

## ARTICLE

# TRANSLATIONS AS EGO-DOCUMENTS: NOTES OF TWO OTTOMAN PHYSICIANS IN THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF IBN BAYTAR'S *KITĀB AL-MUGHNĪ*

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### ABSTRACT

This article examines the lives and ideas of two seventeenth-century Ottoman physicians, Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne and his disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş, as reflected in their notes in the Turkish translation of Ibn Baytar's *Kitāb al-Mughnī*. In these notes, Muhammed b. Ahmed emerges as a Kadızadeli-minded Turkish physician, translator, and a "world traveler" who claimed to have traveled the world for "forty to fifty years." In contrast, his disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş appears as a religiously moderate Ottoman officer who had a passion for medicine. These notes disclose new interpretive possibilities for early modern Ottoman cultural and medical history and help researchers explore untold stories of several individuals and groups. They reveal details that are often difficult to find in conventional sour-

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ces and constitute hitherto neglected personal narratives or ego-documents. They also contain new insights into some of the critical events in the period, including the Kadızadeli movement and the 1672 Kamanıe campaign. Ultimately, these notes remind us of the need in Ottoman studies to scrutinize translations under a new light.

**Keywords:** Ibn Baytar, *Kitāb al-mughnī*, Muhammed bin Ahmed of Edirne, İbrahim bin Hüseyn avuş, early modern Ottoman Empire, translations, ego-documents.

Diya' al-Din Abu Muhammad Abd Allah b. Ahmad al-Malaqi, commonly known as Ibn Baytar (d. 1248), is an Andalusian botanist and pharmacologist, famous for his travels from Seville to Anatolia to study and collect simples (*mufradāt*).<sup>1</sup> It was after these travels that he wrote his pharmacopeia, *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa-l-Aghdhiya* (A Collection of Simple Drugs and Foodstuffs), “the greatest [work produced] from the time of Dioscorides [d. circa 90] to the middle of the sixteenth century,” in the view of George Sarton.<sup>2</sup> Quoting extensively from Dioscorides, Galen (d. circa 200), Razi (d. 925), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), and Ghafiqi (d. 1165), Ibn Baytar provided in *al-Jāmi'* a systematic and critical compilation of 1422 medical simples that have animal, mineral, and vegetable origins.<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Ibn Baytar completed his second work, *Kitāb al-Mughnī fi al-Adwiya al-Mufrada* (The Sufficient Book on Simple Drugs), in which he suggested cures for various illnesses from head to toe and described antidotes and compounds for use as cosmetics. He dedicated both works to the Ayyubid Sultan Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (d. 1249) for whom he acted as the chief herbalist.

*Al-Jāmi'* was translated into Turkish from Arabic in the fourteenth century for Umur Beg (d. 1348), the emir of the coastal Beylik of Aydın in south-west Anatolia. The large number of copies that have come down to modern times attests to the popularity of this text among Turkish-speaking physicians and herbalists.<sup>4</sup> It was also translated into Latin, French, and German in Europe in the following centuries, while its new Turkish translations, some in

1 On the life and works of Ibn Baytar, see Juan Vernet, “Ibn al-Baytār,” *The Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition*, 3: 737; Ana María Cabo Gonzalez and Claude Lanly, “Ibn al-Baytār et ses apports à la botanique et à la pharmacologie dans le Kitāb al-Ġāmi,” *Médiévales* 33 (1997): 23-39; Mahmut Kaya, “İbnü'l-Baytâr,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 20: 526-27. The author wishes to thank Mükerrerrem Bedizel Aydın, Faisal Husain, Serkan Keçeci, Rhoads Murphey, Sadık Yazar, Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, Yasir Yılmaz, and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and contributions that helped to improve the manuscript.

2 George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 volumes in 5 parts (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1931), 2/2: 663.

3 Mahmut Kaya, “el-Müfredât,” *DİA*, 31: 505.

4 A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, eds. Aykut Kazancıgil and Sevim Tekeli, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1982), 17; M. Alpertunga Kara and Ali Haydar Bayat, “İbnü'l-Baytâr Çevirileri ve Tire Nüshası,” *VIII. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi – Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, 16-18 Haziran 2004, Sivas-Divriği*, eds. Nil Sarı and Ayşegül D. Erdemir (İstanbul: Türk Tıp Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 271-77.

abridged forms, continued to appear in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Recently, it was transliterated into modern Turkish.<sup>6</sup>

