

# The “Nazlum Family Medical Book”

## *Codex M11161 and Its “Medical Book on Horses”*


▼ **ABSTRACT** This article presents a challenging and complex study of a hitherto unexplored medical manuscript, the codex no. 11161 of the Matenadaran (M11161), starting with its physical characteristics, provenance, and textual composition. By a detailed analysis of one of the key texts of this medical compilation, a book on horses, it is compared with other medical manuscripts. Through our research, it has been possible to date and locate the production of this unusual manuscript more precisely, and to place it within the Armenian medical tradition between medieval Cilicia and early modern Nor Jugha (New Julfa) – not without a surprise at the end.


▼ **KEYWORD** manuscript study, provenance, medical manuscripts, history of Armenian medicine, Nor Jugha medical school, horses, equine medicine.

▼ **ISSUE** Volume 2 (June 2025), issue 1

## 1. Introduction

On October 15, 2008, the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan, the Matenadaran, was given a voluminous, badly damaged codex from the private property of the Nazumlean family of Nor Jugha, Isfahan. MS 11161, Medical Book (as it was catalogued), is a compilation of various medical treatises, including one on the care of horses. According to the colophon of this text, it dates from 1504 and was written in an Armenian monastery of Sivas/Sebastia in the Ottoman Empire. However, as we shall see below, the text in our codex is not that of 1504 (which will be referred to here as the *Sivas/Sebastia Horse Treatise*). The work represents a rich symbiosis of local and foreign equine knowledge.

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**Cite this article:** Jasmine Dum-Tragut and Ovsanna Khachatryan, 'The “Nazlum Family Medical Book”', *Matenadaran: Medieval and Early Modern Armenian Studies (MEMAS)*, 2.1 (June 2025), 119–143

<<https://dx.doi.org/10.1484/J.MEMAS.5.152569>>

DOI: 10.1484/J.MEMAS.5.152569

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Parts of the work are related to older horse texts from the Islamic Middle Ages, the revitalised Byzantine antiquity and, in particular, the earlier Armenian tradition. This Armenian-Cilician tradition is reflected in the Cilician horse treatises (of which only one has survived as M10975, referred to here as *Cilician Horse Book*) and in the newly-studied Arabic translations of the Mamluk period. The text also travelled east and was translated into Georgian at the end of the eighteenth century.

This is the first study ever of this medical compilation.<sup>1</sup> M11161 had not even been read in sufficient detail for the creation of an accurate catalogue entry covering its content and physical features. It is not included in the current, published catalogue of the Matenadaran (M11077 is the last number in it). The only available information about the codex was provided in two random surveys by Jasmine Dum-Tragut before and shortly after its restoration. This Armenian manuscript is unknown to scholars.

## 1. Description of M11161

### 1.1. Physical Characteristics

This 24.9x19.5 cm codex is written on paper with black ink, in the Armenian later minuscule script (*notrgir*), in 27–49 lines per page. The binding is covered with stamped leather over boards. Stamped floral linen cloth (eighteenth century) is used for pastedowns.

The codex consists of 276 folios (according to the scribe's pagination, 18–592, which corresponds to 7v–261v). Some pages are empty (1v, 219v, 226v–227r). On 225r, there is an image of a horse with surrounding descriptions of desirable and undesirable features of body parts.

The condition of the manuscript is satisfactory. It was restored twice (in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries). The cover is partially worn, scratched, soiled, and discoloured. There are various stains on the folios, traces of moisture, rust, and burning (f. 99), drops of wax and ink. The pages are trimmed, the writing surface is partially damaged. The worn parts of the folios have been repaired with yellowish semi-transparent paper. At some places the writing shows through due to the thinness of the paper, or the ink is blurred and difficult to read. Some folios are missing.

### 1.2. Date and Place

The manuscript does not contain an original colophon. There is no clear indication about the time and place of its production. We know nothing about the scribe(s) or commissioner of this codex. To find out more, we need to consider the contents of

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<sup>1</sup> This research was funded in whole by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF); project “Meeting in the Body of the Horse”, grant: DOI 10.55776/P34067 (PI Jasmine Dum-Tragut). For open access purposes, the authors have applied a CC BY public copyright license to any author-accepted manuscript version arising from this submission.

the manuscript: a medical book, and we know that the scribes of such manuscripts were often trained physicians, practitioners or their assistants, especially from the seventeenth century onwards. Therefore, they not only copied but also compiled medical anthologies, edited and added new content from available medical treatises.

In the thirteenth chapter, the medical treatise on horses, there is a colophon containing the year 1504 and the place name Sebastia (see f. 261r). However, it is a reproduction of a colophon from another, source manuscript and is not a sufficient clue to determine the place and time of the codex or the identity of the scribe(s). Therefore, it is possible to determine the approximate time of the manuscript by analysing: a) the codicological and palaeographic features such as the material used, letterforms, abbreviations, etc.; b) the content of the medical compilation; c) the information given in later colophons, and d) the linguistic features (such as orthography, terminology, foreign words etc.). This analysis would place M11165 in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. What will certainly give us more information is the contents of the manuscript.

### 1.3. *The Contents of M11161*

The manuscript was preliminarily surveyed by Jasmine Dum-Tragut before its restoration in 2009, and in 2015, after its restoration (see Dum-Tragut 2015, 152 and 2020). Some selected folios of the manuscript, the colophon of the horse treatise, and the lists of contents were analysed. Both surveys have shown that the process of restoration had also resulted in a rebinding and a change of the folios' quantity change of folios. Hence, the difference between the original and later pagination. It seems that during the process of rebinding, the many strata of the manuscript, which diverge in content, were not separated from each other. Only a few paratactic parts of the codex, produced independently, could have been taken apart without a damage the integrity or the content. M11161 is a composite manuscript, a combination of medical books for humans and on horses. At least two scribes, A<sup>2</sup> and B<sup>3</sup>, whose names and origins unfortunately remain obscure, worked on this extensive compilation. A large part of the manuscript was copied by the anonymous A, whose hand appears more artistic. He made changes and even corrected the other scribe, the anonymous B.<sup>4</sup> It is surprising that the scribes appear to have alternated constantly during the production of the manuscript, within one stratum; they even changed the number of columns (one or two) on the same page.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous A: 1r–7v, 12r–24r, 25r–40r, 51r–92v, 101r–3r, 105r–45r, 159r–219r, 225r, 227v–28v, 234rv, 239rv, 251v, 261v–62r. See *ibid.* 147v, 148rv, 259r and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous B: 8r–12r, 24v, 40r–50v, 93r–104v, 145r–58v, 220r–4v, 225v–6r, 229r–33v, 235r–38v, 240r–61r, 262r–72r.

<sup>4</sup> See 147v, 148rv, 259r and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> See 12r, 40r, 101r–3r, 145r, 251v.

Ovsanna Khachatryan has analysed in detail the contents of the codex (see Table 1). Some of the works can be attributed to five authors: Galen<sup>6</sup> (see Orengo and Tinti 2019, 559–76), Farach (Faraj) the Syrian and T'oros K'ahany<sup>7</sup> (see Dum-Tragut 2005, 18), Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i,<sup>8</sup> and Asar Sebastats'i<sup>9</sup> (see Vardanyan 2000, 157–71). The texts included in the manuscript cover a period from late antiquity to early modern times.

Table 1: The Contents of Codex M11161

CHAPTERS ACCORDING TO THE CONTENTS	CHAPTER NUMBER GIVEN IN THE TEXT	FOLIOS	SCRIBE	TITLE
	Ch. I	1r <sub>v</sub>	A	
Ch. 1	Ch. II	2r–104v 2r–7v 8r–12r 12r–24r 24v 25r–40r 40r–50v 51r–92v 93r–104v 101r–3r	A B A B A B A B A	Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i, <i>Book on Medicine</i> (Ամիրդովլատ Ամասիացի, <i>Գիրք բժշկության տունարի</i> )
Ch. 2	Ch. III	105r–7r	A	“Tables of Remedies for Pains” (Դեղ ցանց խորանաւ)
Ch. 3	Ch. IV	107r–16r	A	“On All Kinds of Wild Herbs” (Վասն ամենայն վայրի բանջարի)
Ch. 4	Ch. V	116r–59v 160r, 161v 116r–45r; 145r–58v	A B A	The <i>Akhrapatin</i> <sup>10</sup> (A–F) of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i (Ամիրտովլատի Ամասիացւոյ <i>Ախրապատին</i> ՝ Ա-Բ)

6 Galen (129–216) was a Roman-Greek physician and surgeon, who, following the theory of the four humors, substantially influenced the development of various medical disciplines for centuries. Among his many treatises are *On the Nature of Man*, *On the Art of Medicine*, *The Method of Medicine*, various pharmacopoeias, etc.

