

Charitable Women And Their Pious Foundations In The Ottoman Empire: The Hospital of The Senior Mother, *Nurbanu Valide Sultan*

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Summary

The understanding of mutual help and social solidarity underlies the institution of the *wakf*, pious foundation. This institution, with its social, economic, religious, legal and cultural contributions to human life, could maintain its existence from a distant past to the present. It has been satisfying a number of varied but crucial social functions. However, the *wakf* could embody its institutional identity as well as a robust legal framework under Islam more than any other religion. It became a well-established entity with its extensive functions penetrating almost in every realm of public life during Ottoman period.

In the Orientalist literature built on the Ottoman society, accounts are presented either with distortion or with exaggeration especially when the subject is the woman. In much of the Orientalist literature especially the seraglio, *harem*, is put under the limelight, and the woman is represented as nothing more than a sexual object, who is not entitled to any rights in society, and whose life amounts to sitting at home and bearing children. Quite on the contrary, however, studies conducted on the basis of archival documents show that the woman used to enjoy an active role and status in Ottoman society. For example, it comes to our knowledge that there were many women, especially royal women, among the founders of numerous *wakf* institutions. The present essay is a case study depicting just one of such institutions established by Nurbanu Valide Sultan. The *wakf*-by-law of the *darüşşifa* (hospital) to which Nurbanu Valide Sultan devoted a great deal of charity is elaborated in detail. The section on the hospital attached to the trust deed of Nurbanu Valide Sultan *Wakf*, which is registered in the General Directorate of Pious Foundations (with number 2113), *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*, is used as the primary source.

Key Words: Nurbanu, mother of the sultan, hospital, wakf (pious foundation)

Introduction: The Wakf Institution and Wakf-Founding Women in the Ottoman Empire

A *wakf* is the allotment of a property to the service of the community by its owner without being under any form of duress and with his or her own free will for the state of grace. There are a number of formal-legal conditions that the founder of a *wakf* has to meet, such as being mentally sane, being free (not a slave or legal minor), willing by heart, and doing the job for charity. A set of special terminology is used in Ottoman history concerning various elements of the *wakf*. The legal document on the basis of which a *wakf* is established is called *wakfiye* or *wakifname* (deed of trust of a pious foundation). The person who founds a *wakf* is called *vâkıf* (donor to a pious foundation). The properties or real estates allotted to the *wakf* are called *hayrat* (charities). The sources of re-

venues supporting the *wakf* services are called *akar* (the landed property of endowment of a pious foundation that yields revenues) (1). The deed of trust of a *wakf* includes detailed dispositions such as the aim of the foundation, the principles of its functioning, list of allotted properties, the qualities and salaries of the personnel to be employed in the *wakf* activities, upkeep and repair of the *wakf* buildings, the board of trustees to be responsible for the administration and running of the *wakf*, and rules of succession with a view to maintaining the juristic entity and corporate body of the foundation along posterity.

We encounter revealing directives that encourage the institutions of *wakf* and charity in the principal sources of Muslim canon law, namely, the *Qur'an* and the *hadith* (deeds and sayings of Prophet Muhammed that are lived up to and taken as example for practice by Muslim believers). Some of such directives include:

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Spend your wealth for the cause of Allah, and be not cast by your own hands to ruin; and do good. Lo! Allah loveth the beneficent Al-Baqara (2), 195;

The likeness of those who spend their wealth in Allah's way is as the likeness of a grain which groweth seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains. Allah giveth increase manifold to whom He will. Allah is All Embracing, All Knowing" Al-Baqara (2), 261; And each one hath a goal toward which he turneth; so vie with one another in good works. Wheresoever ye may be, Allah will bring you all together. Lo! Allah is Able to do all things" Al-Baqara (2), 148;

They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency, and vie one with another in good works. They are of the righteous" Al-Imran (3), 114 (2).

Similarly, one *hadith* of Prophet Muhammed reveals the following: "When a person dies, his deeds die with him, except three: *sadaka-i câriyye* (charitable endowments), beneficial knowledge, and righteous children who supplicate on his behalf" (3). The term *sadaka-i câriyye* here denotes *wakf*, according to Muslim theologians and jurists alike.

