Learning Middle Armenian at the Court of Meḥmed II: Language, Knowledge, and Power Before the Imperial Rise of Ottoman Turkish

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Abstract

Shortly after the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman court of Meḥmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) began to produce language-learning primers that would teach significant languages of statecraft and knowledge production from around the Mediterranean world. This article sheds light on the court's pedagogical and ideological engagement with multilingualism through one primer in particular, which bears the shelf mark Ahmet III 2698 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. We name this primer Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar, as it was produced for his court and contains an array of languages within it: Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Ancient Greek, Byzantine Greek, Latin, and, finally, the vernacular tongue of Middle Armenian. The presence of many of these languages may seem more readily apparent, but what was Middle Armenian doing at the Ottoman court? As we show, Middle Armenian had a presence at court in more ways than one. Alongside the Hexaglot Grammar, the court also produced an extensive primer for learning the Armenian alphabet (MS Ayasofya 4767, Süleymaniye Library). So, too, did producers of knowledge in Middle Armenian find a home at court, such as Amirdovlat' Amasiac'i, a physician whose extensive corpus of pharmacopeia in Middle Armenian likely made use of the palace library. By exploring the circulation of diverse manuscripts, translators, and intellectuals in Constantinople alongside primers such as the Hexaglot Grammar, this article offers a portrait of the Ottoman court never before seen: a place where the premodern Armenian vernacular not only survived, but, for a time, even thrived.

Introduction: Indices of Language Study in Constantinople

The Ottoman court of Meḥmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) produced several language-learning primers and grammars after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. One of the most fascinating and least studied primers from this period, which we name Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar, after the court that produced it, bears the shelf mark Ahmet III 2698 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.[2] As a microcosm of Meḥmed II's multilingual court, it

1. Authorship is listed in alphabetical order, in the collaborative humanities style, and not according to conventions of first or second authorship.

2. The Topkapı manuscript that includes our Hexaglot (fols. 1v–47r) is part of a group of at least five extant sibling manuscripts containing language primers compiled at the Ottoman court of Meḥmed II. Although they are products of the same courtly project, they all vary in terms of the languages included and also their orthography and word choice. They are Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. oct. 33, and Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MSS Ayasofya 4749, 4750, 4767. The Hexaglot Grammar and MS Ayasofya 4760 contain Armenian material, while others contain teaching material for different languages, such as Serbian and Arabic. Other manuscripts and the rest of the Topkapı manuscript also include supplementary pedagogical material which concerns the usage of those languages for different purposes. These materials primarily focus on ancient subjects, including science and philosophy, complementing Greek and Latin primers in particular. For more information, see Samet Budak,

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contains an array of languages within it, all of which were used for statecraft and knowledge production in the premodern Mediterranean world. These diverse languages are folded into a visual hierarchy according to size. Persian dominates the visual spectrum, inscribed in the largest pen-nib, providing an anchor for corresponding words in other tongues. At the other end of the spectrum, Ottoman Turkish takes up the least space, written in the smallest pen-nib and sprawling somewhat haphazardly in multiple directions. The remaining languages occupy a tidy lateral footing alongside one another. Without exception, they are carefully written and voweled in the Perso-Arabic script, using the same medium sized pen-nib and inked in different colors. From right-to-left, red ink is used first to delineate Byzantine and Ancient Greek, which appear side-by-side. Next, Latin appears in bluish-green ink. Last comes the most unusual suspect in this lineup: Middle Armenian in orange ink (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Hexaglot Grammar, verbs. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS A 2698, 2v–3r. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

"Teaching Greek, Studying Philosophy, and Discovering Ancient Greek Knowledge at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 78 (2024): 355–96.

At first glance, Middle Armenian may seem a strange bedfellow to the other prestige languages of the Mediterranean world. What business could the medieval Armenian "vernacular" have had at the early Ottoman court? Why did the early Ottomans desire to know medieval Armenian, and not only to speak it, but, as we will show, also potentially to read and to write it? In other words, why did the court of Meḥmed II engage in the preeminent form of premodern language cultivation—namely, the production of grammars—for vernacular Armenian, of all tongues?

In this article, we take up these questions to paint an unlikely diptych. On one panel of this diptych is the portrait of a language that is often misunderstood in Anglophone scholarship—the medieval Armenian vernacular that precedes the modern Western Armenian vernacular—as it came to reside at the Ottoman court. By shedding hitherto unseen light on the activities of Middle Armenian's speakers in late fifteenth-century Constantinople, correlating the knowledge production of a prominent Armenian physician at court with the manuscripts and pedagogies of the palace library, we offer a vital glimpse of the afterlife of a language that lost the kingdom which had fostered it, yet found a home on foreign shores. Far from being merely a "rustic" tongue, or a corrupted or simplified form of Classical Armenian (*grabar*, or the written language), Middle Armenian was a language of both statecraft and knowledge production in the medieval Mediterranean world. Its multifaceted position at the Ottoman court immediately following the conquest of Constantinople reflects its role as a specialist and professional language of physicians in particular, but also of knowledge production more generally. As we shall show, not only did Middle Armenian survive the fall of the Kingdom of Armenia in Cilicia in 1375 to the Mamluks, but it continued to have utility for both Armenians and non-Armenians alike, and in particular for specialist communities that used and even developed it in Constantinople.

Facing this panel on our diptych is a corresponding portrait of Ottoman language ideology during a moment of transition, as it evolved in the wake of the Byzantine empire's collapse. As is well known, this was a period long before Ottoman Turkish came to serve as the main administrative language of the empire. In fact, Ottoman Turkish was only one language among many at court, residing on a hierarchical rung roughly alongside Slavic, below more prestigious languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Greek. We explore various reasons the Ottomans included Middle Armenian in this hierarchy of languages, yet we also nuance the Ottoman engagement with this spectrum of languages, which was not limited to the chancellery and diplomatic correspondence as is sometimes assumed. Thus, through our investigation into Middle Armenian in Constantinople in the late fifteenth century, we aim to offer a recalibrated perspective on the multilingualism of Meḥmed II's court, which made room both for lesser-studied languages such as Middle Armenian and for people who used those languages.

Of course, the court did not do this for altruistic reasons or even for a singular reason. One prosaic explanation for the presence of Middle Armenian in the Hexaglot Grammar, and indeed one occasionally posited to explain the court's instruction in other languages such as medieval Serbian, is that the Ottomans wished to communicate with the diverse

speakers of their rapidly expanding territories.[3] Still, though the Ottoman court preserved the ability to use Middle Armenian in some capacity, it is presently unclear to what degree, or even whether, they trained Armenian-speaking interpreters during this period. Another complementary explanation, which has more evidence to support it, is that these language primers suited the universalist ideology of the court, which embraced and incorporated Roman and Byzantine imperial heritage. As we shall see, Meḥmed II and his court presented themselves as rulers in command of the diverse languages of the broader Mediterranean world, and, crucially, in command of the bodies of knowledge that circulated in those languages. Moreover, the court was substantially invested in learning theology, history, philosophy, and medicine, as we shall discuss in detail, and did so in many languages. Finally, the court also ordered the service of diverse peoples who could give them access to those bodies of knowledge. One such figure is Amirdovlat‘ of Amasya (d. 1496), a prominent Armenian physician who wrote extensively in Middle Armenian and served at Meḥmed II’s court. Given the presence of elite Armenian figures like Amirdovlat‘ in Constantinople, we argue that the Armenian vernacular seems to have been more than only a communicative language of “the people,” or the general population who did not understand Classical Armenian, at least in the eyes of the court. Certainly, as we shall show, this was Amirdovlat‘’s own view of the Armenian vernacular, which he employed as a specialist language and even modified lexically to suit his needs.

At the same time, figures such as Amirdovlat‘ did not operate in isolation. We therefore situate his prolific composition of medical dictionaries and pharmacopeia alongside the virtually unstudied and ignored Ottoman language learning materials on Middle Armenian. So, too, do we contextualize this activity alongside the work of other translators and polyglots at court, such as the Greek philosopher George Amiroutzes (d. ca. 1480) and the physician Yaʿḳūb Pasha (d. after 1481), an Italian who had converted to Islam from Judaism. Consequently, by bringing together disparate manuscripts and actors, we seek to offer a more holistic picture of the art of language learning in the palace schools, library, and scriptorium during this period, fashioning a portrait never before seen: an Ottoman court where, for an experimental moment in time, Middle Armenian thrived.

Before turning to the Hexaglot Grammar and the context in which it was created, it is necessary to address a deceptively simple question: What is Middle Armenian? The term is a modern one; premodern writers more readily called this language a *gṙehik* (vulgar) or *geɫǰuk* (rustic) tongue.[4] Amirdovlat‘ simply calls it *ašxarhabaṙ*, meaning both “vernacular” and “worldly speech,” as we shall discuss. It is often said that Middle Armenian was a language closer (or identical) to what the Armenian people actually spoke in the medieval period than Classical Armenian, which had become somewhat opaque to lay audiences and required study to use in any capacity.[5] However, while there is much truth in this

3. For an overview of this scholarship and an insightful analysis of medieval Serbian in the context of the Ottoman court’s language learning primers, see the study by Marijana Mišević, “Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2022).

4. Hrač‘ya Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc‘ lezvi patmut‘yun* (Yerevan: Petakan Hamalsarani Hratarakč‘ut‘yun, 1940–51), 2: 229–31.

5. For example, as the editors of the three-volume *Heritage of Armenian Literature* generally assert, “Part of

observation, it does not follow that Middle Armenian textual production was necessarily for the benefit of uneducated audiences. Likewise, Classical Armenian was not the only language of Armenian scholarship or study.

In fact, since its earliest appearances in the manuscript record, Middle Armenian has been correlated with both statecraft and scientific knowledge production, and most specifically with medical knowledge. According to the linguist Hračʻya Ačaṙyan, the oldest extant text in Middle Armenian is a prescription for the treatment of the inflammation of the liver, prescribed by a physician named Busayid in the city of Mufarghin (in the region of Diyarbakır), which dates to 1037.[6] Busayid's patient Grigor was the son of Vahram Pahlawuni (d. 1045), the military commander-in-chief of the Bagratuni Kingdom of Armenia. Right from its known genesis as a written language, the story of Middle Armenian was inexorably woven across complex social networks that included both high-ranking Bagratuni officials and educated physicians such as Busayid. It was, in short, a language used by and for the elite, in addition to what other functions dialectal forms of Middle Armenian served more generally in colloquial and oral registers. Moreover, we possess some evidence that dialectal forms of Armenian may also have served as a language of Armenian medicine well over a century before this prescription was written.[7]

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the movement toward secularization, especially from the twelfth century on, was the emergence of a new literary idiom: Middle Armenian, a diction that could be comprehended by the masses. *Grabar* (Classical Armenian) continued to exist alongside the various spoken dialects, however, and gradually became the language of the church, just as in western Europe Latin was gradually confined to the church and related areas of scholarship." However, it is worth emphasizing that in the case of Classical and Middle Armenian, there existed an array of diverse interpretive communities in-between the broad poles of the clergy and the "people." See Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, eds., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature, Volume II: From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 201, 702.

6. Ačaṙyan, *Hayocʻ lezvi patmutʻyun*, 2:233–4. See also the discussion in Ɫewond Hovnanean, *Hetazōtutʻiwnkʻ naxneacʻ ṙamkōrēni vray: Usumnasirutʻiwnkʻ ew kʻaɫuackʻner.* Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1897, 414–20.

7. Most notable is an Armenian glossary, written in the Latin script, that was discovered at the end of a Carolingian manuscript in 1882 by Henri Omont in Autun, France. The "Autun Glossary" contains many dialectal forms not found in Classical Armenian; based on paleography, the manuscript is dated to the late ninth or early tenth century, making it one of the oldest extant manuscripts that makes use of the Armenian language. Significantly, this glossary largely concerns terms related to human anatomy. It seems to have been dictated by an Armenian speaker to a scribe who did not understand Armenian. Anne Elizabeth Redgate has suggested the glossary may reflect the presence of an Armenian physician at the court of Louis III of Provence, though much mystery surrounds the glossary's production. For select studies and bibliography, see also Henri Omont, "Manuel de conversation arménien-latin du Xe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 43 (1882): 563–64; Auguste Carrière, *Un ancien glossaire latin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886); Robert H. Hewsenian, "The Autun Glossary," *Armenian Review* 13, nos. 3–51 (1960): 90–93; Anne Elizabeth Redgate, "An Armenian Physician at the Early Tenth-century Court of Louis III of Provence? The Case of the Autun Glossary," *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19, no. 2 (2007): 83–98. For a linguistic analysis of the dialectal features of the Autun glossary, with relevant discussion on medieval dialectal forms that may not necessarily be ancestors of Cilician Middle Armenian, see J. J. S. Weitenberg, "Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun," in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, 13–28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

This through line, only a tendril before the fall of the Bagratuni Kingdom of Armenia in the mid-eleventh century, began to branch out to encompass a spectrum of actors in the next two centuries. After the fall of Bagratuni rule, both the Kingdom of Armenia and the catholicosate of the Armenian church became mobile, relocating to their new home in Cilicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. These migrating waves of Armenians from their ancestral lands brought dialectal forms of Middle Armenian with them; it is in Cilicia where the widespread adoption of Middle Armenian in writing began in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, preceding the literary configuration of Anatolian Turkish by about one hundred years. This strand of the vernacular later became known as "Cilician" Middle Armenian, though other strands developed in elsewhere in slightly divergent and heterogeneous forms.

It is worth observing that Middle Armenian is not a vernacular in the same sense that Old French is a vernacular, as the former exists along a spectrum with its classical language, whereas Old French is a separate language from Latin.[8] Indeed, the medieval Armenian "vernacular" was sometimes initially not so different in writing from Classical Armenian, which was used as a literary language since the creation of the Armenian alphabet in the early fifth century CE. Gradually, however, Middle Armenian sloughed off the complicated declensions of its classical counterpart; admitted a series of new grammatical forms (most famously the *ku* particle in the present indicative and the imperfect tenses); and boasted a new lexicon of both dialectal Armenian words and loanwords of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Old French, Greek, and Latin origin. These latter transformations especially reflected the dense cross-cultural environment in which Cilician Middle Armenian developed as a written language on the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean.[9] The written development

8. On the concept of a "linguistic continuum" between a classical and putatively vernacular language, see Maria Mavroudi, "The Modern Study of Selfhood in Byzantium Compared with Medieval Europe and the Islamic World: Parallel and Diverging Trends in the Construction of 'East' and 'West'." *Palaeoslavica* XXX, nos. 1–2 (2022): 234–304, at 265.

9. On the development and forms of Middle Armenian, see the foundational studies Hovnanean, *Hetazōtut'iwnk' naxneac' ṙamkōrēni vray*; Joseph Karst, *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901); and Arsēn Aytənean, *K'nnakan k'erakanut'iwn ašxarhabar kam ardi hayerēn lezui* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1866). On Middle Armenian's grammatical development in a "literary" context, see also volume one (Ē. Ałayan, ed.) and two (G. B. J̌ahukyan, ed.) of *Aknarkner mĭǰin grakan hayereni patmut'yan* (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH GA Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1972–75); and the study by G. B. J̌ahukyan, *Hayoc' lezvi zargac'umə ev kaṙuc'vatsk'ə* (Yerevan: "Mitk'" Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1969). Others have questioned terming Middle Armenian a "literary" language, stressing its non-standardized character; see Yuri Avetisyan, *Grakan hayereni zargac'man erku šrǰap'ulerə: Grabar ev ašxarhabar* (Yerevan: EPH Hratarakč'ut'yun, 2016). On the development of the Armenian language more generally, including its "Middle" period, see also Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun*, 2:226–54; Marc Nichanian, *Âges et usages de la langue arménienne* (Paris: Entente, 1989); and S. Ł. Łazaryan, *Hayoc' lezvi hamaṙot patmut'yun* (Yerevan: Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1954). See also the study by S. Ł. Łazaryan, *Mĭǰin hayeren* (Yerevan: SSṘ GA Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1960); and the invaluable dictionary of Ṙ. S. Łazaryan and H. M. Avetisyan, *Mĭǰin hayereni baṙaran* (Yerevan: Erevani Petakan Hamalsarani Hratarakč'ut'yun, 2009). For rich studies and relevant bibliography on the emergence of Armenian dialects, see especially J. J. S. Weitenberg, "On the Early Development of the Armenian Dialects," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics*, ed. Dora Sakayan, 93–118 (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1996); J. J. S. Weitenberg, "On the Early Development of Armenian Dialects II. The Monophthongization of Ay-," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 20 (1999–2000): 1–26; Werner Winter, "Traces of Early Dialectal Diversity in Old Armenian," in *Ancient Indo-European Dialects: Proceedings of the Conference on Indo-European Linguistics*, ed.

of the Armenian vernacular in medieval Cilicia might therefore generally be likened to the emergence of Byzantine Greek, which similarly exists along a spectrum with its own classical language. The salient difference is that Byzantine Greek was not generally used for scientific, medical, or juridical knowledge production, but rather for literary and poetic purposes at this time.[10]

Right from the start, Middle Armenian's history would travel another path, both within and beyond the Armenian court, where it served as a primary language of knowledge production—especially in the medical field. For example, the physician Mxitʻar Heracʻi (d. ca. 1200) composed one of the earliest books in Middle Armenian in late twelfth-century Cilicia, known as *J̌ermancʻ mxitʻarutʻiwn* (The Consolation of Fevers), which would later be cited and studied by Amirdovlatʻ in Constantinople. Likewise, when the theologian Vardan Arewelcʻi (d. 1271) lived in Cilicia, King Hetʻum I (r. 1226–1270) commissioned him to compose the *Žłlankʻ*, an encyclopedic compendium with entries on language, zoology, astronomy, music, botany, and many other subjects, for his personal study. Although Vardan was a doctor of the Armenian church and highly erudite in Classical Armenian, he wrote the *Žłlankʻ*, which was completed by 1246 and has been copied many times since, in the king's vernacular, Middle Armenian.[11] The production of medical knowledge in Middle Armenian even extended to Syrian physicians in Cilicia, including such figures as Išōx and Faraǰ, who lived in the late thirteenth century and composed books on subjects ranging from anatomy to the natural world.[12] Middle Armenian was used especially by the Cilician chancellery in Sis, which issued trading privileges in the vernacular to the Genoese, Sicilians, and merchants of Montpellier that are still extant today; these documents crisscrossed the Mediterranean Sea on merchant vessels, bearing the names of Armenian kings.[13] The privileges also address other Armenian officials at the Cilician customs-house in the port of Ayas, in addition to issuing instructions to the harbor-master and royal court, indicating the widespread utility of the Armenian vernacular as an administrative language in the affairs of the kingdom. In these and many other ways, Middle Armenian became a companion to power for the first time, though far from the last.[14]

Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel, 201–211 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). For a critical overview of Armenian dialectology more generally, see also J. J. S. Weitenberg, "Aspects of Armenian Dialectology," in *Present-day Dialectology: Problems and Findings*, ed. Jan Berns and Jaap van Marle, 141–157 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002).

10. For a valuable assessment of Byzantine Greek from the perspective of literary history, see Panagiotis A. Agapitos, "Greek," in *Literary Beginnings in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young, 255–75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

11. For a detailed assessment of the *Žłlankʻ*, see Pʻaylak Antʻabyan, "Vardan Arevelcʻow "*Žłlankʻə*"," *Banber Matenadarani* 8 (1967): 157–81.

12. For a short overview of these figures, see Stella Vardanyan, "The Medical Heritage of Cilician Armenia," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, 275–96 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2008), 276.

13. See Victor Langlois, *Le trésor des chartes d'Armenie ou Cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupeniens* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1863), 154–58, 178–79 185–90.

14. For a detailed social history on the development of Middle Armenian at the Cilician court, and also the royal use of Middle Armenian as a language of study, see the forthcoming article by Michael Pifer, "The King's

When the Cilician state fell to the Mamluks in 1375, effectively ending the last Armenian kingdom, the story of Middle Armenian did not come to a close. Instead, varieties of the medieval Armenian vernacular continued to spread, carried in part by the substantial number of scientific, medical, and other texts that still circulated in this "rustic" tongue. For now, a short observation must suffice: the thread that linked Middle Armenian knowledge production and power, laid down by the Cilician court in Sis, would later be picked up indirectly by Meḥmed II and his court, where it would be woven into a rather different linguistic tapestry.

Judging by the Hexaglot Grammar, the Ottoman court's interest in Middle Armenian was far from superficial. In fact, the Hexaglot Grammar represents one of the earliest and most lexically detailed grammars in Middle Armenian that has yet been discovered. It also notably departs from many Armenian-made grammars that discuss Middle Armenian, in that it largely aims to teach the language from scratch, and does not reflect, say, on the finer points of syntax, or seek to furnish a philosophy of language.[15] Instead, following a model of other language learning primers at court, it opens simply after a brief introduction with the verb "to know" in each of its languages: Persian (دانستن), Turkish (بیلمك [*bilmek*]), Byzantine Greek (ٱكْسَوْرَمَا [ἐξεύρημα]), Classical Greek (ايذِسِس [εἴδησις]), Latin (شِيرهَ [*scire*]), and Middle Armenian (ԿԻՆԱԼՆ [qhunuł]) (see Fig. 2). The Hexaglot then continues with a substantial mixed dictionary of infinitives and verbal nouns (depending on the language) before showcasing a wide array of conjugations, including the aorist and present tenses in Armenian (along with the negative forms of these tenses); verbal nouns (or their equivalents in other languages); commands and prohibitions; participles; and, most extensive of all, a dictionary of nouns that covers everything from the celestial sphere to botanical and animal names, along with a substantial number of words concerning the various parts of human

Mellifluous Tongue: Study, Social Bonding, and the Making of Middle Armenian as a Language of the Elite in Medieval Cilicia," *Armeniaca: International Journal of Armenian Studies* 3 (2024).

15. At least until the fourteenth century, grammars of Classical Armenian (*grabar*) were generally not language textbooks in any modern sense, but rather elaborate commentaries on the *Tékhnē grammatikē* (Art of Grammar) attributed to the foundational Greek grammarian Dionysius Thrax (d. 90 BCE). Middle Armenian generally did not make an appearance in such works until the early fourteenth century, when an anonymous scribe adapted the theologian Vardan Arewelc'i's Classical Armenian grammar into Middle Armenian (though both, ultimately, were commentaries on Dionysius Thrax). Likewise, it was not until the fourteenth century when Yovhannēs K'rnec'i, an Armenian member of the *Fratres Unitores*, which promoted unification of the Armenian and the Roman churches, composed a new grammar in an entirely different mold: not only did he do away with Dionysius Thrax, but his grammar presented many Middle Armenian grammatical forms for study. In other words, in a relatively short period of time, the medieval Armenian "vernacular" had become a tongue that was not only employed for statecraft, but to some extent had become an object worthy of study in its own right. Still, even works like K'rnec'i's assume a great deal of linguistic knowledge on behalf of their readers, whereas the Hexaglot Grammar is truly a language primer in its elementary approach to grammatical instruction. For a detailed overview of the Middle Armenian contents of these grammars, see Pifer, "The King's Mellifluous Tongue." For an overview of Armenian grammars until the early medieval period, see S. Peter Cowe, "The Inception of Armenian Grammatical Thought out of the Matrix of Hellenic Paideia," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 70 (2020): 465–86. See also the study by G. B. J̌ahukyan, *K'erakanakan ev ułłagrakan ašxatut'yunnerə hin ev mi̊ǰnadaryan Hayastanum: V–XV dd.* (Yerevan: Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1954).

anatomy. Its verbal lexicon is unabashedly Middle Armenian in character, as are its grammatical forms (which use the *ku* particle in the present tense), plurals (which employ the Cilician *-ni* as well as the Classical Armenian *-kʻ*), conjugations of irregular verbs in the aorist, and so on across 47 well-sized folios.[16]

Fig. 2. Detail. The verb "to know." Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS A 2698, 3r. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

In fact, the Hexaglot Grammar follows an established pedagogy of language instruction at the palace school. The compilers of the Hexaglot Grammar did not devise it from scratch, but instead adapted the model of a Persian-Ottoman Turkish primer called the *Kitāb-ı Dānistan* (Book of Dānistan), which was named after its first entry in Persian; it is also named the *Tuḥfetü'l-Hādiye* in some copies. This primer was written before 1460 by an enigmatic author named Meḥmed ibn el-Ḥāc İlyās. Revealingly, in some manuscripts of the *Dānistan,* including the Hexaglot Grammar, the author notes that he compiled this work for children (*ṣıbyān*) at the palace school who had been learning Arabic and wanted to embark on the study of Persian.[17] We can conclude that the *Dānistan* was likely written for young Turkophone madrasa students and those with comparable backgrounds. Originally, this book was a primer containing only Persian entries and their Turkish equivalents. The

16. For the Armenian infinitives of the Hexaglot Grammar, and a selection of its nouns, see the appendix to this article.

