

Journal of Ottoman Civilization Studies

e-ISSN: 2458-9519



Forty-Eight Years in Ottoman Service: General Inspector of Quarantines Dr Bartoletti Efendi and His Activities [1840-1888]

Osmanlı Hizmetinde Kırk Sekiz Yıl: Karantinalar Umum Müfettişi Dr Bartoletti Efendi ve Faaliyetleri [1840-1888]

MAKALE BILGISI

ARTICLE INFO

Araştıma Makalesi Research Article

Sorumlu yazar: Corresponding author:

Özgür Yılmaz

Samsun Üniversitesi oyilmaz1978@hotmail.com

Başvuru / Submitted:

20 Şubat 2024

Kabul / Accepted:

14 Nisan 2024

DOI: 10.21021/osmed.1440302

Atıf / Citation:

Yımaz, Ö. "Forty-Eight Years in Ottoman Service: General Inspector of Quarantines Dr Bartoletti Efendi and His Activities (1840-1888)", Osmanlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi, 21 (2024): 283-312.

Benzerlik / Similarity: 8

Abstract

Foreign specialists were employed in the Ottoman Empire's health services, particularly during the 18th century onwards. The Ottomans required international cooperation to implement reforms to combat epidemics during the global epidemics of the 19th century. As a result, many foreign physicians joined the Ottoman medicine service. Therefore, numerous foreign physicians began serving with the central health organization in Istanbul and the quarantine units established in the provinces. Some physicians made significant contributions to the Ottoman sanitary administration through their positions, time in Ottoman service, and activities. Dr Bartoletti, who was born in Istanbul in 1808, was one of these specialists. After medical education in Italy, he started his Ottoman service as a quarantine doctor and became a member of the Sanitary Council. He also represented the Ottoman Empire at the international medical conferences held in Paris, Istanbul and Vienna and performed important duties in Ottoman sanitary affairs during his forty-four years of service. By examining Dr Bartoletti's activities between 1840 and 1888, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature on this field.

Keywords: Tanzimat Period, Epidemics, Sanitary Council, Dr Bartoletti, Sanitary Conferences.

Öz

Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancı uzmanların istihdam edildiği alanlardan birisi de sağlık hizmetleri olmuştur. 18. yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan bu istihdam sürecinde 19. yüzyılın küresel salgınları karşısında Osmanlılar salgınlarla mücadelede uygulamaya koyduğu reformlar için uluslararası işbirliğine ihtiyaç duymuş ve bu da pek çok yabancı hekimin Osmanlı tıbbının hizmetine girmesini sağlamıştır. Böylece İstanbul'daki merkezi sağlık örgütünden taşralarda tesis edilen karantina birimlerine kadar pek çok yabancı hekim hizmet vermeye başlamıştır. Bu hekimlerden bazıları bulundukları görevler, Osmanlı hizmetinde bulundukları süre ve yapmış oldukları faaliyetler açısından Osmanlı sıhhiye idaresinde önemli hizmetler ortaya koymuşlardır. 1808'de İstanbul'da doğan Dr Bartoletti de bu uzmanlardan biri olarak İtalya'da aldığı tıp eğitiminden sonra karantina hekimi olarak başladığı Osmanlı hizmetinde karantina Meclisi üyeliğine kadar yükselmiş ve Osmanlı Devleti'ni Paris, İstanbul ve Viyana'da toplanan uluslararası sıhhiye konferanslarında temsil eden yüzü olmuştur. Dr Bartoletti kırk dört yıllık hizmetinde Osmanlı sıhhiye işlerinde önemli vazifeler icra etmiştir. Bu çalışma Dr. Bartoletti'nin 1840-1888 yılları arasındaki görevlerine ışık tutarak konu ile alakalı mevcut literatüre katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tanzimat Dönemi, Salgın Hastalıklar. Meclis-i Sıhhiye, Dr Bartoletti, Sıhhiye Konferansları.



Introduction

During the first half of the 19th century, with the establishment of sanitary organisations both in the capital and in the provinces, preventive health practices against epidemics spread through the Ottoman Empire. Within this period international cooperation and the activities of foreign physicians were quite remarkable. Cholera epidemics between 1831 and 1833 necessitated the Ottomans to take new measures as quarantine in the Bosphorus. The Ottoman Empire was a bridge transmitting infectious diseases to the West, especially in the Balkans and the Arabian Peninsula. After the first quarantine practises a sanitary council was organised on the subject. The delegates of foreign states, who were experts in sanitary affairs, should also be included there and this council thus attained an international character. On the other hand, this co-operation was very important for the Ottoman Empire, which lacked competent and sufficient sanitary personnel at this time. These foreign physicians who took part in the Sanitary Council, which was the sole authority in determining Ottoman sanitarian policies, not only managed the Ottoman health organisation, but also performed an important function in the adoption of modern European medicine. ¹

The main duties of the council were to determine issues such as the establishment of quarantines, the supply of necessary personnel and the tax tariffs to be applied in quarantines. Subsequently, it was decided to establish quarantine units in the provinces in order to effectively combat epidemics in this process. Established to protect public health and prevent the spread of disease by controlling it where it occurs, the number of these units increased to 57 in 1849.² As for the administrative structure, the quarantines were to be under the administration of a Muslim director and a European physician, who could employ the necessary auxiliary staff according to the importance of the service provided. The European physicians were responsible for the enforcement of the quarantine rules and the necessary observations.³ They were also obliged to prepare a report every 15 days containing the personal information of the deceased, the causes of death and the general health status of the working area and to submit it to the central administration.⁴ Therefore, many physicians, mostly Italian, Prussian and Austrian, came to the Ottoman country to serve in the provinces. Some of these physicians faced serious difficulties, but they performed important services in terms of public health and their services led to their promotion in the Ottoman sanitary administration. One of them was the Italian physician Etienne Gregoire Bartoletti, known as "Bartoletti Efendi" in Ottoman sources.5

¹ Daniel Panzac, "Tanzimat et sante publique les debuts du conseil sanitaire de l'Empire Ottoman," *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992), 328; Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in İstanbul*, trans. M. İnanç Özekmeçi (İstanbul: İstanbul University Press, 2010), s. 23.

² Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997), 310-311; Daniel Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba (1700-1850)*, trans. Serap Yılmaz (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 220-232.

³ Yeşim Işıl Ülman, "Gazette Médicale de Constantinople ve Tıp Tarihimizdeki Önemi" (PhD Diss. İstanbul Üniversitesi Sağlık Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 1999), 112-115.

⁴ "Instructions pour les médecins employés dans le service sanitaire de l'empire Ottoman," Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN), Constantinople (Ambassade), Série E, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464. (This fund will hereinafter be referred to as "CADN, Question Sanitaire").

⁵ It is quite difficult to trace the documents related to Dr Bartoletti in the Ottoman archival documents, as the document summaries show that his name is spelt in many different spellings such as "Bantolethi, Partoni, Partonis, Bartoleti, Bartoloti, Portoleni, Bartoliti, Partolitu, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartoliti, Bartolethi, Bartoliti,

Dr Bartoletti was born in Constantinople in 1809 and lost his father at a young age. His mother later destined him for the priesthood and sent him to study at the seminary in Naples. After several years of serious study, he returned to Constantinople before being admitted to the priesthood. Changing his vocation, he returned to Naples and studied medicine at the university there. Returning to Constantinople at the end of 1839, he applied for a position in the Ottoman Sanitary Administration,⁶ and at the beginning of 1840 obtained the post of sanitary physician in Cavalla.⁷ In the petition to Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, Bartoletti stated that he had served as a as a "native of Istanbul" and "loyal subject of the Sultan" since his entry into the Ottoman sanitary service, which had been under British patronage for some time. However, Bartoletti linked his loyalty to the Ottoman Empire not only to his birth in Istanbul but also to the memories of his father, Dr Bartoletti, in Istanbul. In fact, he had been employed as the chief physician in the Nizam-i Cedid Army and had performed important duties.⁸ In this way, Bartoletti Efendi, who continued his father's profession, returned to Istanbul and his request for a post was accepted by the Ottoman government at a time that there was a great need for foreign physicians.

1. From Quarantine Physician to Sanitary Inspector: The Early Periods of Ottoman Service

Dr Bartoletti's first post in the empire was the Cavalla quarantine. It is highly probable that Bartoletti's appointment at the Cavalla quarantine in 1840 led to the establishment of this quarantine unit. By his early reports from Cavalla, the administration noticed his exceptional qualities, congratulated him on them and, a year later, entrusted him with a new mission that was as delicate as it was difficult at the time, to travel successively to Gülek Boğazı, Konya, Payas and Adana to organise the preventive service against the plague from Syria. This mission, where he had to fight against many difficulties, ended at the end of December 1841. On his return to İstanbul, the Sanitary Council entrusted him with the health inspectorate of the province of Erzurum a few months later. December 1841.

The appointment came after outbreak of plague in the Eastern Anatolia. The plague lasted until 1842 and caused considerable damage to the region. The plague, which initially affected the area around Erzurum, later reached the city and began to claim victims, causing around twenty five deaths a day. According to physicians, this situation was caused by the failure of local administrators to take the necessary measures and the movements of Kurdish tribes that could not be controlled. In May 1842, following the re-emergence of the disease, the Ottoman sanitary administration agreed

⁶ Étienne Tunda, "Feu Bartoletti Effendi," *Stamboul*, 29 May 1895, 1-2; Tomas Terziyan and Seref Etker. "Türkiye Tıp Tarihinin Latince Kaynakları: Dissertatio Inauguralis Medica De Peste Orientali,... Marcus Marchand, Constantinopolitanus (1831)," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 24/2 (2023): 280-281; "Stefano Bartoletti," <u>Stefano BARTOLETTI: Family tree by marmara2 - Geneanet</u> (accessed 18.07.2023); Yeşim Işıl Ülman, "Portraits of Italians in health affairs in 19th century Istanbul: Dr. Castaldi, Pharmacist A. Calleja, Midwife Messani," *Quaderni di Oriente Moderno* 88/6 (2008): 139; According to Ahmed Mithat Efendi, Bartoletti Efendi was born in Istanbul in 1808 as the son of Dr Bartoletti of Naples, who was in the service of Sultan Selim III. See Ahmed Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina Yani Usûl-i Tahaffuzun Tarihçesi," trans. Abdullah Köşe, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 5/1 (2003): 103.

⁷ Tunda, "Bartoletti Effendi," 1; BOA, *Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi (HR. SYS)*, 789/2, 8 July 1869; BOA, *Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası (HR. TO)*, 451/79, 8 July 1869.

⁸ BOA, HR. SYS, 789/2, 8 July 1869.

⁹ Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisi'nin Kuruluşu," 362-369.