Whereas *al-Jāmi'* remained as an influential text in Ottoman medicine and pharmacy from the fourteenth century onwards, the Turkish translation of Ibn Baytar's second major work, *al-Mughnī*, appeared only in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was translated by Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne,<sup>7</sup> a Turkish physician who, like Ibn Baytar, had traveled extensively in search of knowledge (*rihla fī talab al-'ilm*). Muhammed b. Ahmed not only translated the text but also enriched it with the notes based on his observations and experiences in distant geographies. He named his translation as *Mu'ālaĵāt Shaykh Ibn Baytar* (Treatments of Shaikh Ibn Baytar)<sup>8</sup> and dedicated it to Canbolatzade Hüseyin Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Budin and later of Egypt. Muhammed b. Ahmed died around 1681 in Edirne. In about 1686, his disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş copied his master's autograph manuscript and supplemented it with additional notes. Nine copies of Muhammed b. Ahmed's translation of *al-Mughnī* are presently available in manuscript libraries;<sup>9</sup> at least three of which include the notes by İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş.<sup>10</sup>

5 Kaya, "el-Müfredât," 506. For other Turkish translations, either in full or abridged form, see various parts in Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen et al., eds., *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi / History of the Literature of Medical Sciences during the Ottoman Period* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2008).

6 Metin Uçar, et al., eds., *Tercüme-i Müfredât-i İbn Baytar* (İstanbul: Sağlık Bilimleri Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017). See also Yasemin Yıldız, "Terceme-i Müfredât-ı İbn-i Baytâr (Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Dizin)" (Master's Thesis, Sakarya University, 2016).

7 His name appeared as Mehmed b. Ahmed in some biographical dictionaries and in Adıvar's *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 135 and 157-58. It seems that he was better known by his nicknames during his lifetime. His disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş mentioned him as Hekim Dendānī and Dişlen [Dişlek] Hekim (Bucktoothed Physician). See Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 3541, 11b and 13b.

8 It is recorded as *Levāzīmü'l-Hikma*, *Levāzīmü'l-Hukemā'*, *Risāle-i Levāzīmü't-Tıbb*, and *Terceme-i Mu'ālecāt-i Şeyh Ibn Baytar* in manuscript library catalogues.

9 Muhammed b. Ahmed's translation is available at Selimiye Library (Edirne), 6115; Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye, 1016; Nuruosmaniye Library, 3597; Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu Public Library (Kütahya), 408. For details of these manuscripts, see *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*, 1: 291. Şeyda Şarkış-la transliterated the first forty-nine folios of the manuscript (Nuruosmaniye, 3597). See "Mu'ālecāt-ı İbn-i Baytâr'ın XIII. Yüzyıl Tercümesi (İnceleme-Metin-Dizin) (1b-49a)" (Master's Thesis, Cumhuriyet University, 2013).

10 Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 3541; Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), Ms. or. fol. 4058, and İstanbul Üniversitesi İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi, Tıp Tarihi ve Etik

The Turkish translation of Ibn Baytar's *al-Mughnī* and the notes of its translator and copyist furnish historians with opportunities to examine and discuss several topics including continuity and change in Islamic/Ottoman medical history, patronage of scholarly activities, networks and medical practices among early modern Ottoman physicians, and translations as ego-documents. They reveal details that are often difficult to be found in conventional sources and offer new perspectives on different facets of Ottoman political, social, and cultural life. Aiming to contribute to the burgeoning historical literature on the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire in general and its socio-cultural history in particular, this article examines the lives and ideas of Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne and his disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş within broader historical contexts. It suggests that one can approach these notes as ego-documents, documents that reveal details as much about their authors as about the translated text.<sup>11</sup>

#### MUHAMMED B. AHMED OF EDIRNE: A KADIZADELI-MINDED PHYSICIAN, TRAVELER, AND TRANSLATOR

Ismail Pasha of Baghdad (d. 1920), the author of *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn* (The Gifts of the Gnostics), a comprehensive bio-bibliographical dictionary, recorded Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne (referred to hereafter as Muhammed) as a “physician-traveler.”<sup>12</sup> In addition to his far-reaching travels in distant lands and a deep interest in medicine, Muhammed emerges as a versatile transla-

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Anabilim Dalı, 4118 (I am grateful to Professor İlhan İlkılıç for his help). I could not access the copies at İstanbul Üniversitesi-Cerrahpaşa Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi, Tıp Tarihi ve Etik Anabilim Dalı, 667 and Beyazıt Library, Veliyüddin Efendi, 2547.

<sup>11</sup> For a useful collection on ego-documents in Islamic cultures, see Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse, eds., *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010). For an earlier discussion on first-person narratives in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, see Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul as First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,” *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50.

