



The Waqf of Nûrî Bimaristan in Aleppo in the Mid-16th Century

16. Yüzyılın Ortalarında Halep Nurî Bimaristanı Vakfı

MAKALE BİLGİSİ

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Abstract

Aleppo has been home to many civilisations, and especially during Zangid, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods, many waqf works were built in the city. One of these buildings, the Bimaristan of Nûrî, was built by Nûr al-Dîn Mahmud, one of the Zangid rulers. This hospital which was known as the Bimaristan of Nurî or the Bimaristan of Nûr al-Dîn Şehîd, was also known as "Bîmâristan-ı 'Atîq" because a second bimaristan named Ergûn Kâmil was built in the city later on. In this bimaristan, patients were treated free of charge and their medication costs were covered by the waqf budget.

In this study, after providing information about bimaristans, the Bimaristan of Nûrî and its founder Nûr al-Dîn Zangi, the waqf assets of the Bimaristan of Nûrî and their income amounts in the Mid-16th century, the waqf and hospital staff, their salaries and other expense items of the waqf are emphasised. The main sources of this study, which aims to reveal the importance of bimaristans in general and the Bimaristan of Nûrî in Aleppo in particular in terms of the history of medicine and architecture and its operating model, are the Aleppo awqaf registers in various funds with waqfs records in the Ottoman Archives.

Keywords: Aleppo, Nûr al-Dîn Zangi, waqf, bimaristan, dâr al-shifa.

Öz

Ortadoğu coğrafyasının en önemli sanayi ve ticaret merkezlerinden biri olan Halep, birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmış, özellikle Zengi, Eyyubi, Memlük ve Osmanlı dönemlerinde şehirde çok sayıda vakıf eseri inşa edilmiştir. Bu yapılardan biri olan Nurî Bimaristanı da Zengi hükümdarlarından Nureddin Mahmud tarafından yaptırılmıştır. Banisine nispetle Nurî Bimaristanı veya Nureddin Şehid Bimaristanı adıyla anılan bu hastane, daha sonra şehirde Ergûn Kâmil adıyla ikinci bir bimaristan inşa edildiği için "Bimaristan-ı 'Atik" adıyla da tanınmıştır. Nurî Bimaristanı'nda hastaların tedavileri ücretsiz olarak yapılmış, ilaç masrafları da vakıf bütçesinden karşılanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, genel olarak bimaristanlar, Nurî Bimaristanı ve banisi olan Nureddin Zengi hakkında bilgiler verildikten sonra Nurî Bimaristanı'nın 16. yüzyılın ortalarındaki gelir kaynakları ve miktarları ile vakıf ve hastane personeli, maaşları ve vakfın diğer gider kalemleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Genelde bimaristanların, özelde ise Halep'teki Nurî Bimaristanı'nın tıp ve mimarlık tarihi açısından önemini ve işletim modelini ortaya koymayı amaçlayan bu çalışmanın başlıca kaynaklarını ise Osmanlı Arşivi'nde çeşitli fonlarda kayıtlı bulunan Halep Evkaf Defterleri ile diğer vakıf kayıtları oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Halep, Nureddin Zengi, vakıf, bimaristan, dârüşşifa



Introduction

Waqf is the allocation of movable or immovable property to provide various services such as social, health, cultural, economic, education and training to people within the conditions set forth by the endower in order to gain the consent of God.¹ With these features, waqf works have performed various services for centuries and have caused the reconstruction of many towns. In this context, one of the most important services of the waqfs was in the field of health, and the dar al-shifas built for this purpose not only took care of the health of the people, but also trained doctors by providing medical education.²

Bimaristan is a Persian name derived from the word “bīmār” (sick) and the suffix “-istān” used to make a place name. It is seen that the name mārīstan, a corruption of this word, was used among the people and mostly in the sense of “asylum”, and that it was transformed into malastan/marastan in Muslim Spain, murustan in Egypt, and morstan/mestran in Maghrib. It can be said that the fact that the hospital and medical school of Jundishapur in Iran, which played a great role in the development of the first Islamic hospitals and where the famous physician of the Prophet Muhammad’s era, Hāris b. Kelede, studied medicine, was called bīmārīstan led to the adoption of this term among the Arabs from the early periods. The Arabic waqf of the hospital established in Samarkand in 1065 by Tamgaç Buğra Khan, the first Muslim Qarakhanid ruler, shows that Central Asian Muslims used the term dār al-merza instead of bīmārīstan, while the Seljuqs used the terms dār al-āfiye and dār al-shifā. The Ottomans used the words dār al-sihha, şifāhāne, bīmārhanne and tımarhanne together with dār al-shifā, and from the 19th century onwards, especially with the establishment of modern health institutions like those in Europe, they preferred to call them hospitals. In today’s Arab world, the word müsteşfā is mostly used.³