¹⁰ Tunda, "Bartoletti Effendi," 1.

to send a new sanitary officer to Erzurum¹¹ and preferred Dr Bartoletti as "a qualified official" to carry out this difficult task. Dr Bartoletti achieved considerable success in this mission with Dr Wagner, which began in mid-1842, and ensured that the plague was brought under control in the region. 12 Based on his observations in Erzurum, he pointed out how the plague spread in the reports he sent to the Sanitary Council and determined that the disease was spread by those who left the villages where it had appeared. Interestingly, his reports also revealed the public attitude towards the measures taken against the plague in the region.¹³ He personally visited the places where the plague was effective and made examinations. He took some precautions, moved the patients to a separate place, evacuated the houses, fumigated them and soaked the suspected belongings of the villagers in water. In this way, he firstly stopped the epidemic in the village, and later was able to control the plague in the region by applying similar measures in other villages he visited. 14 Dr Bartoletti's eastern mission was also helped to organise the quarantine offices in the province. It was decided to appoint a general director of quarantine and an inspector physician in Erzurum, to be responsible for following the developments not only in the city but also in the sanitary conditions of the whole province. In terms of his powers, this inspector physician was responsible for regular correspondence with the quarantines of Oltu, Kars, Van and Bayezid in the province, as well as making inspection trips to the province when necessary and informing the Sanitary Council.¹⁵

Here above all Dr Bartoletti's reports established in the eyes of the Sanitary Council the breadth and accuracy of his organisational views and marked him out as an elite civil servant capable of accomplishing what might have put off many others. He was in charge of this department until the beginning of 1845, when he returned to Constantinople, where he was given the eminent post of "Sanitary Inspector General" which the council created almost for him, so that he could use the invaluable talents he had demonstrated in a wider sphere. So, it can be said that his mission was a "preparatory phase" for a more comprehensive inspections to be carried out in the future.

2. The Second Eastern Mission: The Establishment of a New Sanitary Cordon in the East

It is understood that Dr Bartoletti's work in Erzurum helped him both to shine in the Ottoman sanitary administration and to rise in his position. Thus, he was appointed to the Sanitary Council in 1846 as one of the physicians working with Leval, Marchand and MacCarthy.¹⁷ Because his experience especially in quarantines was very important in this period when the Ottoman quarantines were subjected to a new and comprehensive organisation. In fact, quarantines, which were established as important institutions against plague epidemics, could not perform the same

¹¹ Ségur-Dupeyron, Mission en Orient: rapport adressé à Son Excellence le ministre de l'agriculture et du commerce (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1846), 49; Esat Aktaş, "Erzurum ve Trabzon Vilayetlerinde Salgın Hastalıklar (1838-1914)" (Phd Dissertation, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2015), 41.

¹² Ségur-Dupeyron, Mission en Orient, 49.

¹³ Emine Melek Atabek, *1851'de Paris'te Toplanan I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı ve Türkler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1974), 23.

¹⁴ Ségur-Dupeyron, Mission en Orient, 49-52.

¹⁵ Ségur-Dupeyron, Mission en Orient, 115-120; Panzac, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba, 229-230.

¹⁶ Tunda, "Bartoletti Effendi," 1.

¹⁷ CADN, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, İstanbul, 9 October 1848; Atabek, I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı, 110.

protective role against cholera. In this respect, the factor that would take Dr Bartoletti to the East once again was the cholera epidemic that broke out again in the Ottoman country in 1846.

Cholera produced its main effect between 1829 and 1851, in the "second pandemic period". 18 Originated in India, the disease progressed westwards through different routes in 1831 and 1846, and caused many deaths in the empire. The Ottoman quarantine organisation did not prevent the spread of cholera. Therefore, the functionality and usefulness of the quarantines was a subject of constant debate throughout the 1840s. Due to the lack of personnel employed in the quarantines and the scarcity of revenue sources, significant problems were encountered in the administration of these units, and as a solution, only the quarantines in the coastal towns were maintained in operation and the others were abolished or the number and salaries of the officers were reduced. 19 Therefore, a serious inspection process was commenced for the quarantines in 1849. These inspections revealed that there were many deficiencies in the Ottoman quarantine units, both in terms of organisation and personnel. 20

The Sanitary Council initiated a project in 1848 for the quarantine stations located there against the epidemics coming from Iran and decided to establish twelve new health stations in important cities along the line from Batum to Basra and in places where caravan traffic passed along the Ottoman-Russian and Iranian borders.²¹ This new line was to start from Batumi, and run to Basra via Ardahan, Kars, Bayezid, Van, Bitlis, Mosul, Sulaymaniyah, Hanekin, Mandeli and Baghdad.²² The Sanitary Council selected Dr. Batoletti and assigned him to establish the new quarantine line. Hacı Ratip Efendi was also appointed as the director in charge of this task.²³ As part of this assignment, Dr Bartoletti was envisaged to stay in Baghdad for at least one year.²⁴ The inspection committee left Istanbul in October 1848 and went directly to Baghdad, to examine the feasibility of the project. The first problem that the inspection mission encountered was the bad behaviour and incompetence of the staff working in the Baghdad quarantine. In addition, the inspectors encountered many obstacles from the local authorities in the process of improving the service of the quarantine. In Mosul also there were serious problems in the quarantine administration. Therefore, the commission dismissed some officials and issued warnings to others.²⁵

The inspectors succeeded in establishing a lazaretto and an administration in Baghdad. Then they left Baghdat and travelled towards the border and found that the uncontrollable movements of the Kurdish tribes and especially the uncertainty on the Ottoman-Iranian border was an important factor in the planned line. Another obstacle was the transport of thousands of corpses by Iranian caravans at certain times of the year. Dr Bartoletti emphasized that a quarantine under these circumstances would not be an effective measure and that the problem could be solved either by completely banning the transport of corpses or by accepting them only under certain conditions.

¹⁸ Robert Pollitzer, "Cholera Studies," Bulletin of the World Health Organization 10/3 (1954): 421-461.

¹⁹ CADN, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 20 June 1849.

²⁰ CADN, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 16 August 1848.

²¹ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 15 June 1848; Antoine Fauvel, "Creation de postes sanitaires sur la frontière turco-persane (7 Juin 1848)," *Recueil de travaux du Comité d'hygiène publique en France* (Paris: Librairie J. B. Bailliere, 1882), 2: 3-4.

²² CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 15 June 1848.

²³ Journal de Constantinople. Écho de l'Orient, 9 October 1848.

²⁴ CADN, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 15 June 1848.

²⁵ Fauvel, "Creation de postes sanitaires sur la frontiere turco-persane (5 Mai 1849)," Recueil de travaux, 21-23.

Besides, European physicians should be assigned to the main cities of Iran such as Tehran, Tabriz, Isfahan and Shiraz, a quarantine period of three or five days should be set for passengers and goods on the Ottoman-Iranian border; a specific method should be determined regarding the burial of cadavers brought to the Ottoman side, and additional powers should be given to quarantine units during periods of disease. In this way, the spread of epidemics to the Ottoman country could have been prevented.²⁶

His second eastern mission lasted for two years. It is understood that Dr Bartoletti was in the region until July 1850²⁷ and tried to determine how the diseases spread to the Ottoman country. He returned his position in the Sanitary Council and was elected as a member of an important commission at a time when the sanitary conference was beginning in Paris. The council assigned a commission of its important members the task of drafting a "*Penal Code of Sanitary Affairs*" to be valid throughout the empire. This commission prepared a sanitary code in July 1851 and presented it to the Sanitary Council.²⁸ In this way, the long years he spent in the Ottoman quarantine administrations and the experience made Dr Bartoletti the most reasonable candidate to represent the Ottoman Empire at international sanitary conferences.

3. The Beginning of Missions Abroad: The First International Sanitary Conference in Paris (1851)

Cholera had a significant impact on the establishment of international cooperation against epidemic diseases. The first International Sanitary Conference was organised in Paris on 23 July 1851 to prevent the spread of the cholera, to overcome the problems encountered in the implementation of modern quarantines and to determine a general quarantine duration to be applied jointly by each country.²⁹ Therefore, efforts to reduce the long and unnecessary quarantine periods were at the forefront in the organisation of the conference.³⁰ Participant states were represented by diplomats and physicians. The issue of combating epidemics such as plague, cholera and yellow fever, which aroused panic among the people and required many measures for protection, was discussed. The Consul General of Paris, Gustave Halphen, represented the Ottoman Empire at this conference for political matters, and Dr Bartoletti, as the "Sanitary Inspector General" for sanitary decisions. ³¹ At the beginning of the conference, however, the Ottoman Empire was represented only by Halphen. Before leaving İstanbul, a special meeting was organised for the instructions to be given to Dr Bartoletti and he was advised to be cautious about the interests and opinions of the Ottoman government.³² He was allocated 2,500 piasters for travelling to Paris³³ was able to attend the conference four months late because he was able to leave Istanbul on 15 September.³⁴ Before

²⁶ Recueil de travaux, 44-52.

²⁷ Journal de Constantinople. Écho de l'Orient, 18 July 1850.

²⁸ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Aupick, Constantinople, 20 March 1850.

²⁹ Daniel Panzac, "Pratiques anciennes et maladies nouvelles: la difficile adaptation de la politique sanitaire au XIXe siècle," *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 10/1-2 (1998): 60.

³⁰ Atabek, I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı, 23-24.

³¹ BOA, Hariciye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemi Evrakı (HR. MKT), 42/24, 28 Ra 1268 (21 January 1852).

³² CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to La Valette, 23 January 1852.

³³ BOA, Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi Nezaret ve Devair Yazışmaları Evrakı (A. MKT. MHM), 36/34, 12 Za 1267(8 September 1851)

³⁴ *Journal de Constantinople. Écho de l'Orient*, 19 September 1851.

his arrival in Paris the committees took decisions on many vital issues in the sessions, so Dr Bartoletti complained that the Ottoman side could not be sufficiently effective in these decisions.³⁵

Dr Bartoletti attended the session of the conference on 2 October 1851 for the first time. Gustave Halphen, was replaced by Dr Bartoletti, who was thought to be better able to negotiate the issues due to his expertise in health affairs. After this delay, he stated in the first session that he had attended the conference late due to some force majeure, but that he was pleased to attend the sessions where quarantines and public health issues in the Ottoman Empire were discussed. In this session, he wished to present to the commission the measures taken by the Ottomans against the spread of diseases and requested the postponement of the approval of Article 7 of the conference programme on measures to be taken against diseases. His request was accepted. In the following sessions, he played a very active role and announced the sanitary measures taken by the Ottoman Empire to the international public opinion and carried out an active function in the commissions established here. In the forty-eight meetings that followed, he almost determined the agenda of the conference. The conference of the conference of the conference.

In the session held on 4 October 1851, Dr Bartoletti focused on the Ottoman quarantines and stated that the Ottomans did not have any experience when cholera once again entered the country from the Iranian border in 1847, and that the council did not dare to enter the "sanitary cordon procedure". Therefore, the measures taken by the Sanitary Council against the spread of cholera did not work and the epidemic reached Istanbul. After explaining the measures against cholera that the council deemed appropriate to be implemented in 1850 and his experience in this regard, he then focused on the quarantine line from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, and stated that with the completion of the line passengers and goods coming from India, which also caused the spread of cholera, could be kept under control. Noting that he had supervised nearly two years of work on this line, he particularly focused on the entry routes of cholera to Turkey and the measures to be taken by the state in this regard. In addition, in the session held on 25 November 1851, he emphasised that "the Ottoman quarantines and the Sanitary Council had achieved significant results in five years and that the plague had been brought under control." "38"

After six months of work of different commissions and forty-eight sessions, 137 articles of international sanitary regulations were published in accordance with the decisions of the conference which ended on 19 January 1852. However, this regulation was signed only by three of twelve participating states. In this respect, the conference is considered to have failed in terms of its objectives due to some legal, scientific and political reasons.³⁹ From the Ottoman's perspective, this conference was an important turning point in terms of announcing the steps taken by the Ottomans in the field of public health to the international communities by a competent physicians. During the in Paris, Dr Bartletti was awarded the *Croix de la Légion d'honneur* by the French president.⁴⁰

³⁵ BOA, HR. TO, 70/111, 7 October 1851.

