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Tracing Georgian Veterinary Medical Tradition: A Journey into Ioane Ossesdze's Compilation (Eighteenth Century)[*]

Nino Sakvarelidze[**]

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This paper offers an examination of the Georgian veterinary medical tradition through a close study of Ioane Ossesdze's late eighteenth-century compilation. Drawing on the principal extant manuscript witnesses, the paper undertakes an analysis of textual and structural adaptations, terminological strategies, and the dynamics of knowledge transfer within a multilingual and multicultural context involving Georgian, Armenian, Persian, and Arabic sources, as well as the collaborative efforts of Georgian and Armenian translators. Special emphasis is placed on the colophon, which serves both as a crucial source of information on authorship, commissioners, contents, and date, and as a meta-textual reflection on the translation methods employed.

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I. Assembling and Transmitting Knowledge: The Hippiatric-Hippological Enterprise of Ioane Ossesdze

A. Preliminary notes: Context and Significance

Georgian human and veterinary medical manuscripts provide valuable material for linguistic and philological studies concerning the historical development of specialised terminology. However, veterinary texts emerged significantly later than those dedicated to human medicine. While major works in this field began to circulate from the eleventh century onward – building upon foundations traceable to the ninth century, with milestones such as the *Uscoro Karabadini* [Incomparable Qarabadin, eleventh century] by a certain Kananeli[1] and the encyclopaedic treatise *Samedic'ino Cigni – Karabadini*[2] [The Medical Book – Qarabadin, fifteenth century] by Zaza P'anaskerteli[3] – veterinary manuscripts did not surface until much later. The earliest surviving veterinary manuscript – known as fragment H 414 – originates from the first half of the seventeenth century (or possibly from

[1] The *Uscoro Karabadini* is a Georgian compilation by a certain Kananeli, bringing together diverse medical writings by Greek and Arab authors, as preserved in Georgian manuscripts, alongside elements of folk medicine and the wisdom attributed to Babylonian philosophers. Notably, it contains the earliest known occurrence of the term *Qarabadin* in the Georgian manuscript tradition, see *Samedic'ino da veterinaruli xelnacerebi sakart'velosa da uc'xoet'is siżvelet'sac'avebši / Medical and Veterinary Manuscripts in the Depositories of Georgia and Abroad*, ed. T'amar Abuladze et al. (Tbilisi: Korneli Kekelidzis saxelobis xelnacert'a erovnuli c'entri, 2022), 28-30; 38; 101. This work represents a first step toward the reception of the Arabic medical tradition, marking a transition from earlier ancient Oriental influences – namely Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian – as well as from the predominant Greek influence toward the Arabic tradition, see Kananeli, *Uscoro Karabadini* [*Incomparable Qarabadin*], ed. Lado Kotetišvili (Tbilisi: Sak'medgami, 1940), 6-10.

[2] The transliteration of Georgian follows here the ALA-LS (American Library Association/Library of Congress) Romanization system, https://www.translitteration.com/transliteration/en/georgian/ala-lc/.

[3] Zaza P'anaskerteli's work is an original Georgian medical treatise, distinguished by its philosophical undertones and diverse content. It offers a comprehensive overview of nearly every branch of medicine, including the description and treatment of a wide range of diseases. This key source for Georgian human medicine draws on earlier Georgian medical texts, such as the *Incomparable Qarabadin* – while also incorporating contemporary folk remedies, *Samedic'ino da veterinaruli xelnacerebi*, ed. T'amar Abuladze et al., 34-35; 104; *Zaza P'anaskerteli-C'ic'i'švili, Samkurnalo cigni: karabadini* [*The Medical Book – Qarabadin*], ed. Mixeil Šengelia (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, vol. I, 1986, vol. 2, 1988). As for the terminology, the lexical layer of the text reveals substantial borrowings from both Greco-Roman and Arabic sources.

around the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century)[4] and contains four remaining folios of a *Horse Qarabadin*. The eighteenth century, however, witnessed a remarkable surge in the production and dissemination of veterinary texts, culminating in large-scale compilation efforts.[5] During this period, the circulation of veterinary manuscripts expanded considerably, leading to the emergence of extensive compiled collections. Among these, the *Healing Book for Horses and Other Animals* stands out for its textual and linguistic complexity, serving as a key source for understanding the transmission, adoption and adaptation of the hippiatric-hippological knowledge within the Georgian tradition. This Georgian translation of what is assumed to be the apograph of *Smbat's Horse Book* (Sivas copy, dated 1504) completed in 1788 by Ioane Ossesdze with the assistance of Ter-Petros, Ter-P'ilippe, and Ter-Samoel, is notable not only for the breadth of compiled textual content but also for its particularly intricate transmission history. Remarkable for its textual composition, the work attests to the complexity of

[4] *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba. Sak'art'velos saistorio da saet'nograp'io sazogadoebis ŕopi'li muzeumis xelnacerebi. (H) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia. Manuscripts of the Former Museum of the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography (H collection)], vol. I, compiled by Lili Kut'at'eladze et al. (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1946), 309; cf. K. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi da šinaur c'xovelt'a da p'rinvelt'a mkurnalobis sakit'xebi. disertac'ia* [*Georgian Veterinary Manuscripts from the 17th–19th Centuries and Issues in the Treatment of Domestic Animals and Birds*, Dissertation] (Tbilisi: Georgian Zootechnical and Veterinary Educational Research Institute, 1967), 85-86; w*ithin the scope of our comparative research, this manuscript is classified as belonging to the "auxiliary group" of Georgian sources, see below, Appendix, Table 2.* It is noteworthy that this is the only extant veterinary manuscript preserved in the *Nusxuri* script, *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba. Sak'art'velos saistorio da saet'nograp'io sazogadoebis ŕopi'li muzeumis xelnacerebi. (H) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia. Manuscripts of the Former Museum of the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography (H collection)], vol. I (Mss. 1 bis 500) [compiled by Lili K'ut'at'eladze (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1946), 309–310.

[5] Of the 47 known veterinary manuscripts that have survived, 30 are housed at the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, while the remaining 17 are preserved in various repositories both within Georgia and abroad (notably in Russia). Among the Centre's holdings, six contain the text titled *A Bird Qarabadin*, twenty-one represent five distinct compilations focused on horse treatment, two are collections of identical texts featuring veterinary recipes, and one is a fragment of *A Dog Qarabadin*. Each manuscript has its own unique provenance, history, and significance. They were compiled from different sources by scribes of varying educational backgrounds and literary preferences, *Samedic'ino da veterinaruli xelnacerebi,* ed. T'amar Abuladze et al., 78-83; 82.

its transmission and exemplifies a multifaceted process of knowledge exchange, revealing interwoven layers of textual, linguistic, terminological, and cultural interaction among Armenian, Arabic,[6] Persian, and Georgian contexts.

B. Manuscript Evidence and Textual Foundations

B.1 The Georgian Witnesses

The work attributed to Ioane Ossesdze, titled *Samkurnalo c'xenisa da sxuat'a pirutŕut'a* [Healing Book for Horses and Other Animals], survives in at least seven Georgian manuscripts, dated between 1788 and 1815. These codices constitute what may be defined as the "core group" of Georgian witnesses.[7] They are: H 2156 (1788),[8] A 652 (1788),[9] S 3467 (1791),[10] Q 1135 (1791)[11], S 106

[6] On the Arabic tradition of the *Cilician Horse Book*, see in this volume Marat Yavrumyan, 'The Making of a Hippiatric Corpus in the Mamluk Bayṭara Tradition.'

[7] See below, Appendix, Table 1.