The most advanced of the dār al-shifās continued its activities in the mid-5th century in Jundishapur, the most important cultural centre of Western Asia. This hospital and medical school represented the modern understanding of medicine of its period as a synthesis of the medical accumulations of these civilisations with the joint work of Indian, Greek and Iranian physicians. Muslims, who got to know the hospital in Jundishapur during the conquest of Iran in the waqf period of Islamic civilisation, adopted it as an exemplary institution and established and developed similar ones in many cities. Although some sources mention that the first Muslim hospital was built in Damascus in 707 by the Umayyad caliph Walid bin Abd al-Malik, this was a structure established as a shelter for lepers and the blind. The first fully organised Islamic hospital was established in Baghdad by Hārūn al-Rashīd during the Abbasid period and was managed by Jibrāil bin Buhtīşū’, a physician from Jundishapur. This hospital set an example for other hospitals to be established in Baghdad and other major Islamic cities.⁴ Between the 9th-17th centuries, many dār al-shifā were

¹ Asaf Ataseven, “Tarihimizde Vakfedilmiş Sağlık Müesseseleri “Darü’ş-şifalar”, *II. Vakıf Haftası 3-9 Aralık 1984* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1985), 157. For detailed information on the waqf, see also Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, “Vakıf”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 42 (İstanbul 2012), 479-486; Hasan Yüksel, *Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü (1585-1683)* (Sivas: Dilek Matbaası, 1998); Nazif Öztürk, *Menşe’i ve Tarihî Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1983); Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslam Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1996).

² Ataseven, “Tarihimizde Vakfedilmiş Sağlık Müesseseleri “Darü’ş-şifalar”: 157; Kürşat Çelik, “Trablusşam Dârüşşifâ (Bîmârīstan) Vakfı 1845-1880”, *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 10/2 (2020): 444.

³ Arslan Terzioğlu, “Bîmârīstan”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 6 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları 1992), 163.

⁴ For detailed information about Jundishapur Hospital and Jibrāil bin Buhtīşū’, see Ahmed Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital, Medicine Religion, and Charity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 26-33.

established in a wide geography from Andalusia to India, in Umayyad, Abbasid, Seljuq, Mamluk, Ilkhanid, Timurid, Aq Qouyunlu and Ottoman countries.⁵

Damascus Nūr al-Dīn Hospital (1154), the oldest hospital to survive in its original form, was built with the ransom received in return for the release of the Frankish king captured by Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud Zangi. It has a pool in the centre, 4 iwans around it, patient rooms, toilets and bathrooms. In this hospital, which was managed by the revenues of the waqf, with a monthly cost of approximately 450 dinars, where the chief physician, assistant physicians and administrative staff worked, medical education was also given. The food of the patients was provided from the adjacent imaret.⁶

The Nūrī Bimaristan in Aleppo, which is the subject of this study, does not have a surviving waqf deed. The most important source of detailed information about the income sources and expenditure items of the waqf is the Aleppo awqaf register dated 1550. The digital copy of this register, the original of which is registered in the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre Kuyud-ı Kadime Archive with the number 556, is also registered in the Ottoman Archive of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, in the TK.GM.d. fund with the number 389.⁷ There are two other copies of this awqaf register in the same archive, which are incorrectly dated in the catalogue, the first of which is recorded in the TT.d. fund with the number 1121, and the second in the AE.SSLM.I. fund with the number 1-15.

In this study, in the light of these archival documents mentioned above, information will be given on the sources of income of the Bimaristan of Nūrī in Aleppo in the middle of the 16th century, its annual income, personnel expenses and other expenses, and its status in the following periods will be tried to be determined in the light of the sources.

1. The Bimaristan of Nūrī in Aleppo

This hospital in Aleppo, better known as “Bīmāristān-ı ‘Atīq” (the Old Bimaristan) in the 16th century, was built by Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd in Jellūm neighbourhood.⁸ The fact that it was called old bimaristan was due to the existence of a second bimaristan in Aleppo.⁹ In fact, Nūr al-Dīn built dār

⁵ Ali Haydar Bayat, *Tıp Tarihi* (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Yayınları, 2016), 207. For detailed information on the development process and functions of bimaristan in the Islamic world, see also Fatma Çapan, “İslam Dünyası’nda Bimaristanlar ve Gelişme Süreçleri”, *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences* XVIII/III (2019): 1205-1219.

⁶ Bayat, *Tıp Tarihi*, 208-209.

⁷ Although there is no date anywhere in this book, the date of 992 AH (1584 AD) is erroneously given in the archive catalogue. However, the revenues of villages and hamlets in the register are the same with the data in the Aleppo Mufassal Tahrir Register dated 1550, which is registered in the Ottoman Archives of the State Archives Presidency with the number 454 in the TT.d. fund. Therefore, the aforementioned awqaf register is dated 1550, not 1584. For more information on the date of the awqaf register, see: Enver Çakar, “16. Yüzyılda Antakya Vakıfları (1550 Tarihli Evkaf Defterine Göre)”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 43 (2015): 10.

⁸ “Waqf-ı Bīmāristān-ı ‘Atīq ki Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd merhūm bināsıdır ‘an mahalle-i Jellūm”. BOA, *Ali Emiri, Yavuz Sultan Selim (AE.SSLM.I)*, 1-5, 2a; BOA, *Tapu ve Kadstro Genel Müdürlüğü Defterleri (TK.GM.d)*, 389, 102a.