7 These are the two main scribes and/or translators (from Arabic) of the *Medical Book on Horses*, commissioned by King Smbat in Sis in the years 1296–98. It is broadly referred to as *Cilician Medical Book on Horses*, and its one and only copy is kept in the Matendaran, catalogued as M10975. The text was edited in 1980 by Babken Chugaszyan and fully translated into German, analysed and commented on by Dum-Tragut in 2005.

8 Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i (c. 1420–1496), was a renowned Armenian physician. He wrote several works on medicine and science, both for professional and ordinary people. His most influential treatises are the *First Akhrapatin* (1459, an extensive work on pharmacology), *The Benefits of Medicine* (1466–1469), *Folk Medicine* (1474), the *Second Akhrapatin* (1481), and *Useless for the Ignorant* (1478–1492, a major compendium on 3000 plants and their medical use).

9 Asar Sebastats'i (c. 1565–c. 1660), an Armenian physician from Sebastia. He authored the *Book on the Art of Medicine* (between 1614–1622) and edited Abusaid's twelfth-century anatomical treatise *On the Composition of Man*. Abusaid was a Syrian physician born in Urfa (Edessa) but living and working in Cilician Armenia.

CHAPTERS ACCORDING TO THE CONTENTS	CHAPTER NUMBER GIVEN IN THE TEXT	FOLIOS	SCRIBE	TITLE
		159r-61v		
Ch. 5	Ch. VI	162r-71r	A	“A Glossary by the Chief Physician Galen; Translation of Drug Names (A-F)” (Բառք Գալիանոսի բժշկապետի, թարգմանությւնն դեղերոց՝ Ա-Ֆ)
Ch. 6	Ch. VI	171r-2v	A	“Drug Names Taken from Writings, [Remedies] for All Human Pains” (A-F) (Բառք ի գրոց մեկնած՝ ամենայն ցաւի, որ ի մարդոյ լինի. Ա-Ֆ)
Ch. 7	Ch. VIII	173r-4r	A	“Pharmacopoeia” (Դեղագիրք)
Ch. 8	Ch. IX	174v	A	“The Drugs’ Period of Validity” (Դեղերոյն դիմանալն»)
Ch. 9	Ch. X	175r-7v	A	“‘On Pains’ Composed by the Philosopher Galen” (Գալիանոսի իմաստասիրի արարեալ Յաղագս ցաւոց)
Ch. 10	Ch. XI	178v-89r, 160rv	A	Second Part of the <i>Book on the Art of Medicine</i> by Asar Sebastats’i (Ասարայ Սեբաստացւոյ <i>Գիրք բժշկական արհեստի</i> . մաս երկրորդ)
Ch. 11		190r-6v	A	“Pharmacopoeia and Magical Book” (Դեղագիրք-հմայագիրք)
Ch. 12	Ch. XII	197r-208v	A	“Remedies for All Pains” (Դեղ ամենայն ցաւոցս)
Ch. 13		209r-17v	A	“Pharmacopoeia. Astrological Rules for Keeping the Body Healthy; Composed by the Great Physician Galen” (Դեղագիրք: Կանոնք աստեղաբաշխականք վասն պահպանելոյ զառողջութիւն մարմնոյ, շարագրեցեալք ի Գալիանոսէ բժշկէն մեծէ)
Ch. 14	Ch. XIII	<b>218r-61v</b> 218r-9r 220r-4v	A B A	<i>Medical Book on Horses</i> by Faraj the Syrian and T’oros K’ahanay;

10 The word originates from the Greek γράφιδιον (“small book”, see Acharyan 1971-1979, vol. 1, 111).

CHAPTERS ACCORDING TO THE CONTENTS	CHAPTER NUMBER GIVEN IN THE TEXT	FOLIOS	SCRIBE	TITLE
		225r 225v–6r 227v–8v 229r–33v 234rv 235r–38v 239rv 240r–61r 261v	B A B A B A B A	Copied from an Exemplar of the Year 1504 and Written in Sebastia ( <i>Բժշկարան ձիոյ՝ Ասորի Փարսջ բժշկի եւ Թորոս քահանայի, ընդօրինակուած 1504 թուականի Սեբաստիայում գրուած օրինակից</i> )
Ch. 15		262r–72r	B	Introduction to Amirdovlat‘ Amasiats‘i’s <i>Useless for the Ignorant</i> ( <i>Յառաջաբանութիւն Ամիրդովլաթի Ամասիացւոյ Անգիտաց անպէտի</i> )

The manuscript contains many short additions (mostly of the eighteenth century) related to human medicine: descriptions of remedies written mainly in late minuscule (*notrgir*, see 1r, 26r, 106r, 114r, 122v, 159v, 160v–61v, 174v, 177v–79r, 189rv, 196v, 207v, 208v), as well as in the nineteenth-century cursive script (*shghagir*, see 275rv). These later additions and annotations, obviously written by different scribes, may also provide information about the use and provenance of the manuscript. For example, a later scribe added a recipe for making gold/silver dross (207v) and specified that he took it from the Zarab-Khana in Isfahan on January 1 of the year 1234 (= 1785).<sup>11</sup>

There is also a text in a messy handwriting (and therefore almost illegible) on an additional sheet (275rv), bound to the right cover’s pastedown, heavily damaged on 275v. It probably dates from the nineteenth century and contains some other remedies for human diseases.

The analysis of the structure and content of Codex M11161 suggests that it could not have been copied before the year 1622. This is the alleged date of the *Book on the Art of Medicine* by Asar Sebastats‘i<sup>12</sup> (Karapetyan 1993, 6–7). Thus, the codex was produced either in the seventeenth century in Sebastia or later (and elsewhere) on the basis of another medical manuscript. The scribe’s colophon in a copy of

11 Այս է տղլամիայ շինելն, որ Սպիանայ Չառար խանիցն առայ նօխսէն, թիվն ՌՌՃԼԳ. (1785) Յունվարի Ա., որ էր Նոր տարի եւ Կաղանդ:

12 This date originates mainly from codex M413 (*Medical Book*), 1635, written in Izmir. It contains a copy of Asar Sebastats‘i’s *Book on the Art of Medicine* (142r–77v) with interesting colophons on 155v and especially 173r. Ո՛վ ընթերցողք եւ բանիրուն եղբարք, յիշեցէք զհաւաքող բանիցս զոգնամեղ Սեբաստացի Ասար ծառայա եւ Աստուած ողորմի սասցէք: Գրեցաւ թվին Հայոց ՌՀԱ (1622) – “Oh, readers and learned brothers, remember the composer of this work, the very sinful servant Sebastats‘i Asar, and say ‘God have mercy’! This was written in the year 1071 of the Armenian Era (=1622).”

Amirdovlat's *Useless for the Ignorant*<sup>13</sup> contains a list of physicians from the school of Sebastia (Conybeare 1913, 315). This copy was used by many generations of Sebastian physicians including Asar Sebastats'i.