[8] *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba. Sak'art'velos saistorio da saet'nograp'io sazogadoebis ŕopi'li muzeumis xelnacerebi. (H) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia. Manuscripts of the Former Museum of the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography (H collection)], vol. V, compiled by Lia Mep'arišvili (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1949), 112; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 87-89.*

[9] Tedo Žordania, *Opisanie rukopisej Tiflisskago Cerkovnago Muzeja Kartalino-Kaxetinskago duxovenstva* [*Catalogue of Manuscipts of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum of Clergy in Kartli and Kakheti*], vol. II (Tiflis; Izdanie Cerkovnago Muzeja, 1902, 25-26; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 45-47.*

[10] Ekvtime Takaišvili, *Opisanie rukopisej obščestva rasprostranenija gramotnosti sredi gruzinskogo naselenija* [*Catalogue of Manuscipts of the Society for the Spreading of* **Literacy among Georgians**], vol. 1, iss. 1-4 (Tiflis: Izd. upr. kavk. učebn. okruga, 1902-1904), 690; cf. *K'art'ul samedic'ino xelnacert'a katalogi* [Catalogue of Georgian Medical Manuscripts], compiled by Mixeil Šengelia et al. (Tbilisi: 2017), 304–309; *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba: qop'ili k'artvelt'a šoris cera-kit'xvis gamavrc'elebeli sazogadoebis (S) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians], vol. V, compiled by T'amar Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1967), 53–56; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 66-68.*

[11] *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba. Muzeumis xelnacert'a axali (Q) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia. New Q collection], vol. III, compiled by Nat'ia Nac'vlisvili (in print); cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 79-80.*

(1791),[12] M 37:1 (1791),[13] and Ms. 200 (1815).[14] All are written in *Mxedruli*, the Georgian secular script in use since the eleventh century.[15]

B.2 Research Objectives and Methodological Approach

According to the typological classification of Georgian veterinary manuscripts, proposed by Jvaršeišvili,[16] the work found in the aforementioned witnesses, belongs to Group I/III – Group I, being *Horse Qarabadins*, and Subgroup III specifically the *Horse Qarabadin of Ioane*. These manuscripts transmit not only zootechnical and veterinary knowledge related to horse care and treatment but also preserve layers of linguistic innovation, evidence of scholarly efforts and challenges, cultural adaptation, and manuscript traditions specific to the Georgian context of the late eighteenth century. Our study seeks to reconstruct this multifaceted transmission process by analysing how textual material was selected, translated, and compiled; how foreign concepts were integrated or adapted within the distinct linguistic and cultural context; and what challenges were encountered in the realm of terminology. These aspects will be discussed in the present paper.

This research employs a two-tiered comparative methodology: (a) internal comparison, involving collation and analysis of the textual relationships among the Georgian manuscripts; and (b) external evaluation, examining the Georgian translation in relation to the Armenian source text.

[12] *K. Mark'sis saxelobis sak'art'velos ssr saxelmcip'o respublikur biblioť'ekaši dac'uli xelnacerebisa da saark'ivo masalebis katalogi* [Catalogue of Manuscripts and Archival Materials Preserved at the K. Marx State Republican Library of Georgia], compiled by C'. Č'ikvašvili (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1964), 41; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 121-123. This manuscript is incomplete and damaged; several folios* are unwritten**.**

[13] Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 106-113; cf. K'art'uli xelnaceri cigni sazgvargaret'/The Georgian Manuscript Book Abroad, ed. Nestan Chkhikvadze et al. (Tbilisi:* Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, *2023), 175-176.*

[14] *K'ut'aisis saxelmcip'o saistorio muzeumi. Xelnacert'a aġceriloba. (K) p'ondi* [Kutaisi State Museum. Catalogue of Manuscripts (K collection)], vol. I, compiled by Elene Nikoladze (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1953), 370; Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 93-95.*

[15] Cf. the three developmental stages of Georgian script: a) *Asomt'avruli*/majuscule, fifth–ninth c.; b) *Nusxuri*/minuscule, ninth–tenth c.; c) *Mxedruli*/secular script, from the eleventh century to the present.

[16] Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi,* 158-177.

B.3 Textual Strata and Source Traditions. Composition and Contents

The work under discussion is a translation and compilation based on three principal source types: (1) a Georgian translation from the *Sivas Copy of King Smbat's Horse Book* – produced by Ioane Ossesdze in collaboration with Ter-Petros, Ter-P'ilippe, and Ter-Samoel; (2) a translation from Persian, itself most likely derived from Arabic originals, undertaken by King Vaxtang VI; and (3) supplementary Georgian material contributed by Prince Ioane Batonišvili[17] – the son of King Giorgi XII,[18] who commissioned the translation.[19] Thus, this Georgian compilation integrates at least three distinct textual traditions. Taken together, these sources form the textual foundation of manuscript H 2156 and illustrate a complex process of intertextual and intercultural transmission, blending Armenian, Persian, and Arabic veterinary knowledge within the Georgian milieu.

Ioane Ossesdze's work appears to be an expanded version of the Armenian *Vorlage, a now lost copy of Smbat's Horse Book (1296-8), written in 1504*

[17] For more on the erudite Prince Ioane Batonišvili (1768–1830, died in St. Petersburg), a prominent figure in Georgian literary, cultural and political history, who was a Georgian humanist, encyclopedist, philosopher, translator, lexicographer, bibliophile, and manuscript collector, see, for example, Geronti K'ik'odze, "Ioane Batonišvili," in Geronti K'ik'odze, *Cerilebi, esseebi, narkvevebi* [Letters, Essays and Sketches] (Tbilisi: Merani, 1985), 290-302; he is renowned as the author of the encyclopedic novel *Kalmasoba* (also known as *Xumarscavla* [Teaching through Games and Alms-Gathering]), noted for its philosophical and systematic depth, see, for example, David Lang, "Prince Ioann of Georgia and his 'Kalmasoba'," *American Slavic and East European Review* 11/4 (1952): 274-287, DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2492009 (accessed July 3, 2025); cf. Oktai Kazumov, "Khumarscavla or Kalmasoba," in *Christian Muslim Relations Online II*: 1500-1900, ed. David Thomas et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_30935 (accessed July 3, 2025). Ioane Batonišvili played a major role in advancing various fields of human and natural sciences in Georgia, notably veterinary science, and was pivotal in the development of Georgian scientific terminology. In collaboration with his brother, Davit' Batonišvili, he compiled an expanded version of Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani's *Lexicon,* enhancing and systematising its entries to advance Georgian scholarly vocabulary and intellectual practice**,** see Lili K'ut'at'eladze, *Ioane Bagrationis k'art'uli lek'sikoni* [The Georgian Lexicon of Ioane Bagrationi] (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1975), see also Lili K'ut'at'eladze, ed., *Davit' da Ioane Bagrationebis lek'sikograp'iuli našromebi* [The Lexikographical Works of Davit' and Ioane Bagrationi] (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1967).

[18] Giorgi XII (1746–1800), the last monarch to reign over Kart'li and Kaxet'i, ruled from 1798 until his death in 1800, cf. below, p. 11-12.

[19] See below, p. 6-7, n. 32; p. 11-12.

in Sebastia/Sivas.[20] It comprises a total of 280 chapters or paragraphs (Georgian: *kari*, literally: door; cf. *zanduki*, table of contents, literally: trunk).[21] Of these, 56 chapters address zootechnical topics, including horse care, feeding, watering, handling, preparation, riding, and training.[22] The remaining 224 chapters are devoted to the diagnosis and treatment of equine diseases. A total of 58 paragraphs can be identified as deriving from Vaxtang's Qarabadins, whereas 27 paragraphs are associated with Ioane Batonišvili.

B.4 Interrelations among the Georgian Manuscripts

While the Georgian witnesses initially appear largely identical, closer analysis reveals lexical, orthographic, and paratextual divergences. Some of these variations are visual – such as differences in handwriting styles – while others concern illustrative content or structural features, including minor discrepancies in the table of contents and overall text organization. In terms of manuscript tradition, H 2156 (dated 1788)[23] presumably functioned as the *Vorlage* for subsequent copies. This assumption is supported by a comparison with S 3467 (dated 1791), which closely follows the structure and content of H 2156, with only minor lexical and orthographic variations. Given that H 2156 was once part of the St. Petersburg collection of Prince Ioane Batonišvili, it is reasonable to assume that M 37, also from the same collection, is closely related to both H 2156 and S 3467. On this basis, all the extant witnesses of Ossesdze's work may thus be classified into two categories: direct or indirect copies of H 2156. Among these, S and 200 represent direct copies, while the remaining manuscripts appear to be indirect copies, likely transmitted through S, which acted as the source for the subsequent textual tradition.[24] As the earliest, most complete, and best-preserved manuscript – distinguished by its elegant script – H 2156 will serve as the foundation for our edition of the Georgian text, accompanied by a German translation with commentary.

