

Insatiable Hunger: A Court Physician's Account of Dog-Hunger in the Seventeenth Century

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Keywords:

Ottoman medicine, Sakızlı İsa Efendi, History of eating disorders, Dog-hunger, 17th Century

Cite this article:

Durmaz, Tunahan. "Insatiable Hunger: A Court Physician's Account of Dog-Hunger in the Seventeenth Century"

Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 10-20. Available under https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-02.

Article DOI 10.25365/kshf-25-02-02 Published online July 07, 2025

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Context1

The account of dog-hunger² (cū'u'l-kelb) presented here is found in Devā'ü'l-Emrāz.³ Devā' was compiled in the 1640s by Sakızlı İsa Efendi, the chief physician (hekīmbaşı) at the court of Sultan Ibrahim.⁴ Encyclopedic in nature, the work elaborates on approximately four hundred illnesses and disease states from pathological and therapeutic perspectives. Despite being largely neglected in the historiography of Ottoman medicine, *Devā* presents a wealth of information that provokes numerous thoughts and questions pertaining to meanings, categories, and regimes of disease in early modern Istanbul. Sakızlı İsa Efendi's interest in disease nomenclature, symptomatology, and etiology not only lends us a perspective into a physician's mindset but also allows us to consider disease and illness in its social and cultural contexts.

Dog-hunger ($c\bar{u}$ 'u'l-kelb) is one of the ailments detailed in the source.⁵ It is described as an eating disorder characterized by an insatiable hunger, eventually leading to a vicious cycle of food-binging and discharge of undigested food. Dog-hunger was first mentioned by Galen of Pergamon and was thus known to generations of physicians over the centuries.⁶ It also appeared in the Ottoman medical writings from an early

One chapter of my forthcoming dissertation on the perceptions of illness in late-seventeenthcentury Ottoman Istanbul examines in detail the medicalization of hunger and appetite in the contemporary Ottoman medical compendia, with a particular focus on İsa Efendi's Deväü'l-Emräz. —I would like to thank Sümeyye Hosgör-Büke and Deniz Özeren for inviting me to contribute to the volume, and Nükhet Varlık and Deren Ertaş for their feedback. My thanks are also due to the Keshif editors and the anonymous reviewer for their careful reading of the transcription and their corrections.

The term dog-hunger is the most accurate translation for $c\bar{u}$ 'u'l-kelb on two grounds: (1) It provides a word-for-word translation. (2) Dog-hunger was a historically-available term in the English language whose first use draws back to the early 1600s. See, "Dog-Hunger," in Oxford English Dictionary, December 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9332899614.

The copy used here is Kütahya Zeytinoğlu Halk Kütüphanesi, 401. The subject entry on *cū'u'l-kelb* is in folios 131a, 131b, 132a.

⁴ For an overview of Devāü'l-Emrāz, see Ahmet Akdağ, "Sakızlı İsa Efendi'nin Deva-i Emraz İsimli Eseri," in Sakızlı İsa Efendi ve Nizamü'l Edviye'si Üzerine İncelemeler, ed. Sibel Murad and Mücahit Kaçar (İstanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2021).

The author discusses three other eating disorders: anorexia, dirt-eating, and ox-hunger (bulimia).

H. U. Ziolko, "Bulimia: A Historical Outline," The International Journal of Eating Disorders 20, no. 4 (December 1996): 350,

https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-108X(199612)20:4<345::AID-EAT2>3.0.CO;2-N.

period.⁷ Utilizing systematic methods of examination, İsa Efendi not only addresses doghunger and similar conditions, such as ox-hunger (i.e., $c\bar{u}$ 'u'l-bakar; bulimia), but also medicalizes the broader phenomenon of appetite.

The entry pertains to consumption in two points: (1) From a broad perspective that also considers social and cultural practices of eating, it may offer insights into how such practices and their medicalization were shaped within larger trends of consumption. (2) The medicinal ingredients and compounds listed in the entry may help shed light on the marketplace and uses of them when read along with other types of sources (e.g. probate inventories) used by historians of consumption.

