# Zoologie Médicale'den ʻİlm–i Hayvānāt–ı Tıbbī'ye

Osmanlı Bilim Literatüründe Tıbbî Zoolojinin Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi

## From Zoologie Médicale to ʻIlm–i Hayvānāt–ı Tıbbī

A Comparative History of **Medical Zoology in Ottoman** Scientific Literature

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## Zoologie Médicale'den 'İlm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbī'ye Osmanlı Bilim Literatüründe Tıbbî Zoolojinin Karsılastırmalı Tarihi

Öz: Bu makale, Osmanlı ilmī ve eğitim ortamında *'ilm-i ḥayvānāt–ı tıbbī* (tıbbi zooloji) disiplininin oluşumunu ve gelişimini ele almaktadır. Özellikle 19. yüzyılın ortalarından 20. yüzyılın başlarına kadar olan dönemde tıp, baytarlık ve eczacılık gibi uygulamalı bilim dallarının müfredatında okutulan ders kitapları incelenerek, daha önce Osmanlı eğitim sisteminde yer almayan zooloji (*'ilm-i hayvānāt*) dersinin kurumsallaşma süreci ortaya konmaktadır. Bu bağlamda genel zooloji kitapları ile tıbbi zooloji kitapları arasındaki temel farklar Macarlı Abdullah Bev (ö. 1874), Hüseyin Remzi (ö. 1896), Hulūsi b. Rāsid (ö. 1936) ve İsmāil Hakkı Bey'in (ö. 1939) kaleme aldığı *'ilm-i hayvānāt-ı tıbbī* ile ilgili eserler bağlamında değerlendirilmektedir. Makalede, söz konusu eserlerin konu dizilişi, sınıflandırma anlayışı ve pratik tıbbī meselelere (örneğin parazitoloji) yaklasımı karsılastırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu inceleme, Osmanlı müelliflerinin özellikle Fransız Zoologie Médicale başta olmak üzere Avrupa'daki bilimsel gelismeleri nasıl yakından takip ettiklerini ve bu bilgileri yerel pedagojik ihtiyaçlara uyarlayarak nasıl yeniden ürettiklerini göstermektedir. Bu eserler yalnızca çeviri değil, aynı zamanda özgün katkılar içeren ve kurumsal eğitimin bir parçası olan metinlerdir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *İlm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Tıbbī*, Osmanlı Bilim Tarihi, tıbbî zooloji, parazitoloji, zooloji.

## From Zoologie Médicale to ʿIlm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbī: A Comparative History of Medical Zoology in Ottoman Scientific Literature

**Abstract:** This article examines the formation and development of the discipline of 'Ilm-i Hayvānāt-ı Tıbbī (medical zoology) within the scientific and educational context of the Ottoman Empire. By analyzing textbooks used in applied sciences such as medicine, veterinary science, and pharmacy from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, the study reveals the process of institutionalizing of zoology ('ilm-i hayvānāt) as a newly introduced subject in Ottoman curricula. It particularly focuses on the works of Macarlı Abdullah Bey (d. 1874), Hüseyin Remzi (d. 1896), Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid (d. 1936), and İsmāil Hakkı Bey (d. 1939) to identify the main distinctions between general zoology books and medical zoology texts. The article offers a comparative analysis of these works in terms of content structure, classification methods, and their treatment of practical medical issues, such as parasitology. This study demonstrates how the Ottoman authors closely followed European scientific developments, especially the French Zoologie Médicale tradition, and adapted this knowledge to meet local pedagogical needs. These texts are not merely translations, but original scholarly contributions that reflect the integration of scientific knowledge into formal institutional education.

**Keywords:** 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbī, History of Science in the Ottoman Empire, Medical Zoology, Parasitology, Zoology.

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The medical historian Dr Rızā Tahsin (d. 1950), who witnessed both the final period of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Türkiye, carefully recorded the evolution of modern medical education in his work *Mir'āt-ı Mekteb-i Ţıbbiyye* (The Mirror of the Imperial School of Medicine). In this volume, he recounts the courses taught in medical education from the establishment of the *Ṭıbhāne-i 'Āmire* (Imperial Medical Training House) up to 1909, when the institution became a branch of the *Dārü'l-Fünūn* (Imperial University). Alongside the curriculum, he provides the names of instructors and their assistants. Upon examining this work, it becomes evident that *'ilm-i ḥayvānāt* (zoology) was included in the theoretical curriculum from the very beginning of the *Mekteb-i Ṭıbbiyye* (School of Medicine). However, there is no definitive information regarding the textbooks used to teach this subject during the initial forty–six years (1827–1873).

In April 1829, several books were ordered from Paris for use in medical education. Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Efendi (d. 1834), who oversaw this process, entrusted them to Abdülḥalīm Efendi, the ḥāfiz—ı kütüb (keeper of books, librarian) of the Tıbhāne—i 'Āmire, with instructions that they be registered in the accounting records. However, among these books, there appears to have been no volume suitable for use in 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt courses. Ilias Tantalidis (d. 1876), in his biographical account of Istefanāki Karatodori Bey (d. 1867), the first instructor of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt at the Tıbhāne—i 'Āmire, reports that Karatodori authored a work on tārīh—i ṭabī 'ī (natural history). Although it is not possible to ascertain which courses or academic years this book may have been used, it was likely employed in the teaching of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt.

Since there is no explicit indication on the cover or in the preface of Tarīh–i  $Ta-b\bar{\imath}$  (1865), the translation by Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Efendi of Buffon's (d. 1788) Histoire naturelle, nor in 'Ilm–i  $Hayv\bar{a}n\bar{a}t$  ve  $Neb\bar{a}t\bar{a}t$  (1859), the translation by Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi (d. 1895) of Carl Arendts' (d. 1881) Elements element

The reason for such a periodization is that the earliest extant example of a textbook on 'ilm-i hayvānāt (zoology) used in Ottoman higher education is 'Ilm-i Hayvānāt: Mebādi'-i Tārīh-i Ṭabī 'iye-i Ṭibbiyye (The Principles of Medical Natural History), a translation of Achille Richard's work by Hüseyin Remzi, dated AH 1290 / AD 1873.

### Post-1873 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt Literature

The literature produced after 1873 includes numerous works bearing the term 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt in their titles. The following is a compiled list of these works, featuring their titles, authors or translators, and the educational institutions for which they were composed.²

Author / Translator	Title	Institution
Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi	'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt ve Nebātāt (Science of Animals and Plants) (1865) (1872 reprint: Uṣūl-i Menāķıb-i Ṭabī 'iyyāt (Princi- ples of Natural Characteristics))	Rüşdiyye Mektebi (Secondary School)
Hüseyin Remzi	'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt: Mebādi'-i Tārīh-i Ṭabī'iyye-i Ṭıbbiyye (Zoology: Principles of the Medical Natural History) (1873), trans. of Achille Richard³	Mekteb-i Ţibbiyye-i Şāhāne (Imperial School of Medicine) - for Müfredāt-i Ţibb (Medical Curriculum)
Rıfat İsmail	<i>Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt</i> (1876), trans. from Louis Figuier and Milne–Edwards	Mekteb-i Ţıbbiyye-i Mülkiyye (Civil School of Medicine), Pharmacy Section
Hüseyin Remzi	Ilm-i Mevālīd-i Şelāseden Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt (Zoology as a Branch of the Science of the Three Genera) (1876)	Dārü'ş–Şafāķa ʿldādīsī, Year 4
Miralay Macarlı Abdullah	Fenn-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbiyye (Medical Zoology) (1876)	Mekteb-i Ţıbbiyye-i Şāhāne (Imperial School of Medicine)
Hüseyin Remzi	Uṣūl-i 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt (Principles of Zoology)(1876)	Dārü'ş-Şafāķa 'İdādīsī, Year 5

The titles and authors of the listed books were identified primarily based on E. K. Unat's *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tıp Zoolojisi ve Parazitoloji*, in combination with a targeted keyword search through the digital archives of the ISAM Library and the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library. Information regarding the educational institutions for which these works were prepared has been determined based on statements found either on the covers of the books or in the authors' own prefaces. The list exclusively includes books that feature the terms 'ilm-i ḥayvānāt or 'ilm-i hayvānāt-ı tubbi in their titles. Zoological texts published under different titles have not been included here, as they fall within the scope of a separate study.

