balsams, oils etc.), but also dental material, books, paintings and other items.[43] Children were vaccinated by a physician all day long.[44] It also sold medical visit tickets for charitable institutions of European communities in Istanbul such as the *Association Européenne de Bienfaisance*, and the *Artigiana di Pietà*.[45] He employed a Greek and a French apprentice, and a medical grinder (Sardinian) in his shop. He was known to be skilful in drug preparation[46] and depicted as a quiet, modest, learned man, short in height, with a brown moustache.[47] He was a founding member of the *Société Impériale de Médecine* (1856),[48] and the *Société de Pharmacie de Constantinople* (1870).[49] Apparently he was well-off, both because he was from a rich family in pharmaceutical business for many years in Constantinople, and as well as due to his professional activities for the state, and in the private sector.[50] He died on April 21, 1893[51] and was buried at the Catholic cemetery in Feriköy (Istanbul).[52]

Antoine Calleja was one of the first pharmacists with a European diploma who worked in the Ottoman Empire. His main concern was the scientific prac-

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42 – *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye* (Yearbook of Ottoman State), Ist. Mahmud bey matb., 1303/1886, p. 248.

43 – *JCEO*, 4 Avril 1851, 14 Août 1849, 4 Janvier 1852, 29 Novembre 1844, 4 Mars 1844, 15 Mars 1851.

44 – *Ceride-i Havadis*, No. 735, 18 Receb 1271 (1855). There used to be medical examination by doctors at many pharmacies in Istanbul in the 19th century. Physician used to visit patients there and share the expenses of the office. See: N. Yildirim, *Istanbul eczanelerinde hasta muayenesi ve tibbi tahlil laboratuvarlari*, in: *Yeni Tip Tarihi Arastirmalari*, N. Sari (ed.), No. 2-3, Istanbul, 1996, p. 71-75.

45 – *JCEO*, 8e année, 422 (29 Avril 1853).

46 – Dr. Bernard, "Rapport sur les travaux de l'École de Médecine ...", *JCIO*, 52 (26 Septembre 1843).

47 – Stoyanka Kenderova, "Register of medical shops in Istanbul in the middle of 19th century", in: *Proceedings of the 38th International Congress on the History of Medicine*, N. Sari (ed.), A. H. Bayat, Y. I. Ulman, Ankara, 2006, in print.

48 – He was registered as resident member of the Society by number 43 on March 15, 1856: *Cahier d'Inscription de la Société Impériale de Médecine*. There is a record at the Ottoman Archives about A. Calleja's selling his plots in Pancaldi shared by Bogos Effendi: BOA, the catalogue of *Irade- Meclis-i Vala 1278*, 21 Şevval 1277 (May 2,1861) and 23 Zilkade 1277 (June 2, 1861).

49 – T. Baytop, *Türk Eczacilik Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1985, p. 409.

50 – His wife is mentioned by her luxury shops on an archival document: BOA, I.MV.16872 (12 Ca 1274) 29 December 1857.

51 – P. Apery, *cit*, p. 64.

52 – T. Baytop, cit. p. 409.

tice of pharmacy through regulation by law in order to protect public health in the Empire. His pioneering achievements were spectacular at a time when the practice of medicine in Turkey was being transformed from traditional master-apprentice training into a collegiate, scientific profession during the 19th century.

Midwife Madame Messani

As stated above, modern education in midwifery for female candidates[53] started with the opening of a midwifery class at the Imperial School of Medicine in Istanbul. During the process of conforming Ottoman medical education to the contemporary European system, an obstetrics class was introduced in 1842.[54] All practicing midwives in the Ottoman Empire were required to attend this class for one year and to receive a diploma *(brevet de libre exercice)*. Foreign midwives educated abroad were employed as instructors as well as professors from the medical and surgical departments of the school. A professor from the Medical School would teach obstetrics to the students using models. Following his lecture, a midwife would then give practical training to the students. In the beginning, classes were given in Turkish by Prof. Constantine Carathéodory (1802-1879), assisted by chief midwife Mme Messani and midwife Mme Pizipio.[55]