Transcription

Yüz elli beşinci bāb cū ʿu'l-kelb beyānındadur

İtler iştihāsı dirler • ve fārisīde gürisne-ü seg ve ārzū-yı seg dahı dirler • ve efrenciler envā ʻ-i fame kanina⁸ dirler • ve rūmlar ve yūnānīler kino-limos dirler • ta ʿāma doymaz dirler • ve ʻarabda cū ʻu'l-kelb dirler • cū ʻu'l-kelb ile cū ʻu'l-bakar ʻilletini ba ʻzılar ikisin dahı [131b] bir nev '-i 'illetdir dimişlerdür • ve ba 'zı gürüh cü 'u'l-bakar cü 'u'l-kelbden şoñradur dimişler ya nī cū u'l-kelb muķaddem 'ārıż olubdur cū u'l-baķar şoñradan olur dimişler şaḥḥ ve cū 'u'l-kelb 'illeti ġalebe-i sevdādan olur • ve sevdā ṭalaktan mi 'deye varub ve fem-i mi 'de 'i le<u>z</u> 'ider • veyāḥūd sū 'u'l-mizāc-ı bārid veya sū 'u'l-mizāc-ı ḥār veyā sū 'u'l-mizāc ki cümle endām ile ola • bunlar bu 'illete sebebdir • zīrā yalñız sū'u'l-mizāc fem-i mi 'dede olsa • ţa ʿām iştihāsı olmazdı • bunda hod iştihā çok olur dimişler • ve ifrāţla iştihā olmak sū ʾu'lmizāc sebebi ile cümle endāmlara irişüb beden mesāmların açar • ve ta am dahı cümle endāmlara irişdügi gibi 'ale'l-fevr tahlīl kabūl idüp ve beden mesāmından taşra çıkduğı gibi bedel-i tahlīl tekrār ta ʿām • ārzū idüp ve talebi kavī olup sabra tākat kalmaz • meger nāçar ola • ve ṭa ʿām bulmaya • ve bu ʿillet gāhī nezleden olur ki dimāġdan fem-i mi ʿdeye nāzil-i mādde sebeb olur • ve dimāġdan nāzil olan bārid madde gerekdür ki fem-i mi de i daḥı tebrīd idüp ve cā izdür ki mi dede olan her ne ise ekşi olup lez ide • ve şehves9-i kelbī tevellüd ide • ve gāhī mi 'dede ve em 'āda olan uzun ķurtlar mütevellid olmış ola • ve ol

For instance, a fifteenth-century medical manual in Turkish also mentions $c\bar{u}$ 'u'l-kelb. See İbn-i Şerif, $Y\hat{a}dig\hat{a}r$: On Beşinci Yüzyıl Türkçe Tıp Kitabı, ed. Murat D. Çekin, trans. Orhan Sakin, Yahya Okutan, and Mecit Yıldız (Istanbul: Merkezefendi Geleneksel Tıp Derneği: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2017), 53, 153.

⁸ De fame canina.

⁹ Şehvet.

gidalar ki ol maḥalle vāṣil ola cezb idüb kendüye gida idinüb aḥir lazım olmayanı biraz yolından göndere • mi 'de ve mi 'ā ḫālī kala • ve tekrār ġıdāya ṭaleb ola • bunuñ 'alāmeti sevdā fem-i mi dede ise · her nesne ki tenāvül ider hāzmsız taşra çıkar · ve endāmlar hiṣṣesin alamaz • ve beden lāġm olmaķ lāzım gelür • ve sevdānuñ humūżiyeti fem-i mi ˈde ʾi yakmağa başlar • ve kaçan ki ta ʿām tenāvül ide • fem-i mi ʿde te ʿaffunı zā ʾil ola • ve bārid sū'u'l-mizācdan daḥı bu hāller 'aynī ile böyle vāki' olur • ve eger sū'u'l-mizāc cümle endāmlar müşāreketi ile • olursa niṣānı budur ki • ġıdā tez taḥlīl olup 'aṭṣ ġalebe ider • ve beden nasībini alamaz • ve nezle 'alāmeti dahı 'aynī ile böyledür • ammā kurt tevellüd itmiş ise em ʿāda ve mi ʿdede ḥarāret ve burun gicimek aña dāldur • bunlara ʿilāc eger mi ʿdede sevdā ise • bāsilīķdan¹o veya üseylemden¹¹ faşd lāzımdur • ba dehū maţbūḥ eftimūn ile istifrāg gerekdür • ve ţalak üstine kurı ḥacāmat şişesi koyub çizmemek gerekdür • ve mi 'deye ıtrıfilat ile ya cüvariş¹²-i cevzī ile kuvvet vireler • ve cevz-i bevvalar • ve rūfadan yumurda şarusı ve semüz kuzı ve tavuk kebāpları • ve kebāb altına yağlu tiridler idüp vireler • ve cerblü şorbalar • ve yağlu kemükler • ve süd ile tāze kuzı ve oğlak tabh itmek ve ța ʿāmlarına țoraķ otı ve noḥūd ve ḥavlencān ve dārçīni ķatalar • ve ʿūd-ı cüvārişleri vireler • ve rengīn şerāblar ve mey-i puḥteler ki taġ üzüminden ola kifāyet ider • ve eger mi deye bārid nezle irmiş ise • bürūdet zāhir olduğı gibi evvelā kay' itdürüp ba'dehū ayāric-i faykarā¹³ ile mi ʿde ʾi pāk [132a] idüp ve ba ʿdehū ma ʿcūn-ı kemmūnī ve sinciriyyā¹⁴ ve tiryākı keb[ir]ler ve devā'ü'l-misk-ü meşer¹⁵ nāfi 'dür • ve ţa 'āmlarına ıssı otlar koyalar • ve şerāblardan dahı har ve mu tedil olanlardan virüp barid buharı teskin ve mi de'i teshin