⁹ The second bimaristan, known as “Bīmāristān-ı Jedīd”, was built by Emir Ergun bin Seyf al-Dīn in Dāhil-i Bāb-ı Kinnesrin neighborhood. For detailed information about this hospital, also known as Bimaristan of Ergun Kāmil, see Ayten Altıntaş, “Halep’de Bir Vakıf Hastane Ergün Kāmil Bīmāristanı (1354)’nın Osmanlı Dönemi ve Akıl Hastaları İçin Önemi”, *Uluslararası Antep-Halep Vakıfları Sempozyum Bildirileri*, II (İstanbul: Gaziantep Üniversitesi Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 209-217; Nil Sarı, “Suriye’de Tarihi Türk Hastanelerini Ararken”, 2. *Sağlık Tarihi ve Müzeciliği Sempozyumu*, ed., A. Zeki İzgöer, Murat D. Çekin (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 16-22.

al-shifās known by his name not only in Aleppo but also in Damascus¹⁰ and Tripoli.¹¹ In order to meet the needs of these dār al-shifās and to pay the salaries of the staff, he established separate waqfs for each of them and supported them with various assets. Nūrī or Bīmāristan-ı ‘Atıq was more commonly known as the Bīmāristan of Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd¹² in the 17th century and later.

Built between 1148-1155¹³ and located in the southern part of the main bazaar in the old city of Aleppo, very little of the original structure has survived. These are parts of the entrance portal, including the door frame and inscription, and part of the street façade, while most of the rest of the building has been renovated or rebuilt over the centuries¹⁴ (see Fig. 1-Fig. 4). As a matter of fact, it is understood from two separate inscriptions in these sections that various additions were made to the bimaristan during the Ayubid and Mamlukid periods. The first of these inscriptions is dated Sha‘ban 655 AH (1257 AD) and the second is dated 840 AH¹⁵ (1436/37 AD). The undated inscription on the entrance gate of the bimaristan states that it was built by Abu’l-Kasım Mahmud ibn Zangi bin Aq Sungur¹⁶ (see Fig. 2).

2. The Person who Built the Bimaristan

Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud, the founder of bimaristan, was born in Aleppo in 1118, the son of Imad al-Din Zangi, the atabeg of Mosul and Aleppo. Upon the death of his father in 1146, he became the ruler of Aleppo and the most dangerous rival of the Crusaders in the region. Thanks to his efforts, Aleppo and Damascus were united under a single sovereignty for the first time during the Crusades.¹⁷ Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud then extended his rule to Egypt and pinched the Crusaders from the east and west, and prepared the necessary conditions for the conquest of Jerusalem with his relentless struggle. Nūr al-Dīn died in the castle of Damascus while he was preparing to go to Egypt (15 May 1174). He was first buried in a room in the inner castle and then transferred to his mausoleum at the entrance of the madrasah he built for the Hanafīs at the entrance of the bazaar called al-Hawwāsın, which bears the name of al-Nūriyyat al-Qūbrā. Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud was

¹⁰ “Şam-ı şerifde vāki’ Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd Tīmārhanesi’nde yevmī on akçe vazīfe ile şarapdar olup...”, BOA, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Evrakı* (TS.MA.e), 834/32. For detailed information about the dār al-shifā in Damascus, see Engin Bektaş, “Nüreddin Zengī Bīmāristanı”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 33 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 262-263; Eşref Buharalı, “Üç Türk Hükümdarının Yaptırdığı Üç Sağlık Kurumu: Tolunoğulları, Zengiler ve Memlûklerde Sağlık Hizmetleri”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* XXV/40 (2006): 31-32; Nil Sarı, “Suriye’de Tarihî Türk Hastanelerini Ararken”, 12-14; Ahmed Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital, Medicine Religion, and Charity*, 45-49.

¹¹ “Hekimbaşı Mehmed Çelebi mektûb gönderüb Trablus’da Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd Dār al-shifāsında altı akçe ile tabīb Abraham Yahudi ‘ilm u tebābetden haberi olmayup...”, BOA, *Bab-ı Asafı Defterleri* (A.DVNSMHH.d), 25, 8/167. See also BOA, *Cevdet, Sihhiye* (C.SH), 8-373; C.SH, 10-498.

¹² BOA, C.SH, 19-932; C. SH, 10-461; C.SH, 28-1374; C.SH, 6-255; C.SH, 23-113; BOA, *İrade, Evkaf* (İ.EV), 32-3681.

¹³ “Bīmāristān of Nūr al-Dīn, Aleppo”, Sonic.net, access 19 February, 2024, <http://www.sonic.net/~tallen/palmtree/ayyarch/ch2.htm#alep.bimn>.

¹⁴ “Bimaristan Nur al-Din (Aleppo)”, Archnet, access 19 February, 2024, <https://www.archnet.org/sites/4229>.

¹⁵ Gazzī (Kāmil b. Hüseyin b. Muhammed el-Bālī el-Halebī), *Kitābu Nehr al-Zeheb Fī Tārihi Haleb*, 2 (Haleb: Matbaat al-Mārūniye, 1342), 64.

¹⁶ “Bismillahirrahmanirrahim emere bi-‘amelihī al-mawlā al-melik al-mālik al-‘ādil al-mücāhid al-murābit al-e‘azz al-kāmil salah al-dünyā ve’ d-đin kasım al-dawla radiyy al-hilāfe tād al-mülük ve’s-selāfın nāsır al-hakk bi’l-berāhın muhyi’l-‘adl fi’l-‘ālemīn kāmi’ al-mulhidīn katil al-kefere ve’l-müşrikīn Ebū’l-Kāsım Mahmud ibn Zangī bin Aqsungur nāsır emir al-mü’minīn edāmallahu devletuhu bi-Muhammedini’n-nebiyyi ve ālihi bi-tevellā al-‘abd al-fakīr ilā rahmeti mawlāhu ‘atebe ibn Es‘ad bin al-Mawsilī. Gazzī, *Kitābu Nehr al-Zeheb*, II, 65-66.