17. Ahmet III 2698, 1v. In the Topkapı manuscript, the term "Arabic" is mistakenly dropped; for a copy containing the introductory note without this mistake, see Süleymeniye Library, MS Şazeli Tekkesi, 163.

compilers of our Hexaglot Grammar took this book, whose efficiency they trusted, and scaffolded four more languages into its model, including Middle Armenian, likely sometime in the 1470s.[18]

A useful point of comparison for the Hexaglot Grammar is the Rasulid Hexaglot, a six-language dictionary in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongol, Byzantine Greek, and Middle Armenian, produced for the Rasulid king in fourteenth-century Yemen. Both of these "hexaglots" represent clear examples of a non-Armenian court investing its resources to learn the Armenian vernacular. The production and reception of these two works, however, have been quite different. The Rasulid Hexaglot has been the subject of numerous studies, including a monograph, in recent years; its Armenian entries, limited to nouns and imperatives, were likely provided by Armenian-speaking slaves and servitors at court.[19] In

18. The Hexaglot Grammar does not have a colophon and therefore cannot be dated precisely to the year. Its manuscript bears the seal of Bāyezīd II (r. 1481-1512) and was catalogued by the imperial librarian ʿAṭūfī (d. 1541), placing its *terminus ante quem* in the early sixteenth century. However, its codicological features, style, and, importantly, its sister manuscripts help to place its composition before Bāyezīd II's rule. To give one example here, a useful point of comparison for Topkapı A 2698, the manuscript containing the Hexaglot Grammar, is Berlin MS (or. oct. 33), which likewise is an adaptation of the *Book of Dānistan* and probably predates the Hexaglot Grammar slightly. Not only does the Berlin MS name Meḥmed II in its preface, but its codicological features reveal that it was produced at the court scriptorium of Meḥmed II. The manuscript's crimson velvet binding is a peculiar example of the court scriptorium bindings during this period, and is likely dateable to the 1470s, although its style and orthography may also suggest an earlier date of production in the 1460s. For similar bindings from the court scriptorium, see Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993), 169–81. The Topkapı manuscript, on the other hand, seems to have been rebound at least once and features a simplified orthography for its Greek language material. Still, the style of the Persian hand, the page layout, and the arrangement of the gilded chapter and subchapter headings make a strong case for placing the Topkapı manuscript in the 1470s, alongside the production of other primers in Meḥmed II's court. For more information on dating the primer corpus, see Budak, "Teaching Greek." Beyond the corpus of language primers that were clearly produced during Meḥmed II's reign, other similar manuscripts support dating Topkapı A 2698 to the 1470s. Most notable is the Armenian script/alphabet primer known as MS Ayasofya 4767 and discussed below, which is confidently dated to 1474 and seems to have been produced alongside our Hexaglot Grammar. Likewise, for other manuscripts that share the same style as the Topkapı manuscript, such as gilded headings and interlinear writing, see also MS Ayasofya 4757, containing the famous *ʿAtabetü'-ḥaḳā'ıḳ* by Edīb Aḥmed Yüknekī, which was copied in 884 AH/1479–80 in Chagatai and written in an archaizing Uyghur script. This manuscript represents another aspect of Ottoman antiquarianism concerning the East. Two earlier Persian examples which feature analogous styles are also worth mentioning. One is a Persian rhetoric book and grammar (Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmet III 1706), copied for Maḥmūd Pasha, and the other, a copy of Avicenna's *Dānishnāma-yi ʿalā'ī* (MS Ayasofya 2531) copied in 1465. The Avicenna manuscript likely represents an earlier variant of the Hexaglot Grammar's style, but it constitutes a useful case of comparison. In sum, the broader project of producing primers, based on the corpus of surviving manuscripts, can be dated to the last two decades of Meḥmed II's reign. The court of Bāyezīd II, in contrast, oversaw another gradual shift in Ottoman language ideology, as it generally gave more prominence to Ottoman Turkish. Dating the Hexaglot Grammar to the 1470s thus seems plausible, especially given that its companion alphabet manuscript was copied in 1474.

19. For a detailed study of the Rasulid Hexaglot, see Peter B. Golden, ed., *The King's Dictionary: The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, trans. Tibor Halasi-Kun, Peter B. Golden, Louis Legeti, and Edmund Schütz (Leiden: Brill, 2000). Other comparable attempts to record and study the Armenian lexicon by using the Arabo-Persian script include Evliyā' Çelebi's

comparison, Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar is far more detailed grammatically, despite receiving almost no scholarly attention. The Hexaglot Grammar also preserves more Middle Armenian than does the Rasulid dictionary, which tends to skew more toward a simple Classical Armenian lexicon. Finally and most important, Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar makes use of a vastly more sophisticated system in its transliteration from the Armenian to the Arabic script.

There is a good reason for this: the Ottomans devised a detailed transliteration system for the Armenian language in the Arabic script, thereby demonstrating an interest in reading in Armenian. This is evidenced by a companion manuscript to the Hexaglot Grammar, MS Ayasofya 4767 in the Süleymaniye Library (hereafter MS Ayasofya), properly dated to 1474 (or to 923 in the Armenian Calendar). Stylistically and structurally, it matches sibling language-learning primers from the Ottoman palace library during this period. It also bears Bāyezīd II's seal and the imperial librarian Hayrü'd-dīn Hıżır ʿAṭūfī's (d. 1541) cataloging notes, and appears to have been removed from another codex.[20]

MS Ayasofya opens in a neat Armenian hand, in black ink and the *bolorgir* script: թուական գրին ջիզ ("the date of this writing is 923 [=1474]"). Beneath that, written in red ink as an interlinear translation, in reverse order, from left to right, is another hand in the Persian language and script, which says the same thing. This manner of interlinear translation is suggestive: right from the start, this manuscript is meant to help readers of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish to decipher Armenian writing (see Fig. 3).

short glossary of Armenian words, which contains many dialectal forms yet is nowhere near as comprehensive as the known hexaglots that present Armenian material. See Robert Dankoff, "Evliya Chelebi on the Armenian Language of Sivas in 1650," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 4 (1983): 47–56; J. J. S. Weitenberg, "Evliya Chelebi on the Armenian Language of Sivas in 1650. Some Remarks," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 5 (1984): 99–108. The later glossary of the poet Kāyālī, which follows a model of versified glossaries in multiple languages, provides another useful counterpoint that is more substantial than Evliyā' Çelebi's glossary, but, again, not nearly as multifaceted as the Hexaglot Grammar. See the study by Robert Dankoff, A. Turgut Kut, and J. J. S. Weitenberg, *The Versified Armenian-Turkish Glossary by Kayali, ca. 1800* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1996). Finally, on Armenian words that became part of the Turkish lexicon, see Robert Dankoff, *Armenian Loanwords in Turkish* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

20. A remark in the hand of the librarian ʿAṭūfī, just before the opening of the Armenian alphabet, reads "Greek grammar in Greek script." However, this Greek grammar is missing now. In addition, the folio with the librarian's note is turned upside down. This suggests that our Armenian alphabet was part of a larger codex before being divided and rebound at some point. Similarly, another comment at the end of the text alludes to a Syriac dictionary/grammar, which is also absent, though an inexperienced hand has added the Syriac and Coptic alphabets, in defective form, for reference on the inside cover. However, these alphabets are clearly written in a later hand, distinct from that used in our primer. Moreover, we know that the other alphabet sections in other sibling primers are always appended to grammar portions or other material. They are never single manuscripts. In sum, we can conclude that our Armenian script portion, which survives as a single manuscript today, was most likely bundled together with other material initially.

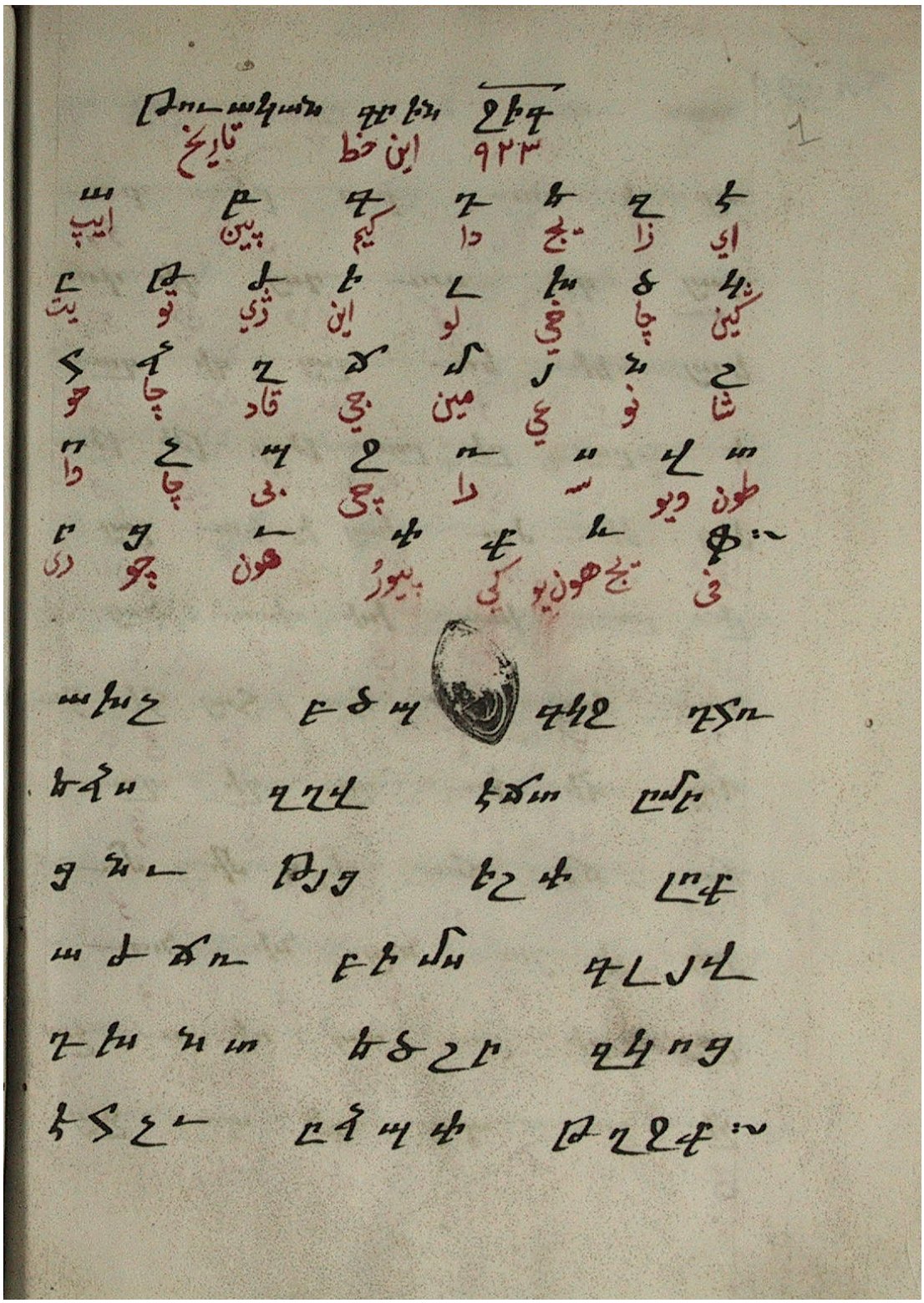

Fig. 3. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 4767, 1r. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

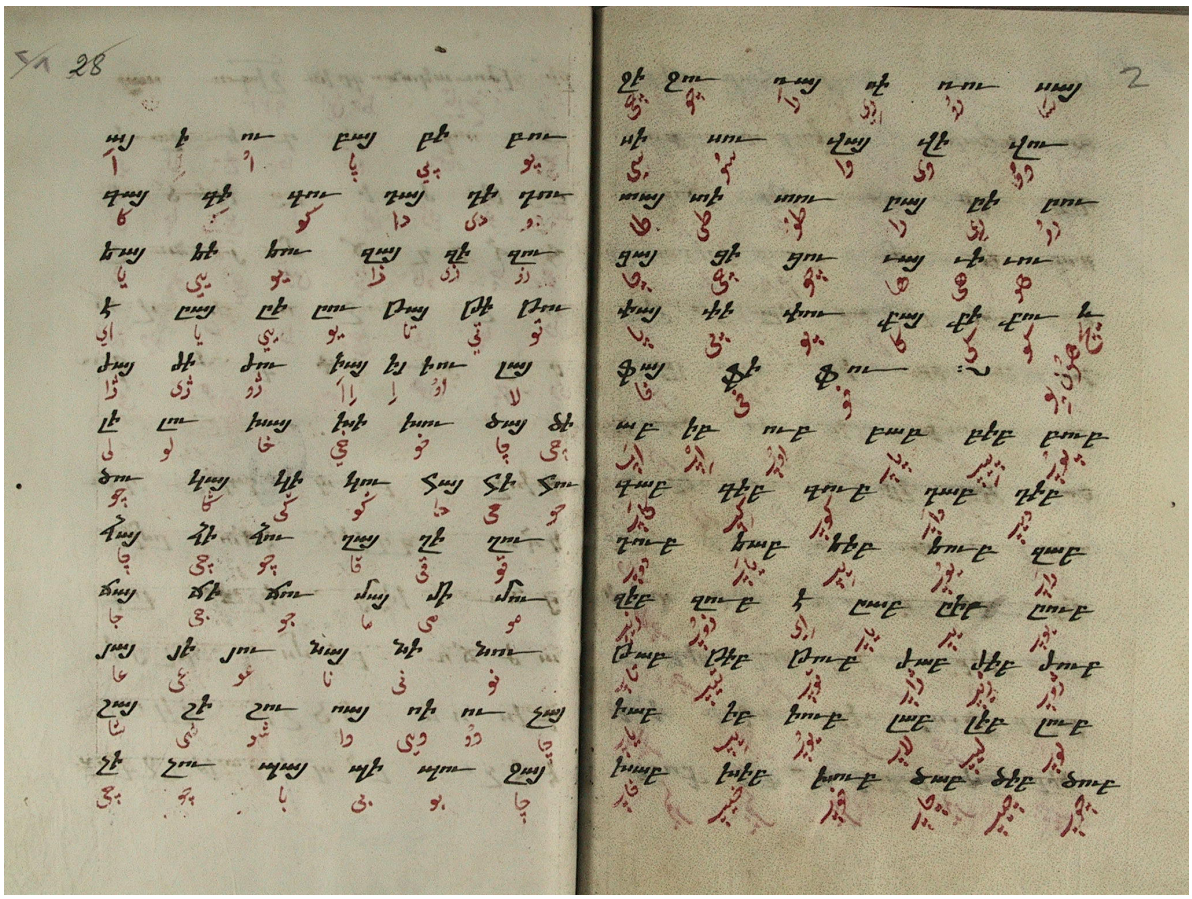

Fig. 4. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 4767, 1v–2r. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

This dating is followed by a table of the Armenian alphabet, all in minuscule, with the names of each letter written in the Arabic script, in red ink, below. These are not just the sounds that the letters make, but their proper names in the modern Western Armenian pronunciation: *ayp*, *pen*, *kim*, etc. In the remaining twenty-seven folios, we then encounter a series of one, two, three, and four letter syllables in the Armenian script; beneath each is the corresponding combination of letters in the Arabo-Persian script (see Fig. 4). Over three *thousand* combinations of letters are tried; one gets the sense of being in the presence of a transliteration stress-test, or at least some very serious modeling for readers. The system is largely consistent, and also corresponds to the Perso-Arabic transliterations of Middle Armenian words in the Hexaglot Grammar. It also closely parallels the Middle Armenian pronunciation of these sounds, with the exception of the Persian letter چ (phonetically "ch") being used to stand for the letters ձ (phonetically in Middle Armenian "ts"), ծ ("dz"), ց ("ts‘"), again corresponding to the Hexaglot Grammar.[21]

21. In other words, this transliteration system operates according to its own internal logic but is not entirely "airtight" by modern standards. Additional duplicate letters include ق, which is used to render the Armenian կ ("g" in Middle Armenian phonetic pronunciation), ɋ ("k" in Middle Armenian), and ք ("k‘"). However, other

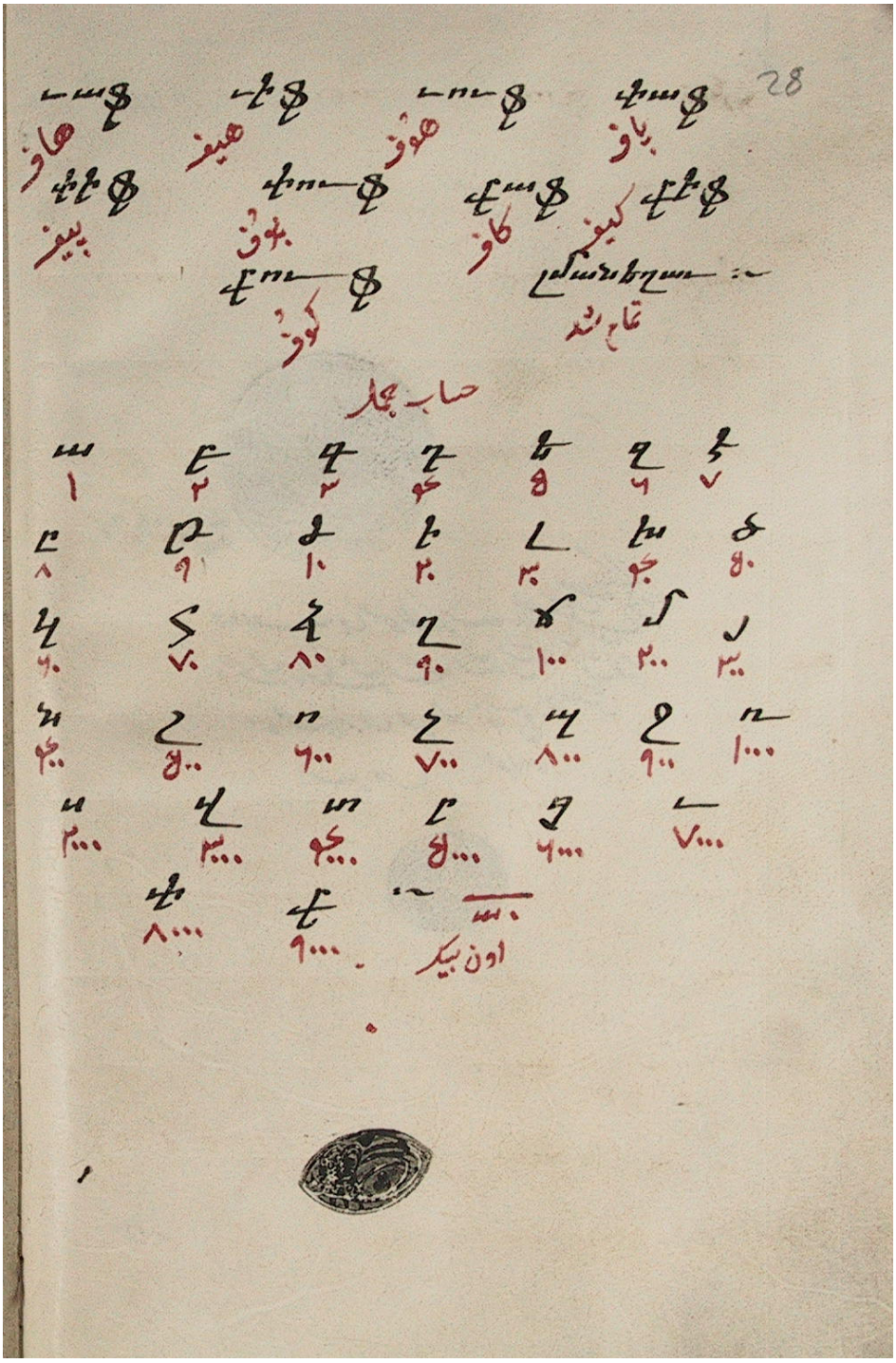

Fig. 5. Numbers. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 4767, 28r. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

letters can also be used to render some of these sounds, such as ك for ḵ and q; the letter ز also occasionally renders ð (“dz”), ǎ (“ts”), and ǧ (“ts‘”). This is one reason why a comparison with the Rasulid Hexaglot is useful, as despite these duplicate sounds, the Hexaglot Grammar still comes much closer to capturing the phonetic values of Armenian words, and moreover does so with a full complement of vowels, than does its counterpart in Yemen. Once one is aware of these guidelines, the experience of reading the different transliterated Armenian words in the Hexaglot Grammar’s Perso-Arabic script is often fairly straightforward.

MS Ayasofya concludes with a short text in Armenian: լման եղաւ ("it is completed"), followed by the corresponding text in Persian: تمـام شـد. Finally, to leave no stone unturned, the manuscript concludes with yet another table of the Armenian alphabet in the minuscule. This time, beneath each Armenian letter we find the corresponding value in Arabic numerals, as in the Armenian tradition letters also served as numbers. This table ends with a final Armenian symbol, ա. with a line drawn over it, with corresponding text in Ottoman Turkish that reads: "ten thousand." This final table would have come in handy, say, for the copyist who translated the Armenian date, which is expressed in letters, into Arabic numerals and the Persian language at the start of the text (see Fig. 5).

Most importantly, the two tables of the Armenian alphabet in MS Ayasofya indicate that the Ottoman interest in Middle Armenian went beyond a simple desire to speak the language or to translate it verbally on the spot. These are tables meant to serve in fostering alphabetic knowledge; they exist to guide the reader in unlocking the phonemes and morphemes of *texts*. Hence, as both the Hexaglot Grammar and MS Ayasofya indicate, the Ottoman court prepared materials that would train students in reading the Armenian language in the Armenian script (at least in minuscule, as far as we know) and potentially even in writing in the Armenian script. Moreover, the preparers of these language primers also envisioned (and practiced) the corollary of this activity: reading and writing Armenian in the Perso-Arabic script. Finally, they deployed this pedagogical system consistently, as the transliteration of Armenian words and sounds across both these manuscripts indicates.

Much has rightly been made in recent years of the phenomenon of Armeno-Turkish, or Turkish language texts that were written in the Armenian script, a mode of writing that flourished for many centuries during the Ottoman Empire and was employed for the most part by Turkish-speaking Armenians.[22] Ironically, at the empire's beginnings, we find the long-neglected inversion of this practice: Turkish-speaking Ottomans, at court, writing Armenian in the Perso-Arabic script. Clearly, the people who produced and used such texts had alphabets, and mixed-script writing, on their minds, just as they themselves mixed among many others at court who spoke and used multiple language- and script-sets of their own. Indeed, as readers of these manuscripts, we can attest from experience that MS Ayasofya was useful in decoding the Hexaglot Grammar on numerous occasions. These are professionally produced works, made with great care, whose compilers employed their sharp scribal eyes (and ears) in attention to detail.

What, then, were such primers for? What kinds of texts might students have read, or consulted, or heard read aloud? Even more, what sorts of language students and speakers circulated at court, and how did they engage in related projects of knowledge production that likewise navigated between different alphabetic and linguistic systems? Arguably, the correspondences between the Hexaglot Grammar and MS Ayasofya, placed within the greater context of learning language at Meḥmed II's court, index a kind of systematic thinking that underpinned their production: it is this manner of thinking systematically about language, and this mode of marshaling knowledge across diverse languages into the service of empire, that we excavate in our portrait of Middle Armenian at the Ottoman court.

22. In fact, Armeno-Turkish predates the Ottoman Empire; Rachel Goshgarian has placed its usage as early as 1287. See Rachel Goshgarian, "*Futuwwa* in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Alliances on the Seljuk Periphery," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, 227–63 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

Ottoman Language Ideology in the Age of Meḥmed II

Before we can examine how and why the Ottoman court turned its attention to the vernacular of Middle Armenian, it is useful to understand the shifting position of Ottoman language ideology after Meḥmed II had taken Constantinople in 1453. Of course, the evolution of Ottoman language ideology—both in theory and praxis—had begun long before the conquest of Constantinople. Still, the period following the conquest witnessed a marked change in how the court conceptualized itself, and, consequently, in how it used language.

Meḥmed II and his court employed language for both ideological and pragmatic reasons that collectively helped to fashion a particular sensibility of the court. To give one illustrative example, in the 1450s an anonymous Italian artist produced the first portrait medal of Meḥmed II, picturing the young sultan with an inscription that reads in Latin: *Magnus Admiratus et Soldanus Macomet Bei* (Great Amir and Sultan Meḥmed Bey).[23] Only three decades later, in 1481, the year when Meḥmed II died, the artist Constanza da Ferrara praised the sultan in another portrait medal as "the Emperor of Byzantium,"[24] alongside an altogether different inscription in Latin: *Sultani Mohammeth Octhomani Uguli Byzantii Inperatoris* (Sultan Meḥmed, of House of Osman, Emperor of Byzantium).[25] Around the same time, in his letters to the Venetian dodge, Meḥmed II reserved the title *basileos* (emperor) in Greek for himself. He confidently names his domains as his own empire (*basileia*), again in Greek.[26] In parallel, he was referred to as *Ḳayṣer* (Caesar or Emperor) in Ottoman Turkish and Persian sources, and *kaysr* in Middle Armenian sources, among many other titles.[27] In

23. This anonymous artist seems to be a follower of the famous artist Pisanello (d. 1455), who had designed the medal of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425–48) in 1438–9, which became an exemplar for many later Renaissance medals. The inscription also echoes the titulature in Sigusmondo Malatesta's letter to Meḥmed II in 1461, where the sultan is addressed as "Great Amir and Sultan Meḥmed Beg." There are other appearances of this usage as well. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81, at 21, 65–66 nn. 97–8. For more information about the medal, see Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, *Bellini and the East* (Boston: National Gallery, 2005), 70; for a different opinion which dates the medal to the 1440s, see Julian Raby, "Opening Gambits," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal, 65–95 (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2000), 86.

24. The term Byzantium is used as a toponym here, referring to Constantinople. For a similar interchanging usage of the two terms, see Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 16, 139, 209, 215–17, 222.