The vein located below the arm; also known as "the heart vein." See "el-bāselīk" in Ekrem Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin B. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin 'Lisânü'l-Etibbâ' Adlı Tıp Lügatı Üzerinde Dil İncelemesi (İncleme-Metin-Sözlük)" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul University, 2011), 122. This is *vena basilica* in Latin. See, Gürsel Ortuğ, "İbn Sina'nın Kan Alınacak Damarlar Risalesi Üzerine Bir Bakış," in Uluslararası İbni Sînâ Sempozyumu Bildirileri 17-20 Ağustos 1983 (Uluslararası İbni Sînâ Sempozyumu, Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Yayınları, 1984), 260.

The vein located between the ring and little fingers on the back of the hand. See "el-üslīm" in Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin B. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin 'Lisânü'l-Etibbâ' Adlı Tıp Lügatı Üzerinde Dil İncelemesi (İncleme-Metin-Sözlük)," 100. This is vena salvatella in Latin. See, Ortuğ, "İbn Sina'nın Kan Alınacak Damarlar Risalesi Üzerine Bir Bakış," 263.

¹² Cüvāriş: generic name of mixtures specifically intended to facilitate digestion. For cüvāriş see "cevâriș" in Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık, 76.

¹³ Ayāric-i faykarā: a laxative or non-laxative compound. See "eyâric-i faykara" in Terzioğlu, 76.

¹⁴ This is most likely the herb known as *sencer*, which Isa described as hot-dry in his pharmacopeia. Sakızlı İsa Efendi, Nizamül Edviye, ed. Sibel Murad and Mükerrem Bedizel Aydın (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA), 2019), 451. The humoral characteristics of sencer also aligns with the therapy suggested here.

The text writes مشر However, it is possible that the author meant to write *mürr*, as *devā'ü'l-misk-ü* mürr (the bitter musk cure) was an available recipe. The other musk-based treatment was devā'ü'lmisk-ü helv (the sweet musk cure). See Arslan Terzioğlu, ed., Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık = Eine Bisher Unbekannte Handschrift Über Die Herstellung Der Arzneien Im Topkapı-Schloss in Istanbul Und Ihre Bedeutung Für Die Geschichte Der Pharmazie, Tıpkı Basımlar Dizisi 7 (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1992), 76.