There is little information on Mme Messani. Although lecturing on obstetrics alternated among the teaching staff, the midwife in chief, Madame Messani gave practical courses for nine years at the Medical School. According to an Ottoman archival document that described an agreement between the Sublime Porte and the Austrian government, midwife Mme Messani from Austria (!) had been employed at the Medical School for five years at a monthly salary of 1,000 piastres. In the end of the five-year period, she stated her wish to continue her job. This was approved by the Sublime Porte, too, since she was needed at the school, and her agreement was renewed. Now, her salary was raised by 2,000 piastres per year to cover her accommodation, plus the 1,000 piastres monthly stipend. She would also receive 500 piastres per month when she retired, as stated in the earlier document.[56]

Although she was Italian, all transactions and correspondence concerning her took place between the Porte and the Austrian government. Perhaps she was from a part of Italy then under Austrian rule or had been educated in Austria, or from the city of Messina as her name might indicate. We do not have sufficient data to clarify this. It is well-known, though, that the chief of the Medical School's teaching staff, Dr. Carl Ambroise Bernard (1808-1844), was an Aus-

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53 – There was course of midwifery at the surgery department of the Medical School *(Tiphane-i Amire)*, it was only for men (1827). O. N. Ergin, *Turk Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 1, Istanbul 1977, p. 540

54 – Y. I. Ulman, *JC'a göre Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Sahane'nin Galatasaray dönemi*, MSc., Istanbul 1994, p. 82-83.

55 – *Journal de Constantinople et des Intérêts Orientaux* (JCIO), 52 (26 Septembre 1843).

56 – Ottoman Archival Document: BOA. I. DH. 7498 (10 Ca.1263/26 April 1847).

trian who was an important contributor to the reform program there. He might have chosen or proposed Mme Messani to be employed at the school.

Besides her duties in training midwives, she also worked at the school's polyclinic for female and pregnant outpatients[57] and was called on to assist in critical delivery cases.[58] During those years, female patients preferred to have medical treatment in their houses instead of bedding in a clinic. There were not female impatiens at the school clinic due to the social and traditional understanding of the era. Both medical and midwifery classes needed female patients for practical training.[59] This lack was emphasized over and over again in the annual activity reports of the school, which called for the installation of a maternity ward there. A practical solution was found by having professors and students visit patients for free in the poor houses of the neighbourhood (Pera).[60] It was also reported that some non-Muslim mothers donated the bodies of their dead children to the school for autopsies.[61]

Candidates completing the course took a professional oath and received diplomas in a graduation ceremony at the end of the year.[62] There were thirty-four graduates in 1844 and forty in 1846.[63] Having served as the head midwife of the Medical School and coordinator of its midwifery class for several years, Mme Messani died at Constantinople in 1851. Her two daughters requested that the Sublime Porte assign her pension to them.[64]

Dr. Gérolomo Castaldi

The first information that we have about Dr. Castaldi coincides with the aftermath of the Crimean War (1853-1855). When the European powers allied with the Ottoman Empire against Russia, they sent their armies accompanied by logistical units of doctors and health officers. This war induced a revival in medical activity in the Ottoman capital. Foreign doctors (British, French, and Italian) went on living in Istanbul and worked at hospitals and even for the Ottoman

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57 – "Report of the Imperial College of Medicine in Galata Serai during the 9th session (1846-1847) by Dr. Spitzer, first professor of the College", in: John Mason, *Three Years in Turkey*, London, 1860, p. 186.

58 – "Rapports sur les travaux ...", *JCEO*, 2 (16 Aout 1846).