25. This medal's designer, Costanzo da Ferrara (d. 1524), was an Italian artist who worked at Meḥmed II's court in the 1470s after the Neapolitan court of Ferdinand I of Naples (r. 1458–94). He fashioned at least two portrait medals of Meḥmed II with the same design, including this later one from the year of the latter's death. For the life and works of Costanzo, see Maria Andaloro, "Costanzo da Ferrara: Gli anni a Costantinopoli alla corte di Maometto II," Storia dell'arte 38/40 (1980): 185–212; for this particular medal, see Susan Elizabeth Spinale, "The Portrait Medals of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–81)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 320–21; Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 31, 72–73 n. 139; cf. Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 71–72.

26. Alessio Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47, no. 2 (1954): 298–319, at 316–18.

27. Not only Meḥmed II, but also his successors, were referred to as *Ḳayṣer*. For example, see Kemalpaşazade, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VII. Defter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 3, 544. The Armenian physician Amirdovlat' likewise referred to Meḥmed II as *kaysr*. See Amirdovlat' Amasiac'i, *Angitac' anpēt kam*

sum, within thirty years, Meḥmed II had stepped up from a relatively minor Turkish ruler to an emperor of "all Asia and Greece."[28] Most importantly, he employed not one but an array of languages to communicate this newfound power with audiences both local and abroad.

Following a commonplace Roman ideology, the Ottomans insisted that there be one empire and one emperor in the world.[29] As part and parcel of this universalist ideology, the Ottoman sultans aimed to control and patronize arts, sciences, and learning from various backgrounds. Especially in the time of Meḥmed II, Ottoman patronage witnessed an epoch of super-plurality in the linguistic, philosophical, and scientific spheres. In addition to conventional Arabic, Persian, and Turkic traditions, Meḥmed's multilingual court attempted to place Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, and Armenian within this universalist ideology, as we shall see.

The Ottoman center's universalist ideology is not the only reason for the inclusion of such diversity in the courtly context. For one, the Ottomans engaged with a large range of trends from Timurid Herat to Renaissance Florence.[30] In tune with the fashions of the time, Meḥmed II's court conducted itself in a similar manner as did the Medici Palace, or the Byzantine court in Mystra, in its absorption of Greek philosophical and scientific learning.[31] Moreover, as the inheritor of the Byzantine capital, Meḥmed II had assumed

baṙaran bžškakan niwt'oc', ed. K. Y. Basmaǰean (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1926), 126. Similarly, an Italo-Cretean humanist of Greek origins and papal secretary, George of Trebizond (d. 1473), addressed Meḥmed II as "the most excellent, illustrious, and greatest Emperor of the Romans (*imperatorem Romanorum*) who obtained the seat of Constantine by virtue of his conquest and the divinely granted victory." See Angelo Mercati, "Le due lettere di Giorgio da Trebisonda a Maometto II," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 9 (1943): 65–99, at 92. Meḥmed's ambassador to the Timurid court of Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506) also remarked that his master sat on the golden throne of Caesars. See Halil İnalcık, *İki Karanın Sultanı İki Denizin Hakanı Kâyser-i Rûm Fâtih Sultan Mehemmed Han* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2019), 756.

28. Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 31.

29. A popular version of this position, adding one God to the formula, can be traced back to the time of Constantine, who relocated the capital to Byzantium in the fourth century CE. The *divisio imperii* became a major issue later in the middle and late Byzantine periods, notably following the emergence of the Holy Roman Empire in the West. Byzantine emperors chose not to call the Holy Roman rulers emperor. They also disliked being addressed as the emperor of Greece or emperor of the East by westerners. The Ottomans continued this policy in the sixteenth century as well. Similarly, in Ottoman documents, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was referred to as King of Spain rather than emperor. For an overview of the Byzantine case, see Donald M. Nicol, "The Byzantine View of Western Europe," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 8, no. 4 (1967): 12–30; for the Ottoman-Habsburg clash on the claims of universal empire in the sixteenth century, see Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

30. For example, Meḥmed II's court imported much from its Timurid counterparts, especially in book arts and music. For an overview of the book arts, see Lale Uluç, "The Common Timurid Heritage of the Three Capitals of Islamic Arts," in *Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi: 3 Capitals of Islamic Art: Masterpieces from the Louvre Collection*, ed. Carol LaMotte, 39–53 (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2008); cf. Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 35–45; On music, see Hans de Zeeuw, *The Ottoman Tanbûr: The Long-Necked Lute of Ottoman Art Music* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022), 8–11.

31. It is possible to see the fusion of widespread Mediterranean artistic forms in Meḥmed's architectural patronage. For instance, the Italian merchant and author Giovanni Maria Angiolello, who worked at the Ottoman court in various capacities after being captured in Negroponte in 1470, notes that Meḥmed II had pavilions in

control of one of the most important centers of the Christian church in the east. He not only recognized the Greek patriarch as the leader of orthodox communities, but also reportedly established an Armenian patriarchate in Constantinople, though in a far different form than the institution acquired in later periods, when it eventually served as the administrative head of all Armenians under Ottoman dominion.[32] These and other developments piqued the Ottoman court's interest in both the knowledge production of such communities and their languages.

Such interest manifested itself in the presence of many different peoples at the Ottoman court. Meḥmed II depended on *ḳul*s (slave-servants) of *devşirme* (forced conversion) background in almost all ranks of his high bureaucracy, in order to counterbalance the power of earlier Turkic aristocratic families, especially the Çandarlı. As a result, for most of his reign's first two decades, he kept his mighty grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 1474) in power, who was of elite Greco-Serbian origin. Meḥmed II also had various Greek secretaries. Two Palaiologan princes, Hāṣ Murād Pasha (d. 1473) and Mesīḥ Pasha (d. 1501), were recruited to the court after 1453 and later became viziers; the latter served as the grand vizier during the reign of Meḥmed II's successor Bāyezīd II (r. 1481–1512).[33] So too did many Italians serve at the court in various capacities, as did Greeks, Jews, and at least one Armenian physician, as we shall discuss. Meḥmed II's court philosopher George Amiroutzes (d. ca. 1480), whom we shall revisit shortly, was a Greek from Trebizond. Moreover, some of these bureaucrats and courtiers did not convert to Islam, but participated as Christians or as Jews in courtly life. Self-evidently, the court was a polyglot space, yet it also was a multiethnic and multi-religious space, albeit one of hierarchical stratification.

Meḥmed II chose to express his imperial ideology by embracing the premier cosmopolitan and vernacular languages of his time. In terms of philosophy and the sciences, Arabic occupied a principal position as the scholarly lingua franca of the Islamicate world. Greek was also significant in this regard; knowledge of Greek and Arabic enabled one to read most of the

diverse manners (*diversi modi*) built in his new palace in Constantinople. One was in Perso-Karaman style, another in Turkish, and a third in Greek style. The Ottoman chronicler Tursun Bey, who wrote a history of Meḥmed's age roughly ten years after Meḥmed's death, mentions two of these pavilions in Persian and Ottoman styles. He also adds that the towers surrounding the space where these pavilions stood were constructed in the European style. Today only the Persian pavilion, the Çinili Köşk, is extant. See Giovanni Maria Angiolello, *Viaggio di Negroponte*, ed. Cristina Bazzolo (Vincenza: N. Pozza, 1982), 32; Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977), 73–74; these two passages and their larger context are discussed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 26–31.

32. On the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, see especially the classic article by Kevork B. Bardakjian, "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Volume 1: The Central Lands*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 89–100 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982).

33. On Mesīḥ and Hāṣ Murād, see Theodore Spandounes, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46; Franz Babinger, "Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Chass Murad-Pasa von Mitte Regeb 876 = Dez./Jan. 1471–72," in *Documenta islamica inedita*, ed. Johann Fück, 197–210 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952). On the Ottoman administration's gradual shift from the old aristocracy to *ḳul*s in favor of a patrimonial centralizing state, see Halil İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), 103–36; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 138–50.

scholarly literature from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Islamicate world in the fifteenth century. Persian was reserved more for belletrist purposes, but there were a considerable number of Persian books at the court library as well. It is no surprise that Meḥmed II commissioned his acts and deeds written in these languages: in Greek by Kritovoulos (d. ca. 1470), in Persian by Maʾālī (d. after 1474), and in Arabic by Ḳaramanī Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1481).[34] Perhaps tellingly, there is no sign of a Turkish chronicle commissioned by Meḥmed II. In contrast to his father's reign, during which the Ottoman court commissioned or presented various translations from Arabic and Persian into Turkish, Meḥmed II's reign represented a reversal in this trend of Turkish language cultivation through courtly patronage.

Anatolian Turkish, in its written form, was still relatively young at this point, and its future was somewhat undecided. It had only been admitted to writing circa 1300, roughly a century after Middle Armenian's initial period of flourishing.[35] Initially, the Ottoman court used Turkish in its administration, but only alongside many other languages. For example, the majority of letters that the Ottomans sent to Western powers were composed in Greek during the empire's first two centuries.[36] The state also corresponded with various parties in Arabic and Persian. Still, in the literary sphere, the early Ottomans patronized various poets who composed in Turkish, such as Aḥmedī (d. ca. 1413) and Aḥmed-i Dāʿī (d. after 1421); in the following decades, Murād II's (r. 1421–31) court likewise commissioned or received numerous translations from Arabic and Persian into Turkish. Meḥmed II's reign, on the other hand, presents an inversion in this trajectory. Relatively speaking, his court seems to have lost its enthusiasm for Turkish literature and translations into Turkish in favor of the more recognizably cosmopolitan languages of the Mediterranean world, such as Arabic, Persian, and Greek.[37] To provide one suggestive example, when Meḥmed II conquered

34. Kritovoulos's *History* only survives in a single manuscript. See Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS GI. 3. For an English translation of the work, see Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed*. As far as we know, the *Khunkārnāma* (Book of the Sovereign) by Ma'ālī remains unpublished; see Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS H. 1417. Finally, although Ḳaramanī Meḥmed Pasha's history is a history of the House of Osman, its second half narrates the deeds of Meḥmed II. See Himmet Taşkömür and Hüseyin Yılmaz, "Nişancı Mehmed Paşa and His History of the Ottoman House," in *Crafting History: Essays on the Ottoman World and Beyond in Honor of Cemal Kafadar*, ed. Rachel Goshgarian, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi and Ali Yaycioğlu (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2023), 58–76.

35. The development of the written Anatolian Turkish vernacular in the fourteenth century coincided with a time of political fragmentation in Anatolia and therefore has no direct correlation with a single, centralized court. For an overview, see Gottfried Hagen, "Towards a Social Pre-History of the Ottoman Turkish Language," *Turcica* 54 (2023): 245–85; György Hazai, "La Place Du XIVe Siècle Dans l'évolution de La Langue Turque," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389): Halcyon Days in Crete 1: A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11–13 January 1991*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou, 61–66 (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993); A. C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 147–87.

36. The earliest surviving Greek document by the Ottoman chancellery is from the reign of Bāyezīd I (r. 1389–1402). See Stephane Binon, *Les Origines Legendaires et l'Histoire de Xeropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos* (Louvain: Bureaux de Museon, 1942), 274–75. We also have various other extant documents, diplomas, and letters in Greek composed by the Ottoman chancellery in later periods up until the first half of the sixteenth century. For an anthology of some of these Greek documents, see Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (Vindobonae: C. Gerold, 1860), 3:282–367.

37. Of course, the Ottoman court did not entirely neglect Turkish. Still, its focus was on the other cosmopolitan

Constantinople and entered the Hagia Sophia for the first time, he was reportedly moved to recite a line of poetry—but, tellingly, not a line of Anatolian Turkish poetry. Instead, he recited a couplet of Persian verse, demonstrating his literary bona fides within a broader Persianate context even at the height of Ottoman martial dominance.[38]

It would not be until the sixteenth century that the Ottoman elite fashioned an ornately literary register of Ottoman Turkish, which would become the primary language of the court. This new register of literary Turkish represented a revolutionary departure from earlier forms of Turkish in Anatolia, especially in terms of style and vocabulary. The emergence of this new register was, to a large degree, a conscious act of the Ottoman elite in Constantinople and some other major urban centers, which resulted in a major epistemological distinction between the rulers and the ruled. Of course, Anatolian Turkish did not disappear; instead it continued to be used and to evolve in other literary registers. However, the new elites of Rūm, a ruling minority of an empire established on the former lands of the Eastern Romans, wished to distinguish themselves from what they perceived as their own modest past. Therefore, they would no longer use the language of the earlier figures like Aḥmedī, let alone the spoken forms of old Anatolian Turkish.[39]

Only after the cultivation of a courtly register of Ottoman Turkish did the empire begin to conduct its affairs largely in Turkish. Even in correspondence with foreign powers, the Ottoman chancellery mostly used Ottoman Turkish, shedding a good deal of its multilingual bureaucratic skin.[40] Ottoman literary production likewise tracked this development; the new literati disregarded the Turkish literature of the previous two centuries, save for a few major works and writers. A fresh kind of Turkish literature, only intelligible to the

languages of the Mediterranean. For example, a recent exhibition catalog of the manuscripts that were copied for Meḥmed's perusal, though not a complete list of extant manuscripts, lists 203 manuscripts. Among them, only one is in Turkish: a calendar copied in 1452. See Nil Baydar, ed., *Sultan Fatih'in Şahsi Kitaplığı: Yazma Eser Sergisi* (Istanbul: Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2023), 414–38. More strikingly, Turkish-language poets seem to have taken note of the state's interest in non-Turkic languages. Thus, in one quatrain from the period we hear of the frustration of local, Turkish language poets over Meḥmed II's literary preferences: "Ger dilersen şāh eşiginde olasın muḥterem / Yā yehūd ol gel bu mülke yā frenk ol yā 'acem / Adıñı ḳo, Ḳabīlī vü Hābīlī vü Ḥāmidī / Zorzi'likden ġāfil olma, ma'rifetten urma dem" ("If you wish to be favored on the shah's (Meḥmed II's) threshold / You must come to this land as a Jew, or a European, or a Persian / Your pen name must be Ḳabīlī, or Hābīlī, or Ḥāmidī (i.e., the names of some actual court poets in Meḥmed's palace) / And don't forget to act like a Zorzi (a Venetian name), [in such cases,] you don't have to demonstrate any knowledge"). See Süheyl Ünver, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarihine Başlangıç: Fatih, Külliyesi ve Zamanı İlim Hayatı* (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 1946), 248.

38. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-feth*, 64.

39. For a survey of the transformation of Turkish literature in this period, see Selim Kuru, "The Literature of Rum: The Making of a Literary Tradition (1450–1600)," in *Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, 2:548–92 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

40. For example, Süleyman I (r. 1520–66) sent his famous letter to Francis I (r. 1515–45) in this ornate register of Ottoman Turkish in 1526. See A. Berthier, "Magnifiques retrouvailles: la lettre de Soliman à François Ier," *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* 3 (1994), 61–62. Previous Ottoman rulers generally preferred to write such letters in Greek, or occasionally in another European language. For one such Greek letter from Bāyezīd II to Lorenzo de Medici, see Franz Babinger, *Spätmittelalterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem Grossherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1963), plate 13.

literati, was ascendant.[41] It is no wonder that Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli (d. 1600), a bureaucrat and one of the most famous litterateurs of the late sixteenth century, argued that "in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden."[42] This ornate register of Turkish—the imperial Ottoman Turkish which was in many ways a product of the sixteenth century—had become victorious among the Ottoman elites, gradually eclipsing various vernacular languages (such as Italian and Byzantine Greek) and cosmopolitan languages (such as Latin and Classical Greek) at court, but only after more than a century had passed since Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople.

It is important to remember that the language ideology of Meḥmed II's court was altogether different. Rather than attempting to elevate a form of "vernacular" Turkish into a primary instrument of the state, as did the court of Armenian Cilicia with Cilician Middle Armenian, it aimed to employ the established cosmopolitan and vernacular Mediterranean languages according to its different needs, audiences, and hierarchies of value. Classical and Middle Armenian arguably sat on different rungs of this hierarchy, as we will show, and early Ottoman Turkish sat on yet another. Many other languages joined these tongues, including Arabic and Persian at the top, and also Italian, Latin, Byzantine and Classical Greek, Hebrew, Serbian, and Syriac on various rungs below.

Greek, however, was by and large the most prestigious "non-Islamic" language in the eyes of the court. It is especially worth examining the role of Greek language learning at the court of Meḥmed II in detail here, in part because it helps us to better understand the court's interest in the so-called "non-Islamic" (*gayrı İslami*) languages, an emic designation used by the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, and in part because Greek has a much larger footprint in the palace library than do the other languages that fall into this category.[43] Moreover, as we shall demonstrate in the following section, the presence of elite Greek-speaking figures at court, such as the philosopher George Amiroutzes (d. ca. 1480), helps to provide a framework through which we can better understand the relationship between

41. Even the so-called shopkeeper poets of sixteenth-century Istanbul were part of this state-centered elite; it is not possible to see them as a distinct bourgeois class. See Selim Kuru, "Gazel as Genre Among the Ottoman Ruling Elite," in *Routledge Handbook on Turkish Literature-Routledge*, ed. Didem Havlioğlu and Zeynep Uysal, 70–81 (New York: Routledge 2023).

42. In the introductory discourse of his general history, ʿĀlī notes, "In fact, the astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [West Turkish, Chagatai, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation (*farz*), and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition (*sünnet*), then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses (Arabic and Persian) becomes a meritorious act (*müstehabb*), and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden." What he means by "eloquent Turkish" is the ornate and literary register, while he refers to the simple forms of Old Anatolian Turkish as "simple Turkish." See Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, ed. Suat Donuk (Istanbul: Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2020), 1:62–63. For the English translation and a discussion of the context of this passage, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 253–57; for a different interpretation of this passage, see Hagen, "Towards a Social Pre-History," 245–46, 254–54 n. 29.

43. Similarly, the preface of one primer even distinguishes languages that use or do not use the Arabic script. See Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS or. oct. 33, 5r. For an edition and translation of this preface, see Budak, "Teaching Greek."

elite Armenian figures and Meḥmed II during the same time period—especially the courtly presence of another "Amir," the celebrated physician Amirdovlat' of Amasya, who employed Middle Armenian in his massive corpus of medical dictionaries and pharmacopeia.

Instruction in Greek at the Ottoman court in the second half of the fifteenth century, as suggested in part by the corpus of language primers in Greek produced during this period, had at least three objectives: first, to train scribes and secretaries for the chancellery; second, to prepare Greek-speaking interpreters; and third, to recover and promulgate what the Ottomans perceived as ancient knowledge. Scholars have discussed the first two objectives rather extensively.[44] However, Ottoman interest in philosophical and scientific topics from the ancient Greek (and Roman) world is more often overlooked. This antiquarian interest in the ancient Greco-Roman world focused especially on the realms of philosophy, sciences, and historical writing, even while the court maintained a corresponding interest in contemporary Greek writings.[45]

Here a closer examination of the contents of the Topkapı manuscript (Ahmet III 2698) that contains our Hexaglot Grammar is illustrative. As mentioned, this manuscript begins with the Hexaglot (1v–47r). It is followed by yet another adaptation of the *Dānistan* (52v–58v), which lacks any Armenian text, and then by a section of paradigmatic tables for conjugation from the Arabic base word to Greek, Latin, and Persian (67v–73v). The remainder of the manuscript contains supplementary teaching material: one section on the Greek terminology relating to logic (62v–65v); another on the basics of Greek philosophy (74v–81v); one on the correct spelling of ancient philosophers' names (82v–88r); and finally a section on Greek astrological terminology (89v–91r). Like the grammatical sections of the manuscript, these materials are meant to serve as introductions to their subjects. What they reveal, however, is that subjects concerning "the ancients" were intended to be taught alongside elementary language instruction in multiple languages, with primacy given to Greek.

One of the Hexaglot Grammar's sister codices, which similarly was based on the Persian-Ottoman Turkish dictionary and grammar known as the *Dānistan*, helps to make this plain. Presently housed in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin with the shelf mark MS or. oct. 33 (hereafter MS Berlin), this manual was perhaps produced in the mid-1460s, while its binding dates most likely to the end of the 1470s. Its linguistic contents are somewhat different, however: this *Dānistan* is a grammar and dictionary of Greek, Latin, and medieval Serbian, with two long reading assignments in Greek, entitled "The Opinions of Philosophers" and "The Story of the [Lydian] King Croesus and the Sage Solon [of Athens]." These pieces, and particularly the second one, are rich in historical and philosophical detail, suggesting that

44. For example, see Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 15–34; Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millenial Imperial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, 13–52 (New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1991), 39–40.

45. In particular, the evidence we have suggests that the Ottoman court saw the Greek written tradition, philosophy, and science (both ancient and contemporary) as quite compatible with similar fields in the Islamicate world. However, within this general context, the court still displayed a remarkable interest in the antiquity of the Greek tradition. This fashion was also informed and inspired by similar currents in Italy, as mentioned.

their contents were as important to students as their linguistic makeup. Such readings again demonstrate that students were simultaneously taught ancient subjects, primarily philosophy, at the outset of a multilingual language education. Moreover, this sibling manuscript contains an Arabic preface that informs students that Meḥmed II has assembled a collection of books at the palace library in many languages. The statement is suggestive, as though directing students to continue their education elsewhere in the multilingual palace library. Today, the surviving portions of the palace's multilingual library from this period demonstrate a significant interest in ancient philosophy, science, medicine, history, and even mythology.

It is impossible to look at this antiquarian revival, however, without considering its intimate ties to state power. Chiefly, in its pursuit of such knowledge, Ottoman courtly culture presented Meḥmed II as a philosopher king in command of many languages, a topos that was commonplace at premodern courts in this region, including at the Renaissance courts of the Mediterranean and the Hungarian court of Mathias Corvinus in Buda.[46] Numerous accounts bolster this depiction of Meḥmed II as a polyglot "educated king."[47] One of the earliest was written shortly after the conquests of Constantinople by a Greco-Venetian diplomat and humanist named Nikolaos Sekoundinos (d. 1464). In describing Meḥmed II, he draws attention to the particular sort of materials (and instructors) that commanded the sultan's interest:

> While continuously engaged in administration and many great things, as I remarked, he (Meḥmed II) endeavors to devote himself to literature and philosophy. He has a man who is learned in philosophy in the Arabic language; who is allowed to approach the ruler; and who has the right to read him every day at a certain time something worthy of hearing. He (Meḥmed II) also has two physicians: one learned in Latin, the other in Greek. They are very close servants of the ruler (*familiarissime*).[48] Under their guidance, he wanted to learn about ancient history. He was not only interested in the events of the Lacedaemonians (Spartans), Athenians, Romans, Carthaginians, and the other kings and rulers, but he also chose to imitate, above all, Alexander of Macedon and Gaius Caesar, whose exploits (*quorum res gestas*) he had ordered to be translated into his own language. He takes great delight in reading and listening to those.[49]

46. For example, Marsilio Ficino (d. 1499), the most influential philosopher under Medici patronage, similarly fashioned an image of Mathias as philosopher king. See Valery Rees, "Ficino's Advice to Princes," in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy,* ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees, with Martin Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 339–57.

47. Ottoman propaganda that depicted Meḥmed II as a philosopher king had a long reach. To give one example, George of Trebizond wrote directly to Meḥmed II in a manner that reproduced the sultan's own self-image: "Your nature exceeds that of all other kings by so great a degree that you are able to unite with extraordinary perfection the two extreme opposite goods of human nature, I mean the loftiness of kingship and the profundity of philosophy, bringing together as one military leadership and scientific learning." See John Monfasani, ed., *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, NY: the Renaissance Society of America, 1984), 281–82.

48. This phrase implies that these physicians were the sultan's intimate companions in the inner court and privy chamber; they were *familia regis*.

49. Agostino Pertusi, *La Caduta di Costantinopoli: Volume 1. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei: Volume 2.*

Meḥmed II's desire to emulate Alexander the Great (336–323 BCE) or Julius Caesar (d. 44 BCE), reported in these accounts, was also part of his imperial propaganda that furnished the sultan with a genealogy of other philosopher kings. These correlations became somewhat commonplace at the Ottoman court. For example, the author of the *Historia Turchesca* similarly notes that after the conquest of Constantinople Meḥmed II began to see himself as a reincarnation of Caesar.[50]

Another report, attributed to Giacomo Languschi (d. 1453) and included in Zorzi Dolfin's (d. ca. 1458) *Cronaca*, offers a complementary image of the sultan, likewise weaving his performative multilingualism into expressions of state power:

> He (Meḥmed II) aspires to match Alexander of Macedon's glory. Continuously, histories of Rome and others are read to him by a companion of Cyriac of Ancona and another Italian. He has them read Laertius, Herodotus, Livy, Quintus Curtius, chronicles of Popes, emperors, kings of France, and the Lombards. He uses three languages: Turkish, Greek, and Slav.[51]

As these and other reports suggest, in addition to speaking Turkish, Meḥmed II reportedly knew Arabic and Greek. He could certainly read Persian, though his knowledge of Slavic languages remains uncertain.[52] Regardless of his actual command over those languages, it is clear that his court at large was invested in bolstering its multilingual credentials, which, crucially, were tied to its own self-expression of authority. Still, these reports are full of

L'eco del mondo (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1976), 2:130–32.

50. *Historia Turchesca* was written by either Angilolleo, an Italian servant at the Ottoman court, or by Donado da Lezze who could have used Angiolello's memoirs to complete the book. For the relevant passage, see Donado da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, ed. Ion Ursu (Bucharest: Academia Română, 1909), 21–22.