The medical school of Sebastia developed starting from the end of the sixteenth century and flourished throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Numerous sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts from this school have survived, e.g. the works of distinguished physicians such as Galust Amasiats'i, Asar, Buniat' and Yovasap' Sebastats'is (Vardanyan 2000, 156–57). The physicians of Sebastia paid special attention to the legacy of their predecessors, especially to the treatises of Amirdovlat', but also to the earlier Cilician tradition (Mkhit'ar Herats'i, Abusaid, and Ishōkh (Vardanyan 2000, 164). Thus, Asar Sebastats'i, too, used the knowledge of the Cilician learned physicians in his own treatises and, moreover, he is also known to have revised Abusaid's anatomical treatise *On the Composition of Man*<sup>14</sup> (Pogharean, vol. 2, 1967, 243–44). The physicians of Sebastia mark the last period of medieval Armenian medicine. There existed a direct relationship between them and the newly founded Armenian settlement in Nor Jugha, which later became one of the most important centers for the production of medical manuscripts.

## 2. A Comparison of Codex M11161 with Other Medical Books of the Seventeenth Century

A comparison of M11161 with other medical books of the seventeenth century kept in the Matenadaran helped us to answer the question of the possible date and place of the origin of the manuscript. We have compared it with: M413<sup>15</sup> (*Grand Catalogue*, vol. 2, 2004, 179–90), M414<sup>16</sup> (*Grand Catalogue*, vol. 2, 2004, 190–200), M5847<sup>17</sup>,

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- 13 British Library OR3712, 1481. Main colophon 2r: «... յիշեցիք առ Տէր յարժանատր աղօթս ձեր՝ զամենանուաստ ծառայքս ձերում ազնուականութեան, զնախնի բրժիշկքն մեր՝ Սերաստացի խօնայ Պարխուտարն, և որդի նորա՝ Ճեռահ Ասարն, և որդի նորա՝ բժիշկ Պետրոսն: Եւս յիշեցիք զԳրիգորն, և Ասար աղան, և թոռունքն նոցա. սարկաւագ բժիշք Միքաէլս, և եղբայր նորին՝ խօնայ Գեորքն, և որդի նորա՝ տիրացու Մանուկն, որք և յիշեալք յիջիք առաջի Տեսնն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի...» – «... remember in your meritorious prayers to the Lord the very humble servants of your noble selves, our predecessor physicians: *khōjay* Parkhutar of Sebastia, and his son *jeṛah* Asar, and his son physician Petros. Also remember Grigor and Asar *agha* and their descendants, deacon physician Michael and his brother *khōjay* George, and his son clerk Manuk, so that in you too may be remembered before our Lord Jesus Christ”.
- 14 Ms J348, after 1625, place unknown, perhaps Sebastia, scribe and commissioner unknown, containing also: a) a short recension of Gregory of Nyssa's *Anatomy*, b) Asar Sebastats'i's *Book on the Art of Medicine*, c) Galen's medical book, d) other treatises.
- 15 M413, Medical Book, 1635, Izmir, scribe and commissioner unknown. A miscellany containing: a) Amirdovlat's *Study of Medicine and Akhrapatin*, b) Medical terms, c) Asar Sebastats'i's *Book on the Art of Medicine*, d) Anonymous medical book, and later added e) Step'anos Shehrimanean's *Collection of Remedies* (1814).
- 16 M414, Medical Book, 1625, Marzuan, scribe and commissioner unknown, works of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i.
- 17 M5847, Medical Book, 1629, place, scribe and commissioner unknown, works of Amirdavolat' Amasiats'i and other writings on cosmology, medicine and astrology.

M9467<sup>18</sup>, M9837<sup>19</sup>, M9844<sup>20</sup>, M10277<sup>21</sup>, and M10288<sup>22</sup> (*Catalogue*, vol. 2, 1970, 19–96; 934; 1001; 1003; 1083, and 1086). We have revealed that M11161 has the most numerous and striking similarities with M9837 in terms of structure and content, form and style.

### 2.1. Structural Similarities

- Both manuscripts, M9837 and M11161, have chapter titles and numbers, as well as brief titles in the upper margins of the folios.<sup>23</sup> The subchapters of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i's *Book on Medicine* are presented in tables. This tabular form<sup>24</sup> is also found in other medical manuscripts, but M9837 and M11161 display a striking similarity.
- M11161 has a complete table of contents on folio 1r ("A Content List: How Many Chapters There Are"<sup>25</sup>), which lists the main titles of thirteen chapters and their subchapters. The overall structure of the manuscript corresponds to that list with slight differences. For instance, between chapters 11–12 and 12–13, several remedies not mentioned in the table are inserted into the text.<sup>26</sup> The first chapter figuring in the list (a subchapter of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i's *Study of Medicine*, namely: "The potency, nature, dosage, and intensity of drugs in three languages, from *Ayb* [Ա] to *K'ē* [Է] in our language"<sup>27</sup>) is missing from M11161. However, the scribes' pagination shows that this chapter was not lost but simply was not copied.
- The structure and chapter numbers of the table of contents in M9837 (note that at least one folio, probably with a part of the table, is missing at the beginning) are almost identical with those of M11161.
- There are almost no chapters in M9837 that deviate from its table of contents.<sup>28</sup> The main text consists of twelve chapters, but the manuscript seems to have

18 M9467, Medical Book, seventeenth century, place, scribe and commissioner unknown. Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i's *The Benefits of Medicine*.

19 M9837, Medical Book, 1676, place (perhaps New Julfa), scribe: Azaria *dpir*; commissioner unknown: a) Works of Amirdovlat', b) *On Wild Herbs*, d) a "Galen Dictionary", e) Asar Sebastats'i's *Book on the Art of Medicine*, f) anonymous medical book and remedies.

20 M9844, Medical book, 17<sup>th</sup> c., place, scribe and commissioner unknown. A compilation of the works of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i.

21 M10277, Medical Book, 1631 (?), 1711, Sebastia, scribe and commissioner: (a) Hakob Vardapet, (b) Matt'ēos, (c) Mat'usaghay *dpir*; later: (a) Archbishop Eghiazar and (b) clerk Saghat'el. (a) Works of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i, b) *Akhrapatin* based on Maimonides, c) Pharmacopeia, and d) a chronicle (611–1743).

22 M10288, Medical Book, seventeenth century, place, scribe and commissioner unknown. Works of Amirdovlat' Amasiats'i: *The Benefits of Medicine* and *Akhrapatin* (A–K'), medical terms.

23 For example, M11161, 20v–21r, 116v–7r and elsewhere; M9837, 108v–9r, 176v–77r and elsewhere.

24 See M11161, 8vr–104v; M9837, 27r–131v.

25 M11161, 1r: [Յանկ և]անոնաց, թէ քանի գլուխ [է].

26 On folios 190r–96v, 209r–17v, 262r–72r.

27 Դեղերոց զօրութիւնքն, բնութիւնքն, չափն եւ տարանէքն Գ. լեզուաւ. Այբէն մինչեւ. Էէն ի մերս լեզուաւ. M11161 contains only the part Դեղ ցաւոց խորանաւ, 105r–7r.

28 There are only some later additions by the same or another scribe, e.g. in chapters 9–10, 10–11 on 246rv and 380r–1v.

originally contained an additional thirteenth chapter, perhaps a copy of the *Medical Book on Horses* written in Sebastia in 1504. This assumption is based on the fact that the upper margin of the last folio of chapter 12 (426v) has a note: “13<sup>th</sup> chapter”. The scribe(s) of this manuscript had the habit of writing the next chapter number (without the title) in the upper margin of the last folio of the previous chapter.

- Moreover, some chapters in the text of M9837 have the same number of subchapters as those listed in the table of contents of M11161;<sup>29</sup> only a few are numbered differently.
- Another feature shared by both manuscripts is that the alphabetical order repeatedly given in the table of contents is from *Ayb* (Ա) A to *K'ē* (Զ), while later in the text the last letter next to the respective title is *Fē* (Ֆ).<sup>30</sup>

## 2.2. Similarities in Content

- In both manuscripts, there are identical additions in the lower margins related to the same pharmacopoeias.<sup>31</sup>
- In subchapter 186 (“A swelling that is from blood or excessive bile”<sup>32</sup>) of Amir-dovlat' Amasiats'i's *Benefits of Medicine*, both manuscripts contain the following addition: “Aprius says that...”,<sup>33</sup> without continuation. On folio 92v of M11161 (Fig. 1), someone has later described a certain remedy<sup>34</sup>, whereas the corresponding paragraph in M9837 (fol. 119v) has remained empty (Fig. 2).