<sup>3</sup> Achille Richard, Éléments d'histoire naturelle médicale contenant des notions générales sur l'histoire naturelle, la description de tous les aliments, médicaments ou poisons tirés des végétaux et des animaux (Paris: Baillière, 1849). [Elements of medical natural history, containing general concepts on natural history and the description of all foods, medicines, or poisons derived from plants and animals.]

Mahmud Esad ibn Emin Seydişehrī	Tārīh-i Ṭabī de 'Ilm-i Ḥay- vānāt (Zoology in Natural His- tory) (1892), trans. of Edmond Langlebert	'Idādī (Preparatory High School)
Hüseyin Remzi	**Tlm-i Ḥayvānāt (1893), trans. of Henri Bocquillon (d. 1884)	Dāru'l-Fünūn-ı Ţıbbiyye (Medical Faculty of the Imperial University)
Hüseyin Remzi	'Пт-і Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbiyye (Medical Zoology, 1893)	Mekteb–i Ţıbbiyye (School of Medicine)
	Vol. 1: General Zoology, Vol. 2: Invertebrates and Parasites,	
	<b>Vol. 3:</b> Vertebrates and Tissue–related Animals <sup>4</sup>	
Necip Āsım	Kıra'at–i Fenniyye (Scientific Reading), Part Three: 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt (1895)	Rüşdiyye Mektebi (Secondary School)
Tevfik Şükrü	ʿIlm–i Ḥayvānāt (1901)	Mekteb-i Ţıbbiyye-i Şāhāne Îdādīsī (Imperial Medical Preparatory School)
Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid	Tlm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye (1902)	Mekteb-i Ţıbbiyye-i ʿAskeriy- ye-i Ṣāhāne (Imperial Military Medical School)
Mustafa Satı	Tārīh-i Ṭabī ʿī 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt ve Vujūd ve Ḥayāt-i Beşer Taṣvīr ve Taṣnīf-i Ḥayvānāt (Natural History, Zoology and the Description and Classification of Human Life and Existence, 1903)	İdādī (Preparatory High School)
İsmāil Hakkı	'Ilm-i Hayvānāt-ı Tıbbiyye ve Zirā 'iyye (Medical and Agricultural Zoology, 1910)	Dāru'l-Fünūn-ı 'Osmānī Ṭıb Fakültesi, Bayṭār Mektebi (Fac- ulty of Medicine and Veterinary School)
Hulūsi ibn Rāşid	Tlm-i Ḥayvānāt-i Umūmī (General Zoology, 1910)	Dāru'l-Fünūn-ı 'Osmānī 'Ulūm-ı Ṭabī'iyye Şu'besi (1st & 2nd Year), Eczācī Mektebi (2nd Year)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ekrem Kadri Unat, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tıp Zoolojisi ve Parazitoloji* (İstanbul: İstanbul University Cerrahpaşa Faculty of Medicine Publications, 1970), 27.

Ebu'l-Muhsin K. Geyangil	Tārīh—i Ṭabī den Birinci Ķısm 'Ilm—i Ḥayvānāt (Zoology as the First Part of Natural Histo- ry, 1912)	All Mekteb–i 'İdādīyye–i Mülkiyye (Civil Preparatory Schools)
Subhi Edhem	Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı 'Umūmiyye Medhal (Introduction to Gener- al Zoology, 1917)	'Askerī Bayṭār Mektebi (Military Veterinary School)
Hüseyin Remzi	Fizyoloji ve 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt' (Physiology and Zoology)	Līse (High School) <sup>5</sup>

Upon examining the list, it becomes evident that the 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt literature was gradually expanded to include works bearing the additional designation  $t\iota bb\bar{\iota}$  (medical). In general, those works titled simply with 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt appear to have been composed for institutions of secondary education, such as  $r\bar{\iota} sdiye$  (secondary school) and 'idādī (preparatory school or high school) schools. In contrast, those bearing the title 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—i tɪbbī were prepared for higher education institutions specializing in medicine, pharmacy, and veterinary science.

During the period in which Hüseyin Remzi (d. 1896) served as the instructor of *Müfredāt–ı Tıbb* (medical curriculum), the *Cem 'iyyet–i Tıbbiyye–i 'Osmāniyye* (Ottoman Medical Society) commissioned him to translate Achille Richard's (d. 1852) *Éléments d'histoire naturelle médicale contenant des notions générales sur l'histoire naturelle, la description de tous les aliments, médicaments ou poisons tirés des végétaux et des animaux* (1849; Elements of medical natural history comprising general concepts on natural history and the classification of all foods, medicines, or poisons derived from plants and animals) for use at the *Mekteb–i Tibbiyye–i Şāhāne*. Remzi translated the work into Turkish under the title *'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt: Mabādi '–i Tārīh–i Ṭabī 'iyye–i Ṭibbiyye* (1873). Although the term *ṭıbbiyye* appears in its title, the book was composed within a context distinct from the later *'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbī* works, as we shall see. It follows the format typical of *histoire naturelle* (natural history) texts, presenting ani-

On the cover of Hüseyin Remzi's (d. 1896) book found in the ISAM Library catalog, the title appears as Fizyoloji ve 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt, (Istanbul: Amedi Matbaası, 1340). However, in the digital copy preserved at the Atatürk Library of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the inner title page of the work bears the name Yeni 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt, and includes the note Matbaa-i Āmire 1340, indicating that the edition is the eleventh printing (including pre-secondary education editions). The first edition of the book could not be located.

<sup>6</sup> Hüseyin Remzi, 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Ṭıbbiyye-i Şâhâne Matbaası, 1290/1873-74).

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mals according to a structured taxonomy, along with anatomical and morphological data, and includes information on their medical and pharmacological uses. In this regard, the book corresponds to the *Müfredāt–i Ṭibb* course (a practical course focused on medicinal applications), and we learn from Macarlı Abdullah Bey's (d. 1874) *Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbiyye*, dated 1876, that it was also utilized in *'ilm–i ḥayvānāt* courses:

At this juncture, it is necessary to consider the meaning of the term <code>hayvānāt-i</code> <code>tibbī</code>. <code>Hayvānāt-i</code> <code>tibbī</code>, or 'medical zoology' in modern Turkish, refers to a subdiscipline of zoological science concerned with animal groups selected based on their close association with human beings. The principal subjects of this discipline include parasitic protozoas and helminths, as well as insects that act as vectors, carrying bacteria and viruses from infected to uninfected hosts. Since most of these organisms are parasitic, <code>medical zoology</code> and <code>parasitology</code> have often been used interchangeably. Gaining prominence in the nineteenth century, particularly through research aligned with the priorities of tropical medicine. medical zoology has since evolved into several distinct specialized fields, including bacteriology, virology, and parasitology.

Miralay Macarlı Abdullah Bey, Fenn-i Hayvānāt-ı Tibbiyye, trans. Miralay Ali Raşid Bey (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Tibbiyye-i Şâhâne Matbaası, 1293/1876), 75.

<sup>8</sup> Protozoa are single-celled eukaryotic organisms, many of which are known to cause diseases in humans and animals.

<sup>9</sup> R. W. Hegner, "Medical Zoology and Human Welfare", Science 60 (1924), 551-558.

Tropical medicine encompasses the diagnosis and treatment of diseases prevalent in tropical and subtropical climates. It gained prominence in the nineteenth century, particularly when physicians responsible for the care of colonial administrators and military personnel encountered infectious diseases previously unknown in the temperate climates of Europe.

## Medical Zoology Texts ('Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbī): Authorship, Translation, and Compilation

Upon examining the list of books presented in the previous section, it becomes evident that until the publication of *Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbiyye* in 1876, authored by Macarlı Abdullah Bey (d. 1874)—the texts used in higher education for courses on <code>ḥayvānāt</code> had been prepared within the framework of <code>tārīh–i tabī'ī</code> (natural history) and bore titles reflecting this tradition. In this context, one is prompted to ask why Macarlı Abdullah Bey, as a pioneering figure, departed from the <code>tārīh–i tabī'ī</code> convention and instead titled his work <code>Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbiyye</code>. To answer this question, it is necessary to review the biography of Macarlı Abdullah Bey and the preface <code>mukaddime</code> of his work.