¹⁷ For detailed information about Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud, see Ebru Altan, “Nur al-Din Mahmud b. Zangi (1146-1174): One of the Prominent Leaders of the Struggle Against the Crusaders”, *Tarih Dergisi* 59 (2014): 57-78; Bahattin Kök, “Nüreddin Zengī, Mahmud”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 33 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 259-262.

nicknamed “al-Malik al-‘Adil” because of his justice and piety, and he was also nicknamed “Şehīd” because of his desire to be a martyr in the wars with the Crusaders.¹⁸

3. Income Sources of the Bimaristan Waqf

The most important assets of the bimaristan were the tax revenues from the soil crops of the villages and hamlets. In this context, all or part of the tax revenues of 3 villages and 6 hamlets were endowed to the bimaristan. The most important of these was the tax of bad-ı heva and the entire dimos of *Ma‘arratā* village of *Jabal-i Sem‘ān*, which was the closest district to Aleppo city, and since it was awarded to the bimaristan, this village was more commonly known as “Ma‘arratā el Māristān¹⁹”. In 1550, the annual tax (*dimos*²⁰) collected from this village was 16000 akçes (silver coins) and the *bād-i hawā* tax collected from this village totalled 280 akçes. Therefore, the income from this village alone accounted for 53,33 per cent of the total waqf income.

The second most important item of waqf income was the tax revenue from the hamlet of *Abu Fazlūn*, located near the city of Aleppo. This amount, which corresponded to 12 per cent of the total waqf income, was 3615 akçes in 1550, which was the *qürüm* (vineyard) tribute in the aforementioned hamlet.

In addition to the villages and hamlets listed above, a certain portion of the annual income of some villages, hamlets and mills has been allocated to the bimaristan waqf.²¹ In this context, the 1/2 share of the *Wadi al-Asel* hamlet of *Jabal-i Sem‘ān* and the 8 feddan shares of the *Bākid Nāyā*²² hamlet; The mill (*tāhūn*) named *al-Khalidī* and its hamlet of the same name in the *Matah* sub-district of Aleppo, the 5 feddan shares of the hamlet named *Humayra* held by the inhabitants of the *Zeytān* village of the same sub-district, and the 12 feddan shares of the village named *al-Ferzel* in the *Ma‘arra* sub-district; The 8 feddan shares of the hamlet named *Abu Madāyā* in the A‘zaz sub-district, the 1/3 share of the village named *Bayt Rāil* in the *Sermin* sub-district of Aleppo, and the 1/8 share of the mill named *al-Garbiyye* in the *Hāric-i Bab al-Jinān* neighbourhood of Aleppo were the other important sources of income of the waqf. Thus, in 1550, 26823,5 akçes of the waqf’s income consisted of land crops in rural areas and tax revenues from mills, which accounted for more than 89 per cent of the total waqf income.

¹⁸ Kök, “Nüreddin Zengī, Mahmud”, 261.

¹⁹ BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (TT.d)*, 454, 156-157.

²⁰ Dimos, which is mostly seen in the tax registers (tahrir defters) of the sanjaks in the Syrian region, is a term used as a tithe and means one tenth of the crop. Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1983), 451.

²¹ In Aleppo, the income division of villages, hamlets and mills was made on the basis of share (*hisse*) and *feddān*. Among these, *feddān* is the Egyptian area measure and shows an area of 6368 square meters (Walter Hinz, *İslam’da Ölçü Sistemleri*, çev. Acar Sevim (İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1990), 80). However, there are also different types of *feddān* and it is described in the Qanunname of Damascus Sanjak as follows: “Ve *feddān* deyu çifte derler. Amma *feddān-ı Rumānī* ve *İslamī* ve *feddān-ı hurrās* ve *feddān-ı arz* vardır. *Feddān-ı rumānī* bir çift, bir gün, bir gece ne mikdār sürse ana *feddān-ı rumānī* derler. Eğer bir gün tamam sürse *feddān-ı İslamī* derler ve *feddān-ı Arabī* dahi derler. Ve bir çift öğle vaktine dek sürse *feddān-ı hurrās* derler. Ve *feddān-ı arz* dahi derler”. Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 7 (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 22-23.

²² In the list of waqf properties in Gazzī’s work, the name of this hamlet was incorrectly stated as Kefer Nāyā, and the share of the waqf was stated as 5 *feddān* (see *Kitābu Nehr al-Zeheb*, vol. 2, 64). However, Kefer Nāyā is a village located in A‘zaz sub-district. See BOA, *TT.d*, 93, 268.