Of other medical manuscripts that we have used for comparison, M10288 does not contain the addition “Aprius says that”,<sup>35</sup> while M414 (351r), M5847 (242r), M9467 (185r) and the critical edition of Malkhasyants' (Amir-dovlat' Amasiats'i 1940, 478) contain that passage and its continuation.<sup>36</sup>

- In chapter 9 (10) (175r–77v: “Philosopher Galen's *On Pains*”) of M11161, the scribe has copied only eleven essential remedies and added the rest of the numbers next to his own ones in the margin. They correspond to the numbers both in the table of contents and the main text of M9837 (247r–49r; 250r–380r), which is also true for chapters 10 (178v–89r; 160v) and 11 (197r–208v).

29 See chapters 2, 10–12 in M9837 (24v–131v, 247r–49r, 250r–380r, 382rv, 383r–426v).

30 M11161, 162r–72v and M9837, 132r–50r, 226r–42r.

31 M11161, 14v = M9837, 33v: Քրոսիկը բերելոյն. Ա. բակլի չափ թրիաք մաքի տուր; M11161, 30v = M9837, 50v: Խալսագիոնն, որ է ինքն բառով սանք; M11161, 86r = M9837, 112r. Այս ցրտի տարածի է, որ ստածուսն առնես.

32 M11161, 92v: Ուռեցն, որ ի յարենէ լինի եւ կամ ի խիստ սաֆրայէ լինի.

33 Ապրիասուսն ասէ, թէ...:

34 This remedy is also absent from the same chapter in the critical edition of Amir-dovlat' s *Useless for the Ignorant* (Yerevan 1940, 478), based on Ms M414 (1626, Marzuan), which contains Amir-dovlat' s text revised by the seventeenth-century physician Buniat' Sebastats'i.

35 Cf. M10288, 116v.

36 Արալիասուսն ասէ, թէ լինայ ի թանձր սաֆրայէ, որ ժողվի զօղված մի եւ յաւելնայ եւ ուռի. եւ այսոր տաճիկն նամայ ասէ: Նշան որ ի սաֆրայէ լինայ այն է, որ շատն ի մօտ ի վիզն լինի եւ գունն դեղին եւ տաք, եւ ցան խիստ լինի եւ շատ մեծանայ եւ ի յանձն ճապղի շուտ ի մարդուն:

These similarities and textual parallels suggest that the two manuscripts are closely related to each other. M11161 might have been copied from M9837, but not the other way around, because, as we have clarified, M11161 contains some additional passages absent from M9837. Thus, M11161 was copied after 1676 (instead of the above-mentioned 1622 as the *terminus post quem*), which is the production date of M9837.<sup>37</sup> It is also possible that both manuscripts were produced on the basis of a third manuscript. And since M9837 was probably copied in Nor Jugha, M11161 could also have been produced there in the last decades of the seventeenth or the early eighteenth century. The ongoing research into the various texts will shed more light on this issue, and we'll return to it at the end of the article.

In any case, we should take a closer look at chapter 13 of the manuscript, the *Medical Book on Horses*, which is only included in M11161 and is missing from M9837 for some reason. Perhaps it was not copied at all or was later removed as a separate part.<sup>38</sup>

### 3. The *Medical Book on Horses*: Chapter 13

The only colophon of the manuscript refers to the *Medical Book on Horses*, cited already from the codex in Dum-Tragut's pre-restoration survey (at that time from f. 591a; see Dum-Tragut 2020 and 2014, 153). In what is believed to be the beginning of the horse treatise (f. 220r, the scribes' f. 507r), some lines<sup>39</sup> introduce the following text as being "composed by the wise men and great great philosophers of the Indians, of Baghdad, and of the Egyptians, namely Chna, Apius Iērusuf, Ēṛashit".<sup>40</sup> The main colophon (f. 261r), surprisingly, clarifies that this treatise represents a translation of a *Medical Book on Horses* from Arabic into Armenian, done in 1504 in Sebastia:

And now, this book was translated in the year 953 of the Armenian Era (=1504), which is called *Medical Book on horses and other beasts of burden*, in the province of Sebastia, from the Arabic writing to the Armenian language, what was told by many wise men and philosophers, Chēnay and Api Usuf and Ēṛashit and many other wise men from India and Baghdad, whose names are not mentioned here.

37 The colophon of M9837 (53r) reads: "Remember before Christ me, this impure scribe, with the false name Azaria, that I wrote this medical book in the year 1125 (1676), on the 14<sup>th</sup> of the month March" – Յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս զփժուն զձողս՝ սուտանուն Ազարիայս, որ գրեցի զՀաքիմարանս ի թուին ՌՃԻԵ.ու.մն (1676), Մարտի ամսոյ ԺԴ. (14).

38 Interestingly, this is exactly what happened to the famous medical book of the Mekhitarist collection in Venice, codex V1281 (1294, commissioned by Het'um of Korikos), from which an equine medical text, unfortunately preserved only in fragments, was detached and later bound as a separate manuscript (now V2358). In 2014, Dum-Tragut presented an analysis of this codex (V2358) from philological-linguistic and veterinary point of view. A further research for placing this work in the historical context of Armenian equine medical texts is currently underway as part of the project P34067: "Meeting in the body of the horse".

39 Եւ գիրքս այս, որ կոչի Բժշկարան ձիոյ, գոր արարեալ է իմաստասիրացն եւ մեծ մեծ փիլիսոփայիցն հնդկաց, պարսկացուոց եւ եգիպտացուոց, այս է Շնայ, Ապիուս Իլլուուսիֆին եւ Ըռաշիտայ:

40 "Chna" is the Indian Chanakya Kauṭīliya (fourth–third centuries BC). He was famous for his treatise *Arthashastra*. "Apus Iērusuf" is a misspelling of "Api Usuf", the famous Arab horse specialist who translated Ibn Abī Ḥizām al-Ḥuttali (ninth century). "Ēṛashit" might be a transliteration of Rashid.

And now I, the humble physician Farach, translated this book by order of my lord the king, the Christ-loving king of the Armenians, the philosopher Smbat. And glory to Christ forever. Amen”.<sup>41</sup>

It were these passages in the colophon as well as other specific features of the horse treatise, such as the image of the horse on f. 225r (Fig. 3), or the preliminary comparison of the text with King Smbat’s *Horse Book* that prompted Dum-Tragut in 2015 to assume, before analysing the entire codex in detail, that this could be the “missing link” between this book (Sis, 1296–98) and the Georgian translation of Prince Giorgi (Tiflis, 1791) from a copy of King Smbat’s *Horse Book* composed in Sebastia in 1504. Its colophon clearly refers to 1504 and Sebastia, almost literally repeating the content of the original colophon.<sup>42</sup>

However, the detailed analysis of the entire Codex M11161 has now clearly proven that M11161 can in no way be the Sebastia copy (1504) of King Smbat’s *Horse Book*, but at best a much later reproduction of the *Sivas/Sebastia Horse Treatise*. The arguments are convincing:

- The palaeographical and codicological peculiarities suggest that M11161 definitely dates to a later period than the beginning of the sixteenth century.
- Furthermore, M11161 contains the *Book on the Art of Medicine* by Asar Sebastats’i, which, as scholars believe, was written between 1614 and 1622. Thus, chapter 13 of M11161 could not have been copied in 1504 in Sebastia.

While trying to connect King Smbat’s *Horse Book* (M10975, *Catalogue* 2007, 156–57) with this witness of the *Sivas/Sebastia Horse Treatise*, we should state, on the basis of the previous analysis, that it is a simplified, less elaborate and valuable copy of that book. Apart from the image of the horse (exterior description) on f. 225r, it does not contain any other illustrations of King Smbat’s *Horse Book*. We mean the images of the brandings known at the time, painted in M10975 (f. 37v–39v). These are completely missing from M11161 but are fully reproduced in the Georgian translation (Tiflis 1791, S3467, 17r–19v).