Born in Vienna in 1800, Abdullah Bey was known in Europe for forty–eight years as Karl Eduard Hammerschmidt, until he left Austria following the Vienna Uprising of 1848. Although he began his professional career in law, his deep interest in the natural sciences and medicine eventually led him to pursue formal education in these areas. Hammerschmidt became well–known in Europe for his work in entomology. Between 1830 and 1832, he successfully demonstrated the metamorphosis of more than one thousand insects from various classes of the animal kingdom. This remarkable endeavor earned him admission to the Imperial Leopoldina–Carolina Academy in Breslau.

During the years when Hammerschmidt was actively engaged in scientific pursuits, the first exemplar of medical zoology literature—*Medizinische Zoologie*, co—authored by J. F. Brandt and J. T. Ratzeburg—had entered circulation within European scientific circles, in a region not far from his own. Given that all three individuals were recognized during the same period as specialists in paleontology and entomology, it is hardly conceivable that Hammerschmidt—later known as Macarlı Abdullah Bey—would have remained unaware of this work. His student, Hüseyin Remzi Bey, also includes a noteworthy biographical footnote about his mentor in the second volume of his three—volume work, 'Ilm—i Ḥay-vānāt—i Ṭibbiyye (1893). According to Remzi, Fenn—i Ḥayvānāt—i Ṭibbiyye was originally authored in German and later translated into French by Abdullah Bey himself, in his own handwriting, around 1873, when he was appointed as an instructor of tārīh—i ṭabī 'ī (natural history) at the *Mekteb—i Ṭibbiyye—i Ṣāhāne*. 12

Ekrem Kadri Unat, "Macarlı Miralay Dr. Abdullah Bey'in Hayatı ve Türk Tıp Zoolojisindeki Yeri", Türk Mikrobiyolojisi Cemiyeti Dergisi 5 (1975), 7–18.

Hüseyin Remzi. 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbiyye. (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1311/1893).

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Remzi's account is particularly revealing, as it reflects Abdullah Bey's close engagement with the scientific literature in German. At first glance, these details suggest a plausible intellectual link between Macarlı Abdullah and Brandt & Ratzeburg. However, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that their works differ substantially in content. Unlike Brandt and Ratzeburg, Abdullah Bey adopted a more systematic structure, progressing from unicellular organisms to more complex ones, and offered little or no discussion on the therapeutic use of animals. 13

Fenn—i Ḥayvānāt—i Ṭibbiyye¹⁴, the first originally authored 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—i tibbī (medical zoology) book in the Ottoman Empire, was composed without illustrations and spans a total of 509 pages. Following a three—page table of contents, the work opens with the dibāce—i mütercim (translator's preface), which bears the signature of Ali Rāṣid Bey, who had been commissioned by the Cem 'iyyet—i Ṭibbiyye—i 'Osmāniyye (Ottoman Medical Society) to translate the work into Turkish. The subsequent fourteen—page muḥaddime (introduction) begins with the phrase:

hayvānātın min ciheti'l-halāķa neşv ü nemā bulmalarına dā'ir 'ale't-tevālī kesb-i cesāmet eylemelerine mütedā'ir ifādāt-ı müfide-i 'umūmiyye beyānındadır<sup>15</sup>

(This section comprises general beneficial statements regarding the growth and gradual increase in size of animals by the chain of creation.)

It concludes with the Qur'anic verse: "wa-ja ʿalnā mina ʾl-mā ʾi kulla shay ʾin ḥayy" (Enbiya 21:30), meaning "We made every living thing from water." A subsequent sixteen-page section, is titled:

şan ʿat-ı ṭabābet ve ʿulūm-ı ṭabī ʿiyye ve ʿale ʾl-ḥuṣūṣ fenn-i ḥayvānātın taḥṣīlinde ḥurdabīnīn isti ʿmāline dā ʾir ma ʿlūmātın nef ʿi ve fā ʾidesi beyānındadır

(On the benefit and usefulness of using microscopes in the acquisition of medical knowledge and the natural sciences, and particularly in the study of zoology),

- A notable thematic overlap between Macarlı Abdullah Bey's work and that of Brandt & Ratzeburg is found in their treatment of leech therapy (sülüğün tıpta isti 'māli), a subject that ceased to appear in both European medical zoology texts after Brandt and in Ottoman 'ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-i tibbī texts after Abdullah Bey. Strongly influenced by Avicenna, the use of leeches in European medicine remained prevalent until the mid-nineteenth century to the extent that it caused shortages. However, by the end of the century, due to its incompatibility with emerging disciplines such as modern physiology, pathology, and microbiology, leech therapy lost credibility and came to be viewed as a form of quackery, especially when practiced by unqualified individuals. Berrin Okka, "Hirudotherapy from Past to Present", European Journal of Basic Medical Sciences (2013), 61–65.
- 14 Miralay Macarlı Abdullah Bey, Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye.
- 15 General beneficial explanations concerning the development and continuous growth of animals in relation to their creation.

This section focuses on the microscope's importance in scientific investigation. It ends with the phrase "temmet mukaddime (the introduction is completed)" indicating that it constitutes a continuation and conclusion of the mukaddime itself. Within the first fourteen pages of the mukaddime, animals are presented in a hierarchical progression, beginning with simple aquatic organisms and advancing to more complex life forms. The rationale for this ordering is explained by the idea that life first emerged in water and that water constitutes the fundamental source of life for all living beings. The mukaddime also includes a tripartite temporal framework—Devr—i evvel, Devr—i sānī, and Devr—i sālis (first, second and third epoch)—that outlines the stages of the Earth's creation and the subsequent emergence of life upon it.

The topics in the book follow the classification scheme presented in the mukaddime, beginning with unicellular organisms and continuing through thirty–two classes, examined under headings such as sārkūdinālār (sarcodines), zūofītler (zoophytes), équinozoaires (echinoderms), annélides (annelids), condilopodes (possibly a variant of myriapods or crustaceans), hayvānāt-ı na īmeler (soft-bodied animals), and fikarātiyyeler (vertebrates). 16 For each class, the author adopts a consistent template with several subheadings. Under the heading *ḥaṣīṣa–i zātiyye* (essential characteristics), detailed morphological and anatomical descriptions are provided, along with information on the natural habitat of the animal and representative examples belonging to the respective class. Under tevellüd ve tekessürleri (reproduction and propagation), modes of reproduction are described. The section titled *ālāt–ı deverān–ı dem* explains the circulatory system (circulation du sang), while fi 'l-i teneffüs discusses the respiratory system (fonction de la respiration). The nervous system (système ner*veux*) is addressed under *cümle '–i 'aṣabiyye*, and movement is described under locomotion (sevk ve hareket). Feeding mechanisms are detailed under tegaddī (nutrition), and *ālāt–ı ḥissiyye* covers the sensory organs (*organes des sens*). Throughout the text, French equivalents of key terms are provided in parentheses, reflecting the scientific language conventions of the period.

Abdullah Bey offers an exceptionally detailed treatment of helminths. especially tapeworms ( $teny\bar{a}$ ). Beginning on page sixty–seven, under the heading  $K_{ISM-I}$   $R\bar{a}bi$ : Annalid,  $Har\bar{a}t\bar{t}niyye$   $Bey\bar{a}nindadur$  ("Section IV: On the Annelids, concerning the  $Har\bar{a}t\bar{t}niyye$ "), a total of 112 pages is devoted to the study of

The book's table of contents is provided in the appendix section at the end of the article.

Parasitic worms such as tapeworms, liver flukes, ascarids, or leeches.