<sup>12</sup> İsmail Paşa al-Bağdadi, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn Asma’ al-Muallifīn wa-Athār al-Musannifīn*, ed. Kılıslı Rifat Bilge et al. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1955), 2: 292.

tor. He translated to Turkish at least seven texts in Arabic, three of which were in the field of medicine, and enriched them with his detailed notes. Based on his own report, the chronological list of his translation activities is as follows:<sup>13</sup>

Date	Title	Subject
1069 / 1658-59	<i>Kitab Bur' al-Sā'a</i> (Book on the Cures in an Hour) by Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi (d. 925)	Medicine
1070 / 1659-60	<i>Durrat al-Burhaniyya</i> (The Pearls of Evidence)	<i>Kalam</i> (Islamic Theology)
1072 / 1661-62	<i>Munyat al-Musallī</i> (The Wish of the Worshipper) by Sadid al-Din al-Kashghari (d. 1305)	On <i>Salat</i> / Prayer
Shawwal 1082 / February 1672	<i>al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya</i> (The Muhammadan Path) by Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573)	Ethics and Islamic Precepts
1083 / 1672-73	<i>Bustān al-'Arifin</i> (The Garden of the Gnostics) by Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 983)	Ethics and Islamic Law
1085 / 1674-75	<i>Kitāb al-Mughni fi al-Adwiya al-Mufrada</i> (The Sufficient Book on Simple Drugs) by Ibn Baytar (d. 1248)	Medicine/ Pharmacology
1088 / 1677- 78 (started to translate)	<i>Qāmus al-Atibbā' wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā</i> (The Doctors' Dictionary and Law of the Knowledgeable) by Madyan bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qaysuni (d. after 1634)	Medicine/ Medical Dictionary

Muhammed's notes in his translations help us to reconstruct his biography and worldview in some detail. He introduced himself as the grandson of İbrahim and the great-grandson of Hasan, members of Topalpaşazadeler, a noble family of Edirne, which served the Ottoman sultans since the beginning of the Ottoman conquest of the city in the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Muhammed wrote that

<sup>13</sup> *Terceme-i Qāmus al-Atibbā' wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā*, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa, 2015, 2b.

<sup>14</sup> It was recorded on a marginal note in his translation of *al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya* that Muhammed b. Ahmed was from the lineage of İshak Pasha. Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa, 577, 119a.

he traveled extensively for “forty to fifty years” and visited Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Oman, Sindh, and India in his “world travel” (*‘ālem-seyahāti*). According to his report, he met the best scholars and physicians of these lands, and these acquaintances enabled him to increase his knowledge and expertise in medicine.<sup>15</sup> Muhammed reported that he was in India in 1060/1650, serving the Mughal emperor as his physician.<sup>16</sup> In return for his service at the Mughal court, he received a monthly salary of six hundred rupees, the equivalent of three hundred *esedi* kurush (Dutch lion thalers) according to his calculations.<sup>17</sup> If what Muhammed wrote is true, this is a relatively high salary when compared with the monthly salaries of the Mughal imperial officers and officials: 10-17 rupees for revenue officials and cavalrymen, 50-100 rupees for *sarkar* and provincial officials, and no more than 500 rupees for managers in the imperial household.<sup>18</sup>

Muhammed noted that following the Mughal court etiquette, he used to address the emperor as “kutb-ı ‘ālem” (axis Mundi). After serving five years, he discretely requested the emperor’s permission to leave India.<sup>19</sup> He returned to İstanbul and started to translate the above-mentioned Arabic texts into Turkish. Through these translations he sought protection and patronage of the Ottoman ruling elite, including Sultan Mehmed IV (d. 1693, r. 1648-87), the grand viziers Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (d. 1676, 1661-76 in office) and Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683, 1676-83 in office), Canbolatzade Hüseyin Pasha (d. 1680), Gevherhan Sultan (d. 1694, the daughter of Sultan İbrahim), and a certain İbrahim Agha. He became *tezkireci* (secretary) of Canbolatzade Hüseyin Pasha when the latter was ap-

15 *Terceme-i Qāmus al-Atibbā wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā*, Şehid Ali Paşa, 2015, 2a.

16 He mentioned that the Mughal emperor had brought him to the capital city Lahore and asked him questions about medicine. See Selimiye, 6115, 482a.

17 Selimiye, 6115, 164b. Although Muhammed does not specify his name, Shah Jahan (1592-1658) was on the Mughal throne in 1650. On wide circulation of the Dutch thaler in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, see Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 99-111.

18 Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 132.

19 Selimiye, 6115, 164b-165a. In *Terceme-i Qāmus al-Atibbā wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā*, Muhammed indicated that he spent ten years, not five, at the Mughal court, see Şehid Ali Paşa, 2015, 2a. On the Mughal concept of axis Mundi, see Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, 29-30.

pointed the governor of Budin (1672-73). He went to Cairo upon the appointment of the pasha as the governor of Egypt (1673-75). He spent his final years in Edirne. As he narrated in the preface to his translation of *Qāmus al-Atibbā wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā*, Muhammed had difficulties in getting back his paternal house, which had reverted to a pious foundation.<sup>20</sup> According to the report of his disciple, he died in Edirne around 1681, when he was over eighty.<sup>21</sup>