[20] See Jasmine Dum-Tragut, Ovsanna Khachatryan, "The 'Nazlum family medical book' Codex M 11161 and its 'Medical book for horses'," *Matenadaran Medieval and Modern Armenian Studies* 2.1, (2025) 115-139.

[21] See *Zanduki*, Table of Contents in H 2156, fol. 2r–6r/S 3467, fol. 2v–6v.

[22] Ibidem, H 2156, fol. 2r–2v/S 3467, fol. 2v–3r: cf. *kari a*) – *kari nv*), i.e., chapters 1 to 56.

[23] H 2156 is the earliest, most complete, and best-quality manuscript, while A 652, from the same year (1788), survives in an incomplete and partially damaged state. The second date in the colophon is missing, and there is also no trace of branding marks or illustrations.

[24] See below, p. 9-10.

C. The Colophon as Meta-Text and Terminological Commentary

The analysis of the colophon is central to our investigation, as it traditionally conveys crucial information and underpins several key conclusions – particularly those related to terminology. A close reading of the colophons authored by both the Armenian-to-Arabic and Armenian-to-Georgian translators permits substantive reconstruction of the translational process. Our primary focus is on the Georgian translator's colophon, which, as a conventional paratext in manuscript culture, offers valuable insights into the linguistic, conceptual and cultural dynamics at play. It not only identifies the scribe and translator along with their collaborators and respective roles as well as commissioners but also illuminates the processes behind the formation of specialised terminology. What can be reconstructed from the Georgian translator's colophon?

C.1 Terminology Related to the Translation Task

The colophon reveals several terms used by Ioane Ossesdze to describe his translation and compilation work.

- *gardamoġeba(y)* – "transfer" or "transmission," i.e., translation:
  "[We] were commissioned to transfer [translate] from the Armenian language into Georgian [...]."[25]
- *vhst'argmnet'/t'argmanebuli*[26] – "translated"/ "interpreted":
  "[...] However, we actually translated some [passages]."[27]
- *mdabiurit'a enit'a [...] ševacṙev sasmenelad ṙovelt'a* – "compiled in plain language understandable to all":
  "And I, the aforementioned priest Ioane, compiled [this text] in simple language, in Georgian [lit. in the Georgian voice], understandable to all."[28]
- *aġvhscere/aġvscere xẹlit'a č'emit'a* – "written down by my own hand":
  "I, Ioane Ossesdze, wrote this book by my own hand."
- *ševacṙev [...] t'ws t'wssa adgilsa* – "compiled, assembled, harmonised, each in its proper place":
  "[...] and [I] compiled the old and new Qarabadin (the latter translated by us), each in its proper place."[29]

[25] H 2156, fol. 1v/S 3467, fol. 2r/A 652, fol. 8r/Q 1135, fol. 4v/M 37:1 (fols. 4rv), S 106 (fols. 1rv-2r)/N 200, fol. 1v. For the sake of simplicity, minor orthographic variations in the other manuscripts are not documented here.

[26] See below, n. 34.

[27] Ms. H 2156, fol. 1v/S 3467, fol. 2r.

[28] Ibidem.

[29] Ibidem.

- *povnil ars* – "was found," "was discovered":
  "And some chapters and verses were personally discovered by the highly educated Prince Ioane."[30]

The author's choice of wording – *to write*, *to translate*, *to compile*, *to describe*, *to transmit* – clearly positions the work as a hybrid of translation, adaptation, and compilation. This attests to a deliberate and multifaceted approach to source integration, combining earlier Georgian materials (the *Old Qarabadin*) with newly translated content (*New Qarabadin*). The aforementioned formulations suggest that Ioane Ossesdze's role extended beyond straightforward translation to include compilation, adaptation, and careful selection of language aimed at ensuring accessibility for a wider audience. Together, these passages highlight the translator's explicit intention to make the text both understandable and practically usable for a Georgian-speaking readership. Moreover, the colophon reflects a deliberate and purposeful editorial strategy shaped by the linguistic and conceptual challenges encountered by the translator(s) – particularly when dealing with specialised or technical vocabulary that proved difficult to render or nearly incomprehensible even to him/to them:

- *Da mravalni lekʻsni sneulebataʻni da matʻtʻa camaltʻani ucʻxo enitʻa daicernes, vinaitʻgan ar mecʻnier viŕvenit čʻuen enisa mis* / "Many verses concerning illnesses and remedies were written using foreign terms, for which we did not know the Georgian equivalents."[31]

The passage continues as follows:

- *[...] da romelnime vhstʻargmnetʻ* / "[...] However, we actually translated some [...]."[32]

This statement underscores both the difficulties of rendering certain terms into Georgian and, consequently, the incomplete nature of the translation process: some terms were rendered into Georgian, while others were retained or only partially adapted, transmitted as untranslated foreign expressions.[33]

C.2 Although an Inappropriate Task for Clergy: Royal Commission and Translational Tensions

Several questions arise regarding the production of the Georgian translation: how did the *Sivas Copy of Smbat's Horse Book* arrive in Georgia? Which version

[30] See above, p. 5; cf. below, p. 11-12.
[31] H 2156, fol. 1v/S 3467 fol. 2r.
[32] Ibidem.
[33] See below, A 1.

of the source text did the translator rely upon? How did the royal family become aware of the work?[34] Why, then, did the Crown Prince assign this task to the clergy of Sioni Cathedral – especially when, as the colophon itself states, they had more urgent and important ecclesiastical texts to translate?

The translator and scribe, Ioane Ossesdze, directly addresses this tension in his colophon:

- *[...] da aġvasrulet' brżanebuli, ukuet'u ara šesap'er da ara t'anamdeboba mġvdelt'a iŕo da sxuani didad sačironi cignni gardamoġebad t'ana-gvedvnes, magra brżanebaman up'lebrivman da mamulisa samsaxurisa t'anamdebobit'a šekrulebaman gvaižula* [...] / "[...] And we carried out the royal order, even though it was not appropriate for us as clergy, and although we had many other important books to translate. Nevertheless, royal authority and our duty to the homeland compelled us to comply."[35]

It is noteworthy that Ioane Ossesdze was simultaneously engaged in other significant, primarily, ecclesiastical projects. In the same year that he translated H 2156 (according to the colophon, dated May 18, 1788),[36] he also completed the *Kontakion* and *Zatiki*, and by 1791, when manuscript S 3467 was produced (colophon dated 23 August 1791), he had likewise completed the *Apostolos*. Despite clearly indicating that the translation of the *Horse Book* was not suitable for the clergy, Ioane not only accepted the commission but approached it with scholarly diligence.

What is particularly remarkable is that – despite viewing the task as ill-suited and emphasising the pressing demands of his ecclesiastical duties – Ioane still found the time to expand and enrich the translation. Rather than simply rendering the Armenian source into Georgian, he integrated

[34] It is well known that Prince Ioane was deeply committed to the sciences, including human and veterinary medicine, and contributed significantly to this field, see above, p. 5.
[35] H 2156, fol. 1v/S 3467, fol. 2r.
[36] The translation is dated to 18 May 1788, as evidenced by principal manuscript witnesses: H 2156: 18 May 1788 (completion date); S 3467: 23 August 1791 (completion date), with reference to 1788 as the date of commission. In H 2156, the Georgian translator does not specify a date at the beginning of the colophon. The only chronological reference appears at its end: *srul ik'mna celsa 1788, maiss 18* / "*[The work] was completed in the year 1788, on May 18.*" In contrast, S 3467 offers a more detailed chronology, recording both the date of the commission – corresponding to the execution of Ms. H 2156 – and the completion date of Ms. S 3467: *celsa: 1788, maissa t't'vesa, 18 x[olo] gvebržana* / "*In the year 1788, on the 18th day of the month of May, we were commanded [...]*"; *srul ik'mna celsa ac dacerit', celsa k'ristessa, č'ġža, agvistos kg* / "*[The work], now written, was completed in the year 1791 (*č'ġža *after Christ), on August 23 (kg).*" This evidence confirms that the translation was commissioned in 1788, while the version preserved in S 3467 was finalised – or at least copied – by 1791.

supplementary material from additional sources, transforming the project into an act of scientific synthesis. This effort reflects not only his dedication to meeting royal expectations but also his commitment to preserving and transmitting valuable veterinary knowledge within a Georgian scholarly framework.