51. Here we have emendated the Italian text in the printed version, which reads "a companion called Cyriac." By consulting its manuscripts, Julian Raby has demonstrated that the original Italian text said "a companion of Cyriac." See Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 242–46. For the original Italian text, though still with this error, see Agostino Pertusi, *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. Antonio Carile (Bologna: Pàtron, 1983), 172–73. For a critique of the attribution of this account to Languschi, see Martin C. Davies, "An Enigma and a Phantom: Giovanni Aretino and Giacomo Languschi," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988): 1–29. cf. the English translation in J. R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1972), 126.

52. It is possible that Meḥmed knew some spoken medieval Serbian, in part because there were many Slavic-speaking servants and concubines at the court. For instance, George of Hungary (d. 1502) claims, with some hyperbole, that Slavic, and not Turkish, was largely spoken at the Ottoman court in Edirne in the mid-fifteenth century. See George of Hungary, *Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum. Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken*, ed. Reinhard Klockow (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), 210. Of course, there has been disagreement about Meḥmed II's knowledge of Greek in historiography. As one among many pieces of evidence, we will mention here the famous humanist George of Trebizond's report to Pope Paul II. George notes that Meḥmed "understands Greek well, Latin not at all (*Grece bene intelligit, Latinam minime*)." See John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 357; also cited in Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," n. 32; and Diether R. Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts in the Sultan's Library," in *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. André Binggeli, Matthieu Cassin, and Marina Detoraki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 112.

revealing details: we learn that Meḥmed's physicians, who were generally versed not only in medicine but also in philosophy and history, read ancient Greek and Latin literature aloud to him. We also learn that one of these physicians was a companion of Cyriac of Ancona, who was commonly accepted as the father of antiquarianism and archeology. Cyriac was on excellent terms with the Ottoman court, and he had met Meḥmed II when he was a child in Adrianople.[53] Cyriac of Ancona's companion, mentioned in the previous passage, has been convincingly identified as Iacopo/Jacopo da Gaeta, a Jewish physician from Italy, who appears as Yaʿḳūb Pasha in Ottoman sources following his conversion to Islam. He was Meḥmed II's personal physician and confidant until the former's death.[54]

As the presence of erudite figures such as Yaʿḳūb Pasha suggests, not all of these purported connections to the Hellenic or Roman worlds were performative. Records of Ottoman patronage indicate that the court engaged in substantial study of Greek and other "non-Islamic" languages, in addition to the bodies of philosophical, theological, and scientific knowledge that circulated in those languages. Meḥmed II's institutional interest in Greek learning is demonstrated in part by this collection of Greek manuscripts and the establishment of a Greek scriptorium.[55] Today, some seventy Greek manuscripts, now housed in libraries around the world, can be associated with his royal collection with certainty; the original collection was likely more extensive.[56]

In addition to polyglot physicians, trained philosophers also joined Meḥmed II's court, further bolstering the activities of its Greek library and scriptorium. Most notably, following the conquest of Trebizond in 1461, Meḥmed II took captive a Greek philosopher named George Amiroutzes.[57] Contemporaries usually refer to Amiroutzes simply as "the philosopher," following the example of Aristotle, who enjoyed the same unadorned epithet.

53. Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, ed. and trans. Edward W. Bodnar with Clive Foss (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 34–35.

54. For Jacopo da Gaeta, see Franz Babinger, "Ja'qub Pascha, Ein Leibarzt Mehmed's II: Leben und Schicksale des Maestro Jacopo aus Gaeta," *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 26 (1951): 87–113; on the identification of the companion in this passage, also see Pertusi, *La Caduata di Costantinopoli*, 2:447 n. 5; Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona," 245.

55. Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium." For an overview of translations from Greek at the court, see Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, ed. Ayla Ödekan and Nevra Necipoğlu, 196–205 (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013).

56. The most up-to-date account of Meḥmed's Greek manuscripts is Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts."

57. For Amiroutzes' writings, see George Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, ed. John Monfasani (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021); George Amiroutzes, *George Amiroutzes: The Philosopher and His Tractates*, ed. John Monfasani (Leuven: Peeters, 2011); Bart Janssens and Peter Van Deun, "George Amiroutzes and His Poetical Oeuvre," in *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Bart Janssens, 297–324 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004). On Amiroutzes' activities, biography, and times, see also Nikolaos Tomadakis, "Ἐτούρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης," *Επετηρίς / Επετηρίδα Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 18 (1948): 99–143; Nicora Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Biens des Amiroutzes d'après un registre ottoman de 1487," *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981): 63–78; Astérios Argyriou and Georges Lagarrigue, "Georges Amiroutzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au christ tenu avec le Sultan des turcs'," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1987): 29–222; Vladimir Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han Hazretlerinin Devrine Ait Tarihi Vesikalar* (İstanbul: Çituri Biraderler, 1945); 94–102.

Just as Alexander the Great had Aristotle, Meḥmed II now had his Amiroutzes. Appropriately, then, Amiroutzes was a fervent Aristotelian. He recalls his first meeting with Meḥmed II in his Greek dialogue entitled *On Faith*, remarking on the sultan's appetite for philosophy in particular:

> I had become, along with all the Greeks, the slave of the Despot of the Romans and Greeks (Meḥmed II) through his conquest of my homeland. He heard something about me; and because he took delight in debates and in philosophy, he engaged me in discussions. And having approved of me, he ordered that I be in constant attendance and follow in the train of the army, as he entered into conversation with me on philosophy.[58]

In his new patron, Amiroutzes found (or chose to depict) an idealized philosopher king, one as stimulated by Greek philosophy as he was by his military campaigns against neighboring powers. Amiroutzes himself was a Greek nobleman from Trebizond, one of those conquered neighbors. As a layman, he had joined the Greek delegation at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) in support of the union of the churches. He later served as *megas logothetes* and *protovestiarios* in the Empire of Trebizond, until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1461, when he became a courtier and personal philosopher to Meḥmed II, positions he retained until his death around the year 1480.

Amiroutzes and his family were instrumental in building the Greek manuscript collection at the palace library. His two sons, Basil and Alexander, both followed in their father's footsteps and likewise became officials of the court. Likely during Bāyezīd II's reign, these sons converted to Islam as Meḥmed and İskender; the latter's sobriquet in Turkish was "son of the philosopher (*feylesofoğlu*)."[59] Basil/Meḥmed was educated as a translator at the court, and assisted his father in translating Greek into Arabic, and at least one work from Arabic into Greek. This was a medical textbook titled *al-Masāʾil fī al-ṭibb li-l-mutaʿallimīn* (Questions on Medicine for Students) by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 873), and was most likely completed in the 1460s.[60] We already know that physicians aided the court's study of philosophy and history, and here we find the corollary of this activity: translators and (presumably) philosophers aiding in the study of medicine.

In fact, Ḥunayn's *Questions* was one of the most extensively read medical works in the premodern Islamicate world. As the title suggests, it was intended as a brief guide to Galenic medicine for students with no previous knowledge of the subject, as well as to serve as a pharmacopeia, of which the Ottoman court had substantial interest.[61] One

58. Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher*, 39–41.

59. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed*, 177; Janssens and Van Deun, "George Amiroutzes," 302 n. 23; Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher*, 6–9.

60. This translation was first brought to our attention via a presentation by Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Elvira Wakelnig at the 2nd Arabo-Greek Workshop held at the University of Mainz on June 9–10, 2023. We are grateful to both scholars.

61. This translation survives in three manuscripts (two of them have the complete text, one partial) in Spain and England. They are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. gr. 001; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Y. III. 14; and Real Biblioteca, Y. III. 17. At least a portion of the later Escorial manuscript was produced by the Ottoman court scriptorium. Moreover, this may be a holograph manuscript. For the time being, we do not have conclusive

manuscript (the Escorial Library, Y. III. 17) that contains Basil/Meḥmed's translation is highly revealing in this regard: it opens with an alphabetical list of plant names translated from Turkish to Greek.[62] This is followed by a Turkish-Latin-Greek dictionary of drugs and plant names; a Turkish-language epistle written in the Greek script; an index that contains the works of Aristotle; and Basil/Meḥmed's Greek translation of Ḥunayn. Finally, it contains a lengthy list of Turkish plant names and pharmaceutics in the Greek script, towards its end. What the translation, if not the manuscript as a whole, suggests, in other words, is that the flow of information at the Ottoman court was not unidirectional across a fixed pathway of languages. Arabic, Greek, and Turkish medical and pharmacological knowledge mixed together (as did these languages and their scripts, if not the people who used them), demonstrating robust forms of intellectual exchange in the multilingual production of knowledge.

Amiroutzes's other son, Alexander/İskender, became the chief treasurer of the court and was likewise an active translator, albeit revealing a different aspect of the court's multilingual activity. After converting to Islam, he composed a translation of Greek Bible verses into Arabic. Beneath these verses, he glosses his translations, again in Arabic, with a polemical exegesis.[63] This strategy of quotation, translation, and gloss also follows the pedagogical program of the Ottoman court's language-learning primers, which often furnished a Greek verse written in red ink in the Arabic script, then a translation, then the author's own remarks in Arabic. This is perhaps suggestive that the same circles involved in preparing the language-learning materials also produced translations at the court, including both scriptural and scientific works. Both circles, after all, were composed of multilingual scholars who sometimes performed multiple jobs including translation, instruction, and composition. For our purposes, much like his brother, Alexander/İskender also draws out an important thread of the court's cultivation of "non-Islamic" languages: their connection to Christian and Jewish theology.[64]

Amiroutzes' Greek *Dialogue* is perhaps the best witness to the entangled role of translators, physicians, and philosophers in this ongoing conversation over religion that played out across languages. The *Dialogue* is a recreation of a debate between philosopher and sultan that continued for many nights in the presence of other courtiers. As it unfolds, the Greek philosopher and Ottoman sultan discuss Christian and Islamic doctrine, as well

data about the handwriting of Basil Amiroutzes. For the manuscripts, see Alejo Revilla and Gregorio de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de Los Códices Griegos de La Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1936–65), 2:161–64, 167–69; Henry Octavius Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars Tertia: Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1854), 1–4.

62. For a detailed description of this particular manuscript and its contents, see Revilla and de Andres Martinez, *Catálogo de Los Códices Griegos*, 2:167–68.

63. For example, the translation begins with John 1:1. The Greek text is provided as follows: اُناَرَشي اِيـنْ اوُ لوُغوُسْ كَتوُ لوُغوُسْ اِينْ بِرُسْـتوُنْ ثَتوَن كَتَيوُسْ اِينْ اوُ لوُغوُسْ. See Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala Ismail 261.

64. For more information on Alexander/İskender and on biblical translations attributed to the Amiroutzes family, see Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos: Epirotica* (Bonn: Weber, 1849), 130–31; Spyridon P. Lampros, ed., *Ecthesis Chronica & Chronicon Athenarum* (London: Methuen & Co., 1902), 36, 46–47.

as philosophical topics such as metaphysics. At one point during their heated conversation, Meḥmed II interjects that perhaps Amiroutzes was fudging the record about the prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Fortunately, the sultan declares, he has a method of verifying whether Amiroutzes speaks the truth:

> Perhaps this is something you are fabricating right now, and it was not really written down. For why is it that the Hebrews, who had the books of the prophets, do not agree with you? Consequently, we want to learn who are the ones who say this and where they say it. And mind you, do not insert anything of your own making. For we have Jacob here, who was once a Hebrew and who can read these books on the spot. He will also be able to read them to us in Arabic.[65]

Amiroutzes thus depicts an Ottoman court that consulted and debated biblical manuscripts and their translations at regular gatherings. The passage also suggests that Yaʿḳūb Pasha, the sultan's Jewish physician from Italy, was capable of translating Hebrew into Arabic. The court library had at least eleven biblical manuscripts in Arabic and Persian; it would also seem, based on this passage, that the court may have possessed not only Greek biblical material but also the Hebrew originals, along with Arabic and Persian translations.[66]

What is most striking about this passage is the collaborative (and sometimes combative) linguistic dynamism between different members of the court, who were able to switch between languages, to verify bodies of knowledge present across multiple languages, and even to translate rather spontaneously, it would seem, as the court negotiated its own religious positionality. Moreover, this sort of debate at court was hardly unique. Two anonymous Greek chronicles from the sixteenth century likewise report that Meḥmed II regularly questioned his courtiers about Christianity;[67] other accounts depict the sultan conversing with the chief rabbi of Istanbul about Judaism.[68] So, too, did he interview Gennadios Scholarios at his patriarchal office in the Pammakaristos Church.[69] As a result of this visit, Meḥmed II commissioned Gennadios to compose two expositions of the Orthodox

65. Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher*, 123.

66. It seems that these eleven manuscripts were copies of earlier biblical translations into Arabic. However, a detailed analysis of all biblical manuscripts that the Ottoman court possessed in the fifteenth century remains a desideratum. For the eleven biblical manuscripts in ʿAṭūfī's catalog lists, see Cemal Kafadar, "Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4), Volume I: Essays*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, 79–153 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 100, 108. For a translation of the Book of Daniel from Syriac into Arabic, which contains marginalia in both Syriac and Hebrew and was commissioned by Meḥmed II, see Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 3367.

67. Bekker, ed., *Historia Politica et Patriarchica*, 117; Lampros, ed., *Ecthesis Chronica*, 36.

68. Charles Berlin, "A Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Chronicle of the Ottoman Empire: The Seder Eliyahu Zuta of Elijah Capsali and Its Message," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History, and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1972), 21–44 at 27.

69. Gennadios Scholarios, *Oeuvres completes de Georges Scholarios*, ed. Martin Jugie, Louis Petit, and Xenophon A. Siderides (Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1928–36), 3:434–58. See also Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios, vers 1400-vers 1472: un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 2008), 105–6.

faith in Greek, which would later be translated into Turkish and Arabic.[70] In other words, as in the case of Amiroutzes, these dialogues not only relied on a variety of texts in different languages, but they also *produced* new texts, likewise in many tongues.

We shall return to many of these threads—particularly those involving multilingualism, medicine, and theology—in the following sections. For now, a few crucial points bear stressing. George Amiroutzes and his circle of late Byzantine intellectuals, many of whom also worked as copyists at the court scriptorium, were at the center of the pedagogical and translation activity at the Ottoman court.[71] Yet alongside these Greek scholars, many others, including Jews, Italians, and at least one notable Armenian physician, also engaged in related intellectual activity at court. Moreover, in addition to many Greek manuscripts, the Ottoman court library collected manuscripts in Latin, Italian, Syriac, Hebrew, Armenian, and possibly other non-Islamic languages. The court also ordered the preparation and purchase of materials to teach many of these languages, along with related scholarly subjects, as we shall discuss. This was a world, in other words, in which one language did not have a monopoly on knowledge production or statecraft; it was likewise a world in which the prevailing language ideology was to demonstrate a universalist command over the many languages that governed statecraft and knowledge production across the broader Mediterranean realm. The early Ottomans were in the business of scaffolding these primary languages of the Mediterranean into their own administrative and scholarly affairs, and, indeed, into their own projections of authority over the formerly Byzantine lands.

It is within this linguistic milieu, in which the future of Ottoman Turkish was far from certain, in which Greek and Arabic medical and philosophical knowledge were valorized, and in which diverse translators, theologians, physicians, and courtiers exchanged knowledge across languages with each other, that Middle Armenian found an unlikely home at the Ottoman court.

Middle Armenian Knowledge Production and the Ottoman Court

The Byzantine Empire resettled many Armenians as a matter of policy. By the ninth century, a significant number of Armenians resided in Constantinople, many of whom were from elite families, such as the Mamikonean, Aršakuni, and Kamsarakan, who sought refuge in the city.[72] The early Ottomans also pursued similar relocation policies following the

70. Mavroudi, "Translators from Greek into Arabic," 96.

71. Amiroutzes also copied a number of Greek manuscripts at the scriptorium. Other copyists who were illustrious figures in the last generation of the Byzantine empire include Matthew Kamariotes, John Dokeianos, John Eugenikos, and Demetrios Angelos. For the manuscripts copied by Amiroutzes himself, see Luigi Orlandi, "La scrittura greca di Giorgio Amirutze: Una proposta," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 56 (2019): 193–222; for preliminaries about the other copyists, see Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium."

72. On Armenian assimilation within the Byzantine Empire, see the overview by Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou, 53–124 (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 1998). Many Armenians seem to have joined the ranks of the Byzantine political elite in Constantinople, such as Patriarch John VII (837–43), who was also known as John the Grammarian and was of possible Armenian origin. Other elite figures, such as Caesar Bardas (d. 866), who patronized the Magnaura University (*Pandidakterion*)

conquest of Constantinople in 1453, in part to replenish the city's population. The Ottoman census of the city in 1477 registered some 400 Armenian households from Karaman, for example; Hayk Pērpērean places the total Armenian population of Constantinople and Galata at around 817 households at this time.[73] In whatever capacity that the settled Armenian populace spoke Armenian in Constantinople, they would have spoken dialectal forms of the medieval vernacular. Sometime in between these Byzantine and Ottoman policies of resettlement, then, Middle Armenian made its way to Constantinople in two primary ways: first, in the mouths and minds of westwardly migrating Armenians; and second, in the Middle Armenian manuscripts that circulated throughout the Anatolian peninsula.

These two threads are tightly braided together in the figure of Amirdovlatʻ of Amasya (d. 1496), an Armenian physician who directly connects the strands of Middle Armenian knowledge production in Cilicia to the milieu in which Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar was produced.[74] Amirdovlatʻ is particularly important to this story, not only because he studied and cites Middle Armenian medical texts produced in medieval Cilicia, but also because he was affiliated with the Ottoman court and with Meḥmed II specifically. Moreover, he composed many texts that draw on his knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Latin, and Greek, such as his *Baṙn Gałianosi* (Glossary of Galen) and the *Axrapatin*, which is an adaptation of Maimonides' pharmacological dictionary, a work he could have had access to directly at the court library.[75]

in Constantinople, had kinship ties to the Armenian Mamikonean dynasty. See also Manea Erna Shirinian, "Armenian Elites in Constantinople: Emperor Basil and Patriarch Photius," in *Armenian Constantinople*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, 53–72 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010). On the material culture of Armenians in Constantinople, beginning in this period, see Ronald T. Marchese and Marlene R. Breu, "Intersection of Society, Culture, and Religion: The Constantinople Style and Armenian Identity," in *Armenian Constantinople*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, 101–37 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010).

73. Hayk Pērpērean, "Istanpuli hay bnakčʻutʻiwnə kʻałakʻin grawumēn minčʻew Fatʻih Mehmet B.i mahə," *Handēs Amsōreay* 76 (1962): 213–27, 405–24. See also Halil İnalcık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2012), 595–99.

74. For select studies on Amirdovlatʻ, see S. A. Vardanyan, *Amirdovlat Amasiatsi: A Fifteenth-Century Armenian Natural Historian and Physician*, trans. Michael Yoshpa, ed. Ara Der Marderosian (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1999); S. A. Vardanyan, "Amirdovlatʻ Amasiacʻu haykakan ałbyurnerə," *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* 1–2 (1994): 209–224; John L. Gueriguian, "Amirdovlatʻ Amasiatsiʻi: His Life and Contributions," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 3 (1987): 63–91; John L. Gueriguian, "Foods and Drinks in Fifteenth-Century Anatolia, as Recorded by Amirdovlat Amasiatsʻi," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 14 (2005): 155–66.

75. According to ʿAṭūfī's inventory, the court library had two copies of Maimonides' *Glossary of Drug Names* (*Sharḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿaqqār*), whose unicum extant manuscript today (MS Ayasofya 3711) once belonged to the Ottoman court. This work is a pharmacopeia consisting of more than 400 entries, providing the names of drugs in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Berber, and Spanish. See Max Meyerhof, "Sur un glossaire de matière médicale arabe composé par Maïmonide," *Bulletin de l'institut d'Égypte* 17, no. 2 (1934): 223–35. For an English translation of the work, see Moses Maimonides, *Moses Maimonides' Glossary of Drug Names*, trans. Fred Rosner (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1979); for 'Aṭūfī 's inventory entry, see Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, eds., *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1: 552, 632, 634, 2:119. Moreover, a copy of the Hebrew commentary by Mordecai ben Eliezer Komatiano (d. 1482) on Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* was completed in the court scriptorium in 1480. See Topkapı Palace Library, G.I. 53; Amirdovlatʻ could have benefitted from this courtly interest in Maimonides. For

It is useful to recall that this set of languages in Amirdovlat'ʼs work, minus Arabic, also mirrors the linguistic contents of the Hexaglot Grammar. Amirdovlat' composed his prolific corpus of medical dictionaries in Middle Armenian, largely in Constantinople, even going as far as to theorize his use of the "vernacular" within this context, as we shall see. Just as importantly, his broad scientific and philosophic interests serve as a foil to those of both Meḥmed II and the intellectual circle of Amiroutzes, providing a microcosmic look at Middle Armenian's many interfaces with scientific knowledge in Constantinople generally, and the court of Meḥmed II in particular. Consequently, in this and the following section, we offer a selective portrait of Middle Armenian in Constantinople at this period in time, expanding upon the linguistic context in which the Middle Armenian of the Hexaglot Grammar was produced.

Amirdovlat' provides a useful case study in how "secular" Armenian figures (by which we mean Armenians who were not priests or monks) participated in knowledge production in the fifteenth century. His name means "Prince of Fortune" in Arabic, though it is written in a Perso-Turkish pronunciation, and is perhaps a reflection of the several mixed Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods of his city, as Cemal Kafadar has observed.[76] He was born in the 1420s in Amasya, in northern Anatolia, which was a thriving center of scholarship and culture. The renowned physician Şerefe'd-dīn Ṣabuncuoğlu (d. 1468) also lived here, composing the first Ottoman Turkish surgical textbook, presented to Meḥmed II upon its completion in 1465 (see Fig. 6).[77] Amirdovlat' seems to have left Amasya sometime in his twenties, only to return much later in life. These sojourns may have included different regions of Anatolia and the Iranian plateau; we know that for a time he also resided in Filibe (Plovdiv, Bulgaria). By his own account, he says that eventually "we came and resided in the metropolis of Constantinople, [where] we collected many writings from other peoples. And, laboring, we learned different (*azgi azgi*) words and nouns, and [their] equivalents, and took their measure, in five languages, by the will of God."[78]

more information on G.I. 53, see Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 17; and D. A. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933), 87.

76. Kafadar, "Between Amasya and Istanbul," 87.

77. Two copies of Ṣabuncuoğlu's surgical textbook (*Cerrāḥiyetʾl-ḫāniye*) were completed by the author himself. One of them, currently in Paris, was presented to Meḥmed II. See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 693; cf. Nükhet Varlık, "Books on Medicine: Medical Knowledge at Work," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4), Volume I: Essays*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, 527–55 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 548; Sabuncuoğlu also translated a pharmacopeia from Persian, entitled *Tercüme-i aḳrābāẕīn*. See Süleymaniye Library, MS Fatih 3536.

78. Amirdovlat' Amasiac'i, *Angitac' anpēt*, 3.

Fig. 6. Şerefe'd-dīn Ṣabuncuoğlu, *Cerrāḥiyet'l-Hāniye*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 693, 21r. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Amirdovlat‘’s activity as scholar, collector, and commissioner of manuscripts is well-known. One scribe reports that he decorated a Psalter with gold at the request of Amirdovlat‘ in 1490; another scribe copied a treatise on the soul for Amirdovlat‘ and his son in 1480.[79] A particularly useful portrait of the physician can be found in the colophon for a collection of Armenian commentaries on the works of Porphyry and Aristotle, copied in Amasya in 1492. Here the scribe establishes his benefactor’s relationship with the Ottoman court, which he says valued Amirdovlat‘’s erudition. In this manner, he praises Amirdovlat‘ as:

> a second Ptolemy of the present age in his study of books, for he has translated many books from the language of the Arabs and the Persians into our speech (*barbaṙ*), knowing expertly their writing and language. He is respected and honored by the kings of the Ishmaelites, for first he resided in the cities of Amasya and then he departed for Constantinople, to the king, who was called Mahamad Khan (Meḥmed II). And after [the latter’s] death, his grandson Sultan Ahmad dispatched and brought [Amirdovlat‘] with him to this city, Amasya, the place of [Amirdovlat‘’s] youth, and welcomed him with much love.[80]

The typological association of Ptolemy with Amirdovlat‘ in this context was likely not coincidental, as Meḥmed II had a particular fascination with the Alexandrian scientist. In fact, the Ottoman palace library housed many copies of Ptolemy’s works, including the *Geography* (G.I. 27 and G.I. 57) and two copies of al-Ṭūsī’s (d. 1274) work on Ptolemy’s *Almagest* (Süleymaniye Library, MS TurhanValide 219, and Millet Library MS Feyzullah 1360), both of which were copied for Meḥmed II’s personal use. Moreover, Amiroutzes translated Ptolemy’s *Geography* into Arabic with the help of his son Basil upon Meḥmed’s commission in 1465. Before this gargantuan task, Amiroutzes had already prepared a world map for the sultan based on scattered maps in Ptolemy’s work.[81] In the case of this colophon, the Armenian scribe leverages Meḥmed II’s interest in Ptolemy as a way of explaining Amirdovlat‘’s apparently multigenerational relationship with the Ottoman rulers, rooted in a corresponding command over many branches of science. If Amiroutzes was the Aristotle of the age, Amirdovlat‘’s circle positioned him as its Ptolemy, seemingly in counterpoint.