During the Ottoman period, many people, including the sovereign and his family in the first place, engaged themselves in making a lot of public improvements through the *wakf* institution, such as mosques, schools libraries, public kitchens to serve the poor and the destitute, medresses, caravanserais, arcades, fountains, roads, bridges, castles, picnic places, sea beacons, aqueducts, care houses for widowed and orphans, and kindergartens. Charity works, it is observed, extended far beyond the human realm, for every living creature was accepted as valuable. A number of *wakfs* was also established to feed birds in hard winter, to give bread to dogs, and to supply food to storks coming around (4). Besides these, *wakf* activities were also targeted to service-like works such as helping debtors settle their debts, manumission of slaves, prevention of cheating in shopping and similar transactions, compensation of pans and pots broken by servants to rid them of ill-treatment by their masters, helping poor girls in preparing their trousseau and sponsoring their wedding, raising funds for professionals who cannot work due to senility or any form of acquired handicap, supporting book-writing and publication, and meeting the urgent needs of prisoners (5). It also comes to our

knowledge that a substantial number of *wakfs* were established for service with some ritualistic stipulations such as repeated recitation of the Qur'an along the life of the founder, recitation of the Qur'an and the chanting of *mevlüt*, the Nativity Poem of the Prophet, after the death of the founder, of his or her children and grand-children. For example, according to the trust deed of the Zeynî Hatun (who was an Istanbulite) *wakf* established in 1558 a Qur'anic chapter was to be recited thrice a day for herself, twice for her daughter and one for her son, plus 1.5 *akçes* were to be paid to each *hafız* (reciter of the Qur'an by heart) daily (6).

The *wakf* institutions became so improved and extensive in the Ottoman Empire that one could fairly easily experience the whole series of important events of his life in them without any gap. The following epigrammatic saying became popular in society to describe this situation:

Thanks to *wakfs* a man may be born in a *wakf* house, sleeps in a *wakf* cradle, is nurtured with *wakf* food and drink, reads *wakf* books, teaches at a *wakf* medresse, receives his salary from a *wakf* administration, is put into a *wakf* coffin, and buried into a *wakf* cemetery when died (7).

The existence of women among *wakf* founders is as important as the *wakf* institution itself because this shows that the Ottomen woman could entitle themselves to property and had a crucial say in economic life (8). Of 30.000 *wakf* documents registered by the General Directorate of Pious Foundation in Ankara, 2309 belong to the institutions established by women. The full deeds of trust of 1044 *wakfs* among these could be preserved (9). According to the Shari'a Court Records of Ankara, of 151 *wakfs* established in the city, 43 belong to women, whereas in Edirne (Adrianople) 20 percent of the *wakfs* bear the names of women. What is more, 70 percent of the *wakfs* instituted by women in Edirne belong to the women from the strata of the commons (10). According to the land surveys of Istanbul conducted in 1546, 913 of the 2517 *wakfs* in the city were instituted by women. Furthermore, of the 491 public fountains survived until the 1930s all of which were constructed during the Ottoman period, 128 (%28) belonged to *wakfs* established by women (6).

The Concept of Valide Sultan (Mother of the Sovereign) in Ottoman History

Sultans' mothers are one of the most investigated subjects in Ottoman history with a view to elaborating their influences on sultans and especially on princes. The title of Valide Sultan in the Ottoman state was in effect and valid only during the reign of a son as sultan. The first woman who carried the title of Valide Sultan is Hafsa Sultan, the mother of Süleyman the Magnificent. From then on, only the mothers of sultans were given this title besides sultan's daughters. The sultanate of these ladies stems from their status as the mother of the reigning sultan. As a matter of fact, some mothers were called only *kadın efendi* (lady) for they had died before their sons were enthroned, but once the sons ascended power, their title was immediately turned into Valide Sultan (11). Besides this title, sultans' mothers were also given an old idiomatic name, *mehd-i ulya-yı saltanat* (mother of the sultan) (12).