Table 1. Income Sources of the Waqf²³ (1550)

Types of Revenues	Income Amounts (Akçes)
All of the dimos of Ma'arratā village of Jabal-i Sem'an sub-district	16000
Bād-i hawā of Ma'arratā village of Jabal-i Sem'an	280
One-half share of Wadi al-Asel hamlet of Jabal-i Sem'an	562,5
8 feddān shares of Bākid Nāyā hamlet of Jabal-i Sem'an	2400
1/3 share of the mill named al-Khalidī and its hamlet in Matah sub-district	600
5 feddān shares of Humeyra hamlet subject to Matah and held by the people of Zeytān village	260
12 feddān shares of al-Ferzel village of Ma'arra	600
8 feddān shares of Abu Medāyā hamlet subject to A'zāz	600
1/3 share of Beyt Rāil village subject to Sermin	1666
1/8 share of the mill named al-Garbiyye in Aleppo, located in Hāric-i Bab al-Jinān	240
Hikr-ı eşcār-ı tīn der A'zāz fī sene	26
Hikr-ı arsa ve han ve kā'a ve dükkān ve bostan Hāric-i Bāb-ı Antakiyye fī sene	228
Ahkār-ı buyüt der mahalle-i Varaka Hāric-i Bab-ı Antakiyye 48 bab fī sene	358
Ahkār-ı zemin-i dekākin ve besātin ve fırın ve gayruhu 'amele-i Varaka fī sene	1522
Dekākin der Sūk al-Hawā 11 bab fī sene	849
Hikr-ı zemin-i kaysariya-i Balım? Hāric-i Bāb-ı Antakiyye	Desolate (Hāli)
Dekākin-i Harzem	Ruined
Mezraa-i Ebu Fazlūn der nezd-i Haleb, hāsıl an harāc al-qürüm	3615
Muhallefāt-ı merzā ki dār al-shifāda vefāt edip vārisleri bulunmaya vakfa zabt olunur fī sene	200
Total	30695,5²⁴

In addition to the villages, hamlets and mills (tāhūn or āsiyāb), the Bimaristan al-Nūrī also had rental income from waqf trees and lands called "hikr²⁵". In this context, the hikr of fig trees in A'zāz, the hikr of land, inn, kā'a (courtyard), shop and orchard in the *Hāric-i Bab-ı Antakiyye* neighbourhood of Aleppo, the hikr of 48 houses in the *Varaka* neighbourhood of Aleppo, the hikr of the grounds of the shop, orchard and bakery in the same neighbourhood, and the hikr of the grounds of *Balım Kaysariya* in Hāric-i Bab-ı Antakiyye, which was not in use in 1550, were among the assets of the waqf.

Among the properties endowed to the Bimaristan of Nūrī were many shops. The rental income from 11 shops in the bazaar known as *Sūk al-Hawā* was especially important. In 1550, another shop known as *Harzem*, which was in ruins, is mentioned. Again, the pendants of patients who died in the dār al-shifā and had no heirs were also among the revenues of the waqf. However, the amount of this was not very high and was around 200 akçes in 1550.²⁶

²³ BOA, *TK.GM.d.*, 389, 102a; BOA, *TT.d.*, 1121, 106a; BOA, *AE.SSLM.I.*, 1-15, 2a.

²⁴ The correct value is 30006,5 akçes. In this case, either a calculation error was made or an income item amounting to 653 akçes was not recorded.

²⁵ Hikr (plural: ahkār), which is a noun from infinitive hakr, which means "to do injustice, to reduce; to imprison, to hold" in the dictionary, refers to the long-term lease of waqf land by allowing the construction of buildings and planting trees on it, in connection with the meaning of "imprisonment and holding something" in the literature of fiqh and the history of civilisation. Although the land leased in this way or the rental fee is also called hikr, the word is mostly used in the first sense. Mehmet İpşirli, "Hikr", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 17 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998), 525.

²⁶ According to 1550 records, the total annual income of the Nūrī Bimaristan waqf was 30006,5 akçes (see Table 1).

In 1695, the waqfs of both bimaristans in Aleppo and the Jāmi-i Kebīr waqf were under the supervision of Bab al-Saāde Agha *Mustafa Agha*.²⁷ The administration of these three waqfs was also centralised in one hand.²⁸ As a matter of fact, *Sayyid Mehmed*, who was the trustee of the waqf, was dismissed from his post at the request of Mustafa Agha and another person named *Murtaza* was appointed in his place.²⁹ The waqfs of Jāmi-i Kebīr, Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd and Ergun Kāmil bimaristans in Aleppo were under the supervision³⁰ of Bab al-Saāde Agha *Ahmed* in 1733³¹, then *Küçük Ali Agha*, his son *Mustafa Agha* after his death and *Muhammed Agha*³² in 1736. In the 19th century, this common waqf, which was collected by means of the granting of the revenue and tax³³, was administered by the finance treasury in 1860.³⁴ It seems that when the state switched to a single treasury system as a requirement of the reform movements, the revenues and mukata of all waqfs were also transferred to the finance treasury.³⁵

4. Expense Items of the Waqf

4.1. Personnel Expenses

The staff of the waqf consisted of the administrative staff of the waqf and the hospital staff. The waqf staff consisted of the trustee, clerk, jābi and vekilharç, while the hospital staff consisted of the physician, ophthalmologist (kehhāl) and surgeon, as well as the janitor (hademe or hādīm), doorman (bevṵāb) and cook (tabbāh). The first group was responsible for the management of the waqf, and the one known as the trustee had the highest salary; his daily wage was 18 akçes in 1550. The clerk, who conducted the correspondence of the waqf, and the jābi, who collected its revenues, received a daily wage of 5 akçes each for their services.