³⁶ Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Paris le 27 juillet 1851 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1852), 2-3; Atabek, I. Milletlerarasi Sağlık Konferansı, 43, 110.

³⁷ Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Tarihi Kolera Salgınları ve Osmanlı Türkleri," *İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17/2 (1954), 297; Ahmed Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 108-109.

³⁸ Procès-verbaux de la Conférence Sanitaire Internationale ouverte à Paris le 27 Juillet 1851, 14-15.

³⁹ Atabek, I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı, 98-117.

⁴⁰ Journal de Constantinople. Écho de l'Orient, 19 March 1852.

4. A Medical Authority in Istanbul: Membership of the Sanitary Council and the Benghazi Inspectorate

Dr Bartoletti returned to Istanbul in mid-March and was elected as a member of the commission chaired by Leval on the international sanitary convention to be adopted between the Ottoman Empire and Austria in 1853, and took part in the preparation of a 19-article draft convention in May 1853. ⁴¹ However, there is no detailed information about his activities for six years until 1858, when he was sent to Benghazi to investigate the plague epidemic there. Nevertheless, there were two very important developments for Dr Bartoletti during this period. First of all, he became one of the primary members of the Sanitary Council where he had previously been an officer, and secondly, as one of the founding members of the *Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane*, he started to take part in the editorial board of the *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, the organ of the society.

In 1854 Istanbul was hit by a new cholera epidemic. This time it was the allied French soldiers who carried the disease to Istanbul by sea. Appeared in Davutpaşa Barracks in February 1854, cholera then spread to British and Ottoman soldiers, and from there to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who were in contact with the military units, and gradually to the city. 42 The epidemic continued to be effective in 1855, when the transfer of allied troops to Istanbul continued, and lasted until October 1856. During this epidemic period, deaths among the local population were not very high, and only the places in contact with the French troops, had more victims of cholera. As a precaution, the hospitals were evacuated and those infected with cholera were placed in the open air in the Maslak plains. In this way, the centres of infection were removed from the middle of the city and the epidemic was prevented from reaching larger dimensions.⁴³ The Sanitary Council took measures to prevent the spread of the epidemic, such as prohibiting burials in the city centre, cleaning the garbage and dirty water in the streets, and recommending not to eat fruits and vegetables that increase the effect of the disease. During these epidemics, Dr Bartoletti, one of the most experienced physicians of the council, probably took part in the sanitary works in Istanbul. Likewise, in the post-war period, he continued to take part in the commissions formed on sanitary issues. On 29 January 1856, he was appointed as a principal member of the council and continued his work.⁴⁴ In 1856, upon the application of the British Embassy, he served in the commission established to make changes in the quarantine practices for the ships in the service of the allied army in the Crimean War and took part in the commission established to determine the quarantine tariffs in the Ottoman Empire. 45 In 1858, he was elected as a member of a commission formed at the request of the Austrian government regarding the Austrian steamers travelling on the Danube. 46

The year 1856 was also an important year for Dr Bartoletti in terms of his participation in the establishment of the Imperial Medical Society (*Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane*). The foundation of the society was laid when the physicians and surgeons who came to Istanbul with the allied armies during the Crimean War came together in February 1856 to discuss the sanitary problems arising

⁴¹ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to La Valette, Pera, 20 June 1853.

⁴² Ahmet Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 110.

⁴³ Luici Mongeri, "Étude sur l'épidémie de choléra qui a règne à Constantinople, III," *Gazette Médicale d'Orient (GMO)*, IXme Année, Juillet 1866, Nr. 4, 53-54.

⁴⁴ Ahmet Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 103.

⁴⁵ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 464, Fauvel to Thouvenel, Pera, 2 January 1856; *Rapport de la Commission chargée par le Conseil de santé de proposer la modification du tarif des droits sanitaires de l'Empire Ottoman*, (Constantinople, 1856).

⁴⁶ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465, 19 September 1856.

from the war and to exchange information. The Society started also to publish a newspaper called *Gazette Médicale d'Orient* in April 1857, where the minutes of the meetings of the society, medical articles written by physicians working in the Ottoman Empire, scientific articles taken from European medical journals, news about medical innovations and meteorological observations made in Istanbul day by day were published.⁴⁷ Dr Bartoletti was among the primary members of the society and took part in the editorial commission of the newspaper. His articles were also published in the journal later on.⁴⁸

In mid-1858, Dr Bartoletti's new provincial assignment was prompted by the outbreak of the plague in Beghazi. When the outbreak was reported to Istanbul, the Sanitary Council urgently requested that a commission of physicians be sent to the region. So, Dr Bartoletti was chosen to carry out the necessary examinations and determine the nature of the disease, and sent to Benghazi with another physician, Dr Amadeo, in his retinue and a 30,000 piasters per diem to perform this task.⁴⁹ They departed from Istanbul on 8 July and arrived in Benghazi on 15 July.⁵⁰ After the shortterm examinations, it was understood that the disease was "plague". His investigations were very valuable in terms of the measures to be taken by the Sanitary Council and demands from the government. The physicians also recommended to the local administration the implementation of a series of measures to limit the effects of contagion and to prevent the spread of the disease beyond the areas where it was present.⁵¹ Dr Bartoletti did not stay in Benghazi for too long after a short period of examination on the nature of the disease and returned to Istanbul.⁵² He prepared a special report on the plague in Benghazi⁵³ where he focused on the source and conditions that led to the emergence of the plague. Here, although he could not fully reveal the source of the plague, it is seen that he focused on "the conditions that would enable the development of the disease". According to his analyses, four years of dry season had led to a failed harvest and then to a terrible famine. The famine had also decimated the Bedouin herds, and an epidemic had struck the oxen, making it impossible to cultivate the land.⁵⁴ He also pointed out necessary measures to be taken by the Ottoman Sanitary Administration.⁵⁵

After his return from Benghazi, he was given the title of "permanent inspector" and his salary was increased to 30,000 piasters. ⁵⁶ A review article of Dr Bartoletti on "military hospital regulations" was published in Gazette Médicale d'Orient. ⁵⁷ At the end of 1858, in the search for an official to inspect the provincial quarantines, Bartoletti was again chosen as a "competent physician" and was appointed as an inspector. His salary of 2.750 piasters was increased to 3.000 piasters. ⁵⁸

291

⁴⁷ Feza Günergun and Nuran Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'nin Mektebi Tıbbiyeyi Şahaneye Getirdiği Eleştiriler," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 3/1 (2001): 19.

⁴⁸ "Variétes," Gazette Médicale d'Orient, Ire Année, Nr. 12, Mars 1858, 220.

⁴⁹ CADN, Question Sanitaires, Vol. 465, Fauvel to Thouvenel, Pera, 22 June 1858; BOA, A. MKT. NZD. 258/73, 21 Za1274 (3 July 1858).

⁵⁰ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465, Fauvel to Thouvenel, Pera, 10 July 1858.

⁵¹ Dr Bartoletti's letter dated 22 July 1858, see Recueil des travaux, 158-159.

⁵² BOA, *İrade Dâhiliye* (İ. DH). 409/27044, 17 Z 1274 (29 July 1858).

⁵³ Bartoletti, "La Peste de Benghazi," *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, Ilme Année, Nr. 6, Septembre 1858: 105-111.

⁵⁴ Bartoletti, "La Peste de Benghazi," 109-110.

⁵⁵ Bartoletti, "La Peste de Benghazi," 110-111.

⁵⁶ Ahmet Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 112; "Variétés," *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, Ilme Année, Nr. 10, Janvier 1859, 105-111

⁵⁷ "Bulletin," Gazette Médicale d'Orient, Vme Année, Nr. 11, Fevrier 1862, 161-164.

⁵⁸ BOA, Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi Mühimme Evrakı (A. MKT. MHM), 147/47, 26 R 1275 (3 December 1858).

Figure 1-2: Dr Bartoletti's report on the plague in Benghazi 59

LA PESTE DE BENGHASI COMMUNICATION FAITE A LA SOCIÉTÉ IMPÉRIALE DE MÉDECINE De Constantinople, le 27 Août 1858. par le Dr. BARTOLETTI, MEMBRE DU CONSÈIL SUPÉRIEUR DE SANTÉ. La peste, ce fléau redoutable qui a ravagé pendant des siècles les plus belles contrées de l'Orient, et que de sages mesures convenablement appliquées avaient conjurée en arrêtant sa marche destructive, vient de paraître de nouveau dans un coin de l'Afrique, après une interruption complète de quinze années révolues. C'est vers la fin de juin que l'administration sanitaire reçut, d'un de ses agents, l'avis qu'une affection aiguë, grave, accompagnée de pétéchies et d'engorgements aux régions inguinales et axillaires, s'était montrée d'abord dans un campement d'arabes et qu'elle avait ensuite envahi Benghasi, ville maritime du pachalik de Tripoli de Barbarie. Dès ce moment, soupçonnant la peste, que les faits n'ont malheureusement que trop confirmée peu de temps après, l'administration prit les précautions que la prudence exigeait vis-à-vis du pays où régnait l'épidémie et elle envoya sur les lieux une Commission médicale chargée de s'enquérir de la nature de la maladie et d'indiquer aux autorités locales, au cas que ce fût la peste, les mesures propres à la combattre dans Ayant eu l'honneur, avec mon confrère M. le Dr. Amadeo, d'être appelé à remplir cette mission de confiance, je m'empresse, étant de retour parmi vous, Messieurs, de vous faire part du résultat de notre en-

- 2-

quête et de nos observations au point de vue multiple de la nature de l'épidémie, de sa marche, de sa genèse et de sa propagation, en y ajoutant quelques renseignements sur les moyens de préservation employés par l'administration sanitaire dans cette grave circonstance.

Mais avant d'entrer en matière, et pour l'intelligence des faits, je dois remarquer que le médecin sanitaire de Benghasi, en annonçant l'existence de l'épidémie, a soutenu avec ténacité, que la maladie à laquelle il avait affaire était un typhus non contagieux, contrairement à l'opinion répandue dans le pays que cette maladie, accompagnée de bubons, pouvait bien être la peste. Il a prétendu en outre, comme preuve de son diagnostic, que les bubons ne parvenaient jamais à la suppuration; que la mortalité n'était point, comme dans la peste, en proportion considérable relativement au nombre des attaques et que, de plus, tous les malades qui se soumettaient à un traitement convenable échappaient à la mort. J'aurai soin de faire ressortir, dans le cours de ce travail, combien ces vues erronées ont contribué à égarer le jugement de ce médecin dans l'appréciation des faits qu'il avait devant lui et dans les conclusions qu'il en a tirées.