The origins of *valide sultans* are not known for certain. The Ottoman sultans used to get married to daughters of Turkish dynasts and to Byzantine princesses, and keep a number of concubines called *odalıks* until the 16th century. The sultans had children born both by their legal wives and concubines. From the 16th century on, the Ottoman sultans began to adopt concubines as their wives, who had either grown up at the palace or had been submitted to them as gift. As of the 16th century, the practice of formal-legal marriage contract became exceptional. Only did Osman II (1618-1622) and Ibrahim break this tradition which had been in effect since the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). Osman married the daughter of Sheikhuislam Ebusaid Efendi with a formal contract, while Ibrahim took one of his concubines as his legal wife (13).

Valide sultans often used to have a hand in state affairs and influence the decisions taken by their sons. Especially when the sons became sultans in their legal minority, the mothers used to undertake the position of *naibelik* (regency). In such cases, the status of *valide sultan* used to gain a particular and paramount importance. *Valide sultans* had been overwhelmingly influential on the government, and caused an array of confusions in public affairs especially du-

ring the period which is known as the reign of women in Ottoman history. Among these *valide sultans*, especially Nurbanu Sultan, mother of Murat III (1574-1595), Safiye Sultan, mother of Mehmet, and Kösem Sultan, mother of Murat IV (1623-1640) and Ibrahim (1640-1648) came to the forefront and left their mark on this period of women's sultanate. Kösem Sultan, in particular, became, as it were, the sole absolute sovereign of both the *harem* (seraglio) and the state between 1623 and 1651. Dismissals from office, capital punishments, and even rebellions were conducted with her orders. Her reign finally came to an end when she was killed by the men of Turhan Sultan (12).

Nurbanu Valide Sultan and Her Hospital, Darüşşifa

The time of Nurbanu Valide Sultan corresponds to the late 16th century where the structure of the Ottoman dynasty as well as the relations between the members of the dynasty was undergoing a profound change. Most notable of these changes are the cessation of sending princes anymore to provinces as junior rulers to gain them experience as the prospective sultans and the beginning of a succession process where the oldest male member of the dynasty ascended the throne. The latter form of succession is called *ekberiyet* (the rule of the oldest), and can be seen as the equivalent of the primogeniture system that had for long been in practice in Europe (14). Furthermore, princes and their mothers devolved in this period the limited autonomy, to which they had been entitled previously, to the sultans and their mothers.

The favorite wife of Selim II and the first of great *valide sultans*, Nurbanu Sultan, was given the name of Cecelia Venier-Baffo when born. She was born as an illegitimate daughter of two noble families of Venice. Nurbanu Sultan was captured as slave by Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa, admiral-in-chief of the Ottoman navy, in 1537 when she was 12. She was sent to the palace of the sultan as slave (15). She was most probably a member of Selim's seraglio in 1543 when Selim left Istanbul to rule Konya which was an imperial principality at the time. Shortly after, she bore there a daughter as the first child of the prince. During the 23 years from the beginning of Selim's prin-

cely rule in Konya to his ascendance to the sultanate in 1566 when he was 42, a single son was born to him (Murat III). Nurbanu's status as the chief wife or the favorite wife was guaranteed even then with the announcement of her son as the heir to the throne after Selim. In the meantime, since her mother-in-law Hürrem Sultan had stayed in Istanbul and had not led her son's seraglio in the principality, this status was enjoyed by Nurbanu Sultan herself. This brought about great respect on her part. When Selim II succeeded to the throne in 1566, she also moved to Istanbul to lead the sublime seraglio. Upon her arrival in Istanbul, the Venetian ambassador at the time, Jacopo Soranzo, stated the following impression about her: "It is said that the chief wife is loved and respected very much by His Majesty for she is beautiful and extraordinarily clever". Nurbanu's credit as the chief wife continued even when Selim II began to select other favorites. The Venetian envoy in Istanbul, Andra Badoaro reported: "She is called *chassechi* [haseki], and she is loved very much by His Majesty" (16).