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parasitic organisms. Notably, a marginal note beneath the section heading encapsulates the scope of medical zoology with remarkable clarity:

It should be known (ma ' $l\bar{u}m$  ola ki) that the animals contained within this section are related and connected (ta 'alluk ve  $m\bar{u}n\bar{a}sebeti$ ) to medicine in various respects ( $v\bar{u}c\bar{u}huyla$  tubba). Thus, we hereby notify ( $iht\bar{a}r$  ederiz) that we shall engage in greater detail (daha  $ziy\bar{a}de$   $tafs\bar{i}l\bar{a}tuna$ ) than in the previously discussed animal classes ( $b\bar{a}l\bar{a}da$  muharrer  $aks\bar{a}m$ —t  $hayv\bar{a}n\bar{a}t$ ). 18

In Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbiyye, while describing the morphology, reproduction, and transmission pathways of parasitic organisms, additional information is provided on the specific species found in various countries–such as Greenland, Switzerland, Poland, Russia, Iceland, England, India, and Egypt–and on how transmission occurs based on the lifestyle of the local populations and the intermediary animals involved.

It is reported that during heavy rains ( $b\bar{a}r\bar{a}n$ – $\iota$   $kes\bar{\imath}re$ ) in India, soldiers living in tents <sup>19</sup> ( $hayme\ nis\bar{\imath}n\ ordu\ efr\bar{\imath}ad\iota$ ) who bathe in contaminated water are afflicted with the worm above ( $d\bar{\imath}ud$ ). The emergence period ( $m\ddot{\imath}uddet$ – $i\ zuh\bar{\imath}u$ ) of this worm may require several months, or even up to a year, and it is known that locals are more commonly infected with the  $d\bar{\imath}ud$ – $\imath$   $med\bar{\imath}ne$  than foreigners. The presence of the  $d\bar{\imath}ud$ – $\imath$  Yemen has also been observed in regions such as the Hejaz, Yemen, Africa, Senegal, Angola, Asia, Greater India ( $Hindist\bar{\imath}n$ – $\imath$   $keb\bar{\imath}r$ ), and Persia (' $Acemist\bar{\imath}n$ ), and even in the Americas. It has not yet been documented among Europeans except those residing in the aforementioned endemic regions. <sup>20</sup>

In *Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbiyye*, authored by Macarlı Abdullah, references are made to several prominent figures in nineteenth–century zoology and medicine, including Van Beneden (d. 1910), Ernest von Siebold (d. 1885), Rudolf Wagner (d. 1864), F. A. Sigismund Leuckart (d. 1898), and Antoine Clot (d. 1868). These references are not in the form of direct quotations from their works but instead appear in passing whenever organisms discovered by them are mentioned. The book concludes with the following sentence:

This work on *fenn–i ḥayvānāt–i tibbī* was printed and completed at the press of the *Mekteb–i Ṭibbiyye* during the tenure of His Excellency Marko Pasha, director of the *Dārū'l–Fūnūn–i Ṭibbiyye–i Ṣāhāne*, in the month of *Rabī' al–Avval* of the Hijrī year 1293.

- 18 Ibid., 67.
- "The so-called dūd larvae that penetrate the body through the skin while in water are referred to as Les urolables." Hüseyin Remzi, "Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-i Tibbiyye, 2/164.
- 20 Abdullah, Fenn–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye, 164.

Another work bearing the title 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbī is the three–volume set published in 1893<sup>21</sup>, based on lecture content delivered by Hüseyin Remzi and transcribed by his student Üsküdarlı Tevfik Efendi, subsequently revised by Dr. Hulūsi Rāṣid Bey (d. 1936).<sup>22</sup> The volumes are organized as follows: the first volume is titled Ḥayvānātın Aḥvāl–i 'Umūmiyyesi [General Zoology], the second Gayrı Fıkāriyye ve Tufeylāt–ı Ḥayvāniyye [Invertebrates and Parasites], and the third Ḥayvānāt–ı Fıkāriyye ve Sediyye [Vertebrate Animals and Mammals].

The first volume of Dr. Hüseyin Remzi's 'Ilm—i Ḥayvānāt—i Tıbbiyye comprises 232 pages, contains no illustrations, and focuses primarily on vertebrate physiology. At the beginning of the volume, there is a four—page introductory statement titled *ifāde*, which opens with the salutation "Efendiler!" (Gentlemen!). This section bears the signature of Dr Kolağası Hüseyin Hulūsi, instructor of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt at the Mekteb—i Ṭibbiyye—i Ṣāhāne.²³ In this introduction, Dr Hulūsi references scientific advancements in Europe and emphasizes that the discipline of bacteriology emerged as a direct result of zoological research. He asserts that grasping bacteriology without first understanding zoology in its entirety is impossible.

Dr. Hulūsi also highlights the extensive theoretical and practical knowledge of Hüseyin Remzi, who taught 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt for twenty years at the Mekteb—i Tibbiyye. He notes that while the zoological instruction spans several years in the European institutions, thanks to Hüseyin Remzi, the entire curriculum at the Mekteb—i Tibbiyye is effectively completed and comprehended within a single academic year through sixty instructional sessions (bir sene—i tedrise müddeti olan altmış derste ikmal—i tedris ve tefhim). Additionally, following the ifāde section, an eight—page muḥaddime (introduction) underscores the importance of acquiring knowledge about nature.

The second volume, titled *Gayrı Fıkāriyye ve Tufeylāt–ı Ḥayvāniyye* (Invertebrates and Parasites), spans 344 pages and contains no illustrations. The book begins with <code>hayvānāt–ı ibtidā'iyye – embranchement protozoaires</code> (primitive animals – protozoan branch) and concludes with <code>beşinci sınıf: sefālūpūt</code> (Class Five: Cephalopods), covering approximately 150 topical headings. Hüseyin Remzi frequently indicates whoever discovered particular microscopic organ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Unat, Tıp Zoolojisi ve Parazitoloji, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Hüseyin Remzi. *İlm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye*.

Unat notes that Doctor Kolağası Hüseyin Hulūsi signs the foreword (ifâde) of the first volume of 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt, indicating that the review was likely conducted by Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid, the assistant and later successor of Hüseyin Remzi.

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isms and whenever they were identified. Considering that the book was published in 1893 and the courses were taught even earlier, these dates demonstrate how closely Hüseyin Remzi followed contemporary European scientific developments.<sup>24</sup>

The same is true for the case studies cited throughout the work. While Hüseyin Remzi draws examples from India, America, and Europe, he also includes local cases and personal experiences from within the Ottoman territories, thereby integrating regional observations into the broader framework of medical zoological inquiry.

... The observations of *Kehhāl Miralay izzetlū ʿAbdunnūr Bey* are particularly noteworthy (*müṣāhedātı shāyān–ı dikkattir*). To elaborate: in the Gregorian year 1879, corresponding to the Hijrī year 1292, a worm (*dūd*) was found in the *cism–i zujājī* (vitreous body) of the left eye of a thirteen–year–old child. In the same year, another was located in the *bayt–i muʾahhar* (posterior chamber) of the left eye of an eighteen–year–old. Furthermore, in 1886 (Hijrī 1293), two striped worms (*dūd–ı mukayyed*) were observed in a single eye.<sup>25</sup>

... Let me recount one particular incident I witnessed (hele kendi gördüğüm şeylerden bir tanesini beyān edeyim): I saw a child, around four years old, who suddenly experienced an attack resembling a seizure (sarāya müşābih bir savlet). I immediately intervened to ensure the episode passed without harm. The child became relaxed. Immediately thereafter (der 'aḥab), I administered santonin. A large, toothed roundworm (soğulcan) was expelled. Although several others also emerged, once that enormous serpent–like āskārīd (Ascaris) was released, the child's eyes lit up (gözü açıldı). No further seizures occurred. 26

... It has been widely observed in Asia (*Asyā'da pek çok görülmüştür*). This affliction is not confined to the Ḥijāz, especially Medina, but can be found throughout all of Arabia. Medical records (*sicillāt–ı Tıbbiyye*) note that in 1877, among the soldiers dispatched by Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣım Pasha to the Yemen region, thread boils (*iplik çıbanı*)<sup>27</sup> were seen at a rate of seventy–five percent in one thousand soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

It is evident from the lecture notes compiled by his student that Hüseyin Remzi

<sup>24</sup> Sample case records from Doctor Miralay Hüseyin Remzi's second volume of 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-i Tibbiyye, 11, 21, and 109.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>27</sup> The disease known as 'iplik çıbanı' (thread boil) is described in detail under the title Fourth Species: Dūd al–Medīne Filiaire Elmédine, 166–167.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 172.

did not rely solely on the European sources in his courses, but also frequently referred to figures from the history of science in the Islamic world. He often cited and discussed the works of Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and Abū Bakr al–Rāzī (d. 925). On page sixty of the book, during his discussion of the topic *Nev ʿ-i sāliṣ: Dūd al–waḥīd (tenia soliume)*, Hüseyin Remzi is seen to introduce a quotation from Ibn Sīnā with words of praise, reflecting both reverence and scholarly engagement.