C.3 Notes on the Author(s): The Translator and His Collaborators

Who is the author of this remarkable corpus?

(1) Ioane Ossesdze: By His Own Hand and in His Own Words

Throughout the manuscripts, Ioane *Ossesdze* consistently refers to himself using variations of the following formulae:

- *[...] Me ioane oses żeman mġudelman [...]* / "[...] I, Ioane Osses dze [son of Osse], the priest [...]"[37]
- *[...] Me ioane oseżeman, ikonomos dekanozman [...]* / "[...] I, Ioane Ossesdze, the Ikonomos-Decanus."[38]

The self-designation *Ikonomos-Decanus* also appears in manuscripts A 652 (fol. 8r), Q 1135 (fol. 4v), M 37:1 (fols. 4rv), S 106 (fols. 1rv-2r), demonstrating a close relation to S 3467.[39] The wording of H 2156 is to be found in Ms. N 200 (fol. 1v). This significant lexical shift in terminology – from "priest" (*mġudel-i*)[40] in H 2156 (dated to 18 May 1788) to "Ikonomos-Decanus" (*ikonomos-dekanozi*) in S 3467 (dated 23 August 1791), suggests a chronological

[37] H 2156, fol. 1v; cf. [...] *Mġudelsa oses żes ioanes [...]* / "[...] *to me, the priest Ossesdze Ioane [son of Osse] [...]*," ibidem.

[38] S 3467, fol. 2r; **c**f. *Mġvdelsa oses żes ioanes [...]* / *"[...] to me, the priest Ossesdze Ioane [...]* / *'[...] I, Ioane, son of Osse, the Ikonomos-Decanus [...]*," ibidem.

[39] See above, p. 11.

[40] Another chronological marker is a phonetic change: H 2156 uses *mġudelsa*, while S 3467 employs *mġvdelsa*. The substitution of *v* for *u* reflects a later stage in the language's phonological development. This phonetic feature is also found in other later copies of Ioanne's work, serving as a useful indicator for establishing their relative chronology; on these issues see Akaki Šanidze, *Anton I gavlena saliteraturo k'art'ulze da żveli k'art'uli enis żeglebis vit'areba axali aġt'k'mis cignebis gamoc'emebši.* Mieżġvna akademikos N. Maris xsovnas misi dabadebis 100 clist'avze (1864-1964) [Anton I's contribution to the evolution of the Georgian literary language and the linguistic status of Georgian in New Testament editions. In Honor of the 100th Anniversary of Niko Marr]. Żveli k'art'uli enis kat'edris šromebi 9 [Proceedings of the Department of Old Georgian Language] (Tbilisi: Tbilisis universitetis gamomc'emloba, 1964) here: 8-10.

reference:[41] By the time S 3467 was produced, Ioane had likely already assumed the office of Ikonomos-Decanus (dean) at the Sioni Cathedral.

(2) Ioane Ossesdze: In Historical Memory and Record

Ioane Ossesdze, also known as Ossešvili – literally "son/child of Osse"– was born in 1750 (Georgian calendar: *K'oronikon* [Chronicon] 488) and died in 1801. He was buried in the Cathedral of Sioni in Tbilisi. A member of the prominent priestly family Baratašvili, Ioane was highly educated, with deep knowledge of theology and philosophy.[42] He held a respected position at the royal court. From 1786, he served as a priest at the Cathedral of Sioni, and starting in 1791, he held the office of Ikonomos-Decanus. Between 1783 and 1795, he was rector of the ecclesiastical seminary in Tbilisi.[43]

It is of utmost importance to emphasise that Ioane Ossesdze was not the sole author of the Georgian translation. According to the colophon, the work was the product of a collaborative effort involving both Georgian and Armenian priests, as well as translators, among whom was the erudite Prince Ioane Batonišvili. While Ioane Ossesdze – later Ikonomos-Decanus of the Sioni Cathedral in Tbilisi – is consistently identified as the principal translator

[41] This change is also reflected in the writings of Platon Ioseliani (1810–1875), who, in his biography of King Giorgi XIII, replaces the designation "priest" (as recorded by Kobulašvili) referring to Ioane Osešvili, with "Decanus", cf. Platon Ioseliani, *C'xovreba mep'e giorgi mec'ametisa da sak'art'velos ruset't'an šeert'eba* [*The Life of King Giorgi XIII and Georgia*'s Incorporation into Russia], ed. Zak'aria Čičinadze, 2nd edition (Tbilisi: Stamba Ek'vt'ime Xeladzisa, 1893), 316, see note in Platon Ioseliani, *C'xovreba giorgi mec'ametisa* [The *Life of King Giorgi XIII*], ed. Akaki Gacerelia. K'art'uli klasikuri mcerloba. Monograp'iebi [Georgian Classical Literature. Monographs] (Tbilisi: P'ederac'ia, 1936), cf. 259, n. 2; Vaxtang Batonišvili (1761–1814), son of King Erekle II, also calls him Ikonomos-Decanus, literally, *protopop*, i.e. protopresbyter of the Cathedral of Sioni, Vaxtang Batonišvili, *Istoriebri aġcera* [Historical Description], ed. Sargis Kakabadze (Tbilisi: Stamba Bart'lome Xeladzisa, 1914), 33.

[42] See Ek'vt'ime T'aṙaišvili, *Saistorio masalani*, cignaki. 1: I. *Mcire ucṙeba kart'vel'ta mceralt'at'ws. II. Ṙanč'aet'is tṙavis saxareba da misi minacerebi* [Historical Materials, vol. 1. I. *Brief Notes on Georgian Writers. II. Qančaeti Gospel and its Margins*] (Tbilisi: Stamba S.M. Losaberidzisa, 1913), 32.

[43] His brother Iese, a notable poet, writer, memoirist, and royal secretary to King Erekle II (1744/1762–1798), provides valuable insights into Ioane's life and work in his autobiographical work *Iese Barat'ašvilis c'xovreba-anderżi* [*Life and Testament of Iese Baratašvili*], ed. Avt'andil Ioseliani. Masalebi sak'art'velosa da kavkasiis istoriisat'vis [Materilas for Georgian and Caucasian History] 28 (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1950), 14; 44,13; 45,27; 46,28; 52,6; 74,1; 83,19; 89,34; 90,10; 108,2.

and scribe, his Armenian counterparts, the priests Ter-Petros, Ter-P'ilippe,[44] and Ter-Samoel, played a crucial role in rendering the original text from Armenian into Georgian. Among them, Ter-Petros is credited with translating a substantial portion of the chapters. In addition, Prince Ioane Batonišvili, son of Crown Prince Giorgi, is reported to have contributed further chapters and verses. His name appears in the manuscript margins, indicating direct involvement in the production and expansion of the text.[45]

C.4 Commission and Commissioners

The Georgian translation was commissioned by Crown Prince Giorgi Batonišvili,[46] the eldest son of King Erekle II[47] and the last ruling monarch of Kartli and Kakheti, whose reign lasted from 1798 until the Russian annexation in 1800.[48] It is well documented that Georgian kings and *batonišvilis* (princes)

[44] On the Armenian priest, prominent author, and scholar P'ilipe Qait'mazašvili, who served as a key figure linking Armenian and Georgian cultures and contributed significantly to the scholarly, educational and spiritual life of eighteenth-century Tbilisi, see Michael Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur, auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze,* bearbeitet von, in Verbindung mit Julius Assfalg. Studi e Testi, 185 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), 268-272; Vaxtang Batonišvili praised both Ioane Ossesdze and Ter-P'ilipe for their profound erudition and scholarly conduct, Vaxtang Batonišvili, *Istoriebri aġcera,* ed. Sargis Kakabadze, 32-33.