Preceding Nurbanu's death, the Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman palace, Paolo Contarini had stated: "all goods and evils are coming from the mother queen." When Nurbanu died in December 1583, the successor of Contarini reported the following:

The death of this woman upset some according to their vested interests while contented others. The great authority she enjoyed with her son had gained many people important profits, while on the contrary had eliminated the hopes of some for realizing their wishes. Nevertheless, everybody admits in general that she was an excessively good, courageous and erudite woman (16).

Nurbanu Sultan's great influence on state administration can best be observed in the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Venice which is at the same time her country of origin. When she learned Kılıç Ali Paşa's plan to invade Venice, who was the chief admiral of the imperial navy at the time, she sent a message commanding not to siege Venice under any circumstances for it could have brought more harm than benefit to the country of the sultan. Additionally, she warned the chief admiral not to mention at all such a possibility to Murat III. When Kılıç Ali Paşa dropped the written document containing his plot to siege Venice while he was entering the presence of

Murat III, one of the servants picked up the paper and gave it to him but he tore it to pieces and threw aside. He justified his act with the following words: "for *valide sultan* is against this, it is of no importance anymore" (16).

Nurbanu Sultan attracted great respect not only during her life but also after her death. As against the norm that sultans remained in the palace during the funeral procession, Murat III accompanied his mother's corpse, both walking and crying, up to the Fatih mosque where her burial service was to be read. The farthest sultanic mosque from the imperial palace, i.e., the Fatih Mosque, was assigned for the funeral rite. This choice not only enabled as many people as possible to give their blessing to the soul of Nurbanu Sultan but also maintained the extensive appreciation of this religious respect paid to her by the residents of the imperial capital. In the words of the historian Selaniki "all creation rushed to the mosque for funeral prayer. State officials and religious dignitaries were asked to visit the *valide sultan*'s tomb for forty days, and the Qur'an was recited continually during this period" (17).

The *Darüşşifa* (hospital), which constitutes the major concern of the present study, is an integral part of the mosque complex constructed by Mimar Sinan, the great Ottoman architect, under the auspices of Nurbanu Valide Sultan between 1570 and 1579. The mosque complex was formerly known as the *Valide Sultan Külliyesi*. However, when Gülnüş Valide Sultan, mother of Ahmet III, constructed a new complex at Üsküdar harbor square with the name of *Yeni Valide Külliyesi* (new mother's complex) Nurbanu and her complex was renamed relative to it as *Eski Valide, Atik Valide* or *Valide-i Atik* (Old Mother/Old Mother's Complex) (18).

This mosque complex was constructed by Mimar Sinan on a vast area. The component buildings in the complex were established on a number of successive and stepped flat levels. Buildings were constructed as the mosque, medrese, school, and the dervish lodge on two separate plains. To the west of these, on a lower flat level were erected the complex of buildings designed to meet social functions such as charity: The public bath is in the south. The *darü'l-hadis* (the house of hadith) medrese and the *darü'l-kurra* (the

house of the Qur'an) medresse nearby the buildings with social functions could not survive to this day. The complex of buildings erected in the west consists of the hospital, the printing house, the public kitchen for the poor, and the caravanserai. The mosque was constructed on a six-anchor or six-pillar plan, and then it was extended to the sideways with pairs of domes. According to the main axis taking the mosque as the center, the medresse takes place on the north. It was integrated to the complex crosswise along the coordinates of the street on its northern side. The street underlies the overhang of classroom with a wide and high arch. The mosque complex with its extensive social service buildings has served as a station for the caravans destined to Anatolia, and the moving armies (19). The *darüşşifa* was designed as a health institution within the bloc of these social service buildings. It was situated amid a two-tier rectangular courtyard surrounded by porticos behind which domed spaces lay (20).