The second group of personnel who received a share of the waqf's income were the physician, kehhāl (ophthalmologist) and surgeon who took care of the treatment of patients in the hospital (shifāhāne). The physician and kehhāl received a daily wage of 5 akçes each, while the surgeon received 2 akçes. However, the physician's fee was increased in the following years. As a matter of fact, in 1574, upon the request of the chief physician to the government, the salary of the physician Sheikh Sahih, who received a daily salary of 13 akçes, was increased by 5 akçes with the approval

²⁷ A nāzır is an authority in charge of supervising the trustee's disposals related to the waqf. In Islamic law, the duty of supervision belongs to the judiciary. However, in the sultan and vizier waqfs, which constitute the majority of Ottoman waqfs, the duty of supervision was assigned to high-ranking state officials such as the grand vizier, sheikh al-islām and Bāb al-Saāde aghas. From the end of the 16th century onwards, these were organised and expanded as units of supervision and finally transformed into the Nezāret of Awkāf-ı Hümāyun in 1826. Mehmet Genç, "Nāzır, Osmanlılar'da", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006), 450.

²⁸ "Vakf-ı Jāmi'-i Kebīr-i Emevī ve Dār al-shifā-i Ergun Kāmil ve Dār al-shifā-i Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd der Haleb", BOA, *Evkaf, Berat (EV.BRT.)* 43-7.

²⁹ BOA, *İbnülemin, Vakıf (İE.EV)*, 32-3681. In 1733, Mehmed was the trustee of all three waqfs and was still in charge in 1758. BOA, *TS.MA.e*, 834-33; BOA, *Sadaret, Umum Vilayet Evrakı (A.MKT.UM)*, 209-65.

³⁰ The minister played an important role in the appointment of trustees for such waqfs. For some examples, see BOA, *C.SH*, 19-932; *C.SH*, 10-461.

³¹ BOA, *Ali Emiri, Mahmud I (AE.SMHD.I)*, 109-7828; BOA, *C.SH*, 28-1374.

³² BOA, *TS.MA.e*, 770-33.

³³ BOA, *C.SH*, 29-1440.

³⁴ "Cānib-i hazīne-i celīle-i mālīyeden idare olunmakda olan Haleb'de vāki' Jāmi'-i Kebīr-i Emevī ve Dār al-shifā-i Ergun Kāmil ve Dār al-shifā-i Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd evkafından almak üzere yevmī üç akçe vazife ile jāmi'-i mezbūrda muhaddislik ve ...", BOA, *Cevdet, Maarif (C.MF)*, 68-3364.

³⁵ Elif Genca, "Osmanlı Hukukunda Vakıfların Denetimi (Evkaf-ı Hümāyun Nezareti)", *İÜ Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası LXXII/1* (2014): 551.

of the waqf³⁶, and in the 18th century, both the number of physicians was increased and the salaries of physicians and surgeons were increased according to the conditions of the day. For example, surgeon Abd al-Kerim, who died in 1700, received a daily salary of 5 akçes³⁷, while the second physician (tabib-i sâni) Sayyid Yasin, who died in 1730, received a salary of 7 akçes.³⁸ In 1733, the first physician with a daily salary of 10 akçes and the second physician with a daily salary of 7 akçes at the Dâr al-shifâ of Nûr al-Dîn Şehîd and Abd al-Kerim, a surgeon with a daily salary of 4 akçes at the Dâr al-shifâ of Ergun Kâmil, and Abd al-Rahim, his partner and brother, died and their duties were assigned to Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Abd al-Rahman, the sons of Sheikh Muhammed, with the declaration of the ser etibbâ-i hâssa (chief physician) and the request of Bab al-Saâde Agha Ahmed.³⁹ In 1767, Sheikh Hâfiz Ahmed, who was a partial surgeon and physician with a daily wage of 10,5 akçes to be taken from Ergun Kâmil and Nûr al-Dîn Şehîd bimaristans, died and his son Sheikh Mustafa submitted a petition to the sultan to be given his duty.⁴⁰

Another group of hospital staff were the orderlies who served the weak patients (hâdim al-zu'afâ) and the female patients (hâdemet al-nisâ). The daily wage of the former, whose duties were heavier than the latter, was 2 akçes, while the daily wage of the staff responsible for female patients was one akçe. Vekilharc, who purchased the supplies and materials needed for the hospital, received a daily salary of 2 akçes, while the doorman (bevvâb), who was responsible for the security of the hospital, and the cook (tabbâh), who cooked the food for the staff and patients, were paid one akçe each (see Table-2).

Table 2. Personnel Expenses⁴¹ (1550)

Personnel Expenses	Amounts (Akçes)
Cihet-i tevlîyet fî yevm	18
Cihet-i kitâbet fî yevm	5
Cihet-i cibâyet fî yevm	5
Cihet-i tabib fî yevm	5
Cihet-i kehhâl fî yevm	5
Cihet-i cerrâh fî yevm	2
Cihet-i vekilharc fî yevm	2
Cihet-i hâre fî yevm	2
Cihet-i hâdim al-zu'afâ fî yevm	2
Cihet-i bevvâb fî yevm	1
Cihet-i tabbâh fî yevm	1
Cihet-i hâdemet al-nisâ fî yevm	1

³⁶ BOA, *A.DVNSMHH.d*, 25, 83/933.