The titles that Muhammed chose to translate and the notes he added to his translations reveal his mentality. Based on the material he chose to translate and comments he made, it is possible to argue that he was under the influence of the Kadızadelis, a revivalist movement named after Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635), which became influential in Ottoman political, social and cultural life in the seventeenth century.<sup>22</sup> In a quest for an uncorrupted Islam, the Kadızadelis promoted public and private morality based mainly on the writings of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573), a scholar of ethics and Islamic law who authored *al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya* (The Muhammadan Path) in Arabic in 1572.<sup>23</sup> Indicating his fondness for this influential Ottoman scholar, Muhammed completed the Turkish translation of *al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya* in February 1672 and presented it to Mehmed IV.<sup>24</sup> A year later, he translated *Bustān al-'Arifīn* (The Garden of the Gnostics) by Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 983) and presented it to the sultan as well.<sup>25</sup> Focu-

20 *Terceme-i Qāmus al-Atibbā wa-Nāmūs al-Alibbā*, Şehid Ali Paşa, 2015, 2a-2b.

21 Fatih, 3541, 13b.

22 For recent studies on the Kadızadelis, see Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?" *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 263-89; Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Fakihler ve Sofuların Kavgası: 17. Yüzyılda Kadızâdeliler ve Sivâsiler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).

23 On the life and works of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi, see Ahmet Kaylı, "A Critical Study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (d. 981/1573) Works and Their Dissemination in Manuscript Form" (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010); Katharina Anna Ivanyi, "Virtue, Piety and the Law: A Study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's *al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya*" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012).

24 For multivolume original copy that was brought from Edirne to İstanbul, see *Terceme-i al-Tarīqa al-Muhammadiyya*, Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa, 575-581.

25 On al-Samarqandi, see Abdur-Rahman Mangera, "A Critical Edition of Abu'l-Layth al-Samarqandi's *Nawāzil*" (PhD diss., University of London, 2013).



sing on ethics, piety, and Islamic law, both these texts were in wide circulation and frequently cited by preachers and madrasa teachers, the leading members and supporters of the Kadızadelis. Besides, Muhammed translated various verses from the Qur'an, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, relevant parts from a few *kalam* (Islamic theology) texts, and comments of the Şeyhülislam Bahai Mehmed Efendi (d. 1654) in a book entitled *Durrat al-Burhāniyya* (The Pearls of Evidence) in which he made explicit references to Kadızade Mehmed Efendi. What is striking is that he prepared the *Durrat al-Burhāniyya* as a refutation against Shiite Islam and urged the Ottoman ruling elite to wage war against the Shiite Safavids to correct their heretic beliefs. Muhammed supplemented the text with biographies and testimonies of several scholars who held anti-Shiite ideas and provided the readers with a chronology of the Safavids, particularly of their rivalry with the Ottomans. He dedicated this work to both Mehmed IV and the grand vizier Fazil Ahmed Pasha.<sup>26</sup>

Like his translations of religious texts, Muhammed's medical translations disclose his worldview. He emerges as a fervent defender of Islamic tenets and principles in his fragmentary opinions dispersed throughout his translation of *al-Mughnī*. To give one example, Muhammed recommended his readers not to seek medical service from Jewish physicians, arguing that they intentionally harmed their Muslim patients. To support his argument, Muhammed cited Quranic verses and provided an eyewitness report and legal opinions from leading Muslim authorities, including Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 1449). Additionally, he referred to a dream that he had in the early days of October 1674. Two Jewish physicians in his dream were having a conversation about how they treacherously mistreated their Muslim patients. He ended his narrative with the following words: "It is impossible to argue that Jews can be beneficial for Muslims."<sup>27</sup>

Muhammed's notes in his translation of *al-Mughnī* are rich in terms of recorded dreams. When discussing the benefits of *efsen-*

<sup>26</sup>*Durrat al-Burhāniyya*, Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla, 1362, 1b-5b.

<sup>27</sup>Selimiye, 6115, 206b-207a. For a recent study investigating tensions and complexities among different ethnic and religious groups in the early modern Ottoman Empire, see Hakan T. Karateke and et al., eds., *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Pre-Modern Ottoman Lands* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018).

*tin* (wormwood, *Artemisia absinthium*), he wrote that in one of his dreams, he saw a crystal man whose organs were visible in his transparent body. He observed a black spot on his lungs and asked those around him what it was. “It is an advancing *verem* [tuberculosis],” they replied. When he asked about its treatment, they said its cure was to drink remedies prepared with *efsentin*. When they made this transparent man drink a sap of *efsentin*, the black spot on his lungs immediately disappeared.<sup>28</sup> In another case, he recorded a dream that he had when he was in Konya on his way back from a long-distance travel. He said that he was still young at that time, and a procurer offered him a beautiful woman during his stay in the city. Although he received similar offers many times during his travels, he claimed that he never committed adultery. He, however, accepted his offer this time in a joking manner. That night a saintly figure appeared to him in his dream. When he asked who he was, someone told him that he was Jalal al-Din al-Rumi (d. 1273), one of the foremost Muslim mystics who lived in Konya. Muhammed reported that as soon as he learned this, he stood up and respectfully kissed his hand. Al-Rumi addressed him as “my son” and advised him not to commit that sin. This dream, he claimed, awoke him, and he sought forgiveness for this perverse idea (*fikr-i fāsīd*).<sup>29</sup>