ideler • ve bu bābda ma ʿcūn -ı kendir daḫı ḥay ʾ[a] nāfi ʿdür ma ʿcūn -ı kendir ḫīr-i bevvā ve cevz-i bevvā • fūlfūl ve dār-ı fūlfūl her birinden beş dirhem ḫavlencān ve zencebīl her birinden yedi dirhem kendir otuz dirhem ola • ʿasel ile ma ʿcūn idūp • bunuñ miḥdār-ı isti ʿmāli iki dirhemdūr • ve eger sū ʾuʾl-mizāc-ı ḥār olup mi ʿdeye ve cūmle endāmlara te ʾsīr itmiş ola • ve cūmle endām müṣāreketi ile ola cūmle endāma mersīn yaġı ṭılā itmek ve bārid ṣuda iclās itdūrmek ve riyāzet ve ḥareketden men ʿitmek gerekdūr • ve ekṣi turunç ve ribās ve līmūn ṣularını ve ṣerāblarını vireler • ve ġıdāsın buzaġu eti vireler • ve eger mi ʿdede ḥurt tevellūd itmiş ise • deryāda biten bir cins otluḥ ki aña soġlucan otı dirler • sirke ile ezūp ve içirūp ol ḥurtlar ishāl ile çıḥar • ve ṣāhtere ve hindibā ṣerābı her biri acı olduġıyçūn ol ḥurtları çıkarub ʿillet zā ʾil olur • ve daḫı ishāle müte ʿalliḥ edviye ile • müleyyin ṣerbet virūb mi ʿde ve em ʿāyı • daḥı pāk • ideler •

Translation¹⁶

One-hundred-fifty-fifth section is on dog-hunger.

[They] call it the appetite of dogs [in Turkish]. In Persia, they call it *gürisne-i seg* and *arzū-yı seg*. Europeans call it the sort of *fame kanina*. And *Rūms* and Greeks call it *kinolimos*. They call it [an] insatiable hunger. [In the land of] Arabs, they call it *cū 'u'l-kelb*. Some said that [this] dog-hunger and ox-hunger (*cū 'u'l-bakar*) are of the same sort. And some said ox-hunger follows dog-hunger, meaning dog-hunger comes first, and later ox-hunger appears. The malady of dog-hunger is due to an excess of black bile. From the spleen black bile reaches the stomach and therein irritates the mouth of the stomach. Differently, it is due to imbalance of cold temperament (*sū 'u'l-mizāc-ı bārid*), of hot temperament (*sū 'u'l-mizāc-ı ḥār*), or of the whole bodily temperament. These are the causes of this malady. Had the imbalance transpired only in the mouth of the stomach, insatiability would not have occurred. Nevertheless, there is [an unnecessary] eating appetite in this instance. Extreme appetite, stemming from the imbalanced temperament, spreads to the whole body and opens the pores. When the food also reaches the whole body, it becomes hastily digested and purged from the body via pores. [Thus], the food is sought once again, and the demand becomes so intense that the person would

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Translation of *materia medica* names is based on the modern use of such terms. Some of the terms denoting unidentified plants, anatomical references, and units of measure are left in Turkish to avoid any misinterpretation.

languish struggling to be patient. It is [an effort] in vain. [And] there is no food. This malady can also be caused by discharge [of a bodily substance], that is, because a substance descends from the brain to the mouth of the stomach. This cold-tempered substance, descended from the brain, renders therein cold, too. It is possible that it acidifies and irritates the entire stomach. Consequently, dog-passion occurs, and sometimes long worms are born in the stomach and the bowels. [These worms] consume all the food and send away the unwanted remnants. Stomach and bowels remain emptied. Ultimately, the demand for food upsurges once again. The symptoms of it: If the black bile is in the stomach, everything consumed would exit [the body] undigested. The bodily organs cannot take their share. The body needs to purge. The acidity of the black bile burns the mouth of the stomach. The food is consumed thereafter, and decomposition [in] the mouth of the stomach stops. The same set of occurrences takes place also in the imbalance of cold temperament. If it is due to the imbalance of the whole bodily temperament, the sign is that the food dissolves hastily and then occurs fever. Overall, the body cannot take its share [of the food.] The same symptom appears also in discharge. Yet, if worms began emerging, fever in stomach and bowels as well as running nose attest to it. The cure for this: if the black bile is in the stomach, bloodletting from either the basilic vein or vena salvatella is needed. Then, puking with decocted epithymum is needed. Also needed is to apply dry cups on the spleen. Following that, they shall invigorate the stomach with trefoils and the nuts-based digestive compund. And nutmegs. They should serve soft-boiled egg yolk, well-fed lamb and chicken kebab whose underneath is put fatty bread. Fat-rich soups. Fatty bones. And fresh lamb cooked with milk. They should also add dill, chickpeas, galangal, and cinnamon in their food. They shall give the oud-based digestive compund. Colorful beverages and boiled drinks, made with mountain grapes, are adequate. If the discharge is already descended to the stomach, as soon as the coldness appears, they shall make [the person] puke, and they purify the stomach with laxative compounds. Subsequently, paste of cummin and sinciriyyā¹⁷ and the great theriac and the bitter musk cure are beneficial. They shall add