The resolution of this matter is addressed in the fifth chapter (*makāla-i ḥāmise*) of the book titled *Kānūn* by the renowned figure known as Ibn Sīnā, who is celebrated among the Arab physicians (*aṭibbā'-i 'Arab*) as the noble and distinguished one (*serbülend ve mümtāz*), the successor and true heir (*hayr al-halaf*) of Hippocrates and Galen in medicine, and of Aristotle in philosophy (*ṭabābette Bukrāṭ ve Jālīnūs'un ve falāsifede Aristū'nun sāni ve hayr al-halafī olan*).

Following this introductory sentence, Hüseyin Remzi includes an extended excerpt from the section titled *jumlat al–kalām fī al–dīdān* ("A General Discourse on Worms") in Ibn Sīnā's *al–Ķānūn fī al–Ţibb* (*The Canon of Medicine*), accompanied by his marginal glosses (*sharḥs*) and interpretative notes (see: Figure 2). Likewise, on page 170, while discussing the subject of *Dūd al–Medīne – Filiaire Elmédine*<sup>29</sup>, he provides an example in which he compares the experiences of both Ibn Sīnā and Abū Bakr al–Rāzī:

In conclusion (*ḥāṣil–i kalām*), the Arab physicians (*aṭibbā–i ʿArab*), Ibn Sīnā and al-Rāzī, report that they had, in general, extracted 30, 40, or even 50 threadworms (*iplik kurtları*) from their patients. Threadworms (*iplik kurdu*) may be found in any individual; age (*sīn*), ethnicity ( *ˈirk̞*), gender (*jins*), or species/class (*naw*) have no bearing on susceptibility.<sup>30</sup>

In his lectures, Hüseyin Remzi frequently incorporated statistical data, using case studies to explain various parasite–related factors, such as age, gender, prevalence rates, and cross–country comparisons, supported by these statistics. In the last eleven pages of the second volume, he provides a detailed list and descriptive overview of fifty works he authored. In all volumes, the technical terms appearing in section headings are presented in both Ottoman Turkish and French.

<sup>29</sup> Dracunculus medinensis, also known as the Guinea worm or 'dragon worm,' is a nematode causing severe inflammation and pain.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 170.

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Published in 1902, 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–i Ṭibbī³¹¹ by Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid (d. 1936)—who began working as an assistant to Dr Hüseyin Remzi Bey at the Mekteb–i Ṭibbiyye in 1889 and succeeded him as instructor of 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt following Remzi's death–was printed at the press of the Mekteb–i Ṭibbiyye–i 'Askeriyye–i Ṣāhāne (Imperial Military Medical School). The inner cover page includes the following statement:

It was translated through compilation and arrangement (*jam'* ve tertīb ṣūretiy-le terceme olunarak) from the authored works (āsār—ı mu'ellefe) of the individuals named Klaus³², Raphaël Blanchard³³, Railliet³⁴, and Colin³⁵. The work was printed at the press of the *Mekteb—i Ṭıbbiyye—i ʿAskeriyye—i Ṣāhāne* (Imperial Military Medical School), with the approval (taṣdīķ) and authorization (rūhṣat) of the High Commission for the Examination of Texts (taḥķīķ—i mu'ellefāt Komisyon—i ʿĀlīsi).

Below are the subject headings featured in the book. Since the author occasionally uses parentheses, simplified clarifications provided by the author of this article are enclosed in square brackets.

The subject headings of the first part include: Aḥvāl-i 'umūmiyye of 'ilm-i ḥayvānāt [general principles of zoology], differences between nebātāt and ḥayvānāt [plants and animals], ensice'-i ḥayvānāt [animal classes], and vazā'if-i hayātiyye [vital functions], which are described as involuntary activities that animals, like plants, must carry out to sustain life. These functions are therefore also referred to as vazā'if-i 'uzviyye-i ḥayāt-i nebātī [organic functions of vegetative life]. Further topics include: thirst and hunger in animals; a'zā'-i tenāvuliyye-i ḥayvānāt [organs used to bring food to the mouth]; circulation of blood; respiration; harāret-i garažiyye [animal heat]; tegaddī [nutrition]; secretions; iḥtisāsāt-i ḥayvānāt [sensation]; ḥarekāt-i ḥayvāniyye [animal motion]; animal rest, sleep, and hibernation; cümle'-i 'aṣabiyye [the nervous system]; sevk-i ṭabī'ī ḥayvānī ve melekāt-i 'akliyye [instinct and intellectual faculties]; lisān ve ifāde-i ḥayvānāt [animal language and expression]; tenāsül-i ḥayvānī [animal reproduction]; neṣv u nemā-yi ruṣeym - tekevvün-i ruṣeym [embryogenesis]; ta'alluķ of the 'uzviyye-i beden-i ḥayvānī with its surrounding environment

<sup>31</sup> Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid, 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-i Ṭibbiyye, (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye-i Askeriye-i Şâhâ-ne Matbaası, 1902).

<sup>32</sup> Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Claus (d. 1899).

<sup>33</sup> Raphaël Anatole Émile Blanchard (d. 1919).

<sup>34</sup> Alcide Louis-Joseph Railliet (d. 1930).

<sup>35</sup> Gabriel Colin (d. 1896).

[animal body's relation to its habitat, i.e., ecology]; the relationship of animals with the inanimate world; their relationship with humans; harmful animals (hayvānāt—ı mudirra); beneficial animals (hayvānāt—ı nāfī 'a); and taṣnīf—i hayvānāt [taxonomy]. In the second part, which focuses on the ahvāl—i huṣūṣiyye of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt [specific conditions of zoology], he begins with ḥayvānāt—ı ibtidā 'iyye [unicellular organisms] and proceeds to illustrate sixteen orders (tā 'ife), presenting the tribes (kabīle) and genera (jins) of the animals under each category, accompanied by visual representations.

Finally, the work discusses primates, addressing orangutans, monkeys, chimpanzees, and gorillas. In his treatment of primates, Hulūsi ibn Rāṣid classifies them as  $z\bar{u}$  'l– $az\bar{a}fir$  [clawed or nail–bearing animals] and refers to the studies of Paul Topinard (d. 1911) and Hippolyte Cloquet (d. 1840). Drawing on these sources, he emphasizes that although monkeys may resemble humans in appearance, they differ significantly in terms of  $z\bar{a}viyye$ –i vechiyye [facial angle], cranial volume, jaw structure, the arrangement of teeth, and total tooth count. The book is 767 pages long, richly illustrated, and presents technical terms in Ottoman Turkish and French (the latter given in parentheses).

The author of the fourth work listed under 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—ı ṭıbbī is İsmāil Hakkı Bey (d. 1939), who was one of several students selected during the first year of the *Mekteb—i Baytāriyye* (School of Veterinary Medicine) to be sent to the Alfort Veterinary School³6 in Paris for training. After completing a four—year education in Paris, İsmāil Hakkı and his colleagues returned to İstanbul in 1896, where each was appointed as instructor (mu 'allim) for a specific course. The inclusion of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—ı ṭıbbī in the curriculum, previously absent from the veterinary school's syllabus, also took place after 1896, precisely when İsmāil Hakkı and his peers assumed their teaching roles. This period is referred to by Subḥī Edhem (d. 1920) as the devr—i teceddüd [era of renewal] for the Mekteb—i Baytāriyye.³7

İsmāil Hakkı Bey initially served as an assistant instructor (*muʿallim muʿāvinī*) in zootechnics at the *Askerī Bayṭār Mektebi*. In 1898, he was appointed as the

<sup>36</sup> Claude Bourgelat established the world's first veterinary school in Lyon in 1761. The school later became the Royal Veterinary School in 1764. He also founded the École Nationale Vétérinaire d'Alfort in 1765. (Michigan State University College of Veterinary Medicine, 11 March 2019).