La Commission, ayant débarqué à Benghasi le 45 juillet, fit venir à l'Office de santé plusieurs personnes qui, à divers titres, étaient à même de lui fournir des renseignements sur l'épidémie régnante; le gouverneur civil, les officiers de la garnison, les médecins militaires et quelques notables du pays sont venus successivement déposer devant elle en présence du médecin sanitaire et du directeur de la quarantaine. A près une enquête minutieuse sur les faits qui s'étaient passés, la commission se livra à la visite des malades. Elle en a vu de vingt à trente à la maison du gouverneur, à l'hôpital militaire et dans un choix de maisons sises en diffé-

5. Ottoman Representative for the Second Time: The Third Sanitary Conference in Istanbul (1866)

Dr Bartoletti was in Europe in 1865 when the epidemic was at its height in İstanbul.⁶⁰ The organisation of a third international sanitary conference in Istanbul was due to the cholera epidemic, which had recently spread from India. Cholera began in Bengal in 1863 and spread by sea to the Red Sea and by land to the shores of the Caspian Sea during the fourth pandemic period (1863-1879). In 1865 caused the deaths of 30.000 pilgrims in the Hejaz.⁶¹ From Hejaz, cholera reached other parts of Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt through pilgrims and spread to other Mediterranean ports. From there to the south of Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Portugal, and northwards to Germany. Cholera made great devastation in Europe in 1866 killed thousands of people.⁶² So international public opinion put the convening of a new sanitary conference on the agenda, as the epidemic thus became a new global threat. On 13 October 1865, the French government called for

⁵⁹ CADN, Constantinople, (Ambassade), Série E, Tome 465; Bartoletti, "La Peste de Benghazi," *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, Nr. 6, (Septembre 1858): 105-111.

⁶⁰ BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti Tahritrat (HR. TH), 4/29, 30 May 1865.

⁶¹ Dhiman Barua, "History of Cholera," in *Cholera*. Ed. D. Barua and W. B. Greenough, (New York: Springer, 1992), 2.

⁶² Pollitzer, "Cholera Studies," 444.

an international conference. It was recommended that the conference should be held in Turkey. The Ottoman government agreed to this proposal as long as it was held in Istanbul.⁶³ When it was decided to convene the conference in Istanbul, invitations were sent to sixteen countries. After the preparatory phase, the conference was inaugurated on 13 February 1866 in Galatasaray⁶⁴ with a speech by Ali Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Thirteen European and three Muslim states participated in the conference where the Ottomans was represented by Dr Salih Efendi, the Minister of Medicine, and Dr Bartoletti.⁶⁵ Prior to this assignment, Dr Bartoletti was awarded the *Order of Mecidiye* of the 4th degree.⁶⁶

First of all, a programme was drawn up for the work of the conference, which focused its work on four main topics, such as the origin and development of cholera, its spread, preventive measures and how to implement them. Five separate commissions were formed to study these issues. Their reports were presented to the delegates. As cholera was the main topic of the conference, international attention naturally focused on the movement of the disease westwards during the pilgrimage periods, and thus on the Ottoman Empire, which was seen as one of the sources of cholera in the West. During the first meeting, the French delegate Fauvel suggested cutting off the connection between Hejaz and Egypt during cholera outbreaks and implementing measures to prevent the spread of the disease. In response, the Ottoman representatives, Dr Salih Efendi and Dr Bartoletti, opposed the French delegation's proposals and recommended more soft measures rather than harsh ones. However, thanks to the efforts of Fauvel, the proposals put forward by the French delegation were accepted. ⁶⁷

Dr Bartoletti played a significant role in the conference. His active participation was crucial to the success of the conference. He served as both secretary and rapporteur, and was responsible for preparing two of the reports written by the five commissions. The first report was on the progress and spread of cholera in 1865. Based on reports from consuls and physicians in different regions, he revealed that the epidemic in the Hejaz originated in India and Java, and stated that the disease spread through Egypt and reached some important centres by accelerated human mobility. ⁶⁸ The second report on quarantine measures applicable to cholera sources was prepared by a commission chaired by Dr Bartoletti. The report begins with a discussion of restrictive measures, then goes on to evaluate issues such as sanitary cordon, isolation and separation, quarantine, disinfection regime, sanitary patent, and inspection and control. Through these measures, the commission demonstrated that cholera can be prevented. ⁶⁹

⁶³ N. Howard Jones, *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938* (Geneva: WHO Chronicle, 1975), 23-34; Orhan Koloğlu, "Osmanlı Basınında 1865 Kolera Salgını, İstanbul Sağlık Konferansı ve Mirza Malkom Han," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 6/2 (2005): 142.

⁶⁴ The conference that took place at the Galatasaray School was also referred to as the "Galatasaray Conference". Ahmet Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 117; Süheyl Ünver, "Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Yeni Notlar," *Tanzimat I, 100. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 949-950.

⁶⁵ BOA, HR. MKT, 535/45, 13 Ş. 1282 (1 January 1866).

^{66 &}quot;Variétes," Gazette Médicale Orient, IXme Année, Nr. 9, Decembre 1865, 143.

⁶⁷ Handan Kılınç, "Isolating the subject: Cholera and Sanitary Discours in the Istanbul International Sanitary Conference of 1866," (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversity, 2005), 42-64.

⁶⁸ "Rapport sur la marche et le mode de propagation du choléra en 1865," *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Constantinople le 13 février 1866* (Constantinople: Imprimerie Centrale, 1866), 1: 1-51.

⁶⁹ "Rapport sur les mesures quarantinaires applicables aux provenances cholériques," *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Constantinople*, 1-45.

Although the Ottoman delegates convinced the international community that cholera had entered Ottoman lands from outside, they faced extensive discussions and demands from European states regarding quarantine measures and strict health policies for pilgrimage and pilgrims. European delegates demanded that the Ottoman government take strict measures in Hejaz. In accordance with these requirements, the Ottoman government established a medical commission and sent it to the Hejaz during the conference negotiations in 1866 and a second commission in 1867. The conference was another important step in Dr Batoletti's international reputation. He was honoured not only by the Ottoman Empire but also by Russia, the Papacy and Iran.

6. Determining the Ottoman Quarantine Duties: Sanitary Tax Commissions

A regulation on cholera was discussed at the Istanbul Sanitary Conference, and officials nominated by the embassies in Istanbul, members of the Sanitary Council and other relevant officials worked together to draft a comprehensive quarantine regulation that outlined the quarantine procedure to be applied to ships, passengers, cargo and goods entering the Ottoman Empire by sea.⁷⁵ However a number of issues remained unresolved at the conference as the determination of the sanitary tax to be levied on ships.

Since the Paris Sanitary Conference of 1851, this issue had been on the agenda of the Ottoman government. At the conference, Dr Bartoletti emphasised the inadequacy of the sanitary taxes levied on ships and suggested that the taxes levied per ship should be based on their tonnage. However, no decision was taken on this matter. In September 1862, a commission was formed to address the issue, consisting of Fevzi Efendi, Dickson, Fauvel, Lobider, Dr Bartoletti, Marchand and Endezyan Efendi, but the commission was unable to complete its work in 1863 and continued to study until 1865. In February 1865, Dr Bartoletti once again brought the report produced by this commission to the agenda and the relevant report was submitted to the Sanitary Council. However, the cholera epidemic of 1865 caused a delay in addressing this issue, and it was not until the 1866 Istanbul Sanitary Conference that it could be discussed again.

Due to the significant burden on the state budget, a mixed commission was established in 1868, with the participation of delegates from eleven European countries, Iran, the United States of America, and the Ottoman Empire in order to meet the quarantine costs. The commission was chaired by Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi, and Dr Bartoletti was elected as the representative of the Ottoman Empire. The commission began its work with a session held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building on 5 March 1868. Over the course of three years, the commission held 28 sessions until May 1871. Its objective was to determine the quarantine tariffs to be applied to ships, pilgrims

⁷⁰ Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865-2914)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), 15-18.

⁷¹ Tunda, "Bartoletti Effendi," 1-2.

⁷² BOA, HR. MKT, 672/56, 19 Ramazan 1286 (23 December 1869).

⁷³ BOA, HR. MKT, 574/78, 10 Muharrem 1284 (14 May 1867)

⁷⁴ BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 430/7, 9 Sefer 1285 (1 June 1868).

⁷⁵ Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisleri'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri," *Belleten 58*/222 (1994), 374; *Règlement applicable aux provenances de choléra suivi de notes explicatives* (Constantinople, 1867), see CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465.

⁷⁶ Şehsuvaroğlu, "Tarihi Kolera Salgınları," 289.

⁷⁷ CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 8 March 1865.

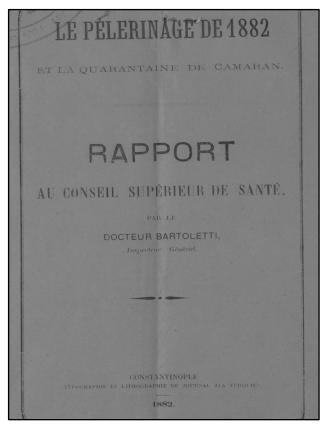
⁷⁸ Ahmet Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina," 108-117.

⁷⁹ BOA, *HR. MKT*, 590/2, 3 C 1284 (2 September 1867); Ünver, "Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Yeni Notlar," 949-950. ⁸⁰ For the minutes of the Commission's meetings between March 1868 and May 1871, see. CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465; For the Commission's correspondence with the delegations, see BOA, *Hariciye Nezâreti İdare Evrala* (*HR. İD*), 1543/60.

in Hejaz during the pilgrimage period, and the Ottoman-Iranian border. The tariffs were intended to cover the expenses of the Ottoman Sanitary Administration and maintain the institution. The commission's prolonged efforts resulted in the establishment of an international convention on quarantine and sanitary affairs in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the Ottoman government was granted the right to impose a sanitary tax at a rate similar to that of European states. The convention was initially ratified by the Ottoman government and later by the other participating states, entering into force in 1872. Following the Convention, the Sanitary Council gained a truly international identity as the only authorized body to determine quarantine procedures. Salih Efendi and Dr Bartoletti were awarded the *Order of Mecidiye* for their work in the commission. Dr Bartoletti's salary was increased by one thousand piaster. Additionally, some commission members received the *Order of Mecidiye* as an honour, while others were provided with financial assistance.

Figure 3-4: Dr Bartoletti's Reports on the Measures against the Plague Epidemic in Iran and the Quarantine of Kamaran





During this period, Dr Bartoletti provided information to the Sanitary Council on the measures that the Ottoman Empire should take in the face of epidemics in Iran. In late 1871, a plague epidemic broke out there due to the famine in the country, which raised concerns about its spread towards the

⁸¹ Rapport de la Commission mixte chargée de réviser le tarif des droits sanitaires dans l'Empire ottoman (Constantinople : Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1871), see CADN, *Question Sanitaires*, Vol. 465; Also see BOA, *HR. İD*, 1543/67.