Not just dreams but also stories (*hikāye*) that Muhammed recorded in his translation make his work appealing to students of cultural and medical history. For instance, he narrated the story of a talented physician who provided free medical treatment to patients in his spacious palace in Lahore.<sup>30</sup> On another occasion, he told the story of a physician who came to Sindh from China and prepared an antidote for the numerous cases of snakebites in the region.<sup>31</sup> In some stories he recorded, Muhammed placed himself at the center of the narrative. It is particularly true when he gives details about certain items such as amber and gold. After listing the medical benefits of amber, he wrote that he visited one of the islands in the Oman Sea and saw how local people collect it from the seacoast. The islanders, who were the followers of Sunni Islam,

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28 Selimiye, 6115, 200b.

29 Selimiye, 6115, 340a. For a recent study on dreams in Ottoman society and culture, see Ashi Niyazoğlu, *Dreams and Lives in Ottoman Istanbul: A Seventeenth-Century Biographer's Perspective* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

30 Selimiye, 6115, 41a.

31 Selimiye, 6115, 482a.

had divided the seacoast among themselves to prevent any possible conflict. During that visit, they gave him a few *miskals* of amber as a gift.<sup>32</sup> As for the gold, Muhammed argued that after due examination he figured out that gold's properties were both hot and wet and it can be used for the treatment of several health problems including *ağız kokusu* (halitosis), *ağız kuruluğu* (xerostomia), *hafakan* (anxiety), and *cüzzam* (leprosy). He recommended his readers to use *eşrefi*, the Ottoman gold coin minted in Egypt, bearing the name of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (d. 1520, r. 1512-20), in their medical treatments.<sup>33</sup>

With his family background, far-reaching travels, diverse translation activities, puritan ideas, curious dreams, interesting stories, and complex patronage relations in as well as outside the Ottoman Empire, Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne emerges as a remarkable figure in seventeenth-century Ottoman cultural and medical history.<sup>34</sup> His life and works demand further scholarly attention as they have the potential to add new insights into the influential Kadızadeli movement and medical practices of the period. His disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş's observations in his edition of *al-Mughnī* are equally important and call for a thorough discussion.

### İBRAHİM B. HÜSEYİN ÇAVUŞ: A RELIGIOUSLY MODERATE OTTOMAN OFFICER AND EAGER STUDENT OF MEDICINE

Unlike Muhammed, İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş (referred to hereafter as İbrahim), who was known as Sülûki, did not provide the readers with much details about his life.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, introducing himself as an eager student of medicine, he expressed his pri-

<sup>32</sup>Selimiye, 6115, 10a-10b. A *miskal* is an equivalent of 4.81 gram. See Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1: xli.

<sup>33</sup>*Lavâzım al-Hikma*, Selimiye, 6115, 107b-108a.

<sup>34</sup>The life and works of Hekim İskender bin Hekim İsmail Rumi, who traveled from İstanbul to India and wrote several medical texts for his Mughal patrons, represents a similar case meriting a scholarly discussion. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim* (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 1997), 2: 155.

<sup>35</sup>Except the names of his father and his brother (Halil Çelebi), İbrahim did not give much detail about his family. See Fatih, 3541, 36b-37a. He described himself as "İbrahim Çavuş" on Fatih, 3541, 320b, mentioned his mother once on 147b-148a, and the death of one of his children on 303a-303b.

de and pleasure in meeting and having conversations with medical practitioners. That interest enabled him to have many scholarly sittings with Muhammed, asking him questions about medicine, and learning about prescriptions and drugs. He also had the chance to purchase the autograph copy of the translation of *al-Mughnī* completed by his master from a peasant –probably a relative of Muhammed– in a village called Karaca near Edirne. Finding the author’s handwriting challenging to read for people who would like to benefit from it, he decided to copy the text and add his notes wherever he thought it was necessary.<sup>36</sup>