<sup>37</sup> The development of veterinary education in the Ottoman Empire began in 1841 with the invitation of Prussian veterinarian Godlewsky. The Civil Veterinary School (Mülkiye Baytar Mektebi) was established in 1889 following various reforms. [Subhi Edhem, Nevsāl-i Baytarī, trans. Seda Tan. İstanbul: Liberus Kitap, 2024, pp. 25–55.]

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instructor of 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt–ı tıbbī at the Mülkiyye Baytār Mektebi.38 In 1909, when the military and civilian medical schools were merged and the Dārü'l–fūnūn's Faculty of Medicine was established in Haydarpaṣa, İsmāil Hakkı Bey, who was then the instructor of ḥayvānāt–ı tıbbī³9 (medical zoology), authored a comprehensive three–volume work entitled 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye ve Zirā 'iyye³0 (Medical and Agricultural Zoology). The influence of Alcide Louis–Joseph Railliet (d. 1930), under whom İsmāil Hakkı studied at the Alfort Veterinary School, is evident both in the book's title and in the systematic structure of its content. ¹¹ Volume I of 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt–ı Ṭıbbiyye ve Zirā 'iyye comprises 578 pages, Volume II contains 545 pages, and Volume III consists of 363 pages; all volumes are illustrated.

The first volume begins with a seven–page table of contents (*fihrist*), followed by an eleven–page  $if\bar{a}de-i\ mer\bar{a}m$  [statement of purpose] signed by İsmāil Hakkı himself. In this section, İsmāil Hakkı Bey discusses the significance of studying nature ( $tab\bar{t}$  ' $\bar{a}t$ ) and outlines key developments in the discipline of zoology:

Since foundational and general knowledge related to *tārīh–i ṭabī* '(natural history) and 'ilm-i hayvānāt (zoology) have already been taught at the mektebāt-i i'dādī (preparatory schools), our purpose here is to prepare the necessary groundwork to strengthen our students' entry into their respective branches and professions. Therefore, we will study 'ilm-i hayvānāt-ı tıbbī (medical zoology), and in doing so, we must give particular emphasis to *tufeylāt–i haywāniyye* (animal parasites). Thanks to the increasingly apparent (günden güne tecellīsāz) scientific advancements and investigations (teraķķiyāt ve taḥķīķāt–i fenniyye), 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt–ı tıbbiyye has reached such a level of development that it now branches into distinct subfields-*protozoolojī* [protozoology], <code>hayvānāt-i</code> ibtidā 'iyye (primitive animals, i.e., microbial organisms), 'ilm al-dīdān (helminthology), 'ankebūţiyyāt (arachnids), lingatullār (possibly Linguatula, tongue worms), akārāt (mites), and insects such as particular species from the *cenāḥiyyet al–nişf* class (Hemiptera), and especially from *zū 'l–cenāḥeyn* (Diptera). Should the current pace of scientific advancement continue its elevation on the highway of progress (*shahrāh–i tekāmul*), which is beyond doubt, then very soon, the subfields above encompassed under the name 'ilm-i ḥayvānāt-ı tıbbiyye will no longer be grouped under a single discipline but instead will become independent sciences each requiring their own instructions. Indeed, in Europe, for the past several

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Unat. *Tip Zoolojisi ve Parazitoloji*, 82–85.

<sup>39</sup> Sevtap İshakoğlu, "Botany, Zoology, and Geology Education at Darülfünun and İstanbul University Faculty of Science (1900–1946)", Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları (June 1998), 320.

ismāil Hakkı, 'Ilm-i Ḥayvānāt-ı Ṭıbbiyye ve Zirā 'iyye (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Āmire, 1910).

Louis-Joseph Alcide Raillet, Zoologie *Médicale et Agricole* (Paris: Asselin et Houzeau, 1885).

Ismāil Hakkı Bey strongly emphasizes that, rather than attempting to grasp an entire scientific discipline in its totality, it is far more valuable to specialize in a particular area. Otherwise, he argues, knowledge remains superficial and yields limited results. He explains that, due to the presence of the term <code>hayvānāt</code> in the title of his book, he considered it appropriate to include in the first section certain animals not directly related to the field of medical science, treating them within a broader context of biology. However, he explicitly states that, despite the general zoological scope suggested by the book's title, he did not address <code>fuṭūr</code> (fungi), which belong to botany. For this reason, the book should not be classified as a work on parasitology, even though its content on <code>fufeylāt-i hayvāniyye</code> (animal parasites) closely aligns with parasitological studies. In the excerpt below, taken from the <code>ifāde-i merām</code> (statement of purpose), İsmāil Hakkı Bey clearly articulates the distinction between parasitology and '<code>ilm-i hayvānāt-i tibbī</code>.

The characteristics (<code>evsaf</code>) and biological aspects of parasites (<code>tufeylat</code>)—that is, their growth and development (<code>nesv u nemā</code>) and modes of transmission (<code>sūret-i intikāl</code>)—are identical in both fields and never vary. However, a difference may be observed in the way the diseases they cause (<code>emrāz</code>) and their treatment (<code>tedāvī</code>) are addressed. Whereas <code>parasitology</code> provides a detailed discussion of both the pathological and therapeutic dimensions, '<code>ilm-i hayvānāt-i tubbī</code> addresses these matters in a more concise manner (<code>sūret-i muhtaṣare</code>), offering only general information (<code>beyān-i ma 'lūmāt</code>) without entering into extensive elaboration. Moreover, information concerning diseases (<code>emrāz</code>) is more detailed in other courses offered in the upper years of study. Given the sheer volume of material to be taught within the scope of '<code>ilm-i hayvānāt-i tubbī</code> and the particular importance of parasites (<code>tufeylāt</code>), a new course titled "Parasitology" has been introduced into the faculty curriculum as of this year, following the model adopted in European faculties.

Ismāil Hakkı Bey placed considerable emphasis on the importance of both bacteriology and parasitology for humanity, drawing particular attention to the fact that, unlike parasites, which tend to have slower rates of spread and reproduction, bacteria are far more dangerous due to their omnipresence and rapid proliferation.

As scientific investigations and inquiries (*taḥķīķāt ve taḥarrīyāt–i fenniyye*) have advanced, and as the essence (*künh*) of infectious and microbial diseases has become

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better understood, it has been revealed that many animal—origin microbes ( $hayv\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  mikroblar) and bacteria are, by themselves, incapable of directly inflicting harm ( $\bar{i}r\bar{a}s$ —i  $has\bar{a}r$ ) on the organism ( $\bar{i}uzviyyet$ ). For them to enter the body, the existence of a breach in continuity ( $tefr\bar{i}k$ —i  $ittis\bar{a}l$ ) or an access point ( $b\bar{a}b$ —i  $duh\bar{u}l$ ) is often—if not always—necessary. Thus, the formation of an abscess ( $hur\bar{a}j$ ), a puncture (vahz) in the tissues ( $ens\bar{a}j$ ), a laceration (shakk), or the presence of a wound ( $jer\bar{i}ha$ ) becomes a precondition. These punctures ( $vahz\bar{a}t$ ), cuts ( $shuk\bar{u}k$ ), and separations of continuity ( $tefr\bar{i}k$ —i  $ittis\bar{a}l$ ) arise from various causes. Among these causes are certain aquatic parasites ( $tufeyl\bar{a}t$ —i  $m\bar{a}$  iyye), mites ( $ak\bar{a}r\bar{a}t$ ), and some insects belonging to the classes  $z\bar{u}$  i1— $cen\bar{a}heyn$  (Diptera) and  $cen\bar{a}hetu$  al—nisf (Hemiptera). For instance, Anopheles mosquitoes are involved in the transmission of  $humm\bar{a}$   $-\bar{i}$   $marz\bar{u}k\bar{i}$  [malarial fever], ticks in piroplasma diseases, cholera flies in certain enteric infections, Stegomyia mosquitoes in  $humm\bar{a}$ — $\bar{i}$  asfar [yellow fever], and bedbugs (tahtakurular) in  $humm\bar{a}$ — $\bar{i}$   $r\bar{a}ji$  a [relapsing fever]. Through the actions ( $vuh\bar{u}z\bar{a}t$ ) of these vectors, bacteria gain entry into the organism.