⁸² Adrien Proust, La Défense de l'Europe Contre le Choléra (Paris: Libraire de l'académie de Médecine, 1892), 350-351.

⁸³ BOA, HR. ID. 1543/67.

⁸⁴ BOA, HR. MKT, 737/98, 24 M 1289 (3 April 1872).

Ottoman Empire.⁸⁵ The Ottoman government implemented strict measures against plague cases on the Iranian border. However, as it was difficult to take effective health measures over such a large area, the Sanitary Council first consulted Dr Bartoletti, who was very familiar with conditions in the region. Dr Bartoletti focused on an effective sanitary inspection system on the Ottoman-Iranian border. He thought that a land cordon should be set up along the border, and helped to supervise the establishment of two main stations at Khanikin, along the main southern Iranian road to Baghdad, and at Bayazid in the mountainous north. After assessing the situation in the region, Dr Bartoletti presented the Sanitary Council with five articles outlining the urgent measures to be taken. ⁸⁶

In 1875, a second mixed commission was formed, again under the chairmanship of Salih Efendi, to review the tariffs for sanitary tax and continued its work until 1876.⁸⁷ This commission also set the tariffs in accordance with the 1870-1874 contracts. The commission where the Ottoman Empire was represented by Dr Bartoletti ⁸⁸ met for the third time in 1881, completed its work in 1883 and its decisions were accepted by the Ottoman government and other European states in 1884. The work of this mixed commission also concerned the privileges and powers of the Sanitary Council in sanitary, financial and personnel matters. ⁸⁹

7. Debating the Necessity of Quarantines: The Fourth Sanitary Conference in Vienna (1874)

The epidemics that had prompted the convening of the conferences were still in full force and continued to threaten Europe. While the third conference was convened on the initiative of France, the fourth conference was organised at the international call of Russia. 90 Because, with the opening of the Suez Canal, Europe became more susceptible to cholera epidemics which firstly appeared in Russia in 1870, claiming tens of thousands of lives and spreading to Germany, Austria, and Hungary, causing significant losses. As cholera once again approached Europe, international medical circles called for a review of the decisions made at the 1866 Istanbul Sanitary Conference, particularly with regards to the implementation of quarantines.⁹¹ Upon these requests, it was decided to organise a conference in Vienna which began on 1 July 1874 and lasted for 20 sessions until 1 August. This conference, which was attended by nineteen European countries, Iran and Egypt, followed a more modern procedure than its predecessors in terms of duration and working system. The primary objective of the conference was to analyse the results of the 1866 Istanbul Conference and determine their validity. In addition, answers were sought to fundamental questions about the contagiousness of cholera, its source and its modes of transmission. During the sessions where the relaxation of quarantine rules was discussed, the establishment of a "Permanent Sanitary Commission" to analyze epidemics and develop control methods was also on the agenda. "A Committee of Five", comprising representatives from Hungary, Norway, Iran, Romania, and Russia,

⁸⁵ Ahmad Seyf, "Iran and the Great Famine, 1870-72." Middle Eastern Studies 46/2 (2010): 289-306.

⁸⁶ Rapport sur les mesures a prendre contre la peste qui sevit en Perse (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1871), see BOA, HR. TO, 187/40, 16 March 1872; BOA, HR. MKT, 772/80; Birsen Bulmuş, "Plague, Sanitary Administration and the end of Empire," Plague, Quarantines and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 156.

⁸⁷ BOA, HR. MKT, 882/98, 20 June 1875; BOA, HR. MKT, 882/85, 29 Ca1292/3 July 1875.

⁸⁸ Rapport de la Commission mixte chargée de réviser le tarif des droits sanitaires dans l'Empire ottoman (Constantinople : Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1876), see also BOA, *HR. İD*, 1543/59.

⁸⁹ Proust, La Défense de l'Europe Contre le Choléra, 353-355.

⁹⁰ Howard Jones, *International Sanitary Conferences*, 35.

^{91 &}quot;The International Sanitary Conference at Vienna in 1874," Br Foreign Med Chir Rev 57/114 (1876): 315.

was formed to establish this commission and prepare a draft convention.⁹² The final declaration accepted that cholera originated from India.⁹³ Decisions were made on theories regarding the routes of transmission. There was general agreement that land quarantines were ineffective, but the decisions of the 1866 Istanbul conference on sea quarantines were reaffirmed.⁹⁴

The Ottoman Empire was represented at the conference by Dr Batoletti, and Ali Bey, as member of the Sanitary Council and Chief Clerk of Quarantine. The delegation received instructions⁹⁵ and expenses were allocated for their stay in Vienna.⁹⁶ But they were unable to take part in the first seven sessions. ⁹⁷ However, they could participate in the talks from the eighth session on 13 July until the end of the conference, including the voting on the final declaration. In mid-September, Ali Bey and Dr Bartoletti began their return journey from Vienna. ⁹⁸

In the first seven sessions delegations focused on scientific examination of cholera, the decisions of the 1866 Sanitary Conference were ratified. However, the implementation of land quarantines was unanimously opposed. Therefore, during the eighth session on 13 July, the Ottoman delegation focused on this issue, which was the most important measure against epidemics originating from Iran and was of great concern to the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, during the conference's discussion on changes to maritime quarantines, the Ottoman delegation advocated for the benefits of these quarantines. They successfully opposed proposals for changes and convinced the other participants of their position. A special commission was formed to discuss quarantines including Dr Bartoletti and Dr Fauvel. The commission presented a study on the benefits of quarantines. However, the conference made a predominantly negative decision on the issue of land and river quarantines, which the Ottoman delegation insisted on. Nonetheless, it confirmed that the Ottoman government was authorised to maintain quarantines within the country's borders. Furthermore, the conference confirmed the Ottoman delegation's views by making additional decisions. These included the establishment of quarantines on the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasian border by the Russian government, the creation of a Sanitary Council in Tehran similar to the one in Turkey and Egypt, the dispatch of authorized physicians to Iran, and the participation of the Ottoman's in this permanent council to combat epidemics. Ali Pasha and Dr Bartoletti summarised the achievements of the conference for the Ottoman Empire, stating that it had confirmed Ottoman views on the source, spread and transmission of cholera.⁹⁹

The conference minutes show that Dr Bartoletti actively participated in the negotiations from the eighth session onwards, providing valuable insights based on his thirty years of experience. His most active participation was in the sessions on land quarantines. Additionally, he proposed the preparation of a *Sanitary Penal Code* in Turkey. During the sixteenth session of the conference, where discussions on sea and land quarantines were held, Dr Bartoletti countered the common views

⁹² For the minutes of the conference, see *Procès-verbaux de la conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Vienne le premier juillet* 1874 (Vienne: Imprimerie impériale et royale, 1874).

⁹³ Howard Jones, International Sanitary Conferences, 38.

⁹⁴ Relevé de conclusion adoptée par la conférence sanitaire internationale de Vienne, see BOA, İrade Dâhiliye (İ. DH), 692/48387, Document 1, 1 August 1874.

⁹⁵ BOA, HR. MKT, 839/5, 20 Ca 1291 (5 July 1874); BOA, HR. MKT, 838/97, 20 C 1291 (5 July 1874)

⁹⁶ BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 476/52, 8 C 1291 (24 July 1874).

⁹⁷ BOA, *I. DH*, 692/48387-Lef 2, 24 September 1874.

⁹⁸ BOA, *HR. MKT*, 850/40, 15 Ş 1291/27 September 1874.

⁹⁹ BOA, *İ. DH*, 692/48387-Documet 2, 24 September 1874. This document also includes a report on the issues discussed at the conference and how they were resolved. See BOA, *İ. DH*, 692/48387-Document 3.

on the unnecessity of land quarantines, and especially the criticisms of J. E. Polak, the chief physician who attended the conference as the Iranian delegate, with his own experience as follows:

"I myself organized the quarantine on the Persian border, and for two years I examined all the circumstances of the passage of tribes, caravans and the great flow of trade. It is true that the extent of the border is large, however the number of crossing points is very limited. There are only a few routes open. On the Erzurum side it is Bayezid; we have a well-organized quarantine establishment there; another in Kotour; another in Suleymaniye. Supervision by doctors is perfectly well done there; we receive the first notices of diseases which break out in Persia, and very often we give the Persian government the first information on diseases which break out on its territory. The main passage of pilgrims takes place at Hanekin, where they arrive in numbers of 30 to 40 thousand; they are the ones who bring us illness."

Dr Bartoletti's findings were very important because they also summarised the long-term struggle of the Ottoman Empire against epidemics:

"Turkey has 180 permanent health stations on the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Black Sea and on the Persian borders. The health organization has 70 to 80 permanent doctors and a certain number of inspectors, not to mention a large staff. As soon as an epidemic breaks out, a special service is established on the spot; this was the case during the last epidemic on the Danube, where there were 18 doctors permanently, including 6 permanent and 12 on extraordinary duty. At the time of the passage of pilgrims to Mecca the government attaches special doctors to the service. Every time an epidemic broke out on Ottoman territory, a medical commission was sent there without delay, as was the case with the last epidemics in Baghdad and Benghazi". ¹⁰¹

As for the international health council, Dr Bartoletti pointed out that the council in which all governments were represented offers all the advantages of an organ, such as the committee proposes. The various governments were, through their own delegates, kept informed of the health situation in the East. He expressed that the Ottoman government made all efforts and sacrifices to obtain a complete health organization, offering all possible guarantees abroad. Therefore there was no need to establish new permanent or temporary health posts. But he thought that it is quite different for Iran, where nothing had been done until that period for the health service, despite the commitment made by the Iranian government at the Constantinople Conference. It is therefore on this country that the attention of the conference must be focused. Turkey itself maintains there at its own expense a doctor responsible for carrying out, from time to time, inspection trips to ensure the health state of the country.¹⁰²

8. A Man of Charity: The Establishment of Ottoman Hilal-i Ahmer Society and Last Missions in the Ottoman Service

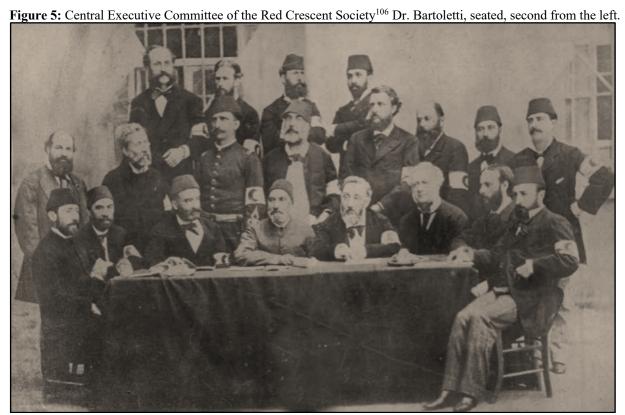
After the Vienna Sanitary Conference, Dr Bartoletti returned to Istanbul and continued to work in the Ottoman Sanitary Administration, especially in commissions related to quarantines. He also took part in the establishment process of the Ottoman Hilal-i Ahmer Society. In the mid-nineteenth century, the issues of the treatment of the wounded in wars and the impartiality and safety of those caring for them came to the agenda in Europe and international conference was convened for the

¹⁰⁰ Procès-verbaux de la conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Vienne, 293.