79. Amirdovlat‘ Amasiac‘i, *Angitac‘ anpēt*, viii; L. S. Xač‘ikyan, ed., *ZhE dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner. Masn erkrord: 1451–1480 t‘t‘*. (Yerevan: Haykakan SAṘ Gitut‘yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakčut‘yun, 1958), 441–42.

80. Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, ed., *Mayr c‘uc‘ak hayerēn jeṙagrac‘ Maštoc‘i anuan Matenadarani* (Yerevan: “Nayiri” Hratarakč‘ut‘iwn, 2012), 6: 573–76.

81. Today, two copies of this translation survive. See Süleymaniye Library, MSS Ayasofya 2610 and Ayasofya 2596. In addition, George of Trebizond translated his Latin introduction to Ptolemy’s *Almagest* into Greek for the sultan, after Amiroutzes’ recommendation. See Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 281–82. The court library also possessed the Latin translation of Ptolemy’s *Geography* by Jacopo d’Angelo (d. 1411). See Topkapı Palace, G.I. 44. Finally, around the time of Meḥmed II’s death, Francesco Berlinghieri prepared a decorated copy of his Ptolemy translation in Italian (G. I. 84). However, upon receiving the news of Meḥmed II’s demise, he added a second dedication to Bāyezīd, whereas his printed edition was dedicated to the Duke of Urbino.

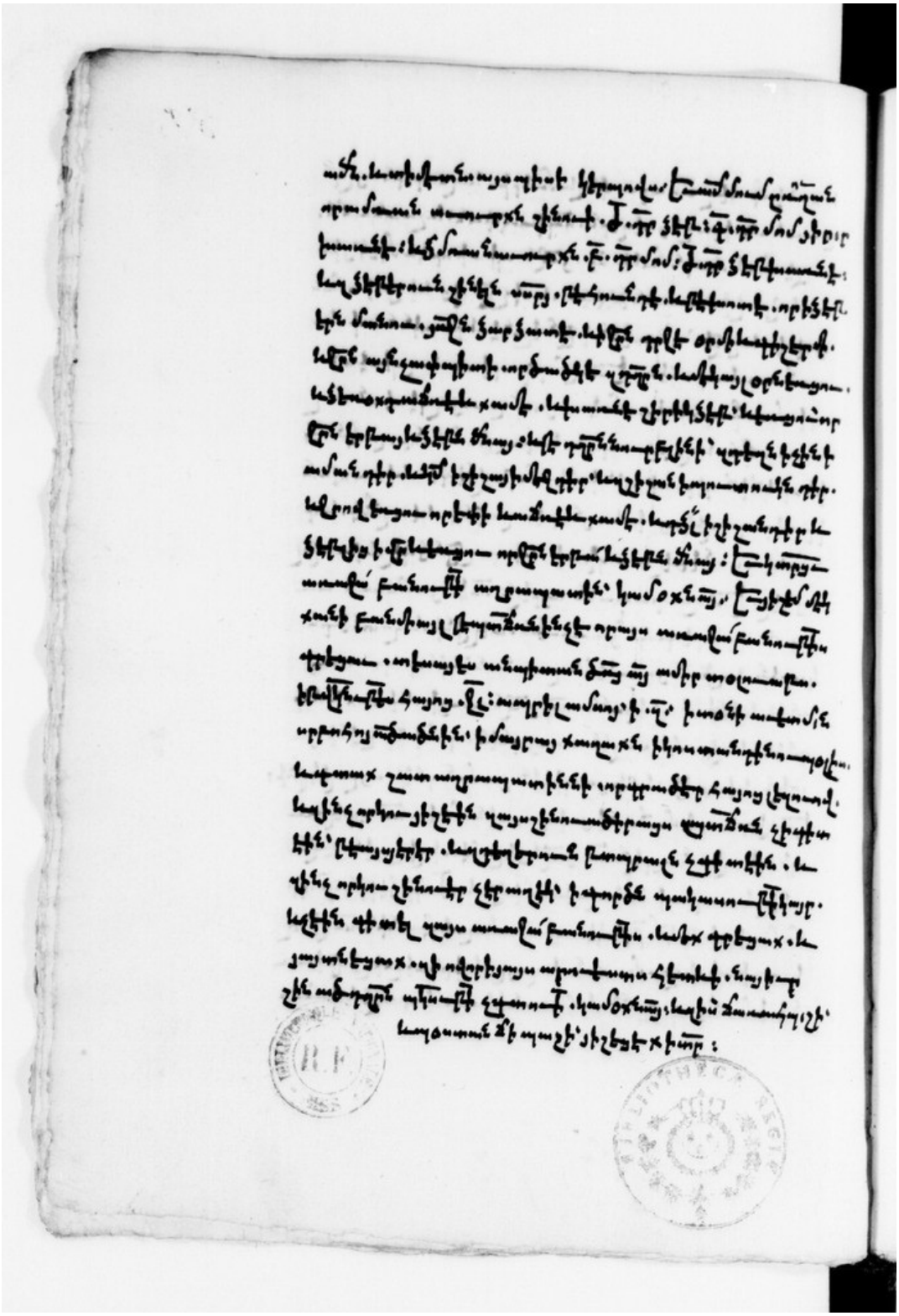

Fig. 7. Colophon referring to Amirdovlat‘ as *cerrāḥ başı* and *bostāncı başı*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arménien 247, 88v. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Amirdovlatʿ states that he served at the Ottoman court in his own writings, though his precise role is somewhat unclear. For instance, at the end of one colophon, he refers to himself using traditional titles of the Ottoman court, asking readers to remember him to God as *cerrāḥ başı* (chief surgeon) and *bostāncı başı* (chief gardener, traditionally a commander of the imperial guard) (see Fig. 7).[82] It is uncertain to what degree (or whether) Amirdovlatʿ's use of these titles corresponds to offices he held.[83] This fact is further obfuscated by his use of the term *bostāncı başı*, which was later reserved for the head of the imperial guard, who also tended gardens and grew vegetables outside of the palace and different parts of Istanbul. Perhaps Amirdovlatʿ had something mundane in mind. Certainly, as he attests elsewhere, his knowledge of gardening and botany was extensive, and he reports that he spent much time wandering the countryside around Constantinople in search of specific plants to use in his medicinal products.[84] Moreover, in calling himself "chief surgeon," Amirdovlatʿ seems to have styled himself in a similar vein as Mxitʿar Heracʿi, who earned the title "chief physician" (*bžškapet*) in Armenian Cilicia, though *cerrāḥ başı* certainly resonates with an altogether different courtly setting.

Whatever the precise standing of Amirdovlatʿ at the Ottoman court, it is clear that he had a complex relationship with Meḥmed II, who forcibly relocated both Armenians and Armenian manuscript culture to Constantinople. In 1480, an Armenian scribe named Martiros described this practice, drawing attention to Amirdovlatʿ's desire to liberate Armenian manuscripts from the sultan's "captivity." In his colophon, Martiros described the days when Meḥmed II demolished the city of Bayburt near the conclusion of a lengthy military campaign:

> [Meḥmed II] brought a psalter, a fine and excellent copy, as captive (*geri*) to Constantinople. The physician Amirdovlatʿ obtained and manumitted this holy book from captivity (*i gerutʿenē*). This happened in the year 922 (= 1473). Moreover, in the year of the Armenian era 928 (= 1479), the *xōntkʿar* (Meḥmed II) drove the Armenian people of the region of Karaman into exile (Armenian: *surkun*; Ottoman Turkish: *sürgün*). And they also brought me, a worthless bit of dust, to Constantinople, [to be put] into the service of our holy vardapet Lord Matʿēos of Sepastia and vardapet Abraham of Trebizond, whom the *xōndkʿar* (Meḥmed II) had brought for the patriarchal office. They did not accept [this office], considering monastic life better than receiving glory from men.[85]

82. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Arménien MS 247, 88v.

83. According to an endowment chart of Meḥmed II's mosque complex drafted in 1470, the complex's hospital had various fixed posts, including one ophthalmologist and one surgeon. We have reports of Amirdovlatʿ serving the Ottoman court in both capacities, but the holders of these posts were not named in the endowment. In addition to personal physicians of the sultan and high dignitaries, the court maintained a hospital to take care of pages and servants in the *enderūn* (internal service). However, we know very little about its form and functions in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it is clear that the court hospital had a *cerrāḥ başı* (chief surgeon). For the endowment chart, see Süheyl Ünver, "Fatih Külliyesine Ait Diğer Mühim Bir Vesika," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 1 (1938): 39–46; For the *cerrāḥ başı* position at the court hospital, see Nil Sarı, "Cerrahlık: Osmanlılar'da Cerrahlık Mesleği," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı 1993), 7:424.

84. Vardanyan, *Amirdovlat Amasiatsi*, 86–87.

85. L. S. Xačʿikyan, ed., *ZhE dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner. Masn erkrord: 1451–1480 tʿtʿ* (Yerevan: Haykakan SAṘ Gitutʿyunneri Akademiayi Hratarakčutʿyun, 1958), 441.

Fig. 8. Detail. Meḥmed II with Armenian celibate priest. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünername*. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS H 1523, 162v. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Numerous other colophons reflect on this policy of resettlement, which also included Armenians from Amasya. Likewise, the Greek historian of the Ottoman court, Kritovoulos, observed that the sultan deported Armenians who possessed "technical knowledge and other qualifications" to Constantinople.[86] Meḥmed II emerges in these accounts as a shrewd figure, one relentlessly expanding the boundaries of his domain even as he seems to have offered the "patriarchal office" in Constantinople to a number of Armenian clergymen before appointing Yovakim of Bursa (d. 1478) to the role in 1461 (see Fig. 8).[87] In this particular colophon, Martiros describes Meḥmed II's seizure of an Armenian manuscript in the same terms as he depicts these policies of resettlement: hence Meḥmed II "captures" the Classical Armenian Psalter as part of a broader campaign of relocating Armenians in exile (*sürgün*). Yet unlike the newly settled Armenians in Constantinople, who must remain against their will, the manuscript is delivered from "captivity" by none other than Amirdovlat', who seems to have benefited from his relationship with Meḥmed II in this case, receiving the manuscript for his use and safekeeping.

But what was Meḥmed II doing with an Armenian Psalter in the first place? Martiros describes Amirdovlat' as having "found" or "obtained" the manuscript, whereupon he was able to rescue it from "captivity." Perhaps he came across this manuscript at the Topkapı palace library, which houses a handful of Armenian manuscripts today.[88] Some of these, such as MS 124 (Old 28), a thirteenth-century Armenian copy of the Gospels from Cilicia, came to Topkapı later in time (in this case, in 1908/9). Others were only copied after Meḥmed II's time, such as MS 122, an illuminated copy of the Gospels that was made in 1584–85. It is possible that this list is not exhaustive, however; Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar suggests that other Armenian texts may still await reassessment, as catalogers have overlooked its Armenian language content partly because it was not housed with the other "non-Islamic" languages.

86. Kritovoulos, the Greek historian who served at the Ottoman court, notes that Meḥmed II "sent to Amastris [Amasra], a city of Paphlagonia and a port on the Euxine Sea, and transported to Constantinople the larger and more able part of its people. He also transported to the City those of the Armenians under his rule who were outstanding in the point of property, wealth, technical knowledge and other qualifications, and in addition those who were of the merchant class. These he took from their homes and removed to the City, and not only Armenians, but also such persons from other nations among his subjects" (Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed*, 140).

87. Contemporary Armenian and non-Armenian sources do not seem to refer to this "office" as the "patriarchate" with consistency or even frequency, however. On the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate, which did not enjoy the same authority in the fifteenth century as it did in later centuries, see especially Bardakjian, "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate."

88. See D. A. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933), 128, 131–33.

Fig. 9. Amirdovlatʻ. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, G.I. 116, 2v. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Fig. 10. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, G.I. 116, 4v–5r. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

For our purposes, the most significant Armenian manuscript in the Ottoman palace is a late sixteenth-century medical treatise, mixed with religious material, composed in a form of Middle Armenian (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, G.I. 116). The codex, a visual feast comprising 307 folios, features a number of peculiarities, the least of which is that its shorthand generally drops Armenian vowels and employs Arabic numerals whenever possible. Strikingly, the codex is illustrated with a series of lively miniatures, including engraved images incorporated from a printed book (fols. 116r, 135v), blending book and manuscript arts.[89] Most germane to this study, its frontispiece features an illustration of none other than Amirdovlat‘ himself. Here Amirdovlat‘ stands attentively on the right hand side, apparently ready to assist the compiler, whose hand is poised over a blank folio (see Fig. 9). Moreover, this miniature is followed by several depictions of pharmacological labor (see Fig. 10), one of which features a second image of Amirdovlat‘, facing another physician, on the right hand side of fol. 4v. Finally, near the end of the codex, we find a third, smaller portrait of Amirdovlat‘, who appears in the upper right-hand corner of a grid containing notable physicians and philosophers (see Fig. 11). These figures of Amirdovlat‘ appear

89. It is well known that early Armenian printed books mimicked the style and layout of early modern and medieval manuscripts; in this manuscript, we find the inversion of this practice: manuscripts selectively mimicking and incorporating aspects of the printed book.

with a yellow nimbus around their heads, as though sainted, much like the depictions of St. Sargis and St. George featured elsewhere in the codex (fols. 291v–292r). Thus, while the manuscript does not date from our period, it does suggest a continuing interest at the palace library in Amirdovlat‘ specifically, along with an explicit nod to his significance as both a physician and an Armenian Christian. It would seem that roughly over a century after Amirdovlat‘’s death, his presence had not faded from the cross-confessional study and practice of medicine at the Ottoman court. Instead, as the miniatures imply, the spirit of Amirdovlat‘ still engaged in the pedagogical labor of instructing other students and physicians in Constantinople.

Fig. 11. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, G.I. 116, 295r. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Beyond the palace library, it is worth expanding our search for Armenian manuscripts in Constantinople to the Armenian Patriarchate, an institution that Meḥmed II established in a limited form, to give us a fuller picture of Armenian manuscript culture in the city. The Patriarchate's library contains many Armenian manuscripts in Classical Armenian, such as a thirteenth-century copy of the Gospels from Cilicia, which bears a colophon stating that its silver cover was stolen in Constantinople during the time of the third Armenian patriarch (MS 20). Similarly, it also houses a fourteenth-century illuminated Psalter from Cilicia (MS 26), which mentions King Lewon III in a colophon, and likely was not so different from the manuscript Amirdovlat' rescued from "captivity." The Armenian Patriarchate also houses scientific and philosophic texts from this period, such as MS 248, a fifteenth-century miscellany that contains an Armenian commentary on Aristotle's categories, a treatise by Nersēs Šnorhali on the astrological signs, and poetry by Yovhannēs of Erzincan, including a lengthy poem on the nativity of Christ.

We do not know if these manuscripts had any relationship to the court of Meḥmed II. Still, it is possible to speculate on the court's apparent interest in an Armenian Psalter in light of the circulation and preservation of such texts, many of which hailed from Armenian Cilicia, in Constantinople at this time. As we have seen, the early Ottomans took an engaged interest in Christianity, sponsoring debates at court on the nature and divinity of Christ since the earliest days of the Ottoman Empire. Most notably for our purposes, in the summer of 1355 a Greek-speaking Christian physician of Armenian descent named Taronites entered into the summer court in Bursa of Orhan (r. 1324–62), who was afflicted with liver disease and needed treatment. Taronites had come at the invitation of Gregory Palamas (d. 1357), the Bishop of Thessaloniki, who had been captured by the Ottomans. When Orhan recovered, he took an interest in Palamas, inviting the latter to join him in theological debate. Yet it was Taronites who preserved these discussions in writing, in his own hand. In this manner, Armenian physicians like Taronites and Amirdovlat' seem to have been present at the Ottoman court both for their access to medical knowledge and for their relationship with Christianity, which was a matter for open discussion.[90] The episode is also particularly notable for its potential connection to Armenian medical knowledge. After all, as noted earlier, the earliest extant Middle Armenian text dates to 1037 and describes treatment for the inflammation of the liver. In a substantial way, Middle Armenian was the language of Armenian medicine; a Middle Armenian presence at the Ottoman court may perhaps have emerged long before the Hexaglot Grammar came into existence.

Last but not least, it is significant that the Ottoman "capture" of a Classical Armenian Psalter did not occur in a vacuum. Alongside Armenian religious texts at the Topkapı Library are a large number of other liturgical Christian works, mostly in Greek, but also in Syriac and Arabic. As we have seen, courtly debates on religion were informed both by the study of manuscripts and by the presence of diverse Christians and Jews who were also present at the Ottoman court. In this context, it is not entirely surprising to find both erudite Armenian figures with relationships to the court, and the court's apparent interest in the collection of Classical Armenian religious manuscripts.

90. Martin Vucetic, "Taronites," in *Christian-Muslim Relations Online I: 600–1500* (Leiden: Brill Online), posted March 24, 2010.

Besides its collection in Classical Armenian, the Patriarchate also houses Middle Armenian manuscripts that explicitly reflect a courtly milieu. These Middle Armenian texts also generally concern medicine in some capacity, showcasing Middle Armenian's utility as a language of knowledge production long after the collapse of Armenian Cilicia.[91] In fact, Amirdovlat' composed the most significant Middle Armenian manuscript in the collection from this period, MS 43 (Old), which was copied in the fifteenth century. This work is his *Ōgut bžškut'ean* (The Benefit of Medicine), originally composed between 1466 and 1469, during a period when the author was absent from Constantinople and residing in Bulgaria.[92] In his introduction, Amirdovlat' correlates the study of religion, the study of medicine, and the relationship between physicians and sovereigns for his readers in quite direct terms. "And moreover be aware," he writes in Middle Armenian in the first line, "that these medicines are opportune for every man to study, for the reason that there is no more glorious [form of] study than this, [that] which always seeks the health of man, [for] the Lord God has made nothing more glorious and honorable than man."[93] To learn the art of medicine, in this light, is to be in compliance with the divine will, as was Moses, who fell deathly ill and yet would accept no medication that did not come from God. Thus, as Amirdovlat' extolls to his readers, "it is opportune for kings and nobles to keep a wise and skillful physician nearby, so that when [such a person] is needed, they would not search [for him] in other places, or bring him from another country, since man does not always remain healthy."[94]

For Amirdovlat', who had presumably been brought to Constantinople by Meḥmed II, these words could not have been more pointed. Not coincidentally, the majority of his introduction concerns the duties a physician has toward the sovereign. As Amirdovlat' explains, medicine is like a weapon (Middle Armenian: *sleh*; Arabic/Persian: *silāḥ*), and needs to be ready for the king to wield, not only at times of sickness but at every occasion; hence, the armsman (Middle Armenian: *slehtar*; Persian: *silāḥ-dār*) must remain close by. The physician must be "erudite and wise" so the king accepts his speech; he must sit with the king at meals and inspect his food, ensuring that the signs of subtle poisons are not present; likewise he must inspect the king's wine, and even the flowers in the palace, for signs of treachery, "since kings and nobles have many enemies;" finally the wise physician must be discrete, keeping the secrets of his patients, and looking after not only the health

91. For example, MS 27, a miscellany from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains an essay that draws on medicinal metaphors to make points about Christianity.

92. The title of this work is reminiscent of other medical treatises cataloged by ʿAṭūfī in the Ottoman palace library, such as the *Kitāb Luqaṭ al-manāfiʿ fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Gleanings on the Benefit of Medicine), composed in Arabic, in particular. See Varlık, "Books on Medicine," 547.

93. Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul MS 43 (Old), 10r. In this particular manuscript, parts of the text are missing at the beginning of new paragraphs where the copyist left space for words in a different color of ink, which were never filled in. For the text translated here, see also the discussion by Donara Karapétian in the introduction to Amirdovlat' Amasiac'i, *Usumn bžškut'eann ē ays*, ed. Donara Karapétian (Yerevan: Matenadaran Press, 2014), xxv–vvxi.

94. Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul MS 43 (Old), 10v.

of a household but its wares and business in general.[95] It would seem that Amirdovlatʻ either spoke from experience or at least framed his manual to be used by students with courtly aspirations. Moreover, the wise physician, whom he calls both a *hakʻim*, using the Arabic/Persian term (*ḥakīm*), and a *bžišk*, the Armenian term, needed to be versed in more than medicine alone. Rather, he implies that the *hakʻim* must be broadly educated and a shrewd observer of human behavior especially.

This emphasis on "study" and learning, addressed explicitly to students (and, one senses in its opening lines, to unnamed kings), is particularly significant. It is a throughline that weaves throughout Amirdovlatʻ's body of work. Nevertheless, it is difficult to surmise, precisely, who these "students" were. As we have seen, emphasis on study was a primary focus of Meḥmed II in his own self-fashioning as an educated king, and this extended to his court at large, including adults and young language-learners at the palace school. The pursuit of study was also a notable feature of the Cilician Armenian court at Sis, where the nobility listened to the recitation of Middle Armenian texts every day in the afternoon.[96] The historical Cilician and Ottoman "students" of knowledge produced in Middle Armenian thus seem to have included cohorts with access to the resources of their respective courts. Amirdovlatʻ's explicit evocation of a courtly milieu (at a time, we should recall, when there were no longer Armenian kingdoms) certainly seems to underscore an elite audience which was affiliated with these courtly circles of learning, whether Armenian or not.

Although this is—to some degree—speculation, it is made more plausible by the existence of the Hexaglot Grammar and its corresponding transliteration system for the Armenian and Arabic scripts, which show that early Ottoman officials did consider Middle Armenian a language worth learning. In very broad terms, it also seems clear what kinds of texts would have been available to such officials: liturgical, historical, and religious works, generally in Classical Armenian, on the one hand; and medical, scientific, astrological, and so-called "heterodox" religious works, such as talismanic prayers and poetry on Christianity, generally in Middle Armenian, on the other.[97] Ottoman rulers and their courts moreover already had elite Armenian religious leaders at their immediate disposal to explain the finer points of religious doctrine to them, hypothetically in a shared tongue such as Greek or perhaps Persian. After all, Meḥmed II reportedly sought to establish, following a period of trial and error, an Armenian patriarchate in his newly conquered city—though, notably, in a far different form than the institution would appear in later centuries—forcibly relocating

95. Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul MS 43 (Old), 10v–11r.

96. Near the end of the thirteenth century, the Dominican traveler Burchard of Mount Sion spent three weeks with King Lewon II, the son of Hetʻum I. Burchard observed that every day at three o'clock in the afternoon, members of the clergy would come and read books to the nobility and their families "in the common tongue (*in uulgari*)," because they supposedly did not know other languages. See Burchard of Mount Sion, O.P., *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. and trans. John R. Bartlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 206–7.

97. These categories, and their general alignment with different registers of Classical and Middle Armenian, are far from absolute and should not be taken as anything other than illustrative here. On so-called "heterodox" material, see the insightful overview of the first five books printed in Armenian in Venice, 1512/13–1513/14, which were based on manuscripts from across Anatolia that were composed in both Classical and Middle Armenian provided in Jean-Pierre Mahé, "La piété de Yakob, premier imprimeur arménien," in *Le Livre arménien de la Renaissance aux Lumières: une culture en diaspora*, ed. Mikaël Nichanian and Yann Sordet, 13–21 (Paris, Éditions des Cendres-Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2012).

many additional Armenian clergymen in the process.[98] The finer points of Classical Armenian theology could be discussed at length, in another language, with the right go-between. It is all the more striking, then, that Ottoman educators at the palace school seem to have reserved the option to teach Middle Armenian and not Classical at this liminal moment in Ottoman history—and not only as a language to speak, but also potentially as a language to read and write.

Of course, it is possible that the Armenian-language contributor to the Hexaglot Grammar only knew Middle Armenian; alternatively, perhaps the Ottomans simply did not care if they communicated in the "vernacular" so long as their message was more or less understood overall. Still, the opposite may also be true: Middle Armenian arguably appears in the Hexaglot Grammar, alongside the other prestige languages of power and culture in the Mediterranean, in no small part because the Cilician project of correlating Middle Armenian with knowledge production and stately authority was so successful that it enjoyed greater longevity than did the Cilician Armenian kingdom itself. As we have labored to show, these two poles—the apparent ubiquity and ease of communicating in the vernacular at one end, and the ongoing use of Middle Armenian as a scientific language, and therefore as a language of elites, on the other—were not mutually exclusive, either.

What Amirdovlatʻ makes certain, at the very least, is that Middle Armenian as a language of knowledge production coincided, geographically, temporally, and even socially, with the program of the multilingual inclusiveness of the early Ottoman court. Most importantly, his presence at Meḥmed II's court suggests that the language's utility in fifteenth-century Constantinople may not have been limited only to a pragmatic need to communicate with the lesser-educated or uneducated Armenians of the empire. In fact, as we shall see, Amirdovlatʻ makes an illustrative case *against* flattening Middle Armenian into an indiscriminately universal mode of communication for Armenian audiences at this moment in time. Rather, his was a language whose diverse specializations interfaced with the other major languages of the Mediterranean world, and moreover did so for the benefit of specific audiences.

Amirdovlatʻ and The Worlding of Middle Armenian

Fortunately, we do not have to speculate about how Amirdovlatʻ considered his own vernacular: he theorizes his use of Middle Armenian in relation to other languages rather explicitly. In general, he clearly labels his Middle Armenian as *ašxarhabaṙ*, meaning "vernacular" or "worldly speech," or as a *ṙamkakan* (vulgar) language.[99] Moreover, he tends to frame his turn to the vernacular as a deliberate choice.