İbrahim’s notes make it clear that his interest in and involvement with medicine long predated his acquaintance with Muhammed. He claimed that he met and befriended several physicians in Edirne and benefited from their expertise and insights. Among them, the most important for the advancement of his medical career was Mahmud Efendi of Manisa (d. 1682).<sup>37</sup> According to his notes, Mahmud Efendi had great skills in medicine to the extent that chief-physician Salih Efendi (Salih b. Nasrallah b. Sallum, d. 1669) invited him several times to serve at the Ottoman court. Mahmud Efendi declined these invitations and opted to stay in Manisa. When Mehmed IV was in Yenişehir in 1659, Salih Efendi referred to the skills of Mahmud Efendi before the sultan. This time, upon the invitation of the Ottoman sultan himself, he moved to Edirne. During his ten-year-long stay in the city, he provided medical services both to the court and to the locals. For instance, in 1078 (1667-68), he treated the melancholy of a young man in love who was under the strict control and pressure of his father, who was a judge in Filibe (Plovdiv).<sup>38</sup> Mahmud Efendi, also engaged in teaching, taught İbrahim how to cure certain diseases, and treated him when he was sick in 1074 (1663-64).<sup>39</sup> Şeyhülislam Minkarizade Yahya Efendi (d. 1678) appointed Mahmud Efendi as the judge of Manisa, when he preferred to withdraw from the court life.<sup>40</sup>

Another physician that İbrahim had ties of friendship with was Derviş Yusuf of Damascus. He described Derviş Yusuf as a polymath, a great expert in medicine, a follower of the Mevlevi order,

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36 Fatih, 3541, 13b-14a.

37 Fatih, 3541, 24a.

38 Fatih, 3541, 23b.

39 Fatih, 3541, 369a.

40 Fatih, 3541, 23b.

and an avid traveler (*ehl-i seyahāt*).<sup>41</sup> He claimed that the Ottoman chief-physician Salih Efendi engineered the exile of this skilled physician to a hospital in Damascus for his advantage since he was afraid of losing his position.<sup>42</sup> The archival records testify that Derviş Yusuf was indeed the chief-physician of the Nur al-Din Hospital in Damascus in the 1670s.<sup>43</sup> Among other cases, İbrahim narrated how Derviş Yusuf treated an older woman who had a stroke in Edirne and a leprous man in Bursa. İbrahim noted that from the leprous man in Bursa, Derviş Yusuf demanded a legal certificate (*hüccet*) of immunity from liability for blood money (*diyyet*), should the treatment prove unsuccessful.<sup>44</sup> İbrahim also mentioned Derviş Yusuf's character, depicting him as a short-tempered, impetuous, and obstinate person while praising him as a sincere and responsive teacher.<sup>45</sup>

İbrahim informed his readers about a famous female physician (*tabibe hatun*) active in Edirne in the second half of the seventeenth century. He wrote that she had a significant medical experience, knew how to prepare ointments, and acquired her medical knowledge from her father and grandfather. She treated a snake-bitten peasant named Mehmed from the village of Süle, who was still alive in 1097 (1685-86) at the time when he was copying the translation of *al-Mughnī*.<sup>46</sup> A Jewish physician nicknamed "Macaroğlu" ("the son of a Hungarian") was another physician that İbrahim recorded in his notes. In contrast to Muhammed, İbrahim does not show any dislike or hostility towards the Jewish practitioners of medicine. Instead, he mentioned Macaroğlu as a talented physician, who, in his small garden located in the inner castle of Edirne, had a good harvest of a new plant that he had brought from Kamanıçe (Kamanets-Podolsky).<sup>47</sup>

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41 Fatih, 3541, 36a.

42 Fatih, 3541, 35b.

43 BOA, İE. SH. 1/28; İE. EV. 4/452.

44 Fatih, 3541, 35b-36a, and 75a

45 Fatih, 3541, 35b-36a.

46 Fatih, 3541, 376a.

47 Fatih, 3541, 318a-319b. On the contribution of different ethnic and religious groups to cultural and intellectual life in Edirne, see Aziz Nazmi Şakir-Taş, *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye: Edirne ve Civarında Osmanlı Kültür ve Bilim Muhitinin Oluşumu (XIV.-XVI. Yüzyıl)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayinevi, 2009). On the Kamanıçe campaign, see Mehmet İnbacı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar: Kamanıçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (İstan-

In addition to several physicians active in the city, İbrahim's account reveals details about popular medical practices and practitioners in Edirne in the period. As an example, he recounted the story of a late Halveti-Gülşeni sheikh who provided free medical service to patients in his dervish lounge in Süleymaniye Küçük Pazar quarter.<sup>48</sup> İbrahim also wrote about the influx of people from Edirne city center and other places to a village called Akpınar, situated between Çömlek and Muratçalı, in the Çöke district on the night of Hıdırellez (May 5). Among other sufferers, those with *sıraca* (scrofula) frequently visited that village. İbrahim claimed that there was always a sheikh in the village providing medical treatment, and the name of the sheikh holding this post in 1064 (1653-54) was Huruş Muhammed.<sup>49</sup> While portraying these two sheikhs and their medical practices favorably, there are cases in which İbrahim expressed his criticism over medical practitioners and their methods. He reported that in a village called Bunak in the Çöke district, "a wretched, ignorant man" (*biçare bir cahil*) was causing harm to people by advising them to eat *şebb-i yemeni* (the alum of Yemen, native aluminum sulfate) as a cure for their health problems.<sup>50</sup>