[45] See, for example, H 2156, fol. 73v/S 3467, fol. 56v: on Chapter 214 concerning abscesses (in Georgian: *mucuki*). In total, 27 paragraphs have been identified as attributed to Ioane Batonišvili, these are: H 2156, fol. 33v/S 3467, fol. 28v; H 2156, fol. 34r/S 3467, fol. 29r; H 2156, fol. 41r/S 3467, fol. 33v; H 2156, fol. 43r/S 3467, fol. 35v; H 2156, fol. 44r/S 3467, fol. 35v; H 2156, fol. 44r/S 3467, fol. 36r; H 2156, fol. 44v/S 3467, fol. 36r; H 2156, fol. 44v/S 3467, fol. 36v; H 2156, fol. 45v/S 3467, fol. 37r; H 2156, fol. 47v/S 3467, fol. 38rv; H 2156, fol. 48r/S 3467, fol. 38v, om. Ioane; H 2156, fol. 50v/S 3467, fol. 40r; H 2156, fol. 50v/S 3467, fol. 40r; H 2156, fol. 51v/S 3467, fol. 41v; H 2156, fol. 52r/S 3467, fol. 42v, om.; H 2156, fol. 52r/S 3467, fol. 41v; H 2156, fol. 53v/S 3467, fol. 42v; H 2156, fol. 70v/S 3467, fol. 55r; H 2156, fol. 73r/S 3467, fol. 56v; H 2156, fol. 74rv/S 3467, fol. 57v; H 2156, fol. 74v/S 3467, fol. 57v; H 2156, fol. 74v/S 3467, fol. 57v-58r; H 2156, fol. 75v/S 3467, fol. 58v; H 2156, fol. 75v/S 3467, fol. 58v-59r; H 2156, fol. 76r/S 3467, fol. 59r; H 2156, , fol. 60r; , fol. 78v/S 3467, fol. 60v; H 2156, fol. 78v/S 3467, fol. 60v; H 2156, fol. 79r/S 3467, fol. 61r; H 2156, fol. 79v/S 3467, fol. 61v.

[46] See above, p. 5.

[47] King Erekle II (1720–1798) ruled the eastern Georgian kingdom of Kakheti from 1744 to 1762**,** and subsequently became the king of the unified kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti from 1762 until his death in 1798**.**

[48] On this late phase, or, more precisely, the final period, of the Georgian kingdom, see, for example, David Marshall Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy* (1658-1832) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

demonstrated a sustained and substantive interest in veterinary, and more specifically, equine medicine, and actively promoted its dissemination within the Georgian context through official commissions.[49] This tradition dates back at least to the reign of King Vaxtang VI (who ruled intermittently between 1711 and 1723), a monarch who died in exile in Astrakhan in 1737. Notably, Vaxtang VI was not merely a patron of such knowledge but also directly participated in its production – as both translator and scribe.[50] Vaxtang's translations of *Horse Qarabadins* from Persian – produced between 1703 and 1711 during his tenure as *janišin* (governor) of Kartli and Kakheti under Persian rule – are preserved in major manuscript witnesses such as S 14, dated 1826[51] and Q 281, from 1834.[52] These manuscripts represent an expanded

[49] For a historical overview, see for example, V. T'valavadze, *Axali istoria. 1640-1815 clebi* [New History: 1640-1815]. Part I. Tbilisi: Meridiani, 2006.

[50] A highly educated ruler, King Vakhtang VI was a scholar, philosopher, and author, a poet and prose writer, as well as a translator and editor of numerous historical and scientific works. In 1709, he established Georgia's first printing press and published the country's first printed book, the *Gospels*. This was followed in 1712 by the first printed edition of Šota Rust'aveli's *Vep'xist'aosani –The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. He also compiled the first Georgian dictionary. His intellectual contributions extended across the humanities and natural sciences, encompassing geography, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, astrology, and translation. Medicine – particularly human and veterinary – was a central focus of his scholarly engagement. He devoted special attention to the genre of *qarabadin*, including those dedicated to animals, especially horses. His translations from Persian and compilations of *qarabadins* were often accompanied by his own commentary, intended to make the texts accessible, practical, and applicable. While in Isfahan, Vaxtang undertook a Georgian translation of the Persian version of the Indian classic *Kalila and Dimna* (a fable collection originating in India around 200 BCE). He completed the translation in Kirman, and it was later edited between 1716 and 1719 by his 'wise tutor', the renowned writer Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani. Vaxtang's legacy also includes the restoration of the dome of Sioni Cathedral in Tbilisi following the 1710 earthquake, among the extensive bibliography see, for example, Levan Menabde, *Vaxtang meek'vse* [Vaxtang VI] (Tbilisi: Nakaduli, 2011), or T'amar Abuladze, *Vaxtang meek'vsis mt'argmnelobit'i moġvaceoba* [The Translational Endeavors of Vaxtang VI]. (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1990).

[51] *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba: qop'ili k'artvelt'a šoris cera-kit'xvis gamavrc'elebeli sazogadoebis (S) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Society for Spreading Literacy among Georgians], vol. I, compiled by T'amar Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1959), 22-24; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 52-54.*

[52] *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba. Muzeumis xelnacert'a axali (Q) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia. New Q collection], vol. I, compiled by Elene Metreveli et al. (Tbilisi: Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1957), 293-296; cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII-XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi, 72-73.*

recension composed of 114 chapters (*kari*, "door" in Georgian), comprising 43 zootechnical and 71 veterinary topics. They are classified within the second, or "auxiliary" group of Georgian veterinary manuscripts, related to Ossesdze's work.[53] This royal tradition of promoting veterinary knowledge continued even after the Russian annexation of Georgia in 1801 and the subsequent abolition of the monarchy. Later *Qarabadins*, translated from Russian sources, are associated with the sons of the last Georgian King, Giorgi XII: Crown Prince Davit' (1767–1819), who died in St. Petersburg, and Prince Bagrat (1776–1841), who also died in exile there.[54] This later corpus of Georgian translations from Russian, Group I/IV according to Jvaršeišvili's typological classification, requires more comprehensive scholarly investigation. Since the Russian texts were themselves based on French originals, these Georgian versions provide valuable insight into the mediated reception of Western European veterinary traditions – within the Georgian intellectual and cultural milieu. It is likely that these Georgian *Qarabadins* reached St. Petersburg through the activities of the *batonišvilis*, or were subsequently returned to Georgia under their patronage. The same appears to hold true for our manuscript witness as well.[55]

C.5 New and Old Qarabadins

Ioane's work follows, on the one hand, the structure and content of the *Sivas Copy of Smbat's Horse Book* – a translation of the Armenian source referred to in the colophon as the "New Qarabadin". On the other hand, it draws upon earlier Georgian *qarabadin* traditions, termed the "Old Qarabadin" in the same colophon. This dual reference clearly identifies Ioane's text as a compilatory undertaking: a composite work that integrates both earlier and more recent *Qarabadin* traditions.

[53] See below, Appendix, Table 2.

[54] Both are brothers of the aforementioned Ioane Batonišvili. Remarkably, Bagrat is the author of a well-known compilation, *C'xenis Samkurnalo* [*Healing Book for Horses*] preserved in the same manuscript collection M 37 from St. Petersburg, and designated as M 37:2 (dated 1815). This work was published in 1818 and represents the first Georgian veterinary book to appear in print, see *Samedic'ino da veterinaruli xelnacerebi,* ed. T'amar Abuladze et al., 122.

[55] On Batonišvilis literary and cultural activities in St. Petersburg, see a detailed survey in Nino Maxat'adze, *K'art'uli kulturis kera peterburgši XVIII-XIX ss.* [Sites of Georgian Cultural Activity in eighteenth-nineteenth-century Petersburg] (Tbilisi: Gamomc'emloba sabčot'a sak'art'velo,1967). esp. 4-217.