98. See Bardakjian, "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate."

99. This seems to be the case for Amirdovlatʻ's *Girkʻ ṙamkakan* (Common or Vulgar Book), which he says was adapted from the *tačik* (Arabic or Persian) language into Middle Armenian. See Gueriguian, "Amirdovlatʻ Amasiatsʻi," 72. He may also refer to the vernacular simply as "the Armenian language" in other instances. For example, in one manuscript, he complains that he found many medical texts in Constantinople that were full of errors "in the Armenian language." See Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arménien MS 247, 88v. Given the widespread use of Middle Armenian as a language of medical practice, this would seem to be a reference to the vernacular, though of course one should not preclude the possibility that it is instead a description of Classical Armenian.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in his masterwork. In 1478, after returning to Constantinople, Amirdovlatʿ began to write the *Angitacʿ anpēt* (Useless for the Ignorant), a monumental pharmacopeia that Kafadar has called "an astonishing achievement," despite it being virtually ignored by Ottoman studies.[100] Its title is reminiscent of other medical works cataloged by the Ottoman scholar and librarian ʿAṭūfī in the palace library, such as Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Kutubī's *Kitāb Mā lā yasaʿu al-ṭabīb jahlahu* (Book of What No Physician Can Afford to Be Ignorant).[101] Not coincidentally, as we shall discuss, it also extensively cites many authors of medical treatises housed at the Ottoman palace library. Perhaps most importantly, however, Amirdovlatʿ's masterwork contains over 3,700 entries that employ a mixed lexicon in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Byzantine Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Old French (along with an abbreviation system to mark words in these languages, as Amirdovlatʿ explains in his introduction). Appropriately, as a linguistic foil to the Hexaglot Grammar, *Useless for the Ignorant* is written entirely in the Armenian script.

It took Amirdovlatʿ four years to complete this work, a time which he observes overlapped with the death of Meḥmed II and a turbulent period of succession in Constantinople. Nevertheless, he opens his introduction by stating that he wrote this book in the age of Meḥmed II, mentioning the conquest of Constantinople specifically, and then goes on to name contemporary figures such as the Armenian catholicos Sargis III and the second Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Nikolayos. Amirdovlatʿ explicitly states that after he arrived in Constantinople he "collected many writings from other peoples."[102] Based on this assembly of manuscripts, one assumes, he then fashions an intellectual genealogy to burnish his own medical credentials, beginning with the Cilician physician Mxitʿar Heracʿi and other Armenians, and encompassing many notable doctors who wrote in Greek or Arabic, such as Galen, Dioscorides, Ibn al-Bayṭār, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).[103] Just as he does for his languages, Amirdovlatʿ also fashions an abbreviation system to mark the names of these other physicians, so that readers can easily understand the many sources he cites in *Useless for the Ignorant*. It is worth noting that the Ottoman palace library housed an extensive collection of medical works composed by Galen, Dioscorides, Ibn al-Bayṭār, and Ibn Sīnā, and many other physicians from this period, as cataloged by the librarian ʿAṭūfī.[104] Hence it is not difficult to imagine that Amirdovlatʿ conducted some of his studies there, in the same library where the Hexaglot Grammar was in use. Certainly, we know of instances when courtiers or state officials studied the books at the court library or borrowed them;[105]

100. Kafadar, "Between Amasya and Istanbul," 87.

101. Varlık, "Books on Medicine," 537.

102. Amirdovlatʿ Amasiacʿi, *Angitacʿ anpēt*, 3.

103. Amirdovlatʿ Amasiacʿi, *Angitacʿ anpēt*, 3.

104. Out of the 341 manuscripts cataloged under medicine or subjects related to medicine by ʿAṭūfī , one work is attributed to Dioscorides (in Arabic translation), eighteen to Galen (in Arabic translation), two to Ibn al-Bayṭār, and thirteen to Ibn Sīnā. Additional manuscripts include commentaries, especially on Galen and Ibn Sīnā. See Varlık, "Books on Medicine".

105. One illustrative example is found in Mordecai Komotiano, whose commentary on Maimonides was mentioned previously. Born in 1425 in Constantinople, Komotiano was a good representative of the generation which experienced the definitive shift from Byzantine to Ottoman rule. Thanks to his knowledge of astronomical

the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha even ordered medical books in Latin for the use of Yaʿḳūb Pasha.[106] At the very least, it is clear that Amirdovlatʻ sought to bridge the gap between the Cilician body of medical knowledge, composed in Middle Armenian, and the primary works of other physicians, composed largely in Greek and Arabic, already under study at Meḥmed II's court.[107] His genealogy achieves this in theory; the rest of the pharmacopeia sets about to do this in practice.

After an overview of the principles of pharmacology, Amirdovlatʻ finally explains his choice to write in the vernacular at the end of his introduction. Despite possessing a seemingly simple style, Amirdovlatʻ makes it abundantly clear that his "worldly speech" encompasses more than widely spoken or vernacular grammatical forms. Most crucially, his Middle Armenian or "worldly speech" contains within it the diverse lexicons of the world:

> And moreover let us ask "why was this book [made] in worldly speech (*ašxarhabar*)?" And this is [due to] three reasons. One: It is this way because every man cannot read [classical] grammar (*kʻerakan*) or profane books, so that one might comprehend these obscure things; for this reason it was made in worldly speech. And the second reason for being in worldly speech is that we mixed in other words, [such as] terms we found from the Arabs/Muslims (*i tačkacʻ*), and these words were necessary for us, in order to acquire the remedies of the Arabs/Muslims. And the third reason is that in this

instruments, he gained the appreciation of an Ottoman Ḳāḍīʿasker (head of the religio-legal apparatus) in Constantinople in the 1460s. He also completed a work on Persian astronomical tables against the criticisms of Christian scholars, chiefly Isaac Argyros, in 1463. As mentioned earlier, his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide* was copied in the court scriptorium in 1480, along with many Greek manuscripts. It is demonstrated conclusively that Komotiano used one particular Greek manuscript from the court collection (G.I. 1) in preparing his Hebrew mathematical treatise entitled the *Book of Calculation and Measurements*. For a granular examination of how Komatiano used G.I. 1, which contained the unique copy of Hero of Alexandria's *Metrica*, see Tony Lévy and Bernard Vitrac, "Hero of Alexandria and Mordekhai Komtino: The Encounter between Mathematics in Hebrew and the Greek Metrological Corpus in Fifteenth-Century Constantinople," *Aleph* 18, no. 2 (2018): 181–262. ʻAṭūfī mentions in his inventory that he classified the books at the court according to disciplines which would make finding them easier when requested by the patrons. In addition, and just as demonstrative, some manuscripts from the court library have notes indicating that they had been checked out by readers. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4), Volume I: Essays*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, 1–77 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 30.

106. Between 1466 and 1467, Maḥmūd Pasha sent two letters to the Senate and Rector of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in order to help acquire Latin medical books from Italy for the use of Yaʿḳūb Pasha. In the second letter, he thanked the Rector for the three books he had so far received and asked for another three, one of which was a Latin commentary of Avicenna's *Canon* by Taddeo Alderotti (d. 1295) and Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), and another of which was Marsilio Santa Sofia's (d. 1405) edition of Avicenna's *Canon*. Unfortunately, the titles of the other books are not listed in the surviving letters. See Julian Raby, "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 3 (1987): 15–34, at 303.

107. For a kindred study that examines the exchange and interface between Greek and Arabic language medical works in the Byzantine empire, see Maria Mavroudi, "Arabic Terms in Byzantine *Materia Medica*: Oral and Textual Transmission," in *Drugs in the Medieval Mediterranean: Transmission and Circulation of Pharmacological Knowledge*, ed. Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, 130–83 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

> book there is Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Turkish; it is because of this that this book is adapted from other languages. Thus, there are many words (*baṙer*) in this book, and it is in the vernacular (*ašxarhabaṙ*).[108]

There are many layers worth excavating here. Let us begin with the question of who has access to Middle Armenian. Amirdovlatʻ says that not every person can read classical "grammar," and for this reason he wrote in the vernacular. It is also worth observing that the majority of Armenian grammars were generally not language textbooks; rather, for the most part, they furnished philosophies of language, and they largely did so in Classical Armenian. Hence, when the physician says that he wrote his medical dictionary in Middle Armenian, he implies that his language renders grammatically obscure knowledge comprehensible to those who are not otherwise invested in studying the philosophy of language or the "profane" writings of the ancients, generally referring to non-Christian authors. In the corpus of Armenian manuscripts, the writings of these ancients were usually translated in the classical language. The case here is different: Amirdovlatʻ's Armenian is outwardly facing, looking toward the world and not toward the clerical specialist of *grabar*.

The next two reasons that he gives concern the worldly character of Middle Armenian, as both relate to the presence of foreign scientific terms and foreign words in general. In the first case, Amirdovlatʻ tells us that *he* took these words from "Muslims" and mixed them into his own Middle Armenian idiolect, precisely because these terms were attached to bodies of knowledge that he wanted to render in Armenian. These lexical "remedies" moreover provide a clear example of how Middle Armenian speakers continued to cultivate the vernacular even in the absence of the Cilician court. It is revealing that Amirdovlatʻ does not find the Classical Armenian equivalents of these words, but rather transliterates them into the Armenian script and then meticulously labels their linguistic origins. Hence Amirdovlatʻ labors upon Middle Armenian as a whole, through the microcosm of a medical word book, so that his language could express ideas about the physical world in a way that would be legible within a broader epistemic and linguistic ecosystem.

His final statements are the most revealing. "This book is adapted from other languages," Amirdovlatʻ tells us. He does not say exactly that the book is adapted from other texts, and perhaps we should simply take him at his word. This book, and in fact Middle Armenian itself, is composed of many other lexicons: Arabic, Persian, Byzantine Greek, and Turkish, as he names here; Syriac, Old French, and Latin, as he states elsewhere. Tellingly, Amirdovlatʻ does not seem to think of these words as indigenous to the Armenian lexicon, but rather as terms that preserve their outsider status *as part* of the Middle Armenian lexicon. In other words, he is implicitly contrasting the Middle Armenian lexicon as a whole against its Classical Armenian counterpart (whose own manifold borrowings from other tongues were no longer considered foreign words by this time). In this light, Middle Armenian is therefore a language that contains the languages of the world within it, preserving, and not collapsing or erasing, multiple striations of cultural and linguistic difference.

108. Amirdovlatʻ Amasiacʻi, *Angitacʻ anpēt*, 25.

Amirdovlatʻ employs a deft play on words to stress this point. Referring to the multilingual lexicon contained in his Middle Armenian word book, he says simply "Thus, there are many words (*baṙer*) in this book, and it is in the vernacular (*ašxarhabaṙ*)." Here he offers the secondary spelling of the Armenian word for "vernacular," which is traditionally written as *ašxarhabar*. The earliest uses of this latter spelling are adjectival, and they mean "worldly," as opposed to the classical language *grabar*, the written or "bookly" language, perhaps referring to the earliest writings in *grabar*, which were translations of the Bible (and hence not "worldly"). Yet Amirdovlatʻ does not offer the traditional adjectival spelling of the word. Instead, he uses a homophonic pun made of two parts: *ašxarh*, meaning "world" and "country," and *baṙ*, meaning "word" and "speech." Therefore, when he says that "there are many words in this book (*baṙer*), and it is in *ašxarhabaṙ*," he literally means that Middle Armenian (and by extension, his pharmacopeia) contains within it the "words of the world." Or, as he more simply states in a poem at the end of his book,

> I composed and completed any word that is [here],
> From [any] term of medicine as I found it.
> I completed this in five languages, which I studied,
> From the Armenians, and from the Greeks, and from the Arabs,
> and the Persians, and the Turks, and a little from the Latins.[109]

Middle Armenian may be a "vernacular" language, but it is thus in dialogue with far more than only its "classical" tongue. Rather, Middle Armenian looks to Arabic, Greek, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Old French, Latin, and Classical Armenian for its lexicon; it brings together diverse bodies of knowledge, also culled from sources in disparate tongues; and moreover it does so in a manner that is contrasted against the philosophical tradition of "grammars" in Classical Armenian, the sacred language of the Bible.

In this light, it is clear that Amirdovlatʻ's Middle Armenian is not simply (or exclusively) the spoken language of Armenian people in Constantinople. That is why he calls his book *Useless for the Ignorant*. "We made this book and verified it with many words and histories," he writes,

> so that whoever reads it will understand easily, [but] the ignorant will not benefit from it. We named this book *Useless for the Ignorant*; I am indebted to scholars and am the servant of all philosophers. [Poem]
>
> Become a follower of wisdom;
> If you don't study, you're an ignorant physician!
> Become learned, to these words be not indifferent,
> The name of this book is *Useless for the Ignorant*.[110]

Like the forms of Middle Armenian employed by physicians in Cilicia, this language is designed to aid one's education, yet is still a language of the educated, "useless for the ignorant." Plainly, it is a professionalized language of the elite, and it houses within itself a storehouse of learning culled across both the manuscript record (in many languages)

109. Amirdovlatʻ Amasiacʻi, *Angitacʻ anpēt*, 623.

110. Amirdovlatʻ Amasiacʻi, *Angitacʻ anpēt*, 2. The use of poetry in medical works was also a common feature of the genre in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at this time.

and the natural world. It is clear, long after Cilicia had fallen to the Mamluks, that Middle Armenian continued to attract speakers who expanded its cultural and linguistic boundaries to produce knowledge for an educated readership.

Revealingly, Amirdovlat''s approach to transmitting knowledge in fifteenth-century Constantinople also conforms to a broader pattern. From a pedagogical perspective, he shares much with the language learning manuals housed at the palace library, beginning with his invocation of Meḥmed II and his form of address to students. MS Berlin, one of the Hexaglot Grammar's sister codices that we discussed earlier, helps to make this plain. It is a product of the scriptorium of Meḥmed II and predates Amirdovlat''s *Useless for the Ignorant* by at least a decade. Its linguistic contents are somewhat different, however: this *Dānistan* is a grammar and dictionary of Greek, Latin, and medieval Serbian, with supplemental readings in Greek.

Still, it shares much in common with the pedagogy behind *Useless for the Ignorant* and the Hexaglot Grammar. The manual's introduction declares Meḥmed II as the ruler of two great lands and two great seas, a collector of manuscripts and a learner of many tongues. Most importantly, it states that Meḥmed II was explicitly engaged in the labor of rendering bodies of knowledge, present in disparate languages, intelligible for students at court:

> He (Meḥmed II) has collected books in various languages and has [ordered] the preparation of documents to explain confusing phrases in those languages with his grace. With the help of this copy, the student may, on his own, joyfully enter a desert of words of ambiguous origins. The one who wishes [to learn a language] may on his own step in a garden of precise phrases and chapters with the agency of this [book]. And I have named it the *Book of Appendices of the Dānistan in the Languages of Greek and Serbian*.[111]

Like Amirdovlat''s *Useless for the Ignorant*, this too is a product of assemblage at the Ottoman court: the bringing together of many books in different tongues, an act that likewise has necessitated a corresponding form of language cultivation. As we have seen, Amirdovlat' undertakes this labor by expanding the lexicon of Middle Armenian to include vocabulary from most of the primary languages of interest to the Ottoman court. Moreover, he carefully explains where each of these terms originated from, marking his dictionary with an abbreviated mark, while expanding upon their meanings in his clear Middle Armenian style; he even promises to explain any difficult word in Armenian so that "the reader may understand with ease, and the student may study with ease, and that nothing at all remain hidden, but rather be apparent."[112] In contrast, the Greek-Latin-Serbian *Dānistan* undertakes its program of study not to expand the pharmacological lexicon of any single language, but rather to bring students with knowledge of Arabic and Persian closer into the orbit of "non-Islamic" languages, so that they may better understand *the other books* in the sultan's library, in addition to the diverse traditions and bodies of knowledge of the many peoples of the empire.

111. See *Staatsbibliothek*, MS Berlin, shelf mark or. oct. 33, 5r–6r.

112. Amirdovlat' Amasiac'i, *Angitac' anpēt*, 25.

In all of these cases, these textbooks serve to draw the reader into greater fields of knowledge. In the *Dānistan*, this knowledge concerns Greek philosophy; in *Useless for the Ignorant*, the field of knowledge is primarily pharmacological, an area which was also of great interest to the Ottoman court, judging by the many medical works housed at the palace library. What clears the way for students of either text, and what binds together these manuals and the manuscript collections they evoke, is a form of linguistic labor: the programs of language study and cultivation that make knowledge production possible for sovereign and student alike. For both pharmacological and grammatical works, it is not coincidental that these forms of language study name Meḥmed II alongside other scholarly luminaries (see Figs. 12, 13). As Amirdovlat‘ and the *Dānistan* suggest, the cultivation of language and knowledge were intimately tied to the forms of power that produced them, in tandem, as part of a shared program of fashioning and performing erudition at court.

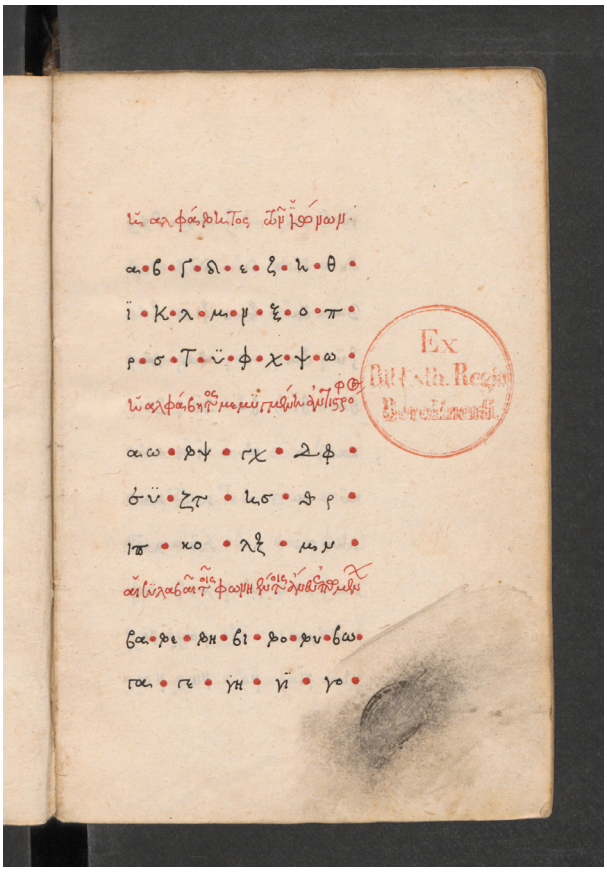

Fig. 12. The Greek alphabet.
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. oct. 33, 343v.
Photo courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

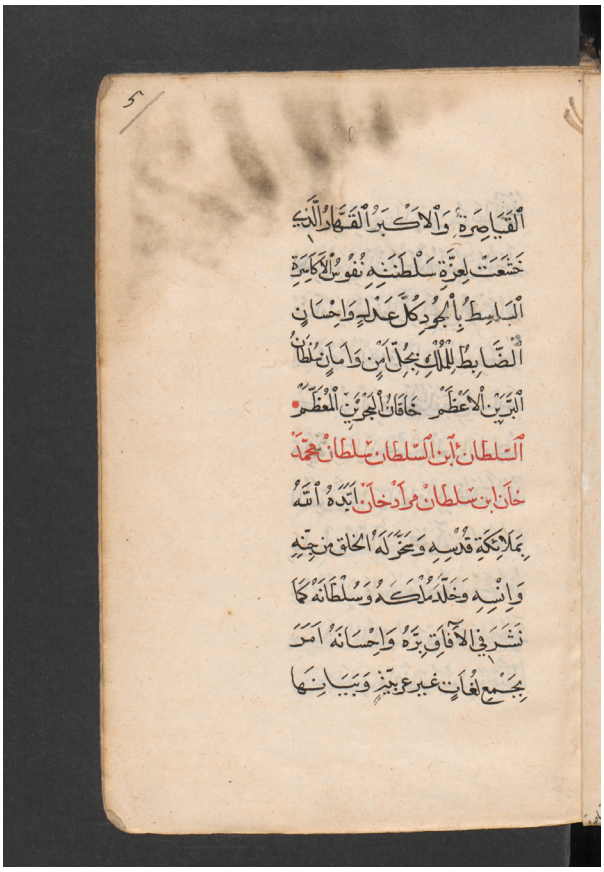

Fig. 13. The preface containing Meḥmed II’s name, highlighted in red ink.
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. oct. 33, 5r.
Photo courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Conclusion: Vernacular Knowledge Across the Sea in the Middle

It is in this context that we return to Meḥmed II's Hexaglot Grammar, which likewise houses within it the languages of the world, telling a collective story about Ottoman language ideology during a pivotal moment in the empire's history. These are the languages of Mediterranean empires and kingdoms: Persian, Classical Greek, Byzantine Greek, Latin, Ottoman Turkish, and Middle Armenian. As we have shown in the case of Middle Armenian, and as scholars have demonstrated in numerous other contexts, these tongues were also significant languages of knowledge production around the Mediterranean world. Of course, this does not mean that each language held the same function or status as far as the Ottoman court was concerned.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Middle Armenian of the Hexaglot Grammar is quite similar to the "worldly speech" that Amirdovlat' uses in his medical word book in terms of its lexicon and grammar. Like Amirdovlat', the Hexaglot Grammar features a wide array of nouns for plants and animals that could have a number of possible applications, including pharmacology. So, too, does the Hexaglot cover a substantial number of terms for human anatomy. In a complementary vein, its verbs similarly concern the actions of everyday life. Here, too, it is possible to discern an overlap with the labor of physicians and pharmacologists, all those whose work required them to collect and to gather, to cut and to spread, to join and to separate, to knead and to boil, to melt and to cook, to measure and to purify, to sew and to study diverse materials. Of course, this is not the only application that such terms have; like language itself, the Hexaglot Grammar's uses are open-ended. These same word sets, which are based on other language primers at court, would be fruitful for any language learner to memorize at the start of their education. At the same time, it is worth observing that a good many of these terms would not seem especially related to the communicative needs of the chancellery. Rather, they are words that are fixed in the sphere of daily life, rooted in the material world and its celestial analogues.

As we have seen, Middle Armenian was a language whose speakers in fifteenth-century Constantinople were both aware of the high number of foreign loanwords in their vernacular language, and actively sought to augment additional medicinal, pharmacological, and botanical terms in their ongoing cultivation of this "worldly speech." Amirdovlat' was hardly the only participant in this process. For example, a Middle Armenian-Arabic-Latin medical dictionary from the fifteenth century, housed by the Mekhitarist Armenian Catholic Congregation in Vienna (MS 310), likewise speaks to a specialized need to create legibility in the medical field across different languages in the Mediterranean.[113] As in the earliest recorded days of Middle Armenian writing, it is clear that many of the incidental cultivators of Middle Armenian during this period were physicians, who cared for their patients in part by caring for the tongue they spoke. In the case of Amirdovlat', of course, this was not always done for purely scientific purposes. Instead, the cultivation of Middle Armenian as a medical language (and hence the production of medical knowledge at and adjacent to the court) also seems to have helped him to navigate, and make room for himself within, the nascent imperial enterprise of the Ottomans.

113. See the study by J. Karst, "Das trilingue Medizinalglossar aus Ms. 310 der Wiener Mechitharisten-Bibliothek," *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* (Marburg: Elwert, 1904), 2:112–48.

Fig. 14. Beginning of the "Nouns" portion. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS A 2698, 33v. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Hence, we may consider the placement of Middle Armenian within the Hexaglot Grammar as more than merely additive; rather, it provides a visual heuristic for considering both the status of Middle Armenian at this moment in time and the Ottoman court's language ideology before the imperial ascendancy of Ottoman Turkish. As Amirdovlat‘ implies, his language contains within it "the words of the world;" it is outwardly facing to meet the diverse lexicons that it folds back into itself. This interiority and exteriority of Amridovlat‘'s "worldly speech" is made legible by the Hexaglot Grammar in many ways. One is by Middle Armenian's absorption of terms of Persian and Arabic origin, which in a few cases would be plain to readers who already knew Persian, as these loanwords appear not in the Armenian but rather the Perso-Arabic script.[114] Such loanwords showcase some of the ways in which Middle Armenian domesticated the languages of state power and knowledge production in the Mediterranean, repurposing these words to be used by Armenian speakers, in Armenian-language texts.

More important, what one might call the middle-ness of Middle Armenian is not merely interior. Middle Armenian is, quite literally, a language in the middle, as it was first generally cultivated in its written form by Cilician Armenians in dialogue especially with Outremer French, Greek, Arabic, Latin, and Persian—those other major languages of the Mediterranean, the "sea in the middle." Middle Armenian took its literary and lexical cues from these languages in different ways, selectively borrowing terms and translating texts as a way of incorporating Armenian within broader cultural and epistemic ecosystems. The Hexaglot Grammar performatively brings these interconnections to the fore, as it gathers together Middle Armenian alongside the languages of knowledge production and state power both east and west of Cilicia itself (see Fig. 14). It implicitly acknowledges, in other words, that Middle Armenian is part of the linguistic landscape of the broader Mediterranean world, and moreover, that it was part of the language hierarchies, cultivated by the Ottoman court, which served both ideological purposes and pedagogical aims at the same time. Significantly, this language landscape overlaps with the linguistic terrain that Amirdovlat‘ covers in his various writings, as he too drew a nearly identical set of languages together to facilitate the development of medical and botanical knowledge, and, even more, knowledge that he often frames for use at court.