59 – A maternity ward at School could be opened by the end of the 19th century in 1892. Y. I. Ulman, Besim Omer Akalin, "Ange gardien des femmes et des enfants", in: *Médecins ottomans à l'âge des nationalismes*, M. Anastassiadou-Dumont (ed.), Paris, 2003, p. 107-108.

60 – "Rapport de ...", *JCIO*, 122 (16 Septembre 1844); *JCEO*, 106 (29 Juillet 1848).

61 – *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient* (JCEO).

62 – Rapport sur les travaux de l'École de Médecine de Galata-Sérail, pendant la huitième année scolaire 1261-1262 (1845-1846), présenté par le Docteur Spitzer, premier professeur de l'Ecole, *JCEO*, F. Nogués, ed., Couturier-Imp. du Journal, 2 (16 Août 1846).

63 – *Ibid*; «JCEO», 2 (16 Août 1846). Some of the graduates of 1848 were Ümmügümsüm Hüseyin, Katerina Anesti, Triandafilia Hristo, Anastasia Konstantin, Maronco Theodora, Nazik Dudu. See: "Rapport sur les ...", *JCEO*, 106 (29 Juillet 1848).

64 – Ottoman Archival Document: BOA. HR.MKT. 40/80, (22 S 1268) 17 December 1851.

government after the war. A group of these foreign physicians established the *Société Impériale de Médecine* in 1856, which became a distinguished medical organization that was active for decades in Istanbul into the twentieth century. We see Dr. Castaldi's name on its register book when he became enrolled as resident member number 118 on May 20, 1859.[65] This may indicate that he was one of the doctors who had come to the empire during or after the war. Apparently he was an active member of the society and of its scientific journal, *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* (GMO). He published bulletins, articles and papers mainly focused on infectious and contagious diseases in Constantinople and in the Empire during the 1860s.[66]

For instance, he discussed the latest information on the clinical symptoms of glanders[67] based on a communication from Dr. Bouley of the *Académie Impériale de Médecine de Paris*, assessing the views of other scholars such as Guerin who had first made the disease (transmitted from horses to men) known to the world. Castaldi criticized authors for not presenting a clear procedure for handling the disease and gave information on its treatment based on the observations of Italian scholars Turin and Ercolani that had been reported in the *Giornale di Medicina* concerning their experiments and autopsies on horses.[68] He also related some case histories recently reported in Istanbul.[69]

In another article, he described the pellagra then raging across Italy, Spain, France and the Danubian region that was also familiar in the Ottoman Empire at that time. After providing a brief medical history of the disease (explaining its confusion with leprosy and scurvy), he provided its details as then known, as well as discussing its clinical presentation and prognosis as indicated by skin inflammation, diarrhea, and nervous disorders. It is interesting that he gave anatomopathological findings of the disease based on autopsies, but he – quite typically for the time – seemed unaware of its etiology, which depends on a deficiency of vitamins and protein. He recommended prophylactic treatment and mentioned his own experiences among poor rural patients.[70]

In a case report on rabies, he described a five-year-old child infected by rabies due to a dog bite. After a two-week period of incubation, the child died with all the classic symptoms (fever, convulsions, hydrophoby) of rabies. All in-

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65 – *Cahier d'Inscription de la Société Impériale de Médecine* fondé le Février 15, 1856, p. 18-19.

66 – "Mémoires originaux: compte-rendu des travaux de la SIM", *GMO*, VIIIème année, 21 (Mars 1865), p. 186.

67 – A highly contagious disease of horses, mules and asses, caused by the *bacterium Malleomyces mallei* and characterized by fever, swelling of glands beneath the jaw and heavy mucous discharge from the nose. It can be passed to sheep, goats and man. *Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, deluxe edition, p. 405.

68 – *Giornale di Medicina veterinaria di Torino*, October-November 1860.

69 – "Bulletin", *Gazette Médicale de Constantinople*, publié par Société Impériale de Médecine de Constantinople, Vème année, 7 (Novembre 1861), p. 97-102; 8 (Nov. 1861), p. 113-114.