İbrahim recorded other anecdotes that provide remarkable details about the social life and military events of the period. In a marginal note, he gave the recipe of a paste (*ma'cün*) for *bel soğukluğu* (gonorrhea) and reported that it was dispensed in the Old Palace in Edirne for the treatment of patients with this disease.<sup>51</sup> In another case, İbrahim narrated how he treated a young boy from Eskiçuma (Targovište in modern-day northeast Bulgaria) who came to Edirne to work but contracted *frenk uyuzu* (syphilis).<sup>52</sup> On another occasion, he tried to explain why he and many others in the Ottoman army suffered from smallpox-like rashes on their penises during the Kamanıçe campaign.<sup>53</sup> İbrahim also noted his treatment of a young man who was attacked by a rabid wolf in the Cumalı village,

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bul: Yeditepe, 2004); Halime Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed'in Kamanıçe-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006).

48 Fatih, 3541, 54b.

49 Fatih, 3541, 108a-b.

50 Fatih, 3541, 54b.

51 Fatih, 3541, 218a.

52 Fatih, 3541, 273b.

53 Fatih, 3541, 275b.

located between Edirne and Aydos (Aytos in modern-day Bulgaria). He visited this village on his way to Aydos when he was sent from the court in Edirne on an official mission.<sup>54</sup>

İbrahim shows a tendency to record the names, positions, and stories –medical or otherwise– of individuals in his notes. He reported that Muharrem Agha, the brother of Bizeban Mustafa Agha, who was the *musāhib* (close companion) of Mehmed IV, found almost two kilograms of amber in a pig stable of one of the frontier fortress in Kamanıçe during the imperial campaign.<sup>55</sup> Elsewhere, İbrahim noted how physicians prepared a special, refreshing drink for the late Seyyid İbrahim Efendi who was the *başhalife* (chief clerk) of the Küçük Ruznamçe Kalemi (palace salary office) during the grand vizierate of Kara Mustafa Pasha. İbrahim stated that since this drink became very popular at the time, he had the desire to know its composition. It took him, however, seven years after the death of Seyyid İbrahim Efendi to obtain the recipe.<sup>56</sup> Acem Mehmed Çavuş of Gebze (the cook of Seyyid İbrahim Efendi), Süleyman Kethüda (the deputy of the chief gardener), İbrahim Çavuş (the son of Süleyman Kethüda), and the clerk Abdi Halife were among the others that İbrahim mentioned in his notes and gave details on their health problems.<sup>57</sup>

The longest and perhaps the most remarkable story that İbrahim recorded was on a passionately debated topic concerning the illicitness of *zıkr* (remembrance of God), *sema* (chanting and dancing), and *devran* (whirling). İbrahim made it explicit at the beginning that he narrated this story for emphasizing the unity of God (*tevhüd-i bārī*).<sup>58</sup> The story relates a debate between Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574), Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573), and Sufi Sheikh İbrahim Ümmi Sinan (d. 1568). According to the story, Ebussuud and Birgivi Mehmed, who were against *sema* and *devran*, decided to have a meeting with Ümmi Sinan to dissuade him from performing these rituals. However, when Ümmi Sinan refuted their claims, Ebussuud stormed out of the meeting room after saying that no one should perform the funeral prayer of Ümmi Sinan. The Sufi sheikh acted similarly and stated to a doorkeeper

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54 Fatih, 3541, 382b.

55 Fatih, 3541, 67a.

56 Fatih, 3541, 138a.

57 Fatih, 3541, 36b and 177b.

58 Fatih, 3541, 13b.

that the şeyhülislam would attend his funeral to obey a *firman* (imperial decree). A few days later, Ebussuud received an imperial decree stating that he should participate in the funeral ceremony of Rukiye Sultan, the sultan's daughter. He and other leading scholars went to the Ayasofya Mosque, where the prayer leader asked them to make a funeral prayer for a deceased male (*er kişi niyetine*). After this first prayer, they performed the funeral prayer of Rukiye Sultan. At the end of the ceremony, around five hundred Sufis began to recite a Quranic verse, "Fa'lam annahū lā ilāha illā Allāh" (So know that there is no god but Allah, 47:19). When Ebussuud inquired after the name of the deceased man they prayed for, they informed him that he was Ümmi Sinan. İbrahim ended this story with the following remarks: "People narrated this story for a long time. One should approach his antagonist in a dignified manner. They [the Sufis] perform their rituals as a way of worship, not for a perversion in their way (*fisq*), God forbid. It is, therefore, improper to say that one would receive God's punishment due to chanting God's name aloud."<sup>59</sup>