We ought to expand this frame even further. In fact, the production of the Hexaglot Grammar corresponds to a period of the flourishing of the Armenian vernacular along the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Most notably, from 1512/13–1513/14, a mysterious figure known as Yakob Mełapart (Jacob the Sinful) published the first five books in Armenian, which he compiled from manuscripts in both Classical and Middle Armenian. It is unknown even if Yakob was Armenian. We only know that Yakob operated in the city of Venice, where print culture was thriving in many languages, witnessing the publication

114. Thus, in an entry with the Persian base verb مزاح کردن, meaning "to joke," the corresponding Armenian entry is written ԳՆՉԱԼ ԱՆԵԼ , which calques the Middle Armenian verb *anel* ("to do") with the Persian loanword *gangal*, meaning "jesting" or "joke." The verb exists in Persian as گنگل کردن, again meaning "to joke." In other words, for a reader with knowledge of Persian, the Middle Armenian entry essentially gives a synonym, in Persian, for the Persian base entry. For a reader with knowledge of Persian, reading in the Arabo-Persian script, Middle Armenian's use of this loanword and its interface with the Persian language would be extremely obvious.

of grammars of Greek or Latin. Still, despite these mysteries, the three most dominant themes in Yakob's books should not surprise readers here: generally, these are texts of a religious, astrological, and/or medically adjacent nature, as in the case of prayers to heal the infirm. Similarly, though we do not know for whom these books were published, it is worth considering that in 1537–38, Paganino and Alessandro Paganini printed the Qur'an in Venice, for the first time in Arabic, likely to sell at Ottoman markets in Constantinople. It is not difficult to imagine that the earliest Armenian printed books, which also featured many texts in Middle Armenian, were likewise intended for a market where there was already interest in such subjects, especially among both Armenians and non-Armenians alike.[115]

Suggestively, when we correlate the language learning interests of the Ottoman court, grounded in the Hexaglot Grammar and its sibling codices, alongside the activities of other prominent Armenian figures elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the hazy outlines of many other untold histories begin to swim into view. Of course, this is not to say that the Ottoman court drove Middle Armenian knowledge production in other cities like Venice, Vienna, or Amasya. Rather, it is to observe that both the court and these other Armenian actors were caught up in a similar linguistic and epistemic fabric, one which was broadly arrayed across the eastern coastline of the Mediterranean Sea, even as each tugged at its hem differently.

What the combined portraits of our diptych collectively present, then, are different horizons of possibility for what the medieval Armenian vernacular could become and could do, post-Cilicia. Some of these possibilities were clearly glimpsed by the Ottoman court, which engaged in the hitherto unknown project of studying the Armenian vernacular through the production of different language-learning materials. Others were seen by Amirdovlat' of Amasya, who cultivated a professionalized language at once accessible and "useless for the ignorant" as he moved in and out of court. Still other possibilities were gleaned further abroad by Venetian printers like Yakob, who reproduced religious and astrological texts with vernacular leanings, or by the compilers of the Middle Armenian-Arabic-Latin medical dictionary, which aimed to make other epistemes legible in the Armenian tongue. All of these conform to a moment in time in which the Armenian vernacular had survived the kingdom that first nurtured it in writing, and moreover, had gone on to live a life of its own, often eclipsing its Classical counterpart in certain fields of knowledge production and in its proximity to courtly power.

By fashioning this portrait of a language in fifteenth-century Constantinople, we similarly aim to suggest new possibilities for telling the history of the Armenian vernacular, an endeavor which has largely been undertaken by linguists until recently. As we have shown here, Middle Armenian was cultivated, more than once, on Mediterranean shores. It was a product not only of its contact with multiple other languages, but to a lesser extent, also of multiple courtly settings where the primary cosmopolitan and vernacular languages of the Mediterranean congregated, swapping knowledge and scripts with one another. And finally,

115. On the use of Middle Armenian in Yakob Mełapart's fifth book, the *Tałaran* (Songbook), see Michael Pifer, "Reading Hakob Meghapart's *Songbook* (Venice, 1513/14): On Middle Armenian and the First Printed Volume of Armenian Poetry," *Turcica* 54 (2023): 287–324. On premodern Armenian book markets, see especially Sebouh David Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility: Port Cities and Printers across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023).

it was a language that thrived in places in the middle: between the decline of Byzantine Greek and the ascendancy of Ottoman Turkish; between the emergence of the Ottomans as an Anatolian principality to their transformation as a cross-continental empire; and, perhaps most of all, between moments of disaster for Armenians themselves. Thus, Middle Armenian was more than simply the rustic language of "the people" in Constantinople, yet it also occupied a different and more tenuous position in Ottoman language ideology than did many other scientific vernacular and cosmopolitan languages of the premodern Mediterranean. Better to call it a tongue of many peregrinations, traveling across diverse communities, bodies of knowledge, and alphabetic horizons, long after the Armenian court in Sis had ceased to exist. Better to call it, perhaps, a survivor's cant.

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Appendix: Armenian Verbs and Selected Nouns of the Hexaglot Grammar

To provide a sampling of the materials found in the Hexaglot Grammar, here we present the infinitives and a selection of nouns from its entries. These lists represent one of the most extensive premodern attempts to record and study the Middle Armenian lexicon. They are also remarkable for their open-ended scope. As noted in our companion article, this vocabulary would not appear to be narrowly limited to a single field or profession; rather, it includes a wide range of human activity. Our primary intention here is thus to provide the reader with a closer glimpse into the Hexaglot's pedagogical content in Armenian; to showcase some of its Middle Armenian vocabulary in a more systematic fashion; and finally to preserve something of the scribe's approach to writing Armenian words in the Arabo-Persian script. We do not attempt to undertake a proper linguistic analysis, or to weigh in on matters of dialect and pronunciation, which we leave to more capable disciplinary hands. Instead, we present these entries in the same generalist spirit as the Hexaglot itself, sharing its aim of facilitating additional study in an open-ended manner.

To illustrate the extent of the Middle Armenian vocabulary present in the Hexaglot Grammar's verbs, we have classified each entry as inherently part of the Classical Armenian or Middle Armenian lexicon. However, readers should note that written Middle Armenian also drew heavily from the Classical Armenian lexicon in a diglossic relationship. In other words, from the perspective of Middle Armenian, these lexicons are not mutually exclusive; the Hexaglot Grammar is, therefore, not "classicizing" the Armenian vernacular in its use of Classical Armenian verbs. Conversely, however, one would generally not expect a Classical Armenian text to make such heavy use of Middle Armenian verbs.

This appendix does not showcase the many conjugations of verbs contained within the Hexaglot Grammar; nor does it present the entirety of the Hexaglot's even more extensive dictionary of nouns. It is also worth noting that unlike the verbs, the nouns in the Hexaglot more generally conform to the Classical Armenian lexicon. This may be in part because Middle Armenian texts frequently made use of loanwords of Persian and Turkish origin, which are already supplied here by their corresponding entries. Hence, it may be reasonable to suppose, at least in the context of the Hexaglot's production, that its compilers were somewhat conscious of the difference between the Armenian lexicon and its more recent borrowings from other languages, as was Amirdovlat‘ in his own writings.

Finally, the scribe occasionally renders two words in Armenian as a single word in the Arabo-Persian script, perhaps suggesting that an Armenian speaker was dictating words aloud for him to record. Of course, for now, this is only a supposition. Future attempts to parse the pronunciation of Armenian words in Constantinople based on the Hexaglot may wish to consider the potential ambiguity of this factor, though one still senses that the scribe has a sharp ear, to say the least. In general, we render the reconstructed Armenian word according to its conventional Armenian spelling, except in cases where MA preserves an attested wordform that matches the Arabic spelling more closely, or as otherwise noted.

It seems appropriate to end these preliminary remarks by quoting from linguist Jos J. S. Weitenberg's adept analysis of the Armenian glossary of Autun: "A more detailed study will certainly be worth the reward."[116]

116. Weitenberg, "Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun," 21.

Verbs

	Persian Base Word	English Translation	Armenian Equivalent in Arabic Alphabet	English translation	Armenian Reconstructed	Classical Armenian (CA) or Middle Armenian (MA)
1	دانستن	To know	كِدْنَالْ	To know	գիտնալ	MA
2	شناختن	To know; to discern	حَصْقِنَالْ	To understand	հասկնալ	MA
3	اموختن	To teach; to learn	اوُصْنِيلْ	To learn	ուսնիլ	MA
4	خواندن	To read; to study	قَرْتَالْ	To read; to study	կարդալ	CA (to read) /MA (to study)
5	نوشتن	To write	قِرِيَلْ	To write	գրել	CA
6	فرمودن	To command, order	هِرَامَلْ	To command, order	հրամել	MA
7	نمودن	To show	چِچْنِيَلْ	To show	ցցնել	MA
8	آمدن	To come	قَالْ	To come	գալ	CA
9	رَفتن	To go	قِنَالْ	To go	գնալ	CA
10	رُفتن	To sweep	آوْلِيَلْ	To sweep	աւլել	MA
11	نشستن	To sit	نِصْتِيلْ	To sit	նստիլ[117]	CA
12	برخاستن	To rise; to stand	قَكُنِيلْ	To rise; to stop	կա[ն]գնիլ	CA
13	بردن	To take; to carry off	دانِيلْ	To take; to carry off	տանիլ	CA
14	اوردن	To bring	پَرْيَلْ	To bring	բերել	CA
15	خوردن	To eat	أُودَلْ	To eat	ուտել	CA
16	اشامیدن	To drink	خَمَلْ	To drink	խմել	CA
17	نوشیدن	To drink	خَمَلْ	To drink	խմել	CA

117. The Armenian letter տ (phonetically “t” in Classical Armenian pronunciation and “d” in modern Western Armenian pronunciation) is often rendered by the letter ت (“t”) in the Arabic script in the Hexaglot, though not always. Cf., for abundant examples, the selection of nouns below. The same is sometimes true of the letter բ (phonetically “b” in Classical Armenian pronunciation and “p” in modern Western), which is represented in different entries by the letters ب (“b”) and پ (“p”).

18	لیسیدن	To lick	لَزِيَلْ	To lick	լեզել	MA
19	خائیدن	To chew	چَاميَلْ	To chew	ծամել	CA
20	فرو بردن	To swallow	قِلْنُولْ	To swallow	կլնուլ	CA
21	چشیدن	To taste	حَامْدَسيَلْ	To taste	համտեսել	MA
22	گواریدن	To digest	مَارْسيَلْ	To digest	մարսել	CA
23	بوییدن	To smell	خُوْدْوِرَالْ	To smell; to inhale fragrance here and there	խոտուըրալ; attested MA forms are հոտուըրալ / հոտվրալ	MA
24	دیدن	To see	دَسْنُولْ	To see	տեսնուլ	MA
25	گزیدن	To bite; to sting	خَزْنِيلْ	To bite; to sting	խածն[ե]լ	MA
26	شنیدن	To hear	لَسِيَلْ	To hear	լսել	CA
27	گرفتن	To take; to catch	پِرِيَلْ	To take; to catch	բռնել	CA
28	مزاح کردن	To joke	كَنْكُل آتِيَلْ	To joke	գանգալ անել	MA, with *gangal* being a loan of New Persian origin
29	گزیدن	To choose	هَنْدِرِيَلْ	To choose	ընտրել	CA
30	بوسیدن	To kiss	بَاقْنِيلْ	To kiss	պագն[ե]լ	MA
31	مکیدن	To suck	چِيچَلْ	To suck	ծծել	CA
32	خفتن	To sleep	نَنْجِيَلْ؛ كُنْلِنَلْ	To sleep	ննջել, քուն[ ] ըլնալ[118]	CA (ննջել)/ MA (քուն ըլնալ)
33	نویدن	To moan; to complain	قِرْتِنِيلْ	To lean; to lie; to rest	Scribal error; see entry below	
34	غنودن	To sleep; to repose	قِرْتِنِيلْ	To lean; to lie; to rest	կոթն[ե]լ	MA

118. As happens many times in the Hexaglot, the two words in Armenian քուն ըլնալ are written as a single word in the Arabic script, perhaps suggesting that an Armenian speaker was dictating verbs aloud for a scribe to record. This possibility may also help to account occasionally for slight discrepancies in transliteration between different scripts.

35	در آغوش کردن	To embrace	قِرْكَلْ	To embrace	գրկել	CA/MA
36	نگرستن	To look	نَايِلْ؛ هَايِلْ	To look	նայիլ, հայիլ	CA
37	پروردن	To nourish, foster	صِنْچِنيَلْ	To nourish, feed	սնցնել	MA
38	پذيرفتن	To accept, receive	اَنْدُونِيلْ	To accept, receive	[ը]նտունիլ[119]	MA
39	كردن	To do	آنِيَلْ	To do	անել	MA
40	شدن	To be; to become; to be doing	آنِيلْ؛ لِنَالْ	To do; to be	անիլ, լինալ	MA
41	بودن	To be; to become	آنِيلْ؛ لِنَالْ	To do; to be	անիլ, լինալ	MA
42	ماليدن	To rub, polish; to knead; to grind	مَارْچِيَلْ	To rub; to massage	մարձել	MA
43	مالانيدن	To make polish; to make knead	مَارْچِيَلْ دَالْ؛ آجِرِيلْ دَالْ	To make massage; to make rub; to make wash with soap	մարձել տալ, աճռ[ե]լ տալ	MA
44	دوشيدن	To milk	قِتِيَلْ	To milk	կթել	CA
45	دوشيده شدن	To be milked	قِتَانْ لِنِيَلْ	To be with milk, milkable	կթան լինել	CA
46	لرزيدن	To tremble, shake	تُوغَالْ	To tremble, shake	դողալ	CA
47	لغزيدن	To slip, slide, fall	صَاهِيلْ؛ قِتَاهْرِيَلْ	To slip; to trip, fall	սահիլ; քթահրել	CA/MA
48	گفتن	To say, speak	خُوسِلْ؛ آصِيَلْ	To speak; to say	խօսիլ; ասել	CA
49	ترسيدن	To fear	وَاخِنَالْ	To fear	վախենալ	MA
50	ترسانيدن	To frighten	وَاخْچِنِيلْ	To frighten	վախցն[ե]լ	MA
51	افتادن	To fall; to lie	اِكْنِيلْ	To fall	ա[ն]կնիլ	MA

119. If we read this entry according to a Classical Armenian pronunciation, the Armenian reconstruction would simply be the CA ընդունիլ, with the Arabic letter ډ representing the Armenian դ.

52	انداختن	To throw; to scatter; to eject; to make	قَاشِيَلْ	To cast, throw; to strike; to extract; to last	քաշել	MA
53	واخیدن	To beat or card cotton	پَمْبَقْ قِزْيَلْ	To separate or divide cotton	բամպակ կի[u]ել[120]	MA
54	پنهان کردن	To conceal, abscond	بَاهِيَلْ	To keep; to hide	պահել	CA
55	افکندن	To throw, cast	چِقِيَلْ	To hurl; to shoot	ձգել	CA
56	نهادن	To put, place	تِنِيَلْ	To put, place	դնել	CA
57	هشتن	To put; to allow; to leave	پَاچْتُوغُولْ	To loose; to leave; to free	բաց[ ]թողուլ	CA
58	گذشتن	To pass	آَنْچْنِيلْ	To pass	անցնիլ	MA
59	وَر داشتن	To pick up; to carry off; to raise	وَرْچِنِيَلْ	To raise; to pick up; to accept	վերցնել	MA
60	رُبودن	To rob, seize	خِلِيَلْ	To seize; to take away	խլել	CA
61	بار داشتن	To be pregnant	يَتْبْرِيَلْ	To prohibit, impede[121]	ետ[ ]բռնել	MA
62	فریفتن	To deceive	خَابِيَلْ	To deceive, trick	խաբել	CA
63	شستن	To wash	لِوَنَالْ	To wash; to bathe	լուանալ	CA
64	پاک کردن	To purify	صُورْپَايِنَلْ	To purify	սուրբ[ ]այնել	MA
65	پوشیدن	To conceal; to cover	چَارْكُلْ	To conceal; to cover	ծածկել[122]	CA

120. Here the Arabic ز (“z”) is presumably used for the Armenian u (“s”).

121. Here the Armenian and Greek entries follow the Ottoman Turkish and not Persian.

122. Note here the different letters in Arabo-Persian used to render the letter ծ in the same word (unless one assumes a phonetic pronunciation of “dzazgel”).

66	پوشانیدن	To make cover; to clothe another	چَازْگَلْ دالْ	To make cover	ծածկել տալ	MA
67	پجیدن [sic]	To envelop; to twist	پَاتّیلْ	To be wrapped, enveloped	փաթթիլ	MA
68	اسودن	To rest, repose; to pacify, soothe	هاَنْقِچِیلْ	To rest, repose	հանգչիլ	CA
69	ارآمیدن	To rest; to cause to be at rest	هاَنْقِچِیلْ	To rest, repose	հանգչիլ	CA
70	ارامانیدن	To cause to be quiet	هاَنْقِچِنِیلْ	To make rest; to pacify	հանգցնել	MA
71	سوختن	To burn	اَرِیلْ	To burn	ա[յ]րիլ	CA
72	سوُزانیدن	To set on fire	وَارِیلْ	To set on fire	վառ[ե]լ	CA
73	افروختن	To set on fire; to blaze, flame	پُوچناَلْ	To be burned; to flame	բոցնալ	MA
74	زدن	To strike, beat	زَایِنِیلْ	To strike, blow	զայն[ե]լ	MA
75	کوفتن	To break; to beat	زِچِیَلْ	To beat	[ծ]եծել	CA
76	خسته شدن	To be wounded; to fall sick	هِوِنْدِناَلْ	To fall sick	հիւ[ա]նդ-[ա]նալ[123]	CA [?]
77	بیهوش شدن	To faint, fall unconscious	خَلِقَنچِنِلْ	To lose consciousness	խելք[ ]անցնել	MA
78	مردن	To die	مِیرْنِیلْ	To die	մեռնիլ	MA
79	کشتن	To kill	سِپاَنّیلْ	To kill	սպանն[ե]լ[124]	MA

123. This spelling conforms to CA; MA also preserves the forms հիւանտ and հիւընդութիւն, which may parallel the pronunciation of the Arabo-Persian spelling here.

124. Note here the use of the Arabo-Persian پ for the Armenian պ.

80	زیستن	To live, to subsist	وُخْچِنالْ	To heal; to recover one's health; to gain fresh vigor	ողջնալ[125]	MA
81	بستن	To bind	قَابِيَلْ	To bind	կապել	CA
82	گشادن	To open	پاَنَالْ	To open	բանալ	CA
83	بانگ زدن	To exclaim; to cry out	قَانْچِيَلْ	To exclaim; to cry out	կանչել	CA
84	تن زدن	To rest	خاَغوِيلْ	To rest	խաղուիլ	MA
85	خاموش شدن	To be quiet	خاَغوِيلْ	To be quiet, tranquil	խաղուիլ	MA
86	گماريدن	To assign; to ascribe; to appoint; to smile	چاَنْقِتِينِيلْ	[?][126]		
87	گريستن	To weep	لاَلْ	To weep	լալ	CA
88	گريانيدن	To make weep	لاَچْنِيَلْ	To make weep	լացը[ը]նել	MA
89	خنديدن	To laugh	خِنْدَالْ	To laugh	խնտալ[127]	MA
90	فرستادن	To send	غِزْكَلْ	To send	ղրկել	MA
91	سپردن	To entrust, give over	آبِصْبِرِيَلْ	To entrust, give over	ապսբրել	MA
92	چسپيدن	To adhere, stick	قِبْچِيلْ	To adhere, stick	կպչիլ	MA
93	چسپانيدن	To fasten, make stick	قِبْچِنِيَلْ	To fasten, make stick	կպցնել	MA
94	فشردن	To squeeze, press	قَامْيَلْ	To squeeze, press	քամել	CA

125. Here the Armenian entry would seem to follow the Ottoman Turkish.

126. Unable to reconstruct with confidence; the first portion of the verb may be the noun ցանկ "list." The solution ցանկ[ ]դ[]ն[ե]լ, presumably "to list" or "to register," has resonance with the Hexaglot's other languages and with the corresponding entry in MS Berlin, yet it is unlikely that the Hexaglot would spell դնել differently than entry 56.

127. Could alternatively be read as CA խնդալ.

95	افرین گفتن	To praise	لِمَانْ هَاونِيلْ	To be totally pleased; to totally approve of	լման հաւնիլ	MA
96	نفرین گفتن	To curse	آبَاقُوويلْ	To blame, dispraise	ապագով[ե]լ	CA
97	جاییدن	To reside, take up an abode[128]	چِرْدَانَالْ	To urinate; see entry below	Possibly ջ[ու]ր[ ] [թ]անալ	CA
98	چامیدن	To urinate	چِرْدَانَالْ	To urinate	Possibly ջ[ու]ր[ ] [թ]անալ	CA
99	افسردن	To freeze	پَاغْيِلْ	To freeze	պաղիլ	CA
100	مانستن	To resemble	نِمَنِيلْ	To resemble	նմանիլ	CA
101	بایستن	To be necessary	بِدِنَالْ	To be necessary	պիտենալ	MA
102	شایشتن [sic]	To suit, agree; to be necessary	آَرْثِكْلِنِيلْ	To be worthy, valuable	աժնիկ[ ] լին[ե]լ	MA
103	توانستن	To be powerful, able	أُورْژُوْرْنَالْ	To become powerful	ուժուորնալ	MA
104	رمیدن	To be liberated, freed	خَالِصِيلْ	To be liberated, freed	խալըսիլ	MA
105	رستن	To be liberated; to escape	زِرْزَانِيلْ	To be liberated, freed	զերծանիլ	CA
106	رهانیدن	To liberate; to rescue	خَالِصِيلْ دَالْ	To liberate, free	խալըսիլ տալ	MA
107	بیهوده گفتن	To talk idly; to babble	چِرخُوصِلْ	To speak nonsense, in vain	[q]ր[ա]-խօսել[129]	CA
108	پیمودن	To measure	چَايِيلْ	To measure	չափել	CA

128. The Turkish equivalent in this entry mistakenly translates the Persian as "to urinate." Other languages seem to have followed the Turkish translation.

129. In this case, only the noun qrախou is attested in CA. The entry may perhaps alternatively derive from ծռախou "crooked speaker."