The horse book in M11161 contains a total of 194 chapters, of which 182 correspond to those of King Smbat’s *Horse Book*, as given in M10975. The last twelve

41 Եւ արդ, թարգմանեցաւ գիրքս այս ի թ/սկանիս հայոց եւ ՋԾԳ. (1504), որ կոչի Բժշկական ձիոյ եւ այլ գրաստնոյ, ի գաւառն Սեբաստիոյ, ի յարսայ գրէ ի հայ բառ, ի բազում իմաստասիրաց եւ փիլիսոփայից՝ Ճընայ եւ Ապի Ուսուֆին եւ Բռաշիտայ եւ այլ բազում հնդկաց եւ Բաղտատայ իմաստասիրաց ասացեալ, որոց անուանքն չեն աստ գրեալ: Եւ արդ, եւ՝ նուաստ բժիշկս՝ Ֆարանս, հրամանաւ տեառն իմոյ արքայի՝ քրիստոսասէր արքային հայոց Սըմբատայ իմաստասիրի, թարգմանեցի գիրքս զայս, եւ Բրիստոսի փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն:

42 S 3467, f. 2r: “This book, which is called the *Medical Book for Horses and other Animals*, was written in the year 953 of the Armenian era in the village of Sebastia. It was translated from the Arabic language into the Armenian language, what was said by many wise men and philosophers, by Cena and Abi Usuf and Rashit and by many other wise men from India and Baghdad, whose names are not mentioned here. Now I, the humble physician Farach, by order of my Lord, the Christ-loving King of the Armenians, the King of Kings Smbat, have written this book. And glory to Christ forever. Amen”. The authors would like to thank the P 34067 project member Nino Sakvarelidze for all the information on the Georgian treatises, catalogues and above all the translation of the colophon from the Georgian manuscript S 3467.

chapters were added later. Whether these additions were made as early as 1504 or more than 150 years later is not yet clear. The text is currently being analysed with regard to the linguistic and veterinary subtleties. In other words, the last chapters of M11161 (183–94) were either copied from another manuscript, or the scribe added them himself. They come from the hand of the anonymus scribe A, who can be considered the main scribe (and even compiler?) of the codex. We observe a similar phenomenon in chapter 12, where the scribe has added some new contents (161–69) and even reflected these changes in the table of contents.<sup>43</sup> These subchapters were most likely not included in the source manuscript.<sup>44</sup>

The Georgian manuscript S3467 (Shengelia 2017, 304–9), which is currently being analysed, is certainly a crucial key to understanding the Armenian manuscripts M10975 and M11161. A comparison of these three horse treatises will show the extent to which: a) the alleged 1504 copy of Sebastia already deviated from the source text of King Smbat's *Horse Book*, and b) to what extent the the horse treatise in M11161 overlaps with or differs from the apograph Sebastia 1504. An examination of the colophons reveals some differences, but also similarities, between M10975 and M11161, and S3467. We have to mention in particular the almost literal repetition of the colophon texts of M11161 and S3467, both of which were produced on the basis of the apograph of King Smbat's *Horse Book*, i.e., the *Sivas/Sebastia Horse Treatise* of 1504. The most striking feature of both colophons is the absence of the biographic details about the Syrian physician Farach and, in particular, the passage regarding the important role of the Armenian priest T'oros. Both colophons are significantly abridged reproductions of the one in the thirteenth-century *Horse Book*. Here it is (M10975, 183v–4v):

And now I, the humble physician Faraych, by order of my Lord, the Holy King, undertook this with much labour and translated it in a correct and plain language, for I was very (184b) well-versed and trained in the art of healing in the great [city] of Baghdad for many years. And I am a Syrian by origin and by faith, and a perfect orthodox by religion. And I worked on the translation of this medical and philosophical book in the capital of Sis.

Now I, the unworthy priest T'oros, was noticed by this physician Farach. And he begged me very much, forced me steadily, gave many promises to me, swore many oaths to me on behalf of the Holy King elect. And after hearing the Holy King's desire for this, I agreed and wrote by copying. Then I improved it again and wrote a large piece of writing from the Arabic script into the Armenian language, correctly and clearly...<sup>45</sup> (the rest is missing)

43 M11161, f. 205v–8v.

44 Cf. M9837, 406r–26v.

45 Եւ արդ ես՝ նուսատ բժիշկս Ֆարայճն, հրամանաւ տեառն իմոյ սուրբ արքային յանձն առի բազում աշխատանարք եւ թարգմանեցի զսա դորդ եւ յստակ բառիւ, զի յոյժ հմուտ էի եւ վարժեալ յարուեստս բժշկութեան ի մեծն Պաղտատ բազում ամառք: Եւ եմ ազգաւ եւ հաւատով ասորի, աստուածապաշտութեամբ՝ կատարեալ ուղղափառ: Եւ աշխատեցայ թարգմանել զբժշկական եւ զիմաստասիրական զիրքս ի մայրաքաղաքս Սիս:

A comparison of the chapter titles of M10975 and M11161 shows that 62 out of 182 are completely identical in content and language; 51 are identical in content, but contain additional explanations in M11161; 36 are identical in content, but linguistically different, 44 are identical in content, but differ in orthography. In two cases there is reverse order of chapters, and just in one case there is no match at all. A more precise textual comparison has not been carried out yet and is beyond the scope of this article. In any case, it should be emphasised that the horse treatise in M11161 is a late, simplified and amended copy of King Smbat's *Horse Book* (as in M10975) based on the latter's Sebastia apograph of 1504 or a copy of it. The Georgian manuscript S3467 is a compilation comprising: a) the Georgian translation of King Smbat's *Horse Book* from Sebastia 1504, b) the equine treatise of King Vakhtang VI (r. 1714–24), and c) an equine text compiled by Ione Batonishvili from a Russian horsebook (which was translated from a French original) (Shengelia 2017, 304–9). The illustrations on 15v (the image of a horse) and 17r–19v (the brandings) correspond to the Cilician manuscript M10975 and partly (without the brandings) to M11161. Therefore we could suppose that Sebastia 1504 had contained these images. The chapter titles and numbers in M10957, M11161 and the Georgian text are partly identical, partly different and new, because the three underlying sources in the Georgian codex had been merged and must be separated.

Since we assume that the *Medical Book on Horses* in M11161 was copied at the same time as the other chapters, we must postpone the date by several decades on the basis of: a) the fact that we have a source text unpublished before 1622, and b) the justifiable supposition that the manuscript depends on Codex M9837 dated 1676, or on a hyparchetype of both. This means that chapter 13 and the entire codex M11161 were not produced earlier than the last decades of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, and most probably in Nor Jugha.

The lack of contemporary scribes' colophons with important information is partly compensated for by some very informative later colophons and “notes of ownership”, which brings us to the study of the provenance of Codex M11161.

#### 4. Provenance of Codex M11161

Medieval Armenian manuscripts usually include marginal texts containing names, signatures, drawings and, in later periods, even stamps which may give some clues about the former owners or at least who handled it. Codex M11161 has signatures and indications of changes in ownership. All of them are from the nineteenth century.

The oldest indication of ownership can be found on f. 272r and 273v. Both notes, in a nineteenth-century late minuscule script (*notrgir*), are by a certain

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Արդ ես՝ Թորոս տրուպ քահանայ, տեսնալ զիս Ֆարան բժիշկս այս, եւ յոյժ աղաչեաց զիս, եւ շատ հարկեաց, եւ բազում խոստմունս խոստացաւ ինձ, եւ բազում երդմունս երդուեալ ինձ՝ կատարեալ ի սուրբ եւ յընտրեալ արքայէն: Եւ ես, յորժամ լուայ զվափաբունն սուրբ արքային վասն սորին, ես ապա յանձն առի եւ գրեցի ի սաւն, եւ ապա վերստին նորոգեցի եւ գրեցի մեծ գիր ի յարապ գրէ ի հայ բառ՝ դորդ եւ յստակ...