The *New Qarabadin* comprises: a) a translation from Armenian, as indicated by terms such as *it'argmna/it'argmnnes* ("was/were translated"), *vhst'argmnet'/vst'argment'* ("we translated"; "we have translated"), *t'argmanebasa šina* ("during the translation"), *t'argmanebad* ("for translation or interpretation"), and *t'argmanebuli* ("translated and interpreted"); b) a transmission (*gardamoġebay/gardamoġebad* – "transmission" or "passing on") of an earlier Arabic source as preserved in the Armenian textual tradition. This indicates a layered chain of transmission: from a hypothetical Arabic original, to an Armenian translation, and finally to a Georgian version based upon the Armenian – at times indirectly preserving traces of the Arabic material.

The *Old Qarabadin* refers primarily to the hippiatric collection compiled by King Vaxtang VI, namely, the *C'xenis mc'ire karabadini* [Small Qarabadin for Horses], which Vaxtang himself translated from Persian.[56] Notably, Ioane Ossesdze does not explicitly name Vaxtang VI in his colophon, although he was almost certainly aware of his authorship. Jvaršeišvili suggests that Ioane may have relied upon a manuscript lacking a colophon, and therefore without direct attribution to Vaxtang.[57] This earlier work survives in at least twenty manuscripts and represents a direct translation and transmission (*gardamoġeba-gadmoġeba*) from Persian – a reception of Persian veterinary knowledge subsequently recontextualised within the Georgian tradition. Although it predates the Georgian translation of the *Sivas Copy of Smbat's Horse Book* by several decades, the text continued to circulate actively throughout the 1780s and 1790s, when Ioane Ossesdze undertook his compilation.

Through the Persian tradition, elements of the ancient Indian veterinary tradition entered the Georgian discourse. These Indian traces are attested both in the Armenian Sivas copy – referring to the Indian sage Čna[58] – and in Vaxtang's translations of Persian treatises (e.g., *The Water Horse* and *The Birth Legend of the Horse*).[59] The latter, however, are not addressed in this paper. At

[56] See colophon in Q 281, fol. 291r/S 14, fols. 1r–1v.

[57] Cf. Jvaršeišvili, *XVII–XIX ss. k'art'uli veterinaruli xelnacerebi*, 164.

[58] Cf. the colophon of the Armenian translation in H 2156, fol. 1v/S 3467, fol. 2r, or, for example, a passage on *the colours and markings that are to be considered good or bad in horses* in H 2156, fol. 19r/S 3467, fol. 16r; cf. Jasmine Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde. Das Vermächtnis der Armenier: Kommentar - Übersetzung - Glossar (*Documenta Hippologica. Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Pferdes (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Olms Presse, 2005), 106.

[59] A myth about the horse's creation in A 652, 12r; cf. Q 281, fols. 291r–291v/S 14, fols. 1r–2r.

this point, it suffices to emphasise that these passages demonstrate how the Georgian version of the *Sivas Copy of King Smbat's Horse Book* functions as a cultural and textual nexus – where Indian, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Georgian traditions converge. It represents a distinctive literary, scientific, and cultural synthesis, incorporating and localising a broad spectrum of veterinary knowledge disseminated across Eurasia.

D. Interrelation of Georgian Sources and the Armenian Text: Textual Differences – Omissions and Simplifications

The relationship between the Georgian translation and the *Sivas Copy of Smbat'*s *Horse Book* can be delineated through a comparative analysis of extant manuscripts. The Georgian version exhibits several notable textual divergences from the Armenian source, arising chiefly from omissions and lexical adjustments:

(a) Omissions – Passages containing Arabic (rarely Persian) or genuine Armenian loanwords, which posed difficulties for translation into Georgian, were frequently left untranslated, abridged, or entirely omitted, resulting in discernible textual lacunae or erasures.
(b) Lexical Simplification – Distinct Armenian terms were often rendered with a single Georgian equivalent. As noted in the translator's colophon, this practice was adopted to enhance the intelligibility and practical usability of the text for Georgian readers.

The following section examines the translation strategies and methods of terminological formation employed in rendering the Armenian text into Georgian.

II. Translation Strategies and Terminological Formation

The multilingual character of the source material posed both significant challenges and unique opportunities for the Georgian translators. A close analysis of the extant manuscripts reveals a range of sophisticated and contextually adaptive strategies for rendering technical and conceptual vocabulary across linguistic and cultural boundaries. These approaches demonstrate not only linguistic ingenuity but also a conscious effort to shape a functional, precise, and culturally resonant veterinary terminology in Georgian.[60]

[60] On Georgian hippological vocabulary see Jost Grippert, "Hippologica Caucasica II," *Enat'mec'nierebis sakit'xebi* [Issues in Linguistics] 3 (1999): 16-27.

In the following section, a number of terminological strategies are illustrated through selected examples.

A. Terminological Strategies

A.1 Direct Loanwords: Transliterated and 'Iberised'

Many specialised terms are adopted directly from the source languages – predominantly Arabic,[61] Persian,[62] and Armenian[63] – and are phonologically adapted to conform to Georgian linguistic norms. These loanwords retain a strong resemblance to the originals while being morphologically integrated into Georgian.

Apart from *karabadini*[64] – the term most frequently found in the titles of veterinary works, notably, *C'xenis karabadini* [Horse Qarabadin] (derived from

[61] Extensive research has documented the substantial influence of the Arabic language and terminology on Georgian, particularly in the formation of specialised vocabulary. We do not intend to address the broader bibliography on this matter here. With regard to the medical domain, specifically human medicine, a comprehensive analysis has been provided, for example, by Samŕurašvili, based on an examination of *Cigni Saak'imoy*, a thirteenth-century medical compendium translated by Xojaŕop'ili, see Liana Samŕurašvili, "Arabizmebi 'Cigni Saak'imoysi' [Arabisms in the *Healing Book*]" in *Mravaltavi: P'ilologiur-istoriuli dziebani* XI (Tbilisi: Korneli Kekelidzis saxelobis xelnacert'a instituti, 1985), 51-61.

[62] For a detailed analysis of the linguistic interactions between Georgian and Iranian, see Mzia Andronikašvili, *Narkvevebi iranul-k'art'uli enobrivi uert'iert'obidan* [Studies in Iranian–Georgian Linguistic Relations], I (Tbilisi: Tbilisis universitetis gamomc'eloba, 1966); for Arabic loanwords in Georgian transmitted through Persian, see Mzia Andronikašvili, *Arabuli sitŕvebis sparsuli gzit' šemosvlis šesaxeb k'art'ulši* [On Arabic Loanwords in Georgian Transmitted via Persian], TSU Šromebi 105 (Tbilisi: Tbilisis universitetis gamomc'eloba, 1965); on specific Arab-Persian terms in Sulxan-Saba's renowned *Dictionary*, which became a cornerstone for subsequent lexicographic projects, see, for example, Sophio Imedadze and Maia Shishinashvili, "The names of the Arab-Persian origin plants according to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's 'Georgian Dictionary'," DOI: https://doi.org/10.52340/lac.2025.10.29 (accessed July 3, 2025); cf. *Samedic'ino da veterinaruli xelnacerebi,* ed. T'amar Abuladze et al., 125.

[63] On Arabic lexical borrowings found in both Georgian and Armenian, see Ramaz **Gorgadze, "**About some Arabisms in the Common Georgian-Armenian Vocabulary," *Aġmosavlet'mc'odneoba / Oriental Studies* 10 (2021), 74-87; for an in-depth examination of this aspect, particularly concerning common Armeno-Iberian loanwords of Iranian origin, see Jost Gippert, "Iranica Armeno-Iberica Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik," 26. *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse,* 606, 1. Auflage (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993), 317-329.