70 – "Bulletin", *GMO*, Vème année, 10 (Janvier 1862), p. 145-149, and *ibid.*, 12 (Mars 1862), p. 177-182.

terventions by Dr. Castaldi and Dr. Tian were in vain.[71] In the next issue of the bulletin, Castaldi reported on a communication from Prof. Boudin of the *Académie Impériale de Paris* on rabies, for which treatment was unknown at that time. He compared the similarities between this case with another from Zoeros Pasha's clinic at the Imperial Medical School. Although the disease's etiology, prognosis, and clinical symptoms were well-known[72] at that time (in the 1860s), it was still fatal and not medically preventable until Pasteur discovered a vaccine in 1885.

Castaldi published an interesting observation on puerperal fever. During a hard labour case in which he was being assisted by a midwife, he had to terminate the pregnancy due to the fatal symptoms of the expectant mother. But after the premature delivery, the patient's situation deteriorated when she showed signs of puerperal fever and peritonitis. The patient could be only saved after being administered quinine sulphate[73] to treat these symptoms.[74]

In a bulletin article in June 1864, he discussed the need to expand the smallpox vaccination program in Istanbul. He started by criticizing the existing social prejudices against vaccinations, and noted the lack of legislation on this issue in the Empire at that time. Castaldi praised the work of the Medical School and the Istanbul Municipality in producing serum and in vaccinating people for free at offices around the city. But he stated that such precautions were not sufficient to address the public need and that some people were unfortunately led to consult charlatans who deceived people by giving them pustules without variole. He called for the public to get vaccinated and announced that an *ad hoc* committee was being formed by the Society to open a vaccination office at its centre to contribute public health.[75]

Together with other Italian colleagues such as Drs. Mongeri, Bartoletti and De Castro, Castaldi worked on a commission to find a recipient for the Society's award (10,000 Ottoman piastres) on 'Leprosy in the East' (1864). This commission could not find a work that deserved the award and decided to give 5,000 piastres to a paper called "La lepra nell'isola di Creta". It is notable that the writer of this paper complained about the lack of autopsies due to social conservatism.[76]

Castaldi served on the editorial board of the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* together with Drs. Caretto, De Castro, Della Suda, Fauvel, Mongeri, Naranzi,

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71 – "Mémoires originaux: sur un cas de rage chez l'homme", *GMO*, VIIème année, 6 (Sept. 1863), p. 85-86.

72 – "Bulletin", *GMO*, VIIème année, 8 (Novembre 1863), p. 113-116,

73 – "Observation d'un cas de fièvre puerpérale...", *GMO*, VIIème année, 1 (Avril 1863), p. 24-26.

74 – *Quinine sulphate* had only antipyretical and analgesic effect, far from eradicating inflammation, ameliorating the case indirectly. Author's note.

75 – "Bulletin: la vaccination à Constantinople", *GMO*, VIIème année, 3 (Juin 1864), p. 33-38.

76 – "Mémoires originaux: rapport sur les concours...", *GMO*, VIIIème année, 1 (Avril 1864), p. 6-10.

Sarrell, Tian and Zennaro; and worked on the commission of public aid with Drs. Caratheodory and Stamatiades.[77]

We see Dr. Castaldi also as the health inspector of the Ottoman government in Tehran in 1870's. While he was working as the Ottoman health representative in Iran, plague broke out there in December 1873. A Board of Health was formed, consisting of Dr. Thozolan, five Persian medical officers, Sir J. Dickson (physician to British legation), Dr. Barker (medical officer of the telegraphic department), Dr. Koumansky (from Russian delegation) and Dr. Castaldi to fight the pestilence. This Board decided to halt movement and establish quarantines on the principal travel routes. Dr. Castaldi examined many cases and wrote a report, stating that he was certain that the disease had all the symptoms of plague.[78] This report was presented to the *Conseil Supérieur de Santé* in Constantinople (the quarantine organization composed of Ottoman officials and foreign representatives) and was published by the *Gazette*. This was a very detailed report, which included the topography of the region, described the epidemic, and information as well as on the nature, origin, and causes of the disease, its particularities, the progress of the epidemic, along with the population and mortality in each city. In conclusion, Dr. Castaldi remarked that this plague epidemic which also afflicted the region of Arab Iraq was very contagious, killing 1/20 of the region's population.[79]