After being established as an important component of the mosque complex, the *darüşşifa* has served, like other Ottoman *darüşşifas*, as a full-scale hospital. However, with wearing out of the building over time and due to lack of overhaul, only lunatics and other mental patients were admitted to this institution from the beginning of the 19th century onwards. It came to be known as Toptaşı Bimarhanesi (Toptaşı Lunatic Asylum). A psychiatrist of Italian origin, Dr. Mongeri, became the first physician-in-chief at the Toptaşı Lunatic Asylum. Male patients were placed in the *Darüşşifa* building which was turned into a mental hospital whereas female patients were admitted to the *Darü'l-hadis medresse*. The *Darüşşifa* building was used as the barracks for the cavalrymen of Selim III's (1789-1807) *Nizam-ı Cedit* (the new regular army), but when the Süleymaniye *Darüşşifa* was turned into prison cell for solitary confinement in the aftermath of a cholera epidemic that struck Istanbul, all of the mental patients in the city were moved here. Meanwhile, some large wards and dormitories were added to the main building. The building survived up to the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908 with the extensions adjoined to it in 1866, 1874, and 1881, respectively. As of the Second Constitution, there were 76 hospital attendants,

9 administrative incumbents, and 9 doctors at regular service. The annual budget of the *darüşşifa* was about 14.000 *akçes* at the time. It continued to deliver service until a new mental hospital was opened at Bakırköy in 1927 under the name of *Bakırköy Akliye ve Asabiye Hastanesi* (Bakırköy Mental and Nervous Diseases Hospital). From then on, lepers previously living in divestment at *Miskinler Tekkesi* (Leper Hospital) were moved here (20).

The landed properties that Nurbanu Valide Sultan devoted to the *darüşşifa* in her mosque complex are scattered over many corners of Istanbul, Rumelia, and Anatolia. Through the revenues remitted from these resources the treatments and needs of patients admitted to the *darüşşifa* were sponsored. A section specialized in the administration of revenues was also included in the *darüşşifa* premises.

Deed of Trust and Governing Statute of the Darüşşifa

The information given in the deed of trust of the mosque complex concerning its component of the *darüşşifa* and the qualifications of the personal hired in it is as follows:

Medical Services

2 Physicians: They are specialized in autopsy and anatomy are to be hired. These doctors are to be recruited from among medical professionals with extensive proficiency in medicine and anatomy. They are to be highly esteemed and reliable persons. They are to have supported their theoretical and scientific knowledge with extensive experience and surgical operations. They are to have perfected their expertise on the basis of handling difficult cases. They are to have mastered the mysteries and delicacies of their science. They are expected to have filled their hearts and minds entirely with scientific wisdom. They are to be ready to cope with encountering any cases thanks to their extensive knowledge. They are to give medicine to their patients with kindness and without scolding them. They are to be well-experienced in preparing medicine, and in deciding what doses of medicine shall be optimal according to the circumstances of patients, thus combining theory and practice in their profession. They are expected to abstain

from humbleness and laziness. They are to have taken all useful measures concerning the treatment of patients. Certainly, they are to avoid using laud and harsh words during their dialogue with patients. They are to treat every patient with tenderness and show respect to him or her as though he or she were their closest friend or relative. They are charged with casting the shadow of care, protection and conscience over their patients' heads, thus treating them most properly according to their circumstances. Each one of these doctors shall continually observe the patients, and record the conditions of these wretched and helpless people. They shall continually monitor their pulses, fever, and other indicators. They shall always ask the patients about their conditions and shall supply all possible facilities for their treatment. The doctor shall immediately see the patient again in case of emergency.

The doctors are obliged to comply with these written rules. They shall by no means be able to violate any of these principles, nor shall they neglect conforming to these stipulations. In case they show any negligence in their duties, the pay they receive shall be spoiled or canonically forbidden for them, plus they shall also incur eternal torment in the next world. One of the doctors is to be paid 25, and the other 15 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

2 Ophthalmologists: These two specialists shall be highly insightful in ophthalmology. They shall be skillful in discerning what is useful or harmful to the eye. They shall know well how to prepare pharmaceuticals. They shall have been of great celebrity among their peers with their good examination methods and experience. One of these shall be paid 5 *dirhems* (silver coins), and the other 4, per day.