Yovsēp' Yovannisean. 272r: “Unworthy servant and menial of the holy church, humble Yovsēp' Yovanise[an]<sup>46</sup>; 273v “Yovsēp' Yovannise[an]”<sup>47</sup>.

This could indicate the place of a repository and the owner of the codex, a clergyman, whose hand presumably, as can be seen from the writing samples at the end, could also be responsible for one or two additions in the text.

Far more informative is a longer colophon on f. 226r, in a cursive script (*shghagir*), dated 1832: “I, Tēr Galstan, presented this Medical Book to my brother Grigor, so that it remains in our possession. January 15, 1832”<sup>48</sup>.

And on folio 190v we have the latest one, dated 1875, again in *shghagir*: “Grigor Abraham 1875”<sup>49</sup>.

At a first glance, the two Grigors in the colophons appear to be one person, but further research leads us back to the family that donated the codex to the Matenadaran on October 15, 2008. According to the last owner, Mrs. Son(i)a Chapchovian-Megerdoomian, the codex had been in the possession of her family in Nor Jugha for centuries. Before we talk about the donor's family, we need to take a very brief look at the medical school of Nor Jugha.

#### 4.1. The Medical Tradition of Nor Jugha

In the early seventeenth century, the Safavid Shah Abbas the Great (r. 1587–1629) expelled the Ottoman troops from the South Caucasus and captured a number of Armenian-populated cities in northwestern Iran and Nakhijevan, including Julfa. In 1603/4 a mass deportation of Armenians to the Iranian Empire took place. A large part of the population of Julfa was resettled in Abbas' new capital, Isfahan, where they founded a new district across the banks of the river Zayandeh Rud. In 1605, a town called Nor Jugha was constructed especially for them (Bournoutian 1997, 81–83; Ghoughassian 1998, 24–34). Thanks to the rich merchants and the church, which soon gained power, Nor Jugha quickly became a centre of Armenian culture and scholarship, and the production of manuscripts experienced a new renaissance.

Unfortunately, very little medical literature has survived, especially from the first decades after the foundation of Nor Jugha. The fame of the physicians of Nor Jugha must have been based on the knowledge of Armenian medical manuscripts that had been handed down for centuries; after all, the rich settlement grew into one of the most important centres of Armenian manuscript and book production. Most manuscripts were kept in the large library of the All Saviour's Monastery, but they were also copied elsewhere, including for and in wealthy families. Sadly, hundreds of manuscripts were lost in the eighteenth century; today 680 are known to be in various collections (Minasean 1972, vol. 2, 253–68 and 1991, 77–121). Of particular

46 Չնչին ծառայ եւ սպասաւոր սուրբ եկեղեցո տրույի Յովսէփ Յովանիսե[ան]:

47 Յովսէփ Յովանիսե[ան]:

48 Ես՝ տէր Գալստանս, այս Բժրշկարանս ընձանցի ե/ւրօրս՝ Գրիգորին, որ մնայ մեր սեփականութ/իան մէջն:  
15 Յունվար, 1832:

49 Գրիգոր Աբրահամ:

significance, however, is the fact that, thanks to the ingenious Khach'atur Kesarats'i (1590–1646), the later Archbishop of Nor Jugha, European letterpress technology was brought to Safavid Persia, where he set up the first printing press in All Savior's Monastery in 1636 (Ghougassian 2000, 203–5). Most of Nor Jugha's medical manuscripts are compilations, but also more recent adaptations and revised versions of medieval medical writings can be found. Some newly compiled manuscripts were even immediately printed.<sup>50</sup>

Although the fame of the doctors working in Nor Jugha spread as far as Europe and Russia (especially renowned were the personal physician of Nadir Shah [1688–1747] Hakob Hermet'ean and his son Petros Hermet'ean, as well as Giorgio Balivini [1688–1710], and above all Petros K'alanat'arean [1735 – unknown] and Step'anos Shahrimean [1766–1830], who all came from wealthy families of Nor Jugha), little is known today about the medical school of Nor Jugha (Vardanyan 2000, 198–207).

The ancestors of Nazlum, an Armenian practitioner of medicine, who was known throughout Nor Jugha for her medical knowledge taken from a voluminous codex, probably came from one of those wealthy and educated families.

#### 4.2. Nazlum and the Medical Book of Her Family

According to newspaper reports from 2008<sup>51</sup> about the donation of the heavily damaged manuscript to the Matenadaran and the accounts of the Nazumlean family, the medical book was used especially by Nazlum and Sandukht (called Arus Nazli), who both had a great reputation as physicians in Nor Jugha and who reportedly drew their knowledge from this codex. They may even be the authors of one or the other addition from the nineteenth century. In a conversation with Seda, the daughter of the manuscript donor Son(i)a Chapchovian-Megerdooimian,<sup>52</sup> who sadly passed away in 2009, this information was confirmed.<sup>53</sup> The codex was passed down from the eldest woman in the family, Nazlum (after whom a street in Isfahan is said to have been named), to the wife of her eldest grandson Grigor. This one was known as “Arus Nazli” (Fig. 4) in Nor Jugha, i.e., the “daughter-in-law of Nazl(um)” (pers. *'arūs* – “daughter-in-law”). Her real name was Sandukht Movsēs Nahapetean,<sup>54</sup> married Nazumlean. Later on, the book was probably taken to the United States by Sandukht's youngest daughter, Varduhi, who also dedicated her life to medicine and was one of the first officially registered nurses in Iran.

The family was unfortunately unable to provide any further details, but, on the basis of the publicly accessible family data on the Internet, the history of this

50 For example, Petros K'alanat'arean's *Short Medical Book*, which was already published in New Julfa in 1793.

51 E.g. in *Asbarez* 10.10.2008.

52 This is the usual spelling of the surname in the family. Please note that in the family tree (Fig. 5), the surname also figures in the usual transliteration of Armenian used in this paper.

53 The authors would like to express their gratitude to Seda Hambarchian-Chapchovian for the information about the family book, her great-great-grandmother Nazlum and her great-grandmother Sandukht.

54 See “Nazloomian family tree”: <https://nicknaz2000.tribalpages.com/tribe/browse?userid=nicknaz2000&#x0026;view=0&#x0026;pid=31&#x0026;ver=293> (last accessed 20.04.25)

extraordinary manuscript can be traced back to at least the first half of the eighteenth century.

Grigor Abraham, who took possession of the manuscript in 1875, was one of the three children and the eldest son of Abraham Nazumlean and Begzada (family name unknown). Abraham was in turn the son of Tēr Khach'atur and Nazlum. The surnames or names of their parents or possible siblings are not on record. It is Nazlum, the famous practitioner, who brought so much fame to the family that the following generations named themselves after her. Nazlum also passed on her knowledge and the medical book to Sandukht, the wife of her grandson Grigor Abraham. Sandukht is said to have used the medical book and contributed greatly to the healing of the population of Nor Jugha, even though she had to take care of her nine children: seven sons and two daughters. They were members of a highly respected family, and Grigor Abraham was the chief (arm. *t'aghapet*, pers. *nā ib*) of the K'och'er neighbourhood of Nor Jugha.

Tēr Galstan and his brother Grigor (not Grigor Abraham) may belong to the generation of the parents of Nazlum and Tēr Khach'atur. Tēr Galstan, obviously a clergyman without descendants, passed this book on to his brother Grigor in 1832, perhaps because the latter fathered a descendant in that same year.

The Church Archives of Nor Jugha are currently unavailable,<sup>55</sup> and the archival documents of the Caro Minasian Collection of Armenian Material (circa 1600–1968) at the UCLA<sup>56</sup> contain only a few church registers from the year 1846, which have not proved very informative for this research.

We know that the Nazumleans were a wealthy and well-known family. It is nevertheless likely that the manuscript had been copied from an exemplar in one of the churches or monasteries (of Nor Jugha?) and was also kept there (the colophon of the “unworthy servant and menial of the holy church” Yovsēp' Yovannisean would point to this) and perhaps became the property of the ancestors of Nazlum or Tēr Khach'atur. We don't know whether Nazlum brought it as a dowry or whether it came from her clergyman husband's family. It is completely unclear whether Tēr Galstan had any family connection to Nazlum or Ter Khach'atur.