He worked in Alexandria and in Beirut as an imperial health inspector. He died in his homeland, in Parma, Italy, in 1890.[80] Castaldi was recognized as a physician learned in contagious diseases such as cholera.[81] What marked his approach to infectious and contagious diseases was that he proposed and applied symptomatic (antiphlogistic) treatments such as bloodletting, applying leech, cataplasms, poultice, friction, dressing by vinegar etc. in accordance with contemporary medical understanding, at a time when the real pathological agents of diseases were still unknown, since the bacteriological revolution had not yet occurred. He stayed current, though, with latest scientific findings in Europe, specifically those of the Alfort School and Paris Academy of Medicine, to keep his scientific knowledge up to date.

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire has been a centre of intellectual and cultural exchange for ages between East and West. Italians are members of the oldest foreign community in Constantinople to form cross-cultural relationships with the local Ottoman residents

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77 – *Ibid.*, p. 10.

78 – F. Kashani-Sabet, "City of the dead", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. XVIII, 2, p. 53.

79 – "La Peste dans l'Irak-Arabi en 1873-1874", *GMO*, XIXème année, 5-6 (Août-Sept. 1875), p. 79-91.

80 – "Nécrologie", *GMO*, XXXIIIème année, 3 (15 Avril 1890), p. 46.

81 – Dr. Pardo, "Choléra-Prophylaxie", *GMO*, XXVIIème année, 4 (Juillet 1884), p. 61.

Italian doctors and other health officials made up an indispensable part of this relationship for centuries. They were effective in the introduction of European medicine into Turkey. Their role functioned decisively in parallel with the modernization movement of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. Italian health professionals, both immigrants from the peninsula and the sons of Italian families long resident in Ottoman lands, served the Ottoman state, filling important posts and reinforcing Italian influence over the Empire.

In conclusion, the writer agrees with the renowned Turkish novelist Halide Edib Adivar (1884-1964) who commented that "Turks and Italians share a common spirit and culture". The most important reason for this might be that they border a common sea: the mare nostrum.

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Appendix: Some Italians occupied in health affairs in 19th century Istanbul (a tentative list)

- Algardi
- Anino, Eduard
- Barozzi
- Bartoletti
- Belleli, Victor
- Boréléano
- Calleja, Antonius (pharmacist)
- Calleja, Pietro
- Canzuch, frères (Noel, François, Joseph: pharmacists)
- Carretto
- Castaldi, Gérolomo
- Castell, Christoforo
- Castro, A de
- Cozzonis, Michael
- Dellagrammatica
- Dellasudda, François (pharmacist)
- Dellasudda, Giorgio (pharmacist)
- Devoto
- Duka Pahsa
- Ferdinand Pasha, Grigor
- Gabuzzi
- Galenzi, Th.
- Giacomo di Gaeta (Hekim Yakup)
- Gipriani
- Gizi
- La Cava

- Lago, Antonius
- Madella (pharmacist)
- Marielli
- Mazzoni
- Messani, Mme (midwife)
- Mongeri, Luigi
- Ottoni
- Pezzoni
- Pizipio Mme (midwife)
- Remedelli
- Salvatori, Agostino
- Salvatori, Guiseppe (son)
- Senni, Guido
- Spadaro, Antonius
- Spadaro, Ignazio
- Spallanzani, Lazzoro
- Tassi, Goffredo
- Valli, Eusebio
- Violi
- Vuccino
- Zeri
- Zibold, Marie