109	دریدن	To rip	بَاَدْرِيَلْ	To rip, tear	պատռել	MA
110	بریدن	To cut	قِدْرِيَلْ	To cut	կտրել	CA
111	پژمده شدن	To wilt, fade	طُولْمِيلْ	To wilt, fade	թոռմիլ	MA
112	دوختن	To sew	قَاَرِيَلْ	To sew	կարել	CA
113	شکستن	To break	قُودرِيَلْ	To break	կոտրել	MA
114	تباه شدن	To be spoiled, ruined	آَوِرِيلْ	To be spoiled, ruined	աւրիլ	MA
115	گسیختن	To break; to disconnect; to tear	قِدْرِيَلْ	To cut; to separate	կտրել	CA
116	کشیدن	To draw, extract; to lead away	قَاَشِيَلْ	To draw, extract; to lead away	քաշել	CA
117	گردیدن	To turn; to walk about, go round	صِرْچِيلْ	To walk about, go round	սրջիլ, perhaps a scribal error for շրջիլ	CA
118	گردانیدن	To divert; to drive around	صِرْچِچَنِيَلْ	To make walk; to make go around	սրջեցնել, perhaps a scribal error for շրջեցնել	MA
119	زود رفتن	To go swiftly	شُوثْقِنَاَلْ	To go swiftly	շուտ[ ]գնալ	MA
120	دیر امدن	To come late	اُوشْ قَاَلْ	To come late	ուշ գալ	CA
121	خاریدن	To scratch	كَزِيَلْ	To scratch	քերել	CA
122	خراشیدن	To scratch, scrape	چَانْقِرْتِيَلْ	To scratch	ճանկռտել	MA
123	خزیدن	To creep; to crawl	صُوغَاَلْ؛ قِصْوِيلْ	To creep; to crawl; to be rubbed	սողալ; քսուիլ	CA/MA
124	خیرگی کردن	To make treachery, act treacherously	قَاچُوتِيَنَايِنِيلْ	To do valorous acts, perform heroic deeds[130]	քաջութի[ւ]ն[ ]այն[ե]լ	MA
125	پرّیدن	To fly	طِرْچِيلْ	To fly	թռչիլ	CA

130. This is another example of the Hexaglot's entries following Ottoman Turkish and not Persian.

126	پرانیدن	To cause to fly	طِرْچِيَلْ	To cause to fly	թռչել	MA
127	جَستن	To jump; to rise; to run away	اُوزِيَلْ	To want; to wish; to request	ուզել	CA/MA [NB: Here there is a scribal error confusing this entry with the following one]
128	جُستن	To search, inquire, ask for	وَازْيَلْ	To run; to leap; to bound	վազել	CA [See previous entry]
129	دریافتن	To find out, perceive, understand	اِيمَانَالْ	To find out, perceive, understand	իմանալ	CA
130	لافیدن	To boast, vaunt; to fail in keeping one's promise	پَارْزِنَالْ	To boast, vaunt; to be vain of	պարծենալ	MA
131	مژده دادن	To give good news	آوِيدِيَلْ	To give good news	աւ[ե]տել	MA
132	یافتن	To find	قِدْنُولْ	To find	գտնուլ	MA
133	بافتن	To weave, intertwine	قُورْچِيَلْ	To work, make, do; to knit; to twist	գործել	CA
134	ریستن	To spin, twist	مَانِيَلْ	To spin, twist; to weave	մանել	CA
135	تافتن	To twist; to bend; to heat	اُولْرِيَلْ	To twist	ոլրել	MA
136	اسا کشیدن	To yawn	اَرِنْجِقِدَالْ	To yawn	երնճկտալ	MA
137	عطسه زدن	To sneeze	پِرِنْقِدَالْ	To sneeze	փռնքտալ	MA
138	فروختن	To sell	چآخِيلْ	To sell	ծախ[ե]լ	CA
139	خریدن	To buy	قِنْيَلْ	To buy	գնել	CA

140	خِرانیدن	To make purchase	قِنیَلْ داَلْ	To make purchase	գնել տալ	CA
141	ستدن	To take, carry off	آَرْنوُلْ	To take, carry off	առնուլ	CA
142	دادن	To give	داَلْ	To give	տալ	CA
143	بر نشستن	To sit upon; to mount, ride	چِیاَوُرِلْ	To mount, ride a horse	ձիաւորել / ձիավորել	MA
144	فرو آمدن	To descend	اِچْنُولْ	To descend	իջնուլ	MA
145	خواستن	To desire, want	اوُزْیَلْ	To desire, want	ուզել	MA
146	ریختن	To pour, spill	واَتْیَلْ	To pour, spill	վաթել	MA
147	گریختن	To flee, escape	پاَخْچِیلْ	To flee, escape	փախչիլ	CA
148	گریزانیدن	To put to flight	پاَخْزِنِیَلْ	To put to flight	փախցնել	MA
149	استادن	To stand; to stop	قَکْنِیلْ	To rise; to stop	կա[ն]գնիլ	CA
150	زائیدن	To give birth; to come forth, appear	اِنْزَایلْ	To be brought forth; to present oneself	ընծայիլ	CA
151	رُستن	To grow; to spring	پُوسْنِیلْ	To grow; to spring	բուսնիլ	MA
152	چریدن	To graze, pasture	آَرْزِیَلْ	To graze, pasture	արծ[ի]լ	MA
153	جرانیدن	To cause to graze	آَرْزَلْ	To cause to graze	արծել	MA
154	باریدن	To rain	آَنْزَرَوِیَلْ	To rain	անձրեւել	CA
155	آبادان کردن	To build; to make habitable	شَنْ قَیْنَلْ	To build; to make habitable	շէն կայնել[131]	MA

131. Alternatively, perhaps շէն[]ք այնել.

156	جاوید شدن	To become eternal, everlasting	آَنْخَاخثْ	Immovable, stable, fixed (adjective)	անխախ[տ][132]	MA
157	نازیدن	To put on a haughty air; to boast of oneself	كِنْكُوشْنَالْ	To indulge oneself; to give oneself airs	քնքուշնալ (unattested word; CA is քնքշիլ)	MA
158	باختن	To play; to lose	خَاغَالْ	To play	խաղալ	CA
159	بازیدن	To play	خَاغَالْ	To play	խաղալ	CA
160	دویدن	To run	وَاَزْوِرْدَلْ	To jump, skip	վազվ[զ]տել	MA
161	دوایدن	To make run	وَاَزْوِرْدِچَنْيلْ	To make jump, skip	վազվ[զ]-տեցն[ե]լ	MA
162	تاختن	To hasten, rush, run	وَاَزْيَلْ	To run	վազել	CA
163	رسیدن	To arrive	هَاسْنِيلْ	To arrive	հասնիլ	MA
164	ماندن	To remain	مِنَالْ	To remain	մնալ	CA
165	رها کردن	To set free, quit, leave	طُوغُولْ	To set free, quit, leave	թողուլ	CA
166	نالیدن	To groan; to lament	هَزْيَلْ	To groan; to lament	հեծել	CA
167	زنویدن	To howl	أُوزْنَالْ	To howl	ոռնալ	CA
168	در امدن	To come in	نِيَسْقَالْ	To come in	նե[ր]ս[ ]գալ	CA
169	برون آمدن	To come out	تُوسَلْنِيَلْ	To go out	դու[ր]ս[ ]ելնել	MA
170	اشارت کردن	To point; to give a sign; to allude; to inform by mute sign	اِيمَاچْنِيَلْ	To inform	իմացնել	MA
171	جنبیدن	To move; to stir; to throb; to copulate	ژَاژِيلْ	To move (intransitive)	ժաժիլ	MA
172	جنبانیدن	To move (transitive)	ژَاژْچِنِيَلْ	To move (transitive)	ժաժցնել	MA

132. One may also read this entry as անխաղթ, as the Arabic خ would also appear to signify the Armenian ղ in some cases.

173	چکیدن	To drip; to trickle	قَاَتِيلْ	To drip; to trickle	կաթիլ	CA
174	جکانیدن	To make drip; to make trickle	قَاَتْحِنِيَلْ	To make drip; to spill	կաթ[ե]ցնել	MA
175	پنداشتن	To think; to imagine; to consider; to understand	آَنِزْجِيَلْ	To dream; to fall into a revery	անրջել	MA
176	اَنگاشتن	To suppose; to imagine	آَنِزْجِيَلْ	To dream; to fall into a revery	անրջել	MA
177	کشتن	To till; to reap; to mow	حِرچِيلْ	To be cleft, split, riven	հերձիլ	MA
178	اندوهگین کردن	To grieve	صُوقِوْرْ آَيْنَلْ	To mourn, grieve	սուգուոր այնել	(irregular and unattested form; more commonly uգաւորիմ, to grieve)
179	پسندیدن	To approve; to like	حاَوْنِيلْ	To like	հաւնիլ	MA
180	بُرازیدن	To decorate; to befit	وآَيْلِيَلْ	To enjoy; to befit; to possess	վայլել	MA
181	بیختن	To sift	ماَغِيَلْ	To sift	մաղել	CA
182	پختن	To cook; to be cooked; to ripen	اَپِيلْ	To be cooked; to ripen	[ե]փիլ	CA (to be cooked)/ MA (to ripen)
183	پزیدن	To cook; to be cooked; to pinch	اَپِيَلْ	To cook	[ե]փել	CA
184	سرشتن	To mix, knead	شاَغْوِيَلْ	To mix, knead	շաղվել	MA
185	جوشیدن	To boil; to shoot forth	اَرَالْ	To boil; to gush	[ե]ռալ	CA

186	کوشیدن	To try; to labor	چانَالْ	To try; to labor	ջանալ	CA
187	تواضع نمودن	To be humbled, humble oneself	خُونَارْهِيلْ	To be humbled, humble oneself	խոնարհիլ	CA
188	گذاختن [گداختن]	To melt	حَلِيلْ	To melt	հալիլ	CA
189	گدازانیدن	To melt (transitive)	حَلِيَلْ	To melt (transitive)	հալել	CA
190	امیختن	To mix, mingle (transitive and intransitive)	خَارْنِيلْ	To mix, mingle (intransitive)	խառնիլ	CA
191	شکافتن	To split; to cleave	چِخْكَلْ	To split; to cleave	ճեղքել[133]	CA
192	اغشتن	To moisten; to cut; to defile	No Armenian entry			
193	انگیختن	To excite; to provoke; to tear; to pull off	پَدْيَلْ	To pull or pluck out	փետել	CA
194	برخوردار شدن	To succeed; to prosper	رِزَاقِيلْ	To succeed; to prosper	[ը]ոզակել	MA
195	شمردن	To reckon; to count	حَمْرِيَلْ	To reckon; to count	համրել	MA
196	ساختن	To make; to build	شِنِيَلْ	To make; to build	շինել	CA
197	پیراستن	To adorn; to decorate	No Armenian entry			
198	آراستن	To adorn; to decorate	زَارْتَارِيَلْ	To adorn; to decorate	զարդարել	CA
199	افریدن	To create	اِسْتَغْچِيَلْ	To create	ստեղծել	MA

133. Perhaps may be read as ջեխքել or չեխքել, though these are not attested forms. Cf. the footnote for entry 156.

200	میرانیدن	To kill	اِسْپَاتْیَلْ	To kill	սպանել	MA
201	پیوندیدن	To be joined, united	قِچِیلْ	To be joined, united	կցիլ	CA
202	جدا کردن	To part; to divide	پاَژْنِیلْ	To be parted; to separate	բաժնիլ	MA
203	بخشیدن	To grant; to donate; to remit; to forgive; to pardon; to spare	اوُژْدِیَلْ	To endow; to give a dowry	օժտել	MA
204	درخشیدن	To shine; to glitter	پِسْپُوغَاَلْ	To shine; to glitter	պսպողալ / պսպուղալ (unattested spellings of պսպղալ)[134]	MA
205	ستردن	To shave	آچِیلْیَلْ	To shave	ածիլել	MA
206	غلطانیدن	To roll	قِلُوْرْیَلْ	To roll	գլորել	CA
207	دمیدن	To blow	پِچْیَلْ	To blow	փչել	CA
208	دمانیدن	To make blow[135]	حِزْچِنِیَلْ	To make ride [?]; to make cough [?]	հեծցնել [?]; հ[ա]ղցնել [?]	MA
209	دزدیدن	To steal	قُوغْنَاَلْ	To steal	գողնալ	MA
210	آویختن	To hang; to suspend	قَاَخْیِیَلْ	To hang; to suspend	կախ[ի]ել[136]	CA
211	بر دار کردن	To hang up	جِدَکْقَاَخْیِیلْ	To hang [by] the neck	ճ[ի]տն կախ[ե]լ	MA
212	شرمیدن	To be ashamed	آمِشْنَاَلْ	To be ashamed	ամչնալ[137]	MA
213	فراموش کردن	To forget	مُوْرْنَاَلْ	To forget	մոռնալ	MA
214	چیدن	To gather	زُوغْوَلْ	To gather	ժողվել	MA

134. Again, here the Perso-Arabic پ is seemingly used to represent the Armenian պ.

135. The verb provided here is the causative of the previous verb. In the other languages, the verb stems do not change, but the Armenian option provided here has been altered from the previous entry.

136. It is unclear what the extra ի (“i”) is doing in this word; if it was not an error, perhaps the scribe intended to write the equivalent of կախեալ, “hung.” The same may is true for the following entry.

137. Here the Arabic ش (“sh”) is seemingly used to represent the Armenian չ (“ch‘”).

215	نوردیدن	To roll; to fold	چاَلَیلْ	To roll; to fold	ծալել	CA
216	نشاندن	To mark; to stamp	گِنَکَلْ	To mark; to sign; to seal	կնքել	CA
217	وزیدن	To blow (intransitive)	هوُفْپِچیلْ	To blow wind (i.e., “the wind blows”)	հով[ ]փչել	CA
218	گزاردن	To quit; to leave; to pay	وِجَارَلْ	To finish; to discharge; to pay	վճարել	CA
219	راندن	To drive; to drive out; to pursue	کِشِیَلْ	To chase; to drive out	քշել	CA
220	کاشتن	To turn earth; to sow, plough	چآنِیَلْ	To sow	ցանել	CA
221	درویدن	To reap	هِنْزِیَلْ	To reap	հնձել	CA
222	دامیدن	To winnow; to fan; to carry away; to appear; to uproot	اَیْنِیَلْ	To make; to do; to bring forth; to advance	այնել	MA [This verb is often paired with a noun, which is absent here]
223	خذمت کردن	To serve	No Armenian entry			
224	پیرُوز شدن	To triumph; to be victorious	زُورَاوَرْ لِنَالْ	To be valorous	զօրաւ[n]ր լինալ	MA
225	رمیدن	To be terrified	خِرْچِیلْ	To be terrified	խրչիլ	MA
226	رمانیدن	To terrify	خِرچِنِیَلْ	To terrify	խրչնել	MA
227	پرسیدن	To ask	هاَرْچِنِیَلْ	To ask	հարցնել	MA

228	نواختن	To soothe, caress; to praise; to play an instrument	كَكْوِيَلْ	To caress; to flatter	գգուել	CA
229	گنجيدن	To be contained; to hold exactly; to be filled; to fit in[138]	مَكْنِيلْ	To separate, divide; to comment on; to interpret; to hold out or stretch forth [?]	մեկնել [?]	CA
230	سنجيدن	To weigh; to measure	قِشْرِيَلْ	To weigh; to measure	կշռել	CA
231	سنجانيدن	To have weighed; to make measure	قِشْرِيَلْدَالْ	To have weighed; to make measure	կշռել[ ]տալ	CA
232	اندوختن	To acquire, to collect; to pay a debt; to possess; to own	وَاسْتِغِلْ	To work; to gain, to acquire, to earn	վաստ[ա]կել	CA
233	الُودن	To contaminate; to smear; to anoint	تَاتْخِيلْ	To wet; to moisten	թաթխ[ե]լ	MA
234	شوُريدن	To revolt; to be driven to madness; to be frenzied	خِوْنَالْ	To be driven to madness; to be frenzied	խեւնալ	MA
235	پالُودن	To squeeze, strain; to filter; to purify; to become pure	قَامِيَلْ	To squeeze, strain; to filter	քամել	CA

138. The compilers translated this verb into terms with slightly divergent meanings across the Hexaglot's languages, ranging from "to fit in" to "to hold." The Armenian entry may also reflect this relative ambiguity in relation to the Persian base word.

236	پاشیدن	To sprinkle, scatter	چآتِیَلْ	To sprinkle, scatter	ցանել	CA
237	افشاندن	To disperse, scatter; to diffuse; to shed	تۇتْفِيلْ	To shake	թոթվ[ե]լ	MA
238	ارایيدن	To adorn; to embellish	زَارْتاَرِيلْ	To adorn; to embellish	զարդար[ե]լ	CA
239	پرداختن	To finish, complete	قَدَاَرَلْ	To finish, complete	կատարել	CA
240	خرامیدن	To walk gracefully, strut	اَرَرَاَلْ	To sway; to waddle; to fluctuate	[o]ր[o]րալ	MA
241	طیره شدن	To be angry; to be bashful	پاَرْغَانَاَلْ	To be angry	բարկանալ[139]	CA
242	سِراییدن	To sing; to chant	خاَغَسْيَلْ	To sing; to recite a poem	խաղ[ ]ասել	MA
243	افزودن	To add, increase	آوَلْچِنِيَلْ	To add, increase	աւելցնել	MA
244	ستودن	To praise	قۇوْيَلْ	To praise	գովել	CA
245	کاستن	To lessen, diminish	بَاَقْسَچْنِيَلْ	To lessen, diminish	պակսեցնել	MA
246	سودن	To anoint; to rub; to grind; to stroke; to besmear; to transfix	اۇزِيَلْ	To anoint; to consecrate	օծել	MA
247	خفه کردن	To strangle; to choke	خَختِيَلْ	To strangle; to choke	խե[ղ]դել	CA
248	انباشتن	To fill	لَنۇلْ	To fill	լնուլ	CA
249	آکندن	To fill; to stuff, cram	قِرَّلْ	[?]	[?]	

139. Here the Armenian ղ would seem to be rendered by the Arabic غ.

250	دشنام دادن	To give a bad name; to vilify	آنِزْكَلْ	To offend; to despise; to find fault with	ան[ա]րգել	CA
251	شكفتن	To be cleft; to open, expand (as a flower)	چَاغِكْ پَاچْوِلْ	To open (as a flower); to bloom	ծաղիկ բացուիլ	MA
252	رنجيدن	To be sad, vexed; to be angry; to carve, engrave	لَغِنَالْ	To become embittered	լեղենալ	MA
253	اماسيدن	To swell	اوُرِيلْ	To swell	ուռիլ	MA
254	تركيدن	To make an excursion; to cleave; to crack	جَاطِيلْ	To be split; to be cleft	ճաթիլ	MA
255	پرستيدن	To worship; to adore	بَاشْتِيَلْ	To worship; to adore	պաշտել	CA
256	روُزه داشتن	To fast	بَاقْبَزِيَلْ	To fast	պաք[ ]բռնել	MA
257	وضو ساختن	To perform ablution	چَرقِلوَانَالْ	To wash one's hands	ձեռք[ ] լուանալ	CA
258	نماز گزاردن	To say one's prayers; to attend service	اَغُوچْكُنَالْ	To stand in prayer	աղօթս[140][ ] կենալ	MA
259	آمرزيدن	To forgive; to pardon	اُغُورْمِيلْ	To take pity or compassion on; to have mercy for	ողորմիլ	CA
260	زاييدن	To give birth	چِنِيلْ	To give birth; to be born	ծնիլ	MA
261	شنار كردن	To swim	لوُغَالْ	To swim	լողալ	CA

140. Here the letter ⟨ճ⟩, generally used to render the letters ց (phonetically "ts'"), ձ ("ts"), ծ ("dz"), appears to be used to render two letters, թս, again suggesting that the scribe was recording words supplied by a Middle Armenian speaker (rather than working from writing or from his own knowledge).

262	آزمودن	To try	پُوزْچِيَلْ	To try	փորձել	CA
263	پيوَستن	To join, bind, attach; to be joined, attached	قِچِيلْ	To be joined, attached	կցիլ	CA
264	سكيزيدن	To jump, leap; to gallop; to be restive	حِيوَالْ	To pant, puff, be breathless; to palpitate; to beat (heart)	հեւալ	CA (to pant)/MA (to beat)
265	سكاليدن	To think; to meditate mischief; to resolve to do harm; to deceive	وَاتْخُورْهِلْ	To think bad thoughts; to resolve to do harm	վատ[ ]խորհիլ	CA
266	گم كردن	To lose	قُورْسِنِيلْ	To lose	կորսն[ե]լ	MA
267	پاييدن	To be constant, fixed; to guard; to look; to wait, expect	هَامْبَرْيَلْ	To have patience; to endure; to remain constant, fixed	համբերել	CA
268	ارزِيدن	To cost; to be worth	آَرْزْيَلْ	To cost; to be worth	աժել	MA
269	سلفيدن	To cough	حاَزَالْ	To cough	հազալ	CA
270	تراشيدن	To shave; to pare; to scrape; to hew, cut	طاَشْيَلْ	To hew; to plane; to smooth; to square	տաշել[141]	CA
271	شتافتن	To make haste	چَانَالْ	To exert oneself; to endeavor; to hasten; to take pains	ջանալ	CA
272	ختنه كردن	To circumcise	طِلْپَادِيَلْ	To circumcise	թլփատել	CA

141. Here the Arabic letter ط is seemingly used to render the Armenian տ.

273	بزرگوار شدن	To become great, magnanimous, a learned man	آَرْقَالِنَلْ	To become a king	արքայ լինալ	MA
274	کندن	To dig; to excavate	پُورْيَلْ	To dig; to excavate	փորել	CA
275	کاویدن	To examine; to investigate; to search	هَدَوِيلْ	To follow	հետեւիլ[142]	MA
276	ساییدن	To pulverize; to grind; to rub; to polish	قِسْفِيلْ	To be rubbed	քս[ու]իլ	MA
277	سفلیدن	To whistle	No Armenian entry			
278	ستیزیدن	To contend; to quarrel	چِمْرُوسِلْ	[?]	[?]	
279	ورزیدن	To exercise, train, accustom (oneself)	چِيَوانَالْ	To conform; to take the form; to affect	Perhaps ձեւանալ	CA
280	گندیدن	To stink; to putrefy	حُودِلْ	To stink, smell	հոտիլ	CA
281	پوسیدن	To rot, spoil	پَطّلْ	To rot, spoil	փթթ[ի]լ	MA
282	نهفتن	To conceal, hide; to keep secret	بَاَهيَلْ	To preserve; to keep; to hide; to keep secret	պահել	CA
283	سفتن	To bore; to pierce	چَاكُّلْ	To bore; to pierce	ծակել	MA
284	درنگ کردن	To delay, protract	عُوشَنَالْ	To be late	ուշանալ	MA

142. The Greek and Armenian definitions agree here.

285	زدودن	To wipe away; to remove; to polish; to clean; to pluck; to gather	بِبْوُغْجِنِيَلْ	To refine; to soften; to render mild [?]	Unable to reconstruct with confidence; perhaps [փ]ա[փ]ու[կ]-[ց]նել	MA
286	زداییدن	To have removed	بِبْوُغَچْنِيَلْ دالْ	To have [someone] refine	փափուկցնել տալ [See previous entry]	
287	اندودن	To incrustate; to plaster, cover over; to anoint; to gild	چِچْيَلْ	To thrust down; to drive in; to plant; to set up	ցցել	CA
288	پناهیدن	To take refuge	عُوصَنالْ	To hope; to trust [in]; to rely; to take refuge	յուսանալ	
289	باور کردن	To believe; to credit	آوْدَالْ	To believe	աւտալ	MA
290	بلند شدن	To be high; to be lifted	پَارْچْرِنالْ	To rise, ascend, go up	բարձրնալ	MA
291	خجسته شدن	To be happy; to be blessed	شِسناهَاوَر لِنَلْ	To be fortunate, auspicious	շնահաւոր լինալ	MA
292	تمام شدن	To be completed	لَمَنْچِنِيَلْ	To complete	լմնցնել	MA

Nouns (Selection)

	Persian Base Word	English Translation	Armenian Equivalent in Arabic Alphabet	English translation	Armenian Reconstructed	Classical Armenian (CA) or Middle Armenian (MA)
1 (34r)	اختر	Star	آصَتْخ	Star	աստղ	CA
2	سیاره	Planet; wanderer	شِرْچاگَانْ	Wanderer; change	շրջական	CA
3 (35r)	امروز	Today	آصوُرْ	Today	աւօր	MA
4	فردا	Tomorrow	واَغْ	Tomorrow	վաղ	CA
5 (36r)	زمین	The earth; ground, soil	كَدِينْ	Ground, earth, soil	գետին	CA
6	سنگ	Stone	كاَرْ	Stone	քար	CA
7	دریا	Sea	چوُوْ	Sea	ծով	CA
8 (37r)	شکوفه	Blossom	چاَغِيكْ	Flower	ծաղիկ	CA
9	میوه	Fruit	میِرْک	Fruit	միրգ	CA
10	سیب	Apple	خِنْچوُرْ	Apple	խնձոր	CA
11	گندم	Wheat	چوُرَنْ	Wheat	ցորէն/ցորեն	MA
12 (38v)	پوست	Skin	موُرْتِ	Skin	մորթի	CA
13	سر	Head	قِلوُخْ	Head	գլուխ	CA
14	استخوان	Bone	اوُصْقُوَرْ	Bone	ոսկոր	MA
15	مغز	Brain	اِيغِيغْ	Brain	ուղեղ	CA
16	موی	Hair	مأَرْ	Hair	մազ	CA

17	بسیار	Many, numerous	شَاَتْ	Many, numerous	շատ	CA
18	اندک	Few	کِیچْ	Few	քիչ	CA
19 (39r)	کبود	Blue	کَاَبُوْتْ	Blue	կապուտ	MA [Could also be CA կապոյտ]
20	زرد	Yellow	تَغِینْ	Yellow	դեղին	CA
21	روی	Face	اَرِیَسْ	Face	[ե]րես	CA
22	چشم	Eye	آچَکْ	Eyes	աչք	CA
23 (39v)	ابرو	Eyebrow	اوُنْک	Eyebrow	յօնք	CA
24	لب	Lips	بِزْکُوْنْک	Lips	պռկունք	MA
25	زبان	Tongue	لَزوُ	Tongue	լեզու	CA
26	پشت	Back	قِرناَقْ	Back	կռնակ	CA
27	انگشت	Finger	مَاَتْ	Finger	մատ	MA
28 (40r)	سینه	Chest	قوُرْچق	Chest	կուրծք	CA
29	دل	Heart	سِیرْت	Heart	սիրտ	CA
30	شکم	Belly	پُوَرْ	Belly	փոր	CA
31	روده	Intestine	آغِیکْ	Intestine	աղիք	CA
32	شاشه	Urine	شِیرْ	Urine	շեռ	CA
33	زانو	Knee	چوُنْک	Knee	ծունկ	CA
34 (42r)	شمشیر	Sword	توُرْ	Sword	թուր	CA
35	کارد	Knife	طاَناکْ	Knife	դանակ	CA
36	کمان	Bow	آغِیَغْ	Bow	աղեղ	MA
37	تیر	Arrow	نِیَتْ	Arrow	նետ	CA
38	آهن	Iron	اِرْکَاتْ	Iron	երկաթ	CA

39 (42v)	مس	Copper	بِغِنْچ	Copper	պղինձ	CA
40	سرب	Lead	آرجِيچْ	Lead	արճիճ	CA/MA
41	هيزم	Wood	پاَتْ	Wood	փատ	MA [Could also be CA փայտ]
42	ماَست	Yogurt	ماَزوُنْ	Yogurt	մածուն	CA
43 (43v)	زر	Gold	اوُسْکی	Gold	ոսկի	CA
44	سيم	Silver	آَرْزاَتْ	Silver	արծաթ	CA
45 (44r)	کاسه	Bowl	بِناگْ	Bowl; dish	պնակ	CA
46 (45r)	اسب	Horse	چِهْ	Horse	ձի	CA
47	اشتر	Camel	اوُغْت	Camel	ուղտ	CA
48	ساده گاو	Cow	کْوُوْ	Cow	կով	CA
49	خر	Donkey	اَشْ	Donkey	էշ	CA
50 (46r)	سگ	Dog	شوُنْ	Dog	շուն	CA

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