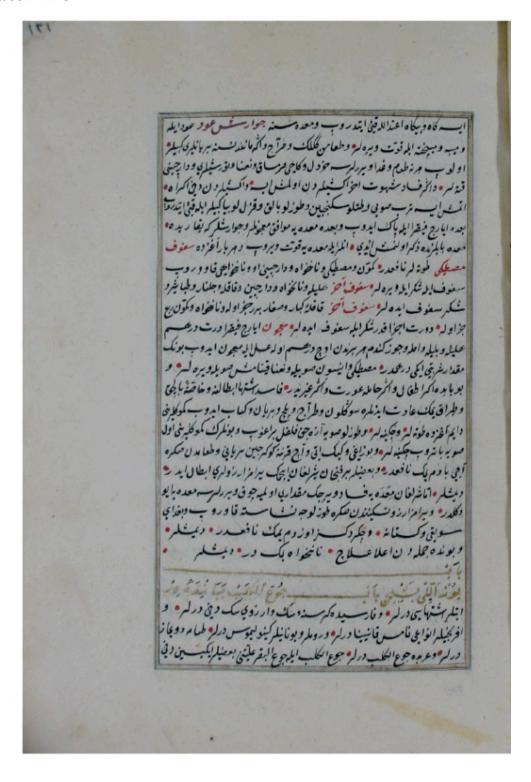
See the transcription above for explanation.

sour weeds in their food. They shall give hot and mild ones from their beverages so that the cold organs find soothing and the stomach gets heated. In this respect, the paste of hemp is also beneficial to [help] purge. The paste of hemp small cardamom¹⁸ and nutmeg. Black pepper and *piper longum*: five *dirhems* from each. Galangal and ginger: seven *dirhems* from each. Hemp shall be thirty *dirhems*. Mix with honey to make a paste. The amount of consumption of this is two *dirhems*. If there is an imbalance of hot temperament, which has affected the stomach and all organs, it is necessary to apply myrtle oil to the whole body. Also having person sit in cold water, and prohibiting from ascetism and movement. And give sour orange, rhubarb, and lemon juices and their sherbets. And give veal meat as food. If worms have developed in the stomach, there is this type of weed that grows in the sea, which they call soğlucan otu. Crash it with vinegar and administer it, the worms will exit through diarrhea. Since the sherbet of fumeroot and chicory is bitter, it expes the worms and the malady is removed. Moreover, give mild sherbet with cures for diarrhea so that they purify the stomach and the bowels.

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I have opted for a direct translation of "küçük kakule," that is used to describe ħīr-i bevvā in Sakızlı İsa Efendi's pharmacopoeia titled Nizāmü'l-Edvīyye. Nizamül Edviye, 353.

Facsimile



لم اوله ونغر بوغلت سبيدره زيرا يا كنه سوء المزاج ترمحده وه اولسه و طمام انتها بعي و کمزوی و بود و حوز و سننهاجوی او لورونین ایر و افراطله بشنها او ملق سودا لمزاج بسب - وبدن مسامندن طنب، وجقدون كي بدل كليا تكارطهام • - وفلي توي اولوب صروط قت فالمارة مكرنا جارا وله وطعم بولميه . وبوعلّت كاجي نزلدون اولوكه دماعذن فيمعده يه نازل ما دّه مسبب اولوية ودماعل مازل اولان باروما و محركد كرفي معده ، وفي بتريدايد وب وجايز وركم معده و اولان اكتين ولوب لزع ايده وستهوك كلي نو لدايده وكاي معده وه وامق ولان اورون ورتام متولداد المتراوله وواول غدالم كماول قلة واصل ولهجذب لندور غذا ايد نؤب أحز لازم اوطايني براز بولندن كوندره معده ومعاطالي مذكه تناولا يدره غيمة طنهره جمّاره والدرم لم حقيسين ألم مزه وبدن لاغراولي المراكبور وسودالك جنوستي فرمعده ويا فعدا سنلم وقين كم طعم تناول ايده فالمعدم غفين رَائل اوله وبار وسوء المزاحد ل ويي بوحاللرعيني المربويلم واقع او لوره والمرسوء المزاج جله اندا ملرمث ركبتي ايل اولورسه نث في بو دركم و غدا تنز كليل اولوب عُلْمُ ف ملها برر • و بدن نصِني ألم من • ونزله علامتي دين عين الم بويلم ور • امّا مؤرت تولّد المن معاده ومعده وه حوارت وبورون كيمك الأوالدره بونلره عسطا مرا طريفيلات بلم باجوارث جوزي المرفوت ويره لم وجوز بوّا لمر ب وسموز فوزي وناوق كه بلري وكباب النذ باغلو تريدلم ايدو ب ويره لم وجر بلوشور بالم ويا غلوكمك لم وسدايل تازه وزي واوغلاف طخ ت وطما ملرينه طورق اويق و خود وخولفان ودارجيني قدام وعودجوا رسلم ويرهام مه مبرود ت ظهم او لدوي كبي اوّ لَا فِيْ ابتدر وب بعد وايارج فيضرا المومده و باك