[64] See above, p. 2-3.

the Arabic *Qarābādhīn* or *Aqrābādhīn* or *Abādhīn*, pharmacopoiea)[65] – some notable examples include:

- *akʻimi* (from the Arabic *ḥakīm*, "physician") commonly appearing in a brief formulaic expression: *akʻimtʻa akʻvs* / "The physicians possess [this remedy]," as noted in the margins of the extant manuscripts;[66]
- *samandi*,[67] a Persian loanword (from Persian *samand*),[68] denoting a dun-coloured horse – that is, one with yellowish coat.[69]
- *taixoni*,[70] an untranslated Arabic term for a hoof disease, namely, a hoof inflammation;
- *šuŕaŕi*,[71] a Georgian transliteration of the Arabic *Šukak*, a condition corresponding to fissured eczema (eczema with skin cracking);
- *armenisi*,[72] an endonym for Armenian people and country in genitive case, from Ancient Greek Ἀρμενία, latinized *Armenia*, used in reference

[65] For a discussion of the term *qarābādhīn*, its associated literary genre, and its historical significance, see for example, Mohd Akhtar Ali and M. Hamiduddin, "Qarābādhīn (Pharmacopoeia) in Greeco-Arabian era: A Historical and Regulatory Perspective," *International Journal of Human and Health Sciences* 5, No. 04 (October 21): 388-404.DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.31344/ijhhs.v5i4.348 (accessed July 3, 2025).

[66] For example, in 56r/S 3467, fol. 43v; H 2156, fol. 58r/ S 3467, fol. 45r/; H 2156, fol. 59v/S 3467, fol. 46r.

[67] For instance, in H 2156, fol. 16v/S 3467, fol. 14r or S 3467, fol. 16r; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 96: "samand (=Falbe)"; cf. ibidem, 106. Notably, H 2156 glosses the untranslated foreign term with *vitamcʻ zerdagad* "as if zerdagi," whereas in S 3467 the explanatory phrase in Georgian introduced by *ese igi* is omitted once again; for the explanatory Georgian terms such as *zerdagi* "yellow in a muted or blackish tone," see Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sitŕvis kona kʻartʻuli, romel ars lekʻsikoni [Georgian Lexical Treasury, that is* Georgian Dictionary*]*, ed. S. Iordanišvili (Tbilisi: Sakʻartʻvelos ssr saxelmcipo gamomcʻemloba, 1949), 222; on synonyms and epithets such as *čʻalispʻeri, "hay-coloured," muxladi* "*strong-kneed*," *saomari "warhorse," kʻarpʻexi "wind-kneed,"* and *pexmali "swift-footed,"* see *ʻŠah-Names' kʻartʻuli versiebi [Georgian Versions of the* "Shahnameh"*]*, ed. Iustine Abuladze, vol. 2: with notes and a vocabulary (Tbilisi: 1934), 610; on the use of glossing strategies, see below. A.3.

[68] Cf. *A Persian Dictionary* by Dr. M. Moein (*Farhang-e Fārsi-ye Moein)* (Tehran: Behzad, 2011, 4 vols., 1375:1921, https://archive.org/details/FarhangEFarsiEDoktorMohammadMoinFarsi/page/n2157/mode/2up.

[69] [...] *da pʻeri misi šavpʻeri ŕvitʻeli*, H 2156, fol. 16v/[...] *da pʻeri misi šavi pʻeri ŕvitʻeli*,' S 3467, fol. 14r: "And its colour [is] dark [literally, blackish] yellow"; cf. *ŕvitʻel-šavi* [yellow-black] in Orbeliani, *Sitŕvis kona kʻartʻuli, čʻalispʻeri*,

[70] H 2156, fol. 37v; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 142: "Tayxawn (=Schale)."

[71] H 2156, fol. 38r; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 143: ["Šukak (=Ekzem mit Rissbildung)."]

[72] H 2156, fol. 20r/S 3467, fol. 17v.

> to the branding mark of an Armenian; rather than employing the expected Georgian lexeme for "Armenian" or "of Armenian origin" (e.g., *somxis*),[73] the text preserves an untranslated foreign form – *armenisi, a genitive of armeni, literally, belonging to an "Armenian*."

Thus, the translators frequently opted for the retention of source-language terms, especially in the medical and veterinary domains, where the terminology conveyed culturally specific concepts or denoted technical knowledge for which no precise Georgian equivalents existed, or where Georgian counterparts had not yet achieved terminological stability. This strategy preserved semantic accuracy, though it often required supplementary interpretive effort from the reader.

A.2 Coined Native Georgian Equivalents: Hendiadic pairs

In many instances, native Georgian terms are used alongside Arabic or Persian loanwords as hendiadic pairs, in order to clarify technical terminology or reinforce meaning. This strategy both illuminates the multilingual nature of the manuscript and demonstrates a deliberate effort to forge new Georgian terminology.

The examples of this category include:

- *qarabadini da samkurnalo c'xenisa* "qarabadin and healing book for horses," where the Arabic loanword *qarabadin* is paired with a transparent Georgian descriptive expression *samkurnalo c'xenisa*;
- *ak'imi da mkurnali* "physician and healer," combining the Arabic-derived *ak'imi* with its native Georgian counterpart *mkurnali,* an active participle of the verb *kurneba* "to heal."[74]

This phrasing highlights semantic doubling, i.e. the coexistence of foreign and indigenous terminology; alternative lexical practices, and the translators' intention to mediate comprehension.

A.3 In Search for Specialised Terminology in Georgian: Descriptive Terms and Glossing

Some specific terms are created through descriptive renderings, a strategy that ensured functional equivalence, even in the absence of direct lexical

[73] Cf. *Somxis daġi*, as it is attested, for example in H 2156, fol. 20r/S 3467, fol. 17v.
[74] Cf. Orbeliani, *Sitŕvis kona,* 38.

counterparts in the target language. The following example illustrates this particular translational method:

- *da aris sneuleba, rom hrk'api*[75] *hk'wan, romelic' nametnavad it'argmaneba*/ "There is a disease called *hrkap*, which is translated as "too much," "excessive" or "augmented."[76]

In this context, the Georgian lexeme *nametnavi* functions as a descriptive and explanatory counterpart to the term *hr'kap* – a designation for acute knee swelling or spongy inflammation.[77] The descriptive equivalent is derived from the root *meti (a comparative of bevri – "many," "much")* – meaning "more," with the prefix *na-* and suffix *-navi* forming a superlative nominal or adjectival form. It is thus associated with increase or abundance, and likely conveys the notion of "too much," "excessive," or "augmented", reflecting the visible symptoms of pathological swelling.

Loanwords are frequently accompanied by explanatory glosses. These are often introduced by formulaic expressions such as *ese igi ars* ("that is"/ "that is to say")[78] or *vitamc'* ("as follows"/ "as if"),[79] to elucidate otherwise unfamiliar terms.

- *da tu raki*[80] *hk'ondes, ese igi: op'o […]*[81]/ "And if it has raki (hoof cancer), that is to say, opo […]."

Given that *op'o* in Georgian denotes "water filling,"[82] this additional explanation in Georgian makes it clear that the condition refers to a pathological accumulation of fluid in the hoof.

A.4 Mixed Strategies and Metalinguistic Markers

Composite translation strategies – combining transliteration, glossing, paraphrase, and explicit linguistic labelling – are consistently employed throughout the text. Marginal notes and in-text metalinguistic markers, such

[75] Cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 143: ["Ĕrqapi was man ins Armenische akutes K'amax (=Knieschwamm) übersetzt."]

[76] H 2156, fol. 38r.

[77] Cf. "*Knieschwamm"* in German, see above, n. 77.

[78] H 2156, fol. 16r/S 3467, fol. 14r.

[79] Ibidem.

[80] Cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 142: "hoof cancer."

[81] H 2156, fol. 38r: The lexeme *op'o* is written here in a different hand and is absent in manuscript S 3467, as well as in *Smbat's Horse Book,* see Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 142.

[82] See Orbeliani, *Sitŕvis kona*, 267; cf. *K'art'uli enis ganmartebit'i lek'sikoni*, vol. 1-8, ed. Arnold Č'ikobava (Tbilisi: Sakart'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis gamomc'emloba, 1950-64),

as *uc'xo enit'a* (in a foreign language")[83], or *kart'ulit'a enit'a* ("in Georgian language"),[84] as well as labels like *sparsi eżaxis*[85] ("the Persian names it"), or *arabi eżaxis*[86] *("*the Arab names it"), followed by the explanatory phrases like *ese igi* ("that is" / "that is to say" / "which means"), *vitamc'* ("as follows"), or *romelic' it'argmaneba* ("which is translated"), further contextualise the linguistic status and cultural provenance of individual terms.