¹⁰¹ Procès-verbaux de la conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Vienne, 320.

¹⁰² Procès-verbaux de la conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Vienne, 321, 341-342.

first time in 1863 in Switzerland with the participation of sixteen states. Later, another congress convened and signed a convention on 22 August 1864 on. A year later the Ottoman Empire was among the signatories of the Geneva Convention. Upon this, the Ottoman Empire was officially invited to the *Congress of the International Association for the Relief of War Wounded* in 1867 and represented by Dr Abdullah Bey who was elected as a permanent member of the committee and tasked with the establishment of a similar institution in the Ottoman Empire. In 1868 a society called *Mecrûhîn-i Asâkir-i Osmâniyye'ye Muâvenet Cemiyeti* was established. However, these efforts were not met with the expected response by the Ottoman government. Thereupon, the members disbanded and the activities of the society remained fruitless. The activities of the society were revived with the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878. The need for a society similar to the Red Cross societies to help Turkish soldiers wounded in the battlefields became more urgent. Thus, after the preparations made in this regard by the Ottomans, *Ottoman Hilâl-i Ahmer Society* the society was founded on 14 April 1877. Afterwards, regulations on the internal and external administration of the organisation were prepared and working procedures were determined.



As for Dr Bartoletti, he was among the founding members of the Society. In this respect, his contributions to the society started with his participation as a member in the preparation of the

¹⁰³ Mesut Çapa, Kızılay (Hilâl-i Ahmer) Cemiyeti (1914-1925) (Ankara: Türk Kızılay Derneği Yayınları, 2010), 9-12.

¹⁰⁴ Abdullah Bey, *Notice sur la société de secours aux militaires Blessés de l'Empire Ottoman à Constantinople* (Constantinople: Imprimerie M. De Castro, 1869).

¹⁰⁵ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a (Ankara: Kızılay, 2020), 1, 57-67.

¹⁰⁶ Eray Serdar Yurdakul, Nuray Güneş and Fatih Namal. "Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Şeref Defteri," *Mersin Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Lokman Hekim Tıp Tarihi ve Folklorik Tıp Dergisi* 11/1 (2021): 73-92.

internal regulations of the society with General Mott and Faik Pasha. ¹⁰⁷ At the first meeting of the society on 12 August, a provisional committee of sixteen members was formed under the chairmanship of Marko Pasha. In this committee, Dr Bartoletti represented the Ottoman Sanitary Administration and was among the founders of the society. He was in the first branch of the central committee "responsible for the organisation, movement and discipline of hospitals and ambulances". ¹⁰⁸ With this new assignment, he was involved in a process related to the war for the first time after his previous duties related to epidemics and quarantines. According to the minutes of the Central Committee sessions, he was among those who contributed most to the work of the society with Nuriyan Efendi, General Mott, Dellasuda Faik Pasha, Feridun Bey, Baron Mundy, Von Haas and Leval. ¹⁰⁹

Accordingly, Dr Bartoletti attended the session of the society on 28 April 1877 for the first time and he made important contributions to the society during his one-year term of activity. Since his field of responsibility was hospitals and ambulance services, he worked especially on the organisation of these services and their dispatch to the front. In addition to these, he shared the information about the wounded soldiers and soldiers suffering from epidemics received from the nurses and doctors on duty at the front with the members of the society and made discussions about the decisions to be taken. Dr Bartoletti was also seen to be directing the activities related to the wounded soldiers brought to Istanbul. 110 Dr Bartoletti visited hospital in İstanbul drew the attention of the central committee to the urgent needs for first aid services at the front and emphasised the inadequacy of the aid. In this respect on 15 August 1877, a medical commission consisting of Bartoletti Efendi, Dr Sarell and Dr Sevastopoulo was formed to examine doctors and pharmacists who wished to work for the Ottoman Hilâl-i Ahmer Society. He presented a detailed report especially on the destruction of the materials sent to the front on the way and requested an increase in the number of ambulances. Related to the Caucasian Front, he made determinations about the activities to be carried out with his familiarity with the region. In this regard, he prepared a detailed list of ambulance services and the personnel employed, and pointed out that the main reason for the delay in ambulance services was the lack of precise and detailed information on the number of personnel and the amount of equipment available. In order to meet the increasing expenses of Hilali Ahmer, he requested that the society should award decorations to its donors in order to encourage donations, and this opinion was approved by the society and a commission was formed for this purpose.111

¹⁰⁷ BOA, Yıldız Perakende Komisyonlar Maruzatı (Y. PRK. KOM), 2/12, 30 Z 1296 (15 December 1879); Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires constituee d'apres la convention de Geneve, Compte Rendu de Travaux de ceomite Central 1877-78, (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1878), 2: 7-17.

¹⁰⁸ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires constituee d'apres la convention de Geneve, Annuaire 1877-78 (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1878), 1: 1-20.

¹⁰⁹ Hüsnü Ada, "Osmanlı Devletinin Hizmetinde İlk Modern Osmanlı Sivil Toplum Örgütü: Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti (1868-1911)," (Phd Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2011), 37.

¹¹⁰ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires constituee d'apres la convention de Geneve, Compte Rendu de Travaux de ceomite Central 1877-78, (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1878), 2: 124.

¹¹¹ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires, 141-148, 158, 175, 215, 223, 275,302-308, 342-343.342-343; Mrs Bartoletti, the wife of Dr Bartoletti, was also among the donors of the society. She participated in Hilal-i Ahmer's aid campaigns and donated 50 blankets, 500 underpants, 100 pairs of sheets and three kilos of bandages to be used for the needs of the society in different periods. Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires, 148, 166.

By January, in addition to the wounded soldiers, some 150,000 refugees and victims of war in Istanbul were living in starvation and semi-naked conditions under very poor conditions and dying of hunger and cold. These conditions were beyond the capacity of Hilal-i Ahmer, which had limited resources. Dr Bartoletti, who expressed his views on this issue in the session, stated that the danger posed by the migrants piling up in Istanbul was beyond the ability of the society to cope with, and that the Geneva Convention, which was part of the founding mission of the society, did not foresee such a situation. However, he stated that the emerging conditions created a human tragedy and that it was inevitable to intervene in the situation. So, a committee of competent men, including Servicen Effendi, had been formed by government order to draw up a plan, a set of measures applicable to the circumstances. This plan was based on the systematic distribution of refugees to the surrounding provinces without overcrowding, the provision of food and clothing, and the provision of necessary medical assistance. 113

Due to some health problems, Dr. Bartoletti decided to resign as a member of the central committee and go to Europe for a period of rest.¹¹⁴ However Dr Bartoletti's duty did not end again. He represented the Ottoman Empire in the *International Paris Exhibition* (1 May-10 November 1878) with Dr Peştemalcıyan.¹¹⁵ At the last session he attended on 19 Juin, Dr. Bartoletti cordially thanked his colleagues for the friendship and benevolence they had always shown him. He proposed also that, in his absence, Leval Efendi be appointed to replace him as member and rapporteur of the 1st section. This proposal was unanimously approved.¹¹⁶ Although the central committee of Hilâl-i Ahmer ceased organizing meetings in January 1879, it is understood that the committee did not disband, and Dr. Bartoletti continued to work as a member of the society until 1885.¹¹⁷

Dr. Bartoletti participated in the 1878 Universal Paris Exhibition and made contacts on behalf of the Hilâl-i Ahmer Central Committee. He continued to stay in Europe for a while on leave due to health problems. In fact, his advancing age required Dr Bartoletti to take leave from time to time to rest. He was in Europe when cholera broke out in Mecca, caused the death of five thousand people in September 1881. He returned to Istanbul towards the end of 1881 and continued his work in the Sanitary Council. This epidemic necessitated the establishment of a quarantine at the entrance to the Red Sea. After the 1866 Istanbul sanitary conference, commissions including Dr Bartoletti were formed on this subject; however, a permanent quarantine was not established here until 1882. In this context he prepared a detailed report and submitted it to the Sanitary Council. Iz In

¹¹² Ada, "Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti," 122-123; Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires, 348-349.

¹¹³ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires, 351, 352, 378, 478, 484.

¹¹⁴ Some Hilâl-i Ahmer officials who rendered good services in the Russian military hospitals were awarded medals by the Russian authorities. Within this framework, Dr Bartoletti was awarded the "Order of St. Anne" of the second rank. BOA. *İrade Hariciye* (*İ.HR*), 279/17188, 19 Ca 1296 (12 May 1879).

¹¹⁵ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blesses et Malades Militaires, 484.

¹¹⁶ Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blesses et Malades Militaires, 351-352, 378, 478, 484.484.

¹¹⁷ Ada, "Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti," 185-186.

¹¹⁸ Stamboul, 10 September 1883.

¹¹⁹ Stamboul, 39 November 1883.

¹²⁰ Gülden Sarıyıldız and Oya Dağlar Macar, "Cholera Pilgrimage and International Politics of Sanitation: the Quarantine Station on the island of Kamaran," *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, ed. Nükhet Varlık (Croydon: Arc Humanities Press, 2017), 251.

¹²¹ Sarıyıldız, Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865-2914), 27.

¹²² Dr. Bartoletti, *Le Pelerinage de 1882 et la Quarantine de Camaran*, (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1882). BOA, *Şura-yı Devlet* (*ŞD*), 2456/33

this report, Dr Bartoletti made detailed evaluations about the suitability of the quarantine, the necessary structures, its management, its services and resources. He also prepared a ten-article special regulation for the pilgrims who were to be quarantined on Kamaran Island during the pilgrimage period of 1882. Bartoletti's proposals were approved at the parliamentary session of 20 June 1882. The construction works started in 1882 under the supervision of Dr Duca were completed in the same year and the quarantine was put into operation. ¹²³

Dr Bartoletti was not very active after this period and suffered from health problems. However, as the press of the period reveals, Dr Bartoletti's long tenure in medical administration and the important activities he carried out not only made him an authority, but also led to the emergence of some circles who were dissatisfied with this situation and caused some complaints to be voiced. ¹²⁴ The subject of the complaints against Dr Bartoletti was the election of Engineer Ange Leval, who was also his brother-in-law, as Secretary General of the Sanitary Council and his favouritism towards his protégés. ¹²⁵ Despite these accusations, which were the subject of many news items in the *Stamboul*, the newspaper made special mention of Dr Bartoletti's important activities in the Ottoman service. In the relevant article, Dr Bartoletti was mentioned as a competent medical expert who "successfully represented the Ottoman Empire in international medical conferences, brought the Ottoman Empire to very good conditions in terms of epidemics, and prevented epidemics originating from India from reaching Europe by cutting the contact between the Red Sea and Egypt." ¹²⁶

Dr Bartoletti, whose grade was raised to $\hat{u}l\hat{a}$ in October 1883, was unable to participate in the work of the Sanitary Council from time to time due to bladder problems. ¹²⁷ Nevertheless, during this period, he continued to represent the Ottoman state in the commissions related to the sanitary tax. ¹²⁸ In mid-1885, he requested to rest in Europe for a while due to his illness. ¹²⁹ During this period, Dr Bartoletti went to Carlsbad for treatment and was replaced by Dr Vitalis. He returned to Istanbul in September 1885. ¹³⁰ In 1886, he was awarded the *Order of Corona d'Italia* by the Italian State. ¹³¹ With the petition in July 1888, he requested his retirement and his active duty in the Ottoman Sanitary Administration ended. ¹³² However, this time he became the "honorary sanitary inspector" of the council and his rank was raised to the level of $b\hat{a}l\hat{a}$. ¹³³ When Koçuni Efendi was in Paris in 1889, Dr Bartoletti, before going to Europe, came to the Sanitary Council and informed them about the cholera outbreak in Baghdad and Basra. ¹³⁴ After seven years of retirement, he died on 23 May 1895 at his home on Poland Street in Beyoğlu. His funeral was held the following day

¹²³ Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865-2914)*, 54-55; Sarıyıldız and Dağlar Macar, "Quarantine Station on the island of Kamaran," 244.