ايروب وبعده معيون مكوني وسسنجر يا ويتربا ق كهلرو د وا ما لمسك ومنه نا نعدره وطعامله ندستي اوتله تويدلم وطرابلرون ويخ حار ومعتدل اولانلرون ويروب باردى ري ت كين ومعده حنين ايده ليه وبوبايده معيون كندروين فني نافعدر معيون كفدر جزيقا وجوزيوا فلفل و وارفلفل جربرندن بسنسس ورهسيم خولينا ن وارجبيل جربرندن يدى ورجي كمند إواقا درهسم اوله عسل المرمجي نابدوب وبونك مقد رسستمالي الم ورحدره والرسوالماج حارا ولوب معده يه وجله الداملره تأيفرا تنس اول وجلد الرم من ركتي إيدا وله جلدا المام ين يا في طلا الخاك وبار وصوره اجلاس التدرمك ورياضت وحركمة ن من المك مركدر وأكثبي يورنج ورباس وليون صوليريني وبفرابلريني وبره لير وغدسون بوزاعو بي ويره ليه والرمعده و ه ورت يو لدا منسل به دريا وه بين برجنس او تلوق كم الرصوماليان اوني درلم سركه المرابرازوب والبحروب اول وزنسر سهال المرجقان ف عتره وعدد باشرابي مدتري أجي أولدوع في اول قورتدي جقاروب علت رأبل اولور ودين بسياله معلق ا دوبرايله ملين سنسرب ويروب بده وامعایی . دی پاک ،ایدهار ، م بنتهایی درلره فارسیده کرسند و کاوی درلیره وا فریخدانوای فامی ربووینه «ور وطهرو بو نا نبله و وليموس درلير» بو بؤء آجتيع وطعامه طويامق صغراره ه اولينو جوع البقريعين صغر بنتها بي ورلم[®] و بو علت اكثر تاجوء الكلب د ل صكره عارض او لور**»** وبونؤع جوع البقرمعده وان عزى جمله الداملروه وفي واقعا ولوره وبرا اندامله جمل غذايط لب اولور تربالكر معده بستمزه وبويوع جوعه انوكجون أفت بهنتها دبي وبرشلة وأثر بهنتها ز با وه اولو ب ولملي و قارن الزيم ما را وله « اول سب الم طرليرخا بي اولو ، و بو قد رطع وغلا الراتين ينرم بين مهوش اولوب وبلكي غث إبهاب ايدر و يويوء غث بان فيزمده و بتريدايدوب بلغ عارين ونازل اولوب قوتت بمنتهاى معد مذابل اولور وبوبوع بارد بلين ما وي ون جوع الكلب ما بنده جوع الكلب تو لدا بلدوكين ذكرا يك زور وبالحال معده بالدغ ايدوب وبريره كتوره وهمام إندن دفع ايدوب بود فعرفه معده تكرار مُدايه طالب ا ولوره وبويوء بلغ لرجلو وطو_{سية} وعليط ور**٠ صرحه ثناء ط كبي ولو و الوك**يون بهوشلى ام إف ابدر رو وفي ت جاذب كدومصلتندن منع ابدوب و مشتها ، سوكندر

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