These strategies are exemplified in passages such as the following:

- *da seni, romelsac' ecodebis mula, ese igi savse, muxls kvemot' ek'neba simsivne naxevars kitrsavit' grdzeli da magari, da an up'ro mc'ire […]* / "And a disease called Mulah, that is 'filled', is a swelling under the tarsal joint – like half a cucumber, long and firm, but slender."[87]
- *da aris sneuleba, rom nufaxs eżaxian, romelic' bervad it'argmaneba*/ "There is a disease called nufax, which is translated as 'bloating'."[88]

B. Structural and Textual Adaptations

Beyond lexical choices, the Georgian translation exhibits structural interventions that underscore its composite and adaptive character. These include insertions[89] from earlier Georgian sources, notable omissions, and terminological simplification – each reflecting the translators' editorial agency.

[83] Cf. Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sitŕvis kona*, 38: *sxuat'a ena,* literally, "the language of others."

[84] Most explicitly stated in the colophon, see above C.1.

[85] For example, in H 2156, fol. 14r; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 96.

[86] For example, in H 2156, fol. 14rv; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 94, 95, 96, 97.

[87] H 2156, 38v/S 3467 32r om; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 144: "Mulah = nichteitrige Sehnenscheidenentzündung," "non-purulent tendosynovitis."

[88] H 2156, 38r; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 143; "Nufax = Stollbeule," "corn on the hoof."

[89] The question of insertions – particularly the integration of material from sources such as Vaxtang VI's *Horse Qarabadin* – is complex and requires separate, detailed investigation beyond the scope of this paper. A notable example of such textual expansion in the Georgian version is the insertion of a passage clearly drawn from Vaxtang's *Qarabadin* (cf. Q 281, fols. 292r–294r and 295v–298v/S 14, fols. 3r–13v). This segment appears between two otherwise continuous sections derived from the Armenian source: the divine blessing of Adam with the horse, and Abraham's praise of swift mares (H 2156, fols. 7r–11r / S 3467, fols. 7r–10r; cf. Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 83). The interpolation disrupts the Armenian material and is followed by a reversion to it, highlighting the hybrid and compilatory nature of the Georgian version.

Omissions and Textual Lacunae

Numerous omissions occur in cases where no adequate Georgian equivalents existed for Arabic or Persian terms, particularly in chapters dealing with equine coat colours[90] and markings. These lacunae frequently appear after determiners such as *ese igi* ("that is" / "that is to say") or *vitamc'* ("as")[91], where the expected foreign term was either untranslatable, insufficiently understood, or deemed too unfamiliar for inclusion. For example, Chapter 21 conflates two Armenian chapters but omits the technical colour descriptors:

- "There are black and shiny horses, which the Arab calls Atham, that is to say [...] [lacuna]"[92]
- "There are also some slightly reddish horses, which the Arab calls Hupa that is to say [...] [lacuna]."[93]

These lacunae[94] are explicitly acknowledged in the colophon, where the translator invites future scholars to fill in the missing material.[95]

Through a multifaceted translation strategy that blends lexical innovation, structural adaptation, and linguistic mediation, the Georgian *Horse Qarabadin* emerges as a dynamic instance of knowledge transformation. It embodies not merely the transfer of foreign veterinary science, but its purposeful assimilation into Georgian intellectual, linguistic and practical contexts.

III. Conclusion

The Georgian translation functions as a mediating agent, bridging and integrating diverse traditions, cultures, and bodies of knowledge – particularly in hippology and hippiatry. This compilation embodies both "localised" and "globalised" forms of knowledge,[96] offering practical

[90] On horse coat-colour terminology in Old Georgian, see a detailed analysis in Jost Gippert, "Hippologica Caucasica II," *Enat'mec'nierebis sakit'xebi* 3 (1999): 16-27.

[91] H 2156, fol. 16r/S 3467, fol. 14r.

[92] Ibidem; cf. *[schwarzes Pferd],* Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 95.

[93] H 2156, fol. 16r/S 3467, fol. 14r; cf. "*[hway],"* Dum-Tragut, *Kilikische Heilkunst für Pferde*, 95.

[94] Notably**,** some lacunae in S 3467 are supplemented in H 2156, often by a different scribe's hand, for instance, in H 2156, fol. 16v/S 3467, fol. 14r, see above, n. 69.

[95] See above, n. 33.

[96] On these issues see, Dum-Tragut, "Wissenstransfer in der Pferdemedizin durch wechselseitige Übersetzung mittelalterlicher Handschriften: die armenische Tradition,

guidance on the medical care, treatment, and management of horses. As indicated by the wording of the colophon, the compiler (*ševacŕev: I have compiled*) positions himself as a synthesiser – assimilating, adapting, and reconciling various foreign traditions to produce a coherent, culturally rooted text. It stands as a striking example of the "wandering" of manuscripts between autochthonous and allochthonous centres, their reuse across generations, and the emergence of what Jost Gippert has termed their "secondary life."[97]

Ioane Ossesdze's *Horse Qarabadini* is thus far more than a straightforward translation. It is a layered work of scientific and linguistic synthesis, marking a pivotal moment in the development of Georgian medical literature. It reflects a deliberate effort to expand, refine and stabilise veterinary terminology through the use of loanwords, calques, glosses, and original neologisms. The colophon serves not only as a record of authorship but as a meta-textual commentary on the practice of translation itself, revealing both the translators' acute awareness of linguistic challenges and their intentional strategies for addressing them.

In their terminological choice, the authors demonstrate a deep engagement with the Georgian lexicographic and encyclopaedic tradition, particularly as both crystallised and codified in Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani's *Sitŕvis Kona* (compiled between 1685 and 1715).[98] Future research may further illuminate intertextual connections between this compilation and related Armenian, Persian, and Arabic sources, thereby enriching our understanding of how veterinary knowledge was circulated, transformed, and adapted across cultural and linguistic boundaries.

The Georgian version of the *Sivas Copy of Smbat's Horse Book* thus stands as a compelling example of the dynamic interplay between reception and innovation. Its composite nature – shaped by translation, adaptation, and local elaboration – demonstrates that foreign knowledge was not merely adopted but creatively reinterpreted within the Georgian tradition. Ongoing scholarship will undoubtedly continue to uncover the sources, strategies, and broader intellectual, linguistic, and institutional influences that shaped this remarkable work.

Zusammenfassung," Workshop Meeting in the Body of the Horse, 5.4.2023, Korneli Kekelidze Manuscript Centre, Tbilisi.

[97] See Jost Gippert, "The Secondary Life of Georgian Manuscripts," in *Manuscripts and Cultures* 8 (2015): 99-137.

[98] See above, n. 19, 52, 69.

APPENDIX

Table 1. A 'Core Group' of Georgian Witnesses: 'New Qarabadins' or Manuscripts Containing Ioanne Ossesdze's Work

Place and date	Table Column Head		
	Collection	*Ms.*	*Nr. of Folios, Size*
NCM, 1788	H	2156	83 - 34x22,5
NCM, 1788	A	652	93 - 29x20
NCM, 1791	S	3467	66 - 33,5x21
NCM, 1791	Q	1135	71 - 34x22,5
MRS LEPL, 1791	S	106	161 - 20,5x21
IOM RAS 1791	M	37:1	98 - 32,5x20
KSHM, 1815		200	70 - 30,5x19,5

Table 2. An 'Auxiliary Group' of Georgian Witnesses: "Old Qarabadins" or Principal Witnesses to Vaxtang's Qarabadin[99] and the Earliest Extant Fragment

Place and Date	Table Column Head		
	Collection	*Ms.*	*Nr. of Folios, Size*
NCM,16th-17th cc.	H	414	4 - 18x33
NCM, 1826	S	14	46 - 25x20,5
NCM, 1834	Q	281	90 - 34x21,5

Abbreviations for Manuscript Repositories

IOM RAS The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg)
KSHM Niko Berdzenishvili Kutaisi State History Museum
NCM Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts
MRS / ME LEPL Museum of Regional Studies and Ethnography, The National Parlamentary Library of Georgia

[99] Vaxtang's *Qarabadin* is attested in 20 extant manuscripts, dating from the period between 1730/1763 and 1874.

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