³⁷ Abd al-Kerim was replaced by al-Haj Abd al-Rahman as surgeon with the same salary. BOA, *İbnülemin Sıhhiye (İE.SH)*, 1-98.

³⁸ Sayyid Yasin was replaced by Abu'l-Mansur Sayyid Mustafa Efendi as the second physician with the same salary. BOA, *C.SH*, 23-113.

³⁹ BOA, *AE.SMHD.I*, 109-7828.

⁴⁰ BOA, *TS.MA.e*, 454-34.

⁴¹ BOA, *AE.SSLM.I*, 1-15, 2a; BOA, *TK.GM.d*, 389, 102a.

4.2. Hospital (Dār al-Shifā) and Patient Expenses

Hospital expenses included various syrups, pastes, eye kohl, various ointments and oils, food for weak patients, quilts, mattresses and materials required for the burial and shrouding of the deceased. The highest expense item was the food for the weak and neglected patients and the expenses incurred for the maintenance, repair and material supply of the hospital. The least expensive item was the various oils used for the patients (see Table-3).

According to 1550 records, the total annual expenditure (al-masraf) of the waqf was 29,910 akçes. After this expenses, 749,5 akçes remained. The endowment stipulated that this amount was not to be given to anyone under the name of “zevāid” (increasing amount) but to be spent on the oil and straw used in the lighting and exhibition of the bimaristan.⁴²

In the following years, due to the decrease in waqf revenues and the increase in personnel and patient expenses, the expenses could no longer be met with the existing revenues. For example, in 1799, the annual income of Ergun Kāmil Bimaristan was 865 piaster and its expenses were 857 piasters, while the annual income of the Bimaristan of Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd was 503,5 piasters and its expenses were 521 piasters. Therefore, the number of personnel and their salaries were restricted in order to maintain a balance between income and expenditure.⁴³

Table 3. Patient Expenses⁴⁴ (1550)

Types of Expenses	Amounts (Akçes)
Be-cihet-i eşribe-i mütenevvia' fī sene	1200
Be-cihet-i me'ācin fī sene	1500
Be-cihet-i kehl-i mütenevvia' fī sene	1300
Be-cihet-i merāhim-i mütenevvia' fī sene	1000
Be-cihet-i dühn-i mütenevvia' fī sene	250
Be-cihet-i yorgan ve döşek ve ihrācāt-ı sāire berāy-ı zu'afā fī sene	1400
Be-cihet-i me'kūlāt-ı zu'afā fī sene	3500
Be-cihet-i techīz ve tekfīn-i mevtā fī sene	1200
Be-cihet-i mühimmāt-ı dār al-shifā fī sene ber vech-i tahmīn	2000
Total	13350

⁴² “Zevāid deyu kimesneye virilmeyüp bīmāristān-ı mezbūrun yağına ve hasırına sarf oluna”. BOA, *AE.SSLM.I*, 1-15, 2b; BOA, *TK.GM.d*, 389, 102b; BOA, *TT.d*, 1121, 106b.

⁴³ The salaries of Dervish Mehmed, who was the trustee of the Ergun Kāmil waqf with 6 akçes, and Sheikh Hüseyin, who was the trustee and doorman (bevṵāb) of the Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd waqf with 6 akçes, were left to the waqf on the grounds that they had been in another country for a long time, and 10 akçes of the salary of Abd al-Kerim, who was the first and second physician with 17 akçes, was left to the waqf, 7 akçes were used to pay the salaries of other staff members by Mehmed, the trustee of Jāmi-i Kebīr, and Mehmed Efendi, its clerk. BOA, *TS.MA.e*, 770-30.

⁴⁴ BOA, *AE.SSLM.I*, 1-15, 2a.

Conclusion

Bimaristan and the healing centres within them were the most important health institutions where patients were treated. These institutions, which were generally built by statesmen and wealthy individuals as waqf works, were staffed by doctors and surgeons as well as personnel responsible for the care of patients, cleaning and security, and their salaries were paid with the revenues from waqf resources. Therefore, in addition to a trustee who was responsible for the management of the waqf, officials such as nāzır, jābi and clerk were also employed as waqf personnel.

The city of Aleppo was one of the most important industrial and commercial centres of the Middle East. In Aleppo, which attracted attention with its crowded population, many waqf works (mosques, masjids, madrasahs, imaret, dār al-shifā, zawiya, fountains, etc.) were built in various periods, one of which is the Bimaristan of Nūrī, which was built by Nūr al-Dīn Mahmud during the Zangid period and known by his name. With the construction of a second bimaristan in Aleppo in the following years, this bimaristan was known as the Bīmāristan-ı ‘Atīq (Old Bimaristan) in the 16th century, but in later periods it was mostly known as Bimaristan of Nūr al-Dīn Şehīd. Patients were treated free of charge and their medicines were also provided. In addition, future physicians were also trained in these distinguished health institutions where mentally ill patients were also treated.