Similarly, waterborne worms ( $d\bar{\imath}d\bar{\imath}n-\imath$   $m\bar{a}$ 'iyye) also facilitate the spread of bacteria into the body via the intestinal route. In the wake of these investigations, it has become clear that bacteria and microbes cannot be regarded as pathogenic agents (' $av\bar{a}mil-i$  merdiyye) in isolation. In this regard, the functions ( $vaz\bar{a}$ 'if) of worms ( $d\bar{\imath}-d\bar{\imath}n$ ) and insects ( $hasher\bar{\imath}t$ ) must be taken into serious consideration.

Ismāil Hakkı notes that increased ease of travel between countries, due to commerce, tourism, and civil service, has led to more frequent interaction between populations from temperate and tropical regions. As a result, diseases that were once confined to specific climates have begun to appear outside their endemic zones. He reports that, in response to this trend, countries such as Germany (in Hamburg), England (in London and Liverpool), and France (in both Paris and Algiers) have established *Instituts de médecine coloniale* to study and address diseases associated with foreign or tropical environments. He also notes that ninety percent of tropical diseases have been identified as parasitic. Following his *ifāde—i merām* (statement of purpose), İsmāil Hakkı Bey includes a two—page *medhal* (introduction) in which he informs the reader about the methodological approach he intends to follow in the work.

'Ilm—i hayvānāt is by nature a vast and exalted discipline (ziyādesiye vāsi' bir 'ilm—i 'azīm), and it is virtually impossible to attain complete mastery or comprehension of it (lāyik—i vejh ile iḥāṭa ve taḥṣīlī gayr—i mumkin). For this reason, natural scientists ('ulemā—'i ṭabī 'iyyūn) have been compelled to divide this science into multiple branches, depending on its practical applications in fields such as medicine, agriculture, and industry (ṭabābet, zirā 'at ve ṣanāyi'). Consequently (binā 'en 'aleyh), due to its various implementations, the field may be studied separately under such headings

as 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt–ı ṭtıbbī (medical zoology), 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt–ı zirā 'ī (agricultural zoology), and 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt–ı ṣinā 'ī (industrial zoology), among others. In this book, we will primarily examine those animals that are harmful (iẓrār eden) to human beings (nev '—i beṣer) and domesticated species (ḥayvānāt–ı ehliyye), as well as animals that provide medical substances (mevādd—i tedāruk) used in treatment (ṭabābet) or that damage or protect cultivated fields (mezrū 'āt). Thus, our focus will be chiefly on ḥayvānāt—ı ṭɪbbī and, to some extent, ḥayvānāt—ı zirā 'ī.

Ismāil Hakkı Bey divides the first volume into two parts. In the first part, he addresses the topics of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—ı 'umūmī [general zoology], structuring it into four chapters (faṣt). The first chapter, titled ḥayvānāt [animals], provides definitions of animals, distinctions between living and non—living beings, and the differences between plants and animals. The second chapter, titled ta 'āzu ve neṣv u nemā—yi ḥayvānāt [growth and development of animals], discusses the structure and functions of cells, tissues, and organs. The third chapter, 'uz-viyyetin bulunduğu maḥall ve muḥīṭi ile munāsebeti [the relationship between the organism and its environment], focuses on the interaction of animals with their surroundings, including natural selection, heredity, parasitic organisms, and habitats. The fourth chapter, taṣnīf—i ḥayvānāt [taxonomy of animals], is dedicated to the principles of classification, the historical development of taxonomy, species differentiation, and the laws governing biological growth.

From the second part of the first volume through to the end of the third volume, the work continues under the heading 'ilm—i hayvānāt—i huṣūṣī [special zoology], systematically presenting animal groups from unicellular organisms to complex life forms. These are organized hierarchically according to şu 'be (branch), firka (division), ṣinf (class), familia (family), ejnas (genus), and envā '(species), with both morphological and anatomical descriptions.

At the end of the first volume, İsmāil Hakkı is seen to have inserted a horizontally oriented and extended chart folded into several pages. This diagram explains parasitic animals, their species, and their hosts. The first volume of the three–volume work concludes with the topic  $d\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}n$ — $\imath$  shar $\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}yye$  [cestodes, or tapeworms]. The second volume opens with  $d\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}n$ — $\imath$  sibh— $\imath$  haytiyye: Nemahelminthler [threadlike worms: nematodes] and concludes with  $hayv\bar{a}n\bar{a}t$ — $\imath$   $n\bar{a}$  'ime merj $\bar{u}$ lu'r—re's: Cephalopodes [soft—bodied, head—footed animals: cephalopods]. The third volume begins with the eighth su 'be: Chordates [Chordates] and ends with  $z\bar{a}tu$ 'l—sed $\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ : Beseriyye [those possessing speech: humankind].

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#### Conclusion

When examining works from Europe that bear titles corresponding to the concept of *medical zoology* in their original languages, the earliest example that emerges is the two–volume *Medizinische Zoologie*, co–authored by Johann F. Brandt (d. 1879) and Julius T. C. Ratzeburg (d. 1871) in the early nineteenth century. This work compiles animals that physicians and pharmacists are expected to know, particularly those commonly found in nature. The second work to appear chronologically is *Medical Zoology and Mineralogy*<sup>42</sup> by John Stephenson, published in England in 1832. In these initial examples, animals were discussed regarding their therapeutic and industrial applications, rather than being considered pathogens. These works are also notable for their detailed descriptions of functional anatomy based on dissection findings and their frequent references to ancient authors and Islamic physicians.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the two-volume Zoologie médicale (1859)43, co-authored by Paul Gervais (d. 1879) and Pierre-Joseph van Beneden (d. 1894), had come to the forefront of the European medical zoology literature. These two authors who were also cited by Ottoman *'ilm-i hayvānāt* writers, were identified by Raphaël Blanchard as the founding figures of the discipline of medical zoology in France. 44 In their work, in line with the scientific and philosophical climate of the time, increasing emphasis was placed on the systematic classification of animals. The practical applications of animals receded into the background, while analyses of their physicochemical structures gained prominence. By the end of the nineteenth century, the works published under the heading of medical zoology in Europe began treating animals, especially parasitic species, as pathogens. The biology of these parasites and their impact on human health became central concerns, and research increasingly focused on the priorities of tropical medicine. 45 Thus, medical zoology emerged as a vital discipline for the diagnosis and control of infectious diseases and for understanding the transmission dynamics of parasitic organisms.

In the Ottoman Empire, the emergence of early examples of the discipline of

- <sup>42</sup> John Stephenson, *Medical Zoology* and Mineralogy (London: J. Wilson, 1832).
- <sup>43</sup> Paul Gervais Pierre–Joseph Van Beneden, Zoologie Médicale (1859).
- Raphaël Anatole Émile Blanchard, *Traité de Zoologie Médicale*, (Saint–Germain: Librairie J.–B. Baillière et Fils, 1889–1890), V–VI.
- On the global impact of tropical diseases and the foundation of colonial medicine institutes. [David Arnold, "Cholera and Colonialism in British India". Past & Present 113 (1986), 118–151; Jean De Rycke, "Raphaël Blanchard (1857–1919)", Académie des sciences, arts et belles–lettres de Touraine (2022).]

medical zoology coincided with the broader initiatives to modernize the education system in the early nineteenth century. Within the framework of higher education curricula, 'ilm-i hayvānāt courses were initially structured under the domain of *tārīh–i tabī* 'ī (natural history, or *mevālid–i selāse | histoire naturelle*), and textbooks bearing these terms in their titles were used in instruction. The first figure to draw attention to medical zoology and introduce the subject into the realm of Ottoman higher education was Macarlı Abdullah. However, shortly thereafter, particularly due to the influence of students who had been sent to France for training, an increasing number of works began to appear under the title 'ilm-i hayvānāt-ı tıbbī (medical zoology). These works largely followed recent European models, with a strong influence from Louis-Joseph Alcide Railliet and Raphaël Blanchard In particular, Railliet's textbook served as a structural and thematic model for many Ottoman medical zoology texts. While Blanchard opened his work with protozoa, organizing his material from unicellular organisms to more complex ones and examining them morphologically, anatomically, and physiologically, Railliet's book begins with subjects more closely aligned with the philosophy of biology and general zoology. His introductory section–covering the distinction between organic and inorganic matter, the differences between plants and animals, the organism's struggle for life, animal organs and their functional division of labor, reproduction, and the relationship between organism and environment-was mirrored in the works of Ottoman authors, who addressed these topics individually in their treatises.