2 Surgeons: They shall know the effects and chemical characteristics of pharmaceuticals so well that the ailment shall benefit from their medication to the extent that the corpse benefits from the soul. They shall also be skillful in preparing ointment for wounds plus they shall have good command of substances from which medicine is produced. They shall act with utmost feelings of benevolence and affection. They shall try, without being subject to any form of external influence, to carry out properly the service entrusted to them in return for the salary they are to

receive. One of these shall be paid 5 *dirhems*, and the other 4, per day.

2 Pharmacists: they shall be masterly in commanding substances out of which medicine is derived as well as in preparing medicated taffy and liquids. Each shall be paid 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

2 Attars (herbalists): two persons shall be hired here to pound and crush the pharmaceutical herbage and other raw materials. Each shall be paid 2 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

Administrative Services

1 Vekilharc (warden or major-domo): He shall certainly abstain from treachery, and shall safe-keep whatever entrusted to him. He shall buy the things needed by patients according to circumstances, and, while doing this, he shall try to buy them at the possible cheapest prices. He shall be devoted to and assiduous in performing his duties. He shall be paid 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

1 clerk: a clerk who is skillful in recording and accounting shall be hired in this hospital. He shall be able to respond easily and properly when a question is asked. He shall write down the things purchased by the major-domo for the hospital, and shall record the shopping done into the main notebook. He shall be paid 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

Kitchen Services

2 Cooks: These shall be competent of their job. They shall cook beneficial meals for patients in ways that a prudent doctor can rely on. They shall be very careful and meticulous in cooking meals that whet the patient's appetite, and shall be masterful in cooking them well and propitiously. 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) shall be paid to each per day.

Health, Cleaning and Other Services

4 hospital attendants or care-takers: These shall engage themselves in handling the necessary affairs of patients. They shall always appreciate and shall approach with respect to their situations. They shall look after them at any time, and shall never leave them alone during day times. They shall always be occupied with their services without getting tired

and reluctant. They shall give service to patients during nights as well, staying on duty two-by-two on alternating nights. 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) shall be given to each per day.

2 laundrymen: these shall wash the patients' clothing, mattresses, and quilts. They shall clean any dirt, rust, stain and the like pertaining to patients or to their objects. They shall be paid 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) each, per day.

1 sweeper: he shall be charged with sweeping the places that need to be done so, and with doing other cleaning works. He shall be paid 1 *dirhem* (silver coin) per day.

1 stoker of bath: he shall be responsible to prepare the bath for patients, heat the water, help the patients in taking bath, and handle their other needs. He shall be paid 2 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

1 bowl carrier: he shall be used in bringing in and taking away of bowls when necessary. He shall be paid 1 *dirhem* (silver coin) per day.

2 bottle carriers or dispensers of medicine: they shall oversee the medication of patients and dispense the prescribed doses of medicine to them. They shall work on a full-time basis during day times, and each one shall be on duty alternately during nights. Each shall be paid 3 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

1 butler or storekeeper: he shall be charged with safekeeping the store of the hospital. He shall be responsible to put in and take out of the store the required materials. He shall keep the inventory of the objects kept in the store. He shall be given 4 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

1 imam (prayer leader): he shall lead the servants, and patients who start recovering from illness in their daily prayers and worship in the place reserved to that end. He shall be paid 4 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

1 muezzin (one who calls Muslims to prayer by reciting the *edan*): he shall be in charge of calling the people at the hospital to the loftiest of ritual worships by reciting the *edan* at times of prayer. He shall be given 2 *dirhems* (silver coins) per day.

In addition to these principles and dispositions, the trust deed of the *darüşşifa* also stipulates that 200

dirhems (silver coins) be spent daily for medicine, medicated taffy, food, drink and the like. Expenses shall by no means be cut for such needs. It also stipulates that the drinks and medicated taffy which remain in excess be dispensed to those who ask for them from without the hospital. Besides Fridays on which regular donation of medicine is carried out, the hospital shall give the drinks and medicated taffy in excess to exterior demanders with the informed consent of two doctors who are clearly convinced that the demands are based on necessity and treatment purposes.