Given the fact that there are records of the same hagiographic narrative with slightly different versions in other contemporary accounts,<sup>60</sup> it is feasible to claim that İbrahim was right when he stated that this story was in circulation for some time among the people. In another part of his account, he put forward his critiques of the overtly irrational behavior of an enthusiastic Kadızadeli who attempted to entomb a man who had a stroke but was still alive.<sup>61</sup> In these remarks and observations, İbrahim emerges as a religiously moderate figure, evidently different from his teacher Muhammed in his worldview. He reminds us of the Ottoman polymath Katib Çelebi (d. 1657), who attended the classes of Kadızade Mehmed Efendi in his youth but wrote his *Mizân al-Haqq* (The Balance of Truth) to find a balanced approach to the heated and sometimes violent debate between the Kadızadelis and their opponents.<sup>62</sup>

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59 Fatih, 3541, 15a.

60 Reşat Özgören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf: Anadolu'da Sûfiler, Devlet ve Ulemâ (XIV. Yüzyıl)* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2003), 354, 383-84.

61 Fatih, 3541, 36b.

62 Kâtip Çelebi, *Mizânu'l-Hak fi İhtiyâri'l-Ehakk: İslam'da Tenkit ve Tartışma Usûlü*, trans. Mustafa Kara and Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 2001). For the English translation, see Katip Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957).



Written in the first half of the thirteenth century and translated into Turkish in the second half of the seventeenth century, Ibn Baytar's *al-Mughnī* has a remarkable story to discuss continuity and change in Islamic medical history and patronage of scholarly activities. More to the point, the notes of Muhammed b. Ahmed of Edirne and his disciple İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş in the Turkish translation of the text provide us with keyholes through which one can view the worlds in which they lived. These notes constitute hitherto neglected personal narratives or ego-documents, offering biographies of their authors, their scholarly and administrative activities, extensive patronage networks, long-distance travels, and conflicting worldviews. They also provide new insights into and perspectives on some of the critical events in the period, including the revivalist Kadızadeli movement and the 1672 Kamanıçe campaign. Disclosing new interpretive possibilities for early modern Ottoman socio-cultural and medical history and helping researchers explore untold stories of several individuals and groups, these notes remind us of the still essential need in Ottoman studies to scrutinize translations under a new light.<sup>63</sup>

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63 For a comprehensive list of translated texts into Ottoman Turkish between thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Sadık Yazar, "Anadolu Sahası Klâsik Türk Edebiyatında Tercüme ve Şerh Geleneği" (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2011). For an insightful discussion on translations, commentaries, and annotations in the Ottoman cultural world, see İsmail Kara, *İlim Bilmez Tarih Hatırlamaz: Şerh ve Haşiye Meselesine Dair Birkaç Not* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011).

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## BEN ANLATISI OLARAK ÇEVİRİLER: İKİ OSMANLI TABİBİNİN İBN BAYTAR'IN *KİTÂBÜ'L-MUĞNÎ* Sİ ÜZERİNE NOTLARI

### ÖZ

Bu makale, İbn Baytar'a ait *Kitâbü'l-Muğnî* adlı eserin Türkçe çevirisine iliştiirdikleri notlar üzerinden XVII. yüzyılda yaşamış iki Osmanlı hekiminin, Edirneli Muhammed b. Ahmed ile öğrencisi İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş'un hayatları ve fikirlerini incelemektedir. Söz konusu notlarda Edirneli Muhammed b. Ahmed, Kadızadeli fikriyata sahip bir Türk hekim, mütercim ve "kırk-elli" yıl boyunca dünyayı gezdiğini iddia eden bir "âlem seyyahı" olarak karşımıza çıkar. Buna mukabil, Muhammed b. Ahmed'in öğrencisi İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş tıbbâ yönelik derin bir merakı olan ve dinî açıdan ılımlı görüşlere sahip bir Osmanlı memuru olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Elimizdeki notlar erken modern dönem Osmanlı kültür ve tıp tarihine yönelik yeni yorumlara kapı aralamakta ve belli başlı kişi ve grupların bugüne kadar anlatılmamış hikayelerinin açığa çıkmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Alışıl gelmiş kaynaklarda bulunması zor bazı detaylar içeren, henüz yeterince incelenmemiş ben-anlatılarını oluşturan bu notlar, Kadızadeliler hareketi ve 1672 Kamanîçe Seferi de dahil olmak üzere dönemin bazı kritik olaylarına ilişkin yeni bilgiler sunmakta ve Osmanlı tarihi araştırmalarında tercümelerin yeni bir bakışla incelenmesi gerektiğini hatırlatmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** İbn Baytar, *Kitâbü'l-Muğnî*, Edirneli Muhammed b. Ahmed, İbrahim b. Hüseyin Çavuş, erken dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, tercümeleler, ben-anlatıları.