While Blanchard and Railliet included a significantly greater number of case studies, particularly on parasitic diseases, it is evident that Ottoman authors provided fewer examples and placed less emphasis on local cases. The European and Ottoman writers focused on diagnosing such cases, offering little to no discussion concerning treatment protocols.

The list of books provided within the main text reveals that there were several 'ilm-i hayvanat texts used in higher education that did not include the term  $havarable b\bar{t}$  (medical) in their titles. Two tables have been appended to the end of the article to address how these types of works—those with and without the medical designation—compare in terms of content and structure. Table 2 presents the contents of the textbook 'llm-i hayvanat compiled and translated by Dr Rıfat İsmail, who taught 'ilm-i hayvanat at the Mekteb-i Tibbiyye-i Mülkiyye for ten

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Blanchard, Traité de Zoologie Médicale.

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years until 1877. His work is based on translations from Milne–Edwards and Louis Figuier. Upon examination, Rıfat İsmail's textbook focuses on general zoological subjects with a physiological orientation. While the section on animal classification contains numerous headings, most are addressed only briefly, with a few lines of explanation and little elaboration. Notably, the topic of parasitic organisms is entirely absent from his treatment.

The index presented in Table 3 belongs to 'Ilm–i Ḥayvānāt (1893), prepared by Hüseyin Remzi through the translation of the zoology section of Henri Bocquillon's Manuel d'Histoire Naturelle Médicale⁴¹, a natural history textbook. In the preface (muḥaddime) of the work, it is noted that the book was prepared specifically for use in 'ilm–i ḥayvānāt courses at the Dārü'l–Fünūn–i Ṭibbiyye (Imperial School of Medicine). Upon examining the index, it becomes clear that–unlike Rifat İsmail's work–considerable attention is given to parasitic organisms. This suggests that Hüseyin Remzi, who had been sent to France to follow medical developments closely, was acutely aware of the growing importance of medical zoology. This awareness likely influenced his decision when selecting the work he would translate.

By the nineteenth century, medical zoology in Europe had become an exceptionally dynamic field, propelled by the accelerating pace of scientific discovery. Ottoman instructors of 'ilm—i ḥayvānāt—i ṭibbī were closely attuned to these developments, rapidly transmitting information about newly discovered species and other scientific advancements to their academic communities. In doing so, they did not limit themselves to mere translation; they also produced original and sophisticated texts through both compilation and authorship. A review of the indices of these works reveals that the content is far from uniform. On the contrary, it reflects the field's ongoing transformation, its growing diversity, and the consistent incorporation of the most up—to—date scientific knowledge into the main corpus of the texts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Henri Théophile Bocquillon, *Manuel d'Histoire Naturelle Médicale*, (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1866).

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## **Appendices**

 Table 1: Complete Contents of Miralay Macarlı Abdullah's Fenn–i Hayvānāt–ı Ṭibbiyye

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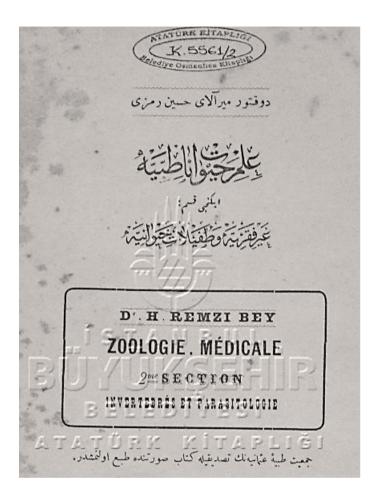


Figure 1: Cover page of the second volume, Gayr-i Fıkâriye ve Tufeylât-ı Hayvâniye, of Hüseyin Remzi's İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye.



Figure 2: A quotation from Avicenna titled *Cümletu'l-Kelâm fī'd-Dīdān* in the second volume *Gayr-i Fıkâriye ve Tufeylât-ı Hayvâniye* of Hüseyin Remzi's *İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye*. The dark-colored lines belong to Avicenna, while the lighter-colored lines indicate Remzi's commentary (pp. 60–61).

Bilim Tarihi ve Felsefesi Araştırmaları Journal for the History and Philosophy of Science 2025:02

غیرفقر به و طفیلات حیوانیه	۱۷۰ علم حبوانات طبیه
۱۸۳۵ دن ۱۸۳۶ سنه شه قدر بر سنه ظرقده طاروار خسته خانه سنده ایالك	فى الحقيقه كينه طرفلرندن تواود ايلمش اولان برملاحك بدنيده بردن بش عدديني
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Figure 3: Tables illustrating statistical data presented by Hüseyin Remzi in İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye (pp. 170–171).

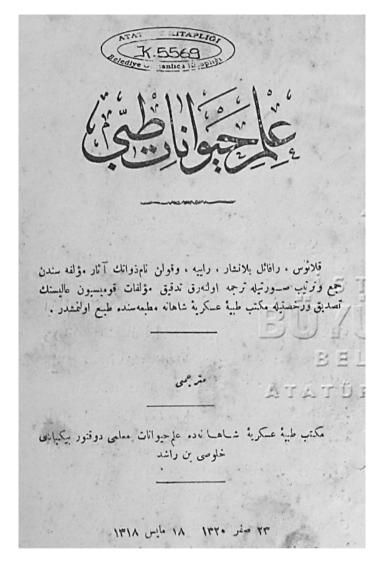


Figure 4: Cover page of Hulûsi B. Râşid's book titled İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbî.

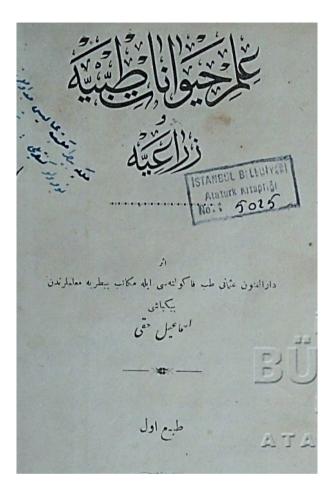


Figure 5: Cover page of İsmail Hakkı Bey's book titled İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye ve Zirâiye.

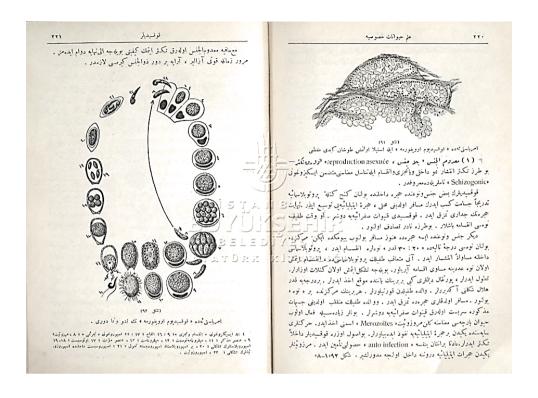


Figure 6: Pages 220 and 221 from İsmail Hakkı's İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye ve Zirâiye.

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Figure 7: A fold-out chart located at the end of İsmail Hakkı's İlm-i Hayvanât-ı Tıbbiye ve Zirâiye, illustrating parasitic animals, along with their species and hosts.