### 3. Conclusions

If we summarise all the results of our examination of the physical characteristics and contents of codex M11161, a clearer picture regarding the date and place of its production will emerge. What plays a special role is the provenance of the manuscript and, above all, the fact that for a long time this codex was in the possession of the

<sup>55</sup> T'oma Galstanyan, the director of the national Archives of the Diocese of Nor Jugha informed Dum-Tragut that the diocese's archives were being reorganised and rearranged for a long time, which made it impossible to find any archival records referring to Tēr Galstan or Tēr Khach'atur.

<sup>56</sup> We would like to thank the responsible librarian Lizzie Whitaker for providing us help and free scans from the nineteenth-century archival material on Nor Julfa. <https://www.library.ucla.edu/collections/explore/carominasian-collection-of-armenian-material-circa-1600-1968/>

family of Nazlum. She not only practised the knowledge from this compilation but also passed it on to Sandukht, the wife of her eldest grandson Grigor Abraham, together with the valuable codex. Both women can certainly be regarded as practising healers of the well-known school of Nor Jugha. We can assume that M11161 had already been copied in Nor Jugha. That it was utilised there for a long time is proven by the family accounts and not least by the multiple traces of active use in the codex itself.

As noted above, we have compared it and in particular the chapter *Medical Book on Horses* with other surviving texts (M10975 and S3467). That which has actually drawn the attention of the authors and especially of the ongoing project on the knowledge transfer of equine medicine in medieval and early modern Medical treatises for horses to Codex M11161, namely the *Medical Book for Horses* contained therein, has not proven to be the hoped-for missing link: i.e., the apograph of King Smbat's *Horse Book* produced in Sebastia 1504, which is said to have been the source for the Georgian translation in 1791.

Scholars' attention was drawn specifically to the *Medical Book on Horses* contained in Codex M11161. It has also been an important subject in our ongoing project from the viewpoint of knowledge transfer in medieval and early modern equine medicine. However, it has not proven to be the hoped-for missing link, i.e. the copy of the *Horse Book* of 1504, which is said to have been the source for the Georgian translation of 1791. The date of the entire codex proposed by us, the lack of some illustrations in the *Medical Book on Horses*, some additional chapters, and other differences speak against that (see Fig. 6).

Nevertheless, this manuscript is of invaluable importance for understanding knowledge transfer, the development of equine medicine, and the positioning of the present *Medical Book on Horses* in the history of Armenian equine medicine. It is the only known and preserved copy not only of the *Sivas/Sebastia Horse Treatise* but also, indirectly, a late copy of King Smbat's *Horse Book*. In other words, this is the only second complete surviving medical book on horses in Armenian tradition. Moreover, the close relationship, both physically and in terms of content, with the medical compilation M9837 (whose greatest difference from M11161 lies in the absence of chapter 13, the horse book, and a few remedies) makes this manuscript even more valuable than expected.

According to the research of Stella Vardanyan, M9837 bears a striking resemblance to the medical manuscript kept in the national library of Paris P245 (1682, Nor Jugha), commissioned by the physician Yakob Jughayets'i (Vardanyan 2000, 199). Several scholars consider the Paris codex to be an early modern recension of the famous Cilician Gagik-Het'umian medical book. In view of the fact that manuscript P245 was copied in Nor Jugha in 1682, it is assumed that M9837, which had been produced in 1676, most probably in Nor Jugha, served as a source. This in turn means that, according to the current state of research on the Gagik-Het'umian medical book, four codices of this famous medical book have survived and are known: 1) Jerusalem

Codex J370<sup>57</sup> (Pogharean, vol. 2, 1967, 279–88), 2) Venice Codex V1281<sup>58</sup> (Chemchemean, vol. 8, 1998, 709–22) containing both Cilician recensions (Vardanyan 2008, 278–80 and 1985, 149–53), 3) Paris P245<sup>59</sup> (Kévorkian & Ter-Stépanian 1998, 809–12), and 4) Matenadaran M9837 (both “Nor Jugha” recensions).

This implies, however, that M11161, which shows striking resemblance to M9837 and was copied either from it or from a hyparchetype (a common source for both M9837 and M11161), also represents a later recension of the Gagik-Het’umian medical book.

Thus, M11161 is very special. On the one hand, it comes from the property of an Armenian family in Nor Jugha, famous for its women physicians and healers, and is a testimony to the living medical tradition in Nor Jugha. On the other hand, it contains a recension of the famous Cilician Gagik-Het’umian medical book. At the same time, it contains a recension of King Smbat’s *Horse Book*, something that cannot be said of the much finer, more beautiful and probably more valuable codex M9837.

As such, M11161 is a very important manuscript, an essential instrument for understanding and demonstrating how the medieval medical tradition of Armenia and Cilician Armenia was transmitted to Nor Jugha in the early modern period.

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<sup>57</sup> Medical Book, 12<sup>th</sup> century (?), place: Skewra monastery, scribe: Het’um Sewastaws, commissioner: Het’um Sewastaws, son of Öshin.

<sup>58</sup> Medical Book, 1294, place: Sis (?), Skewra (?), scribe: Tseruni Vard Mrtishtsi, commissioner: King Het’um, Lord of Korikos.

<sup>59</sup> Medical Book, 1682, place: Marunan (Nor Jugha), scribe: Malkhas *dpir*, commissioner: Physician Yakob Jughayets’i.