Conclusion

Wakfs are one of the institutions that constitute the backbone of Ottoman society. Nearly all societal needs were met by way of instituting *wakfs*. In *wakf* institutions, the legal stipulations and principles laid down by the founders were generally well abode by. Among the people to whose names *wakfs* were designated stand persons from all sectors of society including, first and foremost, the sultan and his family. The number of women who instituted *wakfs* is as important as not to be neglected. Women from all social strata, from royal sultans occupying the highest echelon of society to ordinary women living in a small Anatolian borough have contributed in varying degrees to the founding and running of *wakfs*. Women of the Ottoman dynasty, at whose disposal there were naturally immense revenues, have established *wakf* complexes in Istanbul as well as in many settlements of Anatolia, thus giving service to wider areas and sectors of the empire in proportion to their command of material resources.

According to the trust deed of Nurbanu Valide Sultan's pious foundation and the *darüşşifa* as an integral part of it, which have been highlighted as the major concern of the present study, highly qualified and specialized staff were employed in these institutions. The personnel who were at the service of patients were required to have the utmost mastery, expertise and experience in their job. They were also expected to have improved the highest ethical, behavioral, and attitudinal concerns in their relations with patients besides their professional perfection. As the *darüşşifa* of Nurbanu Valide Sultan exemplifies, it

can be clearly observed that hospitals in particular and the *wakf* institutions encompassing them in general were directed to function as service-receiver-centered entities rather than giving priority to the interests of service givers or administrative staff.

From a sociological perspective, it is quite discernible that the Ottoman *wakfs* and their major components such as the *darüşşifa*s were highly reflective of the ethos and structural patterns of pre-industrial societies where institutional life was based on the principle of integration or at least of co-existence rather than on that of social differentiation on the part of multiple functions belonging to diverse realms unlike in modern societies.

First of all, it is well discernible that more technical and in a way more scientific methods of surgery, autopsy and anatomy in the modern sense were applied in coherence with more dubious or superstitious ways of popular healing such as herbalism and other folk remedies. Secondly, religious services were officially

sponsored and conducted almost in equal terms and importance with medical and healthcare services. Patients are also able to perform their ritual prayers in most modern hospitals but this takes place on a rather personal and informal level. Thirdly, the resources of the *darüşşifa* were also dispensed to externals according to their availability in excess after the needs of patients were fully met. In modern hospitals only those who have officially registered and paid the bill as patients or customers can utilize the services and materials submitted. Thus, the Ottoman *wakf* institutions, and particularly their *darüşşifa* branches have tended to combine a variety of diverse realms and functions including medical, religious, social, and charity services. With such characteristics, the Ottoman *wakf* life was a composite or synthetic system diverging severely from the so-called purely secular as well as purely religious institutions of modern times. Regarding its religious characteristics, the Ottoman *wakf* life was also aloof from today's fundamentalist understandings that are based on religious rigidity and obsession. If it resemb-

TABLE 1

Distribution of Staff and Their Daily Salaries at Nurbanu Valide Sultan's Darüşşifa*		
Categories of Staff	Number of Staff	Daily Pay
Physicians	2	15;25
Ophthalmologist	2	4;5
Surgical operator	2	4;5
Mejor-domo	1	3
Clerk	1	3
Hospital attendant/care-taker	4	3
Pharmacist	2	3
Cook	2	3
Laundryman	2	3
Herbalist	2	2
Sweeper	1	1
Bath attendant	1	2
Bowl-carrier	1	1
Bottle-carrier/dispenser of medicine	2	3
Butler	1	4
Prayer leader	1	4
Muezzin	1	2

* Wages were being paid in *dirhem* (silver coin). In 1624, 1 *dirhem* was equal to 10 *akçes*. Asım Yediyıldız, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Yıldırım Külliyesi ve Ulucami* (The Yıldırım Complex and Ulucami From Its Foundation to Present Day), (Bursa: Uludag University, 1995), Phd dissertation: 120.

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