¹²⁴ Stamboul, 6 June 1883.

¹²⁵ Stamboul, 10 September 1883.

¹²⁶ Stamboul, 10 September 1883

¹²⁷ Stamboul, 11 October 1883.

¹²⁸ BOA, Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları (MV), 3/99, 23 Ş 1302 (7 June 1885).

¹²⁹ BOA, İ. HR, 297/18835.

¹³⁰ Stamboul, 11 September 1885.

¹³¹ BOA, İ. HR, 302/19201, 9 Z 1303(8 August 1886).

¹³² BOA, *I. HR*, 310/19811, Lef 2, 4 Temmuz 1304 (16 July 1888); Stamboul, 5 July 1888.

¹³³ Stamboul, 18 July 1888, 9 \$ 1302 (29 June 1885).

¹³⁴ BOA, Yıldız Perakende Başkitabet Dairesi Maruzatı (Y.PRK.BSK), 16/84, 16 Ra 1307 (10 November 1889).

at St. Antoine Church and he was buried the same day.¹³⁵ The Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane published a condolence of on the death of Dr Bartoletti where the society mentioned about the important services he performed in the Ottoman sanitary administration and his contributions in this field.¹³⁶

Conclusion

Foreign physicians employed in the Ottoman Sanitary Administration not only transferred the new and modern health institutions and practices developed in Europe to the Ottoman Empire, but also served as important intermediaries in demonstrating the Ottoman efforts in this field to the international community. In this process, Dr Bartoletti occupies an exceptional place in terms of his length of service and the activities he carried out. Dr Bartoletti was symbolic figure who brought the institution of inspectorate, which entered the administrative literature during the Tanzimat period, to life in terms of the medical administration. Dr Bartoletti, like a Tanzimat inspector travelling around the Ottoman provinces, performed important duties by conducting inspections in many regions of the country to prevent the entry and spread of epidemics. In this respect, Dr Bartoletti's career is particularly remarkable in that he was one of the many quarantine physicians in the Ottoman Sanitary Administration, but thanks to his achievements, he was promoted to the position of sanitary inspector and subsequently became a figure representing the Ottoman Empire at international sanitary conferences.

In Dr Bartoletti's career, his appointment as inspector general of quarantines and his subsequent election as the representative of the Ottoman Empire in the Sanitary Council should be emphasised. However, the first of his two important services that led to the rise of his reputation in the field of epidemics and quarantines in this process was his control of the plague epidemic in Erzurum in 1842, and the other was his activities in the region to establish quarantines on the Ottoman-Iranian border. Undoubtedly, this last mission made Dr Bartoletti the "most suitable official" to represent the Ottoman Empire in the international sanitary conferences. His success in the conference negotiations was the first important step towards his international reputation. In this framework, his membership in the Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane, followed by his second representation of the Ottoman Empire at the sanitary conference held in Istanbul, and his successful representation here, made Dr Bartoletti "an authority" in his field. So, he represented again the Ottoman Empire at the sanitary conference in Vienna. During his last period in Ottoman service, he played an important role in the establishment of the Ottoman Hilal-i Ahmer Society. Thus, he followed in the footsteps of his father Dr. Bartoletti, whose service was interrupted by the failure of the Nizam-1 Cedid reforms, first by studying medicine and then by joining the Ottoman Sanitary Administration, and thus became one of the symbols of the institutional struggle against epidemic diseases in a comprehensive reform programme implemented during the Tanzimat period.

¹³⁵ Stamboul, 24 May 1905; "Stefano Bartoletti", <u>Stefano BARTOLETTI</u>: Family tree by marmara2 - Geneanet (accessed 18.07.2023).

¹³⁶ Gazette Médicale d'Orient, 40me Annee, No. 12, 15 August 1895, 181.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA):

Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi (HR. SYS) 789/2.

Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası (HR. TO) 451/79; 70/111; 187/40.

Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi Mühimme Evrakı (A. MKT. MHM) 36/34; 147/47; 430/7; 476/52.

Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi Nezaret ve Devair Yazışmaları Evrakı (A. MKT. NZD) 258/73.

İrade Dâhiliye (İ. DH) 409/27044; 692/48387.

İrade Hariciye (İ.HR) 279/17188; 310/19811; 297/18835; 302/19201.

Hariciye Nezâreti İdare Evrakı (HR. İD) 1543/59; 1543/60.

Hariciye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemi Evrakı (HR. MKT) 535/45; 42/24; 737/98; 772/80; 882/98; 839/5; 838/97; 850/40; 590/2; 672/56; 574/78.

Hariciye Nezâreti Tahritrat (HR. TH) 4/29.

Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları (MV) 3/99.

Şura-yı Devlet (ŞD) 2456/33.

Yıldız Perakende Başkitabet Dairesi Maruzatı (Y..PRK.BŞK) 16/84.

Yıldız Perakende Komisyonlar Maruzatı (Y. PRK. KOM) 2/12.

Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN) :

Archives des Postes Diplomatiques, (APD), Constantinople (Ambassade), Série E :

Question Sanitaires, Vol. 464 (1840-1855)

Question Sanitaires, Vol. 465 (1857-1870)

Primary Sources

Abdullah Bey. Notice sur la société de secours aux militaires Blessés de l'Empire Ottoman à Constantinople. Constantinople: Imprimerie M. De Castro, 1869.

Ahmed Mithat, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina Yani Usûl-i Tahaffuzun Tarihçesi," Translated by Abdullah Köşe, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 5/1 (2003): 89-119.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Constantinople le 13 février 1866. Vol. 1, Constantinople: Imprimerie Centrale, 1866.

Procès-verbaux de la conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Vienne le premier juillet 1874. Vienne: Imprimerie impériale et royale, 1874.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Paris le 27 juillet 1851. Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1852.

- Proust, Adrien. La Défense de l'Europe Contre le Choléra. Paris: Libraire de l'académie de Médecine, 1892.
- Rapport de la Commission chargée par le Conseil de santé de proposer la modification du tarif des droits sanitaires de l'Empire Ottoman. Constantinople, 1856.
- Rapport de la Commission mixte chargée de réviser le tarif des droits sanitaires dans l'Empire ottoman. Constantinople : Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1876.
- Rapport de la Commission mixte chargée de réviser le tarif des droits sanitaires dans l'Empire ottoman. Constantinople : Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1871.
- Dr. Bartoletti. *Rapport sur les mesures à prendre contre la peste qui sévit en Perse*. Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1871.
- Dr. Bartoletti. « Rapport sur la marche et le mode de propagation du choléra en 1865. » Procèsverbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Constantinople le 13 février 1866. Vol. 1, 2-51
- Dr. Bartoletti. *Rapport sur les Masures à Prendre Contre la Peste qui Sévit en Perse*. Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie Centrales, 1871.
- Dr Bartoletti. Le Pèlerinage de 1883 et la Quarantine de Camaran: Rapport au Conseil Supérior de Santé. Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1882.
- Dr. Bartoletti. "La Peste de Benghazi," *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, Ilme Année, Nr. 6, Septembre 1858: 105-111.
- Dr. Bartoletti. Rapport au Conseil supérieur de santé sur les mesures à prendre à l'occasion de la peste en Mésopotamie. Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie Centrales Constantinople, 1876.
- Recueil de travaux du Comité d'hygiène publique en France. Paris : Librairie J. B. Bailliere, 1882.
- Règlement applicable aux provenances de choléra suivi de notes explicatives. Constantinople, 1867.
- Ségur-Dupeyron. Mission en Orient: rapport adressé à Son Excellence le ministre de l'agriculture et du commerce. Paris : Imprimerie Royale, 1846.
- Societe Ottomane de Secours aux Blessés et Malades Militaires constituee d'apres la convention de Geneve, Compte Rendu de Travaux de ceomite Central 1877-78. Vol. 1-2, Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographie du Journal "La Turquie", 1878.
- "The International Sanitary Conference at Vienna in 1874," *Br Foreign Med Chir Rev* 57/114 (1876): 315-333.

Periodicals

Gazette Médicale d'Orient Journal de Constantinople. Écho de l'Orient. La Turquie Stamboul

Secondary Sources

- Akgün, Seçil Karal and Murat Uluğtekin. *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*. Ankara: Kızılay, 2020.
- Atabek, Emine Melek, 1851'de Paris'te Toplanan I. Milletlerarası Sağlık Konferansı ve Türkler. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1974.
- Barua, Dhiman. "History of Cholera," *Cholera*. Edited by D. Barua and W. B. Greenough, New York: Springer, 1992: 1-36.
- Bulmuş, Birsen. "Plague, Sanitary Administration And The End Of Empire." *Plague, Quarantines and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire*, Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2012: 152-156.
- Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997.
- Çapa, Mesut. Kızılay (Hilâl-i Ahmer) Cemiyeti (1914-1925). Ankara: Türk Kızılay Derneği Yayınları, 2010.
- Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisleri'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri," *Belleten* 58/222 (1994): 329-376.
- Günergun, Feza and Nuran Yıldırım. "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'nin Mektebi Tıbbiyeyi Şahaneye Getirdiği Eleştiriler." *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 3/1 (2001): 19-64.
- Jones, N. Howard. *The Scientific background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938*. Geneva: WHO Chronicle, 1975.
- Koloğlu, Orhan. "Osmanlı Basınında 1865 Kolera Salgını, İstanbul Sağlık Konferansı ve Mirza Malkom Han," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 6/2 (2005): 139-150.
- Panzac, Daniel. "Pratiques anciennes et maladies nouvelles: la difficile adaptation de la politique sanitaire au XIXe siècle," *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 10/1-2 (1998), 53-66.
- Panzac, Daniel. "Tanzimat et sante publique les debuts du conseil sanitaire de l'Empire Ottoman." 50. Yılında Tanzimat, edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992: 352-333.
- Panzac, Daniel. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba (1700-1850)*. Translated by Serap Yılmaz. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997.
- Pollitzer, Robert. "Cholera Studies." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 10/3 (1954): 421-461.
- Sarıyıldız, Gülden, and Oya Dağlar Macar, "Cholera Pilgrimage and International Politics of Sanitation: the Quarantine Station on the island of Kamaran," *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, edited by. Nükhet Varlık, Croydon: Arc Humanities Press, 2017: 243-273.
- Sarıyıldız, Gülden. *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865-2914)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996.

- Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedi N. "Tarihi Kolera Salgınları ve Osmanlı Türkleri." İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası 17/2 (1954): 282-299.
- Seyf, Ahmad. "Iran and the Great Famine, 1870-72." Middle Eastern Studies 46/2 (2010): 289-306.
- Terziyan Tomas and Seref Etker. "Türkiye Tıp Tarihinin Latince Kaynakları: Dissertatio Inauguralis Medica De Peste Orientali,... Marcus Marchand, Constantinopolitanus (1831)." Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 24/2 (2023): 275-309.
- Ülman, Yeşim Işıl, "Portraits of Italians in health affairs in 19th century Istanbul: Dr. Castaldi, Pharmacist A. Calleja, Midwife Messani." *Quaderni di Oriente Moderno* 88/6 (2008): 135-149.
- Ünver, Süheyl. "Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Yeni Notlar." *Tanzimat I, 100. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940: 933-966.
- Yıldırım, Nuran. *A History of Healthcare in İstanbul*. Translated by M. İnanç Özekmeçi. İstanbul: İstanbul University Press, 2010.
- Yurdakul, Eray Serdar. Nuray Güneş, ve Fatih Namal. "Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Şeref Defteri." *Mersin Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Lokman Hekim Tıp Tarihi ve Folklorik Tıp Dergisi* 11/1 (2021): 73-92.

Theses

- Ada, Hüsnü. "Osmanlı Devletinin Hizmetinde İlk Modern Osmanlı Sivil Toplum Örgütü: Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti (1868-1911)." Phd Diss. Marmara Üniversitesi, 2011.
- Aktaş, Esat. "Erzurum ve Trabzon Vilayetlerinde Salgın Hastalıklar (1838-1914)." Phd Diss., Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2015.
- Kılınç, Handan. "Isolating the subject: Cholera and Sanitary Discours in the Istanbul International Sanitary Conference of 1866." Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversity, 2005.
- Ülman, Yeşim Işıl. "Gazette Médicale de Constantinople ve Tıp Tarihimizdeki Önemi." PhD Diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1999.

Electronic Sources

- "Stefano Bartoletti", accessed 18.07.2023 https://gw.geneanet.org/marmara2?lang=en&pz=mathilde&nz=d+andria&p=stefano&n=barto letti.
- "Kızılay'ın Kurucularından Doktor Bartoletti" accessed 17.02.2024 https://www.osmanliitalya.com/kizilayin-kurucularindan-doktor-bartoletti/
- "Hilal-i Ahmer'in Kurucuları Bir Grup İdealist Doktor", accessed 17.02.2024 http://kizilaytarih.org/dosya008.html.

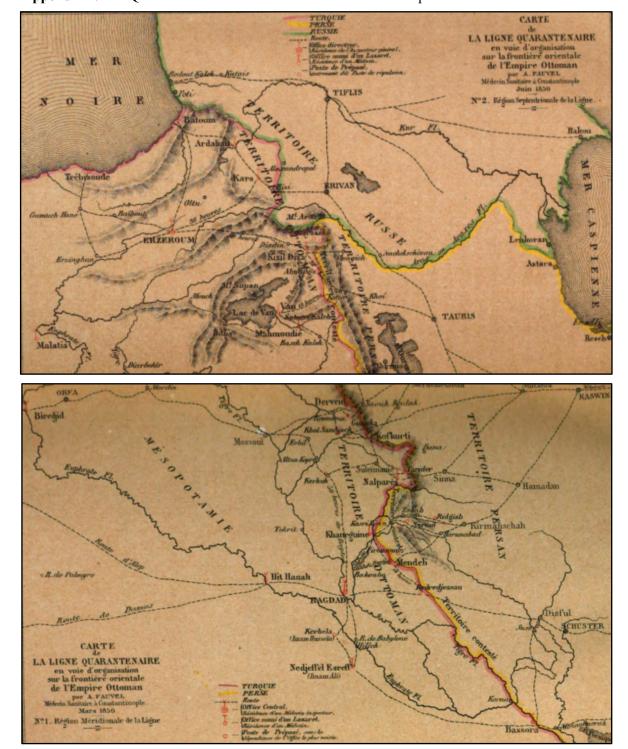
Appendices

Appendix 1: Dr Bartoletti's Request for Ottoman Nationality¹³⁷

A Son attesse d'ali Pacha, grand Sizir, Ministre des agaires Etrangeres Le Soussigné Ctionne grégoire Bartolette Docteur en m'édecine au dervice du gouverne ment Imperial Depuis 29, and accomplis, à la haute bienveillance de Votre altesse pour sollicités la nationalite ottomane, se prévalant Der dispositions de la nouvelle loi Edictee par le gouvernment de d. M. F. Ne à Constantinople de parents sujets italiens, ayant jour temporairement de la protection Britannique, le Longigne, depuis qu'il est attache à l'administration samitaire De l'Empire dont il rempli des charges konora bles, l'est toujours considéré comme un jedèle sujet de S. M. Un vif attachement au pays de sa naifrance,

¹³⁷ BOA, HR. SYS, 789/2, 8 July 1869.

it ika deline dan garas gara m le souvenir de son pare qui a tui-mome servi le gouvernement Justical en qualité de médecin principal à l'époque memorable de l'inacegura. tion re la réporme de l'armée Jonpériale camps de Levend Tchiplill, mais surtous profond sentiment de gratitude pour les bienfaits recev so gouvernment de J. M. engagent le vousigne de régulariser sa position par la favrer qu'il implore at il wet locate sa confiance en la bienveillance de Votre actesse pour Cobtanir. En attendant la realisation de son voce le voussigné à l'honneur d'être avec le pleer profond respect, Constantinople le 8 Juillet 1869 De Votre allesse Le très Acem Beigant Servicer Bartokette

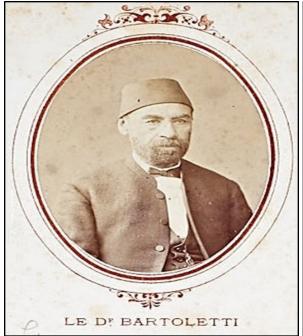


Appendix 2: The Quarantine Line on the Eastern Border of the Empire¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Recueil de travaux du Comité d'hygiène publique en France (Paris : Librairie J. B. Bailliere, 1882).

Appendix 3: Dr Bartoletti in the album of the founders of the Red Crescent Society¹⁴⁰

Appendix 4: Dr Bartoletti's Seal¹³⁹





BOA, İ. HR, 310/19811, Lef 2, 4 Temmuz 1304 (16 July 1888).
"Kızılay'ın Kurucularından Doktor Bartoletti" last updated 17.02.2024 https://www.osmanliitalya.com/kizilayin-kurucularindandoktor-bartoletti/

Appendix 5: The Condolence of the Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane on the Death of Dr Bartoletti¹⁴¹

GAZETTE MÉDICALE D'ORIENT

181

ence, au pays, et à l'Europe toute entière par la création et la fondation de l'administration sanitaire; les services rendus à cette administration même, au Croissant rouge et à la Société, mais il croit inutile d'insister davantage, le bureau ayant décidé de proposer à la société qu'un de ses membres le plus compétent fasse, dans une prochaine séance, son éloge devant la société. Il met en relief le zèle, le dévouement, l'attachement avec lesquels il remplit toutes les charges dont il fut de temps en temps investi. Il annonce qu'aussitôt après avoir appris la cruelle nouvelle, le bureau de la Société s'est réuni en séance extraordinaire et nomma une députation composée de LL. Exc. Zambaco pacha et Fayk pacha et de MM. Pardo et Ritzo pour porter les condoléances de la Société à la veuye, pour déposer une couronne sur la tombe et pour y prononcer un discours. C'est le Dr Ritzo qui a lu le discours suivant de S. Exc. Zambaco pacha.

MESSIEURS,

La Société Impériale de Médecine, atteint dans ses sentiments d'affection et de reconnaissance envers un de ses membres fondateurs les plus estimés, les plus dignes, les plus méritants, exprime sur la tombe de notre honoré collègue ses regrets les

plus profonds.

Ce n'est pas le moment, Messieurs, d'énumérer les travaux importants dûs à l'activité, au zèle, à l'amour pour l'humanité et pour la science de notre éminent confrère. Cette biographie qui mettra en relief les hautes qualités de cette nature si bien douée sera faite plus tard, au sein de notre Société, qui a le devoir de perpétuer la mémoire de ses membres qui l'ont honorée et qui ont pris une part active dans ses succès. Qu'il nous soit permis de dire aujourd'hui, en constatant un fait reconnu par tous ses contemporains dont les rangs s'éclaircissent, hélas, de plus en plus, que le Dr Bartoletti a rendu des services immenses à l'administration sanitaire à laquelle il a été attaché pendant près de 40 ans. Il a contribué avec feu les Drs Fauvel et Marchand, à organiser cette administration internationale qui a la haute mission de préserver l'Europe entière des fléaux épidémiques de l'Asie, fléaux qui décimaient nos populations et ravagaient l'Occident en s'introduisant souvent par les frontières de l'Empire Ottoman. Or, Messieurs, ainsi que l'a dit un sage Antique, le commencement est la moitié du tout. Et la commission initiale de l'Office sanitaire a fait plus que la moitié ! Elle a jeté les fondements de cette administration bienfaisante qui veille toujours partout, principalement aux frontières, pour arrêter et étouffer dans leurs germes deux affections terribles qui ont inspiré la frayeur à l'univers entier par leur monstrueuse léthalité : la Peste et le Choléra.

Le Dr Bartoletti a contribué à l'élaboration du premier règlement sanitaire international dont l'utilité n'est plus à discuter.

Le Gouvernement Impérial, qui encourage et récompense toujours les services rendus, a honoré notre éminent collègue de la façon la plus éclatante en lui décernant le grade de *Bala* et la décoration de l'ordre du Médjidié.

En reconnaissance de ses mérites et de ses efforts fructueux, tous les Etats ont tenu à confirmer la valeur et le zèle de notre regretté collègue en lui accordant les plus hauts témoignages d'estime. En effet, le Dr Bartoletti était décoré des grades élevés de tous les gouvernements. C'est là une consécration officielle et universelle de ses qualités d'organisateur et je puis dire de Directeur de la santé universelle sur laquelle il veillait toujours avec ses collègues de l'Administration.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. Outre ses qualités d'homme public et d'homme de science le Dr Bartoletti était aussi un homme de cœur, un homme de bien qui rendait toujours service dans sa sphère d'action. Aussi était-il généralement aimé et estimé par notre Société toute entière.

Nos regrets sont donc partagés non seulement par le corps médical, mais par tous ceux qui ont connu de près cet homme d'élite. Cette estime générale constitue la plus grande consolation pour sa digne compagne éplorée et si dévouée, pour toute sa famille, pour ses nombreux amis.

¹⁴¹ Gazette Médicale d'Orient, 40me Annee, No. 12, 15 Aout 1895, p.181.