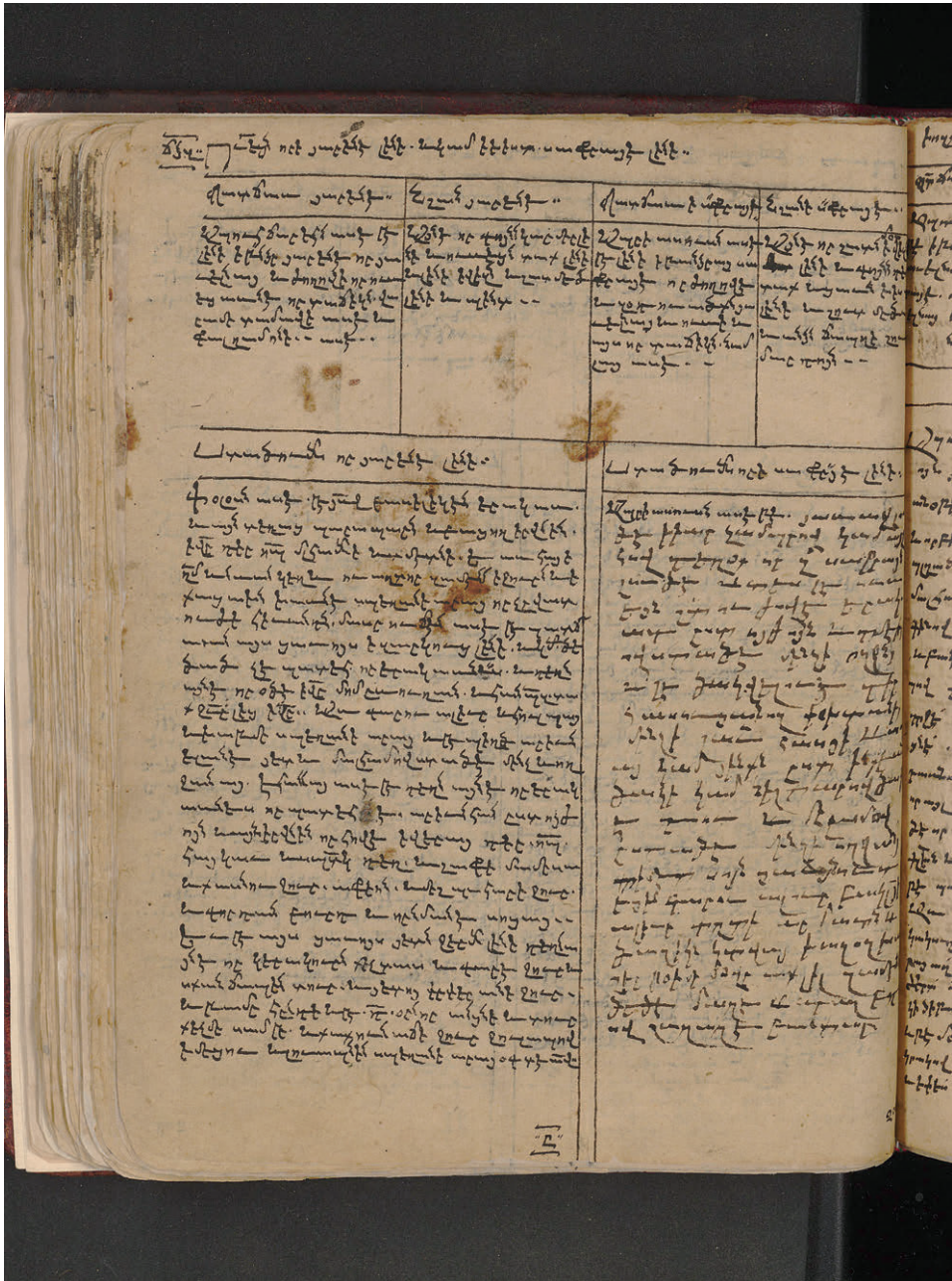


Fig. 1: M11161 f. 92v.

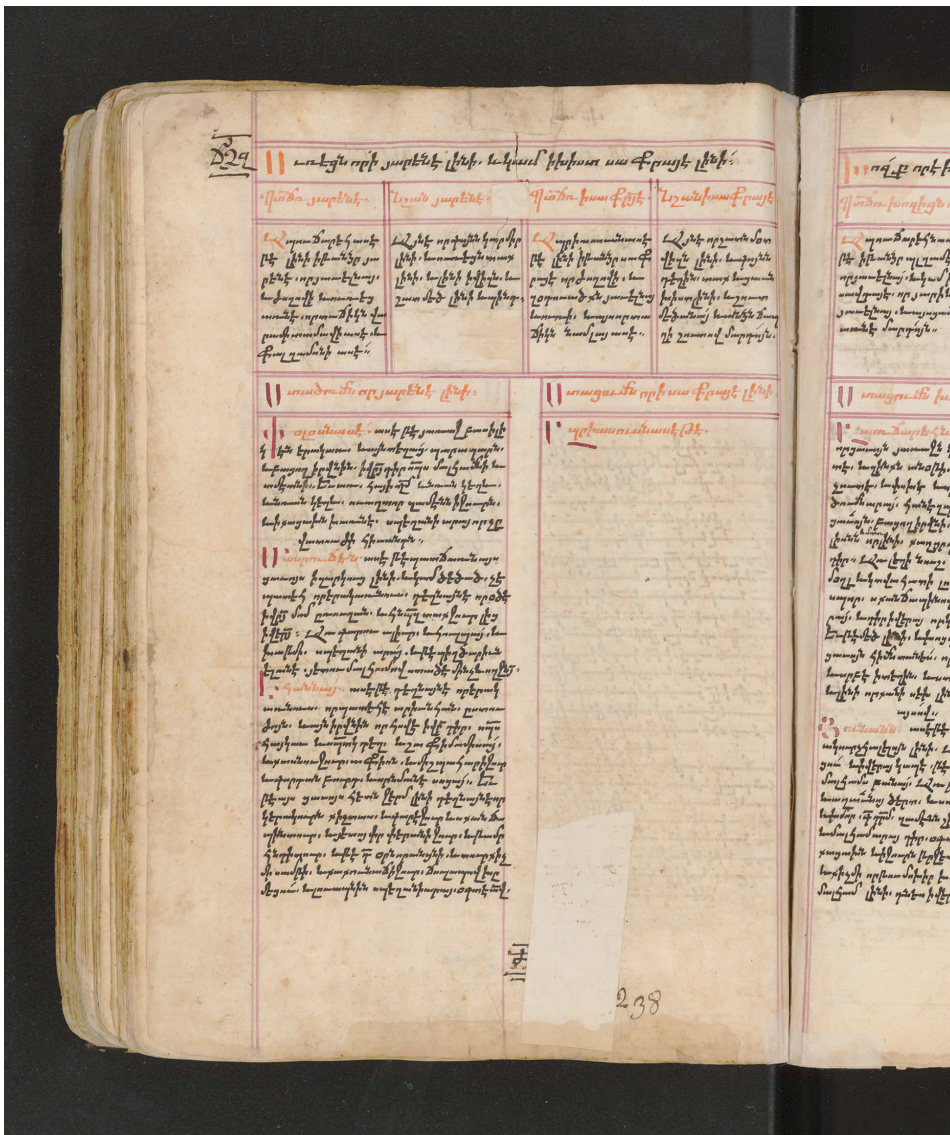


Fig. 2: M 9863 f. 119v.



Fig. 3: M11161, 225r: Image of a Horse.



Fig. 4: A Family Photograph of "Arus Nazli" in Nor Jugha (New Julfa).  
© Nazloomian family. <https://nicknaz2000.tribalpages.com/tribe/browse?userid=nicknaz2000&#x0026;view=63&#x0026;pid=31&#x0026;photoid=606526&#x0026;mview=0&#x0026;bview=0&#x0026;rand=800219973>

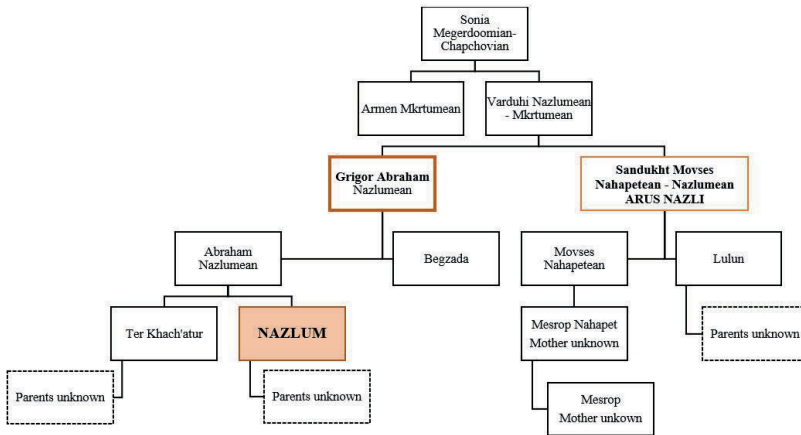


Fig 5: The Nazlumean Family Tree.

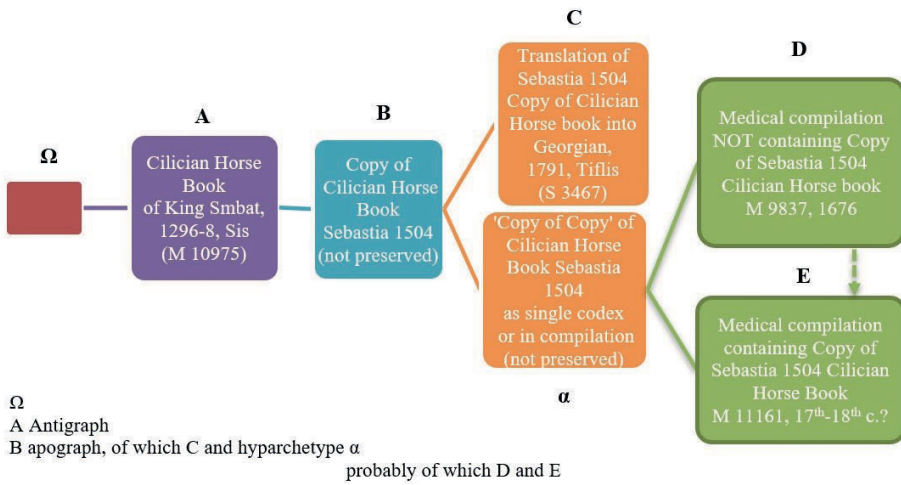


Fig. 6: A Simplified Stemma Codicum of the *Medical Book on Horses* in M11161.

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