According to the mid-16th century waqf records, the bimaristan waqf consisted of the entire tax revenues of one village and specific shares of the revenues of two villages, as well as specific shares of 5 hamlets and 2 mills, 11 shops, a vineyard and land rented for houses, a kaysariya and gardens. The waqf's most important source of income was the tax revenues of the village of Ma'arratā in the Jabal-i Sem'ān sub-district of Aleppo. In addition, 1/2 share of Wādi al-'Asel hamlet and 8 feddān shares of Bākid Nāyā hamlet in Jabal al-Sam'ān sub-district, 1/3 share of Khalidī hamlet and the mill in this hamlet in Matah sub-district of Aleppo, 5 feddān shares of Humeyra hamlet, 8 feddan shares of Abu Medāyā hamlet in A'zāz, The sources of income of the waqf were 1/3 share of the village of Bayt Rāil subject to Sermin, the tribute of the vineyard in the hamlet of Abu Fazlūn near Aleppo, 1/8 share of the mill known as al-Garbiyye in the Hāric-i Bab al-Jinān neighbourhood of Aleppo, 11 shops in Sūk al-Hawa Bazaar, as well as the rents of the lands on which houses, shops, a kaysariya, bakeries were built and the lands converted into orchards and gardens. In addition, the financial assets of people who died while being treated in the hospital and had no heirs were also appropriated to the waqf as income.

The annual expenses of the waqf consisted of the salaries of the staff and the expenses incurred for the hospital. The waqf staff consisted of the trustee, clerk, jābi and vekilharc, while the hospital staff consisted of the physician, ophthalmologist (kehhāl) and surgeon, as well as the janitor, doorman (bevvāb) and cook (tabbāh). The first group was responsible for the management of the waqf, and the one known as the trustee received the highest salary. The clerk, who conducted the correspondence of the waqf, and the jābi, who collected the revenues, also received a certain fee from the waqf revenues in return for their services. Hospital expenses consisted of various syrups, pastes, eye kohl, various ointments, various oils, food especially for weak patients, quilts, mattresses and materials used for the burial and shrouding of the deceased. In the mid-16th century, hospital expenses accounted for 44 per cent of total expenditures, while 56 per cent was allocated to staff salaries. The remaining 2.4% of the annual income after the hospital and personnel expenses could

only be spent on the purchase of oil used for lighting the rooms and mats used in the exhibition, as per the stipulations of the waqf.

The Nūrī Bimaristan, which served the people of Aleppo for a long time during the Zengid, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods, was destroyed in the following years due to natural disasters and negligence, and its waqf resources were merged with the Great Mosque (Jāmi-i Kebīr) waqf in Aleppo as it lost its efficiency. This building, which was partially restored afterwards, continues to enrich the silhouette of Aleppo with all its splendour today.

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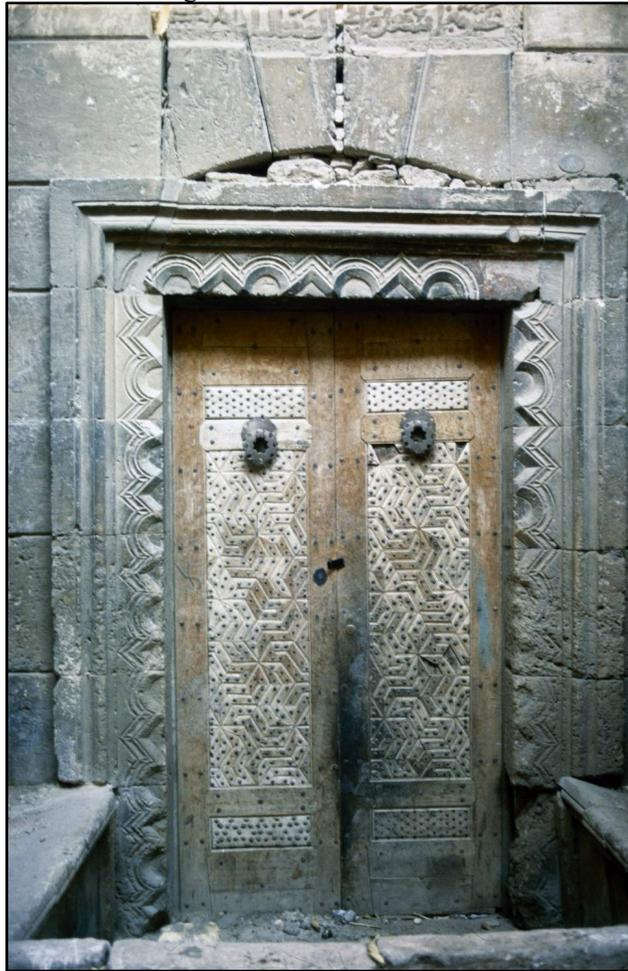
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Appendix

Figure 1. The Entrance Door



(<https://www.archnet.org/sites/4229>, access: 19.02.2024)

Figure 2. Inscription Above The Entrance Door



(https://www.archnet.org/sites/4229?media_content_id=111468, access: 19.02.2024)

Figure 3. Appearance Before Restoration (19th Century)



(https://www.archnet.org/sites/4229?media_content_id=130392, access: 19.02.2024)

Figure 4. View After Restoration



(<https://explore.museumwnf.org/countries/c-sy/1-180/m-903/lan-en>, access: 19.02.2024)